

Duty and Responsibility: Understanding Work-Family Conflict for Multigenerational  
Households

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy at George Mason University

by

Katie E. Matthew  
Master of Business Administration  
Kansas State University, 2009  
Bachelor of Science  
United States Military Academy, 2000

Director: Shannon N. Davis, Professor  
Department of Sociology

Spring Semester 2021  
George Mason University  
Fairfax, VA

Copyright 2021 Katie E. Matthew  
All Rights Reserved

## **DEDICATION**

This is dedicated to my husband Chris, my sons Sean and Zach, and to my parents Chuck and Norresa Powell. Without their collective support and example, none of this would be possible.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my family first and foremost for their tireless support. My husband Chris endured hours of discussion, assisted in reading, editing, and supported throughout it all. I would also like to acknowledge my sons who accepted my absence at night for class or writing and offered to help to the extent their elementary-level skills could. Even before we all found ourselves sharing the same dining room table to work and study in 2020, these three provided me a safe place to think, share, and rework this project.

I would also like to thank my collective military family and friends, who believed in my efforts enough to support my return to graduate school. The Department of Behavioral Sciences and Leadership at West Point is my academic home, filled with mentors and colleagues without whom I would not be where I am today. I also want to acknowledge the hundreds of military families that re-shape themselves to balance their work and family demands; watching them navigate this conflict inspired this work.

I would also like to thank the Sociology and Anthropology department at George Mason for welcoming me to the program, providing rigorous instruction, and hours of patience as I learned new techniques and ways of thinking. Dr. Davis, who invested in my ideas from the beginning, served as a mentor well beyond this project and to her I am most grateful. Drs. Storelli and Scimecca provided balanced opinions and the tough feedback required for me to grow. The faculty and my fellow graduate students provided invaluable advice in this endeavor over Zoom writing sessions that made us all better.

Finally, I want to especially acknowledge my parents, who set the example of rolling up your sleeves and finding solutions. Whether in balancing care, working multiple jobs, or wringing out the last drop of energy to provide emotional support, they inspired me to keep going and find a way. It is amazing what you can do when you have to, and their well-worked patchwork quilt of life is beautiful.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables .....	ix
List of Figures.....	x
List of Abbreviations and/or Symbols.....	xi
Abstract.....	xii
Chapter One: Introduction .....	1
The Value of Understanding Multigenerational Households .....	2
How Do Multigenerational Households Experience Work-Family Conflict?.....	4
Contributions and Significance of the Study .....	5
Organization of the Study .....	7
Chapter Two: Multigenerational Households and Work-Family Conflict.....	8
Work-Family Conflict.....	9
Role Conflict .....	10
Roles: Who Does What .....	11
Overlapping Role Performance .....	12
Work-to-Family and Family-to-Work Conflict .....	14
Family-to-Work Conflict.....	15
Work-to-Family Conflict.....	16
Gender and Work-Family Conflict .....	18
Race and Work-Family Conflict .....	20
Class and Work-Family Conflict .....	22
Age and Work-Family Conflict .....	24
Multigenerational Households .....	27
Family Structure Redefined .....	27
Family Roles Redefined.....	29
More Roles to Perform .....	30
More Role Performers .....	31
Obligation and Responsibility: Socialized Roles.....	33
Obligation TO Whom .....	33
Obligated to Care for Family.....	34

Obligated to Work .....	36
Responsibility FOR Whom .....	38
Family Responsibilities .....	38
Work Responsibilities .....	39
Household Formation as a Stress Management Strategy.....	41
Conservation of Resources Theory and Work-Family Conflict .....	42
Family as Stressor and Resource.....	45
The Obligation to Care for Family .....	46
The Responsibility to Provide for Family .....	49
Economic Stress and the Multigenerational Household .....	54
Summary of the Research Approach .....	58
Chapter Three: Methodology .....	66
Overall Design .....	66
Data .....	66
Variables .....	73
Dependent Variables .....	73
Work-to-Family Conflict.....	73
Family-to-Work Conflict.....	74
Independent Variables .....	75
Household Type.....	75
Gender .....	75
Race/Ethnicity .....	76
Class .....	76
Age/Generation.....	77
Mediating Variables .....	78
Obligation .....	78
Responsibility .....	79
Method .....	79
Analysis by Research Question.....	80
Work-Family Conflict by Household Type (RQ1) .....	80
Obligation and Responsibility as Mediators to Work-Family Conflict (RQ2) .....	82
Economic Events and Multigenerational Households (RQ3) .....	84

Chapter Four: Descriptive Statistics .....	87
Describing the Households .....	87
Work-Family Conflict and Multigenerational Households .....	90
Work-to-Family Conflict .....	90
Family-to-Work Conflict .....	93
Socio-demographics and Multigenerational Households .....	96
Gender and Multigenerational Households.....	96
Race and Multigenerational Households .....	98
Class and Multigenerational Households.....	101
Age and Multigenerational Households.....	104
Obligation and Responsibility and Multigenerational Households .....	106
Obligation.....	106
Responsibility.....	108
Summary .....	110
Chapter Five: Findings .....	113
How Work-Family Conflict Differs for Multigenerational Households (RQ1) .....	113
Differences in Work-to-Family Conflict across Households.....	114
Individual Characteristics and WFC .....	114
Individual Characteristics and Household Type.....	117
Differences in Family-to-Work Conflict across Households.....	118
Individual Characteristics and FWC .....	119
Individual Characteristics and Household Type.....	120
Hypothesis Testing of WFC Differences by Household Type.....	123
Summary of Research Question #1 .....	125
Obligation and Responsibility in Multigenerational Households (RQ2).....	126
Obligation by Household Type .....	127
Individual Characteristics and Obligation.....	127
Responsibility by Household Type .....	129
Individual Characteristics and Responsibility to Provide .....	130
Obligation, Responsibility, and WFC .....	132
Obligation, Responsibility and FWC .....	134
Hypothesis Testing for Obligation and Responsibility .....	137

Summary of Research Question #2 .....	140
Economic Crisis and Work-Family Conflict (RQ3) .....	142
Work-to-Family Conflict Pre and Post 2008 Economic Crisis .....	142
Family-to-Work Conflict Pre and Post 2008 Economic Crisis .....	144
Hypothesis Testing Economic Shock on Work-Family Conflict.....	146
Summary of Research Question #3 .....	147
Summary of Overall Findings.....	147
Chapter Six: Discussion .....	150
Work-Family Conflict and Multigenerational Households .....	150
The Impact of Obligation and Responsibility on Work-Family Conflict .....	154
External Economic Crisis and the Family .....	160
Limitations to the Research .....	162
Possibilities for Future Research .....	165
Chapter Seven: Conclusion .....	167
Implications of the Study .....	168
Context Then and Now: A New Kind of Crisis .....	169
Implications for the Institution: Getting beyond the “Ideal Worker” .....	171
Implications for the Public: Learning from the Past and Present.....	176
Final Thoughts .....	179
References .....	180



## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
Table 1: Households by Type, GSS 2002-2018 .....	72
Table 2: Household Types by Year .....	88
Table 3: Household Type Pre and Post 2008 .....	89
Table 4: Summary of Descriptive Statistics (Proportion) for Work-Family Conflict by Household Type.....	112
Table 5: Logistic Regression for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households.....	115
Table 6: Logistic Regression for Work-to-Family with Interaction Effects .....	117
Table 7: Logistic Regression for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households.....	119
Table 8: Logistic Regression for Family-to-Work Conflict with Interaction Effects .....	121
Table 9: Logistic Regression for Obligation across Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households .....	129
Table 10: Logistic Regression for Responsibility for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households .....	131
Table 11: Logistic Regression for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents' Obligation and Responsibility .....	133
Table 12: Logistic Regression for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents' Obligation and Responsibility .....	135
Table 13: Logistic Regression for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents Pre- and Post-2008 .....	143
Table 14: Logistic Regression for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents Pre- and Post-2008 .....	145

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
Figure 1: Household Type and Work-Family Conflict Model .....	33
Figure 2: Obligation and Responsibility Path Model .....	53
Figure 3: Full Model with Hypotheses .....	64
Figure 4: Work-to-Family Conflict by Household .....	91
Figure 5: Work-to-Family Conflict by Three-Generation Households .....	92
Figure 6: More WFC by Household Type.....	93
Figure 7: Family-to-Work Conflict by Generational Household .....	94
Figure 8: Family-to-Work Conflict by Three-Generation Households .....	95
Figure 9: More FWC by Household Type.....	96
Figure 10: Gender by Household Type .....	97
Figure 11: Racial Identity by Household Type .....	99
Figure 12: Racial Identity by Three-Generation Household .....	100
Figure 13: Minorities by Household Type .....	101
Figure 14: Socioeconomic Class by Household Type.....	102
Figure 15: Socioeconomic Class by Three-Generation Household .....	103
Figure 16: Middle- and Working-Class by Household Type .....	104
Figure 17: Age Cohort by Household Type .....	105
Figure 18: Obligation to Care by Household Type .....	107
Figure 19: Responsibility to Provide by All Household Types.....	109
Figure 20: Breadwinners by Household Type.....	110
Figure 21: Predicted Probabilities of FWC by Gender and Household Type .....	122

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Family-to-Work Conflict.....	FWC
General Social Survey.....	GSS
Grandparent-led Three Generation Households.....	GPC
Parent-led Three Generation Households.....	PGC
Work-to-Family Conflict.....	WFC

## **ABSTRACT**

### **DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY: UNDERSTANDING WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT FOR MULTIGENERATIONAL HOUSEHOLDS**

Katie E. Matthew, Ph.D.

George Mason University, 2021

Dissertation Director: Dr. Shannon N. Davis

Work and family, as two enduring institutions, have often been at odds with one another and have caused internal conflict for individuals. The economic and social stress resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic has brought new attention to a patchwork system many families have created in order to meet competing demands of family and work. While much attention has been paid to work structures, less is known about extended, multigenerational family structures and how work-family conflict may vary across different households. I consider these households through both role conflict theory and conservation of resources theory lenses to gain insights for the individual's experiences with conflict between their work and family demands and to understand how household structures may serve to alleviate some of that conflict. My dissertation contributes to contemporary work-family discourse by addressing three problems: whether there are differential experiences of work-family conflict for individuals in multigenerational

households and two-generation households; the extent to which obligation for caregiving and a responsibility to provide financial support to the family shape work-family conflict; and the extent to which external economic stresses contribute to work-family conflict.

To do this, I performed secondary data analysis of the 2002-2018 General Social Survey, selecting 2,406 respondents in two- and three-generation households who were earning income at the time of data collection. I conducted binary logistic regression analysis to model work-to-family and family-to-work conflict by including household type, individual demographics, personal attitudes of obligation, and level of financial responsibility to determine how each impact the likelihood of higher work-family conflict. I also categorized respondents as pre- and post-2008 to determine any trends as a result of the 2008 recession. I found that those in multigenerational households reported higher family-to-work conflict but not work-to-family conflict. Both work-to-family and family-to-work conflict differed significantly by race and gender; responsibility to provide financially was the most significant indicator of both work-to-family and family-to-work conflict. Responsibility also mediated the effects of race and gender on conflict, and I found no difference in conflict between household types once I accounted for financial responsibility. The percentage of multigenerational households in the US rose after 2008, and I found individuals post-2008 were less likely to experience family-to-work conflict than those pre-2008. Viewing this trend in the current global crisis, households are likely to continue to expand to provide private safety nets in many of the same ways from the previous recession. This study contributes to the public discourse on work-family conflict by presenting a work and family focused approach rooted in

contemporary household living arrangements to highlight the spillover effects of changes families make as they try to minimize the effects of shocks in one sphere on other parts of their lives, and how social inequalities may or may not exacerbate the effects of these shocks.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

Work and family are two institutions that have a profound effect on the individual and shape everyday life. Work, both paid and unpaid, has dominated adult life in the United States since well before the Industrial Revolution as a means to meet the necessities of life for the family. The family structure itself has adjusted over time to meet the social and physical needs of the individual members. As populations continue to live longer, the dynamic of aging parents and adult children cohabitating has drawn attention both in and out of academia. While some see multigenerational households as a return to the past, others see this growing demographic as a lean towards the future as an innovative solution during economic downturns (Ruggles 2007; Cohen and Casper 2002). Societal norms in the United States encourage independence with the expectation that young adults leave their parent's home to work and strike out on their own, creating their own family unit in the process.

However, this idealized "nuclear family"- two heterosexual parents and their children- has not proven attainable or sustainable for many in the United States. Instead, family structure is a more fluid and adjustable way to meet the needs of its members. Divorce, cohabitation, aging and births all contribute to a greater diversity in household structure. Whereas 25% of households in 1940 were multigenerational, this number bottomed out at 12% in 1980 and has been steadily rising back towards 20% in 2016

(Pew Research 2018). These multigenerational families, so named because they go beyond the nuclear family of two parents with their minor children in a single household, are not only growing as a whole group, but in variety as well. Whether grandparents move in with adult children or adult children (with their own children) return to their parents' home, the option of combining these households is significant enough of a trend to spark demographic research. Yet, there is less research into the development of these families, and even less into the dynamics within them at an individual or interactional level. As this structure continues to grow, it is increasingly important to understand how these households experience work and family demands differently from the normalized two-generation household.

### **The Value of Understanding Multigenerational Households**

Examining multigenerational families and how they manage family structure and work provides the opportunity to determine what potential positive and negative effects result from these increasingly common structures. As the number of dual earning couples rose to 60% in 2012, the number of working adults within these multigenerational households is also substantial. With more family members, there are more negative effects from friction, burdens of long-term care, and the expectation and perceptions of one's roles in the household. (Ingersoll-Dayton et. al 2001; Livingston 2013). While families often function as a "safety net," it is possible that the same motivation for combining households may also provide an additional source of conflict (Swartz 2009). Pooling resources, re-designating roles and responsibilities across generations can serve to reduce or increase conflict, and the conflict between work and family may be a product



of generational position, gender, race, class, and in who's home this extended family gathers.

The re-structuring or extending of the family unit requires reassignment and assumption of responsibilities for caring, housework, paid work, and contributions to the new family unit. For those adult children who return to their parents' home with children of their own, this can cause a change in primary caregiver responsibilities for minor children (Fingerman et. al 2011). The other end of the spectrum, where grandparents move into their adult children's home, resulting in a middle or "sandwich" generation, also has potential changes in work-family conflict as the host family unit adjusts to accommodate an aging parent who may/may not also exhibit work-family conflict (Pierret 2006). When work and family conflict may differ as a result of expanding the household and roles, one must ask *how* different is this experience and *how* much of that experience is a result of economic necessity?

While this family structure is still far smaller demographically than two-generation households, the growth of this demographic in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has drawn academic attention due to the convergence of both the aging of a significant portion of working age adults and the increasingly difficult economic environment that young adults are entering. The increased need for elder care and the expected draw on retirement benefits is signaling a shift in who supports whom financially, while at the same time, older parents with young adult children face an extended responsibility to provide for their young adult children. This simultaneous shift in how income is earned and how families provide care for each other is changing the nature of work and care beyond these

households. While much is understood about work-family conflict or multigenerational households, very little is known about how these families experience work-family conflict. As these families face a changing work and family reality, understanding how the complexities of role conflict for these families can provide valuable insight for other structures as well.

### **How Do Multigenerational Households Experience Work-Family Conflict?**

Research into work-family conflict predominantly takes a role theory perspective, while others see additional roles as beneficial—the role enhancement perspective (Keene and Quadagno 2004). Still other scholars look for a work-family *fit* or *balance* approach in order to explore predeterminants for reduced conflict. Using the General Social Survey from 2002-2018, I will compare work-to-family conflict (WFC) and family-to-work conflict (FWC) to investigate these experiences for working adults in multigenerational families, along with household position, gender, race, class, and age to discover the effects of each on one's reported conflict. As role conflict centers around perceptions for the individual, how the individual perceives their role(s) within these households can explain the resulting conflict between these roles.

As family is a key socialization institution for children and adults, expectations of certain norms are shared through the family. While some families follow an interdependence model with norms of collective contribution to the welfare of the family, others instill an independence model with norms of personal responsibility and accountability (Markus and Kitayama 1991). To understand the conflict between work and family roles, one must first understand how these roles are defined and the expected

norms of performance. Does a sense of obligation to care for family members present different family role demands, thus also impacting the conflict between work and family? Does a responsibility to work in order to provide for the family increase this conflict when the family role *is* to work? As multigenerational households have an expected higher demand for various caregiving and potentially a higher responsibility to provide income sufficient for the expanded family's need, understanding more about this household structure informs how work-family role conflict occurs. This dissertation explores these questions in an effort to understand how individuals in multigenerational families experience work-family conflict and how it may differ from other family structures.

### **Contributions and Significance of the Study**

This dissertation takes a novel approach to work-family conflict, not only in the specific considerations for multigenerational households, but also through the use of seemingly opposing frameworks. First, this study considers the potential increase in roles and associated tasks for established roles to explore work-family conflict for family members in more complex households. While role conflict theory is well established within the discipline, prior research has often taken a separate spheres view, with the expectation that work and family naturally compete. This dissertation takes an interwoven view of these spheres (work and family), as these are a part of everyday life for most adults and families. As such, role conflict is expected and by centering this inquiry on multigenerational households, this dissertation considers how work-family conflict is experienced differently by those with more simultaneous roles and tasks.

Secondly, this dissertation considers conservation of resources theory as a stress management strategy within multigenerational households. While work-family conflict is considered inevitable, particularly for those in vulnerable populations and communities, strategies to relieve the stresses of that conflict include a pooling of resources. This dissertation considers both role conflict theory to explain the stress and conservation of resources as a stress mitigation as it is enacted within multigenerational households. By considering *how* family is seen as a resource by understanding the individual's sense of obligation and responsibility to the family, this dissertation considers how.

Lastly, I examine trends within these households over the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in order to explain how work-family conflict for this growing demographic is changing. Through a time period comparison, separated by the 2008-2009 financial crisis and resulting recession, this dissertation reviews the effect of economic shock across socio-economic classes to determine the effects of external economic shocks on these families. Following the idea that families expand to create a safety net for individual members, this exploration considers how much of the work-family conflict after macro-level economic shocks is explained by the event or by the conflict within the family. In this way, this dissertation may provide a better understanding of family responses to significant economic shock to inform better programs of support.

Work and family scholars across multiple disciplines have long considered work-family conflict from multiple viewpoints and provided valuable information to engage with organizations, policy makers, and communities alike. Understanding how family structures are changing due to external stressors, especially economic crises, is of

significance to sociologists but perhaps more importantly, it is of significance to public policy makers. Whether determining how to distribute welfare funding equitably or enacting work-family policies that can reduce the burden and conflict associated with managing both domains, understanding how multigenerational households manage work-family conflict can ensure more effective programs and policies that meet the needs for families as they are in the 21st century.

### **Organization of the Study**

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters with the first three establishing the study and the remaining four discussing the results of the inquiry. Chapter 2 draws on the current scholarship in work-family conflict, family and household structure, and presents the dissertation's main purpose: to understand how multigenerational households experience work-family conflict. In Chapter 3, I present the method of analysis and introduce the General Social Survey, years 2002-2018, as the data set and outline the parameters of the sample for this study. Chapters 4 and 5 present the findings of the inquiry and test the hypotheses presented in Chapter 2. Lastly, I situate my findings within the current scholarly conversation on work-family conflict, discuss limitations to the present study, and suggest future research opportunities in Chapter 6. I conclude with implications for public sociology and suggested policy applications in Chapter 7.

## CHAPTER TWO: MULTIGENERATIONAL HOUSEHOLDS AND WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT

The intent of this study is to understand multigenerational households, how they experience work-family conflict, how a sense of obligation and responsibility to the family impacts this conflict, and how these households may respond to external shocks. Specifically, this study will look to understand how multigenerational households experience work-family conflict by first asking *how does work-family conflict differ for multigenerational households as compared to their nuclear household counterparts?* Secondly, *how do obligation and responsibility impact reported work-family conflict within multigenerational households?* Lastly, *how do economic events shape work-family conflict for these households?* In order to do this, this chapter presents the current literature on several key terms and the gaps that this research will attempt to fill. Divided into four sections, this chapter will present broad work-family conflict concepts and narrow to the application of these concepts to multigenerational households within the 21<sup>st</sup> century context. First, it is important to discuss the concept of work-family conflict, especially in terms of role conflict theory. Secondly, this chapter will situate this conflict within the multigenerational household structure, its associated roles within that structure, and illustrate how role conflict may look for members.

The next section of this chapter introduces two concepts that may mediate work-family conflict in these multigenerational households. Through the discussion of how obligation and responsibility are socialized, this section introduces the ideas of family role socialization through either an interdependence- or individual-based framework,

resulting in a difference in perceived obligation and assumed responsibility. Lastly, this chapter will situate the multigenerational household within the context of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century and the prevailing literature on work-family conflict through the economic shock of the 2008 housing crisis and resulting recession. Throughout all three sections, this chapter will ask questions and present hypotheses for those questions in order to find answers to the overarching question of the dissertation: how do multigenerational households experience work-family conflict?

### **Work-Family Conflict**

The study of work-family conflict, as an extension of role conflict, has been a major section of sociological inquiry for decades, though role conflict research goes back further still. This interest in work-family conflict emerged with women's increased participation in the labor force, though many women were performing paid work well before the 1970s. To understand work-family conflict for this dissertation requires a brief explanation of gender, race, and class as they relate to performing work outside the home, and a similar discussion of these constructs for performing work inside the home. As interest and predominant literature focused on work-family conflict as a gendered<sup>1</sup> problem at the onset, it is important to discuss what roles are assigned and assumed along gender lines within racial and socioeconomic contexts to illustrate how conflict exists in the first place.

---

<sup>1</sup> While there are significant gaps in work-family conflict literature regarding gender, those gaps are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Gender constructs presented hereafter are binary not out an intent to marginalize but to present the literature on gender roles within these domains as the author found them.

### ***Role Conflict***

Roles, much like the theatrical reference, are a set of behaviors or tasks performed based on one's position within the larger ensemble. From a sociological perspective, the roles human beings play are patterned identities one takes on and follow mutually understood expectations (Biddle 1986). Because individuals often assume multiple roles or identities, it is inevitable that the performance of one role may interfere with the performance of the other. When this interference prevents the performance of both roles simultaneously, conflict occurs (Greenhaus and Buetell 1985). This conflict can be from *overload* from the sum demands of multiple roles or *interference* from an incongruity/incompatibility of the demands of multiple roles (Voydanoff 2002).

Roles within the family or at work have long since been the subject of inquiry, whether from organizational/work perspective or from a family studies perspective. As the family serves as a primary socialization agent by instructing children on norms, beliefs, and behaviors acceptable within the family itself and the society as a whole, each child learns their expected role(s) at home first (Wiggins, Wiggins, and Vander zaden 1994). The almost universal acceptance of this primary source of socialization in the family plays out the in the vast study of the impact of family socialization on outcomes for children into adulthood. Ranging from delinquency to social mobility, the literature places a premium on how children are socialized through direct role assignment, indirect role observation, and the interaction of family members within society as a whole.



### *Roles: Who Does What*

Familial roles each come with norms of behavior and tasks to perform-both of which are taught within a larger societal framework. In the U.S. context, role assignment has followed a hierarchical system that describes certain tasks for women and others for men, with the lion's share of domestic tasks assigned to women while men are assigned provider-related tasks such as yard or vehicle maintenance. Peterson del mar (2011) outlines the evolution of the American family system as one working in tandem with greater societal organization. As the means to support the family moved outside the home-a role assigned to male household members-so too did men leave the household to earn a wage while women remained in the household to perform other tasks.

Role assignment and the expectation to fulfill those roles was not (and in some ways still is not) limited to gender categorization. The *dirty* work within the household was assigned to those of the lowest status. For families that had servants (whether indentured or enslaved) the household chores involving cleaning dirty spaces was reserved for female servants. Enslaved women in the United States performed domestic tasks and were expected to perform their duties in a certain manner, such as Collins (2000) articulates in describing the "mammy" characterization of Black women. Even after the end of slavery and after the Civil Rights and Women's movements, Black and minority women still perform the majority of domestic work outside *their own home* (Chang 2000; Glenn 2010; Mattingly 1999; Smith 2011).

These poorer, minority women were expected to perform multiple roles and thus have experienced role overload and interference well before this conflict became a topic

of interest. Collins (1986) draws attention to the application of the interaction between work and family roles to Black family studies as a reference point that traditional work-family studies consider these spheres separate. While other scholars were considering the *emerging* working mothers, Collins argues that being a working mother is an expected role for Black women in order to support the family. Other studies review the expectations of minority women and their performance of domestic work outside their home where the belief that certain ethnicities are best suited for certain roles (Moras 2010; DeGenova and Ramos-Zaya 2003).

Minority families that have long had both men and women working outside the home are not immune to the division of labor within the home. On the contrary, for women in lower socio-economic classes, working outside the home is an additional role expectation to contribute to the collective family's economic needs. In addition to performing unpaid work tasks such as caring, cleaning, and cooking, the additional burden of performing paid labor-at a lower rate and often the same domestic tasks for others-provides a fertile ground for role conflict (Rubin 1994). For these families, there has always been an overlap between roles as a financial contributor (paid work) and roles as a domestic/care provider (unpaid work). Time and energy are required for both, and when the total demands of both roles exceed these resources, role conflict is the result.

### *Overlapping Role Performance*

The traditional division of labor, with separate paid and unpaid work spheres, is more myth than reality, as the overlap in most families demonstrates (Coontz 2016). The norm of collective contribution by all family members to meet the needs of the

households and the community existed before the Industrial Revolution (Kesler-Harris 2018). However, the coordinated institutional effort through the family, society, schools, and government since industrialization have continually pushed the narrative of separate spheres and responsibilities (Rossi 1973; Coontz 2016). While white men and women were pushed towards a single-income breadwinner model through this separation, women of color were expected to perform work within the domestic sphere of other women, as well as complete these same domestic tasks within their own household (Glenn 2010).

Regardless of state governance, work and societal policies focus on a breadwinner, typically men, and a home manager responsible for housework and care of the family members, typically women (Cooke 2011). This idealized man-as-breadwinner model placed the responsibility of care on wives and mothers--one that remained despite these wives and mothers entering workforce in greater numbers (Hochschild 1989). Whereas in 1960, 70% of households had only a male wage earner, this number has dropped to 31% as of 2012. As dual earning households comprise 60% of nuclear families, households with only mothers employed rose to 6% in 2012 (Pew Research Center 2015).

This rapid shift in who works has not included a rapid shift in who performed domestic tasks, and who is the primary caregiver. Though already a negotiated issue for working-class, minority families, this management and renegotiation of roles moved to prominence as white, middle-class families began to conduct these same negotiations. Additionally, as households are shifting from the nuclear ideal to varieties of generations and relation status, this responsibility for the household and care duties continues to rest

on women, and with it, the general expectation by researchers that work-family conflict varies along gender lines. The term *working mother* invokes the concept of role conflict in a way that assumes there is one, whereas the term *working father* less so (Buzzanell et. al 2005; Benard and Corell 2010; Garey 1999).

### ***Work-to-Family and Family-to-Work Conflict***

This overlap of role performance, or *spillover*, causes stress as the individual navigates how to manage the convergence by either location or, more commonly, by time demands. When work duties interfere with the performance of family duties, this is defined as work-to-family spillover. When family duties prevent the performance of work duties, this is family-to-work spillover. Spillover resulting from the limited resources of time or the physical inability to be in two places at once to perform the duty, is a common point of research into work-family conflict (Bianchi and Milkie 2010). Spillover references the requirements of one domain breaking its boundary into the other and recognizes the impracticality of separating family and work in daily life (Sok, Blomme, and Tromp 2014). Spillover can be positive or negative, such as the positive influence of job satisfaction on reduced stress at home or the negative effect of care-burden stress on work performance.

In addition to spillover, work-family *interference*, work-family *balance*, and work-life *balance* have often been used interchangeably in the literature. Interference, like spillover, refers to the lived experiences in one domain either positively or negatively impacting the lived experiences in the other (Greenhaus and Powell 2006; Greenhaus and Beutell 1985). More recent terms, such as *balance* or replacing family with *life* to

encompass a greater number of experiences, generated from management and organizational research motivated to find ways to reduce worker turnover and absenteeism (Kossek, Baltes, and Matthews 2011; Barnett 2005; Frone 2003). While considering the literature for these terms interchangeably, including the short-hand *work-family conflict*, this dissertation defines FWC and WFC from an interference, or negative, view.

### *Family-to-Work Conflict*

Family-to-work conflict occurs when the role responsibilities within the household spillover, interfere, or otherwise negatively impact work (Bellavia and Frone 2005). These responsibilities, such as staying home from work to care for a sick child, use resources of time previously set aside for work. Other instances of FWC can also involve emotional and mental strain, where energy at work is devoted to thinking about home (Stoiko, Strough, and Turiano 2016; Voydanoff 1988). While WFC has been heavily examined from an organizational studies perspective, with the goal of reducing negative outcomes, examination of FWC has been found to influence similar and unique negative outcomes (Minnotte and Yucel 2018).

In earlier scholarship of FWC, family role demands were generally associated with FWC (Frone, Yardley, and Markel 1997). While these findings are logical when discussing the directionality of the conflict, later scholarship determined that the interface between family and work can also be influenced by work strains (Voydanoff 2005). Schieman and Young (2011) found evidence of work characteristics and economic hardship increasing FWC, indicating that an oversimplification of the causes of conflict

in previous work may not fully explain the phenomenon. Given the overlap and interaction between these spheres in daily living for families, it is more likely that causes of FWC are not solely family role-based.

FWC scholarship, like its reciprocal, often still focuses on both the antecedents and outcomes from a work perspective. As in the studies above, focusing on antecedents external to the family such as working conditions and human-resource policies provide actionable information. Studies that do focus on role stressors within the family domain focus on primarily traditional gendered divisions of labor such as childcare or housework (Dilworth 2004; Crouter 1984). There is much less scholarship regarding the family domain itself, such as family structure. Studies that consider family structure have predominately focused on dual-earner couples or single parents and the FWC that ensues from meeting domestic sphere demands (Minnotte 2012; Voydanoff 1988). While research on various family structures and other outcomes continues, there is very little known about various family structures, their associated role demands, and FWC.

#### *Work-to-Family Conflict*

Work-to-family conflict, when work-related demands spillover or interfere with the performance of family roles, has had a greater focus in work-family conflict scholarship, both from organizational and sociological scholars. Dependence on work for income, coupled with less flexibility on when work duties are performed, contributes to this emphasis on WFC in work-family conflict literature. Work demands, including time, physical stress, and responsibilities, have been studied as antecedents for WFC (Staines and Pleck 1984; Parasuraman and Simmers 2001; Yucel 2017). As described above,

much of the literature on WFC focused on work role demands with WFC, and still dominates the literature (Frone, Yardley, and Markel 1997; Boyar et. al 2008).

This focus on work demands as antecedents has also been a focus for practitioners, as these antecedents are seen as malleable variables, such as workplace policies. Studies that focus altering work demands to lessen WFC found a positive relationship between more autonomy and flexibility at work and lower WFC, while more rigid work schedules and less flexible sick days were associated with higher WFC (Byron 2005; Michel et. al 2011). Michel and colleagues' (2011) meta-analysis of work-family conflict, spanning research from 1987 through 2008, argue that though work demands still directly impact WFC, there is sufficient evidence in the more recent literature that other factors from the family domain also impact WFC. These findings echo Voydanoff's (2005) work that both work and family domains have direct and indirect relationships with WFC and FWC.

While the literature does consider family demands and WFC, it is often from a role-strain approach and simplifies these family demands to caregiving. This focus on caregiving as a family role stressor also leans heavily on caring for young children, as parental status or presence of children in the home is a variable in several studies (Kelly and Voydanoff 1985; Grandey and Cropanzano 1999; Michel et. al 2011). This role demand, though in the family domain, has been found to affect WFC through the relationship of supervisor support and flexible work options to accommodate the time and energy role strains.

This greater focus on the caregiving role within the family domain also explains larger focus on gender in work-family conflict research. With women still expected and/or owning the responsibility for care of the family, even while working, interest in work-family conflict in both directions increased. Studies considered WFC as an antecedent to negative work outcomes such as absenteeism and higher turnover rates, particularly in the 1990s, lent practitioners to develop possible solutions such as *family-friendly policies* (Breugh and Frye 2008; Buffandi et. al 1999). While more recent research considers work-family conflict for both men and women, there is still a gendered expectation that women are more likely to experience higher FWC and men to experience higher WFC.

### ***Gender and Work-Family Conflict***

While work-family conflict literature began well before the oft-touted 1970s as the beginning of the majority of women entering the workforce, interest in this role conflict grew substantially as a result of a higher rate of women in the labor market. The long-held expectation of women's primary responsibility in the domestic sphere while men performed labor for wages outside the home has origins in the United States in industrialization and the move away from rural to urban life (Kesler-Harris 2018). This *man-as-breadwinner* model relied heavily on value of the wages to sustain and support a family (Cooke 2011). However, as will be discussed later, this discrete sphere segregation only applied to those in the rising middle class. Poor and working-class women who held households on their own as single or widowed mothers were not only expected to work but regulated and sought out by employers in certain factories (Kesler-



Harris 2018). As middle-class women entered the workforce in higher numbers in the 1970s, especially married women, the literature on work-family conflict increased with a distinct bend towards gender.

Gender, in particular gendered roles and the adherence to traditional conceptions or expectations of one's sex, is a key component of the vast majority of work-family conflict literature. With a few notable exceptions that focus on same-sex households, acceptance of either a traditional or egalitarian gender role orientation is a critical component for role conflict research and some of the literature's understanding of how gender influences one's perception of work-family conflict (Michel et. al 2011). The personal adherence to gendered roles and expected behavior has been found to influence work relationships, hiring decisions, social support, and the division of household labor (Davis and Greenstein 2020; Turner and Norwood 2013; Meisenbach 2010). With women still expected and/or owning the responsibilities for care of the family even while working, earlier work-family literature argued that men were more likely to experience WFC based on stronger work role demands, while women were more likely to report higher FWC for the reciprocal reasons (Voydanoff 1988).

Though the work-family conflict perspective emerges from role conflict theory as a working-women's issue, more recent studies find that men and women report similar levels of work-family conflict, with one study finding men reporting more work-family conflict when in a similar role (Bond et al. 2003). This finding is logical when conflict is viewed directionally as only work imposing on life/family goals. With the ideal narrative for men shifting to involved parenting (as well as intensive mothering for women), it can

be expected that reports of work impacting life/family would be similar for both women and men. However, when role theory is considered and the conflict is reversed, that of family impacting work, it is less likely for men to report similar findings. Studies looking into this spillover effect found some similarities and some differences along gender lines (Keene and Quadagno 2004; Milkie and Peltola 1999). Keene and Quadagno found similarities in perceived conflict, but the differences in where balance/satisfaction lie along gendered norms. As women still retain the role of primary caregiver, they are more likely to experience family restraints on their work role than men. For those managing multiple roles, such as caregiver to aging parents or young grandchildren, women may report more occurrences of family encroaching on work than their male counterparts.

### ***Race and Work-Family Conflict***

While gender has long been a consideration in work-family literature, other social constructs such as race occupy far less of the studies for work, family, and work-family conflict. Much of work-family conflict research, as discussed above, centered on a separate spheres concept, with women in particular *choosing* or opting in (or out) of the labor market (Roos 2010). The necessity of work for many minorities, women included, prevents such a choice, particularly for minority women who also shoulder the burden of supporting a family alone (Parker 2005). In fact, as Collins (1994) articulates, the concept of work and family as separate spheres does not describe the lived experience or women of color. Whether through legal, societal, or economic pressures, minorities in the United States have long negotiated the overlapping of work and family and may very well articulate this experience differently because of it.

Historically, race has played a large part in family research, in particular family structure and economic well-being. Various laws and societal practices not only forced minority men and women into the workforce, but often limited the type of employment resulting in a race wage gap most felt by women of color (Romero and Perez 2016; Padavic and Reskin 2002). The legal requirement for employment coupled with a legitimate economic need to provide for the family placed Black households into a more interwoven work-family space well ahead of their white peers (Roos 2010). Whether from lived experiences or necessity, attitudes towards work and family among minority households have consistently been found to differ to that of white households (Landry 2000; Roos 2009).

This different orientation towards work and family for minority households not only impacts who works outside the home, but also who provides care within the household. The literature is vast on family structure and responsibilities and how this may vary across race or ethnicity (Collins 1990; Minnotte 2012; Peek et. al 2004). Additionally, studies regarding work and race focus on the prevalence of economic need and a pooling of care and economic resources (Burr and Mutchler 1999; Reyes 2018). However, there is less understanding about work-family conflict when it comes to race.

