

PART I: Families and Jobs in the 21st Century

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Charting New Territory: Advancing Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives, Methods, and Approaches in the Study of Work and Family

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For the past 30 years, there has been a sustained surge in academic interest in work-family issues. However, despite the increase in scholarly studies about work-family relationships and the explosive growth in work-family publications, until now there has not been any single handbook that compiled the work of scholars across the disciplines and also compared and contrasted their approaches to the study of work-family phenomena. This handbook, the culmination of efforts of 63 leading work and family researchers, fills that gap and offers an overview of the major insights, challenges, and opportunities present in the work-family field. But, what exactly is the "work-family" field, when did it emerge, and why?

Kathleen Christensen, author of the last chapter in this handbook, has often remarked that the work-family field may be the only field of study best known by a hyphen—the hyphen that is placed between the words "work" and "family." As editors of this handbook, we have come to believe that the hyphen is important, because it symbolizes the field's focus on the connections between *work* experiences and *family* issues. These connections have been conceptualized as "relationships," "interactions," and "interface." As Rosabeth Moss Kanter cogently observes in her Foreword to this volume, if work and family are considered as "separate spheres" in policy and cultural action, our understanding of both institutions suffers.

In general, work-family research focuses on two overarching concerns. One stream of studies primarily focuses on the different ways that work can affect the family, the other on how family responsibilities impact work. It is instructive to consider a few examples.

Some researchers who have studied the ways that *work impacts family lives* have explored how job demands (and associated factors such as organizational structures, the design of work roles, and workplace cultures) affect employees and their management of family responsibilities (e.g., see Appelbaum, Berg, & Kalleberg, 2000; Bailyn & Harrington, 2004; Batt & Valcour, 2003; Berg, Kalleberg, & Appelbaum, 2003; Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2002; O'Driscoll et al., Cooper, 2003; Viega, Baldrige, & Eddleston, 2004). Extensive research has also been devoted to the relationships between work hours, work schedules, and different aspects of well-being (e.g., Bihan & Martin, 2004; Cousins & Tang, 2004; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Jansen, Kant, Kristensen, & Nijhuis, 2003; Strazdins, Korda, Lim, Broom, & D'Souza, 2004; van Rijswijk, Bekker, Rutte, & Croon, 2004), with some of these studies considering whether time devoted to work might otherwise be devoted to family rituals (such as evening meals), carework (essential to the needs of children, spouses, aging parents), or self care (such as medical care, exercise, and stress management) (e.g., Crouter, Bumpus, Head, & McHale, 2001). It is important to note that other scholars have examined whether *work can enhance individual well-being and family life*. For example, some have studied relationships between family well-being and economic compensation, whereas other scholars have studied how the intrinsic rewards of jobs and work roles shape family development, health, and well-being (for examples of such studies, see Barnett & Gareis, chapter 10 in this volume; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Nordenmark, 2002; Voydanoff, 2004).

On the other hand, the work-family equation can also be inverted to consider the ways that families support the workplace as well as circumstances in which family obligations distract workers from employers' priorities (Kanter, 1977a). Some studies, for instance, have investigated how family demands and needs can impinge on labor force attachment and worker productivity (e.g., Moen & Sweet, 2003). Others have considered the family-to-work interaction from a different viewpoint—how positive aspects of family life can spill over into the workplace, thereby benefiting businesses (for examples of studies examining the family-to-work interface, see Bayraktar & Salman, 2003; Creamer & Associates, 2001; Crouter, 1984; Ferber & Hoffman, 1997; Powers, 2001; Sweet & Moen, 2004). Academics in this stream of research understand that if families do not perform their roles, such as reproduction and socialization of the next generation of workers, employers and the society-at-large will inevitably suffer (Kanter, Foreword, this volume).

Thus, it has been the concern of work-family scholarship to juxtapose our knowledge of how workplaces operate with our understandings of how families function. The academic work conducted over the past three decades has revealed the connections between these institutions and has linked the scholarly work of what has traditionally been perceived as separate areas of study. We are presently witnessing the successes of academics' efforts to create a new field of study with a distinct body knowledge that has been developed by a multi-disciplinary community of academics.

In this chapter, we offer an overview of the development of the new work-family field, its multi-disciplinary shape, and prevailing themes of inquiry. We discuss how work-family scholarship emerged during a time when there was a confluence of demographic, economic, and cultural shifts. We note that scholarship during the early years of the work-family area of study typically reflected the confines of existing disciplinary boundaries and divisions of labor within academe. These traditional structures made it difficult for scholars to move forward with multi-disciplinary perspectives. In many respects, the current work-family field is now challenging rigid academic institutional arrangements in an effort to forge bridges between disciplinary perspectives. It is to this larger goal that this handbook is devoted.

WORK-FAMILY ISSUES TAKE ROOT

Historians persuasively argue that work-family concerns are not necessarily “new” experiences, as people have always had to coordinate their family responsibilities with their economic pursuits (e.g., Eileen Boris and Carolyn Lewis’s chapter 4, this volume). Indeed, academic commentary and policy discourse about work-family experiences have deep roots in different social science disciplines, suggesting that work-family challenges were also visible in early times.

