When Work Interferes with Life: Work-Nonwork Interference and the Influence of Work-Related Demands and Resources

Scott Schieman
University of Toronto

Melissa A. Milkie
University of Maryland

Paul Glavin
University of Toronto

Using data from a 2005 survey of U.S. workers, we find that a high percentage of employed men and women report that work interferes with nonwork life. This research offers three main contributions: (1) we document the social distribution of work-nonwork interference across social statuses and dimensions of stratification; (2) we develop a conceptual framework that specifies the influence of a comprehensive set of work resources and demands on interference and their contributions to its social distribution; and (3) we advance a "stress of higher status" perspective to understand the paradoxical influence of some work conditions on work-nonwork interference. Findings generally support both the demands hypothesis and the stress of higher status hypothesis, with patterns from both factors contributing substantially to the social distribution of work-nonwork interference. This article refines and elaborates the job demands-resources model with insights from border theory.

WHEN WORK INTERFERES WITH LIFE

For some individuals, what happens at work stays at work. For others, the borders are not so clearly defined—the parameters are porous or fuzzy. Dramatic changes in the nature of the labor force and family composition have led to increased difficulties balancing work and family life for many working adults (Winslow 2005). The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health identifies work-home interference as one of the most pervasive and problematic workplace stressors (Kelloway, Gottlieb, and Barham 1999), underscoring its deleterious effects on health outcomes and family-related processes (Bellavia and Frone 2005).

A key assumption in the work-nonwork interface literature is that workers are generally motivated to manage the boundaries between work and nonwork life in ways that foster a balance between domains (Voydanoff 2007). In this context, balance suggests a high level of satisfaction and role functioning and a low level of work-nonwork interference (Clark 2000). Most conceptualizations of interference involve the extent to which individuals perceive that one domain interferes with the responsibilities and expectations of other spheres, competing for individuals' finite time and energy. Although studies typically define the "nonwork sphere" as family (Bellavia and Frone 2005), Kossek and Lambert (2005:6) argue that "the broadening of the field to encompass the work-life domain reflects the view that just because employees do not have family-care responsibilities does not necessarily insulate them from life stresses and pressures to integrate work and nonwork roles."

Direct correspondence to Scott Schieman, Department of Sociology, 725 Spadina Avenue, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON M5S 2J4 Canada (scott.schieman@utoronto.ca). A grant award from the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health at the Centers for Disease Control supports this study (R01 OH008141; Scott Schieman, P.I.).

We therefore include home, family, and leisure domains under the broad frame of "nonwork."

Although interference in both directions is important, the work-to-nonwork direction is more common (Bellavia and Frone 2005). Jacobs and Gerson (2004:92) contend that "the spillover from family to work is real, especially for parents, but it is not as pronounced or severe as the opposite dynamic, in which work spills over into the home." Moreover, the different directions of interference are conceptually distinct and have different antecedents (Reynolds and Renzulli 2005). Specifically, it is more theoretically logical to assert that systems of stratification—especially those associated with the work role—tend to create work-nonwork interference, while household conditions likely generate nonwork-work interference (Bellavia and Frone 2005; Grzywacz, Almeida, and McDonald 2002).

The Social Distribution of Work-Nonwork Interference

Research in the sociology of mental health documents the unequal distribution of stressors across social statuses and dimensions of stratification, especially age, gender, race, marital and parental statuses, education, and occupation (Pearlin 1999). As we outline below, population-based surveys find that these statuses or dimensions of stratification are influential for work-nonwork interference. The ways that work-related resources and demands influence these patterns is not as well understood, however.

Age. Scholars have emphasized the need for greater attention to age patterns in work-nonwork interference (Kossek, Lautsch, and Eaton 2005). The few population-based studies that assess age differences usually focus on age as a control and yield mixed conclusions. Some show that age is associated negatively and linearly with work-nonwork interference (Mennino, Rubin, and Brayfield 2005; Voydanoff 2007; Winslow 2005), but others find that workers in middle adulthood report the highest levels of interference (Bellavia and Frone 2005; Grzywacz et al. 2002). Despite these mixed findings, there are sound theoretical reasons for age differences. As an indicator of life stage position and stratification, age influences patterns of incumbency, meaning, and conditions of work roles (Mirowsky and Ross 2003a; Moen and Yu 2000). Levels of work commitment and values, for example, vary by age in ways that correspond to the nature of work (Loscocco and Kalleberg 1988). Likewise, age differences in work-related resources and demands should influence the ways that individuals manage work-nonwork borders. For example, older workers often report higher levels of occupational status, workplace support, decision-making latitude, job security, and autonomous work—but they also feel more time pressures (Mennino et al. 2005; Tausig et al. 2005). As we describe below, these and other conditions may influence levels of permeability that coincide with the experience of work-nonwork borders (Kossek et al. 2005).

Gender. The description of age patterns in work-nonwork interference is complicated by the possibility that age differences may also vary by gender. Most prior studies examine only the main effects of gender and find mixed results. Bellavia and Frone (2005) summarize findings from three major population surveys: men report a higher but statistically nonsignificant level of interference than do women in two national surveys, and a significantly lower level of interference in another (see also Grzywacz et al. 2002; Mennino et al. 2005; Winslow 2005). We propose that gender's intersection with age may contribute to the inconclusive findings about gender's main effect. That is, our analyses consider whether age variations in levels of interference differ for women and men.

Numerous studies document gender disparities in work-related resources and demands. For example, men tend to have higher status occupations with more autonomy, authority, earnings, and decision-making latitude than do women, but they also work longer hours and extra hours without notice and encounter more noxious environments and interpersonal conflict (Mennino et al. 2005; Mirowsky and Ross 2003a; Schieman and Reid 2008; Tausig et al. 2005). By contrast, gender differences in other work conditions, such as schedule control, insecurity, and pressure, are less clear (Tausig et al. 2005). Although overall gender differences in demands and resources may be important for explaining gender patterns in interference, their variations across age are more relevant for potential age-by-gender variations. Some schol-

ars underscore the relevance of age in the context of the life course for understanding gender variations. For example, Moen and Roehling (2005) document divergent patterns through jobs and careers for men and women, especially as they become parents. Similarly, Mirowsky and Ross (2003a) describe increases in gender inequality in earnings across the life course and the resulting gender disparities in well-being; these disparities are presumably linked to differences in work resources and demands. Little is known, however, about age-by-gender variations in demands and resources that would, in turn, contribute to age-by-gender differences in levels of work-nonwork interference.

RACE AND ETHNICITY. Stress process theory suggests that disadvantaged groups like racial/ethnic minorities should report higher levels of exposure to stressors (Pearlin 1999). We assess whether this extends to work-nonwork interference. Evidence about the distribution of work-nonwork interference across racial/ethnic groups is limited and mixed (Bellavia and Frone 2005). Some studies find no race differences in interference (Grzywacz and Marks 2000) while others find lower (Voydanoff 2007) or higher (Grzywacz et al. 2002; Reynolds and Renzulli 2005) levels of interference among Whites. Keene and Quadagno (2004) find that Whites are less likely than other groups to report feeling work-family balance. Most of these studies, however, either compare Whites with a category that combines all other racial/ethnic groups or compare Whites with African Americans *and* a category that combines "other" racial/ethnic groups. Thus, despite clear stress process predictions about greater stress exposure among disadvantaged groups, the issue warrants further investigation due to previous findings' inconclusiveness concerning race and work-nonwork interference.

MARITAL AND PARENTAL STATUSES. Having a spouse or partner and children in the household generates responsibilities that can create competing demands (Jacobs and Gerson 2004). Although our conceptual model emphasizes the effects of work-related conditions on work-nonwork interference, it is essential to consider marital and parental statuses that might contribute to a time bind for individuals in complex role arrangements (Hochschild 1997; Moen and Roehling 2005). Previous studies, however, are unclear about the distribution of interference across marital status. Studies find either no differences across marital status (Reynolds and Renzulli 2005) or higher levels of interference among married and partnered individuals (Grzywacz and Marks 2000; Mennino et al. 2005); other studies exclude unmarried adults altogether (Voydanoff 2007). Scholars find similarly mixed conclusions for parental status (Bellavia and Frone 2005). Some evidence suggests that the presence of children (of various ages) in a household is associated with higher levels of work-nonwork interference (Mennino et al. 2005; Winslow 2005), while others observe no effect (Grzywacz et al. 2002; Reynolds and Renzulli 2005). Given this inconclusive evidence, we do not make specific predictions about the influence of marital or parental statuses. Nonetheless, analyses should include these factors to isolate their potential influences on the other focal associations.