While understanding the social construct of race with regards to work and family is prevalent in sociological study, the consideration of race in work-family conflict has often focused on race as a cultural proxy, where collectivism and interdependence are expected as more prevalent among minority (and immigrant) families (Romero and Perez 2016; Tsai et.al 2015; Crowley 2015). Similarly, studies also take a more intersectional

approach, combining gender and race as in Crowley's (2015) study on motherhood ideologies that pit mothers against each other based on waged work outside the home and those who work at home. Other studies that consider work and family through a parenting perspective consider the intersection of race and class, such as Lareau's (2003) *Unequal Childhoods*. Studies that specifically consider race and work-family conflict more often consider class, or socioeconomic status in an effort to explain work-family conflict.

### ***Class and Work-Family Conflict***

The economics of work and family life have long been set aside as one of the major stressors in everyday life, particularly among families from the working-class and working poor. Much of work-family literature focuses on the economic pressures to sustain the family and the various methods of gathering resources to meet that need. Further research has examined how economic hardship, or the perception of reduced resources, cause increased stress for the individual and stress within relationships at home (Burris 1991; Barnett 1994; Minnotte and Yucel 2018; Voydanoff 1988). As discussed in earlier sections, the necessity of work to provide for the family, whether as a single adult with dependent children, dual-earners, or extended kin networks to pool resources began well before the 1970s for working-class and poorer families. Work-family conflict along class lines, much like gender and race above, has been found to differ based on status.

Work-family conflict studies that consider class have often treated work-family conflict as an event that produces negative outcomes at a higher rate for poorer families. These outcomes range from reduced psychological and physical well-being due to stress to transferred outcomes on children within these homes (Williams 2010; Snyder,

McLaughlin, and Findeis 2006; Andrade and Mikula 2014). Many more studies have found that economic class, and particularly economic hardship, generates stress across role domains (Scheiman and Young 2011; Byron 2005). This role strain, particularly for individuals who ascribe to a breadwinner model, is caused by not only a failure to meet their work role but also in fulfilling their family role as the breadwinner (Kesler-Harris 2018; Meisenbach 2010; Medved 2009).

Working-class employees, characterized as much by income as by the type of work performed, have less control of their schedule, less flexibility to manage competing personal demands, and navigate work-family conflict in different ways from middle- and upper middle-class families (Williams 2010; Pugh 2016). For families in more precarious economic situations, the stress related to resource pooling can define other roles such as parenting. In one study of young adult exposure to work-family conflict considers the adaptive strategies transferred from parents based upon class (Ammons and Kelly 2008). Finding a decrease in social mobility in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, coupled with a changing work and family dynamic, Ammons and Kelly (2008) found that social class predicted greater likelihood to encounter work-family conflict at earlier stages, but to also use more complex strategies of living with family or multiple jobs to make ends meet. Other studies confirm that access to conflict mitigation tools such as flextime or paid leave are more available and utilized in higher-income, professional occupations (Gerstel and McGonagle 1999; Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002). For working-class and working-poor families, access to these resources is limited, and a higher reliance on family networks as a safety net is more likely (Edin and Lein 1997).

### *Age and Work-Family Conflict*

While much has been made of generational differences in the media and across multiple disciplines, understanding generational differences regarding work-family conflict have only recently entered the literature. Generational cohorts-those born and growing up within a time frame and context-have been found to share attitudes and behavior in qualitatively different areas particularly because of shared social factors within a given time frame (Scott 2000). The naming convention for generational cohorts is often tied to these temporal-social events: baby boomers as those born immediately following World War II and millennials who reached adulthood at the turn of the millennium. This generational cohort effect has explained similar attitudes and responses towards social life, including attitudes towards work and family (Beutell and Wittig-Berman 2008).

Generational differences in approach towards work-family conflict and work-life balance have garnered much attention within the work domain, particularly as generations age out of working. Recent studies from an organizational perspective have found little evidence of a reported divide in generational attitudes, but instead have found more evidence that these generations share concerns about the work-family interface (Kunreuther 2003). While the popular myth is that older generations are more traditionally minded in their attitudes towards work and family, evidence of this in the literature is mixed. Some studies continue to find evidence of generational shift in attitudes towards work-family conflict, such as Generation X-ers less trusting of workspace and a desire for more work-family balance due to childhood exposure to

negative parental (baby boomers) work-family balance (Smola and Sutton 2002; Strauss and Howe 1991). Other studies that compare attitudes towards work-family conflict between millennials and baby boomers also argue for a trend towards a greater desire for *balance* and higher anticipation of instability in the work domain (Erhart et. al 2012).

Understanding how generation cohorts experience WFC and FWC can provide additional insight into how individuals experience this conflict in everyday life, but how families may experience this conflict as well. Elder's considerable work on life courses, noting that the lived experience of the individual is reliant on multiple principles. The times in which individuals grow up, family structure, personal agency, and the linkages of shared relationships all play a part in the individual's life course. (Elder 1975; Elder and George 2015).

Children experience and observe work-family conflict from the adults in their household. As class responses to work-family conflict are passed from generation to generation, it is possible that generations may experience work-family conflict in similar ways. The literature also provides some support that younger generations adapt new attitudes towards work and family-as the resulting work-family conflict-based on the experiences of older generations. Bennet et. al (2017) found generational differences for FWC more pronounced for older generations in one of the only studies to specifically consider work-family conflict, generational differences, and life stage. As this study points out, there is a gap in the literature regarding generational cohort experiences overall which this dissertation will look to explain.

The increase in generational studies, particularly of the baby boomers (1946-1964), and their experiences with both work and family has also expanded research into the different ways that families respond to work-family conflict. Trend studies between generations also indicate a growing acknowledgement of work-family conflict across gender, race, and class lines, disproving the separate spheres model from earlier literature and recognizing trends towards more participation in both spheres by more individuals for longer periods of time. The aging of this large generation has opened research into expanding family structure to meet caregiving and economic needs for an emerging “sandwich” generation that is caring for aging parents and children and working grandparents whose adult children and grandchildren (re)join their household.

Though the nuclear family structure remains one of the more common structures within the U.S., the variations of this structure, such as single parent, cohabitation, or same-sex couples with or without children, are more often the structures considered for work-family conflict in the literature (Snyder, McLaughlin, and Findeis 2006; Minnotte 2012; Ragins and Cornwell 2007). A common factor in the structures most studied is the focus on the parenting roles within the household, as families with minor-aged children report higher levels of stress due to time and energy demands. While these studies do consider non-traditional family structures, in most cases they are variants of a two-generation household. This dissertation seeks to understand how *three*-generation household experience work-family conflict and provide a fuller understanding of work-family (role) conflict when those roles are less defined.



## **Multigenerational Households**

Depending on how far back historically one wants to claim, nuclear families—those of parents with minor-age children, were not the norm. Prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, industrialized nations often had households beyond the nuclear family (Ruggles 2007). Historically speaking, familial bonds insisted upon the *taking in* of family and for many, this still holds true. The sentiment of keeping families together towards a more nuclear model occurs in line with industrialization, but also with the narrative of making one's own way in the world, particularly for men. Engels and Parsons both discuss the relationship of the nuclear family and industrialization as a symbiotic one, while contemporary social research by the mid-to late twentieth century see this two-generation nuclear family as the norm, or reference group (Pleau 2012). Though two generation households are still the majority in the United States, greater variety in non-nuclear families continues to grow, most notably with the growth in the last twenty years of the multigenerational household.

## ***Family Structure Redefined***

The structure of families and its impact on individuals has long been a subject of research, as well as the changes in those structures over time (Coale et al. 1965, Brown et al. 2015; Deleire and Kalil 2002). Where 19<sup>th</sup> century multigenerational households are linked to agricultural property ownership and a tie to the family land, the urbanization and industrialization in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century detaches the family from its landed property ties, and its inheritance (Ruggles 2011). As independent living for nuclear families became the norm into the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of

multigenerational families dropped to just 16% of elderly adults living with their children in 1980 from a high in 1850 of 70% (Ruggles and Brower 2007). So pervasive is the ideal of the nuclear, two-parent and children family, that deviations from this norm are studied using this as the reference structure (Deleire and Kalil 2002).

Through other socio-economic changes in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the family structure shifted from the nuclear family ideal into a variety of structures. Not only an increase in single-parent- two-generation households, but the re-emergence of inter-generational and multigenerational households. Multigenerational households are those where more than two generations of related persons; this may include a “skipped generation” such as grandchildren residing with grandparents or two generations of adult children and their aging parents.

The interest in multigenerational households has coincided with the increase in reported multigenerational households. The Pew Research Center trends report from 2010 compares a high of 25% of US households as multigenerational in 1940, decreasing to 12% in 1980 and returning to 16% by 2008 (Hall 2010). Demographic and population research have focused on trends for these changes in family structure, with most arguing that the increase is more common in disadvantaged groups such as race, class, and gender (Cohen and Casper 2002; Barnett 2008; Reyes 2018). Social researchers have also looked at where this family structure is more prevalent, finding a trend in urban/suburban spaces based upon economic constraints and a pooling of resources or to help extended family members in need of assistance (Snyder, McLaughlin, and Findeis 2006; Wiemers and Bianchi 2015; Pierret 2006).

More recent research describes the re-emergence of multigenerational families as returning of adults in the middle generation or remaining in the parents' households for longer periods of time. In 2012, young adults (25-34) surpassed elderly adults (85 and older) as more likely to live in a multigenerational household (Fry and Passel 2014). Researchers assuming older adults were needing assistance from their adult children, termed these households as "sandwich generations" that were responsible for supporting both their parents and their children (Marks 2006). Still others describe multigenerational households in this growing group in terms of grandparenting and the economic power shift to older adults versus younger adults (Kahn, Goldschneider, and Garcia-Maglano 2013; Livingston 2013). This re-emergence of multigenerational households has spurred research to not only identify what factors predict the change, but also the repercussions, both positive and negative, for family life.

### ***Family Roles Redefined***

The changing family structure is redefining roles for adult children and their aging parents. As families move to structures beyond a nuclear structure-with two generations consisting of adults and their offspring--the spheres overlap in unique and unexpected ways. Adult children who assume care or financial responsibility for their gaining parents renegotiate their roles between themselves and their now dependent parents. Conversely, grandparents who bring their adult children (and grandchildren) back into their home must renegotiate the role of parent and child in the context of the elder parent remaining head of household. As older generations are not only living longer, but often continuing to lead a household of their now adult children and grandchildren, grandmothers are

increasing experiencing an extended period of this responsibility to include providing care for the next generation while also working (Barnett 2008; Harrington 2014). Some research has found the positive benefit of the aging grandparents in the home for working parents as the silver lining to the predominant literature discussing the additional pressures on sandwich generation women to take care of both their parents and their children (Ingersoll-Dayton et al. 2001).

The care responsibility described in multigenerational households, whether grandparent-headed or the sandwich generation scenario, still remains primarily the responsibility of the women present. Research into the impacts on women caring for elderly parents demonstrate that 33% adjust work hours, reject opportunities to advance, or switch to part-time, with one in six exiting the workforce entirely (National Center on Caregiving 2015). Over 66% of informal caregivers are female relatives of the aging population, 49 years old, and working outside the home. The extension of care responsibilities for women with aging parents is also increasing, as both elderly parents live longer, and the next generation continues to work longer as well.

#### *More Roles to Perform*

In comparison to nuclear households with a traditional division of labor, non-traditional households still must provide care, income, and necessities to all family members. One such motivation for the combining of households is a coping mechanism for economic instability. The rise of multigenerational households brought together for socio-economic reasons has impacted those disadvantaged populations most: low-income, immigrant, and minority families. The pooling of resources for the

disadvantaged is not a new phenomenon, and the combining of generations is a cost-effective alternative for childcare for working parents (Barnett, 2008). On the other end of the spectrum, low-income women are half as likely to have benefits for home health assistance for aging family members, adding another responsibility to Hochschild's *Second Shift* (National Center on Caregiving 2015). In addition to the *first and second shifts*, Gerstel (2000) describes a "third shift" of additional care provided for those outside the household. One way to manage this additional shift that may occur from aging parents or struggling adult children/grandchild is co-habitation. For some, the communal living provides non-relational extensions positive benefits for the community and the individual, such as the case of *othermothering* (Collins 1990). For many others, the repercussions are an increased burden on the psychological-wellbeing and overall health of working parents in the attempt to shoulder the burden of work and family.

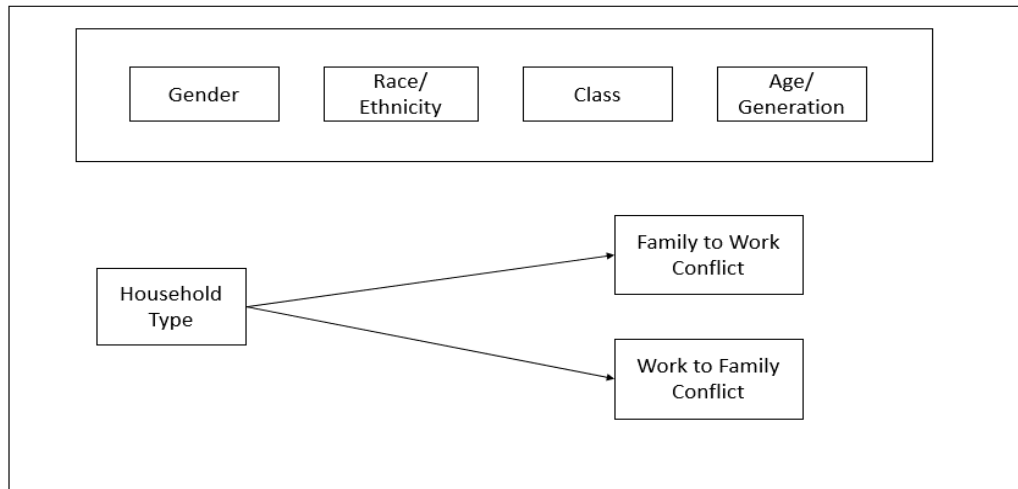
#### *More Role Performers*

With multiple adults in differing family structures working, there is an increase work- family conflict, regardless of gender, though the prevailing literature points to this as more common for women (Aycan and Eskin 2005). The significance of the friction between these two structures cannot be overstated, as both are the primary means through which men and women spend their time. Understanding the roles to which family members ascribe to can explain how differences and similarities in perceptions of work-family and family-work conflict occur. When these roles are extended and re-shaped due to the household's generational structure, will these differences still hold? As households expand to meet needs or pool resources, adult members in particular assume additional

roles individually, such as grandparents assuming after-school childcare while parents are working but ceding primary care duties after they return.

With potentially more adults working in these expanded households, the burden of providing income may be shouldered by more family members, potentially reducing conflict. The literature provides ample studies on work-family conflict for families and particularly among women, but research regarding these perceptions for multigenerational families is limited, even while interest in multigenerational familial structure is increasing. If role conflict explains work-family conflict, then do additional and/or larger roles increase this conflict? *How does work-family conflict differ for multigenerational households as compared to their nuclear household counterparts?*

As Figure 1 illustrates, gender, race, class, and age cohort all serve as socializing constructs to position the individual within the spillover zone between work and family spheres. These also serve as mechanisms through which roles within the household and how they are performed are transferred across generations. While past studies have shown that gender in particular influences reported work-family conflict, little is understood about the socialization mechanisms for those roles, nor can they account for more recent studies where there is little difference in men's and women's work-family conflict. This dissertation looks at two possible mechanisms for socializing roles within the work-family spillover zone that may offer further explanation.



**Figure 1: Household Type and Work-Family Conflict Model**

### **Obligation and Responsibility: Socialized Roles**

Positions and roles within a household are well-studied within family research and serve as a practical visual of the product of socialization (Donnelly et al. 2016). The family structure itself, reliant on kin-relationships and often shared needs, supports an ordering of tasks to support the family as a unit. These tasks are often grouped together and divided to share the labor. The literature is vast on the topic of a gendered division of labor (as discussed above) but determining what those roles look like in day-to-day activities or held beliefs is less so. This dissertation considers two mechanisms that interpret the relationship between these household roles and the conflict from these roles: obligation and responsibility.

#### ***Obligation TO Whom***

Obligation, defined as *a duty or commitment* one is *morally* or legally bound to do, is similar to other powerful means of tying a person to someone or something (Oxford

2020). Like an oath, covenant, or contract, an obligation is presented or placed upon the person. The type of binding is dependent upon to whom the obligation is owed. A *sense of obligation* is a feeling that something is right to do, and an obligation is owed to someone. The active subject in an obligation is the person or entity *to whom* the obligation is owed. As a feeling or sense, obligation is an understanding, belief, or attitude. To understand how obligation may mediate work-family conflict, this study considers obligation to each social institution: family and work.

#### *Obligated to Care for Family*

Family obligations, whether in respecting elders or performing certain activities, are socialized and passed to younger generations. Parents pass a sense of obligation through their socialization roles to instruct children on important beliefs or skills (Parents are key socialization agents from whom children learn important beliefs and skills (Maccoby 1992; Parke and Buriel 2008). This socialization includes norms, customs, behavioral and interactional expectations, and specific values. An example of such values that play into family socialization and obligation is that of interdependence and independence.

Families that endorse interdependence encourage obligation values and behaviors, both of which contribute to a belief in connection and more communal activities in the family (Tsai et. al 2015). These obligation values center on the importance of support and respect for family members and often translate to into care tasks such as looking after siblings, completing chores or work around the home to contribute (Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam 1999). Much research has focused on the socialization of interdependence as a



cultural value in families through imbedding practices, particularly those of Hispanic and Asian families (Hughes and Chen 1997; Park and Burriel 2008). This sense of familial obligation is at the basis of common opinion regarding why some families may prefer multigenerational households for cultural reasons, whether or not this is actually the case.

In contrast, American and many European cultures socialize a sense of independence, self-reliance, and stepping out on one's own (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Moving away from home, regardless of socialization, is treated as a milestone marker of adulthood, both socially and academically. Though the practice of imparting family obligations is usually tied to an interdependence model, to assume that familial obligation does not apply in an independence model is a misleading either/or logic. Even with the predominance of nuclear families throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, family obligation to care for one another continues, regardless of co-residence to meet needs (Nock, Kingston, and Holian 2008). Much of the research for the sandwich generation stems not from multigenerational households, but from well-being for caregivers who often don't reside with aging/ailing family members (Treas and Mazumdar 2004; Logan and Spitze 1996; Reynolds 2020).

The specific belief that an adult child should provide care or assistance to their parents is considered a strong familial obligation (Silverstein, Gans, and Yang 2006). And, as a growth in multigenerational households that are grandparent-headed illustrates, older (grand)parents also feel this obligation to extend support to their adult children by providing assistance in times of need (Seltzer, Lau, and Bianchi 2012). This norm of

familial obligation appears regardless of an independence or interdependence cultural socialization but may vary by degree.

### *Obligated to Work*

Obligation to work, in contrast to obligation to family, can be understood in two forms: an obligation to be in the labor force as a productive member of society, or an obligation to work in order to provide. In the first form, Weber's (1905) *Protestant Work Ethic* is helpful to illustrate that persons are expected, *nee obligated*, to work. This obligation towards work is not unique to Christianity, but can be found across other religions including Islam, Buddhism, and Judaism, as a way to contribute towards human dignity and society (Furnham et. al 1993). In societies that value independence and self-reliance, a common value encourages work as an obligation (Parboteeah, Hoegl, and Cullen 2009). Though a useful concept for understanding obligation to work, this study focuses on the latter form, that of an obligation to work/provide.

The obligation to work as a means to provide is tied to familial obligation, as it is an extension of both a socialization to provide for self and your immediate family first. Work, as a means to provide financially for the household, is a socialized value placed on work that serves as both an explanation and motivation for who works. As a motivation within the interdependence model, all members are obliged to work to contribute to a family safety net (Bengtson 2001; Swartz et al. 2011). The obligation to provide for the family is also valued in independence models in that nuclear families are expected to be self-supporting. Whether invoking a breadwinner (single or majority financial supporter) or a multi-earner model, the value of providing for the family is an *obligation to work*.

To be *obliged to work* is often the language and explanation for many women to enter the workforce. Damaske (2011) considered this language to describe different women's narratives about feeling obliged to work *for the family*. When researchers invoke this work obligation, the studies bear out the obligation comes from the family to provide and occurs most often in families with lower socio-economic status (Budig and Hodges 2010; Hakim 2002). It is the obligation to work and provide for the family that is at the center of the breadwinner model—that one (usually male) is obligated to provide for the family while the other adult (usually women) provides care and private, domestic support (Ciccia and Bleijenbergh 2014). Economic factors are not only most often cited for dual-earner families perceived obligation to provide, but also as an obligation to the family itself as a role to perform.

As the literature shows, role socialization comes with obligations to the family and to work, and though some research looks at these roles individually and partnered, less is understood about these roles and their associated obligations when multiple generations co-reside. *Given that family members can be obliged to the family and to work/provide for the family, how do these senses of obligation alter work-family conflict?* Do adult daughters have a higher sense of familial obligation from adult sons, or grandmothers from grandfathers? And if the obligation to provide is also incumbent on the family's collective socioeconomic status and needs, does this obligation add or detract from work-family conflict? This is the first of two mediators between household position and work-family conflict this dissertation seeks to understand for these multigenerational families.

### ***Responsibility FOR Whom***

Where obligation is described as a belief, attitude, or sense of duty, responsibility is the *assumption* of that duty. To be responsible for something/someone is to own the action, as in responsibility to perform tasks related to a job, upkeep of owned items, etc. Though literature often interprets these concepts as synonyms, the nuanced difference is important for this research. Responsibilities are inherent with roles or jobs that include care or management of people, related or otherwise, and the active subject is the one who has responsibility versus the one to whom an obligation is owed. To understand how assumed responsibilities mediate work-family conflict, this dissertation will consider responsibilities to both family and work in turn.

### ***Family Responsibilities***

Family responsibilities encompass a wide variety of tasks in the present literature and has long been a key explanatory factor in work-family research. While the term family responsibility implies tasks related to the family, such as caregiving and bringing up children, it has come to include almost all tasks as part of household management and domestic life (Boye, Hallden, and Magnusson 2017). Domestic work, including housework, cooking, and shopping are assumed responsibilities of caring for the family, as these tasks are related to other care efforts (Noonan 2001; Hersch and Stratton 2002). As the definition of responsibility above includes what the individual takes on, family responsibilities often include all of these.

These responsibilities, as part of the domestic sphere, are also socialized along with roles in order to instruct what each position is responsible for. Feminist scholarship

has long since presented the gendering of these responsibilities, arguing that due to the biological capacity for childbearing-a nature-based argument-women are predisposed to care responsibilities (Cooke 2011; Federici 2012; Benard and Correll 2010). The expectation that family responsibilities are tasks managed by parents/adult family members are performed by female relatives-mothers most especially-is not a bias of only men. As Correll, Benard, and Paik (2007) found, women reviewing resumes for mothers were also gender stereotyping similarly to male reviewers. This study and others point to socialization in a greater context of what primary responsibilities are expected of the mother role. When performing the role of wife and/or mother, across cultural and socioeconomic lines, the mother is socialized as primary caregiver-*responsible for family*.

This division of labor, in a larger sense, places family responsibilities traditionally in the domestic or private sphere, and the breadwinner (working adult) as responsible for providing finances to manage that private sphere from work performed in the public sphere. While a full division of labor in a traditional household would be described as such, the reality for most families in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is some family responsibility and some work responsibility regardless of the role in the household. The simultaneous management of these responsibilities are often at the root of work-family conflict.

### *Work Responsibilities*

Work responsibilities, those tasks that the individual assumes or takes on within that role, also can encompass a wide variety of tasks in the way family responsibilities does. Work responsibilities can be explicit, such a production quotas or number of direct reports/subordinates managed, or implicit such as being available during certain hours

regardless if salaried or hourly-waged. While much research considers work responsibilities as a tool within the organizational culture, work-family research primarily focuses on work responsibilities in opposition to family responsibilities (van der Lippe and Lippenyi 2018; Ranson 2012; Ladge and Greenburg 2015). If responsibilities are tied to roles, then work-family conflict must consider the responsibilities of both roles.

Work responsibility, like work obligation, comes in two forms: responsibilities for people and tasks while performing work and the responsibility for working. Put another way, assuming (financial) responsibility for the family, work responsibility applies pressure and role performance twice over for those who assume this responsibility. In the first place, there are responsibilities at work to meet and the responsibility at home to work. It is this conflict, understanding the responsibilities within the private/domestic sphere and public/work sphere both pertain to work, and the status that accompanies that role. As Kazmerczik and Karasiewicz (2018) described the responsibility of becoming an economic breadwinner (role) within a family is valued particularly for men, and this additional work responsibility is meeting their family responsibilities as well. An increase in responsibility within the work sphere often brings an increase in breadwinning at home, thereby increasing the responsibilities felt by the individual.

As work responsibilities also denote class-status (working/blue collar versus middle/white collar), work responsibility may be felt and assumed differently based on that status. While many workplaces expect compartmentalization of work and family life, with additional status comes additional opportunity to integrate these responsibilities in much the same way that the breadwinner's work fulfills familial responsibilities. Paek

(2020) considered how jobs with the ability for computer automation in the late 1990s and early 2000s would permit more schedule flexibility for some occupations more than others, particularly trade-based jobs. Indeed, one study of financial service managers, who primarily conduct their duties via phone or online showed that involuntary work-from-home programs actually *increased* work-family conflict (Lapierre et al. 2015).

These studies demonstrate that flexibility in work responsibilities is a class-based resource, one less likely afforded to part-time, working-class employees. The mixed blessing of work-from-home programs, often touted as the *solution* for busy parents needing to bring in income, is often that time-based conflict is reduced as responsibilities can both be met, but strain-based conflict from managing concurrent responsibilities increases (Lapierre et al. 2015). For those unable to work-from-home, the hybrid family/work responsibility for financial support is also a strain to not only meet expectations of work but to also maintain income security (Minnotte and Yucel 2018). Reliance on this income is all the more acute for families with lower socio-economic status, leading to other strategies to manage stress and conflict-such as combining households to manage resources.

### **Household Formation as a Stress Management Strategy**

For many people, family is the unfailing safety net; a constant resource from which to draw support from. Research into how family structure shapes work-family outcomes remains focused on mitigation strategies that either businesses can employ or government support programs (Clark 2000; Eagle et al. 1997; Voydanoff 2002). Research that does look into family structure oftentimes looks at outcomes on children or the

parent-child structure as the comparative variable (Minnotte 2012). While Minnotte's findings are focused on single-parents' management of resources as a predictor of work-family conflict, this dissertation focuses on the family structure itself as a possible resource. To understand how household (re)structure is viewed as a resource for families managing work-family conflict, a brief understanding of conservation of resources theory is helpful. Applying this framework to stress management for multigenerational households, this study will look to understand if these formations are a resource tapped by families under external stress and which individuals are predisposed to see these formations as a resource.

### ***Conservation of Resources Theory and Work-Family Conflict***

Research into work-family conflict has often occurred across disciplines, including likely candidates such as organizational management and social policy as well as psychology and to some extent economics. The overall labor force has changed from the sole-earner/breadwinner to include dual-earners, single parents, and older workers remaining in the labor force longer. In many cases, these employees bring additional role conflict with them, particularly in the case where their employment is a much-needed source of income. These employees trade a time resource (caregiving) for a financial resource (income). While some employers do not consider work-family policies, the work-family interface becomes the concern of managers and organizations seeking to keep good employees, and policymakers looking to keep family members financially supported through employment rather than programs. Many of these varied disciplines agree that work-family conflict resulting from inter-role conflict produce stress for the



individual and by extension, the household. Given this, several studies have looked to Hobfoll's (1989) conservation of resources (COR) framework to explain how this stress occurs and how it might be mitigated.

Hobfoll's conservation of resources model was originally derived to understand psychological stress. Hobfoll (1989) proposed that understanding personal resources, and the gain or loss of those resources is the key to understanding stress. Such resources include objects, personal characteristics, conditions, or energies and can take the form of employment, status, personal skills, or social ties. A loss (or threatened loss) of any of these resources not only produces stress, but the process of gaining resources through investment of other resources can also prove stressful. Resources have both instrumental and symbolic value and contribute to one's identity (Hobfoll 1989). Role conflict can create two types of stress, intra- or inter-role conflict. Intra-role stress occurs when there is a conflict between the demands within the role one performs. In the work-family context, this can manifest as the competing care demands for someone looking after children and ailing adults or when completing the tasks within a role at work prevent the completion of other tasks assigned. Inter-role conflict occurs when the demands of work interfere with family demands, or vice versa (Herman and Gyllstrom 1977). As discussed earlier, the expectations of role performance come not only from socialization, but an internalization of that role. When these expectations cannot be met, especially in the case of role conflict, the resultant stress is a motivator to conserve resources.

This model is especially helpful in understanding what individuals under stress are most likely to do: minimize overall loss of resources and protect against further loss

of resources. The proactive gaining of resources when not under stress, the proverbial saving for a rainy day, goes beyond financial resources and includes investing in relationships. Energies in particular serve as resources that enable the gathering (or replacing) of other resources. Money, time, and knowledge are energies that work towards other resources (Hobfoll 1989). This model not only applies to reduce stress but offers a useful framework for understanding work-family conflict.

Given the rational, almost transactional, view of this framework, it is easy to see why it is a popular model to employ for work-family conflict, particularly from an employee's well-being point of view (Hammer et al. 2016; Mullen, Kelley, and Kelloway 2008). Conservation of resources has been used to explain intra- and inter-role stress, particularly in the domain of work-family conflict because it can account for the resultant stressors with a more complex view of the predictors. Researchers have followed this framework to explain job burnout, work and/or family dissatisfaction, psychological tension, and a variance in responses to external or environmental stressors (Hobfoll and Shirom 2001; Wright and Cropanzano 1998; Carvalho and Chambel 2018). Because individual differences are seen as a difference in resources available, this model also proves useful in explaining how unique combinations of resources are valued or utilized in times of stress.

While much of the research looks at work-family conflict from a predominately stress management view, other studies focus on the process of gaining resources as a means to manage/prevent stress. A net gain in resources in the work-family context is more often referred to as work-family enrichment (Greenhaus and Powell 2006). For the

current study, household formation may be a blend of counteracting stress while gaining other resources. One such scenario may be the economic stress of a loss of income that brings adult children to move back in with aging parents who in turn may provide childcare. While work-family enrichment is possible, most of the literature indicates that enrichment is more often secondary to mitigating work-family conflict.

### ***Family as Stressor and Resource***

When under stress from inter-role conflict, it may seem counterintuitive to turn *towards* one of the sources as a potential resource, but in the case of family, this may make more sense. While roles within the family context may be at odds with the those at work, the socialization of familial roles, particularly in an interdependence model, is to depend upon one another-to see the family as a resource and to be a resource for others within the family (Peterson del mar 2011). Whether a resource of last resort or the first solution for need-shortfalls, re-structuring the household to meet needs is often the only option available-particularly for families without options. If family is a resource (as well as a resource drain), then the multigenerational household formation can be a resource against external stressors, while creating other stressors. To understand this simultaneous source and drain concept, this study will examine this duality as a predictor for mitigating external stressors. Having gained an understanding of family obligation in the previous section, this dissertation will look at how this obligation to receive family can be a resource to protect against further losses but potentially not without cost.

### *The Obligation to Care for Family*

Robert Frost's (1914) poem, *The Death of the Hired Man*, contained the following stanza regarding home/family: "Home is the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you in." As discussed above, the obligation to *take in* family is socialized not only through the family interaction, but the roles and positions within the home. This obligation to take one in, for adult children returning to their parents' home in times of economic struggle, is an extension of the obligation for parents to care for their children. Research on these extended parenting scenarios have brought to light the struggle for the oldest generation to balance the obligation they have to help their children, while managing the guilt and fault about perhaps not preparing them to properly adhere to ideal norms of adulthood: independent living and self-reliance (Seltzer, Lau, and Bianchi 2012). This ability to provide for self and others as an adult also explains how adult children who receive their aging parents are accepted as an extension of the norm.

It is an ideological norm to return care to aging parents, a perceived obligation, and in some ways, an *investment* of resources for the future. Investing resources of care, time, and money to draw from in old age is expected and at the heart of the "support bank model" (Antonucci 1990). For the adult child who takes in aging parents, they are fulfilling an obligation to support their parents as they were supported in their youth. For aging parents, this is an investment in social ties so that they can be provided for in the event their own resources are no longer available. While other investments, such as pension plans and retirement savings are also considered resources by adults to prepare

for their older years, increasing costs of living and decreasing availability of pensions have created a gap in support for this generation-even when proactively invested in early on.

Care for the elderly is also treated differently than care for children, in that the need for care reduces as the child matures whereas the need for care as humans age only grows. Federal spending on programs for the elderly, including Social Security and Medicare, represented 25% of the federal budget in 2019 (Congressional Budget Office 2019), or roughly \$19,000 per person over 65. Reviewing spending on the elderly in 2004 for long-term care, the CBO also found that this only accounts for 55% of the funds needed for long-term care, leaving a balance that must be filled through either personal retirement savings or private insurance (CBO 2004). For aging adults fiscally unable to cover this balance, informal care-provided by nonprofessional unpaid caregivers-is the only option.

Elder care of this informal nature has become of greater research interest across disciplines with the aging population boom as the baby boomer generation (those born between 1946-1964) reaches 65 (Chappell and Funk 2011). Growing from 35 million in 2000 to 54 million as of 2019 (U.S. Census Bureau 2019), the social characteristics, labor force participation, and care for this generation is no longer concern only for the family members, but for larger society. Some literature considering the care of an aging population has found the benefits of informal care networks based on family for well-being, both in health and quality of life by combating the effects of isolation (Johnson and Weiner 2006; Bookman and Kimbriel 2011). Other literature focuses more on the

strain and stress on family members *providing* that care: who they are and what leads them towards that decision (Pierret 2006; Folbre 2012; Grigoryeva 2017). For those adult children that bring elderly parents into their household, research has primarily focused on the strains of meeting competing care demands for sandwich families (intra-role conflict) or competing work and family demands to continue paid labor while also caring for aging parents (inter-role conflict).

While *care* is a catch-all phrase that often covers all forms of providing care- emotional care, caregiving, tasks required to care- caregiving itself requires different skills and emotions based on the person to whom one is providing care (Tronto 1993). While some household labor universally meets needs, such as cleaning tasks or household management, cooking can vary based on the dietary needs of the individual. Similarly, the kinds of physical help needed to assist a full-grown adult are different from a young child. Providing care to an infant to teach skills as they mature is vastly different than helping an ailing parent who has lost those physical or mental skills. Caring for aging parents while also navigating care for children brings new stressors on the resources of time and energy. Since taking on additional care responsibilities is not conserving resources but using more of them, there must be other motivation for bringing aging parents into the household.

These sandwich generation households, where the head of household generation is the adult child, are not without other stressors. Negotiating the changes in the parent-child relationship, managing discussions of care for (grand)children in the home, and negotiating caregiving for aging parents each bring additional management of other

resources to mitigate the parent's loss of resources, such as finances or health. As resources alone cannot explain the bringing in of aging parents, and the additional role of elder caregiver, into the household, one possibility is the sense of obligation. While this may explain how sandwich (parent-led) households form, understanding a sense of responsibility to the family may explain how grandparent-led households form. While both types have multiple generations in the residence, whose residence it is can be an indicator as to the level of assumed responsibility for the family and further role conflict when incongruencies occur.

### *The Responsibility to Provide for Family*

Understanding the sense of responsibility to provide/work as another explanation of family structure considers the norm that family takes care of family-accessing a support network in times of need. As research continues to show, multigenerational households are more often headed by the (grand)parent, with adult children returning to their parent's home due to lack of financial self-reliance, employment difficulty, and other economic needs (Aquilino 2006). Generationally, the ideal of home ownership for adults is changing, as rates of unemployment, fluid work arrangements, and a changing workforce make younger adults more vulnerable to economic shocks (Swartz et al 2011). Newman (2011) describes this stretching of the household to include adult children again as "accordion families" due to the response from external pressures. While her research considered social and cultural motivations for adult children and extended household structure in some countries, in the United States she argues this is more commonly a

response to economic shocks: the inability for adult children to meet the expected economic milestones in order to form new households of their own (Newman 2008).

If a sense of responsibility to assist children is timeless, this may explain why aging parents would bring adult children (and possibly grandchildren) back into their household. Particularly when faced with economic circumstances outside the home, parents can feel a sense of responsibility to continue to provide or buffer adult children against unforeseen adversity. While much of the scholarship on multigenerational households in the last twenty years has focused on the supposedly growing sandwich generation, extended (grand)parent-led households have been more prevalent. While several demographic studies have reviewed the trends towards multigenerational families in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, one study focused on the economic stress for both older parents and their adult children in such homes (Kahn et al. 2013). This study, reviewing demographic data on financial well-being from 1960 to 2010 focused on the increasing divide between the older generations ability to achieve financial independence while their adult children struggle to do the same. Other studies considered the declining economic status by generation, specifically at the young adult stage in the 1970s and 1980s, arguably the first wave of economic distress for young adults vs. their parents (Levy 1999).