For example, Friedrich Engels discussed the relationships between economic arrangements and the family, paying particular attention to the ways that the new industrial order ravaged family lives and communities in Europe (Engels, 1936 [1845]). Industrialization also drew attention to work-family issues in the United States. During the transitional years when America moved from being a primarily agrarian society to an industrialized economy, some companies established employer-supported programs including child-care centers and hospitals that became part of the industrial welfare system (Brandes, 1976). By the late 19th century, the first family responsive public social policy, the Civil War Pensioners Fund, was implemented, to address the needs of widows and children left destitute in the wake of the Civil War (Skocpol, 1992). In the early 20th century, demographic shifts in America (including urbanization and immigration) coupled with progressive era philosophies, motivated scholars such as Jane Addams (1999 [1912]), W. I. Thomas (1928), and W. E. B. DuBois (1998 [1899]) to chronicle how families were (or failed to be) integrated into an expanding economy.

By the 1940s, central features of the New Deal addressed workplace responsibilities and government commitment to working families. Indeed, the Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act regulated workplace responsibilities in consideration of life-course factors that outlast short-term contractual relations between employers and employees. The work of many postwar scholars reflected the culture and norms of that time, often focusing on work and family themes. At the time, many of these arguments had a conservative bent, such as Talcott Parsons’ (1942) assertion of the functionality of sexual divisions of labor, a theoretical framework that added social-scientific legitimacy to the entrenchment of the traditional husband-breadwinner, wife-homemaker middle class roles of the time. Subsequently, feminist writers began to articulate critical assessments of these arrangements, which in turn advanced work-family scholarship. For example, in her classic book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), Betty Friedan argued that societal acceptance of a segmented division of family caregiving and breadwinning—aligned along gender lines—served to further entrap women and perpetuate discrimination against them. These examples illustrate that work-family issues have been embedded in academic, policy, and cultural debates well in advance of the recognition of work-family as an area of expertise.

Despite the historical evidence of long-standing interest in work-family issues, many simultaneous transformations in the fabric of society occurred at the end of the 20th century that elevated the level and “volume” of the discourse about work and family. There were changes in the structure of families, the composition of the workforce, and the demographic characteristics of our society (see, for example, chapter 6 by Farnsworth Riche and chapter 3 by Marks, this volume). Furthermore, technological and organizational changes altered the ways that jobs were performed (e.g., see Wharton chapter 2, this volume and Valcour & Hunter, 2005). And, significantly, the growing presence and engagement of women in key leadership positions within universities, business, and government helped to position work-family experiences as central concerns for research, practice, and policy-making. In the 1990s, work-family issues increasingly resonated with discussions at the workplace and debates among public policymakers.

It has taken some time for cultural and structural institutions to catch up to these societal shifts, resulting in lags both in policy and programmatic responses. Observers have noted that

existing laws, employer policies, and work processes and practices often fail to meet the needs of contemporary working families (see, for example, Kelly chapter 5; Still & Williams chapter 15, this volume). Many academics have described the discontinuities between the needs of families and today's institutional structures as being "mismatched." For example, cultural norms and expectations about the so-called ideal employee have been predicated on assumptions that workers can be available for work "on demand" and can be present at the workplace as needed. This notion of the ideal worker is based on a separate but related assumption that employees have another adult family member at home on a full-time basis who can take care of the family caregiving and home management responsibilities. However, such taken-for-granted notions about the ideal worker do not reflect the realities of contemporary employees. As noted by several of the authors who have contributed to this handbook, most families are no longer structured with one full-time breadwinner and one full-time homemaker; therefore, employees with family responsibilities rarely have the flexibility to be at the workplace for unlimited periods of time or for unscheduled hours. Although some employers and policymakers have attempted to rework workplace practices and public policies in an effort to alleviate mismatches (see Bond & Galinsky, chapter 19) in general, the incompatibilities remain (Bianchi, Casper, & King, 2005).

The continued visibility of mismatches between the needs of working families and societal structures has kept the connections (and the "dis-connects") between work and family visible, and has sustained broad-based interest in work-family issues. For instance, the *Wall Street Journal* and other newspapers have created journalistic niches focused on work-family experiences. Following the lead of *Working Mother* magazine, which conducted its first annual competition to identify the 100 best companies for working mothers in 1986, a number of industry journals and community papers now sponsor competitions to identify and showcase family-friendly workplaces. Even the business-oriented radio program, "Marketplace," produced by Public Radio International, has created a work-family beat.

A large number of business leaders, union officials, and organizational consultants also became engaged in different facets of the work-family agenda toward the end of the 20th century. Some companies crafted signature work/life initiatives. IBM, for example, forged into new territory with global surveys of its employees around the world (Hill, Yang, Hawkins, & Ferris, 2004). Business leaders also helped to establish a number of different professional groups that supported their efforts to further develop work/life policies and programs. Some of these associations, such as the Work & Family Roundtable, created membership structures comprised of company representatives, whereas other groups, such as the Alliance of Work-Life Progress (AWLP), invited individuals from a range of stakeholder groups, including unions and consulting firms, to join. AWLP further contributed to the institutionalization of work-family initiatives at the workplace through its certificate program, which offers a series of courses and workshops. Unions and union-supported organizations, such as the Labor Project for Working Families, were visibly active in the development of services and supports at the workplace, such as dependent care program, and provided leadership for public policy innovations (Labor Project for Working Families, 2004). Work-family issues also garnered attention in the political arena. Interest in working families not only became embedded in the rhetoric of national elections, but also was woven into state and local political activities (see, for example, Working Families Party, 2004).