EDUCATION. Education is the dimension of stratification most consistently associated with higher levels of work-nonwork interference in population studies (Grzywacz et al. 2002; Mennino et al. 2005; Schieman, Kurashina, and Van Gundy 2006). As an achieved status, education's relevance to the work-family interface is linked to its associations with occupation and work conditions (Mirowsky and Ross 2003b). In some studies, for example, an initial positive bivariate correlation between education and work-nonwork interference disappears in models that adjust for work conditions (Voydanoff 2007). This may be due to the fact that despite possessing work resources such as autonomy and control over the timing and pace of work, the well educated also tend to hold professional jobs with more authority, decision-making latitude, pressure, and longer hours (Mennino et al. 2005; Mirowsky and Ross 2003b). While it is possible that education's link to resources contributes to a negative association with interference, it is also plausible that greater work demands among the well educated produce more interference. We therefore test both possibilities.

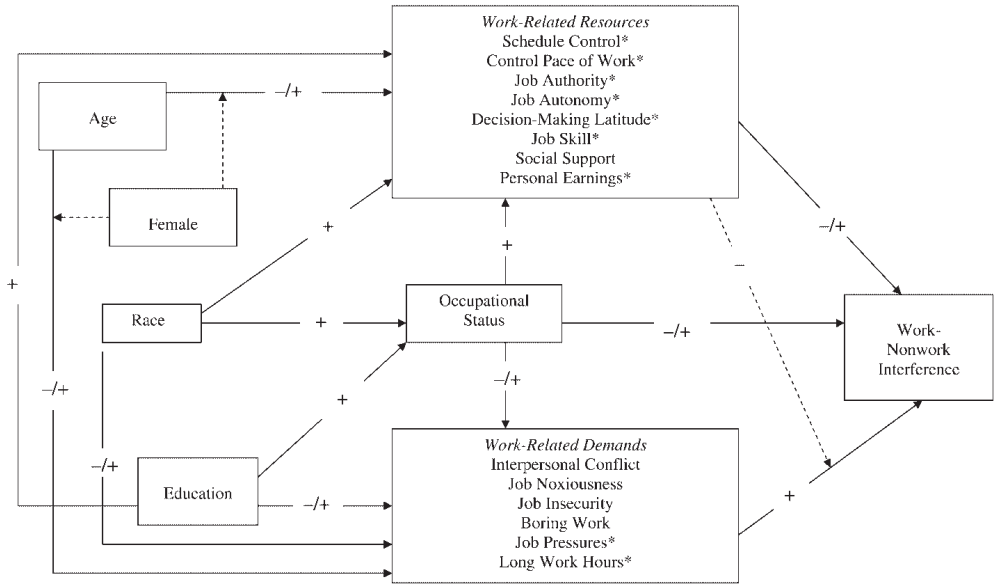

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of the Social Distribution of Work-Nonwork Interference and the Influence of Work-Related Demands and Resources

Note: An asterisk indicates a potential link to greater permeability and the stress of higher status hypothesis; dashed lines indicate a moderating effect. Marital and parental statuses are included in the regression analyses but excluded here because of ambiguous predictions about their influence.

OCCUPATION. Population studies document that individuals in high status occupation categories (i.e., executives, professionals, and managers) tend to report higher levels of work-nonwork interference than do their peers in lower status occupations (Bellavia and Frone 2005; Grzywacz et al. 2002; Mennino et al. 2005; Schieman et al. 2006). These patterns are unsurprising given that professionals, compared with peers in lower status occupations, are exposed to longer hours and more pressures. In turn, this contributes to feeling a time squeeze (Hochschild 1997) and perceptions of poor work-life balance (Tausig and Fenwick 2001).

The potentially unequal distribution of work-nonwork interference across these dimensions of stratification implies that the conditions that protect or expose individuals to interference should vary systematically in the population. In the following sections, we outline a rationale for the ways that work conditions contribute to this social distribution. Specifically, we draw on the job demands-resources (JD-R) model and integrate insights from border theory to develop hypotheses about the relevance of work-related resources and demands. In addition, we propose the "stress of higher status" hypothesis as an alternative view about the ways that some work resources might increase exposure to work-nonwork interference.

RESOURCES AND DEMANDS OF WORK AND THEIR LINKS TO WORK-NONWORK INTERFERENCE

A core proposition of the JD-R model is that work conditions are organized into two broad categories: demands and resources (Bakker and Demerouti 2007). The levels and interaction of these conditions influence workers' experience of job strain and subsequent well-being. According to Bakker and Geurts (2004:348):

> Job demands refer to those physical, psychosocial, or organizational aspects of the job that require sustained physical and/or mental effort and are therefore, associated with certain physiological and/or psychological costs. . . . Job resources refer to those physical, psychosocial, or organizational aspects of the job that may be functional in meeting task requirements (i.e., job demands) and may thus reduce the associated physiological and/or psychological costs—and at the same time stimulate personal growth and development.

Based on these ideas, Figure 1 presents a conceptual framework that identifies work conditions that typically reflect resources or

demands and their influence on work-nonwork interference (Jacobs and Gerson 2004; Voydanoff 2007). We propose two hypotheses to organize our propositions about these possibilities: the resource hypothesis and the demand hypothesis.

THE RESOURCE HYPOTHESIS. The resource hypothesis identifies the ways that some work conditions provide resources that should be associated with low levels of work-nonwork interference. These ideas are rooted in the JD-R model: resources foster flexibility and the completion of responsibilities (Bakker and Geurts 2004). Insights from border theory expand these ideas by describing the ways that people create and negotiate the borders between work and nonwork life (Clark 2000). In particular, border theory focuses on physical, temporal, and psychological parameters that separate work from nonwork. Flexibility is a key resource because it involves the extent to which work tasks may be conducted beyond the usual spatial and temporal parameters of the workplace. Conditions that facilitate the ability to modify temporal and spatial parameters should reduce work-nonwork interference (Voydanoff 2007). In prior analyses, these resources typically fall under the broad conceptual frame of "job control," which involves "the working individual's potential control over his tasks and his conduct during the working day" (Karasek 1979:289). Decision-making latitude and autonomy are the quintessential indicators of job control (Bakker and Demerouti 2007). In this study, however, we expand the conceptual frame of "control" to include control over the timing of work (schedule control), the pace of work, and others' work (authority). As shown in Figure 1, these and other conditions, including skill level, support, and income, contribute to the view that work conditions often associated with resources should be related to lower levels of work-nonwork interference (Bellavia and Frone 2005; Jacobs and Gerson 2004).

THE DEMAND HYPOTHESIS. Some aspects of work involve unremitting physical or mental efforts that can have deleterious implications for the work-nonwork interface. This feature of the JD-R model is rooted in Karasek's (1979) influential framework of job stress: the job demands-control model. While that model focuses mainly on overload and time pressures, the JD-R model encourages analyses of a broader range of demand-related conditions (Bakker and Demerouti 2007). Integrating those ideas here, Figure 1 illustrates that interpersonal conflict, noxious conditions, insecurity, boring work, job pressure, and long hours should be among the most influential conditions (Bellavia and Frone 2005; Mirowsky and Ross 2003b). Collectively, these conditions underscore the strain elements of work demands that, in turn, predict higher levels of exposure to work-nonwork interference.

A basic tenet of the demands-control model is that job demands are more detrimental for well-being when job control is low (Karasek and Theorell 1990). Although evidence to support this interaction is inconclusive (Beehr et al. 2001), even less is known about its relevance for the work-nonwork interface. High levels of job-related resources purportedly transform job demands into positive challenges (Grönlund 2007). Interpreting these ideas as indicative of buffering (Bakker and Demerouti 2007), we test whether each of the resources moderates the association between demands and interference. One theoretically prominent example suggests that job pressure should have a weak or null association with interference when individuals control the timing and pace of their work. Another especially salient example predicts that schedule control should weaken the positive association between long work hours and interference (Bellavia and Frone 2005; Jacobs and Gerson 2004). We thus focus particular attention on these possibilities.

THE STRESS OF HIGHER STATUS HYPOTHESIS. We propose an alternative to the resource and demand hypotheses—the *stress of higher status* hypothesis—by revising the JD-R model with insights from border theory. "Permeability," another key concept of border theory, involves "the degree to which elements from other domains may enter" (Clark 2000:756). High permeability is linked with greater role blurring, which can increase work-nonwork interference (Milliken and Dunn-Jensen 2005). Building on these ideas, the stress of higher status hypothesis proposes that some work conditions typi-

cally seen as resources may increase border permeability. In contrast to the strain elements of the demands hypothesis, the stress of higher status view draws on ideas like the work devotion schema, which "demands that one give an immense time commitment and strong emotional allegiance to one's firm or career" (Blair-Loy 2003:7). Individuals in these positions may engage in role blurring because of the demands of higher status work conditions. These processes, in turn, may increase work-nonwork interference.

