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Mothers Balancing Work and Family: Parenting Preference, Compensating Differentials and Work-Family Interface

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Mothers Balancing Work and Family:

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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Social Welfare

by

Aryun Hahm

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Mothers Balancing Work and Family:

Parenting Preference, Compensating Differentials and Work-Family Interface

by

Aryun Hahm

Doctor of Philosophy in Social Welfare

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Fernando Torres-Gil, Chair

The study explored the challenges of work-life balance for women over the life course. Past research documents that childcare responsibilities impact women's labor force participation, thereby affecting women's ability to pursue careers and reach the upper limits of their earning potential. Factors of compensating differentials—schedule flexibility, necessity of overtime work, substitutability—were also identified as a contributing factor limiting women's earnings over their lifetime stemming from adjustments to work to accommodate family. Levels of work-family conflict and enrichment—as a function of parenting preference and compensating differentials—were analyzed to explore (1) why the trajectory of women's careers stall despite having parity with men at the start of their careers and (2) what contemporary factors might contribute to challenges for women to balance work and family. Online survey data were collected using Amazon Mechanical Turk. Participants were married mothers of young children

working 35 hours or more (n = 242). Regression analyses suggest that mothers with higher preference for indirect parenting experienced higher levels of enrichment and mothers whose jobs had lower levels of compensating differentials (e.g., inflexible schedules) experienced higher levels of time-based conflict (in the work-family interface).

The dissertation of Aryun Hahm is approved.

Todd Franke

Lené Levy-Storms

Judith Seltzer

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University of California, Los Angeles

2021

Dedicated to

all who feel overwhelmed in the pursuit of balancing work and family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

Acknowledgements

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To John—An adventure is never an adventure when it happens. An adventure is simply physical and emotional discomfort recollected in tranquility.[1] Thanks for going on this adventure with me.

To my family—Thank you, thank you, and thank you.

[1] Tim Cahill (author)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The merging of traditional gender roles has been called the "grandest advance" from the last century, in particular women's participation in the labor force has been prominent. Working women helped counterbalance the gender divide in the labor force and consequently shift the balance towards women becoming more financially independent (Goldin, 2004). Previously, differences in human capital (e.g., education) and work experience or outright sexism with discrimination were significant factors for less women in the labor force (Blau & Kahn, 2016). Over time, women's increased work experience, as well as advancement in higher education, along with higher cost of living have led them to pursue paid work (Blau & Kahn, 2016). As such, millennial women and men are near parity in starting income and work experience (Graf, Brown, & Patten, 2019; Pew Research Center, 2013). Despite this progress women are more likely to downgrade or exit the workforce as they juggle work and family responsibilities (Goldin, 2014; Budig, 2014). Society still adheres to the gendered social expectations of women as caregivers that make them bear the weight of balancing work and family needs. In consideration of recent cohorts of women who are expected to work outside the home and provide necessary caregiving, what influences whether women experience challenges with balancing work and family responsibilities? Work-family challenges occur within the "constrained" choices of women (and thereby families; Stone, 2007)—made under circumstances where women have an "illusion of choice" (Moen, 2008)—that lead women to diminish or relinquish their careers after becoming mothers.

Research Questions and Aims

Studying the challenges of work-family balance of mothers is timely because women's participation in the labor force becomes more important as interdependent issues converge and

clash. Addressing women's work-family balance—and consequent impact on earnings—is related to other exigent issues such as the ability to pay back student loans, availability of affordable childcare/caregiving options, expansion of family-friendly work policies, standard of dual-income households, as well as less proximate issues like the growing need to finance one's own retirement or the potential of financially supporting adult children (i.e., boomerang kids) or older relatives.

The current study was predicated on the idea that women's caregiving roles impact their ability to balance their parental roles with paid work. While women have initial parity at the start of their careers, child rearing responsibilities impact women's trajectory of work (Bertrand et al., 2010; Budig, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2013; Weeden et al., 2016). In addressing caregiving roles to answer the research questions, the intention was to concentrate on the attitude towards- and socioemotional aspects of family responsibilities, rather than focusing on the time-consumption aspect of the tangible household tasks and family responsibilities. For example, a desire to provide direct (hands-on) caregiving conflicts with paid work (compared to a desire to provide indirect caregiving), and mothers may differ on this desire leading to differential outcomes when negotiating work and family responsibilities.