CREATING A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY FIELD OF STUDY

While pundits, practitioners, advocates, and policy-makers were busy exploring different work-family frontiers, academics also began to forge new paths leading to increasingly sophisticated understandings of work-family phenomena. By the mid-1990s, scholars' interest in

work-family issues had developed into a loosely coupled area of study. Today, a large number of academics see work-family issues as an important focal point for their teaching, research, and writing.

Many who have attempted to chronicle the contemporary history of the work-family field point to the publication of Rosabeth Moss Kanter's 1977 monograph, *Work and Family in the United States: A Critical Review and Agenda for Research and Policy*, as an important marker of the beginning of concerted academic study of work-family issues in the United States. Interestingly, this publication was part of the Russell Sage Foundation's series, "Social Science Frontiers: Occasional Publications Reviewing *New Fields* for Social Science Development" (emphasis added). At the time, it was unclear whether the work-family area of study would, in fact, develop the institutionalized structures needed to identify it as a field.

During the early years of the work-family area of study, it was common for scholars trained in different disciplines to focus on different aspects of work-family issues, bring different schools of thought to the framing of research questions, and adopt different methods to examine current work and family experiences. At that time, for example, psychologists would typically have read different journals than their colleagues trained in economics and each would likely have gone to different conferences. Even within disciplines, the efforts to move work-family research agendas forward did not proceed in any coordinated fashion. For instance, it took some time before sociologists who focused on "family sociology" regularly consulted the work of those who focused on "sociology of work." The divides that tended to separate academics in different disciplines created significant challenges to the work-family researchers who wanted to study phenomena that do not fit neatly within disciplinary boundaries. However, as the connections were established among the disciplines, the contours of the new field began to take shape.

Considering why work-family emerged when it did is a question appropriate for an analysis using a "sociology of knowledge" orientation, the branch of sociology that studies the social processes involved in the production of knowledge (Jary & Jary, 1991). Sociology of knowledge focuses attention on the cultural experiences, dynamic social interactions, and structural institutions that form the context of knowledge-building. This field examines how social contexts relate to the socially dynamic development, acquisition, and transmission of knowledge and understanding (Swidler & Ardit, 1994; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Ritzer, 1992). For the purposes of this chapter, we have used a sociology of knowledge framework to examine some of the indicators that the work-family area of study has become an scholarly field with its own structured activities, socialization processes, products, and norms that reflect a unique academic subculture.

One sign of the emergence of the work-family field of study is work-family scholars' engagement in rituals that define them as members of a loosely coupled community (see Pitt-Catsoupes, 2005). The annual conferences of many disciplines and professions—ranging from economics to management to family relations—now regularly include panels or even tracks of sessions devoted to work-family research. Over the past two decades, the number of presentations that focus on work-family issues at these conferences has increased. For instance, the Gender and Diversity in Organizations division and the Careers division of the National Academy of Management have steadily accepted more work-family research papers. Importantly, organizations such as the Business and Professional Women's Foundation, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and Brandeis University have sponsored multi-disciplinary work-family scholarly conferences that bring together scholars from different disciplines.

The concept of membership in an academic work-family community has also been reinforced by communication networks such as the Workfam listserv, which was founded and continues to be coordinated by Robert Drago of the Penn State University, as well as the Sloan Work and Family Research Network (www.bc.edu/wfnetwork). In 2005, more than 1200 individuals

interested in work-family research were members of the Sloan Work and Family Research Network's virtual community (approximately three-fourths of whom are academics), giving them access to resources and communication that promote connections within the community.

Work-family academics have also begun to develop strategies, such as approaches to teaching, designed to pass on knowledge and the "work-family research culture" to the next generation of scholars and practitioners. Many universities across the country and around the world, including the Harvard Business School and the Sloan School of Management at MIT, currently offer courses that address work-family issues. These faculty members are making conscious efforts to transmit knowledge about work-family issues to their students. Some of these academics have also created mechanisms for sharing their course syllabi and ideas for teaching activities with colleagues in the work-family academic community who are located at other universities. Web posting has become an effective way for faculty to share teaching experiences and ideas (see <http://wfnetwork.bc.edu/activities.php> and <http://flex-work.lir.msu.edu/>). The existence of socialization strategies like these suggests that the work-family field has become institutionalized.

It is particularly important to note that literature which discusses work-family issues is now being archived as a unique category of research. During the early 1990s, some work-family scholars lamented that it was difficult to get their manuscripts about work-family topics accepted for publication in peer-reviewed academic journals. Work-family issues are no longer perceived as being a stumbling block, and some journals even favor a manuscript's prospects for publication if it contributes to the work-family knowledge base (see analysis by Drago & Kashian, 2003). There has been a remarkable growth in the venues for, and acceptance of, scholarly research on the intersection of work and family. In recent decades, there has been steady increase in the number of work-family articles cited in four widely used academic literature databases: socioabs (a library database that includes sociology and many demography journals), econlit (a library database that includes economics and some business journals), psychinfo (a library database that includes psychology, psychiatric, and many social work journals), and historical abstracts. The number of articles depicted in Fig. 1.1 were calculated after conducting a Boolean keyword search using synonyms of the terms "work" [work(ers) or job(s)] and "family" [family(ies), parent(s), mother(s), father(s), or child(ren)] in select years.

