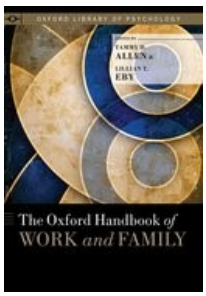

The Oxford Handbook of Work and Family

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CHAPTER

2 A Retrospective Timeline of the Evolution of Work–Family Research

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Abstract

This chapter provides a historic overview of the work–family field from the 1970s through today. Several reviews and timelines are compiled to identify themes throughout each time period. To supplement published resources, interviews with prominent work–family scholars were conducted to identify key trends and issues, and to obtain a more personal view into the lives of some of work–family's most influential minds. The review covers a broad range of topics across time, including the evolution of societal trends and legislation, key organizations and foundations, popular topics, theoretical developments, and methodological techniques. The chapter concludes with the interviewed work–family scholars' future visions for the work–family field.

Keywords: Work–family, History, Review, Societal trends, Theory, Methods, Interview

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Introduction

> *When I started graduate school in the '70s there was no field. There was no concept of a field. There was no inkling of a field. We hadn't even begun to frame the questions.*
>
> *(K. Gerson, personal communication)*

Today work–family is a popular "kitchen table" topic (Allen, 2012). Television news reports feature stories about the impact of working experiences on child well-being, popular magazines are speckled with headlines about the secret to work–family balance, and prominent newspapers such as *The Wall Street Journal* have entire

columns devoted to discussing work–family issues. With this public attention has come the burgeoning of a diverse, multidisciplinary academic field. The field of work–family currently has specialized journals (*Community, Work, & Family*), professional organizations (e.g., Families and Work Institute, Work-Family Researchers Network), and growing popularity in the traditional fields of sociology, developmental psychology, industrial and organizational psychology, economics, and management. Despite the current prominence of work–family research, it has a relatively brief academic history, spanning roughly 50 years. Over those 50 years, work–family research blossomed from a fairly myopic focus on women's employment to the widely expansive and multidisciplinary field it is today.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a historical overview of the work–family field from the 1970s through today. Previous reviews, timelines, and reports from multiple disciplines are consolidated to create this review. To supplement published resources, 10 seminal and influential researchers from a variety of disciplines were interviewed between October 24, 2013 and January 30, 2014. These personal accounts provide a unique perspective of the field's development. Rather than diving deep into specific topics, we instead place a historical
p. 10 backdrop against the range of content covered in this volume while opening a window ↳ into what has most inspired work–family's most influential minds.

We organize our review into three time periods: inception (1970–1989), growth (1990–1999), and expansion (2000–2014). We then speculate on the future (2015 and beyond). Within these time periods we cover two primary arenas: societal context and academic research. Societal context includes significant U.S.-based societal events and organizations and foundations that contributed to the development of work–family research through funding and large-scale research projects (e.g., Catalyst, Families and Work Institute). Within academic research we discuss popular constructs and topics, advancements in theory, and advancements in methods.

The Inception Years: Work–Family in the 1970s and 1980s

The inception of the work–family field can be traced back to the 1970s. At that time, work–family was not an established field per se, but rather consisted of a few disjointed work–family studies conducted in various disciplines (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965). Our interviews revealed two themes that united these fields into a more coherent research agenda. First, most of the researchers we interviewed described personal experiences that triggered curiosity for work–family issues. For example, Jeff Greenhaus attributed his interest in work–family to one of his student's difficulties in managing graduate school, his wife's career, and a new child.

> *One of our PhD students, Nick Beutell, was looking for a dissertation topic. At the time he was married, they had a child ... and he observed the stress and the strain within the family.*
>
> *(J. Greenhaus, personal communication)*

Similarly, Phyllis Moen's initial interests stemmed from her personal experience struggling to "keep all the balls in the air" as a mother, widow, and budding female professional. Her fellow female colleague managed by hiring a nanny, a housekeeper, and a gardener.

> *I realized I'd never have those resources, so I started trying to understand how people are successful at their jobs and their personal lives.*
>
> *(P. Moen, personal communication)*

Second, several researchers described unconventional experiences in graduate school that stretched them beyond the bounds of their discipline of expertise. For example, Joseph Pleck's work on gender led him to focus on work and family roles.

> *Once we got outside the realm of college students about 80% of what we were talking about when we talked about gender roles had to do with what people do in work and family life.*
>
> *(J. Pleck, personal communication)*

Similarly, Rosalind Barnett quickly realized the need to branch out beyond women's work challenges in her graduate education.

> *I really found it fascinating early on ... you can't study women's careers and those kind of aspirations without at the same time thinking about their family lives.*
>
> *(R. Barnett, personal communication)*

In short, the connections between work and family became increasingly apparent to researchers in the 1970s and 1980s. Early researchers' personal experiences and questions helped extend their thinking and trigger research on the relationship between work and family domains.

Societal Context

Societal Trends

The entry of women into the workforce is an often-cited impetus for work–family research.