When presented with an economic loss of resources, through either macro-level issues such as market crashes or higher joblessness, the impulse is to turn towards home. As discussed above, the turning towards family is to see *kin* as a resource in and onto itself. Newman (2020) reviews multiple avenues in which support networks are most



crucial, arguing that “economic context is crucial in understanding the conditions under which the networks described in these articles form and add to the coping mechanisms necessary for survival [especially among] the poor” (Newman 2020:195). Economic resources, critical to meeting the needs of the family are a known issue among poverty researchers but have increasingly become more important to research that looks at macro-economic stress events.

Research focused on understanding co-residency of adult children and their parents has largely centered on economic resources to the benefit of the younger generation in the home (Spear and Avery 1993; Cohen and Casper 2002; Caputo 2019). By younger generations returning to the nest, the older generation’s responsibility to provide is elongated beyond the social norm of adulthood. However, living in one’s parent’s home is still considered a social stigma, often referred to as a “failure to launch” for those that never leave and “boomerangs” for those returning to a parent’s home. Of the two, returning home for economic reasons is more socially acceptable to counter economic stress when viewed through a temporary lens (Davidson 2014). It is this temporal nature of co-residency for grandparent-led households that illustrates how familial networks are a resource for combatting economic stress (Cohen and Casper 2002).

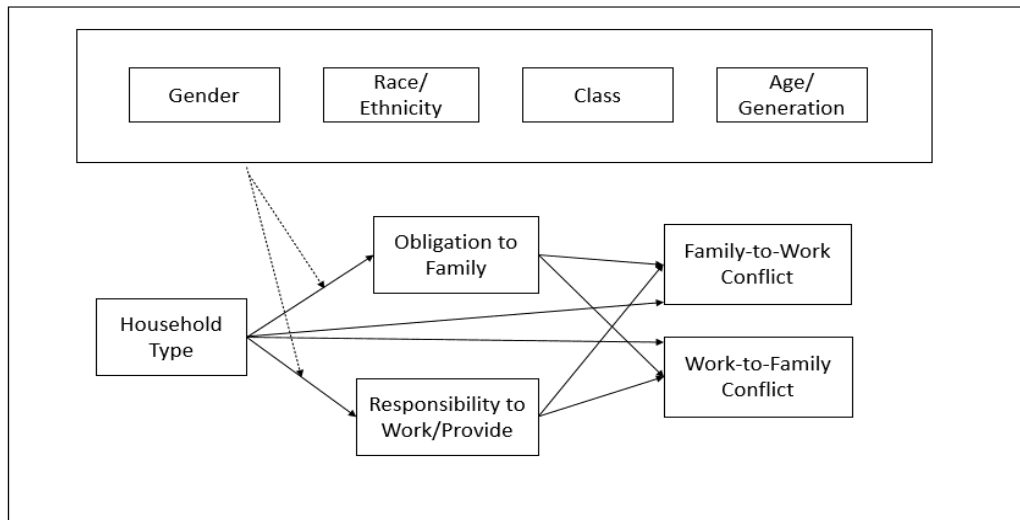
As with the previous household structure, role and positions within the household could remain in conflict, particularly if roles are not congruent with responsibility. Adult children who are also parents may experience additional drains from some resources in caring for their children, while renegotiating social ties with the relationship with their

parents, the head of household. Additionally, studies regarding family distress have found that number of children in the home may increase stress as a draw on resources, while having committed adult relationships within the home may reduce this stress (Eagle et al. 1997; Grandey and Cropanzano 1999).

While the literature is vast on work-family conflict, little is understood about work-family conflict in households with more than two adults, or that include an additional adult generation. If responsibilities are tied to roles/positions, *how do assumed work and family responsibilities impact reported work-family conflict?* Do women breadwinners report family and work responsibilities differently than males? How do working-class and poor families assume these responsibilities? Does household role alter work-family conflict when these responsibilities are considered?

Considering that as the roles themselves are socialized through other social constructs (age, gender, race, and class), who is obligated and who is responsible is also socialized through these constructs. In this way, a sense of obligation to care for family may vary based on these other social constructs, imposing certain roles on the individual. Similarly, taking responsibility to provide may vary based on how these roles are socialized through these constructs. In Figure 2 below, obligation and responsibility serve as mechanisms to potentially explain some of the experienced WFC and family-to work conflict for multigenerational households. Additionally, as race, class, gender, and age alter the experience in everyday life, each also impacts how obligation and responsibility are perceived. Particularly from the perspective of gender ideology, the literature points

to an expected difference in who is obligated to care and what taking responsibility to provide for looks like.



**Figure 2: Obligation and Responsibility Path Model**

Based on this literature, it is plausible that a sense of obligation and responsibility explain some of the source of conflict between individual roles. Given the additional roles assumed in multigenerational households, obligation and responsibility may matter more in these expanded families. These may also explain how multigenerational households buffer against significant external shocks, such as the 2008 housing crisis and subsequent economic recession. As the combining of households is a familiar resource management strategy, perhaps a sense of obligation and responsibility for the family is also a resource to develop for future use.

While pooling resources to care for children may be useful, this pooling of resources is more likely among vulnerable populations with less resources (and likely more stress) to begin with. An obligation to provide for the family by pooling these resources may explain multigenerational households, given a sense of interdependence among family members. If the work role within the family is to provide (*responsibility to work*), then economic stress events, such as loss of income or precarity of the work itself, can add further conflict between work and family roles. To understand how obligation and responsibility work within such stress events, the next section explores how multigenerational households experience work-family conflict in the wake of macro-level economic stress.

### **Economic Stress and the Multigenerational Household**

The economic situation of the family has long been studied as a stressor not only within the family, but also within the work domain. As discussed earlier, the ability to provide and the assumed responsibility to do so are socialized within the family. When financial resources are insufficient to meet needs, even on short-term basis, the literature consistently points to increased relationship stress, diminished health and well-being, and reduced satisfaction (Andrade and Mikula 2014; Parasuraman and Simmers 2001; White and Rogers 2000; Moen and Yu 2000; Pearlin 1999). While the overall socio-economic status of the family is often the focus for studies of economic stress, large-scale economic downturn that impacts classes less practiced at negotiating this stress is less understood.

When one's role to provide family income is in jeopardy, a pooling of work resources by other eligible workers in the household is another coping mechanism-

essentially enacting that obligation to provide for the family in other adults. During previous economic downturns for working-class households, women increasingly entered the workforce as a stopgap measure for the family (Damaske 2011). Literature regarding this obligation centers around traditionally gendered roles and how attitudes towards these roles and actual performance can create conflict (Meisenbach 2010; Medved 2009). And while a higher socio-economic status may provide more separation in these roles, for working-class and poor families, there is little question whether all able-bodied adults will work (Roos 2009). Indeed, the experience of most minority families has involved everyone contributing to both work and family roles to meet needs (Parker 2005).

That said, a need to pool resources is not necessarily reliant solely on a constant resources shortfall more often felt by more vulnerable communities. Seismic economic stress events felt along generational lines also trigger coping mechanisms to meet the new resource shortfall. As Reich (2008) notes:

“Middle-class American families are running out of ways to cope with increased inequality and stagnating wages. Up till now families have coped through working longer hours, moving mothers into the labor force, and increasing debt.

One strategy that remains is greater reliance on family support, such as housing.”

While this points to other glaring inequality-such as a lack of attention to the daily stressors of marginalized groups until the (white) middle-class also experience discomfort-this quote nevertheless points to the conservation of resources for classes that usually have more resources to begin with. The pooling of resources argument relies on a sense of obligation to provide resources to a communal pot. While much of the existing

research that those with less resources rely more heavily on social ties to pool resources, less research considers *how* that social norm is developed. Given an economic stress event, a sense of obligation to work/provide may explain how WFC or FWC differs for these multigenerational households. Much of the more recent literature considers the housing crisis and recession of 2008 a seismic economic event that disproportionately affected vulnerable populations, especially those in the younger generation of adults.

As this dissertation considers work-family conflict for multigenerational households from 2002-2018, an understanding of changes in work-family conflict after a nearly-universally experienced economic event among these families can provide additional information about WFC and FWC. Earlier sections presented research on how a sense of obligation to care for the family informs the roles that adult members within these households may create a higher FWC and how a sense of responsibility to provide for the family may create a higher WFC. While economic hardship is a known stressor, few studies considered the impact of economic hardship on FWC (Schieman and Young 2010). Instead, most studies focus on a family's economic situation as an antecedent to stress, poorer physical and mental health, and strained relationships (Swanberg 2005; Voydanoff 1990).

Economic hardship has proven a reliable stressor across socio-economic statuses, particularly since 2008. While two-generation families remain the most common household structure, the increase in extended kin households, multi-family households, and multigenerational households drew attention to economic stress at the family unit, as scholars sought to understand how families experience financial instability and adjust.

Multiple studies have reported a shift in family structure with a greater diversity in types of household structures to respond to economic and care needs (Newman 2012; Booth et. al 2008). Indeed, other studies of individuals and families before and after the economic recession point to a reliance on family and generational ties as a safety net during difficult economic times (Rohwedder 2009; Rossi 1989; Pleau 2012; Reich 2010). This reliance, or expectation of family to “take you in” during economically hard times, can be articulated as a sense of obligation or responsibility to care and provide for each other.

While previous research has considered multigenerational households and economic hardship, very little has considered how work-family conflict for these families would differ as a result of economic shocks. This dissertation will explore the trends of both WFC and FWC for these families before and after the recession period in an effort to understand how a sense of obligation and responsibility within the family impact work-family conflict in greater context. This application within the greater context may provide additional understanding of work-family conflict from both a role conflict and conservation of resources perspective. As multigenerational household members are obligated or assume more roles, there is an expectation of increased role conflict, particularly between work and family roles. From a conservation of resources perspective, the additional strains on time, finances, and energy based on an external economic stressor, there is also the expectation of increased conflict as members seek to prevent further resource drain.

## Summary of the Research Approach

While the research into work-family conflict from both the work and family dynamic is vast, studies regarding family structure and household types tend to look for predictors in childhood actions after reaching adulthood, stressors for single-parent homes, with little attention to multigenerational households. While the literature regarding multigenerational families explains the shifting trends in the household structure, and other studies that consider work-family conflict look at household structure, there is far less understanding of work-family conflict in these more complex structures. These households, with overlapping and interwoven roles, can potentially inform much about how those roles are socialized through the family dynamic, and how long held beliefs and norms are acted upon in the performance of those roles.

This study will look to understand how multigenerational households manage work-family conflict through three questions:

*Q1: How does work-family conflict differ for individuals in three-generation households as compared to their two-generation counterparts?*

*Q2: How do obligation and responsibility impact reported work-family conflict for individuals in these households?*

*Q3: How does the national economic context shape the experience of work-family conflict for two- and three-generation households?*

First, this dissertation will consider household structure as a determinant of work-family conflict, taking into account several social constructs including gender, race, class, and age cohort and how roles are socialized within these constructs. Focusing on role conflict



theory through an interwoven versus separate spheres lens, FWC and WFC are considered separately, with some expected similarities and differences. Based on the literature, while role conflict theory would point to higher conflict with more roles, conservation of resources theory argues that the pooling of resources serves as a way to reduce stress. Additionally, much of the work-family conflict literature presented above points to differences due to the social constructs of gender, race, class, and age. Following traditional gender ideology, women are more often expected to have a higher sense of nurturing and family demands would spillover with work demands. Traditional ideologies are also associated with older generations, and thus older adults are more likely to espouse traditional beliefs, such as male breadwinners whose family role *is* to work. In three-generation homes, especially the expanded family that includes adult children and their children living in the grandparent's household, it is likely that both older men and women will experience higher conflict.

Additionally, the literature regarding how work and family conflict differently based on economic class is well documented. While earlier research pointed to a greater occurrence of pooling resources (everyone performing paid work) for working-class and poor families, more recent scholarship considers how reduced wages coupled with higher costs of living have introduced economic precarity to the middle-class as well. Similarly, the experiences of minority households in earlier research illustrates higher role conflict as these families more often had less access to resources beyond family. While most of the role conflict literature has focused on two-generation household structures, this

dissertation seeks to expand that knowledge through the following hypotheses regarding three-generation households and work-family conflict:

*Q1Ha: Individuals in three generation households will experience lower WFC than two generation households.*

*Q1Hb: Individuals in three generation households will experience higher FWC than two generation households.*

*Q1Hc: Women will have higher FWC than men in three-generation households.*

*Q1Hd: Women within three-generation households will have lower FWC than women in two-generation households.*

*Q1He: Minorities in three-generation households will experience higher WFC and FWC than for those in two-generation households.*

*Q1Hf: Working-class adults in three generation households will have higher FWC and WFC than those in two-generation households.*

*Q1Hg: Older adults within three-generation households will have higher FWC and WFC than older adults in two-generation households.*

Focusing on role conflict theory through an interwoven versus separate spheres lens, FWC and WFC are considered separately, with some expected similarities and differences. FWC is expected to be higher for older women while WFC is expected to be higher for men, following a traditional, gendered approach. By considering both types of conflict within multigenerational households, this dissertation adds a nuanced

understanding of multiple roles and multiple role performers within both spheres concurrently to the body of literature.

Next, this study will determine the relationship of perceived obligation and assumed responsibility on work-family conflict for members of these households based on their role within these multigenerational families. Following the literature on interdependent versus individual-focused models for socialization within families, obligation and responsibility serve as mechanisms for work-family conflict by informing how roles are performed and for whom. I expect that a perceived sense of duty/obligation to care will create conflict for the individual reconciling their family demands spilling over to their work life, as the individual lives up to the perceived obligation to care. Conversely, a household member whose perceived responsibility is to provide through paid work will perceive higher demands for their time and energy, encroaching on their family demands, especially if the number of those family members reliant on that income increases. Given that obligation, or duty, is required of the actor and responsibility is assumed by the actor, these mechanisms are expected to work in the following ways:

*Q2Ha: Higher care obligation will result in a higher reported FWC.*

*Q2Hb: Individuals in three-generation households will have higher care obligation than two generation households.*

*Q2Hc: Higher work responsibility will result in higher reported WFC.*

*Q2Hd: Individuals in three generation households will have higher work responsibility than two generation households.*

Similar to the discussion above regarding how gender, race, class, and age may vary how work-family conflict is experienced, this dissertation argues that each impact care obligation and work responsibility within three-generation households. Specifically, following an interdependence versus independence model, minority families are likely to have a higher sense of obligation to care for family members. Older generations, following this more traditional model would also have a higher sense of obligation.

Traditional gender ideologies for roles inform a sense of obligation to care or take-in family members for women, and to assume responsibility to provide for the expanded household on men. The literature also provides a linkage between race and higher likelihood of interdependence or communal socialization. Lastly, an ideology of the family as a safety net relies on a sense of obligation to serve as a safety net for other members. The precarity of work for the working class in the last three decades is well documented as a stressor, and a pooling of resources necessary for these families. Given these points, this dissertation also will consider the following hypotheses regarding obligation and responsibility:

*Q2He: Women will have a higher sense of care obligation to care than men.*

*Q2Hf: Men will have a higher responsibility to provide than women.*

*Q2Hg: Older adults will have a higher sense of care obligation than younger adults.*

*Q2Hh: Minority adults will have a higher sense of care obligation than white adults.*

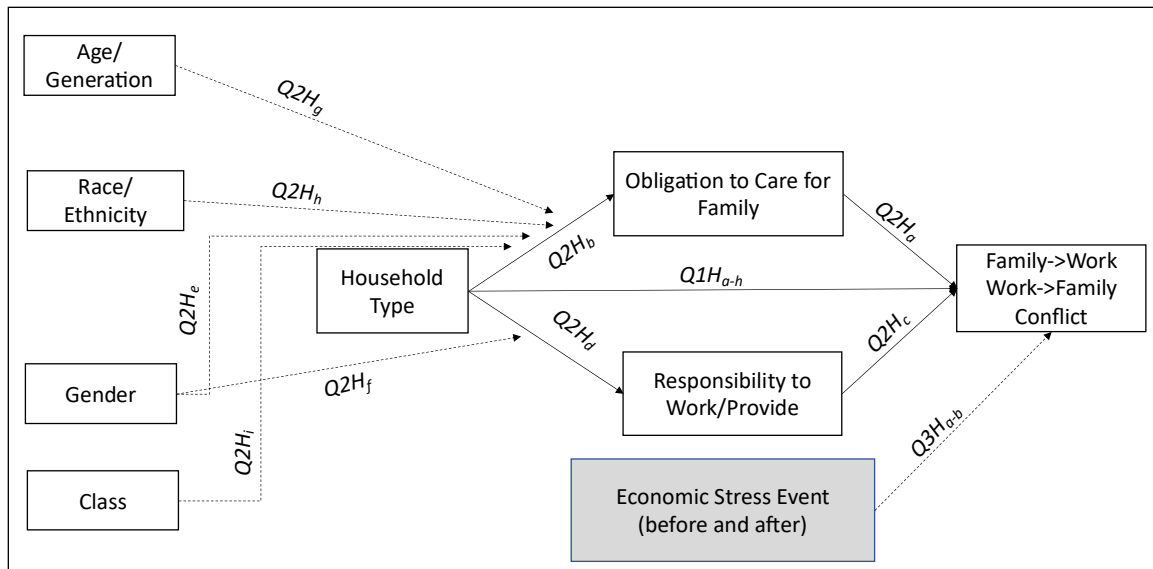
*Q2Hi: Working-class adults will have a higher sense of care obligation than middle-class adults.*

The obligation to care for family members may result in additional demands from family as the care needs for adults differ from those of young children. Additionally, when responsibilities to provide for household members rises, work demands may increase, reducing time and energy available for family demands and increasing WFC.

This dissertation also considers these mechanisms and work-family conflict in the greater context of larger external stressors, such as the economic recession of 2008-2009. Comparing multigenerational households' work-family conflict before and after the recession period may provide additional understanding about how these families experience work-family conflict during collective economic hardship. The increase in multigenerational households across socio-economic status after this economic recession indicate that family may be considered a safety net in times of economic stress, and that families rely on each other for support. Given this, this dissertation will explore the following hypotheses:

*Q3Ha: WFC will be higher for both two- and three-generation households post-recession than pre-recession.*

*Q3Hb: FWC will be higher for both two- and three-generation households post-recession than pre-recession.*



**Figure 3: Full Model with Hypotheses**

While Figures 1 and 2 presented these relationships by research question, Figure 3 synthesizes these hypotheses. As shown, this research considers the relationship of household type to work-family conflict (Q1) and the hypothesized partial mediation of care obligation and work responsibility. As roles are socialized through multiple social constructs, there are expected differences based on gender, racial and cultural, class, and generation (age cohort) lens. If the above hypotheses for these multigenerational families are supported then not only would household structure matter, but also *who* forms these households. Further determining the effects of race, class, gender, and age on obligation and responsibility may also better explain how work-family conflict varies within these three-generation households. Lastly, placing work-family conflict within the context of a macro-economic stress event may point to how individuals rely on family during a crisis.

Through the analysis of work-family conflict for multigenerational households, this study seeks to determine how FWC and WFC differ for these families through a role

conflict and conservation of resources approach. Through descriptive statistical and regression analyses of the General Social Survey from 2002-2018, this dissertation considers multiple variables including gender, race, class, age cohort, and household position as variables that influence work-family conflict within the specific multigenerational household and within a greater economic context. The methodology for this study is discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

### **Overall Design**

The purpose of this dissertation is to determine how work-family conflict differs for multigenerational households in order to gain understanding about household formation, responsibilities the family carries, and to potentially look at predictors of a shift in family formations going forward. By conducting an analysis of twenty years of household data from the General Social Survey, this study will first aim to identify work-family conflict differences between two- and three-generation households. To understand the motivations of obligation and assumed responsibilities by family members, this study will look at how these two mechanisms mediate reported conflict and how this differs along generational, gender, race, and class lines. Lastly, this study aims to understand how external economic shocks affect work-family conflict and identify shifting trends towards multigenerational households. This chapter focuses on the method of analysis to answer these questions.

### **Data**

The data for this study were from the General Social Survey (GSS), conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) biennially. The survey began collecting beliefs and opinions on a range of social matters in 1972. This nationally representative dataset asks respondents questions regarding personal beliefs, experiences, government, and family experiences-all of which influence the purpose of the current study. Though some questions have changed over the years, several applicable ones have remained,



providing the opportunity to observe trends over time, understand generational attitudes at both the point in their individual life course and the external experience. To capture potential trends and this generational experience, this study uses data from 2002-2018 survey years.

The GSS sample follows an area probability design where households are selected within certain areas and respondents randomly selected from the adults (18 years and older) within those households (Smith et al. 2019). Areas are first designated by type (urban, suburban, and rural), then further stratified for sampling in stages through field listings. Sampling also includes additional control variables that changed between 1972 to the present.<sup>2</sup>

The GSS collection process underwent two significant changes during the years for the current study: a 2004 sampling re-design for sampling households and the addition of Spanish as an interview language. The sampling re-design in 2004 incorporated the address framing of the United States Postal Service which provided clearer field listings than utilized previously. This provided greater access and speed to generate which households are contacted and uses time and funding resources more effectively by focusing on traditional field listing on those households less reachable by standard mail. Specifically, this allowed for greater use of mailing address verification against established sampling procedures already in use by the Census Bureau and NORC

---

<sup>2</sup> Control variables for sampling has changed approximately every 5-10 years for the survey, in most cases to improve representation or specifically to capture underrepresented populations. For more detailed explanations of changes to the GSS sampling procedures prior to the years of this study, please see Appendix A of the GSS codebook.

(NORC 2018). While this change altered the previous collection procedures, only the 2002 survey year for the current study fell in the traditional sampling process and has no noted significant effect on time comparisons.

The second significant change to GSS data collection procedures—the addition of Spanish as an interview language — effected survey years 2006 and later. By adding Spanish, this shifted the target population for sampling to include adults living in the US who speak either language (NORC 2018). For data collection in 2006, approximately 51% of Hispanics were interviewed in Spanish (Smith 2007). Smith’s (2007) post-survey analysis showed expected gains in the overall coverage of Hispanic adults and some changes in the profile, in that Hispanics interviewed were younger, less educated, and more likely to have children, but the addition of Spanish did not change the profile for gender or working status. By asking interviewers if the individual would have been excluded without the option for an interview in Spanish, data is comparable for years pre-dating this addition. As all but the 2002 collection had the option of both, I chose to include both.<sup>3</sup>

Once a household is selected, the representative adult is selected at random. This means that those living in smaller, one-generation households have a greater probability of selection than those living in three-generation households. Face-to-face interviews, with limited telephonic options, were limited to 90 minutes and include a core set of

---

<sup>3</sup> Smith (2007) explains further limited non-demographic differences and did not find significant differences for the variables of interest to this study (WFC and FWC). I conducted a cross-tab analysis to determine if there was any relationship in my sample years for these variables and ability to complete the interview in English and did not find a significant relationship. While Smith does briefly discuss some language effects specific to some adjectives and translations, these phrases were not in the questions I accessed for this study.

questions asked every survey year and a rotational battery of questions or modules, such as family values and beliefs or work and job satisfaction. While not all questions are asked every survey year, the rotation ensures each module is repeated at regular intervals.

Given the changes between survey years in both selection and response rates, the GSS includes a weighting of the cases. Weighting of cases gives a higher or lower precedence to a case (respondent) based on various factors to ensure that a fair representation. As 2004 was the first year after a significant sampling re-design, the GSS also includes appropriate weights that can be applied. For this study, all case totals are the weighted value of respondents.

The GSS provides a unique opportunity for secondary data analysis of attitudes, actions, and changing households, but it is not without its limitations. Secondary analysis is subject to what is provided in the original data collection and does not always fit research specifications as well as primary data collection. In this case, the modular rotation and ballot system to gain as much information across the sample means that some respondents suitable for this study may not have received the questions about work-family conflict.

Another limitation of the GSS is that it is cross-sectional, meaning responses reflect experiences for that moment in time for the respondent. For this study, I am unable to say that an individual changed household formations from one year to the next, only that the aggregate percentage of household types has changed over time. While I discussed motivations for changing household structures in Chapter 2 and will address the aggregate changes in this study, I am limited with regards to addressing changes in

household structure as a cause of work-family conflict. Lastly, the nature of the GSS interview is a self-report of beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions. Given that all of the measures in this study are based on what the respondent declares, all t are subject to how the respondent discloses this information. Specific effects of this limitation are discussed later in this chapter by measure. I revisit the overall limitations and their effects on the current study in Chapter 6 as I discuss my findings.

Weighing the benefits and limitations of the GSS data, I find the GSS provides adequate data for this study. Few existing data sets combine attitudes and actions (both of which I hypothesize mediate effects on work-family conflict), experiences with work and family, and maintain a nationally representative sampling frame. The GSS allows this kind of analysis, as well as the comparison of experiences over time, making it the ideal (though imperfect) dataset to answer my research questions.

### ***Sample***

The GSS collects a nationally representative sample of non-institutionalized adults in the United States who speak English or Spanish (added in 2006). From 2002-2018, there were 16,180 respondents across all household types. After removing respondents with missing data for the dependent and mediating variables, this reduced the sample to 4,782 respondents across one-, two-, and three-generation households. I further reduced this to 2,406 respondents in only two- and three-generation households based on family relationships.

Three-generation households represent 1.5%-2.5% of households per survey year, two-generation households 48%, and one-generation households at 50%. While one-

generation households are not part of the overall analysis, I included one-generation households to find contextual differences by household type in Chapter 4. These respondents were not included in the final analysis in Chapter 5.

Based on those respondents with data for variables during the selected years (2002, 2006, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2018), the sample for this study is further reduced to 164 three-generation households of the 2,406 respondents. Grandparent-headed households (GPC), adult/parents and their (grand)children, represent a slight majority of three-generation households (88 respondents). There are fewer adult children-headed households (PGC), those with elder parents or grandparents and children (76). These sub-categories are combined for most of my analyses that include three-generation households.

Two-generational households (NPC) are collectively defined as having either adult parent and minor-aged children or grandparents and minor-aged children. While grandparent/grandchildren households have been grouped with three-generation households in some literature, they do not include two generations of adults and are likely to have similar experiences as parents with minor-aged children. As such, I have categorized them as two-generation households. Two-generation households represent the majority of households within the overall analysis and are the reference group. These consist of three sub-groups: adult children with elderly parents (PG), adults with children (PC), and grandparents with their grandchildren (GC). See Table 1 for a summary of household types by survey year for this study.

The individual years were pooled into two groups: 2002-2006 and 2010-2018. This division aligns with significant economic events and provides potential indicators of change over time between the two decades. Specifically, the baby boomer generation reached retirement eligibility in 2012 (an age cohort event that may alter work demands and economic standing for these families) while the housing/economic crisis initiated in fall of 2008 (an economic event impacting housing for family and work). For research questions 1 and 2, the household types will be pooled across all survey years, as represented by the far-right *total* column in Table 1.

**Table 1: Households by Type, GSS 2002-2018**

<b>Household Type</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b><i>Three-Generation Households</i></b>	26	42	14	30	13	38	164
<i>GPC</i> <i>Grandparent, parent, grandchild</i>	23	27	2	3	4	28	88
<i>PGC</i> <i>Parent, grandparent, child</i>	3	15	12	27	9	10	76
<b><i>Two- Generation Households</i></b>	339	487	319	365	368	364	2241
<i>PG</i> <i>Adult, elder parent</i>	9	19	3	11	4	12	58
<i>PC</i> <i>Parent, child</i>	328	464	316	364	369	350	2192
<i>GC</i> <i>Grandparent, child</i>	4	3	6	2	1	2	18
<b><i>One-Generation Households</i></b>	398	503	362	343	360	413	2379
<b>Total</b>	762	1031	695	737	741	815	4782

## ***Variables***

There are several variables used in this study. The dependent variables for this study consider both WFC and FWC and remain the dependent variables for all research questions. Independent variables and control variables are described below along with which questions and hypotheses they are used, as described in Figure 3 of Chapter 2.

### ***Dependent Variables***

Though commonly referred to in shorthand as *work-family conflict*, there are some differences between conflict caused by work demands and those by family demands. As discussed in the previous chapter, these both derive from dissonance between role demands in either the public or private sphere, but the demands of those roles differ. As this study looks to determine *how* these roles and responsibilities interact, two separate variables are used: work-to-family and family-to-work.

### **Work-to-Family Conflict**

Work-to-family conflict (WFC), or the impact of work demands on family roles or expectations, is measured by asking *how often do the demands of your job interfere with your family life?* This is in relative terms: *never, rarely, sometimes, or often*. for all survey years for this study except the 2012 GSS, which bracketed the response to consider the previous three months and respond: *never, once or twice, several times a month, or several times a week*. The 2012 survey therefore provides a small nexus of generational life course adjustments (baby boomers reaching retirement eligibility), clearer definition of frequency, and an economic downturn. This slight variance provides a more concrete response with less room for user interpretation but limits the

consideration to the last three months. Notwithstanding, these responses are consistent enough with the other survey years for this study to include it. The value of the responses for 2012 was paired with the corresponding value of the other years. Respondents who articulated *several times a week* were pooled with those that articulated *often* in other years. Higher frequency (often) measures of higher WFC overall, while lower frequency (never) was the measure of lower WFC. These responses were recoded to a dichotomous variable, with often and sometimes coded as 1, rarely and never coded 0. Respondents who reported they were unemployed/not working were not asked this question nor the reciprocal FWC question and were removed from the sample.

#### Family-to-Work Conflict

Family-to-work conflict (FWC) was measured through one question: *how often do the demands of your family interfere with your work on the job?* Respondents had the same choices as with WFC (*never, rarely, sometimes, or often*). As with WFC above, the 2012 survey deviated only in more numerical choices (instead of *never, rarely, sometimes, or often*), and these responses were pooled with their corresponding responses from other survey years. Higher frequency of conflict served as the measure of higher FWC overall. These responses were recoded to a dichotomous variable, with often and sometimes coded as 1, rarely and never coded 0. Both FWC and WFC are asked of the respondent on behalf of themselves, and not for the household overall.



## *Independent Variables*

### Household Type

The GSS defines household composition by determining the relationships between all members of the household and their relationship to the head of household. Using this information, households were further classified into number of generations residing and their makeup based on the adults in those generations. This study further delineated this GSS variable for the sample into one, two, and three-generation households as described in Table 1. As previously discussed, one generation households were included for context and then excluded from the analysis as out-of-scope. Two generation households are further divided into *head of household-parent (PG)*, *head of household-child (PC)*, and *head of household-grandchild (GC)*. Three generation households, defined as *head of household-child-grandchild (GPC)* or *head of household-parent-child (PGC)*, are the focal group for this study. This variable was cross-referenced with the individual's relationship to the head of household to ensure responses are grouped by household type. While the vast majority of respondents are either the head of household or spouse, respondents who were children of the householder, such as in GPC households, were excluded from the study.

### Gender

The GSS uses a binary measure for gender for the survey years for this study, as the GSS for all survey years provides only male or female and was interviewer coded. As such, gender in this study did not have a mechanism to include other gender coding and is

reliant on how the respondent presented their gender and how the interviewer interpreted this.<sup>4</sup> In this study, gender was coded as male=0 and female=1.

### Race/Ethnicity

The GSS has multiple measures for race, but this study utilized self-identified race over two questions. The first asked respondents if they were *Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a*. Respondents who answered yes were coded as Hispanic. The second questions asked respondents what race they identify as. This study considered how self-identified beliefs of obligation and responsibility impact family and work, what the respondent identifies as their race is more appropriate. For this study, these answers were consolidated first into White, Black, Hispanic, and Other, with Asian respondents the largest sub-group of the other category. Comparisons were made across the four groups for context in Chapter 4, demonstrating similarities among minority racial group members. However, I recoded race as binary (white=0, minority=1) for the analysis in Chapter 5 to ensure sufficient sample size in the non-white racial groupings, thus allowing for me to control for the possible effects of racial category in the analysis.

### Class

This study utilized subjective class to define socio-economic class. The GSS asks respondents to identify which *class they belong to*, with choices of *lower class, working class, middle class, and upper class*. These were initially coded for trends in household

---

<sup>4</sup> The General Social Survey for the 2002-2018 survey characterized gender as male or female. Additionally, the relationship to the head of household includes spouse, but did not include partner in relation to householder and thus prevents recognition of same-sex households in this study. For additional information on work-family conflict for same-sex couples, please see Sawyer, Katina. 2012. "Heterosexual bias in the measurement of work-family conflict for same-sex couples".

type, as shown in Chapter 4, and recoded based on the limited respondents for both upper class and lower-class in each household to a dichotomous variable. Middle and upper-class were consolidated and coded as 0; working- and lower-class respondents were consolidated into working class and coded as 1. As all respondents in this study are earning income, *lower-class* is treated as working poor and thus grouped with the working class.

#### Age/Generation

Age at time of survey for the respondent (and other adults in the home) allowed me to pool responds by generation cohorts. To do this, the age cohort variable for the GSS was recoded according to accepted birth year cohorts: *baby boomer (1946-1964)*, *generation X (1965-1980)*, and *millennial (1980-1994)*. Those born before 1946 were consolidated with the baby boomer generation as these respondents were all retirement eligible during the survey years. Later survey years included respondents born after 1994 and these were combined with the millennial generation for life course reasons as well. Millennials in 2002 were similarly situated as Generation Z in 2014 as early working years and family formation. Due to life course events including child-bearing years, using age cohorts not only account for time sensitive events such as retirement eligibility, but also for the life course events such as child-bearing years. Changing from age to generation cohort allowed for better analysis of social changes by generation and life course rather than exact age. Age cohort was coded with three categories with dummy variables for baby boomer and millennials, using Generation X as the reference category due to its age span of 25-44 years of age at time of data collection.

### *Mediating Variables*

To answer research question 2 regarding perceptions of obligation and responsibility and their impact on work-family conflict, this study analyzes each in turn and their possible mediation of WFC and FWC. As discussed in the previous chapter, obligations or duties to family are placed on the individual, whereas responsibility for family care or providing income are assumed/enacted by the individual (Willkie 1993). This study differentiates between the two along *belief* and *action*; obligation is a feeling or belief whereas responsibility is action, a taking of responsibility.

#### Obligation

I operationalized *obligation* through the felt duty to provide care to aging adults in this study. While there is also an obligation to provide care to children, there is also a legal obligation to do so. Providing care to aging adults differentiates this as an attitude of obligation and sense of duty for the respondent (Coontz 2016). There are two questions in the GSS regarding an obligation to provide care for aging parents and I considered both in this study. The 2002 GSS specifically asked respondents for agreement with *adult children having a duty to look after their elderly parents*; it is not asked in the following years, but similar language was used in a second question: *do you think that older people sharing a home with their grown children is a good or bad idea*. Whether someone should do something is a softer imperative of must and deemed *a good idea*. Following this logic, asking whether cohabitation is a good idea draws on beliefs of *should* and *duty*. This variable ranges from *a good idea*, *a bad idea*, *it depends*, and *don't know*. This study recoded this question as obligation, with a *good idea/yes* as obligated and *bad idea/no* as

not obligated. Respondents outside these choices were excluded from the analysis (306 individuals).

### Responsibility

To measure responsibility to provide, I computed income responsibility to family as percentage of family income provided by the respondent. Income responsibility for the family is a family responsibility based on the assumed role of primary income provider (or breadwinner) and is calculated by taking the reported family income and respondent's income to determine a percentage, and not specific to one's economic standing but the proportion of financial support the individual provides. This is further coded in quartiles for comparison, with respondents providing 75% or more of total family income labeled breadwinners. Households where the respondent provides 50-74% as majority earners, 25%-49% as earners, and 10-24% as minor earners.<sup>5</sup> Similar to race, income responsibility below 75% were further consolidated into one category, with breadwinner coded as 1 and contributors as 0. In this way, the study operationalized the burden to provide for the family that the respondent carries.

### **Method**

As this study's overall goal is to determine the relationship of household structure to WFC and FWC, I conducted statistical analyses to determine the effects of the independent variables, partial mediation of the mechanisms, and possible moderating effects. To accomplish this, I conducted bivariate analyses (results presented in Chapter

---

<sup>5</sup> As stated for the dependent variables, respondents who are not employed were not asked about conflict. As such the smallest earning quartile does not include non-working respondents.

4) to provide descriptive context for these respondents in each of these households, using either Chi-square or analysis of variance testing as appropriate. I followed this with binary logistic regression modeling, with each model adding additional variables to explain the primary relationship between household type and WFC and FWC. I ran three test statistics on each model to determine the significance, variance explained, and the goodness of fit. The Chi-square test calculates whether the model is statistically significant and is reported with a corresponding confidence interval. The second set of test statistics included two R-squared statistics which estimate what percentage of variance in WFC and FWC are explained by the model. I included the Hosmer and Lemeshow goodness of fit test, also presented as a Chi-square. This last test is specific to binary responses and calculates how consistently observed results align with expected rates (Peng et al. 2002). Results for the regression analysis is presented in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 6.