As Figure 1 indicates, most of the conditions identified as resources are also relevant for the stress of higher status hypothesis. Many of these conditions are interrelated and often associated positively with demands. For example, despite their possession of greater earnings and decision-making latitude, workers with authority also tend to have more pressure, commit longer hours, and encounter more interpersonal conflict at work (Maume and Bellas 2001; Schieman and Reid 2008). Similarly, individuals in jobs with more autonomous work often feel more time pressure (Mennino et al. 2005; Voydanoff 2007) or emotional demands (Bakker and Geurts 2004). Other researchers find that although higher earnings are linked with greater autonomy, the well paid often have more job pressure and longer hours (Mennino et al. 2005). Collectively, these conditions tend to increase border permeability (Olson-Buchanan and Boswell 2006) and work-nonwork interference (Grzywacz et al. 2002; Schieman et al. 2006).

Of all the work conditions implicated in the stress of higher status hypothesis, schedule control presents a unique paradox. From a resource view, schedule control is assumed to "help workers resolve conflicts between family and work" (Jacobs and Gerson 2004:99). By contrast, border theory underscores the ways that the flexibility afforded by schedule control may also increase border permeability. This may be especially evident among individuals who work longer hours.

Although studies consistently document the positive association between long hours and work-nonwork interference (Bellavia and Frone 2005), we are particularly interested in the combination of schedule control and long hours. Individuals who work long hours but also have schedule control may engage in a discretionary, selective permeability of the work-nonwork border and, by extension, avoid or effectively manage interference (Hill et al. 2001). This reasoning is consistent with the resource hypothesis, as well as the buffering thesis, which predicts a weak or null association between long hours and work-nonwork interference among those with more schedule control.

Alternatively, from the stress of higher status view, workers with schedule control may be more likely to internalize the work devotion schema and its demands for intense time commitments (Blair-Loy 2003). This resource-stress paradox of schedule control may contribute to the mixed findings about the link between schedule control and stress in the work-nonwork interface (Voydanoff 2007). Clark (2000:758) observes that "popular literature frequently lauds the weak border as the one that is most functional for individuals. However, as 'responsive workplaces' add more flexibility, many employees continue to express frustrations." This is a crucial but often overlooked point: workers' frustrations with more flexible work may be indicative of a downside of some resources in higher status positions—especially schedule control. In the context of long hours, schedule control may increase border permeability and role blurring (Milliken and Dunn-Jensen 2005). Despite its link with flexibility and autonomy, schedule control may be a double-edged sword because it is associated with workplace expectations for dedication and engagement. Schedule control may also increase individuals' responsibility for defining the lines between work and nonwork life (Grönlund 2007). These ideas thus predict a positive association between long work hours and work-nonwork interference for workers with greater schedule control.

Summary and Plan of Analyses

We present our analyses in two main parts. First, we examine the social distribution of work-nonwork interference. Second, we explicitly test the resource, demand, and stress of higher status hypotheses. We expect that some of the findings related to these hypotheses have implications for social patterns in interference. Using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression techniques, our analyses proceed in two parts. First, Models 1 to 4 in Table 2 assess the distribution of interference. Model 1 includes age, gender,

race, and marital and parental statuses. In addition, to test for the gender differences in the effects of age, we multiplied gender by each age group to create interaction terms and included them in Model 2. Models 3 and 4 include education and occupation, respectively. Subsequent models test the predictions of the resource, demand, and stress of higher status hypotheses and their influence on the distribution of interference in Models 1 to 4, including resources (Model 5), demands (Model 6), and resources and demands simultaneously along with their potential interactions (Model 7). This final model tests whether resources moderate the effects of demands on interference. Only statistically significant interactions are reported. We use adjustment procedures in OLS regression models and test for significant mediating effects among our focal associations (Mirowsky 1999; Preacher and Leonardelli 2001; Sobel 1982). All of the mediating linkages described in the Results section are statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level.

METHODS

Sample

Data for this study come from the Work, Stress, and Health survey (WSH), which involved telephone interviews with 1,800 adults in the United States in 2005. Eligible participants were age 18 or older and participating in the paid labor force. Interviews were conducted in English, so participants had to be sufficiently fluent to complete the interview. We successfully interviewed 71 percent of all eligible respondents. The age range is 18 to 94 years (mean of 43 years); 59 percent of the sample is women and 72 percent is white. The sample characteristics are similar to those of working adults in other national datasets, such as the 2005 American Community Survey (ACS). Using the ACS data, we weighted analyses to achieve conformance with the U. S. population in terms of gender, age, race, marital status, and occupation.

Dependent Measure

Work-nonwork interference. Three items assess work-nonwork interference: "How often does your job interfere with your home or family life?"; "How often does your job interfere with your social or leisure activities?"; and "How often do you think about things going on at work when you are not working?" Response choices are (1) never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, and (4) frequently. We averaged the items and higher scores indicate more work-nonwork interference ($\alpha = .68$). These items are similar to those used in other studies (Bellavia and Frone 2005). The home/family life and social/leisure life aspects of the first two items are typically viewed as distinct spheres, but the factor loadings for these items are highly similar (.88 and .86, respectively). Table 1 reports the distribution of responses to these individual items and the work-nonwork interference index.

The Social Distribution: Measures of Social Statuses and Dimensions of Stratification

Female. Gender is a dummy variable with female coded 1 and male as the reference category.

Age. We contrast the 45- to 54-year-old age category (the omitted category in regression analyses) with these other age groups: 18 to 24, 25 to 34, 35 to 44, 55 to 64, and 65 plus. We select the 45- to 54-year-old group as the reference category because it is the modal category. We include the 65 and older age group in analyses to map variations in interference across the entire adult age span. This is important given that labor economists predict a 40 percent increase in workers age 65 and older between 2004 and 2012 (Horrigan 2004). Although these individuals may have fewer family-related expectations and responsibilities, it is important to assess their experience of interference (Kossek and Lambert 2005).

Race and ethnicity. Dummy variables for race and ethnicity include African American, Hispanic, Asian, and other. Non-Hispanic White is the reference category.

Marital status. Marital status has dummy variables for married (including common law marriages), previously married, and never married.

Table 1. Distribution of Responses to Work-Nonwork Interference Items and Index

Items	Men (N = 738)	Women (N = 1,062)	Total (N = 1,800)
"How often does your job interfere with your home or family life?"			
(1) Never	25.61	27.02	26.44
(2) Rarely	24.80	24.48	24.61
(3) Sometimes	31.84	33.24	32.67
(4) Frequently	17.75	15.25	16.28
Mean	2.417	2.367	2.387
Standard Deviation	1.054	1.038	1.045
"How often does your job interfere with your social or leisure activities?"			
(1) Never	23.31	30.32	27.44
(2) Rarely	26.56	24.58	25.39
(3) Sometimes	31.03	29.19	29.94
(4) Frequently	19.11	15.91	17.22
Mean	2.459*	2.306	2.369
Standard Deviation	1.047	1.066	1.061
"How often do you think about things going on at work when you are not working?"			
(1) Never	16.40	14.69	15.39
(2) Rarely	16.40	16.85	16.67
(3) Sometimes	39.70	36.63	37.89
(4) Frequently	27.51	31.83	30.06
Mean	2.783	2.855	2.826
Standard Deviation	1.024	1.026	1.026
Work-Nonwork Interference Index			
Mean	2.554	2.5103	2.528
Standard Deviation	.821	.810	.815

Note: Unless otherwise specified, the numbers in the table reflect percentages.
* Difference between men and women is significant at $p < .01$ (two-tailed test).

PARENTAL STATUS. To index parental status, we assess the presence and age of children in the household. We contrast individuals with no children in the household with those who have children ages 0 to 6, 7 to 12, and 13 to 18 at home. If a person had children in two age categories, they were coded into one category by age of youngest child.

EDUCATION. We code education as (0) less than high school, (1) high school graduate or GED, (2) some college but no degree or associate's degree (two-year), (3) college graduate (BA or BS), and (4) postgraduate or advanced degree (MA, PhD). In regression analyses, we use the modal category of high school degree as the reference category.

OCCUPATION. To assess occupation, we use respondents' reported job titles and main duties of the "main job at which you worked last week" to code responses into five categories in accordance with the Bureau of Labor Statistics codes: professional (managerial and professional specialty occupations), administrative (technical, sales, and administrative support occupations), service (service occupations), craft (precision production, craft, and repair occupations), and labor (operators or laborers). In regression analyses, professional is the reference category.