> *If you think of social changes like a see-saw, in the 1970s for the first time in American history the percentage of women in the labor force rose above 50%. So, suddenly the see-saw tipped in the other direction. That was a huge demographic shift that shaped my consciousness.*
>
> *(K. Gerson, personal communication)*

Work–family scholars were quick to point out that women, particularly lower-class women, single women, and racial minority women, had been active in the workforce before this demographic shift. What was most noticeable in the 1970s was that middle-class white mothers of school-age children began to enter the workforce (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982; Pruitt & Rapoport, 2002). This change occurred in stages, starting with mothers of school-age children, followed by those with toddlers, and by the end of the 1980s over half of all mothers with children under 3 years of age reported workforce participation (Mosisa & Hippie, 2006).

The movement of women into the workforce was stimulated in part by feminism and the women's liberation movement. Feminists such as Betty Friedan (*The Feminine Mystique,* 1963) challenged traditional gender roles
p. 11 and the breadwinner ↳ family model. Feminists also advocated for women's advanced education, expanding occupational opportunities. Finally, the feminist movement problematized fathers' lack of participation in family responsibilities (J. Pleck, personal communication). As women became more involved in paid employment, they continued to bear the weight of family responsibilities, while the involvement of husbands in the family remained stagnant. Thus women had less available time to spend on household responsibilities with no one to pick up the slack.

By the end of the 1980s, public values began to shift, favoring a dual-earner family model and husbands' involvement in unpaid work (Kanter, 1977; Menaghan & Parcel, 1990; Zedeck, 1992). Birth control became widely available in the 1960s, contributing to a subsequent decrease in birth rates, and enabling women to plan families around career decisions (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982). No-fault divorce was also legalized, increasing the number of divorced families and single parents (Zedeck, 1992). The 1970s and 1980s also brought about changes in the structure of work. The number of manufacturing and blue collar positions began to decline while the number of service, professional, and technical positions increased (Menaghan & Parcel, 1990).

Finally, with more educated women entering the workforce, occupational sex segregation began to slowly decline (Menaghan & Parcel, 1990).

These demographic and workforce changes stirred the interest of organizations and society as a whole. *Working Mother Magazine* was first published in 1981, and in 1985 awarded its first annual award for Best Companies for Mothers (Pruitt & Rapoport, 2002). Popular press outlets began citing work by researchers such as Dana Friedman and Ellen Galinsky (Pruitt & Rapoport, 2002). Jay Belsky's studies linking nonmaternal care in the first year of life with child aggression, noncompliance, and withdrawal created a public uproar and negative attitudes toward working mothers of infants (Pruitt & Rapoport, 2002).

Organizations and Foundations

Prior to the 1970s, employees were encouraged to keep work and family roles separate. However, early work–family researchers (e.g., Kanter, 1977; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965) demonstrated the many ways in which work and family were interconnected. Consequently, organizations began to implement employee assistance programs and flexible working arrangements (Zedeck & Mosier, 1990). Catalyst, a not-for-profit research organization, conducted the first large-scale studies in the 1970s and early 1980s examining flexibility programs among social workers and teachers. Findings showed part-time work was beneficial for businesses and for women managing work and family roles (Kropf, 1999).

The Ford Foundation was also a key early supporter of work–family research, funding projects such as James Levine's The Fatherhood Project (1981; Pruitt & Rapoport, 2002). In 1988, The Ford Foundation launched its novel initiative titled *Work and Family Responsibilities Achieving a Balance* (Rapoport & Bailyn, 1996). This initiative was among the first to problematize work and family as a societal issue for men and women, and to suggest that workplaces could be changed to better help employees manage work and family roles. To help carry out this initiative, the Ford Foundation also helped launch the now-prominent Families and Work Institute (Rapoport & Bailyn, 1996).

> *[The Ford Foundation] really put the field on the map. It's they who started the emphasis on the workplace, which seemed strange at the time, but is now taken for granted.*
>
> *(L. Bailyn, personal communication)*

Other research and funding institutions, such as Work/Family Directions, were also founded in the 1980s, and professional organizations such as the American Psychological Association (APA) and Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP) began to take note of work–family research (Pitt-Catsouphes, 2002). In his 1987 SIOP presidential address, Sheldon Zedeck made a call for Industrial and Organizational (I-O) Psychologists to join the work–family conversation. His call and subsequent SIOP Frontiers book, *Work, Families, and Organizations*, caught the attention of I-O psychologists, expanding the work–family field (Allen, 2012).

Academic Research

Popular Topics

Women's entry into the workforce introduced new challenges and changes for family life ripe for academic research. Researchers first began by examining the ways in which working couples manage life transitions (e.g., Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965) and the ways in which work and family roles influenced one another (e.g., Crouter, 1984; Pleck, 1977). Kanter's 1977 monograph is widely cited as the seminal work of this time period, shattering the myth of separate work and family domains.

> *Rosabeth Moss Kanter published a really thin, little book that outlined what work and family was all about. I remember ordering it when it came out, and being very excited about it. That was the beginning of talking about this area of research in those terms.*
>
> *(A. Crouter, personal communication)*

Kanter articulated the many ways in which work and family affected one another, setting an ambitious research agenda that would shape the field's direction for many years. Subsequent work–family research in the 1970s and 1980s almost exclusively focused on negative work and family issues, including negative spillover and work–family conflict, consequences of managing work and family schedules, and negative child and individual health outcomes (Zedeck, 1992).