By 2000, there had been a threefold increase in the number of history articles that focused on work and family concerns, when compared to the number of these articles in 1970. In psychology there were seven times as many over the course of those three decades, and in sociology there were 12 times as many. Our database search did not identify a single work-family publication in the econlit database in 1970, but there were more than 500 in 2000. There are similar trends in the increase of work-family publications occurring across

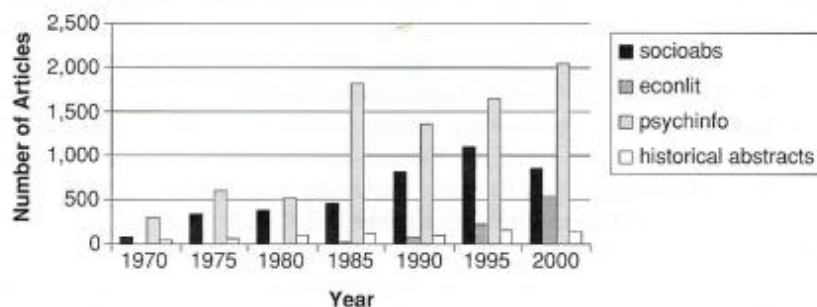


FIG. 1.1. Trends in journal articles that focus on work and family concerns.

many of the other disciplines as well. A 2004 analysis of the Online Work-Family Literature Database maintained by the Sloan Work and Family Research Network (a database containing the citations and annotations of more than 6,500 scholarly work-family publications) found that the journals that had published the greatest number of work-family research articles entered into the database represented many different disciplines. The "top" journals included *Journal of Family Issues*; *Work and Occupations*; *Community, Work & Family*; *Journal of Family & Economic Issues*; *Gender & Society*; *Sex Roles*; *Human Relations*; *Industrial Labor Relations*; *Social Forces*; *Monthly Labor Review*; *Academy of Management Journal*; *Journal of Occupational & Organizational Psychology*; *American Journal of Sociology*; and *Qualitative Sociology*.

One notable event in the emergence of the work-family field occurred in 1994, when Suzan Lewis and Carolyn Kagan at Manchester Metropolitan University in England founded the journal *Community, Work and Family*. This journal was a milestone not only because it was the first (and remains the only) peer-reviewed journal devoted to work-family issues, but also because the editors created the journal to address many of the challenges that had confronted work-family scholars. From the beginning, Lewis and Kagan made an effort to bring global perspectives to the discussion of work-family issues. The authors of articles published in *Community, Work and Family* have chronicled and analyzed the work-family experiences of people living in Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, North America, and South America.

Finally, we note that a shared academic culture is beginning to develop among work-family researchers. As part of this culture, scholars routinely test sets of commonly held assumptions and beliefs, such as assumptions about the interface between the work and family domains of life (see MacDermid & Harvey, chapter 27). In addition, academics have begun to clarify norms and expectations with regard to the rigor and quality of work-family studies. Beginning in 2000, academics began to collaborate with Shelley MacDermid of Purdue University, who founded the Rosabeth Moss Kanter Award for Excellence in Work-Family Research. Each year, 30 to 40 scholars review the contents of the previous year's issues of nearly 40 peer-reviewed journals that publish work-family articles in an effort to identify the "best of the best" research publications. These scholars are not only producing their own research, but they are also articulating standards of excellence for future studies.

The efforts of work-family academics to establish a work-family field of study have not gone unnoticed by funding agencies. For 10 years, different researchers have benefited from the resources provided by corporations as well as private foundations. In the United States, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has provided noteworthy support to work-family research, including the establishment of seven university-based work-family research centers (see Christensen, chapter 34). In 2004, the National Institute on Child and Human Development (part of the federal National Institutes on Health in the United States) announced a new initiative that will support efforts to examine health and other outcomes associated with work-family interventions. The resources provided by funding organizations and agencies have been critical, not only to support research initiative, but also to sustain and further institutionalize the work-family field.

Our hopes are that eventually this handbook will be viewed as another milestone in the "coming of age" of work-family studies as a recognized field that attempts to link rigorous, multi-disciplinary scholarship to enlightened *praxis*, or the professional application of scholarly knowledge. Although there are other edited books of work and family theory and scholarship that have appeared (e.g., Zedeck, 1992; Kossek & Lambert, 2005b; Bianchi, Casper, & King, 2005), to our knowledge it is the first formal handbook on work-family to be published.

ANALYTIC REFLECTIONS OF THE WORK-FAMILY HANDBOOK

When we stepped forward to coordinate the development of a handbook that could be widely used by work-family scholars and their students, we realized that it would be particularly important to position the disciplinary mosaic that has contributed to the richness and the rigor of the work-family area of study. By doing so, we hoped to craft a volume that discussed the focus and the unique characteristics of diverse types of scholarship that have contributed to the work-family field.

Collectively, the chapters in this *Handbook* address four fundamental work-family questions:

- How do academics discuss key work and family constructs?
- What conceptual frameworks do different disciplines use to examine work-family experiences and how do these frameworks shape the types of questions asked about work-family connections?
- What methodological approaches do researchers use to document and test linkages between work and family?
- How can scholarly inquiry contribute to social change at the workplace and in public policies that enhances individuals' work and family lives?