MEASURES OF WORK-RELATED RESOURCES

SCHEDULE CONTROL. One question asks participants about schedule control: "Who usually decides when you start and finish work each day at your main job? Is it someone else, or can you decide within certain limits, or are you entirely free to decide when you start and finish work?" We coded responses as (1) limited control and (2) full control, with no schedule control as the reference category.

CONTROL PACE OF WORK. One item measures control of pace of work: "How often do you control the speed at which you work?" Response choices are (1) never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, and (4) frequently.

JOB AUTHORITY. We use four items to measure job authority: "Do you influence or set the rate of pay received by others?"; "Do you have the authority to hire or fire others?"; "Do you supervise or manage anyone as part of your job?"; and, if yes to the last question, "Do any of those individuals supervise or manage others?" No is the reference category for all questions. To create the index, we summed responses so that higher scores indicate more job authority.

JOB AUTONOMY. "How often does someone else decide how you do your work?" Response choices are (1) never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, and (4) frequently. We reverse coded the responses so that higher scores indicate more job autonomy.

DECISION-MAKING LATITUDE. Two items assess decision-making latitude: "How often do you make decisions on what needs to be done?" and "How often do you have the chance to solve problems?" Response choices are (1) never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, and (4) frequently. We averaged the items and higher scores indicate more challenging work ($\alpha = .62$).

SKILL LEVEL. The following question measures respondents' perceptions of the skill level required for their jobs: "If you had to guess, about how long would it take the average person to learn how to do your job? . . . Think about the main tasks, duties, or responsibilities—or those that you think are most important aspects of your job." Time unit options (i.e., weeks, months, years) were open. We coded responses into months and logged this measure to reduce skewness. Although responses likely include estimates about time for education (or credentials), our models include education. Thus, any influence of this job skill measure is net of individuals' educational attainment.

SOCIAL SUPPORT. Participants were asked about supportive experiences at work (from any source) in the past 30 days with four items: "someone listened to your ideas or opinions," "someone thanked you for the work you do," "someone gave you positive feedback, guidance, or advice," and "someone said or did something that made you feel pride in your work." Responses are coded (0) "no" and (1) "yes." Items are summed to create the index.

PERSONAL EARNINGS. One item measures respondents' earnings: "For the complete year of 2004, what was your total personal income, including income from all of your paid jobs, before taxes?"

MEASURES OF WORK-RELATED DEMANDS

INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT. Participants were asked about interpersonal conflict at work (from any source) in the past 30 days with seven items: "someone treated you unfairly," "someone blamed or criticized you for something that wasn't your fault," "someone did not do the work that needed to be done or did it in a sloppy or incompetent way," "someone got annoyed or angry with you," "someone gossiped or talked about you behind your back," "someone teased or nagged you," and "someone gave you unclear directions about work you needed to do." Response choices are (0) "no" and (1) "yes." Items are summed to create the index.

JOB NOXIOUSNESS. Three items ask about job noxiousness: "How often is your workplace noisy?"; "How often is your workplace dirty or dusty?"; and "How often is your workplace dangerous?" Response choices are (1) never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, and (4) frequently. We averaged the items and higher scores indicate more job noxiousness ($\alpha = .73$).

JOB INSECURITY. One item measures respondents' perceptions of job insecurity: "In the next two years, how likely is it that you will lose your job or be laid off?" We coded responses as (0) not at all likely, (1) somewhat likely, and (2) very likely.

BORING WORK. One item measures respondents' perceptions of boring work: "How often does time feel like it is dragging at work?" We coded responses as (0) never, (1) rarely, (2) sometimes, and (3) frequently.

JOB PRESSURE. The following question is used to measure job pressure: "In the past 30 days,

has anyone at work made *too many* demands on you?" If participants reported yes, we then asked about the role-set source: "Was it a supervisor, someone you supervise, customer/client, coworker, or someone else at work?" Participants could choose any source and describe its frequency: (1) rarely, (2) sometimes, or (3) frequently. Individuals who reported no one are the reference category. We then asked a follow-up question: "How often do the demands of your job exceed those doable in an 8-hour workday?" Response choices are (0) never, (1) rarely, (2) sometimes, and (3) frequently. We standardized and averaged these items to create the job pressure index.

LONG WORK HOURS. We asked respondents about their total number of hours of paid work in a typical week. We created a dummy variable with those working fewer than 50 hours per week as the reference group.[1]

RESULTS

THE SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORK-NONWORK INTERFERENCE

Model 1 of Table 2 suggests that, compared with 45- to 54-year-olds, only the 65 and older age group reports a significantly lower level of work-nonwork interference. Whites report more interference than do African Americans and Hispanics. We find no differences across marital or parental measures.[2] Although this initial model shows no gender differences, in Model 2 we observe gender contingent effects of age. Men are the reference group, so each of the lower-order age group coefficients represents the difference in work-nonwork interference between men in that particular age group and 45- to 54-year-old men. The coefficients for the remaining age groups indicate that men in these groups report less interference than do 45- to 54-year-olds. Although the 35- to 44-year-old group reports less interference than do 45- to 54-year-olds, that difference is the only nonsignificant one. The coefficient for gender indicates that 45- to 54-year-old men report more interference than do women in the same age group. In addition, each of the age by gender coefficients, except the 65 and older group, is significant. These findings indicate that being in a particular age group has a different effect for men than for women. In analyses that separate women and men (not shown), only two age-group differences are statistically different among women: compared with 45- to 54-year-old women, 35- to 44-year-olds report more interference, while women 65 and older report less interference. Panel A of Figure 2 illustrates these (unadjusted) age differences in work-nonwork interference by gender.

Model 3 shows that individuals with a college or postgraduate degree report significantly higher levels of work-nonwork interference than do their peers with fewer years of education. The inclusion of education has little influence on age and gender differences, although it reduces the difference between Whites and Hispanics to nonsignificance. This is due to White participants' higher levels of education. The inclusion of occupation in Model 4 shows that professionals have more interference than each of the other occupation groups. The well educated report more interference because they tend to hold professional jobs. By contrast, age-gender differences in work-nonwork interference

[1] We assessed other possibilities, such as a continuous measure of work hours (linear and curvilinear) and categories (i.e., less than 30 hours, 30 to 39, 40 to 49, and 50 or more). We use the dichotomous contrast of 50 or more hours versus all others because previous studies (e.g., Jacobs and Gerson 2004) and our own analyses indicate that this group reports the most work-nonwork interference.

[2] Although it is beyond the scope of our focal research questions, particular configurations of gender, age, and household conditions might be influential for the work-nonwork interface (Moen and Yu 2000). To assess these possibilities, we considered numerous interactions between age, gender, and parental status and number and age of children in a household. None of these analyses yielded statistically significant results. In separate analyses, we also considered numerous models that included whether a participant had an employed partner or spouse and whether that employment was part- or full-time. Partner/spouse employment status is unrelated to work-nonwork interference and does not have any influence on the focal associations shown in the Table 2 models.

Table 2. Regression of Work-Nonwork Interference on Sets of Focal Independent Variables