The study attempted to get closer to answering these questions by testing the *parenting preference model* (Bear, 2019a). The parenting preference model presents a new construct (viz., parenting preference) where individual differences in working women's desire towards parenting may inform whether they succeed (or face challenges) in balancing paid work and family, and ultimately staying in the labor force. The latter was not tested in the current—what is exploratory—study but is an important outcome that may be related to factors that were tested. The model also differentiates between direct and indirect preferences toward parenting, which

provided an opportunity to explore distinctions within parenting. In addition, the role of organizational factors, such as temporal flexibility and substitutability (collectively referred to as 'compensating differentials') across employees were incorporated into the model to assess whether they interact with mother's individual differences in parenting preference. The study addressed the following questions:

(1) Why does the trajectory of women's careers stall despite having parity with men at the start of their careers?

(2) What contemporary factors (personal and organizational) contribute to challenges for women balancing paid work and parental responsibilities?

To answer the first research question, the exploratory study used a survey to measure levels of work-family conflict, which was hypothesized to impact women's decisions about their work trajectory. It was thought that higher levels of work-family conflict was a factor contributing to women downgrading work commitments or by exiting the work force to ease work-family conflict. For the second research question, the study measured and analyzed subjective parenting preferences and compensating differentials as the personal and organizational contemporary factors that contribute to increased levels of work-family conflict.

There are many factors contributing to the complex dynamics that clarify our understanding of these two big questions. The current study used Amazon's online platform, *Mechanical Turk (MTurk)* to recruit and survey mothers (working for pay outside of the home)—on their parenting preferences, organizational characteristics about their job (i.e., compensating differentials) and their experience of work-family conflict or enrichment—to explore how women experience the juggle of work and family responsibilities that potentially influence women's labor force participation decisions.

The chapters that follow presents relevant literature to account for the selection of parenting preference and compensating differentials as important factors, explain the methodology used, outline the statistical findings, and discuss the results and implications of the study.

Contributions of the Study

It was not a goal of the study to concentrate on the monetary impact of women's labor force decisions, but to explore the factors that impact women's experience of balancing paid work and family that may influence their decision to exit or stay in the labor force as mothers. The aim was to contribute to the study of women's constrained choices. The study asked, what happens once women get to a place where upward mobility is possible (i.e., what challenges are confronting mothers who want to pursue a career in paid work and parenting)? Previous studies use secondary data that may lack important subjective components. Qualitative studies provide multi-faceted and meaningful insight into women's experiences and perspectives on working while mothering. The proposed study hopes to build on previous studies by incorporating important themes that emerged from qualitative studies (e.g., workplace flexibility, intensive mothering) into a larger survey.

The novel contribution of the study was to test a new conceptual model to explain how individual differences in approach toward parenting that can work for or against women's paid work obligations. At the time of this writing the process proposed by the model has not been tested and published in the literature, perhaps because the measure for its major construct—*parenting preference*—was just recently developed. The parenting preference model reframes efforts one puts towards career as part of fulfilling parenting responsibilities. In other words, family and work goals are not completely independent; work goals can be in the name of family

goals, which helps to temper the idea of the career ambitious woman as not being motherly or less dedicated to caring for children. Furthermore, it is not the concrete childcare responsibilities per se (or having children; Pew Research Center, 2013) that may impact careers of working mothers. Rather, it is the subjective preference toward parenting, as well as moderating factors, such as work structures that impact the work-family experience for mothers and their decisions to adjust to parental demands.

Impact of Caregiving Roles in Women's Lives

Factors that mediate working mothers' work-family balance have changed in time with social attitudes, social progress and economic changes. For example, deliberate sexism and lack of human capital are no longer the key reasons keeping women out of the workforce (Blau & Kahn, 2016). However, though women's career and educational advancements match the changing social expectations of women in the labor force, similar changes to social expectations of domestic duties, such as caregiving responsibilities have been more resistant to change. Caregiving responsibilities are in large part still socially entrusted to women as shown by women fulfilling these responsibilities at a higher proportion than men across all types of caregiving roles (Orel et al., 2007; e.g., childbearing, childrearing, family caregiver for older adult, grandparent caregiver, care of spouse). Hochschild and Machung (2012) called this the *second shift* where working women came home from paid work only to start another shift involving household and caregiving tasks. Recently, the COVID-19 related closures forced simultaneous double duty (remote paid work and childcare) on mothers more so than fathers, reflecting the stalled progress in social expectations of women as caregivers.

For women, the social expectation of being a caregiver is present throughout the life course. Accordingly, women can potentially have lifetime careers of caregiving. Women may

perform multiple caregiving roles throughout their life as part of the *sandwich generation* where they perform different caregiving roles simultaneously, such as caring for a child and elder parent in the same time frame (see Miller, 1981). Recently, with the development of *boomerang kids* the sandwich generation has expanded to include the care of older children returning home because they are not yet financially independent (Wiemers & Bianchi, 2014). Caregiving is considered to be any role that requires the care of another (e.g., caring for a child, elderly parent/relative, spouse). This study focused on the parenting aspect (i.e., childcare) of caregiving.