The development of work–family spillover and the development of work–family conflict constructs were some of the most notable contributions in the inception years. Work–family conflict was first measured for the U.S. Department of Labor's 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (QES; J. Pleck, personal communication). Results revealed that work–family conflict was a widespread phenomenon, reported by one-third of the sample respondents (Pleck, Staines, & Lang, 1980). The QES data were also used in several studies focused on time use and the implications of nonstandard work schedules for family time and quality outcomes (e.g., family adjustment and conflict, Staines & Pleck, 1984). Subsequent theoretical (e.g., Pleck, 1977) and empirical (e.g., Crouter, 1984) papers described the ways in which work factors spilled over to negatively influence family experiences. Years later, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) published their theoretical paper, defining work–family conflict as incompatibility of role demands and identifying three forms of work–family conflict (time, strain, and behavior-based conflict). This definition of work–family conflict continues to be one of the most widely used today.

Division of labor was another hot topic within work–family's inception years. Data from the 1977 QES were used to examine the proportion and absolute number of hours husbands and wives spent in paid and unpaid work. Findings indicated that the husband performed a higher proportion of family work when his wife was employed; however, this was only because the wives were contributing less to the family, not necessarily because men were contributing more (Pleck & Staines, 1985). Hochschild's *The Second Shift* (1989) monitored 50 couples to study the implications of a dual-earner household for women's time in paid and unpaid work and health. Findings revealed that women were primarily responsible for the "second shift" (i.e., housework), and that bearing the brunt of home and childcare responsibilities left women feeling fatigued, resentful, and depressed (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

The negative implications of working for child and maternal well-being constituted another major theme in the early decades of work–family research. Researchers in the 1970s took a social address approach, comparing employed versus unemployed mothers and, to a lesser extent, fathers (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982; Kanter, 1977). As a whole, this research showed no relationship between mothers' working status and child development outcomes, although fathers' unemployment seemed to have negative implications for marital relationships and child well-being (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982). A review conducted by Repetti, Matthews, and Waldron (1989) also found no clear main effect of employment status on women's health. Instead, an in-depth look at working conditions (e.g., work demands and control) was necessary for predicting the relationship between women's work and health.

> *It wasn't the number of roles that you occupied ... it turns out it depends on the quality of those roles.... We moved to a more textured understanding of how to ask questions.*
>
> *(R. Barnett, personal communication)*

Novel research at the time investigated how working conditions affected parenting values and behaviors (e.g., Kohn & Schooler, 1983). While mothers dominated research involving parenting and child outcomes,

researchers such as Joseph Pleck, Michael Lamb, and James Levine pushed for a fatherhood research agenda. James Levine and his colleagues conducted The Fatherhood Project in 1981, using time diary research to demonstrate the importance of men's involvement in child rearing (Pruitt & Rapoport, 2002).

> *There was pressure on men to get more involved in childcare and housework. If we were going to be a field that focused on child development, we had to understand the key people in children's lives, and that fathers mattered.*
>
> *(A. Crouter, personal communication)*

Theoretical Approaches

p. 13 The 1970s and 1980s produced a flurry of foundational theories that remain the basis of ↳ work–family scholarship today. Several role-based theories were proposed, based on the early works of Kahn and colleagues (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Katz & Kahn, 1978). Role-based theories generally conceptualized work and family as two different roles that could be incompatible (i.e., role conflict), spillover into one another (i.e., positive and negative spillover), compensate for one another, or be actively separated (i.e., segmentation; Zedeck, 1992). Researchers also proposed that work and family roles were differentially permeable, and thus the likelihood that roles would influence one another might differ depending on directionality and gender (Pleck, 1977). The state of research at the time could be interpreted as supporting multiple theories due to poorly defined constructs, methodological issues, and vague theoretical propositions (Zedeck, 1992).

Stress theories were also influential for work–family research, particularly in the 1980s (Menaghan & Parcel, 1990). Theories such as Karasek's (1979) job demand control model and Hobfoll's (1989) conservation of resources theory are still used frequently as frameworks to study the relationship between work and home characteristics and cross-domain individual and organizational outcomes. Theoretical and empirical work on daily stress by Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, and Wethington (1989) and Repetti (e.g., 1987) is also used as a foundation for today's research examining the daily interplay among work, family, and well-being.

Other influential theories included ecological theory and economic theory. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory proposed that phenomena are influenced by multiple layers of context. Thus to understand work–family phenomena, we need to understand the individual, family, organizational, and societal-level context (Perry-Jenkins & MacDermid, 2012). Finally, Becker's (1981) *A Treatise on the Family* stirred discussion of women's labor force participation. His microeconomic theory proposed that the most efficient family structure was one in which parents had specialized roles in either work or family (Menaghan & Parcel, 1990).

> *[A Treatise on the Family] sparked a huge backlash about 'is this really the case?' and 'can there be an economic argument for these behaviors?' It explains some of the outcomes we are interested in but nowhere near everything.*
>
> *(M. Perry-Jenkins, personal communication)*

Methodological Trends

Early research was dominated by cross-sectional, single source survey designs (Zedeck, 1992). Most often, subjective variables were global measures such as overall job satisfaction or marital satisfaction (Zedeck, 1992). Demographic variables were frequently used, as researchers focused on social address questions (e.g., comparing employed versus unemployed mothers; Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982). Methodological issues of the time also included clarifying the definition of work and family (Zedeck, 1992).