Reading "across the chapters," it is possible to triangulate information that can be used to answer these questions. We summarize some of our observations below.

Key Work-Family Constructs: For some time, the work-family field has stumbled over basic language about key constructs that anchor the work-family field. It is appropriate to begin our analytic commentary with a note about the considerable controversy with regard to the use of the term "work-family." Two primary concerns have been voiced. Some work-family leaders contend that the word "family" in the term "work-family" continues to conjure up images of an ideal-type family that consists of a married couple family with a stay-at-home mother and a breadwinner father who have dependent children. As many of the authors in this volume discuss, this ideal-type is not consistent with the diversity of family structures that exist. Therefore, the use of the term "work-family" may have the unintended consequence of giving inadequate acknowledgment of—and research attention to—the experiences of different types of families. Other scholars, as well as a majority of workplace practitioners, also feel that the field should broadly consider all the work and the nonwork domains of life, not just work and family. For instance, many people are highly involved in community life or religious activities. In an effort to consider people's experiences from a "whole life" perspective and to define the field as being interested in the experiences of working people who may not perceive themselves as being part of a family (or at least part of a family that resembles a two-parent/single earner family), some have adopted the term "work/life" for the field. These advocates suggest that the work/life term is more inclusive and would be relevant to the experiences of diverse working people, such as single people or gay/lesbian couples (see Marks, chapter 3). Of course, the term work/life has its limitations as well. Work is, obviously, part of life so the juxtaposition of work and life may suggest an artificial separation. Furthermore, the scope of the construct of "life" is so broad that, for the purposes of research, it loses analytic sharpness. Having made a decision to focus on the intersection of two of life's domains—work and family—we have, therefore, used the term "work-family" for this handbook. We are pleased that many of the authors who have contributed to this volume carefully remind readers that the referent "family" is meant to suggest diverse family forms.

Readers will also find many of the chapters in this book use the concept of “work-family balance,” an almost taken-for-granted metaphor. Some have interpreted the concept to mean that “balance” results from spending “roughly equal” or “enough” time at work and at home. By implication, being “out-of-balance” implies that “too much” time spent on one of these sets of responsibilities would come at the expense of being able to fulfill the other set. There is evidence, some of which is discussed by authors who have contributed to this handbook, that does demonstrate that there can be a zero-sum aspect to the way we spend our time. But, other chapters offer important critiques of this metaphor. For instance, Rosalind Barnett and Karen Gareis (chapter 10) show that work and family roles are not necessarily in competition and that, on the whole, the addition of paid work roles enhances women’s lives. Importantly, Charles Darrach (chapter 17) informs us that working couples seldom think of their lives in terms of being able to “balance things”; rather, they view their daily lives as being forever fractionalized by competing tasks that constitute the “busyness” of life. Given these different perspectives, it is not surprising that there has been significant scholarly discussion about the appropriate term for the positive outcomes associated with work-family interface. While some researchers continue to use the term “work-family balance,” others have opted for “work-family or work/life integration,” and yet others have begun to use the term “harmonization” (Rapoport, Bailyn, Fletcher, & Pruitt, 2002; Bailyn & Harrington, 2004; Kossek & Lambert, 2005a, b; Lewis & Cooper, 2005).

Scholars have long been aware that the definition of core concepts guides the development of their studies and shapes the nature of their research questions, sometimes in unanticipated ways. For example, the authors of many of the chapters included in this handbook discuss “jobs” and “job demands” as tasks performed by individual workers for specified durations. In contrast, Stephen Sweet and Phyllis Moen (chapter 9) ask readers to adopt the concept “career pathways” and to consider how the entries into jobs (and exits from them) are shaped by decisions made at earlier points in the life course. Thus, their focus is less on jobs than on the forces that shape the development of individuals into the types of people who can (or cannot) hold these jobs.

In summary, the lack of consensus about work-family has introduced many challenges, but it has also spurred the further development of theory and measures.

Work-Family Frameworks: The side-by-side positioning of the chapters in this volume not only facilitates comparisons between the chapters, but it also helps readers to focus on the divergences and convergences in the conceptual frameworks adopted by scholars trained in different disciplines. As editors, we knew at the outset that no single prevailing perspective adequately responds to all of the diverse research questions which have been posed about the root causes, the specific nature, and range of outcomes connected to work-family experiences. The answers to these questions, in large part, depend on how the issue is framed. Therefore, in a purposeful manner, we invited authors with a range of disciplinary orientations to contribute chapters to this handbook so that it could archive accumulated knowledge. But, more important, our hopes were to juxtapose different scholarly orientations to reveal the strengths and limitations of different intellectual traditions.

We want to explicitly acknowledge there can be as much diversity *within* each discipline as there is between disciplines. For example, this handbook includes several chapters prepared by psychologists, including one with expertise in experimental psychology (see Deutsch, chapter 11), one in developmental and clinical psychology (see Barnett & Gareis, chapter 10), and several in industrial organizational psychology (see Thompson, Beauvais, & Allen, chapter 14 and Kossek & Friede, chapter 29). Even though these authors share some common areas of disciplinary training, they have used different frameworks to explore different types of research questions. Furthermore, many social sciences and professional schools—including sociology, economics, and social work—embrace both the “macro” and the “micro.” Within each

discipline, the macro and micro perspectives typically reflect very different theoretical foundations (see discussion in Pitt-Catsouphes & Swanberg, chapter 16).