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Age and Gender Variations							
Age 18 to 24[a]	–.16	–.33*	–.28*	–.28*	–.05	–.17	–.06
Age 25 to 34[a]	–.04	–.27*	–.28*	–.29*	–.13	–.17	–.10
Age 35 to 44[a]	.09	–.11	–.11	–.13	–.08	–.09	–.08
Age 55 to 64[a]	–.14	–.35**	–.39***	–.39***	–.40***	–.21*	–.23*
Age 65 and Older[a]	–.57***	–.64***	–.66***	–.68***	–.69***	–.24	–.31**
Women	.03	–.27**	–.28**	–.30***	–.16	–.15	–.10
Age 18 to 24 × Women[a]		.35*	.34*	.34*	.28	.24	.24
Age 25 to 34 × Women[a]		.44**	.44**	.43**	.34*	.28*	.26*
Age 35 to 44 × Women[a]		.41**	.40**	.37**	.41***	.30**	.35***
Age 55 to 64 × Women[a]		.42**	.45**	.44**	.47***	.34**	.35**
Age 65 and Older × Women[a]		.13	.14	.17	.33	.05	.17
Race/Ethnicity							
Black[b]	–.32***	–.30***	–.28**	–.25**	–.23**	–.23***	–.21***
Hispanic[b]	–.23*	–.22*	–.19	–.16	–.14	–.18*	–.15
Asian[b]	.02	.03	–.01	–.07	–.05	.03	.04
Other[b]	–.28	–.27	–.26	–.26	–.23	–.18	–.19
Marital/Parental Statuses							
Previously Married[c]	.00	.00	.02	.00	–.02	–.05	–.05
Never Married[c]	–.05	–.05	–.05	–.06	–.05	–.03	–.03
Children Age 0 to 6[d]	.02	.02	.03	.03	.00	.04	.02
Children Age 7 to 12[d]	–.07	–.08	–.07	–.07	–.06	–.02	–.02
Children Age 13 to18[d]	–.03	–.03	–.02	–.03	–.05	–.02	–.02
Education							
Less than High School[e]			.03	.04	.08	.07	.09
Some College[e]			.07	.05	.00	.05	.02
College Degree[e]			.19**	.06	–.05	.08	.02
Postgraduate Degree[e]			.30***	.09	–.05	.15	.07
Occupation							
Administrative[f]				–.29***	–.14*	–.20***	–.11*
Service [f]				–.36***	–.14	–.24***	–.12
Craft[f]				–.36***	–.32**	–.41***	–.40***
Labor [f]				–.30**	–.06	–.37***	–.22*
Work-Related Resources							
Some Schedule Control[g]					.05		.02
Full Schedule Control[g]					.04		.01
Job Authority					.11***		.06***
Job Skill					.05***		.03***
Decision-Making Latitude					.12**		.09*
Job Autonomy					–.11***		–.06*
Control Pace of Work					–.03		–.02
Personal Earnings[h]					.23***		.11*
Social Support					–.08***		–.05**
Work-Related Demands							
Interpersonal Conflict						.05***	.04***
Job Noxiousness						.07**	.08**
Job Insecurity						.11***	.13**
Boring Work						.08***	.09***
Job Pressure						.25***	.20***

(continued on next page)

Table 2. *(continued)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Long Work Hours[i]						.47***	.26***
Resources × Demands Interactions							
Job Pressure × Control Pace of Work							–.07*
Long Hours × Some Sched. Control[i]							.20*
Long Hours × Full Sched. Control[i]							.23*
Constant	2.68	2.83	2.72	3.01	2.62	2.15	1.91
R^2	.05	.06	.08	.11	.21	.32	.36

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients shown in table (standard errors are available on request).

[a] Compared with age 45 to 54.

[b] Compared with White.

[c] Compared with married.

[d] Compared with no children in the household.

[e] Compared with high school degree.

[f] Compared with professionals.

[g] Compared with no schedule control.

[h] Reported as (personal earnings)(10^{-2}) because of the size of the original coefficients (e.g., ".00" = .0023).

[i] Compared with those working fewer than 50 hours per week.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

are relatively unchanged net of education and occupation.[3]

Work-Related Resources

In Model 5, consistent with the resource hypothesis, job autonomy and workplace support are associated with lower levels of work-nonwork interference. By contrast, the following work conditions are associated with higher levels of interference: authority, skill, decision-making latitude, and earnings. These patterns contradict the resource hypothesis and are more consistent with the stress of higher status view. Moreover, the nonsignificant effects of control over the timing and pace of work are inconsistent with the resource hypothesis—although results shown later will demonstrate their moderating influence on the effects of some work-related demands.

The inclusion of resources in Model 5 has implications for the social distribution of work-nonwork interference. With respect to age, the adjustments reduce the differences between 45- to 54-year-old men and the two younger groups to nonsignificance. Separate analyses (not shown) that examine the mediating influence of each resource individually reveal that authority, skill, and earnings are the main statistically significant contributors to that reduction. This is because 45- to 54-year-old men report higher levels of those resources than do the two younger groups (see Table 3). The inclusion of resources, however, has less influence on gender contingencies in the association between age and interference. One age-by-gender pattern emerges as most influential: 45- to 54-year-old men report more job authority than do 25- to 34-year-old men, which contributes significantly to their elevated levels of interference. By contrast, women in both of these age groups share similar levels of authority. Moreover, these age differences in authority are statistically different for women and men (see Table 3). Taken together, age-by-gender patterns in job authority partially account for why levels of interference differ

[3] Along with occupation in Model 4, we adjusted for job sector by contrasting workers in the private/for-profit sector with those in nonprofit, government, self-employed, or family business. None of these comparisons were statistically significant, so we excluded them from the results presented in Table 2 for the sake of space.

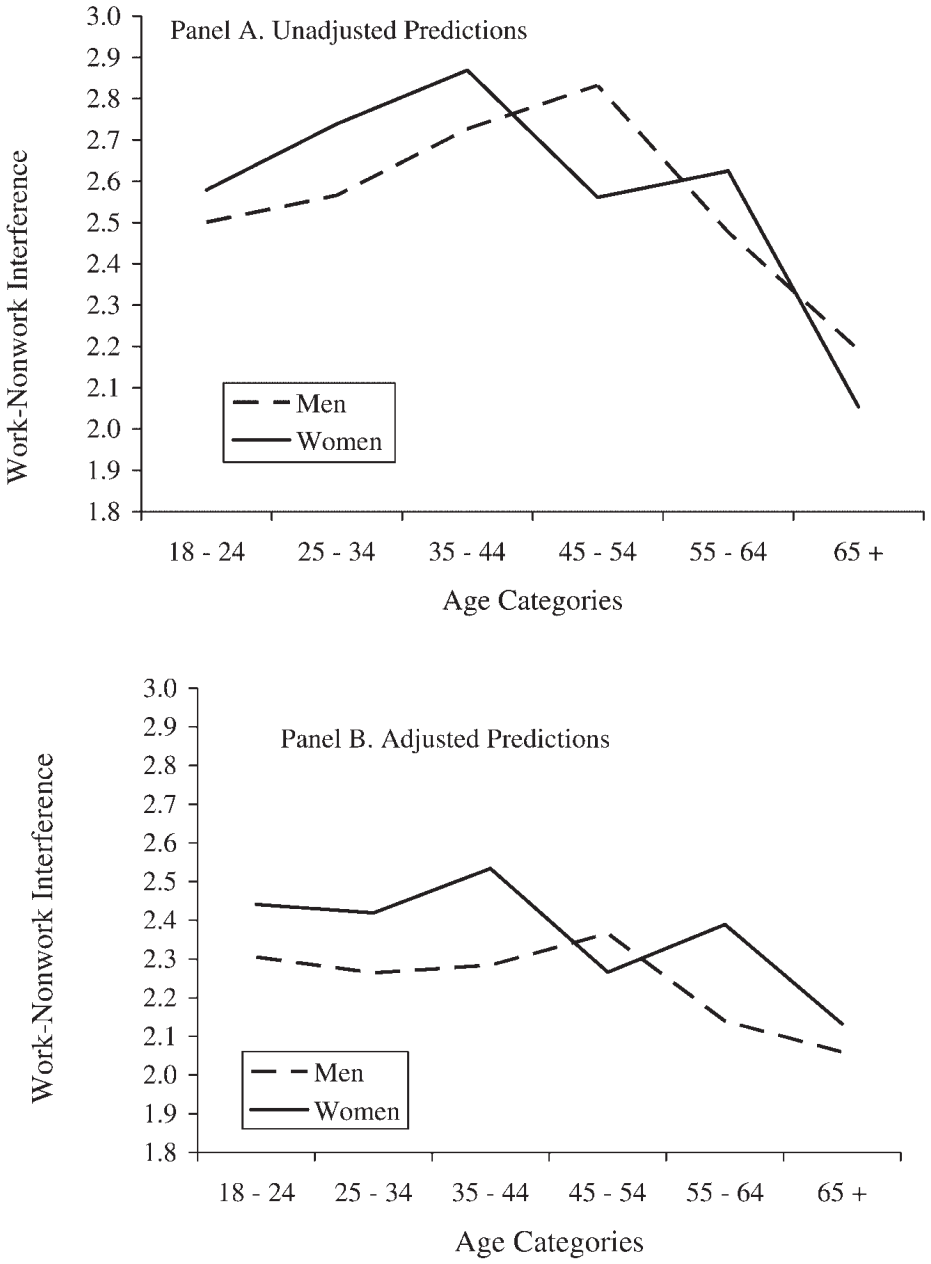

Figure 2. Age Differences in Levels of Work-Nonwork Interference by Gender

Note: Predictions in Panel A are based on Model 2 of Table 2; Predictions in Panel B are based on Model 7.

between 45- to 54-year-old and 25- to 34-year-old men but *not* women. It is also noteworthy that 45- to 54-year-old men report more job authority, skill, and earnings than do women in the same age group. By extension, the inclusion of these conditions fully accounts for these men's higher levels of work-nonwork interference.