The Growth Years: Work–Family in the 1990s

Social Context

Societal Trends

Work–family research continued to gain traction in the popular press in the 1990s. In 1991, Sue Shellenbarger began her award-winning weekly column discussing work–family issues in the *Wall Street Journal.* Stories about the plight of dual-earner families and working mothers started appearing in popular news outlets such as *Newsweek* and *The New York Times* (Williams, Manvell, & Bornstein, 2006), and *Child Magazine* began honoring the Best Companies for Dads (Pitt-Catsouphes, 2002).

Economic prosperity was on the rise, accompanied by an expanding workforce (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000). With this expansion, workers contributed an increasing number of hours to paid work (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000). In addition to a growing numbers of workers, the composition of the workforce shifted as women's labor force participation slowed through the 1990s, hovering around 76.7% for women ages 25 to 54 years and 72.1% for mothers with children under 18 years of age (Mosisa & Hippie, 2006). At the same time, workers became increasingly diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, and age (Mosisa & Hippie, 2006).

The structure of work continued to change as well. Computer-related occupations, service occupations, and occupations requiring higher education expanded (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). New technology, such as the internet and home computers, became more affordable and accessible, changing the design of work and increasing possibilities for workplace flexibility (S. Zedeck, personal communication). Indeed, a report by the

Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013) estimated that approximately 10% of the workforce engaged in job-related ↳ work at home in the mid-1990s, with estimates rising to 17% by the early 2000s.

Finally, the attention given to working parents in the 1970s and 1980s increased pressure for family-friendly policy and legislation, and in 1993, U.S. President Bill Clinton passed the Family Medical Leave Act. This landmark federal policy provides employment protection and unpaid time off for employees who need to provide family care in the event of a serious health condition, birth, or adoption (Block, Malin, Kossek, & Holt, 2006). Although the policy was a much-needed step forward to advance work–family support for employees, it is has been criticized for limited applicability and usability (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000), and is still notably less supportive compared to work–family policies in other developed countries, such as Canada and the United Kingdom (Block et al., 2006). The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 also impacted work–family issues for those in poverty by requiring welfare recipients to work in order to receive financial aid, and limiting financial support to a maximum of 2 years (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000). The act created new challenges for low income families, as it encouraged welfare recipients to take on low-paying, temporary jobs, perpetuating low socioeconomic status (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000).

Organizations and Foundations

Centers and organizations conducting work–family research blossomed in the 1990s, helping to launch work–family as a mainstream topic (L. Bailyn, personal communication). One of the most influential organizations was The Center for Work & Family at Boston University, founded in 1990 (Pitt-Catsouphes, 2002). This center applies academic work–family research to corporate settings and publishes research and best practice recommendations for those interested in helping workers attain and maintain work–family balance. The Center for Work & Family also inaugurated the Kanter Award in 1999, honoring the best in work–family research published the preceding year (Pitt-Catsouphes, 2002). Other institutions began work–family research centers, including the Center for Families at Purdue (founded in 1994) and the Alliance for Work-Life Progress (founded in 1996; Pitt-Catsouphes, 2002).

The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation established their work–family program in 1994 (Pitt-Catsouphes, 2002) and over the next 20 years provided generous support for work–family research by funding large projects, disseminating findings, sponsoring conferences, and providing an online resource network (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). The Sloan Foundation also established numerous research centers, including, but not limited to, the Cornell Employment and Family Careers Institute, the Center on Parents Children and Work at the University of Chicago, and the National Opinion Research Center (Pitt-Catsouphes, 2002).

Finally, the Ford Foundation followed up on their work–family initiative, launching research projects at three corporations in the early 1990s. These projects took an action research approach, but worked in different ways. At Xerox, researchers worked with three different business units to implement interventions targeting work practices that not only helped alleviate work–family issues and made the workplace more gender equitable, but also improved the effectiveness of the work (Rapoport & Bailyn, 1996; Rapoport, Bailyn, Fletcher, & Pruitt, 2002; Perlow, 1997). These studies not only had an impact in terms of knowledge and methodological advances, but also garnered public and media attention (L. Bailyn, personal communication).

Academic Research

Popular Topics

The work–family field saw steady growth in research popularity throughout the 1990s. Work–family conflict remained popular, as researchers more clearly defined the construct and its nomological network (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Brodeaux, & Brinley, 2005). Several researchers in this decade empirically followed up on Kanter's (1979) discussion of the many manifestations of work–family interactions. Frone and colleagues were among the first to empirically establish the bidirectional nature of work–family conflict (e.g., Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992), and new measures were developed to capture the multidimensional nature of work–family conflict (e.g., Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996). Researchers also started identifying those more likely to experience work–family conflict, focusing on individual differences such as gender and family responsibilities (Eby et al., 2005). Finally, research on antecedents and outcomes associated with experiencing work–family conflict was prominent (Eby et al., 2005). For example, in their comprehensive qualitative review, consisting primarily of research conducted in the 1990s, Eby and colleagues (2005) found work–family conflict to be positively related
p. 15 to a host of work and family ↳ stressors (e.g., parental demands, work role ambiguity) and undesirable domain outcomes (e.g., marital dissatisfaction, turnover intentions), and negatively related to factors such as spousal support, job satisfaction, and well-being. Notably, most of this research focused on work-to-family conflict, with a limited consideration of family-to-work conflict (Eby et al., 2005).