For illustrative purposes, it may be useful to compare the frameworks typically adopted by scholars from two different disciplines: history and anthropology. Historians who conduct work-family research typically examine archival information to gain new insights about the patterns, trends, and interpretations of work-family experiences by different groups of people living in designated areas during specific, past time periods (see Boris & Lewis, chapter 4). Their perspectives not only introduce us to some of the work-family experiences of previous generations, but their findings can also facilitate a better understanding of today's situations as they are contextualized in the specific social, economic, and political circumstances of our time. Although the work of historians can intersect with those anthropologists who focus on past as well as current cultures, anthropologists often conduct in-person observations of unfolding practices and rituals in which individuals and families engage (at home or at work) to gain a deep understanding of the interpretation and the enactment of belief systems, values, and expectations (see Richardson, chapter 8; Darrah, chapter 17, and Ochs, Graesch, Mittman, Bradbury, & Repetti, chapter 18). We hope that our readers will begin to make comparisons such as these between the chapters of this handbook so that the important different types of contributions of the disciplines become more salient.

Interestingly, our analytic reading of the chapters uncovered as much common ground among the disciplines as differences. We would like to bring some of these to your attention as well.

The concern of human development is sufficiently compelling that academics from many different disciplines adopt aspects of the life course perspective. As explained by sociologists Sweet & Moen (chapter 9), the life course perspective positions the experiences associated with life stages in different contexts: in the life of the person, in the life of the family, and in historical time. Child and family studies scholars as well as developmental psychologists are also often interested in studying the experiences of family members at different life stages, paying particular attention to the effect of a range of work factors on the family relationships and outcomes as experienced by different types of families (see Zvonkovic, Notter, & Peters, chapter 7).

Many work-family researchers use frameworks that place work-family experiences in different social contexts. Although there are many disciplinary variants of theories about social contexts, several of them echo a social ecology or person-in-environment point of view (see Pitt-Catsouphes & Swanberg, chapter 16). Industrial organizational psychologists and other organizational studies researchers often consider how the "employee" as a "person" responds to the workplace "environment." The person-in-environment framework is often adapted to examine the formal and informal aspects of the workplace environment and the impact on employees' work-family experiences (see Thompson, Beauvais, & Allen, chapter 14 as well as Bond & Galinsky, chapter 19). The person-in-environment framework also helps to inform the work of economists, for example, who focus on resources (such as money and time) that individuals and families access in different environments, including at the workplace, at home, and in the community (see Drago & Golden, chapter 13). Finally, academics who focus on the macro societal context draw attention to the impact of institutional and societal changes—such as the rise of capitalism—on work-family issues (see Wharton, chapter 2).

Another common thread, which follows the lead of demographers, is that academics trained in virtually every discipline ground their studies in the demographics that are related to work opportunities and/or family structures (e.g., see Farnsworth Riche, chapter 6; Wharton, chapter 2; and Marks, chapter 3). Demographers focus specific attention to the study of the characteristics of populations and often identify trends and changes in those characteristics over time. The simple observation that the composition of society is changing in terms of age, fertility, and

geographic location opens vistas of questions that span disciplinary boundaries. A very quick scan of work-family literature will demonstrate the impact that changing demographics have had on the field.

Finally, we observed that all the authors in this volume shared in common a pragmatic focus, and they oriented their questions and analyses to issues that are of critical importance to the functioning of workplaces and families. However, there is significant variation in the outcomes of interest to scholars from different disciplines. Those affiliated with organizational studies and management, for example, usually focus attention on outcomes that are related (directly or indirectly) to the bottom line and to business effectiveness (see Hyland & Jackson, chapter 25; Kossek & Friede, chapter 29; Harrington & James, chapter 32). As one would expect, scholars in the area of child and family studies are particularly interested in the quality of relationships and developmental outcomes of work-family situations (see Zvonkovic, Notter, & Peters, chapter 7). An important development in the field is the presence of academics who are interested in both organizational and work-family outcomes; this is at the heart of the "dual agenda" articulated by Bailyn, Bookman, Harrington, and Kochan (chapter 31).