Occupation differences in work-related resources also contribute to differences between professionals and others (see Table 3). For example, professionals' higher level of job authority contributes to their higher level of work-nonwork interference relative to those in administrative and labor jobs. Likewise, professionals' greater job skill contributes to differences with administrative, service, and

Table 3. The Social Distribution of Work-Related Resources

	Schedule Control	Control Pace of Work	Job Authority	Job Autonomy	Decision-Making Latitude	Job Skill	Social Support	Personal Earnings
Age and Gender Variations								
Age 18 to 24[a]	–.22	.10	–.33	.03	–.09	–1.40***	.26	–28.15***
Age 25 to 34[a]	–.26	.06	–.67***	–.22*	–.09	–.68***	.08	–20.52***
Age 35 to 44[a]	.11	.02	–.19	–.08	–.08	–.54**	–.01	–3.56
Age 55 to 64[a]	.21	.06	–.13	–.05	.01	–.23	–.11	10.65
Age 65 and Older[a]	.78*	.02	.31	.38**	–.05	–.58*	–.37*	7.25
Women	–.41***	–.04	–.37**	–.10	–.06	–.96***	–.02	–15.93***
Age 18 to 24 × Women[a]			–.04					8.86
Age 25 to 34 × Women[a]			.50*					6.16
Age 35 to 44 × Women[a]			–.04					–8.01
Age 55 to 64 × Women[a]			–.02					–13.50
Age 65 and Older × Women[a]			–.84*					–22.72*
Race/Ethnicity								
Black[b]	–.07	–.05	.08	.03	–.10	–.40	–.11	–3.75*
Hispanic[b]	–.08	–.10	.05	–.01	–.17*	–.22	–.13	–2.11
Asian[b]	.27	–.21	.09	.20	–.10	–.51	–.01	6.29
Other[b]	–.35	–.09	–.08	.01	.03	.12	–.07	–8.05
Marital/Parental Statuses								
Previously Married[c]	–.22	–.03	.02	–.11	–.08	–.05	–.16	1.50
Never Married[c]	.08	–.13*	–.15	–.12	–.07	–.27	–.19	–4.61
Children Age 0 to 6 in Household[d]	.28*	–.04	.09	–.03	.07*	.24*	.09	2.91
Children Age 7 to 12 in Household[d]	–.01	.07*	.00	.03	.01	.03	.08	.41
Children Age 13 to18 in Household[d]	.14	–.05	.10	.03	.04	–.02	–.05	1.02
Education								
Less than High School[e]	.10	.05	–.07	.11	.03	–.29	–.09	–8.41**
Some College[e]	.30	.03	.03	.04	.15**	.51*	.10	3.41
College Degree[e]	.48**	–.02	–.02	.02	.20***	.99***	.08	17.08***
Postgraduate Degree[e]	.25	–.03	–.17	–.03	.18**	1.78***	.15	20.90***

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Table 3. *(continued)*

	Schedule Control	Control Pace of Work	Job Authority	Job Autonomy	Decision-Making Latitude	Job Skill	Social Support	Personal Earnings
Occupation								
Administrative[f]	–.68***	–.04	–.60***	–.19**	–.26***	–1.31***	–.07	–5.33
Service[f]	–1.09***	–.08	–.57***	–.10	–.34***	–1.76***	–.12	–17.97***
Craft[f]	–.82**	–.11	–.39*	–.21	–.03	.29	–.07	–9.56*
Labor[f]	–.87***	–.07	–.81***	–.06	–.34***	–2.05***	–.33*	–13.33***
Constant		3.78	1.70	2.77	3.74	2.96	3.28	58.79
R^2	.05	.02	.11	.04	.12	.30	.04	.24

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients shown in table (standard errors are available on request). All analyses are based on OLS regression models except those for schedule control (which use ordered logistic regression).

[a] Compared with age 45 to 54.

[b] Compared with White.

[c] Compared with married.

[d] Compared with no children in the household.

[e] Compared with high school degree.

[f] Compared with professionals.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

labor jobs. Finally, professionals' higher earnings contribute to their elevated exposure to work-nonwork interference compared with those in service jobs. Comparing Models 4 and 5 in Table 2, these statistically significant mediating patterns provide further evidence to support the stress of higher status hypothesis: professionals tend to occupy jobs with greater resources that, in turn, are associated with higher levels of work-nonwork interference.

Work-Related Demands

In Model 6, each of the following work conditions is associated with higher levels of work-nonwork interference: conflict, noxiousness, insecurity, boring work, pressure, and long hours. These patterns are consistent with the demand hypothesis. With respect to age differences, comparing Models 4 and 6, these adjustments reduce the differences between 45- to 54-year-old men and the other age groups (with the exception of 55- to 64-year-olds) to nonsignificance. Separate analyses (not shown) that examine the influence of each demand individually indicate that only interpersonal conflict has a statistically significant mediating influence on the difference between 45- to 54-year-old and 55- to 64-year-old men. This is because the former report more conflict than do men in the older group (see Table 4). Similarly, 45- to 54-year-old men report more job pressure than do the 65 and older group, longer hours than the 25- to 34-year-olds, and more job insecurity than those younger than 25. All of these patterns significantly contribute to the respective age group differences in interference. For example, greater job insecurity among the 45- to 54-year-old group accounts for their higher level of interference than that seen in 18- to 24-year-old men.

The inclusion of work-related demands in Model 6 has little influence on the gender differences in the

Table 4. The Social Distribution of Work-Related Demands

	Interpersonal Conflict	Job Noxiousness	Job Insecurity	Boring Work	Job Pressure	Long Work Hours
Age and Gender Variations						
Age 18 to 24[a]	.20	–.06	–.24***	.22	–.06	–.23
Age 25 to 34[a]	–.23	.06	–.03	.30**	–.04	–.59**
Age 35 to 44[a]	–.08	.00	.01	.07	.02	–.17
Age 55 to 64[a]	–.88***	–.16*	.00	–.19*	–.14	–.39
Age 65 and Older[a]	–1.90***	–.50***	–.15***	–.27	–.59***	–1.44***
Women	–.24	.06	.02	.01	–.01	–.84***
Age 18 to 24 × Women[a]	–.15					
Age 25 to 34 × Women[a]	.67					
Age 35 to 44 × Women[a]	.24					
Age 55 to 64 × Women[a]	.66*					
Age 65 and Older × Women[a]	.80*					
Race/Ethnicity						
Black[b]	–.15	–.16	.04	–.01	.00	–.11
Hispanic[b]	–.33	–.10	–.04	–.03	.09	.37
Asian[b]	–.64*	–.01	–.06	–.10	–.05	–.35
Other[b]	–.48	–.08	–.04	.51***	–.04	–.82
Marital/Parental Statuses						
Previously Married[c]	.33*	.00	.01	.10	.10	.00
Never Married[c]	.17	–.07	.16**	.18*	–.12	–.50*
Children age 0 to 6 in Household[d]	–.03	–.06	–.02	–.05	.04	–.09
Children age 7 to 12 in Household[d]	–.30**	–.02	–.02	–.07	–.05	–.07
Children age 13 to 18 in Household[d]	–.05	–.03	–.01	–.03	.00	–.06
Education						
Less than High School[e]	.02	.10	.07	–.13	.03	–.59
Some College[e]	.20	–.07	.01	–.11	.01	–.12
College Degree[e]	.11	–.24***	.00	–.28**	.04	.01
Postgraduate Degree[e]	–.23	–.36***	–.06	–.31**	.04	.02
Occupation						
Administrative[f]	–.20	–.09	.03	.25**	–.16**	–.59***

(continued on next page)

Table 4. *(continued)*

	Interpersonal Conflict	Job Noxiousness	Job Insecurity	Boring Work	Job Pressure	Long Work Hours
Service[f]	–.29	.14	.02	.15	–.27***	–.79**
Craft[f]	–.08	.95***	.21*	.30	–.11	–.47
Labor[f]	–.24	.87***	.13*	.29*	–.13	.16
Constant	2.60	2.54	.18	2.32	.167	2.83
R^2	.08	.28	.05	.09	.05	.08

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients shown in table (standard errors are available on request). All analyses are based on OLS regression models except those for long work hours (which use logistic regression).

[a] Compared with age 45 to 54.

[b] Compared with White.

[c] Compared with married.

[d] Compared with no children in the household.

[e] Compared with high school degree.