### ***Analysis by Research Question***

#### ***Work-Family Conflict by Household Type (RQ1)***

As discussed in the previous chapter, the literature suggests that the experiences for multigenerational households differ from those of nuclear families. As a result, the first research question posed *how does work-family conflict differ for individuals in three-generation and two-generation households?* To answer this question, I posit multiple hypotheses, with the first specifically addressing the difference in the household type:

*Q1H<sub>a</sub>: Three generation households will experience lower WFC than two generation households.*

*Q1H<sub>b</sub>: Three generation households will experience higher FWC than two generation households.*

To analyze the relationship between household type and WFC and FWC, bivariate analysis was conducted separately for each dependent variable and is presented in Chapter 4. I then conducted binary logistic regression modeling for both dependent variables, including household type and individual characteristics. These first two hypotheses would be supported in the following ways: (1) *a negative relationship between more generations and more WFC; and (2) a positive relationship between more generations and more FWC.*

Hypotheses for the interaction effects of household type and individual demographics were tested through adding interaction terms by household type to the model and are presented in Chapter 5. Specifically, interactions terms between race, class, gender, and age cohort and three-generation households, such as women in three-generation households were added individually then altogether to examine effects. Each hypothesis considers an individual factor to compare across household type and the resulting effect on WFC or FWC, with the exception of Q1H<sub>c</sub>, as it compares gender within household type. Given the extensive research on gender and work-family conflict, this dissertation considered gender specifically in these households, then consider other social factors (race, class, and age) to better understand the relationship.

For each independent variable across household type, coefficients (positive or negative) would provide support. Q1H<sub>d</sub> would be supported with a negative relationship, or that as the number of generations increases, FWC decreases. Q1H<sub>e</sub>

would be support if as household increases, FWC and WFC increases. This positive relationship hypothesis is similar for class (Q1Hf) and race (Q1Hg). As previous literature has determined that minority women of lower socio-economic class are more likely to form multigenerational households, understanding how these factors influence the experience for respondents within these households will be important for characterizing the relationship/effects on reported conflict.

*Obligation and Responsibility as Mediators to Work-Family Conflict (RQ2)*

The second research question seeks to determine how perceived obligation for care and responsibility to provide impacts work-family conflict. To determine the mediating effects of both obligation and responsibility, a mediation analysis is required to determine the relationships between the independent and mediating variables and the mediating and dependent variables. To this end, the first four hypotheses for this research question correspond to each of these relationships:

*Q2Ha: Higher care obligation will result in a higher reported FWC.*

*Q2Hb: Individuals in three-generation households will have higher care obligation than two generation households.*

*Q2Hc: Higher work responsibility will result in higher reported WFC.*

*Q2Hd: Three generation households will have higher work responsibility than two generation households.*

Mediation effects are present when the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is changed in part or in whole by the mediating variable. Obligation and responsibility may mediate the effects of the independent variables on FWC or WFC



if the effect of those independent variables is strengthened or reduced once the measures of obligation and responsibility are introduced into the models.

To determine the mediating effects of obligation and responsibility, I first conducted binary logistic regression to determine the relationship between household type, gender, race, class, age cohort and obligation or responsibility in turn. Second, I added obligation and responsibility to the model from the previous section above to determine the nature of the relationship between obligation, responsibility, WFC, and FWC. Next, I conducted a Sobel's test for all variables where a significant relationship existed prior to the addition of the mediators and those which had a significant relationship with the mediators. Sobel's (1982) test for mediation determines the significance of mediation through the coefficient of the relationship and the associated standard error by creating a t-statistic for their product. This statistic and its associated p-value helps to delineate direct and indirect effects of the variables. For this study, significance using this test would point to a (likely) partial mediation and the effect of that mediation, such as weakening the effect of the independent variable's prediction of the dependent variable. These mediation results are annotated in Chapter 5 for FWC and WFC. A partial mediation effect would be present when there is a change in the effects of the original relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

As discussed in Chapter 2, familial obligation and responsibility can vary based on the individual's socialization of roles and relationships within the family structure. Gender, race, class, and age cohort each may influence how the respondent perceives

their obligation to provide care and how much of the financial responsibility they bear.

To that end, the following hypotheses are tested in Chapter 5:

*Q2He: Women will have a higher sense of care obligation to care than men.*

*Q2Hf: Men will have a higher responsibility to provide than women.*

*Q2Hg: Older adults will have a higher sense of care obligation than younger adults.*

*Q2Hh: Minority adults will have a higher sense of care obligation than white adults.*

As part of the first step for mediation analysis, each characteristic was regressed onto obligation and responsibility to determine the nature of the relationship. Given that the literature argues towards a higher obligation for minorities, women, and older adults, I expect to find support for both Q2He and Q2Hh. Additionally, I expect to find more men as breadwinners, thus support for 2Hf.

### *Economic Events and Multigenerational Households (RQ3)*

This study also considers the attitudes and behaviors of these families in the context of economic recession. Given the population of the samples and the time period, I split the sample into two groups, defined as pre- and post-2008 (pre-2008 is coded 0 and post-2008 is coded 1) to correspond to the recession following the 2008-2009 economic shock due to the housing market crash. This event had an initial impact on families losing mortgaged homes, and the subsequent recession's economic impact across multiple socio-economic classes continued well into the next decade. While prior trend analyses have focused on this housing and economic crisis as a motivator for "tripling up", this

dissertation compared changes in WFC and FWC between these two time-period groups (Pleau 2012). The literature argues that families “triple up” to conserve resources such as care and finances and I tested two hypotheses developed from this literature:

*Q3Ha: WFC will be higher for both two- and three-generation households post-recession than pre-recession.*

*Q3Hb: FWC will be higher for both two- and three-generation households post-recession than pre-recession.*

Through trend analysis of the percentages of each household type over time, I can determine if there are any changes in household structures after 2008. Second, the variable of time period will be added to the final binary logistic regression models from the previous section and would show whether external economic shocks had an effect on WFC and FWC across all households.

While socioeconomic status (class) is a predictor within the previous analysis, the purpose of testing the impact of external economic shock is to better model predictors of WFC and FWC. To determine the effect of a substantial external economic event, I added year of data collection to the analytic model. Regressing this variable on the dependent variables would capture any effect of the economic event if respondents post-2008 significantly differed from those pre-2008 in reported FWC and WFC. By adding this to the models for the previous questions, all other variables are held constant through the regression.

Following this methodology, I present my findings in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 examines descriptive statistics and provides an overall picture of the sample by household

type. In Chapter 5, I present the findings for relationships between household type, individual characteristics, obligation, responsibility and time, and test the hypotheses from this chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

This chapter describes the analytic sample for this study, beginning with household type over time and work-family conflict. Each section explains the sample in terms of key sociodemographic variables individually and then in relation to household type. This chapter concludes with a summary of this analysis by household type across all variables.

### **Describing the Households**

Household type is determined within this study by generations living within the household at the time of the survey. During the survey years considered here (2002-2018), the ‘head of household’ is defined by the respondent by declaring *who owns or rents this home*, or the ‘householder’. As such, all relationships for household members are in relation to the individual defined as the householder. Such household types include variations of generation counts, two-generation households of adult children and their parents or parents and their offspring. These sub-categories are consolidated for the purpose of this study into one-generation (those without the presence of dependent children or parents), two-generation (any variant of relationship between two generations), and three-generation (any variant of relationship between three generations).

As discussed in Chapter 3, this study considers individuals in two- and three-generation households (N=2,406) and their experiences with work-family conflict. In order to describe this experience and how household type may have an effect, I first

compare the proportion by household type by survey year. One- and two-generation households remain the largest segments of the sample, three-generation households rose to 4.7% of the sample in 2018 as compared to 3.4% in 2002.<sup>6</sup> One-generation households declined from 52% in 2002 to a period low of 46% in 2012 and returning to 50% of the sample by 2018. The dips in one-generation households, predominately either younger adults without children or ‘empty nesters’ corresponds to increase in both two- and three-generation households, indicating possible shifts in household formation. Conducting a Chi-square test for significance, I found a statistical difference between household type over time as summarizes in Table 2.

**Table 2: Household Types by Year**

<i>Household Type Proportions from 2002-2018</i>							
	2002	2006	2010	2012	2014	2018	Total
	N(Prop)	N(Prop)	N(Prop)	N(Prop)	N(Prop)	N(Prop)	
<i>1 Generation</i>	398 (.52)	502 (.49)	362 (.52)	342 (.46)	360 (.49)	413 (.51)	2,377
<i>2 Generation</i>	339 (.44)	487 (.47)	319 (.46)	365 (.50)	368 (.49)	364 (.45)	2,242
<i>3 Generation</i>	26 (.034)	42 (.041)	14 (.020)	31 (.042)	13 (.018)	38 (.047)	164
<b>Total</b>	<b>763</b>	<b>1031</b>	<b>695</b>	<b>738</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>815</b>	<b>4,782</b>
Pearson's $\chi^2=24.494$ , 10 <i>df.</i> ( $p<.01$ )							

As this study considers two subgroups of three-generation households (grandparent-led and parent-led), examining these households over time illustrates some

---

<sup>6</sup> While respondents in one-generation households are not part of the final analytic sample, I add this group at the beginning of my data analysis for comparison and context. Further descriptions in this chapter include respondents in one-generation household for context only. The summary statistics at the end of this chapter only include the analytic sample of respondents in two- and three-generation households.

shifts in household types. As discussed above, these households increased during the dip in one-generation households in the middle of the sample years, but also continued to grow into 2018. While Table 2 showed individual survey years with all three-generation households in one group, splitting three-generation households into sub-groups while pooling the survey years into two comparable groups based on the economic and housing crisis (2007-2009), illustrates the overall increase in three-generation households and the differences in the sub-groups. As seen in Table 3, not only do three-generation households grow over time, but sub-types of three-generation household grow at a different rate.<sup>7</sup> Statistical analysis using Pearson's Chi-square test demonstrates a significant difference between all household types, including the two variants of three-generation households over time.

**Table 3: Household Type Pre and Post 2008**

<i>Household Type Proportions Pre- and Post-2008</i>			
	2002-2006	2010-2018	Total
	N(Prop)	N(Prop)	
<i>1 Generation</i>	900 (.50)	1,477 (.49)	2,377
<i>2 Generation</i>	826 (.46)	1,417 (.47)	2,242
<i>3 Generation (GPC)</i>	50 (.027)	38 (.012)	88
<i>3 Generation (PGC)</i>	18 (.010))	58 (.019)	76
Total	1,794	2,990	4,782
Pearson's $\chi^2=20.770$ , 3 <i>df.</i> ( $p<.001$ )			

<sup>7</sup> The splitting of the sub-groups for three-generation households is included in this chapter for description and context. Final analyses in chapter 5 were not conducted on these sub-groups due to small sample size, as shown in Table 3.

## **Work-Family Conflict and Multigenerational Households**

While the household type considers all members of the household, all remaining dependent and independent variables are at the individual level. This analytic sample considers 4,782 individual respondents (one per household) to determine how work-family conflict may differ based on household type. Work-family conflict is measured by two variables: WFC and FWC. Additionally, this study considers the possible mediation of WFC and FWC by obligation and responsibility for individuals situated in these households.

### ***Work-to-Family Conflict***

Work-to-family conflict (WFC) is measured by the individual's response to how often work interferes with family responsibilities. Across the sample, 24% answered *never*, 32% *rarely*, 32% *sometimes*, and 12% *often* regardless of household type. This proportion shifts between household types, with individuals in three-generation households more likely to report either *often* or *never* than those in one- and two-generation households. As the number of generations in the household increases, so does the proportion of individuals who report experiencing conflict *often*. Individuals in two-generation households are the least likely to report *never* experiencing WFC. Through an analysis of variance, I found that respondents in two- and three-generation households differ significantly from one-generation households, but not significantly from each other in how often they experience WFC, as shown in Figure 4.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> I present visual charts of proportions for each variable throughout this chapter and a summary of the descriptive statistics in Table 4 at the end. This table also includes which differences were significant according to the analysis of variance testing with a 95% confidence interval.



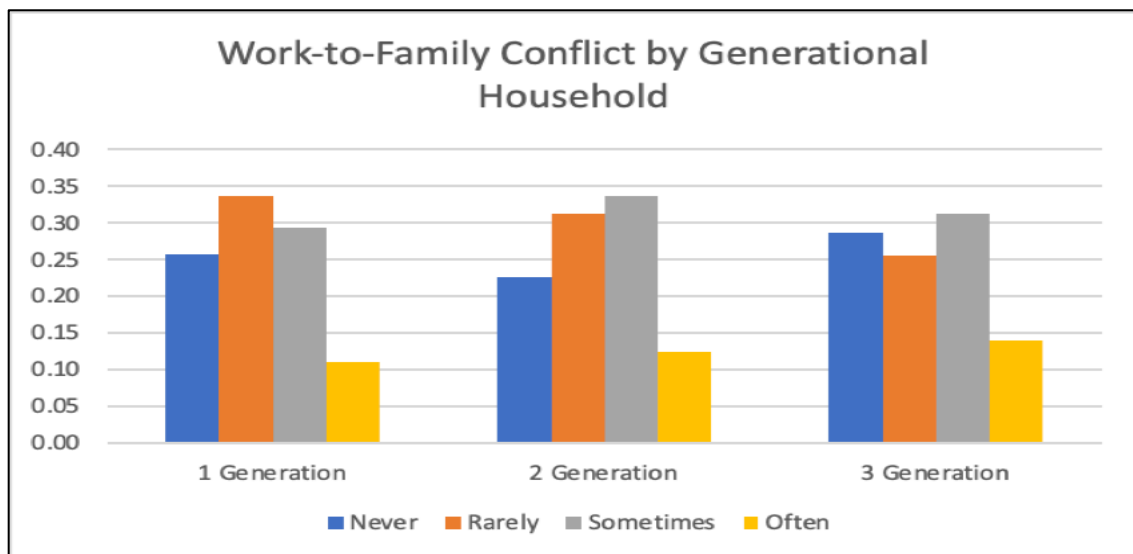


Figure 4: Work-to-Family Conflict by Household

When three-generation households are split into sub-groups, both significantly differ from one-generation households and from each other. Individuals in grandparent-led households are less likely to experience WFC *often* than do individuals in parent-led households. Additionally, 31% of grandparent-led household *never* experience WFC compared to 26% of parent-led three generation households. While parent-led three-generation households are more likely than two-generation households to report *never*, they are also more likely to report WFC *often* than other households. Figure 5 illustrates how often individuals in each household type experience WFC.

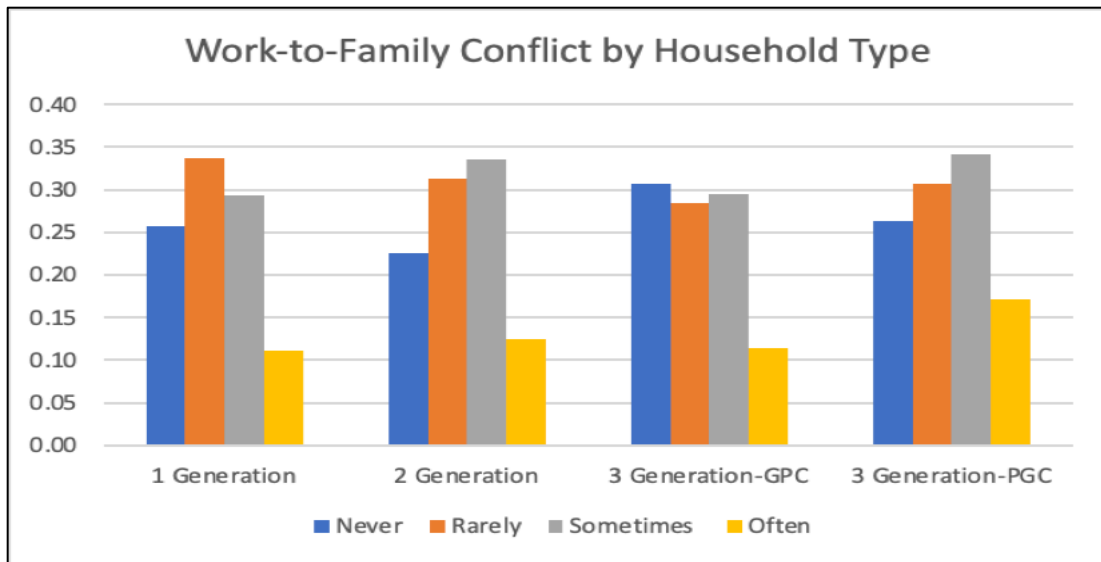


Figure 5: Work-to-Family Conflict by Three-Generation Households

For a clearer comparison across household types and as I described in Chapter 3, I further consolidated how often an individual experiences WFC into two groups: those who experience WFC at least sometimes have more WFC and those who experience it rarely or not at all have less. As shown in Figure 6 below, individuals in one-generation households significantly experience WFC less often than both two- and three-generation households.

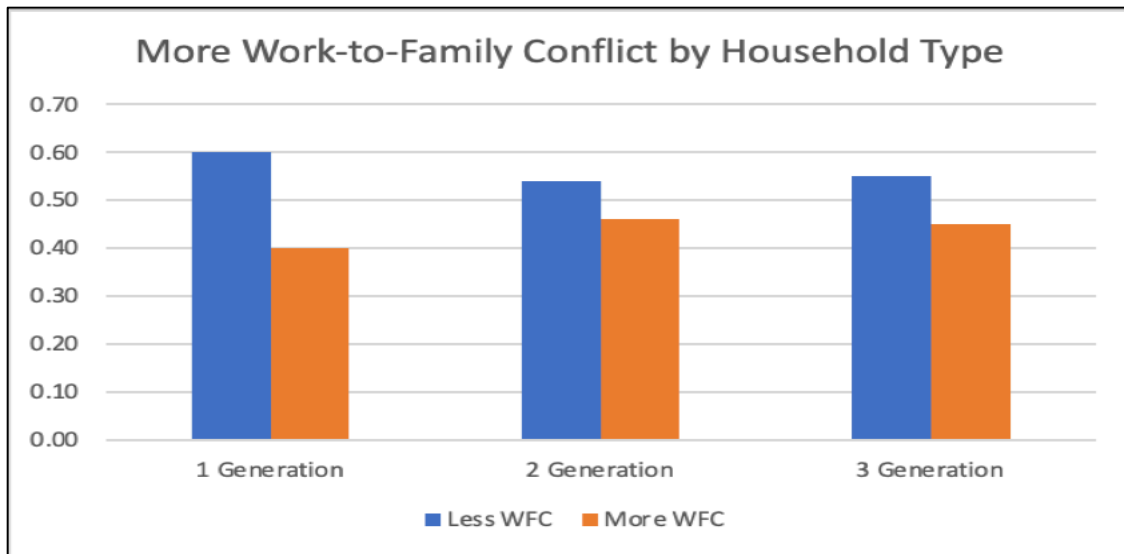


Figure 6: More WFC by Household Type

### ***Family-to-Work Conflict***

FWC is measured the same as WFC, with respondents asked how often their family responsibilities interfere with their work. Across the sample, 35% answered *never*, 39% *rarely*, 22% *sometimes*, and 5% *often* regardless of household type. Individuals in three-generation households more likely to report FWC *often* than are individuals in one-generation homes, and 36% of three-generation households experience FWC at least *sometimes* compared to 31% of two-generation and 22% of one-generation households. As the number of generations in the household increases, so does the proportion of individuals who experience FWC more frequently. The difference between how often individual's experience FWC and their household type is significant. See Figure 7 below.

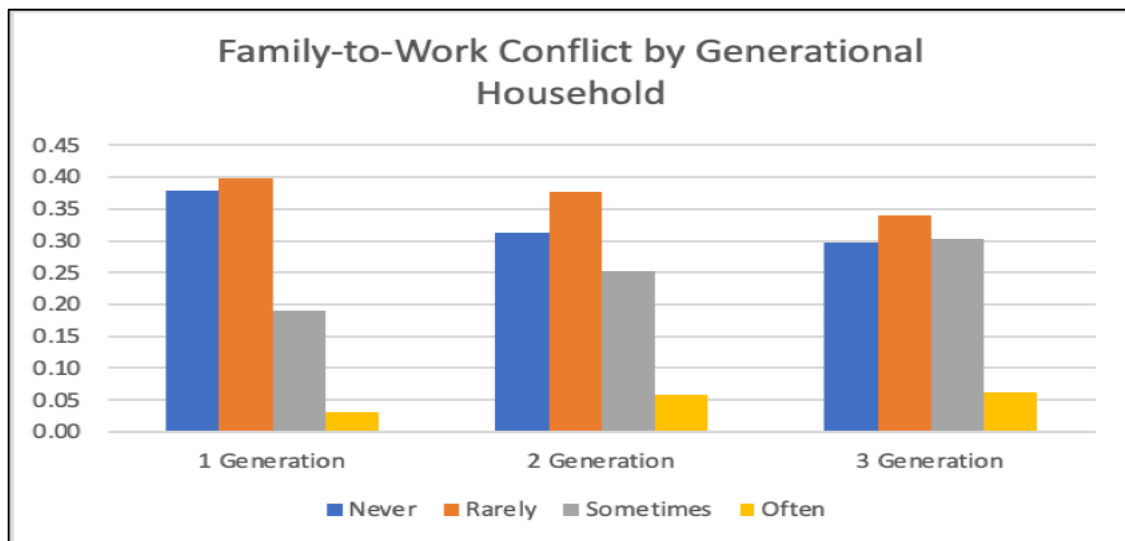
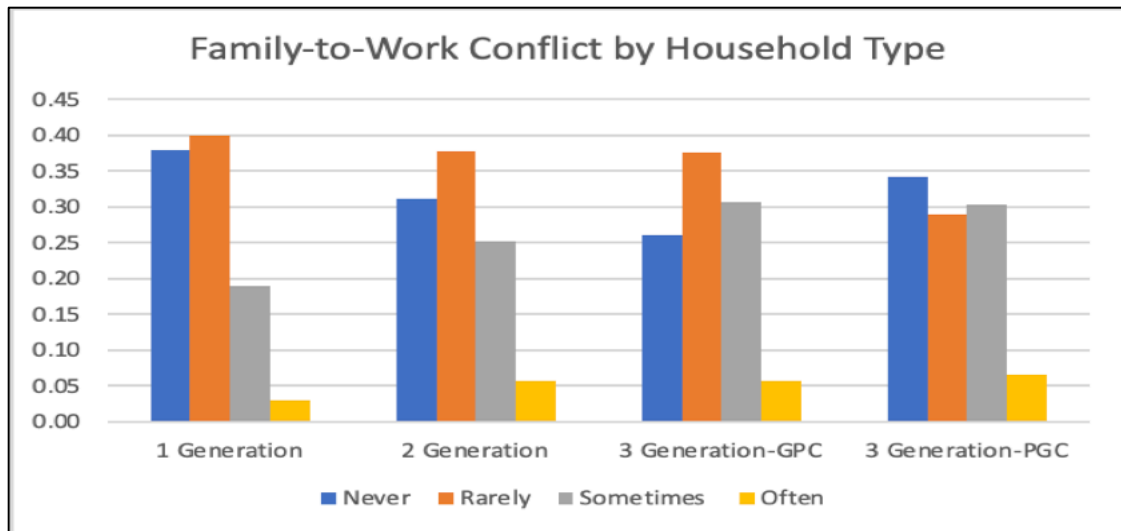


Figure 7: Family-to-Work Conflict by Generational Household

This difference remains significant when both sub-groups of three-generation households are considered, as both sub-groups significantly differ from one-generation households and grandparent-led households also differ from two-generation households. Individuals in parent-led households are more likely to *never* experience FWC than do individuals in grandparent-led households. While only 26% of grandparent-led households *never* experience FWC, 34% of parent-led households don't either. Compared with WFC above for the same household types, the likelihood is reversed. Parent-led households are more likely to experience WFC than are grandparent-led households, and grandparent-led households are more likely to experience FWC than parent-led households. Figure 8 summarizes FWC across all household types.



**Figure 8: Family-to-Work Conflict by Three-Generation Households**

As with WFC, when how often the individual experiences FWC is consolidated, a relationship is visible. Individuals who experience FWC at least sometimes have more FWC and those who rarely or never experience FWC have less. As shown in Figure 9, as number of generations in the household increases, so too does the frequency of FWC.

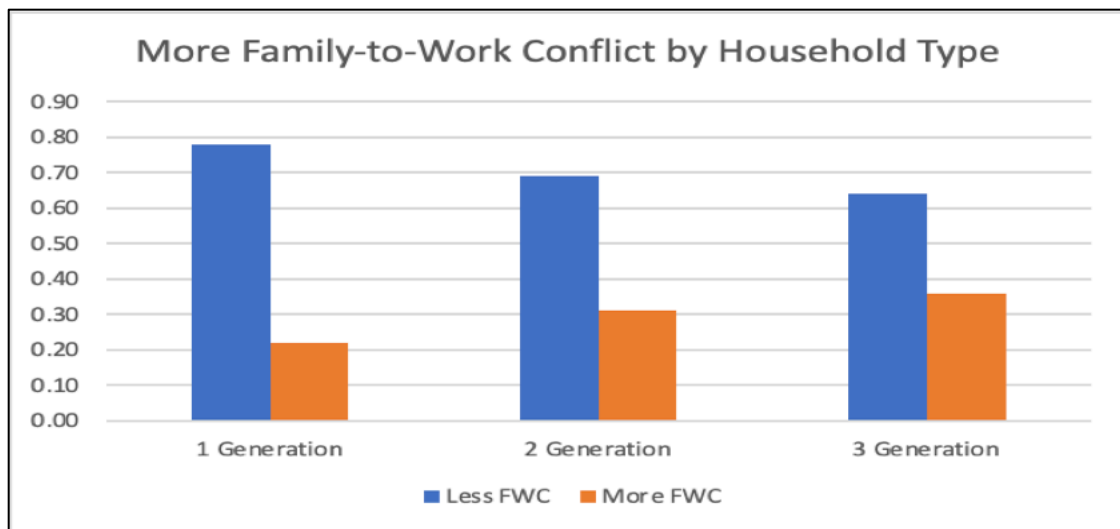


Figure 9: More FWC by Household Type

### **Socio-demographics and Multigenerational Households**

While household type considers all members of the household and their relationship to the householder, gender, race, class, and age cohort are unique to the individual respondents. Each is considered across the sample, then by household type, and summarized at the end of this chapter.

#### ***Gender and Multigenerational Households***

While the household type variable considers all members of the household, gender, race, class, and age cohort are unique to the individual respondents. Of the 4,782 respondents from 2002-2018, women and men each represent 50% of the sample. Men and women however are not equally represented in each household type. Sixty-one percent of the men in the sample are in one-generation households, compared to only 54% of women, leaving 45% of women in two- and three-generation households compared to 39% of men. As women are more likely to have physical custody of minor-

aged children regardless of marital status, it is expected that women respondents are more likely than men respondents to live in two- and three-generation households.

More telling is the proportion of women respondents in these households who are the householder. Respondents who also hold householder status are more often men, but the gap between these households narrows and shifts to more women householders with additional generations in the household. Gender is significant across all household types, with women more likely to head households with more generations in them. When the sub-groups of three-generation households are considered, grandmothers lead 65%-the majority of whom do so without a spouse/partner. Women are also more likely to head parent-led three-generation households than men, though at a lower proportion than grandmothers (see Figure 10).

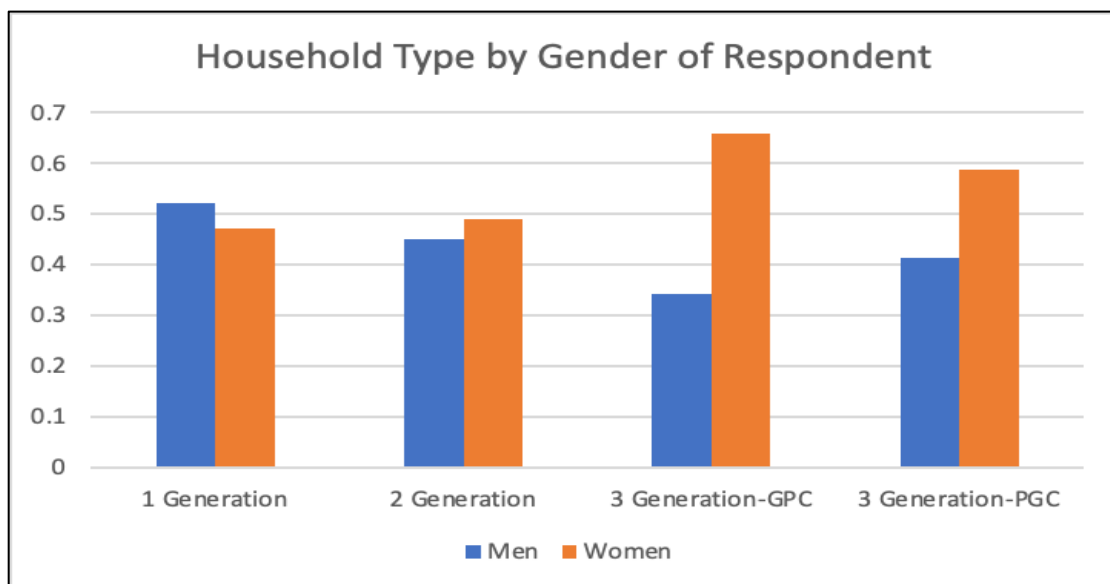


Figure 10: Gender by Household Type

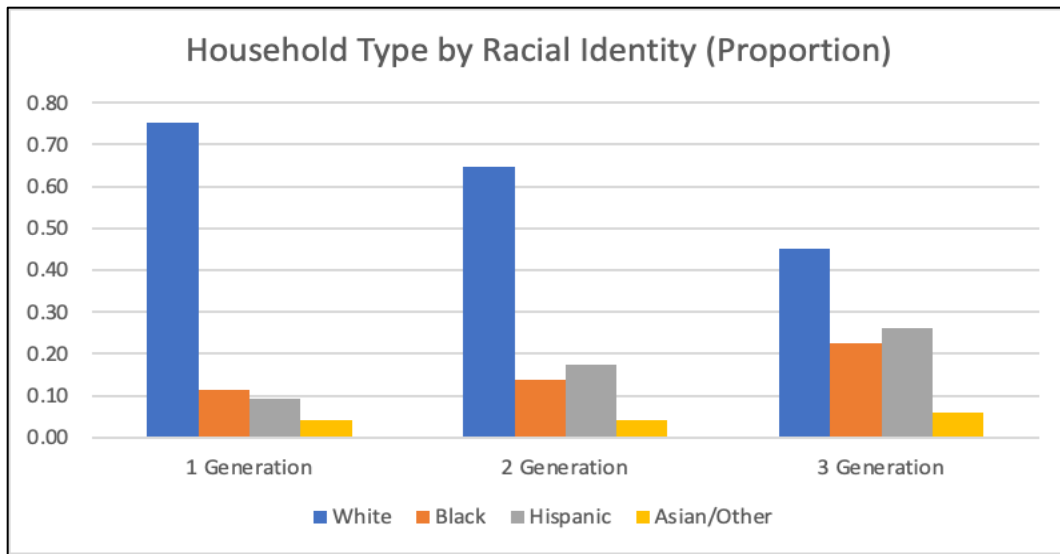
### ***Race and Multigenerational Households***

Multigenerational households differ across different racial identities over the course of the sample. While those respondents who identify as white are the majority of those surveyed (69%), the minority sample population is within the range of the American Community Survey for the consolidated identifications (ACS 2020). The sample population includes *White, Black, Hispanic<sup>9</sup>, and Asian/Other*. While the proportions of racial groups within the sample align with the greater population, differences are more apparent by household type. As shown in Figure 11, while white respondents maintain the majority of most household types, this is reduced as the number of generations in the household increases.

---

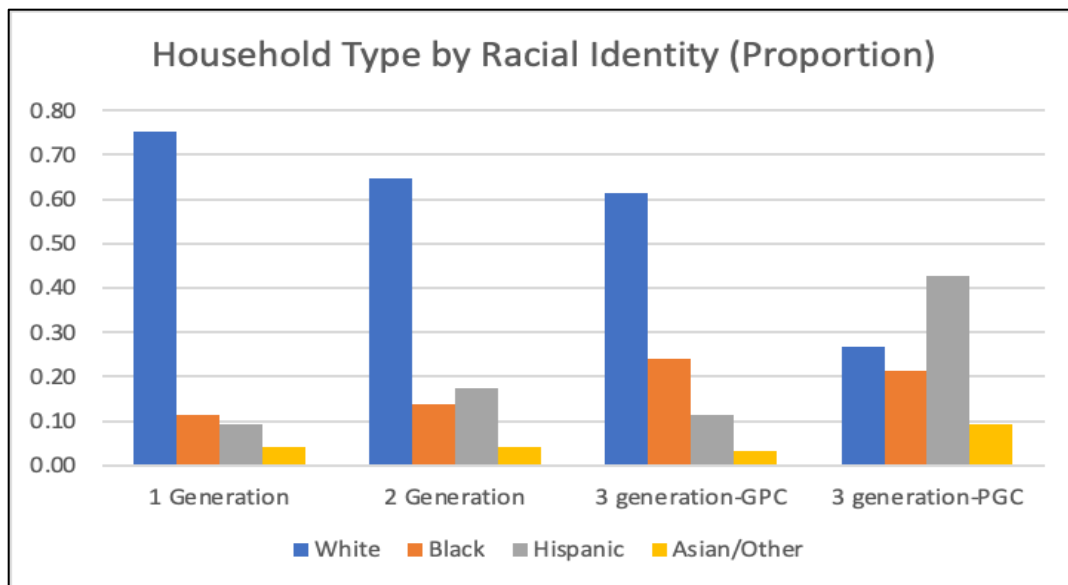
<sup>9</sup> While the GSS designated Hispanic in a separate question from Race, if a respondent identified as Hispanic, they were consolidated with those who chose Hispanic on the Race question. Additionally, the GSS was only offered in English until 2006, when Spanish was added as an interview language. This may have limited additional respondents for the 2002 portion of the study sample here.





**Figure 11: Racial Identity by Household Type**

As with gender, statistical differences between household types and race are significant as well. There are also differences between minority respondents, as Hispanic households are a larger portion of both two- and three-generation households. When the three-generation subgroups (grandparent-led and parent-led) are broken out, the proportion within these households shifts dramatically. For parent-led three-generation households, Hispanic respondents make up over 46% of households as seen in Figure 12 below. The statistically significant difference between groups illustrates a relationship between race and household type. Put simply, minority respondents are more likely to be in larger household types than are white respondents.



**Figure 12: Racial Identity by Three-Generation Household**

Given this, I further consolidated minority respondents to compare to white respondents, for reasons also described in Chapter 3. The inverse relationship between household type and minority status is more evident, as Figure 13 illustrates. Minority respondents are more likely to be in three-generation households (of both types) than white respondents and represent three times as many parent-led households as do white respondents. Conversely, white respondents represent three times as many one-generation households as do minority respondents.

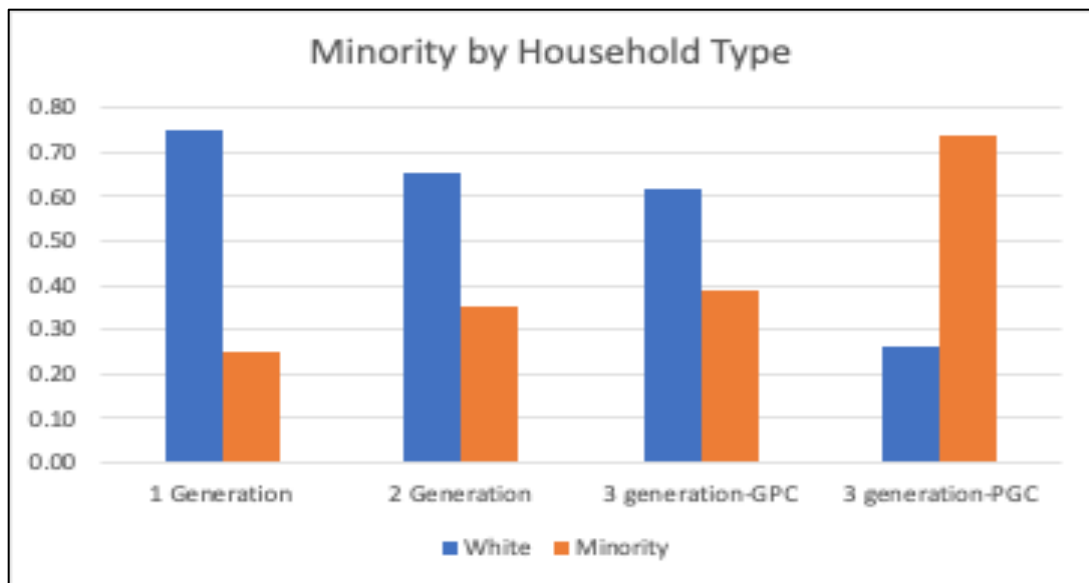


Figure 13: Minorities by Household Type

### ***Class and Multigenerational Households***

Respondents across most socioeconomic classes are represented in each of the household types for this study. The majority of respondents classified themselves as either *middle-* or *working-class*, while only 6.9% classified themselves as *upper-* or *lower-class*. Notably, none of the respondents within three-generation households classified themselves as *upper-class*. Due to this, this study consolidates *upper-* and *middle-class* respondents for comparison. This combined group (2,206 respondents) represents 46% of the sample population, compared with *working-class* (46%) and *lower-class* (3.4%) respondents.