Dual-earners and child outcomes remained a popular topic as well, with Rosalind Barnett's longitudinal study of dual-earner couples (e.g., Barnett, Marshall, Raudenbush, & Brennan, 1993) being particularly influential by focusing on not only mother and father effects individually, but also couple-level constructs, such as family

earnings, across time. While work demands increased, society's expectations for parents also increased (e.g., "intensive mothering"; P. Moen, personal communication), creating pressure for dual-earner families. With the 24/7 working economy and increased time and energy expectations for parents, nonstandard work and overwork also became dominant dual-earner issues (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000).

Research also advanced from a social address approach (i.e., examining categorical objective predictors such as sex or occupation type; Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983) to looking at how nuanced aspects of the individual and the environment, such as autonomy, stability, and stress at work, influence child and family outcomes (M. Perry-Jenkins, personal communication). Studies were conducted to understand the process through which parent work affects child outcomes and began modeling perspectives of multiple family members (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000). Research in the early 1990s focused a great deal on child care, particularly for young children, and results from the NICHD Early Child Care Researchers Network suggested that parenting practices were more important determinants of child outcomes than whether or not young children received nonparental care (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Overall, there was little evidence for a direct relationship between maternal employment and child outcomes for young children. However, research did show that white, middle class to upper class boys experience significant negative effects when mothers had substantial work demands (Perry-Jenkins & MacDermid, 2012). Researchers also identified parental monitoring and knowledge as key moderators for the relationship between work hours and child problem behaviors for older children (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000).

The growth years were also characterized by a focus on work context as researchers began to pay attention to the design of work and workplace culture as potentially changeable factors influencing work–family issues (Bailyn, 1993; Thompson, Beauvis, & Lyness, 1999).

> *In 2005, 3 or 4 books came out by the same publisher. Different books, all on work–family, all of which had a culture chapter. There's now a culture scale. The late 1990s is when it moved into the mainstream of academic work.*
>
> *(L. Bailyn, personal communication)*

Theoretical Approaches

Most of the work conducted in the growth years was based on theories identified in the earlier decades. Resource and role-based theories such as Hobfoll's (1989) conservation of resources theory and Kahn et al.'s (1964) role conflict theory largely dominated thinking during this time. Because of an overreliance on limited theory and lack of theory testing, work–family research was criticized as atheoretical (e.g., Eby et al., 2005; Zedeck, 1992). To this end, efforts were made to clarify theory (e.g., Edwards & Rothbard, 2000), and calls were made for the direct testing of theoretical propositions and models (Eby et al., 2005).

Methodological Approaches

Throughout the growth years, cross-sectional, single source designs remained the most common methodological approach. More sophisticated statistical analyses began to emerge (e.g., longitudinal data analysis, dyadic data analysis), but were rarely used in work–family studies (Casper, Eby, Bordeaux, Lockwood, & Lambert, 2007). Additionally, research continued to focus primarily on white, middle-to-upper class individuals in dual-parent families (Casper et al., 2007). With the proliferation of work–family foundations, organizations, and centers came a plethora of large-scale, methodologically rigorous data sets, often including multiple waves, sources, and/or nationally representative sampling strategies (e.g., IBM, American Time Use Survey, and National Study of the Changing Workforce). Much of these data are publicly accessible, providing researchers with unique opportunities to study work–family issues over the life span and across a variety of individual contexts. Finally, the Ford Foundation's work–family intervention research during the early 1990s set the stage for subsequent workplace-focused action research (L. Bailyn, personal communication; Rapoport & Bailyn, 1996).

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> *We systematically examined issues of work design and how we need to change organizational practices in order to meet the needs of employees to integrate work and personal life. One of the first things we found was that the same things that were preventing employees from making this integration were also not very good for meeting business goals.*
>
> *(L. Bailyn, personal communication)*

The Expansion Years: Work–Family Research in the 2000s

Social Context

Societal Trends

In the 2000s, popular press pieces continued to shape public dialogue around work–family issues. For example, Belkin's controversial piece *The Opt-Out Revolution* (2003) argued that well-educated women were opting out of high status work positions to stay home with their families, stimulating the conversation of whether women could have it all, and what having it all really meant. Nearly a decade later, Anne Marie Slaughter reinstigated the "having it all" conversation with her famed *Atlantic Monthly* article, *Why Women Still Can't Have It All* (2012). Shortly thereafter, Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg's (2013) acclaimed book, *Lean In*, garnered widespread interest, proposing several ways in which women and mothers can be more assertive and "lean in" to their career paths and opportunities.

The economic prosperity of the 1990s was followed closely by a recession in the early 2000s (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Pitt-Catsouphes, 2002), and the composition of the workforce continued to become more diverse in terms of demographic characteristics. Women's labor force participation hovered around 75.3% for women ages 25 to 54 years and 70.1% for women with children under 18 years of age (Mosisa & Hippie, 2006).