[f] Compared with professionals.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

association between age and interference. However, two noteworthy patterns emerge. First, 45- to 54-year-old men report more interpersonal conflict than do 55- to 64-year-old men, which, in turn, contributes to their elevated levels of interference. By contrast, women in both of these age groups share similar levels of conflict. Moreover, these age differences in conflict are statistically different for women and men (see Table 4). This age-by-gender difference in conflict partially accounts for why levels of interference differ between 45- to 54-year-old and 55- to 64-year-old men, but not for women in those same age groups. The second noteworthy pattern involves 45- to 54-year-old men, who are more likely than women in the same age group to work long hours. By extension, the inclusion of hours in Model 6 fully explains why men in this age group report more interference than do women of the same age. Overall, although work-related demands contribute slightly to gender differences in the association between age and interference (comparing Models 4 and 6), all of the age comparisons remain significant except for the 18- to 24-year-old group.

Unlike our observations for resources, the inclusion of demands has a different influence on the distribution of work-nonwork interference across occupations. First, compared with professionals, workers in labor and craft occupations report more job noxiousness, boring work, and job insecurity (see Table 4). Comparing differences across Models 4 and 6, these patterns suppress professionals' otherwise higher levels of interference. By contrast, relative to those in administrative and sales occupations, professionals tend to report more job pressures and longer hours; these conditions contribute to professionals' higher levels of work-nonwork interference.

Testing for Interaction Effects: Resources x Demands

Model 7 of Table 2 shows the results for the full model with all of the work-related resources and demands. Overall, age patterns in resources and demands contribute to more of the total association between

age and work-nonwork interference among men than among women. Panel B of Figure 2 illustrates the predicted levels of interference across age for men and women after we adjust for these conditions. In addition, Model 7 shows support for two of the most theoretically prominent interactions between resources and demands. First, the positive association between job pressure and interference is weaker among individuals who control the pace of their work (see Figure 3). Although this pattern is consistent with the resource hypothesis, the interaction between long hours and schedule control presents contrary evidence. Specifically, individuals who work long hours report a higher level of interference than do those working fewer hours; however, this association is stronger among individuals with some or full schedule control (see Figure 4). As we will discuss below, this pattern is more consistent with the stress of higher status hypothesis.

DISCUSSION

Consistent with other major population surveys, our observations confirm that a high percentage of employed men and women report that work interferes with nonwork life. Indeed, over 70 percent of women and men report at least some exposure to work-nonwork interference. Three main contributions emerge from our study: (1) we document the social distribution of work-nonwork interference across core statuses and dimensions of stratification; (2) we develop a conceptual framework that specifies the influence of a comprehensive set of work resources and demands on interference and their contributions to its social distribution; and (3) we advance the stress of higher status perspective to understand the paradoxical influence of some work conditions on work-nonwork interference.

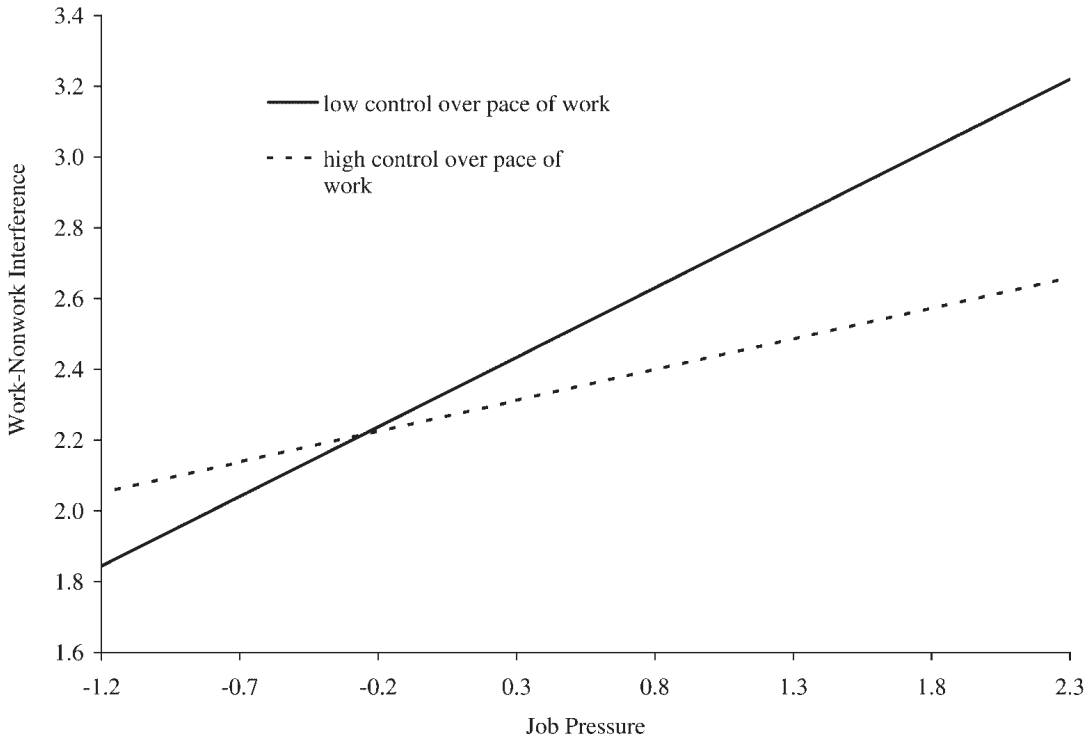

Figure 3. Job Pressure and Work-Nonwork Interference by Level of Control over the Pace of Work

Note: Predicted values are derived from Model 7 of Table 2. The line for "low control" represents individuals who never have control over the speed of their own work; the line for "high control" represents individuals who frequently have control over the speed of their own work.

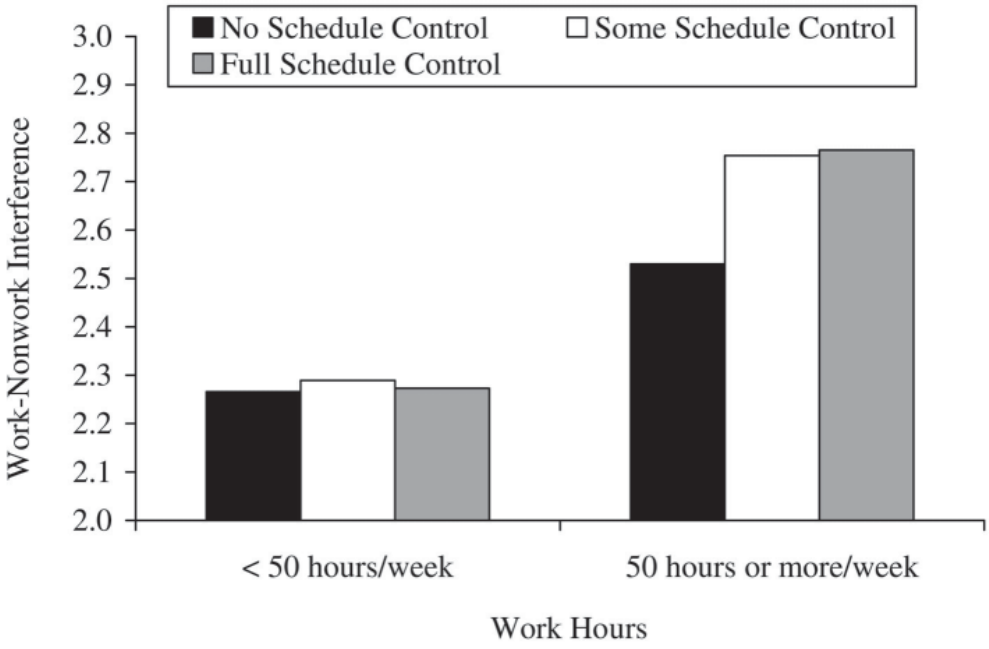

Figure 4. Long Work Hours and Work-Nonwork Interference by Level of Schedule Control

Note: Predicted values are derived from Model 7 of Table 2. The following represent the numbers of cases in each cell: fewer than 50 hours per week and no schedule control (N = 674), some schedule control (N = 398), full schedule control (N = 242); 50 hours or more per week and no schedule control (N = 171), some schedule control (N = 163), full schedule control (N = 152).