Socioeconomic class, like race, also has a statistically significant relationship with household type. As mentioned above, those in the upper class were not in three-generation households. Those in the working and lower class are the majority of three-

generation households (69%) and this trend towards larger households at lower socioeconomic class is statistically significant. As Figure 14 shows, the proportions across household type shift in a consistent relationship.

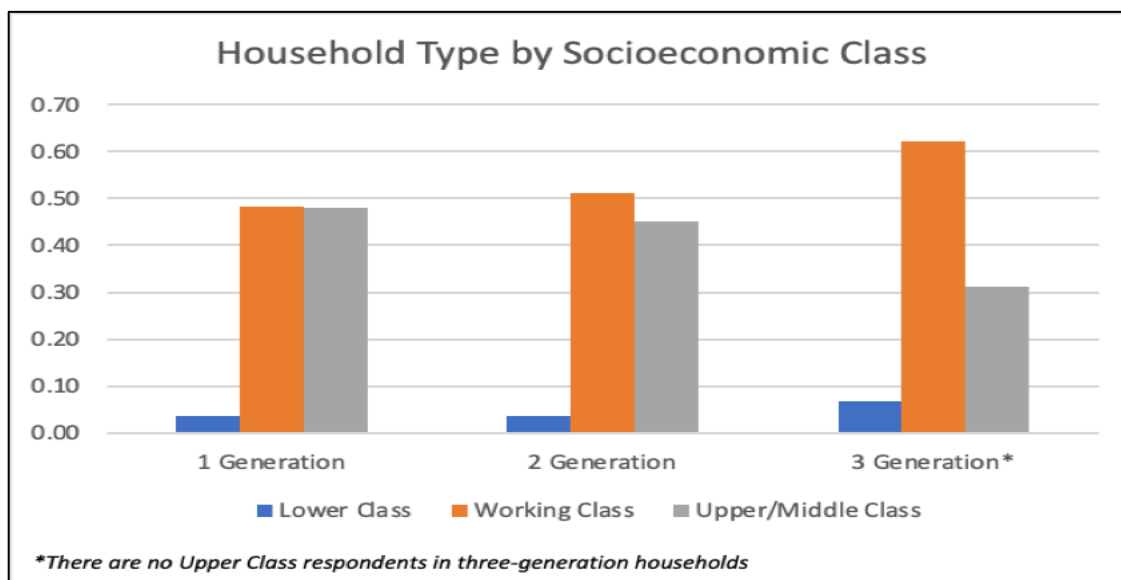


Figure 14: Socioeconomic Class by Household Type

While socioeconomic class and race both have similar relationships with household type, the relationship between the three-generation subgroups is not statistically significant for class. In this sample, grandparent-led three-generation households do not differ significantly from all other types. Parent-led three-generation households do differ significantly by class from one- and two-generation households. Of note, lower-class respondents represent nearly twice as many grandparent-led households (9%) as do lower-class respondents in parent-led households (4%). While not statistically

significant, the proportion of lower-class respondents is greatest in the grandparent-led households, as shown in Figure 15.

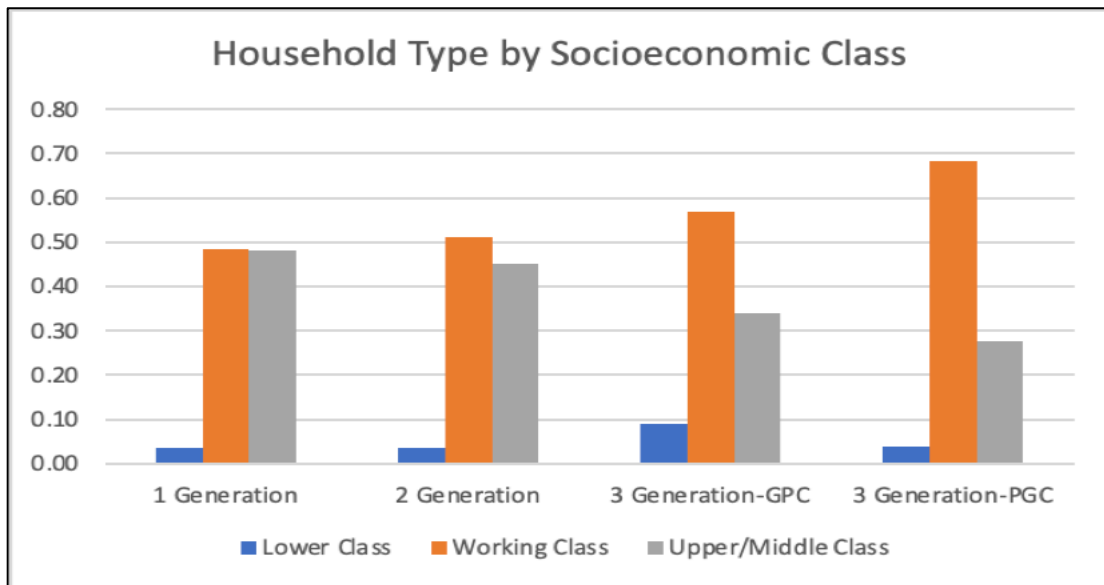


Figure 15: Socioeconomic Class by Three-Generation Household

When class is further consolidated to *middle-class* and *working-class*, as discussed in Chapter 3 based on the small percentage of both upper- and lower-class respondents in the sample, the relationship remains significant. Similar to race and gender, there is an inverse relationship between the number of generations in the household, and the class status of the individual respondent. The proportion of working-class respondents grows from 52% of one-generation households to 72% of parent-led three-generation households. Additionally, while working-class respondents are the majority of both sub-groups of three-generation households, middle-class respondents

represent 34% of grandparent-led households compared versus only 28% of parent-led households. See Figure 16 below.

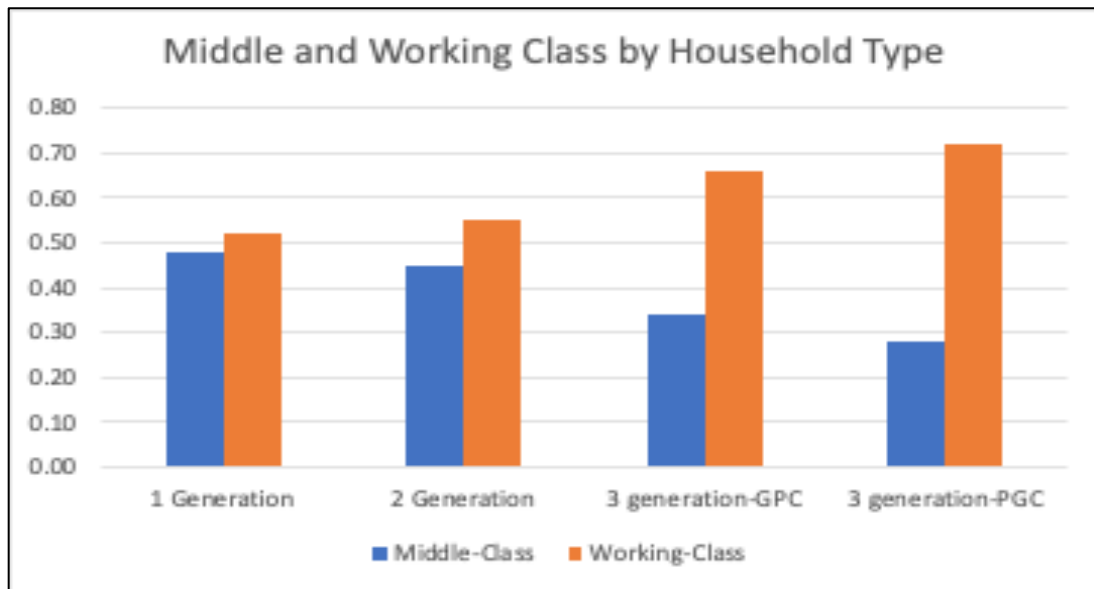


Figure 16: Middle- and Working-Class by Household Type

### ***Age and Multigenerational Households***

Respondent's age within the sample ranged from 18-89 years at the time they were surveyed. Age cohorts, based off of year of birth, spread the sample from the *silent and greatest generations* (pre-1946) to *generation Z* (1996 and after). The sample sizes for these cohorts at either extreme were small and I consolidated with the nearest cohort. These consolidated cohorts include: *Greatest/Boomer Generation* (44%), *Generation X* (37%), and *Millennials/Generation Z* (20%).

Age cohorts within generational households vary but can also be accounted for through life cycle of the respondents. While the oldest cohort will be represented in all

three household types, Millennials are far less so due to the life cycle at the time of the survey. Both Generation X and Millennials are more likely to be in two-generation households than one-generation households, whereas the older Boomers are more likely to be in one-generation households. The relationship between age cohort and household type is statistically significant, particularly due to the overlap of life stages and age.<sup>10</sup>

Figure 17 summarizes these proportions by household type.

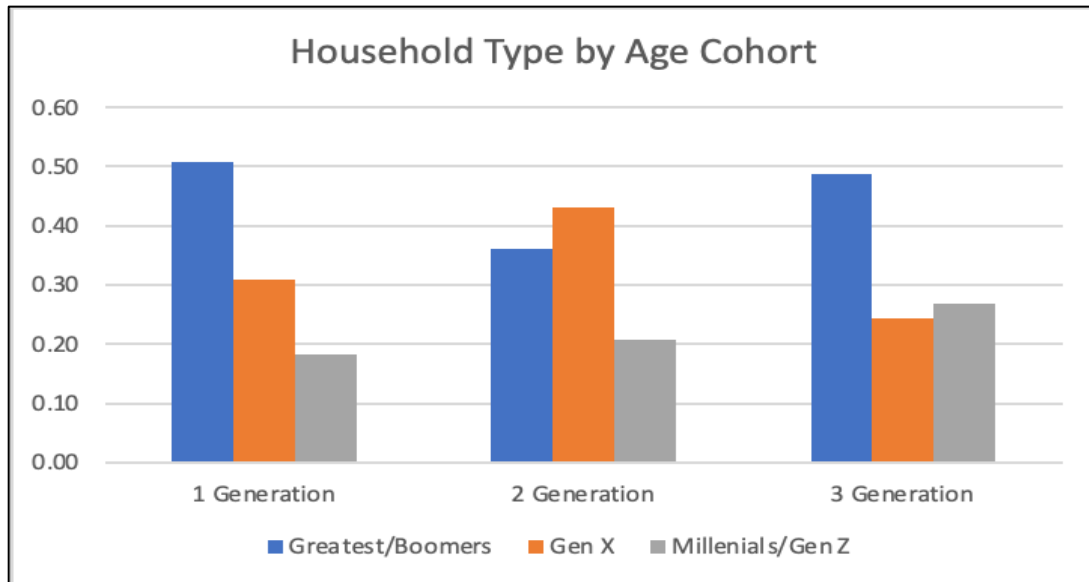


Figure 17: Age Cohort by Household Type

<sup>10</sup> As the sub-groups for three-generation households are delineated by the family position of the householder (grandparent or parent) I did not test these sub-groups for age cohort. Age cohort and life course (grandparenthood) resulted in too few cases for analysis beyond a combined three-generation household as seen in Table 1.

## **Obligation and Responsibility and Multigenerational Households**

This study also considers the mediating effect of the obligation to provide care for family and the responsibility to provide for the household. One variable is a stated belief (obligation) while the other is the amount of responsibility the respondent has assumed by the ratio of household income they provide.

### ***Obligation***

The obligation to care for family is measured as an agreement with whether or not the adult children should care. Across the sample, 61% of respondents believe they should provide care. Unsurprisingly, as generations in the household increase, so too does the proportion of respondents that answered *yes*. While 58% of respondents in one-generation households believe they *should*, 71% of those in three-generation households believe they should. Given that respondents in three-generation households are either the oldest generation with two younger generations in the home, or those adult children who have their parents in their home, it is logical that a majority of these households also believe they are obligated to provide care. The statistical difference is significant across all households, including the sub-groups of three-generation households. Notably, GPC households have similar proportions of obligated respondents to two-generation households. For three-generation households overall, the proportion of respondents that do not feel obligated is lower in both sub-groups than in two-generation households. See Figure 18 below for a graphical representation of this difference.



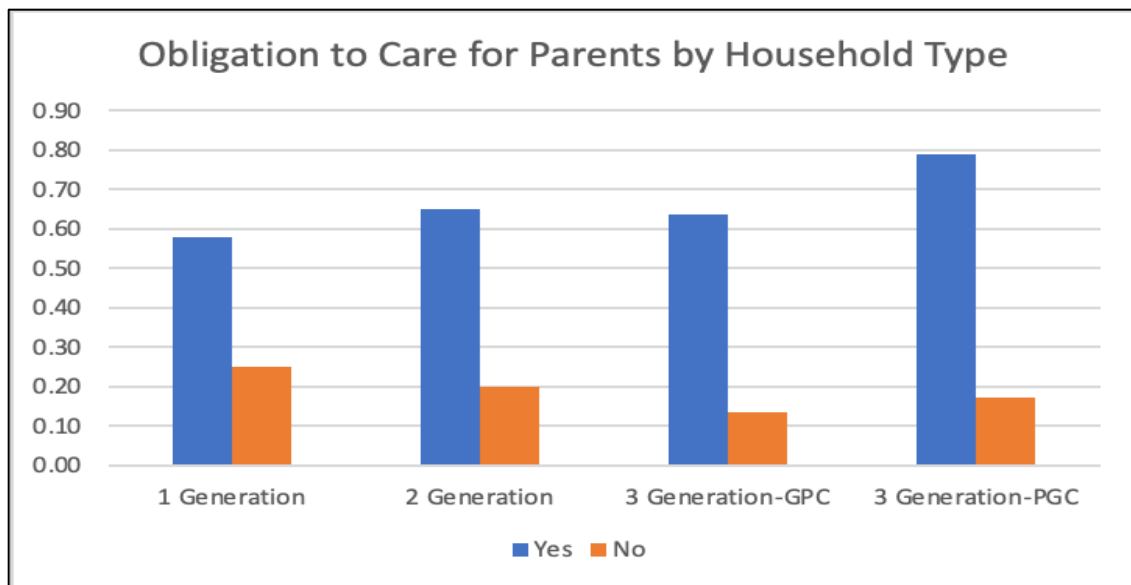


Figure 18: Obligation to Care by Household Type

This belief/action agreement, where respondents have aging parents in their home or grandparents are providing a home for grandchildren, also explains the rise the increase in perceived obligation between one- and two-generation households. When sub-groups of two-generation households are considered, respondents who only provide care for their parents (79%) are as obligated as those in adult children-led three-generation households (78%). Additionally, 81% of grandparents caring for their grandchildren in two-generation households believe they are obligated, while only 64% of respondents in grandparent-led three-generation households do. While sub-groups of two-generation households are not the focus of this study,<sup>11</sup> the perceived obligation by both generation in the household and household type is significant and illustrates a relationship between

<sup>11</sup> Two-generation grandparent/grandchildren households were intentionally coded with two- versus three-generation households due to the presence of minors and the dynamic more akin to parent-child households.

belief and action. In short, those that are in the process of providing care outside the parent-to-child dynamic, are more likely to believe they are obligated to do so.

### ***Responsibility***

Respondents within the overall sample are predominately breadwinners for their household, meaning their income represents at least 75% of the total family income. Only 10% of respondents are responsible for less than 50% of family income. Providing income to the household is a responsibility (action) that respondents take and represents how much the household may depend upon that respondent's work. Breadwinners make up 80% of respondents in one-generation households, compared to 70% of those in three-generation households. While only 12.5% of respondents in both two- and three-generation households contribute less than 50% to the family income, respondents in one-generation households are still significantly more likely to be breadwinners, as Figure 19 shows.

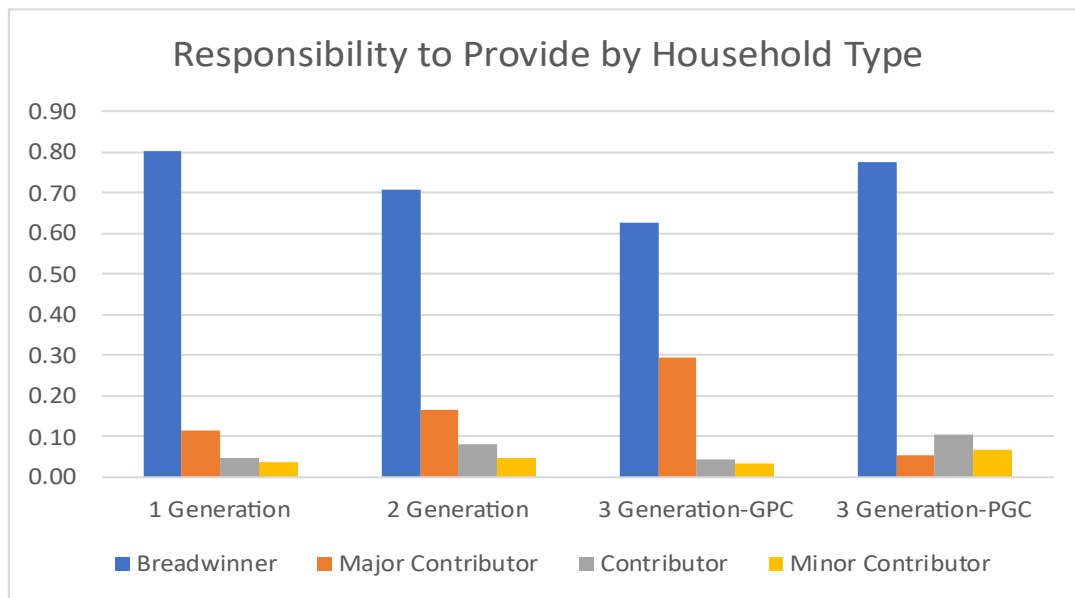


Figure 19: Responsibility to Provide by All Household Types

Responsibility to provide is varies significantly across all household types including across three-generation sub-groups. Figure 19 illustrates that breaking out parent-led from grandparent-led three-generation households changes the proportion of breadwinner respondents. Of note, while breadwinners are 70% of all three-generation households, they represent 78% of parent-led three-generation households. This is both statistically significant and represents the likelihood that parent generations are more likely to be in their prime income earning years compared with grandparent generations.

Given the predominance of breadwinners across all household types, I further consolidated this variable into *breadwinners* and *contributors*, as discussed in Chapter 3. Figure 20 summarizes this consolidation below. As households are defined by who “owns or rent the home” these breadwinners are most often also the homeowner, demonstrating further responsibility to provide not only income but basic needs.

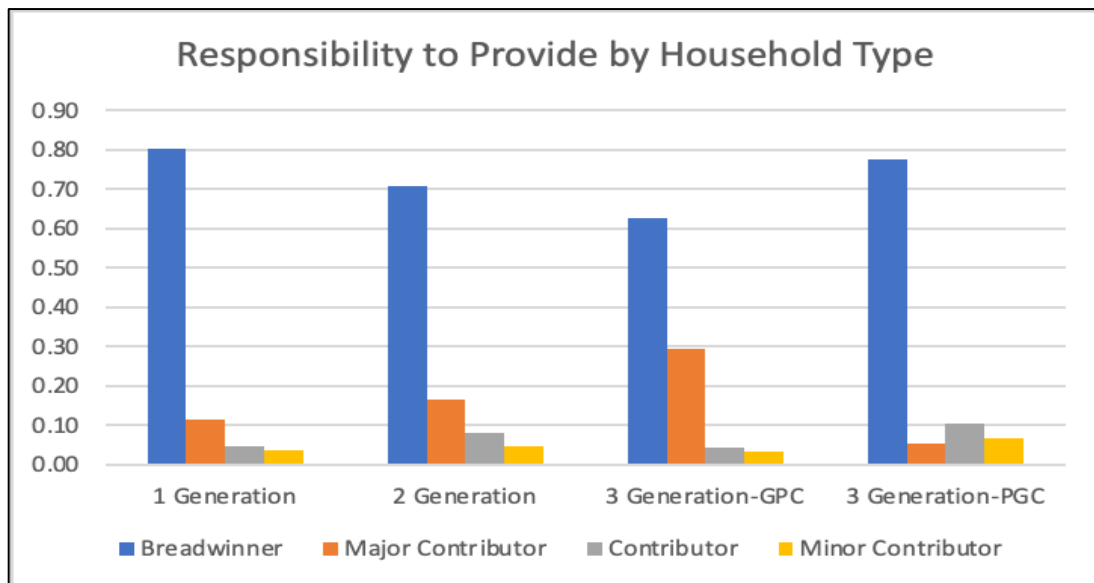


Figure 20: Breadwinners by Household Type

## Summary

The socio-demographics of the sample population provide both context and variables for analysis to answer the questions of this study: *how does work-family conflict differ across households; how do obligation and responsibility impact reported work-family conflict; and how do economic events shape work-family conflict for these households?* The hypotheses for this study consider the socio-demographics of the respondents in addition to their household type to answer these questions. This chapter has considered gender, race, class, and age to describe each household type, the reported WFC and FWC experienced by the respondents in those households, and the perceived obligation and responsibility of the individual to the household and its members.

WFC and FWC are both significant over household type, with two-generation households most likely to experience at least some conflict and one-generation households consistently reporting *never* experiencing either WFC or FWC. When grandparent-led and parent-led three generation households are compared, grandparent households are more likely to experience some FWC while parent-led households are more likely to experience WFC.

While men are more likely to be householders in general, grandmothers are twice as likely to head three-generational households as grandfathers. Minority respondents are more likely to be in multigenerational households than white respondents, as are working-class respondents. While older and younger adults are more likely to be in one-generation homes, by household definition, three-generation households have both older adults and younger children (adult and minor) in the household.

Additionally, respondents in parent-led three-generations households are more likely to have a sense of obligation to care than those in one-generation households. Lastly, respondents are predominately breadwinners in most households, though the proportion of breadwinners to income contributors reduces as number of generations increases with the exception of parent-led three generation households. Table 4 presents the summary proportions across each category. Further analysis and hypothesis testing is presented in Chapter 5.

**Table 4: Summary of Descriptive Statistics (Proportion) for Work-Family Conflict by Household Type**

<b>Descriptive Statistics (Proportions) for Work-Family Conflict by Household Type</b>			
	N=2,406	2 Generation (.93)	3 Generation (.07)
<b><i>Work-Family Conflict (Less/More)*</i></b>			
<i>More WFC</i>	.46	.47	.45
<b><i>Family-Work Conflict (Less/More)*</i></b>			
<i>More FWC</i>	.31	.31	.36
<b><i>Gender (Men/Women) *</i></b>			
<i>Women</i>	.52	.51	.63
<b><i>Race (White/Minority) *</i></b>			
<i>Minority</i>	.37	.35	.55
<b><i>Class (Middle/Working) *</i></b>			
<i>Working Class</i>	.56	.55	.69
<b><i>Age Cohort *<sup>a</sup></i></b>			
<i>Baby Boomers &amp; older</i>	.37	.36	.49
<i>Generation X</i>	.42	.43	.24
<i>Millennials &amp; younger</i>	.21	.20	.27
<b><i>Obligation to Provide Care (Yes/No)*</i></b>			
<i>Yes</i>	.77	.76	.82
<b><i>Responsibility to Provide (Breadwinner/Contributor)*</i></b>			
<i>Breadwinners (&gt;75%)</i>	.71	.71	.69
<b><i>Household Type Sub-Groups</i></b>			
<i>Grandparent-led</i>		--	.54
<i>Parent-led</i>		--	.46
* One-way analysis of variance shows statistical difference at the .05 level.			
<sup>a</sup> Age is not a binary variable in this study, the statistical mean for age at time of data collection was 42.8. All other variables statistical mean is represented by the proportions above.			

## CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

This chapter presents the results of tests of the hypotheses listed in Chapter 2 in order to provide an understanding of work-family conflict for multigenerational households. The purpose of this study is to determine how individuals in different household types experience work-family conflict, how their individual sense of obligation and responsibility influence that experience, and how that experience is potentially influenced by macro-economic events. This chapter presents the findings and tests the hypotheses-each of which situates individual's experiences with work-family conflict into a broader framework.

In the previous chapter, I described household type through the gender, race, class, and age composition of household members to provide the context of the family situation (household type and members) and the relationship between individual characteristics and those household types. In this chapter, I present the analysis of those characteristics and their influence on work-family conflict. Each section is organized by research question, where I discuss my results in relation to the expectations of my hypotheses and summarize the findings. This chapter concludes with an overall summary of the findings before placing these results in conversation with the extant literature in the following chapter.

### **How Work-Family Conflict Differs for Multigenerational Households (RQ1)**

The first question of this study considers work-family conflict (both FWC and WFC) across household types, specifically *how does work-family conflict differ between*

*multigenerational households and two-generation households?* After examining the descriptive statistics in the previous chapter, I conducted a logistic regression analysis to determine which respondents were more likely to have higher conflict as a result of their household type and individual characteristics.

### ***Differences in Work-to-Family Conflict across Households***

I first examine the effect household type has on a respondent's reported WFC, comparing two- and three-generation households (N=2,406 cases). As noted in Table 5, respondents in three-generation households do not experience a significant difference in WFC relative to those in two-generation households. Table 5 summarizes the coefficients and odds ratio for each characteristic as it predicts WFC for the entire sample; I discuss each in turn. While gender, race, and age cohort all significantly influence the respondent's reported WFC, class differences were not significant.

### ***Individual Characteristics and WFC***

Gender is an important demographic when considering work and family conflict. Much of the literature points to the relationship between gender and work and family roles. I specifically examined the effects of gender in two ways: across household type and within gender. Men and women each represent half of the sample and men and women respondents as a group experienced WFC differently. As noted in Table 5, women are 30% less likely than are men to report WFC.



**Table 5: Logistic Regression for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households				
	<i>Coefficient (B)</i>	<i>Standard Error (S.E.)</i>	<i>Odds Ratio (O.R.)</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>				
Two Generation (Reference)	--	--	--	--
Three Generation	0.176	(.167)	1.193	(.860-1.654)
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>				
<b><i>Gender</i></b>				
<i>Men (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Women</i>	-0.368	(.083)	.692***	(.588-.815)
<b><i>Race</i></b>				
<i>White (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Minority</i>	-0.305	(.089)	.737***	(.619-.878)
<b><i>Class</i></b>				
<i>Middle Class (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Working Class</i>	-0.131	(.086)	.877	(.729-1.038)
<b><i>Age Cohort</i></b>				
<i>Born 1965-1979 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	-0.409	(.095)	.664***	(.552-.800)
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials</i>	-0.470	(.112)	.625***	(.502-.778)
N=2,406 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), ***(p<.001). Model fit tests: $X^2=59.518$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.024$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.033$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $X^2=25.979$ (p<.01).				

Previous research documented a different experience regarding work-family conflict for individuals in minority communities and families as compared to white respondents. As such, I considered the effect of membership in these communities in these analyses. Minority respondents represent one-third of respondents overall, but over half of respondents in three-generation households. Given this, I found significant differences between white and minority respondents for WFC. Controlling for other

characteristics, I found that minority respondents are almost 30% less likely as white respondents to experience higher WFC, as shown in Table 5.

As I illustrated in Figure 14, the majority (55%) of respondents consider themselves working-class as opposed to middle-class across both household types, and working-class respondents are 70% of three-generation households. Considering this and the present literature, I tested whether or not respondents experience WFC differently by class. As shown in Table 5, I did not find a significant difference between working-class and middle-class respondents across household types.

Age cohort (or birth generation) within the scope of this project is a unique concept in my analysis. Rather than rely on age, I compared across generational age cohorts (three cohorts as described in Chapter 3) to account for expected life course situation. While there was not a significant difference when comparing older baby boomer respondents to the collective Generation X and millennial respondents, both millennials and baby boomers are significantly different from Generation X respondents. This can be attributed to the presence of children in the home and the relatively young age of Generation X respondents (25-44 during the years of the sample).

WFC is significant when comparing older (boomers) and younger (millennials) respondents to the reference age group across household types. As shown in Table 5, older adults are 30% less likely to experience WFC compared to Generation X. Additionally, the youngest adults are 35% less likely to experience higher WFC than their next older (Generation X) peers.

### *Individual Characteristics and Household Type*

After comparing how respondents may experience WFC differently based on household type or individual characteristics, I next considered how household type and individual characteristics may interact. As shown in Table 6, I first considered the interaction of gender and three-generation households (Model 1), minority status (Model 2), socio-economic class (Model 3), and age cohort (Model 4), and then the overall interaction effect (Model 5). I discuss each in turn below.

**Table 6: Logistic Regression for Work-to-Family with Interaction Effects**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents With Interaction Effects (Odds Ratio)					
	<i>Model 1 Gender</i>	<i>Model 2 Race</i>	<i>Model 3 Class</i>	<i>Model 4 Age Cohort</i>	<i>Model 5 All</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>					
<i>Three Generation</i>	1.782*	1.182	1.089	.967	1.531
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>					
<i>Women</i>	.722***	.692***	.692***	.692***	.722***
<i>Minority</i>	.737***	.737***	.737***	.736***	.737***
<i>Working Class</i>	.878	.877	.870	.876	.869
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	.664***	.664***	.664***	.658***	.660***
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials</i>	.625***	.625***	.625***	.609***	.612***
<b><u>Interactions</u></b>					
<b><u>(Characteristic x Household)</u></b>					
<i>Women x Three Generation</i>	.519				.506
<i>Minority x Three Generation</i>		1.017			.815
<i>Working Class x Three Generation</i>			1.144		1.178
<i>Older (Boomers) x Three Generation</i>				1.238	1.158
<i>Younger (Millennial) x Three Generation</i>				1.505	1.426
N=2,406 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), *** (p<.001). Model 5 fit tests: $X^2=64.153$ ( $p<.001$ ), Cox & Snell $R^2=.026$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.035$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $X^2=31.073$ ( $p<.001$ ).					

When considering the interaction of gender and household type (Table 6, Model 1), there is no significant difference in WFC-meaning that women respondents do not differ from each other by household type. Put another way, being in a larger household type does not have a significant effect on reported WFC for women.<sup>12</sup>

In Model 2, I considered the interaction for minority respondents in three-generation households. I did not find a significant difference from this interaction and there is no significant change in either household type or minority status. In other words, there is no significant difference for minority respondents based on household type. I found similar results for class (Model 3) and for older adults (Model 4). When all four interaction effects are considered in Model 5, there is no significant effect of household type across each characteristic. Simply put, household type does not change how most respondents experience WFC.

### ***Differences in Family-to-Work Conflict across Households***

Contrary to my findings for differences between household type for WFC, I found a statistically significant difference for household type for FWC. Respondents in three-generation households are nearly one-and-a-half times as likely to experience FWC than respondents in two-generation households. (Table 7). As this measures family interfering with work, it is logical that *more* family could lead to *more* FWC for respondents in these larger households.

---

<sup>12</sup> While there is evidence of significant interaction for men, as shown in three-generation household odds ratio of 1.7, there is not a significant effect for women.

### *Individual Characteristics and FWC*

Analyzing FWC in the same manner as WFC, I analyzed whether women and men respondents differed on FWC as they do on WFC. While gender was significant for WFC, it is not significant across FWC as shown in Table 7 below.

**Table 7: Logistic Regression for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households				
	<i>Coefficient (B)</i>	<i>Standard Error (S.E.)</i>	<i>Odds Ratio (O.R.)</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>				
Two Generation (Reference)	--	--	--	--
Three Generation	0.342	(.172)	1.407*	(1.004-1.972)
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>				
<b><u>Gender</u></b>				
Men (reference)	--	--	--	--
Women	0.040	(.089)	1.040	(.874-1.238)
<b><u>Race</u></b>				
White (reference)	--	--	--	--
Minority	-0.185	(.096)	.831*	(.689-.996)
<b><u>Class</u></b>				
Middle Class (reference)	--	--	--	--
Working Class	-0.131	(.086)	.877	(.729-1.038)
<b><u>Age Cohort</u></b>				
Born 1965-1979 (reference)	--	--	--	--
Born before 1965-Boomers	-0.263	(.100)	.769**	(.632-.935)
Born after 1979-Millennials	-0.402	(.121)	.669***	(.527-.849)
N=2,406 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), ***(p<.001). Model fit tests: $\chi^2=22.526$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.009$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.013$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $\chi^2=25.979$ (p>.05).				

While FWC does not significantly differ across gender, FWC is significantly different between white and minority respondents in two- and three-generation

households. As shown in Table 7 above, minority respondents are less likely than white respondents to experience FWC more often. Minority respondents are about 20% less likely to experience FWC more often than white respondents across both two- and three-generation households. Similar to WFC, I did not find a statistically significant difference between working- and middle-class respondents across the sample, as in Table 7.

When considering FWC by age cohort, life course is a complicating factor. Similar to WFC, I compared the three age cohorts/generations. Given the life course position of generation X, in the early child-rearing years, FWC is significantly higher for this middle cohort than for both baby boomers and millennial respondents. As shown in Table 7, baby boomers are 25% less likely and millennials are 35% less likely than generation X respondents to report FWC.

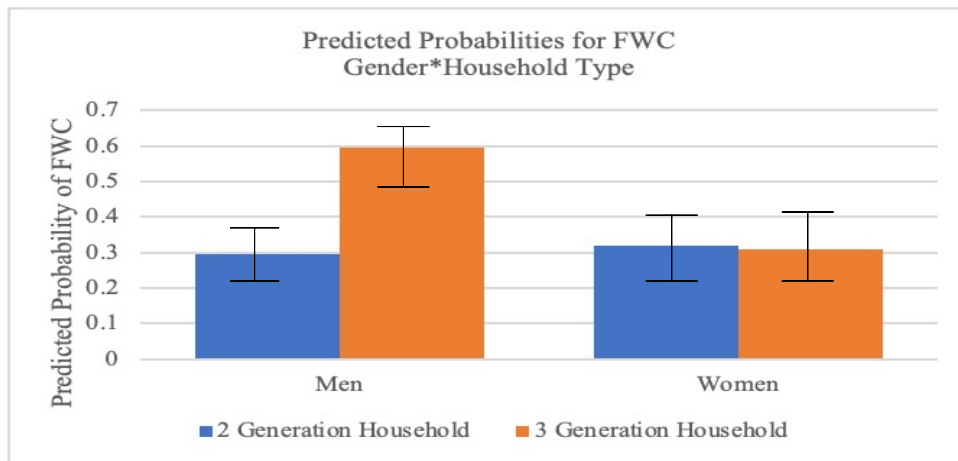
#### *Individual Characteristics and Household Type*

After comparing how respondents may experience FWC differently based on household type or individual characteristics, I next considered how household type and individual characteristics may interact. As shown in Table 8, I first tested the interaction of gender and three-generation households (Model 1), minority status (Model 2), socioeconomic class (Model 3), and age cohort (Model 4), and then the overall interaction effect (Model 5).

**Table 8: Logistic Regression for Family-to-Work Conflict with Interaction Effects**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents With Interaction Effects (Odds Ratio)					
	<i>Model 1 Gender</i>	<i>Model 2 Race</i>	<i>Model 3 Class</i>	<i>Model 4 Age Cohort</i>	<i>Model 5 All</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>					
<i>Three Generation</i>	3.202***	1.257	1.904*	1.716	5.855***
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>					
<i>Women</i>	1.146	1.044	1.040	1.040	1.146
<i>Minority</i>	.809*	.817*	.833	.832	.809*
<i>Working Class</i>	.888	.886	.913	.888	.916
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	.768**	.768**	.772**	.781*	.787*
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials</i>	.668***	.667***	.671***	.680**	.685**
<b><u>Interactions</u></b>					
<b><u>(Characteristic x Household)</u></b>					
<i>Women x Three Generation</i>	.249***				.238***
<i>Minority x Three Generation</i>		1.241			1.068
<i>Working Class x Three Generation</i>			.630		.621
<i>Older (Boomers) x Three Generation</i>				.764	.670
<i>Younger (Millennial) x Three Generation</i>				.754	.660
N=2,406 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), ***(p<.001). Model 5 fit tests: $\chi^2=40.870$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.017$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.024$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $\chi^2=20.024$ (p<.01).					

As shown in Model 1 of Table 8, there is a significant interaction between gender and household type for FWC. These differences are illustrated in Figure 21, where I present the probability of FWC by gender and household type. As shown, women in three-generation households are significantly less likely to experience FWC when compared to men in three-generation households. Women in three-generation households do not differ significantly from women in two-generation households either, as noted by the similar probability in Figure 21.