The structure of work and family continued to change as well. The 24/7 economy started to become the norm, and workers were constantly accessible by workplaces, resulting in blurred boundaries between work and home (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). In the 2000s, dual-earner households became the norm, with 59.1% of married households reporting dual-earner status in 2013 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013). Divorce also continued to increase, resulting in more divorced joint-custody families, single-parent families, and stepfamilies (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Finally, in the 2000s society became increasingly aware and accepting of gay and lesbian

families, and states in the United States began legalizing same-sex marriage (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Botelho, 2014).

Work–family issues have continued to gain traction as legislative topics in the U.S. federal government. The Obama administration focused on work–family balance and flexibility, pushing policies and practices to help employees manage work–family responsibilities (S. MacDermid-Wadsworth, personal communication). Meanwhile, work–family researchers became active lobbyists for the political work–family agenda. For example, Georgetown Law created the Workplace Flexibility 2010 initiative, a campaign bringing work–family researchers to the U.S. political table to lobby for expanded consideration of flexibility and job design for low-wage workers by presenting research-based national policy and practice recommendations (M. Perry-Jenkins, personal communication).

Organizations and Foundations

The Work, Family, and Health Network (WFHN) was one of the most prominent organizations formed during this time (founded in 2005). Funded by the National Institutes of Health, the Centers for Disease Control, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and the W.T. Grant Foundation, the WFHN joined scholars from numerous institutions and disciplines across the United States initially to conduct pilot studies in several industries and later to develop and test interventions aimed at changing work conditions for employees in two contrasting corporate contexts to better understand the health implications of work–family issues. In 2012, the Sloan Work-Family Network transitioned into the Work and Family Researchers Network (WFRN). Consistent with the former organization's mission, the WFRN seeks to promote and disseminate work–family knowledge to researchers, policy makers, and practitioners, and holds biannual conferences bringing together work–family researchers and decision makers from multiple disciplines to discuss cutting-edge research and practice issues.

Academic Research

Popular Topics

Core topics such as work–family conflict, dual-earner couples and division of labor, child health, and stress are still prominent issues in the literature. However, with many key questions and basic relationships having been established, researchers have dived deeper into the nuanced interface between work and nonwork roles.

p. 17 Work–family conflict and stress research started to incorporate the moderating and mediating effects of individual differences during the expansion years such as the "big five" personality factors (e.g., Wayne, Musisca, & Fleeson, 2004), work and family saliency and values (e.g., Noor, 2004), personal characteristics such as age and race (Perry-Jenkins & MacDermid, 2012), coping styles (e.g., Lapierre & Allen, 2006), and boundary management (e.g., Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2009). Most recently, work–family research has started to shift toward person-centric work–family experiences. For example, research began examining recovery behaviors as a way to manage boundaries and reduce work–family conflict (e.g., Sonnentag, 2003). Studies also examined aspects of work–family conflict episodes, such as decision making (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2012) and health biomarkers (e.g., blood pressure, Shockley & Allen, 2013). Finally, emotional and cognitive experiences associated with work–family conflict (e.g., guilt, mindfulness; Allen, 2012) have been investigated as predictors and moderators of the relationship between work–family conflict and correlates.

Demographic shifts to dual-earner, single parent, and divorced parent families in combination with the heavy societal emphasis on mothers' careers have also reinvigorated research on division of labor. Research demonstrates that although mothers are still the primary caregivers and fathers tend to have more paid work hours (Craig & Mullan, 2010), division of labor in the home is slowly becoming more equal (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Cultural attitudes toward gender equality in division of labor follow this trend. In her interviews with 120

young adults, Kathleen Gerson revealed cultural attitudes that favor a more egalitarian, "neotraditional" partnership, in which women are increasingly self-reliant and men favor increased household involvement while still retaining primary breadwinner status (Gerson, 2010). Unfortunately this shift increases pressure for fathers to perform well in both work and family domains, decreasing earnings and family relationship quality compared to childless men (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010).

Although flexibility and work–family formal policy research started in the inception decades, it was particularly popular in the 2000s as more organizations started to offer these benefits and supports. Studies examining the relationships between flexibility and work–family outcomes have yielded mixed results (Kelly et al., 2008). In an effort to better understand these relationships, researchers focused on identifying and categorizing different forms of flexibility, such as flextime, telecommuting, job sharing, and child care supports (Kelly et al., 2008). Additionally, the distinction between availability and the use of flexible supports was identified as a critical factor for understanding whether employees experienced the benefits of flexibility (Allen, Johnson, Kiburz, & Shockley, 2013). Researchers also expanded consideration of family care to include elder care supports with Neal and Hammer's (2005) sandwich generation study exploring issues for parents who care for both children and aging parents.

Work–family researchers also expanded beyond previously popular constructs and perspectives. Although work published in the 2000s still focuses largely on work–family conflict (Eby et al., 2005), the 2000s also brought a shift to focusing on positive work–family interactions. Barnett and Hyde's (2001) review concluded that work and family domains are likely to be positive and enriching. This review opened the door for research on several positive work–family interactions, including positive work–family spillover (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000), work–family enrichment (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006), and work–family facilitation (Hanson & Hammer, 2006). Researchers also focused on neutral interactions such as work–family fit (Barnett, 1998) and work–family balance (Greenhaus & Allen, 2011).