The Social Distribution of Work-Nonwork Interference

The observations regarding age extend prior research by describing a nonlinear and gender-contingent association with work-nonwork interference. Average levels of interference rise and peak among men in the 45- to 54-year-old age group and then decline in the later years. By contrast, average levels rise and peak among women in the 35- to 44-year-old age group and then fall in later adulthood. Different resources and demands contribute to these age patterns for men and women. Men in the 45- to 54-year-old group report more interference than do younger men because of their greater job authority, skill level, and earnings. By contrast, their exposure to more interpersonal conflict and job pressure partially explains their elevated levels of interference compared with older men. Among women, we initially observe age differences with the 45- to 54-year-olds in two groups, 35 to 45 and 65 and older. The higher level of interference among 35- to 45-year-old women remains significant net of all other conditions. Women in the oldest group report less interpersonal conflict and job pressure—conditions that explain why they report less interference relative to 45- to 54-year-old women. More importantly, age group differences in interference vary by gender and most of these gender contingencies remain even after accounting for work-related resources and demands. These observations extend prior research by underscoring that age patterns in resources and demands contribute in different ways to the association between age and work-nonwork interference, and that these patterns differ for men and women.

We acknowledge that other possibilities might challenge the work-related explanations for age patterns, notably cohort differences and selection bias. Age differences may represent life span or cohort effects. Gender, work, and family roles changed a great deal from 1955 (when the oldest respondents in our sample were about 20) to 2005 (when the youngest were about 20). Women experienced many more of these changes, which may affect our estimates. For example, older women and men in our sample tend to be more different in education and occupation than are their younger peers. Although definitive statements about aging processes are

often problematic with cross-sectional data, we do account for age variations by considering that men in mid- to late-adulthood report higher levels of work conditions that elevate work-nonwork interference. Among men, therefore, life span and aging effects are more likely to be operating. For women, however, cohort effects are probably more influential because young women today do not exhibit the same patterns as the middle-aged or older women in our sample. That levels of interference peak earlier for women than for men supports this idea. Younger cohorts of women may increasingly report more interference in mid- to late-adulthood—like men of this age—as their work conditions become more like men's and their commitment to higher status jobs increases. Longitudinal data can better address these issues.

Selection bias is another challenge, especially with respect to gender. Women and men differentially select to specialize in work and family roles and make tradeoffs accordingly (Jacobs and Gerson 2004). Given workplace policies, conditions inhospitable to raising young children, and a culture of intensive motherhood (Hays 1996), combining full-time employment with raising young children may be problematic for women, particularly those in higher status positions (Blair-Loy 2003; Hochschild 1989). Mothers, more so than fathers, may experience role conflicts and adjust by reducing their hours of paid work or dropping out of the labor force completely (Milkie and Peltola 1999). Although we control for the presence of children of different ages in the household, this does not completely rule out selection concerns. For example, a sizable minority of women, particularly mothers of preschoolers, are not in the labor force (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie 2006). Some of these women likely selected out because of work-nonwork interference. Moreover, women may be more likely than men to select out of working long hours or other work conditions that generate work-nonwork interference (Moen and Roehling 2005). Some evidence shows that women reduce work hours upon becoming parents so as to preempt expected work interference (Bianchi et al. 2006; Blair-Loy 2003). If women stayed in the labor force at the same rates as men, the age differences in interference might be more similar, but within age-group gender differences might be even greater—especially among younger groups because selection likely occurs more strongly for younger women.

The picture is further complicated by the possibility that men's increasing involvement in noneconomic household contributions may increase their experience of similar selection forces. Although women continue to spend more time on childcare and housework, men have generally increased their contributions and reduced the gap with women (Bianchi et al. 2006). Hill (2005) finds that working fathers experience a second shift in their contribution to noneconomic household activities when one considers their longer work hours. Moreover, Milkie and Peltola (1999) find that men and women have similar levels of success in balancing work and family. For men, but not women, the tradeoffs made between work and family life are associated with lower feelings of success. Likewise, women are increasingly gaining access to higher status work that, in turn, may shift allegiance to work and career (Hochschild 1997). Collectively, these trends may contribute to men's increasing share of noneconomic household duties (Bianchi et al. 2006) and explain why levels of work-family conflict increased from 1977 to 1997 among men and why highly involved fathers are more vulnerable to its effects (Stroh, Brett, and Reilly 1996; Winslow 2005).

Our other observations about the social distribution of work-nonwork interference extend previous research in several ways. First, higher levels of interference among Whites, the well educated, and professionals contradict the notion that individuals in more advantaged statuses should report less role stress. Moreover, higher levels of education and professional status contribute to Whites' higher level of interference relative to African Americans and Hispanics. Second, the well educated are more likely to hold professional jobs, which fully accounts for their higher level of interference. Third, we observe that professionals report more interference because they have more authority, skill, and earnings. These findings support the stress of higher status hypothesis in ways that illuminate the social distribution of work-nonwork interference and the reasons for these patterns.

The Resource, Demand, and Stress of Higher Status Hypotheses

Our analyses also examine the influence of work demands and resources on work-nonwork interference and its social distribution. As we described, some conditions that typically reflect demands should elevate exposure to interference. Findings for interpersonal conflict, job noxiousness and insecurity, boring work, pressure, and long hours are consistent with that prediction. By contrast, the resource hypothesis predicts that some conditions typically identified as resources should be associated with less interference. Findings for autonomy and social support concur with that prediction, but the bulk of our observations challenge it. First, workers with more authority, decision-making latitude, skill, and earnings report higher levels of interference. Second, the positive association between long hours and interference is stronger among individuals with more schedule control. Here, we introduce the stress of higher status hypothesis as one interpretation of these patterns. The hypothesis implies that some of these work conditions may increase border permeability. Unlike the strain elements of the demand hypothesis, however, the stress of higher status view integrates the notion that individuals with a strong commitment and emotional allegiance to work encounter more frequent role blurring that, in turn, increases work-nonwork interference.

Our findings encourage a more complex discussion about the meaning of resources and their interrelationships with demands in today's work culture. To date, an abundance of evidence reinforces the view of work as a "greedy institution" that exacts effort and energy from its workers (Coser 1974). Most of this research evolves from evidence that demonstrates how work has become even more "greedy," especially for individuals in high status positions (Blair-Loy 2003). Individuals in high status positions that reinforce the work devotion schema may maintain values about the work-family interface that often favor the work role. For workers with an intense devotion to the job, who blur borders intentionally, these are not always stress-free arrangements. Thus, the stress of higher status view directly challenges the common assertion that individuals with more work-related resources attain work-home balance more easily. Cultural dictates about border permeability and the flexibility that goes with it for high status workers may transform some elements of work-related resources into demands—with deleterious implications for the work-nonwork interface.

The interaction between long work hours and schedule control further elaborates the stress of higher status view. If schedule control represents solely a resource that enhances work-life balance, then it should attenuate any positive association between long hours and work-nonwork interference. Yet it has the opposite influence. This finding connects with Clark's (2000) ideas about why employees continue to express frustration despite possessing greater flexibility. Although there is little doubt that schedule control is an indicator of flexible and high status work (Golden 2001; Jacobs and Gerson 2004; Voydanoff 2007), the influence of schedule control on the work-nonwork interface may be more complex, especially in the context of long work hours. Schedule control may be indicative of "work that never ends" and a devotion to work that responds to the demands of high status. Status maintenance and enhancement at work often include more demands, especially boundary-spanning demands. Moreover, some aspects of higher status work—such as more intensive problem solving—may enhance engagement and absorption processes that, in turn, increase one's difficulty separating from the duties and expectations of the work role (Bakker and Demerouti 2007; Bakker and Geurts 2004). These processes likely increase the permeability of work-nonwork borders in ways that entail greater interference across role domains.

Does work interfere with life? We find that a majority of individuals report that work interferes with their home and leisure life. This stressor, however, like so many others identified by the stress process model, is not equally distributed across social statuses. We document social patterns in work-nonwork interference and the relevance of work-related resources and demands for exposure to interference and its social distribution. Although individuals derive numerous benefits from higher status work, this work may also increase the permeability in the work-nonwork border that has consequences for role stress. Our findings refine our understanding of the ways that the structural arrangements of individuals' lives influence role-related

borders, work-related demands and resources, and the work-nonwork interface.

Scott Schieman *is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto. His research interests broadly focus on the ways that social-structural conditions influence stress and health processes. Several of his current projects investigate the ways work and household conditions shape the experience and health consequences of the work-family interface. In addition, he is writing a book which investigates beliefs about God's involvement and influence in everyday life.*

Melissa A. Milkie *is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Maryland whose work centers on gender, race/ethnicity, culture, family, and mental health. Much of her research assesses the influence of cultural and structural arrangements on the well-being of individuals in families. Currently, she is working on a project examining how time investments within family, school, and peer contexts influence children's health from childhood through the transition to young adulthood.*

Paul Glavin *is a doctoral candidate at the University of Toronto. His research interests focus on the intersection of work and family life and the role of communication technology in these processes. His dissertation examines the conditions under which job flexibility and job control are beneficial versus detrimental for family and nonwork roles.*

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