**Figure 21: Predicted Probabilities of FWC by Gender and Household Type**

In Model 2, I tested whether minority respondents experience differed FWC across household type. (Table 8) I did not find a significant difference. This means that household type does not significantly influence minority respondent's FWC. Similarly, in Model 3, I compare household type differences by class. There are no differences in the effects of social class by household type. As shown in Model 4, I did not find a significant interaction between age cohort and household type. While both older and younger adults differ from the middle age cohort (Generation X), the difference is not unique to household type. In other words, older adults do not differ across household type, nor do younger adults.

Lastly, when all interaction effects are included in Model 5, FWC differs significantly between men and women in three-generation households, but not in two-generation households.<sup>13</sup> Minority status is significant in two-generation households

<sup>13</sup> The addition of the interaction term gender x household type increased both  $X^2 = 38.217$ , with 7 df, and Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .024$ , and represents most of significant improvement between Model 5 in Table 8 and Table 7.



only. Otherwise, there is no significant difference across household types within individual demographics.

### ***Hypothesis Testing of WFC Differences by Household Type***

The first question of this study considered *how does work-family conflict differ for individuals in three-generation and two-generation households?* In Chapter 2, I developed seven hypotheses based on the literature to determine what differences there may be for these respondents based on household type. Two of these hypotheses consider only household type, while the remaining five consider individual characteristics as well as household type in an effort to answer the research question.

### ***Hypothesis Testing for Work-Family Conflict and Household Type***

The first two hypotheses stemming from the first research question relate to WFC and FWC and household type. Specifically:

*Q1Ha: Respondents in three-generation households will have lower WFC than those in two-generation households.*

*Q1Hb: Respondents in three-generation households will have higher FWC than those in two-generation households.*

As shown in Table 5, there is no significant difference in WFC by household type; therefore, Q1Ha is not supported. In Table 7, respondents in three-generation households are significantly more likely to report to FWC. Therefore, there is support for hypothesis Q1Hb.

### ***Hypothesis Testing for Individual Characteristics and Work-Family Conflict***

There are two hypotheses regarding work-family conflict differences over two- and three-generation households for this study concern gender. The first concerns FWC in three generation households for men and women respondents.

*Q1H<sub>c</sub>: Women will have higher FWC than men in three-generation households.*

As shown in Figure 23, there is a significant difference between men and women in three-generation households. However, as men are *more likely* to have higher FWC, I do not have support for this hypothesis. The second hypothesis regarding gender compared women respondents across household types posited:

*Q1H<sub>d</sub>: Women within three-generation households will have lower FWC than women in two-generation households.*

There is no significant difference between women in two-generation households and women in three-generation households, as shown in Figure 23. Therefore, there is no support for this hypothesis.

To determine how three-generation households differ in work-family conflict from two-generation households (RQ1), I posited that:

*Q1H<sub>e</sub>: Minority respondents in three-generation households will experience higher WFC and FWC than for those in two-generation households.*

I did not find support for this hypothesis in my analysis. As shown in Table 6, there is no significant difference in WFC for minority respondents by household type. Additionally, there is no significant difference in FWC for minority respondents by household type.

My hypothesis regarding household type and work-family conflict considering the respondent's socioeconomic class posited:

*Q1H<sub>f</sub>: Working-class respondents in three generation households will have higher FWC and WFC than those in two-generation households.*

As shown in Tables 6 (WFC) and 8 (FWC), I did not find a significant difference for either WFC or FWC for working-class respondents across household type.

The last hypothesis regarding potential differences in work-family conflict across household types compares older and younger adults:

*Q1H<sub>g</sub>: Older respondents within three-generation households will have higher FWC and WFC than older respondents in two-generation households.*

As shown in Table 6, older adults do not report a significantly different level of WFC across household type. FWC differences presented in Table 8 do not show a significant difference between older adults in two- or three-generation households. My findings do not support this hypothesis.

### ***Summary of Research Question #1***

Respondents in three-generation households do differ from those in two-generation households in some ways. I found that respondents in three-generation households are more likely to have higher FWC than those in two-generation households. Additionally, individual demographics not only increase the likelihood of being in one household type or the other, but also how the respondent experiences work-family conflict.

Surprisingly, I found that men respondents in three-generation households have a higher probability of FWC than women in either household type. Men also reported higher WFC across two- and three-generation households. I found that gender does influence work-family conflict, though not as I had anticipated based on the present literature. Minority respondents across two- and three-generation households were less likely to experience both WFC and FWC than white respondents, but I found no significant difference between minorities in two-generation households and those in three-generation households.

While working-class respondents represent the majority of three-generation households, I did not find that work-family conflict differed between working- and middle-class respondents, regardless of household type. Age does influence the respondent's WFC and FWC across household type, but higher conflict is driven by life course stage. I found that both older and young adults are less likely to report higher WFC and FWC than those in the middle cohort (Generation X).

In summary, respondents in three-generation households are more likely to have higher FWC than two-generation households. On the other hand, WFC differs more based on the individual demographics than on the number of generations in the household.

### **Obligation and Responsibility in Multigenerational Households (RQ2)**

The second question of this study considers how a respondent's sense of obligation and responsibility to the household shape their work-family conflict. After examining individual sense of obligation (measured in this study as a duty to provide for

aging parents) and financial responsibility to provide for the household (measured as a percentage of household income) in the previous chapter, I found that the majority of respondents in both household types have a high sense of obligation and provide most of the household income (breadwinners). Does this sense of obligation and responsibility affect work-family conflict?

To answer to this second question, I conducted a logistic regression analysis of household type and individual characteristics on obligation and responsibility to determine any relationships and discuss each in turn. Secondly, I introduced both obligation and responsibility into the WFC and FWC models from the previous section to determine the relationship between obligation and responsibility and work-family conflict. Finally, I assess whether the process modeled in Figure 5 (from Chapter 3) is supported by the empirical data analyzed in this chapter.

### ***Obligation by Household Type***

As I presented in Figure 17, a sense of obligation to care for (aging) parents is high for most respondents (ranging from 58-78% across households). As such, the first regression analysis I conducted was to determine how this sense of obligation differs over household type and individual characteristics. While I did not find a statistically significant difference across two- and three-generation households, I did find some differences across individual demographics as shown in Table 9.

### ***Individual Characteristics and Obligation***

After comparing household types, I next tested the relationship between individual characteristic and obligation, as the literature suggests that women and

minorities in particular have a higher familial obligation. To do so, I followed the same regression process as with WFC and FWC in the previous section and discuss each variable in turn.

Much of the literature suggests that family care is the learned burden (or duty) of women. However, when I compared men and women respondents, I did not find a significant difference. As shown in Table 9, gender is not a significant predictor of a sense of obligation. Put another way, men and women respondents are likely to share similar attitudes towards an obligation to care for aging parents.

In contrast, minority and white respondents differed on obligation to care for family. Minority respondents across both two- and three-generation households are 30% more likely to have a high sense of obligation than white respondents. Working-class respondents also differ from their middle-class respondents when it comes to a sense of obligation. As shown in Table 9, working-class respondents are nearly 1.5 times as likely to have a high sense of obligation to care for family than do middle-class respondents.

As age cohort is significant for both life course position and a passing down of familial beliefs, I expected to find a significant difference across age cohorts. While age for the oldest and youngest adults differed for work-family conflict (both WFC and FWC), there is not a significant difference in espoused obligation to care for (aging) family.

**Table 9: Logistic Regression for Obligation across Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Obligation for Respondents in Two and Three Generation Households				
	<i>Coefficient (B)</i>	<i>Standard Error (S.E.)</i>	<i>Odds Ratio (O.R.)</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>				
<i>Two Generation (Reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Three Generation</i>	0.262	0.231	1.300	(.826-2.045)
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>				
<b><u>Gender</u></b>				
<i>Men (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Women</i>	-0.013	0.106	0.987	(.801-1.215)
<b><u>Race</u></b>				
<i>White (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Minority</i>	0.271	0.116	1.311**	(1.045-1.645)
<b><u>Class</u></b>				
<i>Middle Class (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Working Class</i>	0.37	0.109	1.448***	(1.170-1.793)
<b><u>Age Cohort</u></b>				
<i>Born 1965-1979 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	-0.134	0.119	0.875	(.692-1.106)
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials</i>	-0.020	0.145	0.980	(.738-1.301)
N=2,039 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), ***(p<.001). Model fit tests: $\chi^2=27.188$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.013$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.020$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $\chi^2=26.465$ (p<.001).				

### ***Responsibility by Household Type***

As discussed in the previous two chapters, responsibility is an individual action rather than espoused belief. Financial responsibility, defined by the portion of the household income the respondent provides, can be a significant source of stress, and may mediate the influence of other variables on work-family conflict. As shown below in Table 10, household type does not influence the breadwinner status of the respondent

significantly. As I presented in the previous chapter, the majority of respondents across household types are not only householders, but breadwinners as well.<sup>14</sup>

### ***Individual Characteristics and Responsibility to Provide***

Much of the current literature for work-family conflict demonstrates some differences across individual characteristics and who is more likely to carry the responsibility to provide. These likelihoods are significant across all categories except for socio-economic class as shown in Table 10. In short, responsibility to provide financially is more likely to fall to men, minority, and younger adults across all households.

Throughout this study, I have found significant differences for gender. While obligation was not significantly different for men and women respondents, I did find responsibility to differ across gender. As presented in Table 10, women respondents are 65% less likely than men across both two- and three-generation households to bear the majority of the financial responsibility for the household.

As the literature suggests, I found that minority respondents are bearing a higher responsibility for their households than are white respondents. As evidenced in Table 10, minority respondents are 50% more likely to be breadwinners than are white respondents across both household types. Responsibility to provide, like a sense of obligation, does differ significantly between working- and middle-class respondents. As shown in Table 10, working-class respondents are 20% less likely to bear the majority of financial responsibility than do middle-class respondents.

---

<sup>14</sup> Figure 4.14 illustrates that breadwinners are between 70 and 80% of respondents, and the majority of respondents are also householders. Beginning with the 2000 GSS survey, the language changed from identifying the “head of household” to “who owns/rents this house”.



**Table 10: Logistic Regression for Responsibility for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Financial Responsibility for Respondents in Two and Three Generation Households				
	<i>Coefficient (B)</i>	<i>Standard Error (S.E.)</i>	<i>Odds Ratio (O.R.)</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>				
<i>Two Generation (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Three Generation</i>	0.097	0.191	1.102	(.758-1.601)
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>				
<b><u>Gender</u></b>				
<i>Men (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Women</i>	-1.061	0.100	0.346***	(.285-.421)
<b><u>Race</u></b>				
<i>White (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Minority</i>	0.444	0.104	1.559***	(1.271-1.911)
<b><u>Class</u></b>				
<i>Middle Class (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Working Class</i>	-0.228	0.100	0.796*	(.655-.968)
<b><u>Age Cohort</u></b>				
<i>Born 1965-1979 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	0.098	0.113	1.103	(.884-1.377)
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials</i>	-1.338	0.122	0.262***	(.207-.333)
N=2,406 weighted *(p<.05), **(p<.01), ***(p<.001). Model fit tests: $X^2=279.032$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.109$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.156$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $X^2=41.181$ (p<.001).				

Lastly, as discussed previously with the complications of life course and age cohort, I found some significant differences for the youngest adults in comparison to the referenced Generation X group. As shown in Table 10, I did not find a statistically significant difference for older (baby boomer) adults and Generation X respondents. As expected, the youngest adults are 80% less likely to be breadwinners than the next oldest cohort.

### ***Obligation, Responsibility, and WFC***

To understand the influence of obligation (attitude) and responsibility (action) on the respondent's reported WFC, I included both measures in a regression analysis. Model A in Table 11 replicates the analysis presented in Table 5 to allow for ease of comparison. Models B-D add obligation (Model B), responsibility (Model C), and then both obligation and responsibility simultaneously (Model D).

#### ***Obligation and Responsibility as Mediators to WFC***

I found that both obligation and responsibility were significant predictors of WFC (Models B and C) independently. They both remain significant predictors of WFC when added to the model simultaneously. I performed the Sobel's test to determine whether any of the individual characteristics' effects on WFC were mediated through either obligation or responsibility.<sup>15</sup> Adding obligation to Model B, I found that respondents with a higher sense of obligation are 22% less likely to report higher WFC than those with a lower sense of obligation. While there is a significant relationship between both race and class with obligation, I did not find evidence of obligation mediating the effects of either on WFC.

As noted in Model C, the effect of gender becomes weaker, and the effect of race becomes stronger once responsibility is added to the analysis. This mediation of the effect of gender is even stronger once both obligation and responsibility are in the model simultaneously (Model D, as noted by the change in the odds ratio from .692 to .812).

---

<sup>15</sup> While I conducted the Sobel's test on coefficients, Table 11 only presents odds ratio across all models for simplicity in reading. Test statistics were not significant for mediation by obligation for race. Gender, race, and the younger age cohort had significant test statistics ( $p < .001$ ) for responsibility and are highlighted in Models C and D.

The effect of race is mediated in part through responsibility but there is ostensibly no change once both obligation and responsibility are both in the model.

**Table 11: Logistic Regression for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents' Obligation and Responsibility**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents Considering Obligation and Responsibility (Odds Ratio)				
	<i>Model A (Table 5)</i>	<i>Model B Obligation</i>	<i>Model C Responsibility</i>	<i>Model D All Variables</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>				
<i>Three Generation</i>	1.193	1.228	1.183	1.216
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>				
<b><u>Gender</u></b>				
<i>Men (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Women<sup>a</sup></i>	.692***	.724*	<b>.778**</b>	<b>.812*</b>
<b><u>Race</u></b>				
<i>White (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Minority<sup>a,b</sup></i>	.737***	0.755**	<b>.698***</b>	<b>.717***</b>
<b><u>Class</u></b>				
<i>Middle Class (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Working Class</i>	.877	0.952	0.899	0.979
<b><u>Age Cohort</u></b>				
<i>Born 1965-1979 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	.664***	0.722***	.653***	.711***
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials<sup>a,b</sup></i>	.665***	0.589***	<b>.740**</b>	<b>.698**</b>
<b><u>Individual Beliefs and Actions</u></b>				
<b><u>Espoused Obligation</u></b>				
<i>No obligation (reference)</i>		--		--
<i>Obligation to Care for Aging</i>		0.788*		.784*
<b><u>Responsibility for Income</u></b>				
<i>Contributes &lt;74% (ref)</i>			--	--
<i>Breadwinner 75%+</i>			1.871***	1.812***
N=2,039 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), ***(p<.001). <sup>a</sup> Have a significant difference for WFC and responsibility and tested for mediation. <sup>b</sup> Have a significant difference for WFC and obligation and tested for mediation. <b>BOLD</b> denotes Sobel's test showing mediation effects through responsibility to WFC. Model D fit tests: $\chi^2=79.860$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.038$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.051$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $\chi^2=21.800$ (p<.01).				

Respondents with higher responsibility (breadwinners) are nearly twice as likely to report higher WFC across two- and three-generation households. While there is still no significant difference between respondents in two- and three-generation households for WFC with these variables included, responsibility does mediate some of the effects of gender and race for individual respondents.

In summary, I found evidence of mediation through responsibility for gender and minority status but not obligation. These effects are small, meaning only partial mediation. However, this relationship accounts for some demographic differences in the earlier analysis for WFC.

### ***Obligation, Responsibility and FWC***

To understand the influence of obligation and responsibility on the respondent's reported FWC, I included measures of both in a regression analysis. Model A in Table 12 replicates the analysis presented in Table 7 to allow for ease of comparison. Models B-D add obligation (Model B), responsibility (Model C), and then both obligation and responsibility simultaneously (Model D).

### ***Obligation and Responsibility as Mediators of FWC***

I found that both obligation and responsibility were significant predictors of FWC independently as seen in Models B and C. They both remain significant predictors when added to the model for FWC simultaneously. I performed the Sobel's test on all

individual characteristics with a significant relationship to FWC to ascertain mediation effects of either obligation or responsibility.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 12: Logistic Regression for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents' Obligation and Responsibility**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents Considering Obligation and Responsibility (Odds Ratio)				
	<i>Model A (Table 7)</i>	<i>Model B Obligation</i>	<i>Model C Responsibility</i>	<i>Model D All Variables</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>				
<i>Three Generation</i>	1.407*	1.437	1.403*	1.431
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>				
<b><u>Gender</u></b>				
<i>Men (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Women</i>	1.040	1.077	1.094	1.130
<b><u>Race</u></b>				
<i>White (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Minority<sup>a, b</sup></i>	.831*	.872	<b>.814*</b>	<b>.855</b>
<b><u>Class</u></b>				
<i>Middle Class (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Working Class</i>	.877	.984	.896	.995
<b><u>Age Cohort</u></b>				
<i>Born 1965-1979 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	.769**	.832	.766**	.828
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials<sup>b</sup></i>	.669***	.665**	<b>.716**</b>	<b>.712**</b>
<b><u>Individual Beliefs and Actions</u></b>				
<b><u>Espoused Obligation</u></b>				
<i>No obligation (reference)</i>		--		--
<i>Obligation to Care for Aging</i>		.780*		.778*
<b><u>Responsibility for Income</u></b>				
<i>Contributes &lt;74% (reference)</i>			--	--
<i>Breadwinner 75%+</i>			1.290*	1.267*
N=2,039 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), ***(p<.001). <sup>a</sup> Have a significant difference for FWC and responsibility and tested for mediation. <sup>b</sup> Have a significant difference for FWC and obligation and tested for mediation. <b>BOLD</b> denotes Sobel's test with significant mediation effects through responsibility to FWC. Model D fit tests: $\chi^2=25.166$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.012$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.017$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $\chi^2=3.938$ (p>.05).				

<sup>16</sup> Although I conducted the Sobel's test on coefficients, Table 12 only presents odds ratio across all models for simplicity in reading.

Adding obligation to Model B, I found that respondents with higher obligation are 22% less likely than those with less obligation to experience more FWC. The addition of obligation in the model also reduces the significant difference between two- and three-generation households and minority and white respondents also no longer significant.<sup>17</sup>

As noted in Model C, those respondents with a higher financial responsibility (breadwinners) were 25% more likely to have higher FWC as those providing a smaller portion of household income. Breadwinner status mediates the effects of race and the youngest age cohort by strengthening the effect of race on FWC while weakening the effect of age. This mediation continues when both obligation and responsibility are added in Model D. Lastly, including both a sense of obligation and responsibility in Model D, the only significant differences across household type and individual characteristics are obligation and responsibility, save the youngest age cohort discussed above.

In summary, I found evidence of mediation by responsibility but not obligation for gender and minority status for FWC. For gender in particular, breadwinner status explains some of the surprising differences in the earlier analysis for FWC. Minority respondents, once both obligation and responsibility are considered, no longer differ from white respondents for FWC. While neither significantly mediates between household

---

<sup>17</sup> While obligation appears to fully mediate both household type and minority status, the Sobel's test does not provide evidence for statistical mediation.

type and FWC, a sense of obligation to care and responsibility to provide affect how an individual experiences FWC and WFC.

### ***Hypothesis Testing for Obligation and Responsibility***

To determine how much perceived obligation and responsibility each impact work-family conflict, I developed nine hypotheses based on the literature. These hypotheses are divided into two groups: positing the relationship between obligation and responsibility to WFC and FWC, and the relationship between household and individual characteristics to obligation and responsibility. My findings above support some of these hypotheses while others remain inconclusive and unsupported.

#### ***How Obligation to Care Impacts FWC and WFC***

As I discussed in chapter four, respondents with a high sense of obligation to care for (aging) family are in the majority in every household type across the sample and represent over 75% of respondents in three-generation households. I found that these respondents were significantly less likely to report both higher WFC and FWC than those with a lower sense of obligation. In chapter two, I posited that:

*Q2Ha: Higher care obligation will result in a higher reported FWC.*

As shown in Table 11, respondents with a higher sense of obligation to care are significantly different from those with a lower sense of obligation. However, respondents who report higher obligation also report lower FWC, net of other characteristics. Therefore, this hypothesis is unsupported.

To answer whether or not a sense of obligation varied based on the respondent's household type, I proposed a second hypothesis:

*Q2Hb: Respondents in three-generation households will have higher care obligation than those in two-generation households.*

As illustrated in Table 9, there is not a significant difference between respondents based on household type and their sense of obligation. Therefore, this hypothesis is unsupported. When obligation was added to the model for FWC in Model B of Table 12, the significant difference between two- and three-generation households and FWC in Model A from was no longer significant.

I also considered the impact of obligation on the relationship between individual characteristics and both types of work-family conflict. The four additional hypotheses I posited in chapter two regarding obligation include:

*Q2He: Women will have a higher sense of care obligation to care than men.*

*Q2Hg: Older adults will have a higher sense of care obligation than younger adults.*

*Q2Hh: Minority adults will have a higher sense of care obligation than white adults.*

*Q2Hi: Working-class adults will have a higher sense of care obligation than wealthier adults.*

Referencing my results from Table 9, I did not find a significant relationship between gender and obligation (Q2He) or age cohort and obligation (Q2Hg), thus both of these hypotheses are unsupported. I did find a significant relationship between minority and white respondents for sense of obligation as shown in Table 9. As minority respondents are 30% more likely to have higher obligation than white respondents, my findings



support hypothesis Q2Hh. I found a significant relationship between class and obligation, with working-class respondents 40% more likely to have higher obligation than middle-class respondents. My findings also support hypothesis Q2Hi, that working-class respondents will have a higher sense of obligation to care for family than middle-class respondents.

*How Responsibility to Provide Impacts FWC and WFC*

Responsibility to provide, as determined by the amount of family income the respondent is responsible for, significantly influences reported WFC and FWC.

Breadwinner respondents (those providing 75% or more of household income) are the majority of the sample within each household type as discussed in the previous chapter.

To determine the influence of this higher responsibility to provide, I posited that:

*Q2Hc: Higher responsibility will result in higher reported WFC.*

As anticipated, financial responsibility (or burden) was statistically significant across both WFC and FWC, as shown in Table 10. Further, Table 11 notes that breadwinner respondents are 1.8 times as likely to have higher WFC than non-breadwinners. My findings support hypothesis Q2Hc.

Considering the impact of responsibility to provide across household type, I posited that respondents in larger households would report a higher responsibility, or:

*Q2Hd: Respondents in three-generation households will have higher responsibility to provide than those in two-generation households.*

My regression analysis presented in Table 10 did not show a significant relationship between household type and responsibility. My findings do not support this hypothesis.

My last hypothesis considers a difference in responsibility to provide based on individual characteristics. Given the literature, I suggested that there would be a significant difference between men and women respondents, such that:

*Q2Hf: Men will have a higher responsibility to provide than women.*

My regression analysis of individual characteristics to responsibility showed a significant relationship between gender and responsibility. As Table 10 illustrates, men respondents are 60% more likely to have breadwinner responsibility than women. Thus, my findings support this hypothesis. Additionally, mediation effects presented in Table 11 for WFC also illustrate how responsibility weakens the effect of gender for WFC.

### ***Summary of Research Question #2***

Obligation to care for family and responsibility to provide for the family both influence FWC and WFC for respondents in two- and three-generation households. Throughout my analysis on both obligation and responsibility, I found that those respondents who have the highest responsibility to provide income (i.e., breadwinners) are more likely to experience more WFC and FWC. I also found that respondents with a higher sense of obligation to provide care are less likely to have higher WFC or FWC.

A sense of obligation, as an attitude or belief, is generally held by the majority of respondents. I did not find a difference in obligation to care between household types, gender, or age groups. However, minority respondents are more likely to espouse a higher sense of obligation than white respondents. Working-class respondents are also more likely to espouse a higher sense of obligation than middle-class respondents.

The majority of respondents also identified as breadwinners by carrying a heavier financial responsibility for the household. As such, I did not find a significant difference by household type. I did find differences across demographic categories that illustrate *who* are breadwinners. Men are more likely than women to be primary breadwinners in their household, as are middle-class respondents compared to working-class respondents. Minority respondents are more likely than white respondents to shoulder the financial responsibility-in addition to having a higher sense of obligation.

Obligation and responsibility also mediate the influence of other individual characteristics on reported work-family conflict. While FWC differed between two- and three-generation households in early analysis, this difference was no longer significant when I added obligation and responsibility to the models. While testing did not indicate mediation, there is some evidence that a sense of obligation or responsibility affects FWC across household type. I found that responsibility mediates race for FWC, as well age for the youngest cohort. In both cases, breadwinner status weakens the effect.

In summary, obligation and responsibility both influence work-family conflict across both two- and three-generation households. Obligation to familial care is more likely for minority and working-class respondents. Higher financial responsibility is more often carried by men compared to women, minority respondents than white respondents, and middle-class respondents than those in the working-class. Respondents with a higher sense of obligation are less likely to have higher FWC or WFC than those with a lower sense of obligation. Lastly, respondents who are breadwinners for their households are more likely to report higher WFC and FWC. This association of responsibility to provide

financially and work-family conflict leads into the last research question regarding external economic stressors.

### **Economic Crisis and Work-Family Conflict (RQ3)**

The last question of this study considers how external economics may impact work-family conflict for two- and three-generation households. The 2008 housing crisis and subsequent economic recession presented a new challenge for families balancing work and family care. As I presented in Table 3, this included slight shifts in household structures to bring in other family members. One-generation households represent a smaller portion of respondents post-2008 and these gains are in two-generation, adult-only households and three-generation households. Acknowledging this slight shift in household type before and after the economic event, I added the time period to the overall logistic regression analysis for both WFC and FWC. As the last question of this study asks *how the national economic context shapes the experience of work-family conflict*, I analyze respondent's reported WFC and FWC from 2002-2008 and 2010-2018.

#### ***Work-to-Family Conflict Pre and Post 2008 Economic Crisis***

I conducted a regression analysis similar to that reported in Table 11 but added a measure for whether the data were collected pre- and post-2008 crisis. Similar to earlier findings, WFC does not significantly vary by household type of the respondent, as noted in Table 13. There is also no difference between respondents whose data were collected pre- and post-2008. Gender, race, and age cohort remain significant, as does obligation and responsibility.

**Table 13: Logistic Regression for Work-to-Family Conflict for Respondents Pre- and Post-2008**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Work-to-Family Conflict (Pre and Post 2008) for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households				
	<i>Coefficient (B)</i>	<i>Standard Error (S.E.)</i>	<i>Odds Ratio (O.R.)</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>				
<i>Two Generation (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Three Generation</i>	0.194	0.181	1.214	(.851-1.732)
<b><u>Time Period</u></b>				
<i>2002-2008 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>2010-2018</i>	-0.019	0.100	0.981	(.806-1.194)
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>				
<b><u>Gender</u></b>				
<i>Men (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Women</i>	-0.209	0.094	.812*	(.676-.975)
<b><u>Race</u></b>				
<i>White (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Minority</i>	-0.330	0.099	.719***	(.592-.872)
<b><u>Class</u></b>				
<i>Middle Class (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Working Class</i>	-0.022	0.095	0.979	(.813-1.178)
<b><u>Age Cohort</u></b>				
<i>Born 1965-1979 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	-0.344	0.104	.709***	(.577-.870)
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials</i>	-0.356	0.128	.700**	(.545-.900)
<b><u>Individual Beliefs and Actions</u></b>				
<b><u>Espoused Obligation</u></b>				
<i>No obligation (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Obligation to Care for Aging</i>	-0.241	0.109	.786*	(.635-.972)
<b><u>Responsibility for Income</u></b>				
<i>Contributes &lt;74% (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Breadwinner 75%+</i>	0.596	0.108	1.815***	(1.470-2.241)
N=2,039 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), *** (p<.001). Model fit tests: $\chi^2=79.8697$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.038$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.051$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $\chi^2=32.284$ (p<.01).				

### ***Family-to-Work Conflict Pre and Post 2008 Economic Crisis***

Similar to WFC, I added the time period variable to the regression analysis for FWC as seen in Table 12. As I found in previous sections, respondents with different characteristics report WFC and FWC differently. While Table 12 reported that respondents in three-generation households were significantly different from two-generation households in FWC, household type is no longer significant when I took time period of data collection into account, as noted in Table 14.

There is a significant difference for FWC for respondents whose data were collected post-2008 and those pre-2008. Respondents who participated in the data collection process after the economic crisis are 27% less likely to have higher FWC, as shown in Table 14. Although the effects of most other characteristics do not change from the model in Table 12, the difference between baby boomers and the next younger age group (Generation X) is now significant with the inclusion of time period. While in Table 12 the obligation to care for family was a significant predictor of FWC, Table 14 reports that the difference between respondents with high or low obligation is no longer significant. These slight changes may indicate that there are some effects for external economics, such as the reduction of significance in household type to FWC.

In summary, there are limited differences across WFC and FWC between pre- and post-2008. Respondents post-2008 were less likely to have FWC than those pre-2008. There is no longer a significant difference across household type for FWC when time period is taken into account. Many individual characteristics are still significant across

time periods for WFC in Table 13. However, only age cohort and breadwinner status remain significant for FWC in addition to time period as shown in Table 14.

**Table 14: Logistic Regression for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents Pre- and Post-2008**

Logistic Regression Analysis for Family-to-Work Conflict for Respondents in Two- and Three-Generation Households Across Time				
	<i>Coefficient (B)</i>	<i>Standard Error (S.E.)</i>	<i>Odds Ratio (O.R.)</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>
<b><u>Household Type</u></b>				
<i>Two Generation (Reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Three Generation</i>	0.332	0.186	1.394	(.967-2.009)
<b><u>Time Period</u></b>				
<i>2002-2008 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>2010-2018</i>	-0.317	0.105	.728**	(.593-.894)
<b><u>Individual Characteristics</u></b>				
<b><i>Gender</i></b>				
<i>Men (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Women</i>	0.117	0.1	1.124	(.925-1.366)
<b><i>Race</i></b>				
<i>White (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Minority</i>	-0.112	0.105	0.894	(.727-1.098)
<b><i>Class</i></b>				
<i>Middle Class (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Working Class</i>	-0.013	0.1	0.987	(.811-1.202)
<b><i>Age Cohort</i></b>				
<i>Born 1965-1979 (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Born before 1965-Boomers</i>	-0.237	0.11	.789*	(.636-.979)
<i>Born after 1979-Millennials</i>	-0.273	0.138	.761*	(.581-.998)
<b><u>Individual Beliefs and Actions</u></b>				
<b><i>Espoused Obligation</i></b>				
<i>No obligation (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Obligation to Care for Aging</i>	-0.213	0.113	0.808	(.647-1.008)
<b><i>Responsibility for Income</i></b>				
<i>Contributes &lt;74% (reference)</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Breadwinner 75%+</i>	0.264	0.114	1.302*	(1.041-1.629)
N=2,039 weighted. *(p<.05), **(p<.01), ***(p<.001). Model fit tests: $X^2=34.294$ (p<.001), Cox & Snell $R^2=.017$ , Nagelkerke $R^2=.023$ , Hosmer & Lemeshow $X^2=26.387$ (p<.001).				

### ***Hypothesis Testing Economic Shock on Work-Family Conflict***

To determine if external economic shocks impact reported work-family conflict, I developed two hypotheses based upon the literature. Each consider the effect that time period of data collection may have on the respondent's WFC or FWC. Specifically, the hypotheses consider the effect of the 2008 economic crisis to determine how much of the economic-based findings might be partially attributed to stress outside of household type.

The first hypothesis posited that WFC would be higher in the second time period given the likelihood of increased financial strain. Specifically, I posited:

*Q3Ha: WFC will be higher for respondents in two- and three-generation households post-recession than pre-recession.*

As shown in Table 13, there is no significant difference between respondents pre-2008 and post-2008 for WFC. My findings do not provide support for this hypothesis.

My second hypothesis considers differences in FWC pre- and post-2008. As discussed in the previous chapter and earlier, shifts towards larger households may impact FWC in different ways than WFC. Given this, I posited:

*Q3Hb: FWC will be higher for respondents in two- and three-generation households post-recession than pre-recession.*

When I analyzed time period differences for FWC in Table 14, I found a significant difference between respondents pre- and post-2008. Respondents in the post-2008 group were 28% less likely as those pre-2008 to report higher FWC. While significant, this finding does not support this hypothesis.



### ***Summary of Research Question #3***

Shifts in household composition, including more doubling- and tripling-up, is one way that macroeconomic events shape family life as people attempt to combat the external financial stress. This national economic context does alter work-family conflict for individuals in these larger households in small ways. Respondents varied little in their reported WFC pre- and post-2008. Gender, race, and age cohort remain significant characteristics for predicting WFC, as does obligation and responsibility.

Conversely, I found that post-2008 respondents differ from their pre-2008 counterparts in reported FWC. Specifically, post-2008 respondents were 28% less likely to report FWC than those responding before the economic crisis. Individually, age cohort and responsibility remain significant predictors of FWC once time period is considered, but obligation does not. In short, respondents in two- and three-generation households differ pre- and post-economic crisis by experiencing less FWC.

### **Summary of Overall Findings**

The purpose of this study is to understand how work-family conflict may differ for individuals in two- and three-generation households. I proposed three research questions of this study: how work-family conflict differs by household type, how an obligation to care and the responsibility to provide may influence an individual's work-family conflict, and how external financial stress may shape that work-family conflict. Analyzing the data collected 2,406 respondents from 2002-2018, I examined individual-level data in order to find any significant differences. Throughout chapters four and five,

I presented my findings and whether or not these findings supported the hypotheses presented in chapter two.

First, I found support that individuals from two- and three-generation households experience FWC differently. Individuals in three-generation households are more likely to report higher FWC than those in two-generation households. I did not find this difference when comparing WFC. Furthermore, I found some support for differences regarding the individual's demographic characteristics. Women, minorities, and older respondents were each less likely to have WFC than men, white, and younger respondents. A more surprising finding is that these differences are also less likely for individuals across FWC.

Secondly, the obligation to care for family and the responsibility to provide for the family both influence an individual's reported conflict between work and family demands. Respondents with a higher sense of obligation were less likely to report higher conflict in either direction. Additionally, respondents who are responsible for 75% or more of household income (breadwinners) are more likely to report conflict in both directions. Both obligation and responsibility varied in some ways with individual characteristics. Minorities and working-class respondents were more likely to have a higher sense of obligation to care for aging family than white or middle-class respondents. Men, minorities, and middle-class respondents were more likely to be breadwinners than women, white, or working-class respondents. While some of these results align with the literature presented in chapter two, others do not. As discussed

above, some of these results are expected and confirm previous findings while others differ, and both will be discussed in the next chapter.

Lastly, my analysis situated the respondents into a greater macro-environment by comparing respondents from 2002-2008 with those from 2010-2018 in an effort to capture any differences attributable to external economic stress. Using the 2008 housing crisis and subsequent recession as a milestone event, I compared overall household types pre- and post-2008 and found a small shift towards larger two- and three-generation households from one-generation households. Regarding differences in work-family conflict, I found that respondents in two- and three-generation households post-recession were less likely to report higher FWC than respondents pre-recession. I did not find a significant difference for WFC across two- and three-generation households. These findings provide evidence of possible responses to external economic environment and provide some context for work-family conflict outside the household.

In the next chapter, I consider these results in light of previous scholarship and reflect on possible explanations for those findings that diverge from the literature in chapter two. I also discuss limitations to the current study and present avenues for further research to better understand work-family conflict across different household structures.

## CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings presented in the previous chapter in conversation with the present literature for both work-family conflict and multigenerational households. As the purpose of this study is to provide further understanding of work-family conflict for individuals in these households, discussing these results within the literature adds to that literature. By viewing these findings through two frameworks-- conservation of resources and role conflict--this study considers not only how individual work-family conflict differs by household type but offers some explanation as to *why*.

In the following sections, I first discuss my findings for work-family conflict and household type within the role conflict and conservation of resources lenses. Secondly, I place my results for the concepts of obligation and responsibility in conversation with both frameworks. Next, I discuss my findings about broader economic stress and the resultant changes in both household formation (conservation) and work-family conflict (stress) to put these results in context. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the limitations to this study and possible avenues for further research.

### **Work-Family Conflict and Multigenerational Households**

This study began with a focus on multigenerational households. The broader media focus on the growing number of three-generation households and other variances on the normalized nuclear two-generation household led to this line of inquiry. As such, I developed this study to determine if the popular beliefs about these households may have

merit. Do larger households differ in their work-family conflict as the individual roles change? In the previous two chapters, I presented findings that compared WFC and FWC across these household types, as well as individual characteristics of the respondent.

My initial findings for how work-family conflict (both WFC and FWC) differs across household type were mixed. Comparing two-generation to three-generation households, I found that individuals in the larger household type were 40% more likely to experience FWC than those in two-generation households. One logical explanation is that an increase in family demands could yield an increase in family interfering with work demands. Through a role conflict lens, the potential addition or expansion of roles in the family domain also explains the higher conflict in this direction (Bellavia and Frone 2005; Voydanoff 1988). As I did not find a corresponding difference for WFC, this also suggests that the increase in family demands potentially influences conflict in one direction (family->work) more so than the other.