Methods: As evidenced by the chapters in this handbook, the work-family field is not only multi-disciplinary; it is also multi-methodological. In fact, one of the beneficial outcomes of the multi-disciplinarity of the work-family field is that researchers have begun to share their methodological expertise. We have not been able to locate any academic literature published to date that discusses the range of methodologies used by researchers in the work-family field. Therefore, it is important to note that work-family researchers have begun to "experiment" with a number of different methods. For instance, sociologists and psychologists are as likely as economists and demographers to engage in time diary studies (see Schneider, chapter 22). Researchers in such diverse areas as organizational studies, policy studies, and child and family studies have used focus groups as a way to develop a deep understanding of people's experiences and their interpretations of those experiences (see Smithson, chapter 20). Those trained in disciplines such as sociology and professional fields such as social work and management have found that case studies can help them to explore the relationships between work-family experiences as they unfold in different social contexts (see Lewis, das Dores Guerreiro, & Brannen, chapter 23). Academics from virtually every social science discipline have begun to explore new analytic techniques, such as hierarchical linear modeling (HLM), to consider the relationships between work-family experiences at different analytic levels, such as individual experiences as they are "nested" in family experiences (see Swisher, chapter 26). Due to the intensive nature of longitudinal research, a smaller proportion of work-family studies have been designed to gather information over long periods of time; however, researchers from several disciplines and fields, including child and family studies, psychology, and sociology, have used longitudinal studies to understand the trajectories and changing dynamics of work and family over time (see Crouter & Pirretti, chapter 21). Although historians such as Boris and Lewis (chapter 4) have perfected research strategies that identify and then analyze archival information, this approach to data collection and data interpretation has been adopted by other disciplines and fields including policy studies, management, and social work (see Lambert, chapter 24). The movement toward a sharing of methodological approaches across disciplines is evident in the increasing numbers of studies that have adopted mixed methods for gathering information about work-family experiences (see Neale, Hammer, & Morgan, chapter 28). It is perhaps to be expected that academics from different disciplines are also beginning to conduct secondary analyses of the same datasets, such as the National the Changing Workforce (Bond & Galinsky, chapter 19).

Toward Change: Our analysis of this fourth component of the work-family field brings us back to our discussion of some of the societal changes that precipitated interest in work-family issues in the first place. Among work-family researchers, there is a widely shared

belief that additional change is possible that could enhance the well-being of work families.

Several of the authors who have written chapters for this handbook discuss the equity and social justice implications of specific work-family circumstances. Sociologists, for instance, have contributed extensively to understanding how inequalities may shape and have differential impact on working people at home and at work. Some sociologists have also begun to examine how simultaneous membership in different social groups, such as gender, race and class, can affect work-family experiences (see Gerstel & Sarkisian, chapter 12). Economists interested in equity explore the differential access that individuals and groups have to a range of resources and opportunities and the consequences of these differences (see Drago & Golden, chapter 13). And values related to social justice are at the core of analytic frameworks adopted by social workers who pay particular attention to the differences in opportunities as well as well-being of specific population groups (see Lambert, chapter 24; Pitt-Catsouphes & Swanberg, chapter 16).

Given the proclivities of work-family researchers to remain vigilant for change opportunities, it is not surprising that scholars have examined the possibilities for change at the workplace as well as in society-at-large. Academics such as Harrington and James (chapter 32), Kossek and Friede (chapter 29), and Bailyn, Bookman, Harrington, and Kochan (chapter 31) not only discuss a vision for change but also detail strategies that can facilitate positive action. Other academics who study law, analyze policies, and examine workplace practices have provided insight about options for changes in public policy (see Still & Williams, chapter 15; Feldblum & Appleberry, chapter 30; Wolkinson & Ormiston, chapter 33).

In some ways, our analysis across the chapters has come full circle. While noting some of the differences voiced by the authors, we are impressed to see that there is also a remarkable overlap in the literatures cited in each chapter, the concepts used, and issues addressed. This supports our contention that the work-family field has developed into a multi-disciplinary endeavor. We wish to echo the observations of Thompson, Beauvais, and Allen about the extent of overlap between those in their field, industrial organizational psychology, and other disciplines. In chapter 14 they state, "Work-family research by I/O psychologists also overlaps with research by sociologists, developmental psychologist, social psychologists, anthropologists, economists, and social workers, as can be seen in the diversity of authors in this handbook." As the field further develops, scholars will need to be even more cognizant of, and willing to consider, the insights offered by various perspectives. Similarly, we will need to become more familiar with and use a greater variety of methodologies to gain new knowledge and understanding.

THE WORK-FAMILY HANDBOOK: A RESOURCE FOR THE WORK-FAMILY FIELD

Being aware of the extent of scholarly interest in work-family issues, we decided to develop a handbook that could serve as a resource for researchers, teachers, and students who are interested in multi-disciplinary perspectives of a diverse range of work-family issues and experiences. It has been a gratifying experience to have engaged so many of the leading work-family experts in this effort to publish the first *Work-Family Handbook*. In its entirety, this handbook offers readers a broad overview of important components of the state of knowledge in the work-family field.

The idea for creating this handbook emerged from a group of scholars who were members of the Editorial Board of the *Work-Family Encyclopedia*, a peer-reviewed collection of scholarly literature overview articles prepared for faculty and students interested in the work-family area of study (<http://wfnetwork.bc.edu/encyclopedia.php?mode=nav>). The Editorial

Board was aware that a number of edited work-family volumes had already been published (e.g., Goldsmith, 1989; Zedeck, 1992; Frediksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2000; Kossek & Lambert, 2005a; Bianchi, Casper, & King, 2005). However, no single publication discussed the diverse nature of experiences people have at home and at work, analyzed the work-family area of study from different disciplinary points of view, compared and contrasted different methodological approaches that have been used to build the work-family knowledge base, and linked research to work and family policy and to practice. We have organized the handbook into four sections that reflect these goals for this volume.

We devoted Section I to critical discussions about the diversity of working families and different types of work situations that are present in the new economy of the 21st century. As editors, we felt that it was essential to include chapters at the very beginning of the handbook that could help our readers carefully examine and raise questions about statements made about "average" work-family phenomena. We recognize that popular culture and mainstream media tend to focus on "central tendencies" (such as "average" work hours) and on the experiences of families who seem to resemble a particular family archetype. Simply put, the collective contributions represented in this volume suggest that it is problematic to propose any work-family initiative, to study, or to advocate for the typical family. This fundamental observation is critical to the framing of research questions, the structuring of study designs, and to the dissemination of information to leaders at the workplace and in public policy arenas.