Part of the stalled trajectory of women's careers is because gender-specific caregiving roles disrupt women's paid work (Bertrand et al., 2010; Goldin, 2014; Waldfogel, 1997). Mothers' time off work as they fulfill childcare responsibilities conflicts with paid work outside the home. Interruptions to work limit women's opportunities to work full time and advance in their career. Consequently, women's caregiving responsibilities is linked to lower lifetime earnings (Budig & England, 2001; Rutledge et al., 2017). This *motherhood penalty* (Budig & England, 2001) stems from childcare responsibilities leading to women leaving the labor force (e.g., *job quit solution*, Budig, 2014; *opting out*, Stone, 2007, 2008; *off-ramping*, Hewlett & Luce, 2005) or switching to part time work or less lucrative fields that offer flexibility in hours (e.g., redirecting, Lovejoy & Stone, 2012). To be clear, the majority of college-educated women are staying in the workforce (Boushey, 2008), are less likely to leave the labor force (Day & Downs, 2009) and are more likely to be working compared to women without a college degree (U.S. Census, 2019). The editorial narrative of professional women leaving careers for childrearing ("opt-out revolution"; see Belkin, 2003) is in practice a luxury that very few have as a practical option (Day & Downs, 2009). Comparatively, women working in low-wage jobs are more likely to exit the workforce because it makes more financial sense to do so, as in the case of

not being able to afford the childcare that would allow them to work; Day & Downs, 2009). Women who have interrupted work patterns lose upward mobility in terms of salary and seniority (Lovejoy & Stone, 2012). Time out of work or reduction to work hours disrupts the wage growth that comes with continuous workforce participation (England et al., 2016). Women's annual salary is estimated to diminish by 30% from exiting the labor force for as little as two years (Rose & Hartmann, 2004). Having a child decreases the likelihood of participating in full time work by 43% for married women and 27% for single women (Misra et al., 2007). To compare, childless women with continued workforce participation have career paths approximating those of men (Bertrand et al., 2010). In addition, disparity in earnings is the smallest between unmarried men and women; the largest disparity happens for married women with young children (Budig, 2014) indicating that women do not have the same upward work trajectory. In relation, women working in select, male-led professions are less likely to be mothers or married in comparison to their male co-workers (Wacjman, 1998).

Significance – Caregiving and Women's Poverty

Women's exit from the labor force has immediate effects on their financial earning, career advancement, and potentially their financial independence. The drawn-out impact of women's stalled work trajectory over their lifetime is better understood when we account for women's longevity. As women live longer lives, they will need the finances to match the longevity (i.e., women's finances need to support them across more years compared to men). For that reason, maximizing women's ability to earn money throughout the life course is an important prospect to support.

From 1948 to 1997 the rate of employment for U.S. women almost doubled from 32% to 61% and has held steady (White House Council on Women and Girls, 2011) suggesting that

women have more capacity for financial independence. However, women continue to be more vulnerable to poverty in retirement compared to men (Orel et al., 2007; Waid, 2013). One indicator is women's higher reliance on Social Security as much of their income in retirement (Fischer & Hayes, 2013). Social Security made up 90% or more of one's total retirement income for 26.3% of retired women compared to 20.2% for men (Caldera, 2012). Women can receive Social Security as spousal benefits, but for unmarried women, acquiring Social Security is dependent on women being able to work outside the home (Social Security Administration, 2013). In addition, men report higher reliance on pensions, retirement savings, and assets compared to women (Caldera, 2012), meaning men are more likely to have these resources.

Over the life course, women may not have the same potential as men to save independently for retirement because of lower lifetime earnings. Over time, women are out of the workforce cumulatively for 11.5 years compared to one year for men (Torres, 2014). Lower earnings result in lower Social Security payments because the amount is based on the average across 35 years that includes the individual's highest earnings (Social Security Administration, 2015). Women are also more likely to have part time employment (viz., 25% of women work part time compared to 12% men; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016), which means less earnings and ineligibility to participate in employer's pension plans (Waid, 2013). Women's longevity means they will need more money in retirement, on top of higher health care costs for women over their lifetime. Women's mortality advantage makes older women more vulnerable to poverty. Women's longevity also means most U.S. elders across all older age groups are women (Torres, 2014) and that aging policies and family-friendly work policies would largely impact women.