My findings for gender and work-family conflict are aligned with much of the previous literature. Men respondents were more likely to have higher WFC in my study, regardless of household size. Following a role conflict framework, this relates to other studies that found men more likely to spend more time at work, which in turn encroaches on time for their family roles (Shockley et. al 2017; Minnotte 2012).

I did not find support for my corresponding hypothesis that women would have a higher FWC, as earlier literature suggested may be the case in larger households with the increase of responsibilities in the family domain (Voydanoff 1988; Michel et. al 2011). Across both two- and three-generation households, I found no significant difference in

FWC, confirming more recent literature that also found little difference in FWC by gender alone. One explanation for less support may be a shift away from traditional gendered domains as households expand to meet other needs. As Newman (2012) points out, roles and responsibilities shift as these families adapt.

When I considered gender in three-generation households however, men were significantly more likely to report higher FWC than women. While unexpected, there are some plausible explanations for this. First, role conflict from a spillover perspective would point to the increased family demands encroaching on a more salient role of work for the individual as a source of conflict. Shockley and colleagues (2017) meta-analysis of 500 work-family conflict studies considered the permeability of bounded domains by gender and found evidence that women were actually more likely than men to have stronger boundaries for both work and family. Given this, one explanation for men reporting higher FWC than women in the larger households is that men are less likely to have rigid boundaries and experience greater spillover because of it. More recent studies have also found a shift in norms for working men similar to that usually expected of women. (Rehel and Baxter 2015; Vandello 2013; Thebaud 2010). I discuss this point further later in this chapter.

When I considered race within both two- and three-generation households, I found that minority respondents were less likely than white respondents to report higher WFC and FWC. As I found that respondents in three-generation households (especially parent-led or sandwich generation) were more likely to be minorities, it is possible that forming these larger households may serve as a buffer against conflict by pooling

resources. Limited studies that consider race and household type put forth that these larger household types may be the result of pooling for economic support (Burr and Mutchler 1999; Reyes 2018). While much of the literature on work-family conflict posits that greater disadvantage would lead to greater conflict, I found the opposite as minority respondents were less likely to report higher conflict. One explanation may be that minority households are more likely to lean on other resources to reduce this conflict, such as family and community to assist with non-work-related tasks (Collins 1994; Roos 2009). This pooling of resources, including diverse household arrangements, may explain how minority families report less conflict between roles.

Age, and more specifically, life course, is a significant predictor of work-family conflict differences across household type. I found an increase in WFC and FWC for Generation X respondents over both their older baby boomer and younger millennial counterparts. This rise and fall of both WFC and FWC can be explained through life course theory's principle of timing and of linked relationships (Elder 2015). As Generation X respondents were 25-44 years old at the time of data collection, they are more likely in the child rearing years than their older counterparts. Additionally, they are more likely to be far enough in their work to have established careers than their younger counterparts. This convergence of both work and family on Generation X respondents explains much of their higher WFC and FWC.

The combination of stressors from these different roles, as discussed in Chapter 2, bears out in my findings. Respondents in three-generation households were often women, minority, working-class, and older, and my findings of lower WFC among these

individuals may be explained by seeing family as a resource. Conversely, the higher FWC reported by individuals in larger households points to an increase in family demands as a stressor.

Hobfoll's (1989) conservation of resources theory argues for a transactional weighing of resources against drains and explains how stressors can still be present even while a pooling of resources occurs. While I anticipated that respondents in larger households would have higher WFC and FWC, I did not find that the case when I compared respondents within their demographic groups. These same disadvantaged groups (women, minority, and working-class) were also more likely to reside in these larger households. One possibility is that the view of family as resource or stressor differs considerably along these demographic sub-groups. Disadvantaged respondents' views on family as resource-or private safety net-may explain how household type was not as significant for them. (Harknett 2006; Newman 2012; Ryan, Kalil and Leininger 2009) The availability of such private safety nets is a resource that may be more available out of necessity for those with less economic means. Conserving resources does not eliminate stressors but instead may work to buffer against them. In this way, other resources, such as familial obligation and financial provision are also among resources that can be applied to relieve (or induce additional) role conflict stress.

### **The Impact of Obligation and Responsibility on Work-Family Conflict**

Obligation to care and a responsibility to provide were both key elements of this study. As summarized at the end of the last chapter, I found significant differences between those with a high sense of obligation and those that do not, as well as those with



a higher breadwinner status and those that contribute less to family income. When I examined the effects of both on reported WFC and FWC, I found that responsibility to provide was the stronger predictor of both WFC and FWC.

Familial obligation, as captured in this study, significantly lessens the likelihood of work-family conflict in either direction. Individuals with a higher sense of obligation typically come from either families or communities that socialize this as important, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam 1999; Hughes and Chen 1997). I found that this was highest in minority respondents and those in the working class. Finding no difference for age or gender or household type, my findings support previous literature that a sense of familial obligation may be cultural and socialized as important within the family.

Where my findings add to the literature is that familial obligation reduces WFC and FWC. Regardless of family type and other characteristics, those with a higher sense of obligation to provide care for aging family members are less likely to report higher work family conflict in either direction. This contributes to the literature by explaining that rather than an obligation being a burden, familial obligation may be seen as a resource. There is some support that familial obligation is seen as a resource regardless if you are older family members potentially receiving this care or younger family members potentially providing this care.

One explanation for the lowering of conflict based on the espoused belief of obligation is that a sense of duty, or that one should do something, is not part of the mental calculation of stress. When viewed through a conservation of resources lens,

family for those with a higher sense of obligation, may be more of a resource than a drain (Parke and Buriel 2008; Peterson del mar 2011). For this study, one explanation of lower WFC and FWC for those with a higher sense of familial obligation is that the follow-up action of providing that care is seen as investment, as Antonucci (1990) discusses. The investment, or banking of care through espoused sense of duty, provides a resource to draw on later. Parents espouse and socialize this obligation to have as a resource to draw upon later. For those respondents that espouse familial obligation, duty is not seen as a withdrawal or drain on resources as I anticipated. Instead, it is more likely that familial obligation may be more of a resource insurance.

As familial obligation did not prove to predict higher FWC as I expected, I did find some support of a relationship. The higher reported FWC for three-generation households discussed above was no longer significant when I considered obligation. While my analysis did not find that obligation mediated this difference, the reduced effect could explain how those with higher obligation reported less FWC. If respondents have a higher sense of obligation, as minorities and working-class respondents both did, and they are more likely to be in three-generation households, then it is plausible that obligation is a resource. This resource, conserved in the larger households by tripling up (Pleau 2012), may in turn reduce FWC. While my findings cannot confirm this, it is a possible explanation for how obligation effects work-family conflict.

Responsibility to provide for the family, whether as a sole breadwinner or a contributor, is a significant role that has been socialized in both interdependent and self-reliant family models. As I discussed in chapter two, the ability to financially provide for

oneself and family is considered a significant marker of adulthood in American culture. As scholars have commented, the inability of younger adults to provide for themselves economically-much less a family-is a cause of conflict for the parents who either keep or open up their homes to their grown children (Newman 2012; Coontz 2016). On the other end of the age spectrum, the inability of aging parents to provide for themselves any longer can also cause strife and a need to receive financial support from their grown children.

Those who take on this responsibility, whether by choice or necessity, also assume a role less clearly defined in the work-family dynamic. Previous literature pointed to breadwinners (those chiefly responsible for household income) as fulfilling both a responsibility to earn a wage and their familial responsibility, especially for men (Kesler-Harris 2018; Meisenbach 2010; Kasmerczik and Karasiewicz 2018). As I examined who is more likely to take on this role in chapter five, I found that most respondents who are providing at least 75% of household income were more likely men, more likely minority, middle-class, and middle-aged. These findings align with other studies of breadwinners, in part because of historical ties to the breadwinner model (men and middle-class) and in part because of life course events. (Cooke 2011; Ciccio and Bleijenbergh 2014; Glenn 2010) My findings confirm much of the previous literature on who is more likely to bear this responsibility and add to the literature by considering that responsibility's impact on work-family conflict.

Responsibility to provide has a significant effect on how respondents experience both WFC and FWC. Breadwinners<sup>18</sup>, as I found in my analysis in Chapter 5, are 85% more likely to have higher WFC. It is not surprising that those with a high responsibility to provide income would report a higher occurrence of their work responsibilities encroaching on their family responsibilities (Meisenbach 2010; Keene and Quadango 2004; Warren 2007). While unsurprising, this significant effect also mediates the relationship of other characteristics and WFC. As mentioned in the previous section, men were significantly more likely to report WFC than women respondents; but when breadwinner status is also considered, the difference between men and women is reduced. In other words, it is not necessarily that men are more likely to report higher WFC than women, but that breadwinners (who are more often men) are more likely to report WFC.

I also found that breadwinners are 30% more likely to report higher FWC than those who contribute less to household income. While the linkage between WFC and breadwinners is readily apparent, the effects of bearing financial responsibility on experience FWC considers role conflict for the individual. As prior scholarship noted, breadwinner status in the household can be a role one assumes, as a *family role*. One explanation then for higher FWC for those with higher financial responsibility is that when family responsibilities encroach on work responsibilities, it is a double-edged sword that cuts both ways. While this is most often considered in single-parent

---

<sup>18</sup> I use a purely financial percentage definition of ‘breadwinner’ for this study. While several studies also follow a financial contribution definition, others follow a role definition, where the breadwinner is the one who participates in the labor market. For further discussion about these differences and how they apply to the literature, see Warren (2007)’s review of how breadwinning has been approached in the sociology of work.

households in previous literature, this phenomenon also explains the findings in the present study (Milkie and Peltola 1999; Minnotte 2012). Breadwinner status is in itself a family demand, potentially exacerbated by additional family demands that encroach upon the demand to perform at work in order to continue to provide. This compounded role stress is one explanation on how responsibility to provide can account for much of the differences in respondents' FWC.

While men are more likely to be breadwinners, and thus more likely to have higher WFC, I did not find a significant difference between men and women respondents for FWC. This finding contributes to an ongoing discussion in the literature on gendered expectation for family demands. Recent studies have increasingly found little to no support for women experiencing more FWC than men, indicating that previous expectations that women hold family roles as more salient may not be the case (Shockley et al 2017; Boyar et al 2008). Bearing the financial responsibility for the household may be one explanation, as breadwinner can be seen as a family role.

In this way, family can be both a stressor and a resource. From a conservation of resources perspective, multigenerational households can add stress (more family leading to more family demands) and a resource (more family to provide care and perform other household duties). As discussed in the previous section, respondents in three-generation households were more likely to have FWC than those in two-generation households. This difference was no longer significant when I considered the respondent's financial responsibilities. From a resource perspective, breadwinners providing for a larger household would reasonably report higher FWC. Though the family may be providing

resources from caregiving and other household duties perspective, the expanded family may also be an expanded drain on financial resources. This explains how responsibility can account for most of a respondents FWC regardless of household type, as the economic strain of providing a significant share of household income is understandable in times of economic difficulty.

### **External Economic Crisis and the Family**

The last question of this study considered how external stress may affect work-family conflict across respondents in multigenerational households. As discussed above, economic and financial stress are significant antecedents to work-family conflict, particularly for those bearing the responsibility of household income. My analyses in Chapter 5 situated the respondents in their respective macro-economic timeframe in order to find the effect of the 2008 housing crisis.

My findings for work-family conflict differences over time were somewhat mixed. The economic shocks of the 2008 housing crisis and recession led to changes in household arrangements, including doubling and tripling-up in multigenerational households (Pleau 2012; Reich 2008). While I expected to find a significant difference in WFC across time periods, the external stress post-2008 had relatively no effect in my findings. As WFC was higher for those bearing the responsibility to provide, one explanation may be that since work responsibilities changed little between the time periods, work interfering with family demands would change little.

Conversely, I expected significant differences for FWC across two- and three-generational households and found that respondents post-2008 were less likely to

experience FWC than those pre-2008. One explanation of this is that family post-2008 may have served as the safety net discussed in Chapter 2. The combining of households can increase the demands, but it also increases the number of adults to meet those demands, reducing the stress on the respondent balancing these roles (Swartz 2009; Rohwedder 2009). The slight shift in household types towards two- and three-generation households post-2008 may have been a reflection of respondents using what resources they had available, most particularly families with room.

Another explanation for reduced FWC across the households is in relation to life course events for older adults. The median birth year for the older adult cohort (baby boomers and older) is 1955, meaning that the average respondent in this group is between 53 and 62 during the post-2008 time period and those born before 1954 are likely over 65 (retirement eligibility) at the time of the survey. This may impact how baby boomers as a group have a statistically lower FWC when time period is considered. In other words, the potential for lower work responsibilities for these respondents may have reduced family demands interfering with work overall. Further research into multigenerational households post-2008 that establishes working patterns in conjunction with age could determine if this is the case.

In summary, I found that work-family conflict does differ between individuals in two- and three-generation households, especially FWC. Further research into these larger households, including the situations for forming and dissolving them, could provide additional meaning to how family serves as a stressor through increased demands, but also a resource in times of need. Those obligated to care were less likely to feel FWC

and WFC, lending support for the family-as-resource argument. Those bearing the financial responsibility for the family were more likely to have higher WFC and FWC, lending support to the family-as-stressor perspective. When considered through a conservation of resources lens, the complexity of managing family and work life is a constant negotiation of holding resources and preventing loss of those resources. Time, energy, and financial resources are continuously negotiated, and in the case of work-family conflict, managed to reduce conflict if possible.

### **Limitations to the Research**

Though this study does provide some understanding how household type impacts work-family conflict, there are several limitations. As discussed in Chapter 3, the choice of the GSS as the sample allowed for me to gather data on both beliefs and action, a limitation to other work studies and data sets available. While this benefitted the study, the use of GSS as a cross-sectional data set limits the ability to find causal relationships. Additionally, the biennial survey is structured on a module-rotation basis, meaning that some modules are not asked of all respondents in a given year. The design of this study focused on key questions that were asked in most, but not all years. This resulted in a smaller pool of respondents for the final analysis. This smaller pool of respondents most affected the ability to further determine differences within three-generation households in the current study. This group was too small to meaningfully allow for within-group analysis.

Second, responses are self-reported and may not be wholly accurate. This applies particularly to my findings in the calculation of responsibility, or breadwinner status.



Respondents report both their own and total family income, and the resulting calculation is reliant upon what they report. This may have resulted in an overestimation of breadwinners without a way to verify that status. That said, if a respondent believes they are earning the majority of the income for the household, there is analytical merit in treating them as such. Given the still gendered expectation that men are the providers in a household, regardless if they mathematically are, it is possible that men respondents may be more likely to overstate their contribution as a way to address the centrality of breadwinner as their role in the household (Ranson 2012; Townsend 2002).

As breadwinners proved to be a larger share of respondents, the GSS process for selecting respondents within a household may also disproportionately select householders and/or their spouses or partners. With only one respondent per household, this study was limited to that individual's report and experience. Not only is this study unable to capture overall household income providers, but also whether this financial arrangement is a choice. Future studies could overcome this through a more longitudinal effort that includes a follow-up interview with other adult members in the household and compare economic shifts over that time. This could provide not only an additional data point on who is contributing to the household, but also whether or not the breadwinner is actually the main provider or only believes themselves to be. For households identified as multigenerational, capturing interviews from two-generations of adults (rather than spouses or partners) could provide additional information about the motivations for these household formations.

Third, data is accurate only at the point in time it was collected and cannot account for changes within the individual's living arrangements over time. While changing household structures was not the focus of this study, the shift towards larger households post-2008 was a finding at the macro-level, rather than the individual and their family shifting. Based on other studies that find multigenerational households as temporal, further research into multigenerational households could include questions regarding when these larger household formed or for how long the respondent has been in the residence. In this way, the motivations forming these households may be better understood.

Lastly, the use of a secondary data source limits which information is available for analysis in one sample. While some form of the work-family module was available in all survey years, other questions that could have impacted the results were not. One such question available in certain years considers gender ideology and roles. There are other recent studies that include the salience of traditional versus egalitarian gender ideologies and how these beliefs impact work-family conflict. This would, in turn, inform my findings regarding breadwinners having both higher WFC and FWC. Some survey years also included additional measures of obligation to other family members, but these were sparse. Using secondary data can limit the precision of measures, such as obligation and responsibility in this study. Future research, as discussed below, could also include gender ideology and expectations of obligation to other adult family members within my original model to provide more information, particularly regarding three-generation households.

## **Possibilities for Future Research**

While my findings add to the literature by including household type, familial obligation and responsibility to provide, this study was limited by the reasons listed above and leaves room for further examination. Among the limitations was the sample size of respondents in three-generation households within the data set. While the GSS surveyed a proportionate number of three-generation households that represented the larger population data as gathered by the Census Bureau, the limitations of my analysis reduced my sample size. As this study has demonstrated that membership in these larger households does influence work-family conflict, future studies could further consider the sub-groups of parent-led and grandparent-led households.<sup>19</sup> These expanded families, as discussed in Chapter 2, have different family demands for care, familial role adjustments, and different financial demands based on the number of contributing members. Each of these differences provide avenues for better understanding of how the increased diversity of family and household structure influences the individual's work-family conflict.

Additional future research could include qualitative approaches that capture these varied experiences across multiple household members. While the quantitative approach used in this study provides some information, a mixed-method approach that includes interviews to further discuss obligation and familial demands could yield stronger results by answering how family demands in the larger households differ. (Newman 2012;

---

<sup>19</sup> Given the arguments in the literature for different experiences for parent-led (sandwich) three-generation and grandparent-led three generation households presented in chapter two, I believe future research should consider exploration of these differences.

Pilkaukas 2012) Specifically, a qualitative interview could determine how temporal these household arrangements may be as well as the antecedents to this formation.

Another implication for future research is in gaining understanding of role adjustment within these households. As previous literature suggests that three-generation households are temporal, gathering data from more than one data point within the households could illuminate if and how role management differs when the structure changes. As mentioned above, this study was limited to only the individual respondent, but future research could gather additional data within the household such as the nature of the adult relationships. This in turn could answer further how familial obligation is espoused and enacted, motivations for pooling resources for care and income, and potentially the socialization of these roles within the family. While the current study points to evidence of these associations, future research is still needed to understand multigenerational households beyond comparisons to smaller households.

As this study has shown, the family unit continues to diversify in many ways- including expanding to meet needs. The increased diversity of household types impacts not only family demands and roles within the household, but the interface of work and family roles for the individual. While many previous studies have focused on work demands and impacts of this interface, this study focuses on the family and how it impacts an individual's work-family conflict. As these two domains overlap for the individual, a better understanding of the family portion of this interface informs employers, organizations, and public policy makers alike. In the next chapter, I conclude with a brief overview of the study and the policy implications of these findings.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION**

In the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, household diversity remains part of the fabric of the United States. Household membership for families has historically fluctuated; two-generation households that were comprised of heterosexual parents and their offspring became the norm only in the last 100 years (Coontz 2016). These two-generation households, held up as the standard throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, saw a decline through periods of economic and social changes (Newman 2012; Kesler-Harris 2018). Scholars have studied the conflicts that arise from the intersection of work and family, especially in dual-earner households, but little of this research has focused on households with more than two generations.

The purpose of this study was to understand how work-family conflict may differ for individuals in two- and three-generation households. I addressed three research problems to examine those differences: the extent to which work-family conflict differs by household type, whether and how an obligation to care and the responsibility to provide may influence an individual's work-family conflict across household types, and the extent to which external financial stress may shape that work-family conflict across household types. I found that work-family conflict does differ by household type in that individuals in three-generation households reported higher FWC than their two-generation counterparts. I also found that an individual's sense of obligation and a responsibility to provide both directly affect WFC and FWC in both household types, and there is a trend towards larger households in the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In the previous chapter, I discussed these results and argued that further research is necessary to better understand the increased diversity of households. The increase in multigenerational households has not gone unnoticed in the media, nor in the literature. In most cases, however, the focus has been on work or family, rarely both. While this study contributes to the academic literature on both work and family, as a public sociologist, my aim with this study is also ways to directly apply my findings to the betterment of the public. In this chapter, I present the implications for this study and conclude with my final thoughts.

### **Implications of the Study**

The importance of continued scholarly research is most relevant for public sociologists on how it can inform and improve social life for others. In this study, I considered two of the more influential facets, that of work and family, and how the individual navigates the conflict between their roles in both through their experiences living in households that may look quite different from one another.

There are four main findings that may inform those outside of the academy. First, individuals in multi-generational households experience higher FWC than those in two-generational households. Second, individuals bearing the brunt of financial support for their household are most likely to have both higher WFC and FWC-regardless of household size. Given that I found evidence of moderation by household type for FWC, I expected to find significant differences in obligation and responsibility by household. Instead, I found that obligation and responsibility mediate some individual characteristics and that household type differences may be more a result of these direct effects. Third, as

past research has also shown, multi-generational households are more than a cultural choice and represent a larger portion of American households during economic crisis. Pooling of resources--whether income, the home, or familial support--crosses gender, race, class, and age divisions. Lastly, households themselves are trending towards more diverse formations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century; a trend that is likely to continue in the next few decades. In this section, I address the implications of these findings in light of the most recent COVID-19 crisis, long-term effects for institutions such as the military, and the implications of this study to inform public policies moving forward.

### ***Context Then and Now: A New Kind of Crisis***

In March 2020, state and national governments in the United States (and globally) ordered citizens to stay-at-home to prevent the spread of COVID-19; families around the world were plunged into a new crisis. With public and many private schools closed immediately, families had to make quick adjustments for managing child-care, determine if and when they could work, and how to continue to provide care in and out of the home to other more vulnerable family members. Individuals with jobs that transferred easily to teleworking began the daily effort to deconflict schedules and responsibilities. Working-class families, many of whom were employed in high contact industries that relied on presence at an hourly rate, saw reduced wages or were let go outright. As stay-at-home orders pushed into June with little change, families and workers alike grew restless under the strain of meeting family and work (if still employed) demands simultaneously throughout the day.

While the media touted the COVID-19 pandemic as the great equalizer in that anyone could be infected, in many other ways it pointed out inequities that have been in place for decades. With schools closed, free- and reduced-meal programs were no longer available for vulnerable families. While some districts were able to provide access, many others relied on federally sponsored summer meal programs to provide assistance (USDA 2021). Children in need of other social services usually provided through the school system remained at home, with parents struggling to meet these needs through online sources and continuing to manage their own stress (Institute of Education Services 2020). In many ways, the pandemic not only exposed inequality, but also how much social aid programs were tied to and delivered through the public school system.

The inequalities in both work and family life for adults were also made readily apparent through extended stay-at-home orders. Housing insecurity, one of several motivations for combining into multi-generational households, was exacerbated by the economic fallout of these policies. In addition to economic motivations for individuals in larger households, the need to provide care and financial support to family members also motivated larger household formation. (Ro 2021) Families tripled up to providing an adult to supervise schooling at home or to move vulnerable family members into the home in order to provide care. Work-family conflict, already more significant for those with the lion's share of financial responsibility *pre-pandemic*, is far greater when family needs have risen and the ability to provide has fallen.

Considering my findings regarding which individuals were more likely to experience work-family conflict in different households in two preceding decades, I



would argue that in this crisis, the individual under stress has moved into a survival method of stress management. Larger households, with more adults to either pool resources or provide to those without, had higher conflict than those in smaller households. In this most recent crisis, these same individuals have had to choose between one stressor or the other as the conflict between work and family responsibilities has grown beyond manageable with the tools they have. For women, this meant exiting the workforce, to a labor participation rate that bottomed out at 47% in April 2020 and has still remained below 2009 recession rates (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2021). Minorities, working-class, and older adults all saw similar drops in employment, outstripping their drops in employment during the 2009 recession by an average of 10%.

In light of my findings, these individuals are more likely to be in larger households and to form or rely on them as a private safety net. Within the context of widespread increased work-family conflict as a result of increased stress on both fronts, it is likely that the trend towards larger, more diverse households will increase in the coming decades. With fewer employed adults in the household, those responsible for family income will likely continue to have higher WFC and FWC resulting from an increase pressure to meet both their work and family responsibilities.

***Implications for the Institution: Getting beyond the “Ideal Worker”***

The responsibility to work, as I discussed in Chapter 6, is a double-edged sword in that the individual is responsible to the family to work so they can provide income while being simultaneously responsible to their employer. Work-family research has often examined this problem, largely focusing on the effects of the conflict on work. As

some organizations adopt family-friendly policies, many other do not by insisting upon performance as an “ideal worker” (Sallee 2011). The ideal worker is available and free from distraction, to include family responsibilities. While some organizations set work-family policies in place meant to alleviate conflict, these do not change the culture within that organization. As Brumley (2018) pointed out, these policies are often gendered in a way that precludes women from achieving ideal worker status, and men from accessing these balance policies without social penalty. For most working parents (and caregivers) regardless of gender, this is an unachievable model. Given the experiences and impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on work, one implication of this study informs how organizations can move beyond this unsustainable ideal worker type.

The breadwinner model of the past, with a (male) laborer who provides the entire income and a (female) caregiver who performs all the unpaid work for the household, is no longer sustainable for a variety of economic and social reasons, as previous literature has shown (Lewis 2001; Mosesdittor 2000; Hood 1986; Drago et. al 2006; Kesler-Harris 2018). This model relies on distinct roles that allows for the worker to remain focused on the organization and unencumbered by family responsibilities. As shown in Table 12 and discussed in Chapter 5, even breadwinners — defined in this study as those earning more than 75% of the household’s income — have family responsibilities that conflict with their work responsibilities at a higher rate than non-breadwinners. Put another way, the “breadwinner” model does not automatically produce an ideal worker. Defining what a good worker is by their dedication and availability is no longer viable in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Instead, organizations can move from policies meant to remake workers into ideal types and develop policies that recognize the workers by measurable skills needed for the task. One example is the ability to leverage technology for workers to have flexible hours and time to manage their responsibilities in order to reduce the conflict that leads to other undesired effects such as absenteeism and health problems. Emerging research from the past year has shown an increase in workers desire for flexible telework policies that allow for productivity while managing other responsibilities. For this to succeed, organizations would have to move from a need to manage in an office setting (Caglar et. al 2021). Re-looking what meaningful changes can reward productive, valued employees, organizations can potentially reduce costs associated with turnover, absenteeism, and overhead. By acknowledging a worker's life outside the job—as opposed to ignoring it—policies that recognize the need for child-care to stay focused on the job could reduce work-family conflict. And while work-from-anywhere policies may put time management between role demands back in the hands of the worker, it is also possible that the lack of physical boundaries between work and home may not relieve the conflict.

Technology is not a cure-all and cannot solve many of these same problems in service and trade industries, as well as other jobs requiring hands-on work at a location. Individuals in these sectors have long since dealt with job precarity, inflexible hours, and limited benefits (Pugh 2016). Going without these employees is not an option for the organization, but neither is continuing as before (Apostolidis and McBride 2020). The significant drop in employment in these sectors in 2020 and the return to work in 2021 provides an opportunity to re-look practices that better align with the essential value

many of these workers have. Among these is the possible unionization within these essential sectors and moving away from the independent contractor model for others.

What about an organization that cannot forego its ideal type? Military service, at its bedrock, is about total commitment from servicemembers. In many ways, this institution is defined by the ideal worker: available and focused on the mission of the organization as lives depend upon it (Vuga and Juvan 2013). As a greedy institution, military service is often at direct odds with the family. Nontraditional work hours, long separations, and the expectation that military service takes precedence over all other responsibilities puts work and family in conflict on a regular basis (Bell and Shumm 2013; Segal 1986). While the U.S. military has moved away from decades of not recognizing family needs, there are still spaces for conflict. One of the reasons for a shift towards consideration of the family was the integration of women in 1976. Family policies for servicemembers changed drastically, often for the betterment of all servicemembers. The military is one of the few institutions with paid maternity leave, healthcare, and social services. Yet, when care is required at home, male servicemembers experience a social penalty for providing care and female servicemembers are often expected to be the one to provide it regardless of the status of their spouse (Dickstein 2020).

Recruitment and retention, both vital to the institution, rely upon the ability to balance the needs of the individual to perform unencumbered for the duration of their service. While many strides have been made to recognize the stress for parents in the service, there is still little recognition of other care responsibilities for servicemembers.

Servicemembers are increasingly recruited from more diverse backgrounds, which includes more diverse family situations. Accommodating the family facet of servicemember's life means understanding the family *as they define it*. For some, this means caring for ailing, older relatives or forming multigenerational households to meet their own competing demands while providing for their older relatives financially.

However, while much research into military families recognizes the importance of grandparents in providing care for their grandchildren in a deployment setting, these family members do not have the same status that nuclear family members do, regardless of the household structure (Mills and Torteiz 2018). In practical terms, unless the older generation is declared a dependent, they have no access to benefits such as health care and are not considered part of the family unit for relocation. This is also the case for “boomerang” adult children, who can age-out of their military dependent status but have returned to the servicemember's household for support.

Military multigenerational households, in either a temporal crisis form or a more permanent structure, are similar to their civilian counterparts, and they are growing. As I discussed in previous chapters, women, minorities, and the working-class are more likely to form and live in these household arrangements. These populations are also at the heart of recent military recruiting and retention efforts. As multigenerational households continue to grow, both in military and civilian families, recruiting and retention will be affected by the military's ability to recognize the diversity of the family and support that definition. Currently, all active services require a waiver based on financial ability to support dependents, some as few as one dependent at time of application (Powers 2019).

One improvement would be to add special consideration beyond monetary dependency calculations for these waivers, as this could prevent otherwise qualified servicemembers from enlisting. One way to improve retention of servicemembers with extended family is to provide a different designation for those family members—such as live-in (grand)parents providing care—so these extended families can relocate as a unit without full designation as a financial (adult) dependent. While both of these recommendations impact a small number of potential recruits or current servicemembers, the recognition of the diversity of multigenerational households within the military could also serve as a blueprint for recognizing this same diversity of household formations in social programs outside the military.

### ***Implications for the Public: Learning from the Past and Present***

The recent pandemic, with its economic and social aftermath, has brought to light work-family issues that have been present for decades. Changes in the labor market beginning in the early 2000s resulted in many adult children returning (or never leaving) the nest and delaying adulthood (Newman 2012). Older adults, who generationally did achieve the adulthood markers of employment and home ownership, were obligated to open their home to family members in economic difficulties. For these householders, fulfilling their duty also meant stretching the responsibility to provide across more people. This double- and tripling-up occurs more often for vulnerable individuals, as a private safety net (Harknett 2006; Ryan et al. 2009). Adult children faced with low, or underemployment are unable to contribute to the economy, thus not contributing to public safety nets such as social security.

Older adults, approaching retirement without the means or income to retire, extend their working years to provide for their household. Other older adults assume care responsibilities for their grandchildren to support their working adult children, and still others continue to work and care for their grandchildren (Harrington-Meyer 2014). These private arrangements were made more apparent after the 2008 housing crisis and recession. Limited access to public safety nets that were under the simultaneous strain of housing foreclosures, evictions, and unemployment pushed some families to rely more on private safety nets for care and housing (Mykyta 2019). Current social policies are still designed for two-generation households, whether single parents of minor aged children or struggling nuclear families. There is still little recognition of the multigenerational household, with additional adults in the home, especially among working-class or working-poor families. Accessing the private safety net by combining households often prevents the relocating family from accessing public assistance as they are no longer a household of their own.<sup>20</sup>

Current social policies expect families to solve their economic issues as quickly as possible and are designed to temporarily lend support. Unemployment benefits and other public assistance programs are time-restricted and dry up once the recipient is employed, regardless of the income generated by the job. While Congress extended unemployment benefits in 2008 to 20 weeks, employment rates still fell steadily until 2011, leaving many adults to find other solutions (US Federal News Service 2008). As my findings

---

<sup>20</sup> Definitions of household for benefits programs including Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) include a designation for head of household as either the primary person responsible for the residence or primary wage earner, with different income thresholds for each.

show, one such solution is forming multi-generational households. While this meets the immediate need, this non-standard household arrangement is not supported in ways that two-generation households are.

For working Americans, one way the federal government provides relief is in the payment of taxes, specifically through tax credits. Credits for minor-aged children, home ownership, and savings are available for eligible taxpayers, but these credits do not extend for adult household members without proof of dependency on the taxpayer. For those in multigenerational households, this translates to householders providing a private safety net with little public support. These families were pushed through holes in a public safety net for enacting their own private safety net.

In the present context, unemployment benefits have been extended on an unprecedented scale, but this does not solve many other problems brought to light for working families. Some workers did not lose jobs but were forced to leave the labor market in order to meet the increased demands of family. Others employed in sectors that required in-person labor were denied the opportunity to work until conditions improved. In both of these cases, unemployment benefits are not a solution.

Multigenerational households were already on the rise between 2002-2018, and the tripling up to meet economic and familial needs as a result of the 2020 pandemic is likely to continue this trend of growth. Families without any other means will continue to build these households--not to relieve work-family conflict as my study shows they do not report lower FWC or WFC--but out of necessity. More effective public policy going



forward could acknowledge these larger households and not prevent access to assistance when the family has used all available private resources first.

### **Final Thoughts**

Throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, significant changes in work and family life brought about large-scale social change. The push for nuclear, two-parent households following World War II led to a normalization of this structure as the ideal American family, even while many families simply could not survive in that configuration (Coontz 2016). As economic downturns and recessions changed the work environment while women and minorities began to enter this same tumultuous labor market, the unsustainability of the breadwinner nuclear family model became clear. Social changes may have normalized working mothers, but they also brought gendered expectations for both work and family roles under scrutiny.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the American family has more diverse household configurations, more diverse working arrangements, and much of the same conflict between these two institutions as before. While the private sphere of family has adapted to changes in work, work has adapted little to the changes in family adequately. Understanding the impact of changes in *both* simultaneously is the best course to making meaningful change to reduce stress for individuals caught between these institutions. Research into these changes in work and family over time can inform more effective and lasting improvements to social life for the individual and society as a whole.

## REFERENCES

- Andrade, Claudia and Cerold Mikula. 2014. "Work-Family Conflict and Perceived Justice as Mediators of Outcomes of Women's Multiple Workload" *Marriage and Family Review*. 50(3): 285-306.
- Ammons, Samantha K. and Erin L. Kelly. 2008. "Social Class and the Experience of Work-Family Conflict During the Transition to Adulthood" *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 119: 71-84.
- Antonucci, Toni C. 1990. "Social Supports and Social Relationships." Pp. 205-226 in R.H. Binstock and K. George (eds.), *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Academic Press.
- Apostolidis, Paul and Keally McBride. 2020. "A Conversation about Work, Precarity, and Political Possibilities During COVID-19" *Theory & Event* 23(4S):S76-86.
- Aquilino, William S. 2006. "Family Relationships and Support Systems in Emerging Adulthood" Pp. 193-217 in Jeffrey J. Arnett and Jennifer L. Turner (eds.) *Emerging Adults in America: Coming of Age in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Aycan, Zeynep and Mehmet Eskin. 2005. "Relative Contributions of Childcare, Spousal Support, and Organizational Support in Reducing Work-Family Conflict for Men and Women: The Case of Turkey" *Sex Roles*. 53(7): 453-471.
- Barnett, Rosalind C. 1994. "Home-to-work Spillover Revisited: A Study of Full-Time Employed Women in Dual-Earner Couples" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 56(3): 647-656.
- Barnett, Melissa. 2008. "Mother and Grandmother Parenting in Low-Income Three-Generation Rural Households" *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 70(5): 1241-1257.
- Barnett, Rosalind C. 2005. "Dual Earner Couples: Good/Bad for Her/Him?" Pp. 151-171 in Diane F. Halpern and Susan E. Murphy (eds), *From Work-Family Balance to Work-Family Interaction: Changing the Metaphor*. Mahwah: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Bell, David B. and Walter R. Schumm. 2013. "Balancing Work and Family Demands in the Military: What Happens When Your Employer Tells You to Go to War?"

- Pp.83-98 in Halpern, Diane F. and Susan E. Murphy (eds.) *From Work-Family Balance to Work-Family Interaction*. New York: Routledge.
- Bellavia, Gina M. and Michael R. Frone. 2005. "Work-Family Conflict" Pp. 113-148 in *Handbook of Work Stress*, Julian Barling, E. Kevin Kelloway, and Michael R. Frone (eds.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Benard, Stephen and Shelley J. Correll. 2010. "Normative Discrimination and the Motherhood Penalty" *Gender and Society* 24(5): 616-646.
- Bengston, Vern L. 2001. "Beyond the Nuclear Family: The Importance of Multigenerational Bonds" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 63:1-16.
- Bennett, Misty M., Terry A. Beehr, and Lana V. Ivanitskaya. 2017. "Work-Family Conflict: Differences Across Generations and Life Cycles." *Journal of Managerial Psychology*. 32(4): 314-332.
- Beutell, Nicholas J. and Ursula Wittig-Berman. 2008. "Work-Family Conflict and Work-Family Synergy for Generation X, Baby Boomers, and Matures: Generational Differences, Predictors, and Satisfaction Outcomes" *Journal of Managerial Psychology*. 23(5): 507-523.
- Bianchi, Suzanne M. and Melissa A. Milkie. 2010. "Work and Family Research in the First Decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 72(3): 705-725.
- Biddle, B. J. 1986. "Recent Developments in Role Theory" *Annual Review of Sociology*. 12: 67-92.
- Blair-Loy, Mary and Amy S. Wharton. 2002. "Employees' Use of Work-Family Policies and the Workplace Social Context" *Social Forces* 80(3): 813-845.
- Bond, James T., Cindy Thompson, Ellen Galinsky, and David Prottas. 2003. *Highlights of the National Study of the Changing Workforce* New York: Families and Work Institute.
- Bookman, Ann and Delia Kimbrel. 2011. "Families and Elder Care in the Twenty-First Century" *The Future of Children* 21(2): 117-140.
- Booth, Alan, Ann C. Crouter, Susanne M. Bianchi, and Judith A. Seltzer. 2008. *Intergenerational Caregiving* Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Boyar, Scott L., Carl P. Maertz, Jr, Donald C. Mosley, Jr, and Jon C. Carr. 2008. "The Impact of Work/Family Demand on Work-Family Conflict" *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 23(3): 215-235.