The 2000s were also characterized by an expanded consideration of context beyond the workplace. Research has started to more strongly consider community resources, services, and health (Voydanoff, 2007), and research involving children has expanded to include contextual factors external to the family such as peer influences and bullying (Perry-Jenkins & MacDermid, 2012). Finally, multinational and cross-cultural studies began to examine the generalizability of theory and empirical results across multiple countries and cultures (Allen, 2012).

Theoretical Approaches

In addition to theories defined in earlier decades, several new theoretical perspectives developed during this time. Border and boundary theory (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000) proposed that individuals' work and family roles are separated by boundaries, which range from highly integrated to segmented and can vary in permeability. Work–family enrichment (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006) is another theory that helped to shape
p. 18 much of the research on positive work–family interaction, and ↳ Westman's (2001) crossover theory helped shape research on how work and family issues influence other individuals in the immediate work and family environments such as spouses and co-workers. Finally, Greenhaus and Powell (2012) published theory to guide research on choosing between work and family during a work–family conflict episode.

Theoretical critiques from previous decades still linger today as recent reviews lament the lack of theoretical development guiding the field, overuse of poorly delineated theory, and poorly defined constructs (Kossek, Baltes, & Matthews, 2011). In addition, the wide variety of constructs that proliferated during the expansion years begs the question of how they all fit together. Indeed, in our discussion with Sheldon Zedeck, he emphasized a need to reassess where we have been theoretically and how to move forward by integrating what we have learned (personal communication). Lotte Bailyn also reflected this sentiment.

> *There's lots of knowledge out there, but it doesn't somehow come together.*
>
> *(L. Bailyn, personal communication)*

Methodological Approaches

Although cross-sectional, single source designs are still the most common methodological approach, multisource and longitudinal data continue to gain traction (Casper et al., 2007). Some of the most influential research in the 2000s has been conducted using multiple sources and longitudinal panel data to examine work–family issues from multiple perspectives across the life course (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Additionally, experience sampling methodology (Alliger & Williams, 1993) furthered our understanding of how individuals experience daily work and family role interactions (e.g., Shockley & Allen, 2013). Researchers began to incorporate objective data such as physical health (e.g., blood pressure; Shockley & Allen, 2013) and Occupational Information Network (O*NET) data (e.g., Johnson & Allen, 2013). Researchers during these decades also started to include more diverse and underrepresented samples, including low-income individuals, racial and ethnic minorities, and individuals with varying family structures (Perry-Jenkins & MacDermid, 2012).

Methods accounting for data dependencies, including dyadic data analysis, hierarchical linear modeling, and multilevel structural equation modeling, have also been applied to model daily experiences of individuals, change trajectories, and work–family relationships across individual, family, and organizational levels (Allen, 2012). Maureen Perry-Jenkins spoke specifically about the contributions of these advanced methods.

> *What has surprised me, in my own work and that of others, is that comparing group averages and mean levels of change tells a very different story than when examining different trajectories for individuals or subgroups, which we can do using hierarchal linear models. We were able to look at trajectories of change and different patterns of changes and that has been ground breaking. It changed the way I pursue my research and think about outcomes.*
>
> *(M. Perry-Jenkins, personal communication)*

Work–family intervention research is still a rarity in the field (Allen, 2012). Most recently, the Work, Family, and Health Network conducted several groundbreaking intervention studies in two phases of research (see Bray et al., 2013). During the first phase, several intervention studies were conducted, including one aimed at increasing flexibility and promoting a "results only work environment" in a white-collar organization (Kelly, Moen, & Tranby, 2011) and another focused on training grocery store supervisors to be more supportive of family demands (Hammer, Kossek, Anger, Bodner, & Zimmerman, 2011). In their second phase, the researchers are investigating the effects of a combined intervention targeting both family-supportive supervision and control over work scheduling in both a healthcare industry sample and Information Technology (IT) organization. Results of this methodologically rigorous randomized controlled trial are currently being published (e.g., Kelly et al., 2014), and data will be made available to the public in the coming years for further analysis.

Finally, with the sprawling proliferation of work–family research came the need to summarize and review the literature. Meta-analytic techniques met this need, resulting in several work–family meta-analyses in the expansion years. Kossek and Ozeki (1998) and Allen, Herst, Bruck, and Sutton (2000) were among the first to examine the relationship between work–family conflict and its correlates. These early meta-analyses were followed by a steady stream of meta-analyses focusing on a variety of topics including work–family conflict antecedents, formal organizational benefits, stressors, personality, involvement, support, and satisfaction (e.g., Allen et al., 2013; Byron, 2005).

The Future: Work–Family Research in 2015 and Beyond

p. 19 Our review of societal trends and legislation, key organizations and foundations, popular topics, ↳ theoretical developments, and methodological techniques through the decades sets the stage for an exciting question: What does the future hold for the work–family field? Our interviewees had several thoughts on this question:

In the societal context, the "bigger picture" will play an important role…

> *We need to keep track of the population trends. What kinds of choices are people making about family formation, fertility, retirement? Those broad, big decisions that frame a life.*
>
> *(A. Crouter, personal communication)*

… and changes to family definition and structure will drive our focus.