Likewise, the COVID-19 pandemic's economic impact is expected to disproportionately affect women. The pandemic related recession will impact service occupations that are occupied mostly by women. The impact will be in the form of job loss, but also challenges for new entry or re-entry into the labor market (Alon et al., 2020a). Childcare was also severely impacted by the pandemic because of closures of childcare centers/services, as well as new caution and reconsideration around potential transmission of the virus to vulnerable grandparents providing childcare for grandchildren (Alon et al., 2020a). School age children's routines—and consequently parent's routines—were impacted with school closures. In relation, the pandemic forced parents to directly meet the demands of full-time childcare, where mothers took on more of the tasks than fathers given the gendered allocation of childcare responsibilities (Alon et al., 2020a; Zamarro & Prados, 2021). Moreover, single mothers will be most affected as they were in a fragile financial position prior to the pandemic (Alon et al., 2020a). In line with this, there are higher unemployment rates for women compared to men in the current COVID-19 related economic downturn (Alon et al., 2020b)

Research and debate on women's work and career are now fitting because the aging of the Baby Boomers, the largest generational cohort in U.S. history (viz., 76 million births; Wacker & Roberto, 2014), have set off debates on making changes to aging programs, such as Social Security. With less employers offering pensions and growing concern over government sustainability of Social Security and Medicare, there is a growing expectation for older adults to have been financially accountable and self-fund their retirement or rely upon family rather than the government for financial support (Burr et al., 2010). In short, for women the financial vulnerabilities that take root in earlier years (i.e., decades before retirement and financial security in old age are real considerations) will become clearer as women find themselves having to

depend on their own sources of income because of being widowed or divorced (O'Rand & Landerman, 1984). Decisions related to balancing child rearing and participation in the labor force all have long standing impact beyond what seem like the best or only choice at the time of the decision. In addition, as women are the majority of students pursuing college education and advanced degrees, their ability to work becomes an important issue to pay back student loans[2] or to have the financial option to outsource household responsibilities as they pursue careers. This may be especially true for women who are first generation college graduates in their families or first to pursue careers. Furthermore, there is an increase of caregiving among the millennial cohort (Flinn, 2018), which is a reminder that while people can have some agency over childbearing decisions (e.g., if and when to become a parent), the same agency is not applicable to other caregiving responsibilities, such as caring for a spouse or parent if they are suddenly unable to fully care for themselves. Having the awareness of individual differences that contribute to work-family conflict and having organizational support to balance household responsibilities and paid work (if one chooses) are important for mothers to remain in the workforce and/or progress in their career and potentially unstick the stalled progress of gender convergence where women are not able to maximize their participation in the labor force to the same degree as men. However, this goal is challenging for several reasons. There are contradictory expectations between work and family that create a double bind that presents difficulty for women to pursue and maintain both endeavors.

[2] The number of students with loans has increased and students are graduating with more debt compared to previous cohorts (Fry, 2014).

The Double Bind

Women experience a "double bind" (Stone, 2007) through currently ingrained schemas that stereotype gender roles for breadwinner and homemaker that are mutually exclusive to one another, and do not reflect the practical reality of working adults' experiences.

"Competing Devotions" – Work or Family (Blair-Loy, 2003)

Schemas are powerful, socially constructed (and largely agreed upon) understandings (e.g., frameworks, cognitive maps) that shape how people comprehend the world and their reality (Blair-Loy, 2009). For example, it tells us how we should treat others and how we expect to be treated by others. They are filters that frame the information we take in about the world. Therefore, it influences our behaviors, our interpretations of other peoples' behaviors, and influence the changes to- and/or consistency/inflexibility of social structures and schemas. Regarding work and family, schemas influence people's work aspirations or lack thereof, employer/employee responsibilities, and responsibilities within families (i.e., who does what and when). Schemas are powerful because they act as binding social contracts that are not questioned, assumed to be objective (Blair-Loy, 2009), and thus unchallenged to maintain normative control (Blair-Loy et al., 2015). This can result in women interpreting their inability to balance paid work and parenting as a personal failure and viewing their decision as personal rather than viewing their decision as a reflexive compromise resulting from limited choices that manifest work and family schemas (Stone, 2007). Doing so perpetuates the lack of awareness in confronting work structures to accommodate work-family balance. In short, schemas organize our thinking, as well as communicating what is normative and socially expected (Blair-Loy, 2001).