In Section I, titled "Families and Jobs in the 21st Century," readers will find articles that address two important issues, changes in work and the workforce and changes in families, which are related to significant societal changes as well as to the development of the work-family field. In "Understanding Diversity of Work in the 21st Century and Its Impact on the Work-Family Area of Study," Amy S. Wharton provides a window into several dimensions of diversity at the workplace. Throughout the chapter, Wharton encourages us to think carefully about the operational definitions of two constructs: "work" and "diversity." Reflecting sociological perspectives of stratification, Wharton focuses on three diversity variables: gender, race, and class. This provocative chapter considers some of the factors that affect diversity in the workplace, including underlying ideologies that shape our ideas about "who" should be at the workplace and what should they do, characteristics of jobs themselves, and even geography. Wharton deepens our understanding of diversity in several important ways. For example, rather than considering gender, race, and class as if they were mutually exclusive categories, Wharton's discussion explores the diversity within each of these categories of diversity, such as gender within race. This chapter also offers insights about the limitations of our understanding about diversity and work-family. As Wharton notes, although there is abundant literature about workforce diversity, there is surprisingly little literature about the work-family experiences of diverse employees groups. Her comments about "the relative invisibility of family status and relation in studies of workplace diversity—with the exception of those focused on gender and women" suggest that this is a fertile area for new research.

Stephen Marks's "Understanding Diversity of Families in the 21st Century and Its Impact on the Work-Family Area of Study" grounds us in diversity embedded in the "family" side of the "work-family" discussion. Marks opens his discussion with an anecdote that effectively challenges assumptions about the meanings we attach to the word "diversity." He continues this theme in the chapter as he ponders the meaning and interpretation of the notion of "the average family." Marks considers numerous dimensions of family diversity, including household composition, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, age, gender, immigrant status, and income. Although he carefully points out "master trends" related to the diversity of American families, Marks also focuses our attention on some of the less visible aspects of diversity and links the hierarchies of diversity, such as class and age, with privileges and disadvantages. Marks also devotes several sections of his chapter to an examination of the diversity within particular

family groups. For example, he considers the implications of social class among gay/lesbian families and presents an argument for understanding the class privilege among more highly educated gay/lesbian parents who tend to have more access to family-friendly policies and programs than other workers may. Finally, Marks opens an important line of inquiry about the relationships between family diversity and discrimination. He questions, "to what extent does occupational discrimination erode a person's sense of work-family balance?" This chapter presents a compelling case for the need to update our research questions, analyses, and interpretations of family diversity so that we capture the nuances which texture the experiences of working families.

Section II introduces readers to a variety of perspectives that have been applied to the study of work and the family. We designed this section to support ongoing efforts within the academy to foster multi-disciplinary perspectives about work and the family and to facilitate a deeper understanding of these different points of view. Readers will find contributions by a demographer, family studies scholars, anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, organizational analysts, legal scholars, and scholars of social work. Each of these perspectives reflects different intellectual schools of thought; however, the authors of these chapters illustrate how many academics are actively attempting to connect their perspectives to those of other fields. As editors of this handbook, we believe that the very nature of work-family research necessitates making this bridge across disciplines. We have included descriptive summaries of each of these chapters in the Introduction to Section II.

Section III, "Methodological Approaches," provides overviews of some of the dominant methods used by work-family social scientists and highlights how researchers have used these methods to examine the connections between the family and the workplace. These chapters give readers a sense of the challenges as well as the rewards of studying families and jobs through ethnographies, videographies, surveys, focus groups, longitudinal studies, experience sampling methods, case studies, organizational archives, and the use of analytic approaches such as hierarchical linear modeling. It is our hope that researchers will be able to appreciate the strengths of each methodology and will consider strategically using different methods to create a more complete assessment of work and family experiences. The Introduction to Section III offers readers additional information about each chapter in this section.

Finally, the chapters in Section IV discuss alternatives for advancing future policy and organizational change based on scholarship. As discussed in many of the chapters in this handbook, current job structures, career ladders, and governmental/legal policies are mismatched with respect to the needs of contemporary working families or their employers (see comments by Christensen in chapter 34). The chapters in Section IV focus on different approaches for making effective arguments or cases for institutional change, such as presenting different rationales or business cases for organizational reform, considering opportunities for legislative and regulator reform, partnering with business leaders to articulate standards for quality work-life initiatives, collaborating with groups at the workplace to introduce innovative interventions, and negotiating equitable resolutions in employer and family conflicts. The Sloan Foundation Program Officer, Kathleen Christensen, offers a concluding chapter in which she discusses the opportunities and constraints of multi-disciplinary perspectives. She suggests that the future successes of the work-family research community will, in part, reflect the extent to which scholars, practitioners, and policymakers can transcend traditional boundaries and work collaboratively to articulate an agenda for the advancement of the work and family field.

We believe that scholars have an important and unique role in the efforts that will be made to address the work-family concerns of today and tomorrow. Recognizing that work-family studies now constitute a distinct academic field, we hope that this handbook is a useful resource to academics and their students.

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