- Boye, Katarina, Karin Hallden, and Charlotta Magnusson. 2017. "Stagnation Only on the Surface? The Implications of Skill and Family Responsibilities for the Gender Wage Gap in Sweden, 1974-2010" *The British Journal of Sociology*. 68(4): 595-619.
- Breaugh, James A. and N. Kathleen Frye. 2008. "Work-Family Conflict: The Importance of Family-Friendly Employment Practices and Family-Supportive Supervisors" *Journal of Business and Psychology* 22(4): 345-353.
- Brown, Susan L., Wendy D. Manning, and J. Bart Stykes. 2015. "Family Structure and Child Well-Being: Integrating Family Complexity" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 77(1): 177-190.
- Brumley, Krista M. 2018. "Involved Fathers, Ideal Workers? Fathers' Work-family Experiences in the United States" Pp. 209-232 in Arianna Santero and Rosy Musumeci (eds.) *Contemporary Perspectives in Family Research*. Emerald Publishing Ltd. DOI: 10.1108/S1530-353520180000012009.
- Budig, Michelle J. and Melissa J. Hodges. 2010. "Differences in Disadvantage: Variation in the Motherhood Penalty across White Women's Earnings Distribution" *American Sociological Review* 75(5):705-728.
- Buffardi, Louis C., Jennifer L. Smith, Alison S. O'Brien, and Carol J. Erdwins. 1999. "The Impact of Dependent-Care Responsibility and Gender on Work Attitudes." *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*. 4(4): 356-367.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, *The Economics Daily*, "Employment–population ratio 54.6 percent in June 2020, down from 61.1 percent in February 2020." <https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2020/employment-population-ratio-54-point-6-percent-in-june-2020-down-from-61-point-1-percent-in-february-2020.html>.
- Burr, Jeffrey A. and Jan E. Mutchler. 1999. "Race and Ethnic Variation in Norms of Filial Responsibility among Older Persons" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 61(3): 674-687.
- Burris, Beverly H. 1991. "Employed Mothers: The Impact of Class and marital Status on the Prioritizing of Family and Work" *Social Science Quarterly* 72(1): 50-66.
- Buzzanell, Patrice M., Rebecca Meisenbach, Robyn Remke, Meina Liu, Venessa Bowers, and Cindy Corn. 2005. "The Good *Working* Mother: Managerial Women's Sensemaking and Feelings about Work-Family Issues" *Communication Studies* 56(3): 261-285.

- Byron, Kristin. 2005. "A Meta-analytic Review of Work-Family Conflict and Its Antecedents" *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 67(2): 169-198.
- Caglar, Deniz, Vinay Cuoto, Ed Faccio, and Bhusan Sethi. 2021. "It's Time to Reimagine Where and How Work Will Get Done" Price Waterhouse Cooper's Remote Work Survey. January 12, 2021. <https://www.pwc.com/us/en/library/covid-19/us-remote-work-survey.html>
- Caputo, Jennifer. 2019. "Crowded Nests: Parent-Adult Child Coresidence Transitions and Parental Mental Health Following the Great Recession" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 60(2): 204-221.
- Carvalho, Vania S. and Maria J. Chambel. 2018. "Work-Family Conflict and Enrichment Mediates the Relationship Between Job Characteristics and Well-Being at Work with Portuguese Marine Corps" *Armed Forces and Society* 44(2): 301-322.
- Chang, Grace. 2000. *Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy* Boston: South End Press.
- Chapell, Neena L. and Laura M. Funk. 2011. "Social Support, Caregiving, and Aging" *Canadian Journal on Aging* 30(3): 355-370.
- Ciccia, Rossella and Inge Bleijenbergh. 2014. "After the Male Breadwinner Model?: Childcare Services and The Division of Labor in European Countries." *Social Politics* 21(1): 50-79.
- Clark, Sue C. 2000. "Work/Family Border Theory: A new Theory of Work/Family Balance" *Human Relations* 53(6): 747-770.
- Coale, Ansley J., Lloyd A. Fallers, Marion J. Levy, Jr., David M. Schneider, and Silvan S. Tomkins. 1965. *Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctt1m32489.4
- Cohen, Phillip N. and Lynne M. Casper. 2002. "In Whose Home? Multigenerational Families in the United States, 1998-2000" *Sociological Perspectives* 45(1): 1-20.
- Cohn, D'Vera and Jeffrey S. Passel. 2018 "A Record 64 Million Americans Live in Multigenerational Households" Washington DC, Pew Research Center for Social and Demographic Trends. <https://pewrsr.ch/2JjKACu>
- Collins, Patricia H. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought*. First Edition. New York: Routledge.

- Collins, Patricia H. 2000. "Mammies, Matriarchs and Other Controlling Images" Pp. 69-96 in *Black Feminist Thought*. Second Edition. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, Patricia H. 1986. "The Afro-American Work/Family Nexus: An Exploratory Analysis." *The Western Journal of Black Studies*. 10(3): 148-158.
- Collins, Patricia H. 1994. "Shifting the Center: Race, Class, and Feminist Theorizing About Motherhood" Pp. 45-66 in Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Grace Chang and Linda Rennie Forcey (eds) *Mothering: Ideology, Experience, and Agency*. New York: Routledge.
- Correll, Shelley J., Stephen Benard, and In Paik. 2007. "Getting a Job: Is There a Motherhood Penalty?" *American Journal of Sociology* 112(5): 1297-1338.
- Cooke, Lynn P. 2011. *Gender-Class Equality in Political Economies*. London: Routledge.
- Coontz, Stephanie. 2016 (1992). *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*. Philadelphia: Basic Books.
- Crouter, Ann C. 1984. "Spillover from Family to Work: The Neglected Side of the Work-Family Interface" *Human Relations* 37(6): 425-441.
- Crowley, Jocelyn E. 2015. "Unpacking the Power of the Mommy Wars" *Sociological Inquiry* 85(2): 217-238.
- Damaske, Sarah. 2011. *For the Family? How Class and Gender Shape Women's Work*. New York: Oxford university Press.
- Davis, Shannon N. and Theodore N. Greenstein. 2020. *Why Who Cleans Counts: What Housework Tells Us about American Family Life*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Davidson, Adam. 2014. "It's Official: The Boomerang Kids Won't Leave" *New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/22/magazine/its-official-the-boomerang-kids-wont-leave.html>
- De Genova, Nicholas and Ana Y. Ramos-Zaya. 2003. *Latino Crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the Politics of Race and Citizenship*. New York: Routledge.
- Deleire, Thomas and Ariel Kalil. 2002. "Good Things Come in Threes: Single-Parent Multigenerational Family Structure and Adolescent Adjustment" *Demography* 39(2): 393-413.
- Dickstein, Corey. 2020. "Women are Making Up More of the Military but are More Likely to Leave Early" *Stars and Stripes*. May 20, 2020. Retrieved March 14,

2021. <https://www.stripes.com/news/us/women-are-making-up-more-of-the-military-but-are-more-likely-to-leave-early-new-report-says-1.630516>

- Dilworth, Jennie E. Long. 2004. "Predictors of Negative Spillover from Family to Work" *Journal of Family Issues* 25(2): 241-261.
- Donnelly, Kristin, Jean M. Twenge, Malissa A. Clark, Samia K. Shaikh, Angela Beiler-May, and Nathan T. Carter. 2016. "Attitudes Towards Women's Work and Family Roles in the United States, 1976-2013." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 40(1): 41-54.
- Drago, Robert, David Black, and Mark Wooden. 2005. "Female Breadwinner Families: Their Existence, Persistence and Sources" *Journal of Sociology* 41(4):343-362.
- Eagle, Bruce W., Edward W. Miles, and Marjorie L. Icenogle. 1997. "Inter-role Conflicts and the Permeability of Work and Family Domains: Are There Gender Differences?" *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 50:168-184.
- Edin, Kathryn and Laura Lein. 1997. *Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-Wage Work* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Elder, Glen H. Jr. 1975. "Age Differentiation and the Life Course" *Annual Review of Sociology* 1:165-190.
- Elder, Glen H., Jr. and Linda K. George. 2015. "Age, Cohorts, and the Life Course" Pp. 59-85 in Michael J. Shanahan, Jeylan T. Mortimer, and Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson (eds.) *Handbook of the Life Course (2nd edition)*. New York: Springer.
- Erhart, Karen H., David M. Mayer, and Jonathan C. Ziegert. 2012. "Web-based Recruitment in the Millennial Generation: Work-Life Balance, Website Usability, and Organizational Attraction" *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* 21(6): 850-874.
- Federici, Sylvia. 2012 (1980). "The Restructuring of Housework and Reproduction in the United States in the 1970's" Pp. 41-53 in *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. Brooklyn: PM Press.
- Fingerman, Karen L., Laura E. VanderDrift, Aryn M. Dotterer, Kira S. Birditt, Steven H. Zarit, 2011. "Support to Aging Parents and Grown Children in Black and White Families" *The Gerontologist*, 51(4): 441-452.
- Folbre, Nancy. 2012. *For Love and Money: Care Provision in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Frost, Robert. 1986 (1914). "The Death of the Hired Man" *Great American Poets: Robert Frost* Geoffrey Moore (ed). New York: Crown Publishers.
- Frone, Michel R. 2003. "Work-Life Balance" Pp. 143-162 in *Handbook of Occupational Health Psychology* James C. Quick and Lois E. Tetrick (eds.) Washington, DC: American Psychology Association.
- Frone, Michael R., John K. Yardley, and Karen S. Markel. 1997. "Developing and Testing an Integrative Model of the Work-Family Interface" *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 50(2):145-167.
- Fry, Richard and Jeffrey S. Passel. 2014. "In Post-Recession Era, Young Adults Drive Continuing Rise in Multigenerational Living." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center's Social and Demographic Trends project, July.
- Fuligni, Andrew J., Vivian Tseng, and May Lam. 1999. "Attitudes toward Family Obligations among American Adolescents with Asian, Latin American, and European Backgrounds" *Child Development* 70(4): 1030-1044.
- Furnham, Adrian, Michael Bond, Patrick Heaven, Denis Hilton, Thamla Lobel, John Masters, Monica Payne, R. Rajamanikam, Barrie Stacey, and H. Van Daalen. 1993. "A Comparison of Protestant Work Ethic Beliefs in Thirteen Nations" *The Journal of Social Psychology* 133(2): 185-197.
- Garey, Anita I. 1999. *Weaving Work and Motherhood*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Gerstel, Naomi. 2000. "The Third Shift: Gender and Care Work Outside the Home" *Qualitative Sociology* 23(4): 467-483.
- Gerstel, Naomi and Katherine McGonagle. 1999. "Job Leaves and the Limits of the Family and Medical Leave Act: The Effect of Gender, Race and Family" *Work Occupations*. 26: 510-534.
- Glenn, Evelyn N. 2010. *Forced to Care: Coercion and Caregiving in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grandey, Alicia A. and Russell Cropanzano. 1999. "The Conservation of Resources Model Applied to Work-Family Conflict and Strain" *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 54: 350-370.
- Greenhaus, Jeffrey H. and Nicholas J. Beutell. 1985. "Sources of Conflict between Work and Family Roles" *The Academy of Management Review* 10(1): 76-88.



- Greenhaus, Jeffrey H. and Gary N. Powell. 2006. "When Work and Family are Allies: A Theory of Work-Family Enrichment" *The Academy of Management Review*. 31(1): 72-92.
- Grigorveva, Angelina. 2014. "When Gender Trumps Everything: The Division of Parent Care Among Siblings" *Center for the Study of Social Organization Paper Series*, Working Paper #9. April 2014. <https://www.thefyi.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/sp9-grigoryeva.pdf>
- Hakim, Catherine. 2002. "Lifestyle Preferences as Determinants of Women's Differentiated Labor Market Careers" *Work and Occupations* 29(4): 428-459.
- Hall, Scott. 2010. "The Return of the Multigenerational Family Household" *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences* 102(1): 73-74.
- Hammer, Tove H., Per O. Saksvik, Kjell Nytro, Hans Torvatn, and Mahmut Bayazit. 2016. "Expanding the Psychosocial Work Environment: Workplace Norms and Work-Family Conflict as Correlates of Stress and Health." *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* 9(1): 83-97.
- Harknett, Kristen. 2006. "The Relationship between Private Safety Nets and Economic Outcomes among Single Mothers" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 68(1): 172-191.
- Harrington Meyer, Madonna. 2014. *Grandmothers at Work: Juggling Families and Jobs*. New York: NYU Press.
- Herman, Jeanne B. and Karen K. Gyllstrom. 1977. "Working Men and Women: Inter- and Intra-Role Conflict" *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 1(4): 319-333.
- Hersch, Joni and Leslie S. Stratton. 2002. "Housework and Wages" *The Journal of Human Resources* 37(1): 217-229.
- Hobfoll, Stevan E. 1989. "Conservation of Resources: A New Attempt at Conceptualizing Stress" *American Psychologist*. 44(3): 513-524.
- Hobfoll, Stevan E. and Arie Shirom. 2001. "Conservation of Resources Theory: Applications to Stress and Management in the Workplace" Pp. 57-80 in Robert T. Golembiewski (ed.) *Handbook of Organizational Behavior*. New York: Routledge.
- Hochschild, Arlie R. and Anne Machung. 1989. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. London: Viking Penguin.

- Hood, Jane C. 1986. "The Provider Role: Its Meaning and Measurement." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 48(2): 349-359.
- Hughes, Diane and Lisa Chen. 1997. "When and What Parents Tell Children About Race: An Examination of Race-Related Socialization Among African American Families" *Applied Developmental Science*. 1(4): 200-214.
- Ingersoll-Dayton, Berit, Margaret B. Neal, and Leslie B. Hamner. 2001. "Aging Parents Helping Adult Children: The Experience of the Sandwich Generation" *Family Relations* 50(3): 262-271.
- Institute of Education Services. 2020. "School Social Work in the Time of COVID19: When Human-Centered Work Moved Online" Regional Education Laboratory-West. July 2020. <https://ies.ed.gov/ncee/edlabs/regions/west/Blogs/Details/20>
- Johnson, Richard W. and Joshua M. Weimer. 2006. "A Profile of Frail Older Americans and Their Caregivers" Occasional Paper Number 8. Urban Institute February 2006.
- Kahn, Joan R., Frances Goldscheider, and Javier Garcia-Manglano. 2013. "Growing Parental Economic Power in Parent-Adult Child Households: Coresidence and Financial Dependency in the United States, 1960-2010." *Demography*, vol. 50, pp. 1449-75.
- Kazmierczak, Maria and Karol Karasiewicz. 2018. "Making Space for a New Role: Gender Differences in Identity Changes in Couples Transitioning to Parenthood" *Journal of Gender Studies* online edition February 21, 2018. DOI: 10.1080/09589236.2018.1441015
- Keene, Jennifer R. and Jill Quadagno. 2004. "Predictors of Perceived Work-Family Balance: Gender Differences and Gender Similarities" *Sociological Perspectives* 47(1): 1-23.
- Kelly, Robert F. and Patricia Voydanoff. 1985. "Work/Family Role Strain among Employed Parents" *Family Relations* 34(3): 367-374.
- Kesler-Harris, Alice. 2018. *Women Have Always Worked: A Concise History. Second Edition*. Urbana: University of Chicago Press.
- Kossek, Ellen E., Boris B. Baltes, and Russell A. Matthews. 2011. "How Work-Family Research Can Finally Have an Impact in Organizations" *Industrial Organizational Psychology* 4(3): 352-369.

- Kunreuther, Frances. 2003. "The Changing of the Guard: What Generational Differences Tell Us About Social-Change Organizations" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 32(3): 450-457.
- Ladge, Jamie J. and Danna N. Greenberg. 2015. "Becoming a Working Mother: Managing Identity and Efficacy Uncertainties During Resocialization" *Human Resource Management* 54(6): 977-998.
- Landry, Bart. 2000. *Black Working Wives: Pioneers of the American Family Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lapierre, Laurent M, Elianne F. van Steenbergen, Marcia C.W. Peeters, and Esther S. Kluwer. 2016. "Juggling Work and Family Responsibilities When Involuntarily Working More from Home: A Multi-wave Study of Financial Sales Professionals" *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 37(6): 804-822.
- Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Levy, Frank. 1999. *The New Dollars and Dreams: American Incomes and Economic Change* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lewis, Jane. 2001. "The Decline of the Male Breadwinner Model: The Implications for Work and Care." *Social Politics* 8(2):152-170.
- Livingston, Gretchen. 2013. "At Grandmother's House We Stay." Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center Social and Demographic Trends Project, September. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/09/04/at-grandmothers-house-we-stay>
- Logan, John R. and Glenna D. Spitze. 1996. *Family Ties: Enduring Relations between Parents and Their Grown Children* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Marks, Stephen R. 2006. "Understanding Diversity of Families in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and Its Impact on the Work-Family Area of Study" Pp. 41-65 in *The Work and Family Handbook: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives and Approaches*. Ed. By Marcie Pitt-Catsouphes, Ellen Ernst Kossek, and Stephen Sweet. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Markus, Hazel R. and Shinobu Kitayama. 1991. "Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation" *Psychological Review* 98(2): 224-253.
- Mattingly, Doreen. 1999. "Making Maids: United States Immigration Policy and Immigrant Domestic Workers" Pp. 62-79 in Janet H. Momsen (ed.) *Gender, Migration, and Domestic Service* New York: Routledge.

- Medved, Caryn E. 2009. "Constructing Breadwinning-Mother Identities: Moral, Personal, and Political Positioning" *Women's Studies Quarterly* 37(4): 140-156.
- Meisenbach, Rebecca J. 2010. "The Female Breadwinner: Phenomenological Experience and Gendered Identity in Work/Family Spaces" *Sex Roles* 62(1): 2-19.
- Michel, Jesse S, Linsey M. Kotrba, Jacqueline K. Mitchelson, Malissa A. Clark and Boris B. Baltes. 2011. "Antecedents of Work-Family Conflict: A Meta-Analytic Review" *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 32(5): 689-725.
- Milkie, Melissa and Pia Peltola. 1999. "Playing All the Roles: Gender and the Work Family Balancing Act" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61: 476-490.
- Mills, Maura J. and Leanne M. Torte. 2018. "Fighting for Family: Considerations of Work-Family Conflict in Military Servicemember Parents" Pp. 91-116 in Peter D. Harms and Pamela L. Perrewe (eds.) *Occupational Stress and Well-Being in Military Contexts, Volume 16*. Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Minnotte, Krista L. 2012. "Family Structure, Gender, and the Work-Family Interface: Work-to-Family Conflict Among Single and Partnered Parents" *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 33(1): 95-107.
- Minnotte, Krista L. and Deniz Yucel. 2018. "Work-Family Conflict, Job Insecurity, and Health Outcomes Among US Workers" *Social Indicators Research* 139(2): 517-540.
- Moen, Phyllis and Yan Yu. 2000. "Effective Work/Life Strategies: Working Couples, Work Conditions, Gender, and Life Quality" *Social Problems* 47(3): 291-326.
- Moras, Amanda. 2010. "Colour-blind Discourses in Paid Domestic Work: Foreignness and the Delineation of Alternative Racial Markers." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(2): 233-252.
- Morgan, Stephen L. 2017. "A Coding of Social Class for the General Social Survey" GSS Methodological Report 125. August 2017.  
<https://gss.norc.umd.edu/Documents/reports/methodological-reports/MR125.pdf>
- Mosesdottir, Lilja. 2000. "Pathways Towards the Dual Breadwinner Model: The Role of The Swedish, German and the American States." *International Review of Sociology* 10(2):189-205.
- Mullen, Jane, Kelley, Elizabeth and E. Kevin Kelloway. 2008. "Health and Well-being Outcomes of the Work-Family Interface" Pp. 191-214 in Karen Korabik, Donna

- S. Lero, and Denise L. Whitehead (eds.) *Handbook of Work-Family Integration*. Boston: Elsevier.
- Mykyta, Laryssa. 2019. "Housing Crisis, Hardship, and Safety Net Support: Examining the Effects of Foreclosure on Households and Families." *Housing Studies* 34(5):827-848.
- National Center on Caregiving. 2015. *Who are the Caregivers?* Assessed from: <https://www.caregiver.org/women-and-caregiving-facts-and-figures>
- Newman, Katherine S. 2008. "Ties That Bind: Cultural Interpretations of Delayed Adulthood in Western Europe and Japan" *Sociological Forum* 23(4): 645-669.
- Newman, Katherine S. 2012. *The Accordion Family: Boomerang Kids, Anxious Parents, and the Private Toll of Global Competition*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Newman, Katherine S. 2020. "Ties that Bind/Unwind: The Social, Economic, and Organizational Contexts of Sharing Networks" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 689(1): 192-201.
- Nock, Steven L., Paul W. Kingston, and Laura M. Holian. 2008. "The Distribution of Obligations" Pp. 279-316 in Alan Booth, Ann C. Crouter, Suzanne M Bianchi, and Judith A. Seltzer (Eds.) *Intergenerational Caregiving*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Noonan, Mary C. 2001. "The Impact of Domestic Work on Men's and Women's Wages" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 63(4): 1134-1146.
- Padavic, Irene and Barbara F. Reskin. 2002. *Women and Men at Work* Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Paek, Eunjeong. 2020. "Workplace Computerization and the Educational Disparity in Schedule Flexibility" Paper presentation at Work and Family Research Network Virtual Conference September 11, 2020.
- Parboteeah, K. Praveen, Martin Hoegl and John Cullen. 2009. "Religious Dimensions and Work Obligation: A Country Institutional Profile Model" *Human Relations* 62(1): 119-148. DOI: 10.1177/0018726708099515
- Parasuraman, Saroj and Claire A. Simmers. 2001. "Type of Employment, Work-Family Conflict, and Well-Being: A Comparative Study" *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 22(5): 551-568.

- Parke, Ross D. and Raymond Buriel. 2008. "Socialization in the Family: Ethnic and Ecological Perspectives" Pp. 95-140 in William Damon and Richard M. Lerner (eds.) *Child and Adolescent Development: An Advanced Course* Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons.
- Parker, Lonnae O'Neal. 2005. *I'm Every Woman: Remixed Stories of Marriage, Motherhood, and Work*. New York: Armistad.
- Pearlin, Leonard I. 1989. "The Sociological Study of Stress" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 30(3): 241-256.
- Peek, Chuck W., Tanya Koropecyk-Cox, Barbara A. Zsembik, and Raymond T. Coward. 2004. "Race Comparison of the Household Dynamics of Older Adults" *Research on Aging* 26(2): 179-201.
- Peng, Chao-Ying J., Kuk L. Lee, and Gary M. Ingersoll. 2002. "An Introduction to Logistic Regression Analysis and Reporting" *The Journal of Educational Research* 96(1): 3-14.
- Peterson del Mar, David. 2011. *The American Family: From Obligation to Freedom*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pew Research Center. 2015. "The Rise in Dual Income Households". Assessed from: [https://www.pewresearch.org/ft\\_dual-income-households-1960-2012-2/](https://www.pewresearch.org/ft_dual-income-households-1960-2012-2/)
- Pierret, Charles R. 2006. "The 'Sandwich Generation': Women Caring for Parents and Children" *Monthly Labor Review*, 129(9): 3-9.
- Pilkauskas, Natasha V. 2012. "Three Generation Family Households: Differences by Family Structure at Birth." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 74(5):931-943
- Pleau, Robin L. 2012. "Multigenerational Coresidence 1989-2010: The Composition, Trends and Dynamic Structure of Three-Generation U.S. Households." Order No. 3544796 dissertation, University of California, Davis, Ann Arbor.
- Powers, Rod. 2019. *Dependents and US Military Enlistment Standards*. April 28, 2019. Retrieved March 16, 2021. <https://www.thebalancecareers.com/dependents-and-us-military-enlistment-standards-3354007#>
- Pugh, Allison. 2016. *Tumbleweed Society: Working and Caring in an Age of Insecurity* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ragins, Belle R. and John M. Cornwell. 2007. "We Are Family: The Influence of Gay Family-Friendly Policies on Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Employees" Pp. 105-117

- in M.V. Lee Badgett and Jefferson Frank (eds.) *Sexual Orientation Discrimination: An International Perspective* New York: Routledge.
- Ranson, Gillian. 2012. "Men, Paid Employment and Family Responsibilities: Conceptualizing the 'Working Father'." *Gender, Work, and Organization* 19(6): 741-761.
- Rehel, Erin and Emily Baxter. 2015. "Men, Fathers, and Work-Family Balance" Center for American Progress. Accessed from: <https://cdn.americanprogress.org/issues/women/reports/2015/02/04/105983/men-fathers-and-work-family-balance/>
- Reich, Robert B. 2008. "America's Middle Class No Longer Coping." *Financial Times*. January 29. Online. <http://www.ft.com/content/5deb45aa-ce7e-11dc-877a-000077b07658>
- Reich, Robert B. 2010. *Aftershock: The Next Economy and America's Future*. New York: Knopf.
- Reyes, Adriana M. 2018. "The Economic Organization of Extended Family Households by Race or Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 80(1): 119-133.
- Reynolds, Jeremy E. and Katie James. 2020. "Blessing or Burden: Transitions into Eldercare and Caregiver Mental Health" Paper presentation at American Sociological Association, August 10, 2020.
- Ro, Christine. 2021. "Recession, Coronavirus and Shifting Demographics are Intensifying Pressures on the 'Sandwich Generation'." *British Broadcasting: Worklife* January 28, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20210128-why-the-sandwich-generation-is-so-stressed-out>
- Rohwedder, Susann. 2009. "Helping Each Other in Times of Need: Financial Help as a Means of Coping with the Economic Crisis" *RAND Labor and Population Occasional Paper*.
- Romero, Mary and Nancy Perez. 2016. "Conceptualizing the Foundation of Inequalities in Care Work" *American Behavioral Scientist* 60(2): 172-188.
- Roos, Patricia A. 2009. "Interconnecting Work and Family: Race and Class Differences in Women's Work Status and Attitudes" *Women's Studies Quarterly* 37(3-4): 103-120.
- Roos, Patricia A. 2010. "Not So Separate Spheres." *Contexts* 9(4): 58-60.



- Rossi, Peter H. 1989. *Down and Out in America: the Origins of Homelessness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rossi, Alice S. 1973. *The Feminist Papers*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Rubin, Lillian B. 1994. *Families on the Fault Line: America's Working Class Speaks about the Family, the Economy, Race, and Ethnicity*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Ruggles, Steven. 2007. "The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000." *American Sociological Review*, 72(6): 964-989.
- Ruggles, Steven. 2011. "Intergenerational Coresidence and Family Transitions in the United States, 1850-1880." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 73(1): 136-148.
- Ruggles, Steven and Susan Brower. 2007. "Measurement of Household and Family Composition in the United States: 1850-2000." *Population and Development Review*. 29(1): 73-101.
- Ryan, Rebecca M., Ariel Kalil, and Lindsey Leininger. 2009. "Low-Income Mothers' Private Safety Nets and Children's Socioemotional Well-Being" *Journal of Marriage and Family* (71(2):278-297.
- Sallee, Margaret W. 2012. "The Ideal Work or the Ideal Father: Organizational Structures and Culture in the Gendered University" *Research in Higher Education* 53(7):782-802.
- Scheiman, Scott and Marisa Young. 2011. "Economic Hardship and Family-to-Work Conflict: The Importance of Gender and Work Conditions" *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 32(1):46-61.
- Scott, Jacqueline. 2000. "Is It a Different World to When You Were Growing Up? Generational Effect on Social Representations and Child-Rearing Values" *British Journal of Sociology* 51(2): 355-376.
- Shockley, Kristen M., Winny Shen, Michael M. DeNunzio, Maryana L. Arvan, and Eric A. Knudsen. 2017. "Disentangling the Relationship Between Gender and Work-Family Conflict: Integration of Theoretical Perspectives Using Meta-Analytic Methods" *Journal of Applied Psychology* 102(12):1601-1635.
- Segal, Mady W. 1986. "The Military and the Family as Greedy Institutions" *Armed Forces and Society* 13(1):9-38.



- Seltzer, Judith A., Charles Q. Lau, and Suzanne M. Bianchi. 2012. "Doubling Up When Times Are Tough: A Study of Obligations to Share a Home in Response to Economic Hardship" *Social Science Research* 41(5): 1307-1319.
- Silverstein, Merrill, Daphna Gans, and Frances M. Yang. 2006. "Intergenerational Support to Aging Parents: The Role of Norms and Needs" *Journal of Family Issues* 27(8): 1068-1084.
- Smith, Peggie R. 2011. "Work Like Any Other, Work Like No Other: Establishing Decent Work for Domestic Workers" *Employee Rights and Employment Policy Journal* 15: 157-198.
- Smith, Tom W., Davern, Michael, Freese, Jeremy, and Stephen L. Morgan. 2019. *General Social Surveys, 1972-2018. Cumulative Codebook*. NORC ed. Chicago: NORC. [https://gss.norc.umd.edu/documents/codebook/gss\\_codebook.pdf](https://gss.norc.umd.edu/documents/codebook/gss_codebook.pdf)
- Smola, Karen Wey and Charlotte D. Sutton. 2002. "Generational Differences: Revisiting Generational Work Values for the New Millennium" *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 23: 363-382.
- Snyder, Anastasia R., Diane K. McLaughlin, and Jill Findeis. 2006. "Household Composition and Poverty among Female-Headed Households with Children: Differences by Race and Residence" *Rural Sociology*. 71(4): 597-624.
- Sobel, Michael E. 1982. "Asymptotic Confidence Intervals for Indirect Effects in Structural Equation Modeling" *Sociological Methodology* 13:290-312.
- Sok, Jenny, Rob Blomme, and Debbie Tromp. 2014. "Positive and Negative Spillover from Work to Home: The Role of Organizational Culture and Supportive Arrangements" *British Journal of Management* 25: 456-472.
- Speare, Alden, Jr., and Roger Avery. 1993. "Who Helps Whom in Older Parent-Child Families?" *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences* 48: S64-S73.
- Staines, Graham L, and Joseph J. Pleck. 1984. "Nonstandard Work Schedules and Family Life" *Journal of Applied Psychology* 69(3): 515-523.
- Stoiko, Rachel R., JoNell Strough, and Nicolas A. Turiano. 2016. "Understanding 'His and Her' Work-Family Conflict and Facilitation" *Current Psychology* 36(3): 453-467.
- Strauss, William and Neil Howe. 1991. *Generations: the History of America's Future, 1584-2069*. New York: Quill.

- Swanberg, Jennifer E. 2005. "Job-Family Role Strain Among Low-Wage Workers" *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 26(1): 143-158.
- Swartz, Teresa T. 2009. "Intergenerational Family Relations in Adulthood: Patterns, Variations, and Implications in the Contemporary United States." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35: 191-212.
- Swartz, Teresa T., Minzee Kim, Mayumi Uno, Jelan Mortimer, and Kiersten Bengtson O'Brien. 2011. "Safety Nets and Scaffolds: Parental Support in the Transition to Adulthood" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 73(2): 414-429.
- Thebaud, Sarah. 2010. "Masculinity, Bargaining, and Breadwinning: Understanding Men's Housework in the Cultural Context of Paid Work" *Gender & Society* 24(3):330-354.
- Townsend, Nicholas. 2002. *The Package Deal: Marriage, Work and Fatherhood in Men's Lives*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Treas, Judith and Shampa Masumdar. 2004. "Kinkeeping and Caregiving: Contributions of Older People in Immigrant Families" *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 35(1): 105-122.
- Tronto, Joan. 1993. *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. New York: Routledge.
- Tsai, Kim M., Eva H. Telzer, Nancy A. Gonzalez, and Andrew J. Fuligni. 2015. "Parental Cultural Socialization of Mexican-American Adolescents' Family Obligation Values and Behaviors" *Child Development*. 86(4): 1241-1252.
- Turner, Paaige K. and Kristen Norwood. 2013. "Unbounded Motherhood: Embodying a Good Working Mother Identity" *Management Communication Quarterly*. 27(3): 396-424.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2019. "By 2030, All Baby Boomers Will Be Age 65 or Older" *America Counts: Stories Behind the Numbers*.  
<https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2019/12/by-2030-all-baby-boomers-will-be-age-65-or-older.html>
- U.S. Congressional Budget Office. 2020. *The Federal Budget in 2019*. April 2020.  
<https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2020-04/56324-CBO-2019-budget-infographic.pdf>

- U.S. Congressional Budget Office. 2004. *Financing Long-Term Care for the Elderly*. April 2004. <https://www.cbo.gov/publication/15584>
- U.S. Department of Agriculture. 2021. *Meals for Kids Program When Schools are Closed*. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/meals4kids>
- U.S. Federal News Service. 2008. "Ohio Department of Job and Family Services Provides Timeline on Extended Unemployment Compensation Benefits" Washington, D.C. December 5, 2008. Retrieved March 14, 2021. <https://search-proquest-com.mutex.gmu.edu/docview/470825360?accountid=14541&pq-origsite=primo>
- Van der Lippe, Tanja and Zoltan Lippenyi. 2018. "Beyond Formal Access: Organizational Context, Working from Home, and Work-Family Conflict of Men and Women in European Workplaces." *Social Indicators* Oct 2018:1-20. DOI:10.1007/s11205-018-1993-1.
- Vandello, Joseph. 2013. "When Equal Isn't Really Equal: The Masculine Dilemma of Seeking Work Flexibility" *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2):303-321.
- Voydanoff, Patricia. 1990. "Economic Distress and Family Relations: A Review of the Eighties." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52(4): 1099-1115.
- Voydanoff, Patricia. 2005. "Work Demands and Work-to-Family and Family-to-Work Conflict: Direct and Indirect Relationships" *Journal of Family Issues* 26(6): 707-726.
- Voydanoff, Patricia. 1988. "Work Role Characteristics, Family Structure Demands, and Work/Family Conflict" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 50(3): 749-761.
- Voydanoff, Patricia. 2002. "Linkages Between the Work-Family Interface and Work, Family, and Individual Outcomes." *Journal of Family Issues*. 23(1): 138-164.
- Vuga, Janja and Jelena Juvan. 2013. "Work-family Conflict between Two Greedy Institutions-the Family and the Military" *Current Sociology* 61(7):1058-1077.
- Warner, Tracey. 2007. "Conceptualizing Breadwinning Work" *Work, Employment, and Society* 21(2)
- Weber, Max. [1905] 2009. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* edited by R. Swedberg. New York: W.W. Norton.

- Wiemers, Emily E. and Suzanne M. Bianchi. 2015. "Competing Demands from Aging Parents and Adult Children in Two Cohorts of American Women" *Population and Development Review* 41(1):127-146.
- White, Lynn and Stacy J. Rogers. 2000. "Economic Circumstances and Family Outcomes: A Review of the 1990s" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 62(4): 1035-1051.
- Wiggins, James A., Beverly B. Wiggins, and James Vander Zaden. 1994. *Social Psychology*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.
- Williams, Joan C. 2010. *Reshaping the Work-Family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Wright, Thomas A. and Russell Cropanzano. 1998. "Emotional Exhaustion as a Predictor of Job Performance and Voluntary Turnover" *Journal of Applied Psychology* 83(3):486-493.
- Yucel, Deniz. 2017. "Work-to-Family Conflict and Life Satisfaction: the Moderating Role of Type of Employment" *Applied Research in Quality of Life* 12(3): 577-591.

## **BIOGRAPHY**

Katie E. Matthew graduated from Plano East Senior High School in Plano, Texas in 1996. After completing her Bachelor of Science in Sociology at the United States Military Academy at West Point in 2000, she was commissioned as an active-duty officer in the United States Army. She completed her Master of Business Administration at Kansas State University in 2009 and returned to West Point as an instructor for three years to continue her service. While on active duty since 2000, she has continued to pursue both her academic studies and teaching regardless of assignment. Upon completion of her doctorate work at George Mason University, she will return to West Point and serve on the faculty in the Department of Behavioral Sciences and Leadership.