> *These constructs of work and family are social constructions. If you really look at the structure of families over the past 20 years it's been changing dramatically. We leave out so many people. When we go in we target a mother and child, sometimes mother and father and a child, but there are other people living in the home that we don't talk to. Family structure is changing but we continue to do our research on the family structure that we think exists, that we constructed in our literature. As we move ahead, we must look beyond the nuclear family.*
>
> *(M. Perry-Jenkins, personal communication)*

> *We may see a lot more attention to gay families in the next 10 years. There will be better attention to diversity and representativeness of samples.*
>
> *(S. MacDermid-Wadsworth, personal communication)*

Changes in careers and family over the life course will necessitate new approaches from individuals and organizations…

> *We will see a lot of attention given to intergenerational issues. The millennial generation is moving into the work force in large numbers, and the baby boomers are going to be increasingly moving out. Caregiving is going to get a lot of attention in the coming decades.*
>
> *(S. MacDermid-Wadsworth, personal communication)*

> *I would love to do a study looking at part-time or phased retirement policies, for example, or policies enabling older workers to bridge from their current jobs to other paid or unpaid work.*
>
> *(P. Moen, personal communication)*

… with the ultimate goal of having a larger impact on society as a whole.

> *Work–family scholarship has much to say about policy and practice, but it is buried in academic journals. We need to also write for social media and more widely-read outlets and participate in larger policy debates.*
>
> *(P. Moen, personal communication)*

To meet these goals, we must become more organized as an interdisciplinary field.

> *There has been a bit of a void in terms of the institutional supports the field needs to pull itself together and to develop a coherent trajectory. The danger if we're not able to do that is that we will keep reinventing the*

> *wheel. Every new generation will discover the same issues and problems that an earlier generation talked about, or one discipline will discover something that another discipline had been talking about for years. The good news is that a new organization, the Work and Family Researchers Network, was recently launched, and its recent conference brought together over 1,000 participants from 42 countries.*
>
> *(K. Gerson, personal communication)*

In our quest for societal impact, academic research will examine exciting new topics…

> *I think the next big construct to evolve and become important is, for a lack of a better term, work–family or work–life balance. What it really boils down to is the extent to which people are able to be effective, satisfied, and fulfilled in a variety of different roles in their lives. I think that should be the target of research. To better understand how people put together different parts of their lives so that they can accomplish things.*
>
> *(J. Greenhaus, personal communication)*

> *We need to study how policies can be changed to make work life more compatible with other dimensions of life for both women and men regardless of their occupational level or stage of the life course. I believe the construct of fit, the degree of match or mismatch between demands, resources, and needs will be increasingly fruitful. Thus it may not be simply work hours that are problematic, but whether or not workers are working the hours they want.*
>
> *(P. Moen, personal communication)*

… and revisit the basics.

> *I would like to have a more nuanced understanding of gender issues. Not only men versus women, but really how gender is constructing this whole area. Men's roles are changing. I think men are more constrained, in some ways, these days than women are. I would like to see researchers both theoretically and empirically think more sophisticatedly about how gender plays into everything.*
>
> *(L. Bailyn, personal communication)* ↳

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> *We can't just control for biological sex. Recognizing that men and women similarly and differently pursue careers and play out different parts of their lives, and then to ignore that, to control for sex, I don't think really gets at really important work–family issues that we have to understand better.*
>
> *(J. Greenhaus, personal communication)*

We will further organize our theoretical toolbox…

> *We need to start consolidating some of our theories and trying to understand when they are actually saying the same thing. For example, there are multiple theories that talk about stress and spillover, and they almost seem to me like they are saying the same thing, just from different disciplines. That's a big challenge for an interdisciplinary field.*
>
> *(M. Perry-Jenkins, personal communication)*

… and test ideas using purposeful, sophisticated methodology…

> *The greatest potential for growth lies in natural experiments and field experiments that test the value of interventions changing the temporal organization of work.*
>
> *(P. Moen, personal communication)*

> *I'd like to see some long-term longitudinal studies. For example, what is the effect on young people coming out of school during this terrible period for employment? What is going to happen ten years, fifteen years down the road to these people? Do they ever make it up, do they not?*
>
> *(R. Barnett, personal communication)*

> *Taking an episodic approach rather than a chronic approach to certain work–family issues is the way to go.*
>
> *(J. Greenhaus, personal communication)*

> *Work with biomarkers is exploding. There is constant interest in new kinds of biomarkers and less intrusive methods to study them. Technology and geographic information systems will also open up the possibilities of data on where families live and work to much richer objective data on the quality of the neighborhoods that they live in that can enrich studies in terms of what we know about context.*
>
> *(A. Crouter, personal communication)*

... developed by teams of interdisciplinary scholars, expanding what we know about the intersection of work and life.

> *One of the exciting things about being a researcher today, compared to when I was in graduate school, is I think the world is much more encouraging of interdisciplinary research. For this generation of grad students, post-doc, young faculty, that's what will be the norm. Working in interdisciplinary groups, submitting larger multidisciplinary projects, thinking about and forcing oneself to understand a phenomenon through different disciplines. That is exciting!*
>
> *(A. Crouter, personal communication)*

In sum, it is clear that although work–family research has come far, we still have so much left to learn.

> *I never get bored. I never wake up and say "oh, these problems are solved and these questions are answered!" It seems that every time we answer one question in this area, it raises multiple new ones. So there's a lot of work to be done, and it is inspirational work.*
>
> *(K. Gerson, personal communication)*

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