Blair-Loy (2009) coined the term *competing devotions* to capture how *work devotion* schemas and *family devotion* schemas are unable to be fulfilled at the same time. The devotion schemas are compatible only as a joint effort of couples where each person fulfills a separate schema. Blair-Loy (2001) purposefully uses the term "devotion" to describe "schemas of devotion", which are especially commanding and can bring up powerful emotions relating to observed or unobserved devotion to schemas (Blair-Loy, 2001). Incompatibility between the work and family schema stems from its gendered and mutually dependent nature (Blair-Loy, 2009). The family devotion schema, for example involves childcare and homemaking tasks expected to be fulfilled by women. In contrast, the work devotion schema involves breadwinning and focus on work with the expectation of being fulfilled by men. Blair-Loy saw commitment to work devotion as essential to moving up to high-ranking work roles. The reciprocal nature of the schemas is evident where the fulfillment of the family devotion schema by the woman allows for the work devotion schema to be fulfilled by the man (Blair-Loy, 2009).[3]

Aside from the gendered nature of the schemas, another aspect adding to the challenge is the expected time commitment in fulfilling the objectives of the schemas. Time commitment is a hallmark of work devotion where advancement at work is determined by years put into the position as well as achievements (Stone & Hernandez, 2013), and time is the most costly and valuable resource. Current work culture is dependent on employees committing long hours to work promoted by ideas like 'last one to leave the office' as an admirable worker trait or busyness as a status symbol (Bellezza et al., 2017) with dedication to work where U.S. workers have one of the highest average for work hours worldwide (Williams et al., 2013). Women with

[3] The devotion schemas likely operate in same-gender couples as well, but the discussion here is in keeping with the original presentation of the competing devotions construct as being gendered in the context of cisgender, heterosexual couples.

caregiving responsibilities are less able to participate in the expected way of the ideal worker (Williams, 2001; i.e., full devotion to job) and this time bind is a key factor of the juggle and tension for working mothers (Stone & Hernandez, 2013). At the same time, full-time commitment is expected towards family. Furthermore, the work and family devotion schemas have shaped contemporary parenting and work cultures, which are each highly demanding.

Contemporary Parenting Culture

Mothers of infants have the lowest rate of work participation (viz., 53.5% on average for data on years 1997 to 2005; Cohany & Sok, 2007), likely because infants need a high level of care or because mothers' salaries do not cover high costs of childcare and they exit the labor force (i.e., job quit solution; Budig, 2014). A common assumption is that mothers can return to work once the children enter school. However, childrearing pressures are intensified by the contemporary phase of *intensive mothering* (a term coined by sociologist Sharon Hays) where the ideal mother must invest high levels of attention, finances and time towards their children's upbringing (Stone, 2007). Intensive mothering also depends on mothers believing that women have natural skill over men in caring for children (Liss et al., 2013). Another belief of intensive mothering is that it will ensure positive life outcomes for their children (i.e., success in life; Liss et al., 2013) as mothers invest their time and attention to meeting their children's needs by predicting and adjusting to their children's wants (Wall, 2010). Similarly, *concerted cultivation* is when parents have child-focused lives where their schedules are bound to the child's numerous specialized activities designed to maximize child development, and in turn their children's successes (Lareau, 2008). This concerted and intensive parenting becomes more relevant as children mature and enter school because the basic physical care of pre-verbal babies is replaced with more multifaceted needs of maturing and inquisitive older children (e.g., teaching values,

navigating social pressures, emotional processing, educational paths, investing in hobbies [sports or music], developing identities; Stone, 2007). As children become more autonomous, parents may feel the weight of their own influence to course correct the developing child and parents may feel more strongly about managing these valuable parenting opportunities, rather than entrusting it to a paid caregiver who would not have the same investment in the children (and/or have different parenting philosophies). Therefore, while children's in-school hours provide parents with a break from childcare, the current culture of high-level parenting requires children's time outside of school to be pre-programmed and implemented, and this task falls mostly on women/mothers. Women more often reported having decreased their work hours, declining a promotion, taken extended time off of work because of caregiving responsibilities (Brown, 2017), more often managing children's schedules (Parker et al., 2015) and that taking time off for child rearing had adverse outcomes on their paid work/career (Graf et al., 2019). The assumption that women will have an easier time returning to work once children start school is misguided given the contemporary parenting culture, and even new mothers expressed surprise that it was not the case and ultimately gave up their plans to return to work (Stone, 2007). In doing so, they may let go of their long-term plan of advancing in a career.

The overall parenting culture has changed where even parents who do not or cannot participate in intensive parenting still face challenges. For example, "latchkey kids" were once common as women entered the workforce, but the practice is now scrutinized and exposes parents to public child welfare concerns. Children walking to and from school unaccompanied is also seen as risky. This requires parents to be present (or for them to at least plan for another adult to be present) with the children during afterschool hours, which overlap with typical full-time work hours. For parents who live and/or work in urban areas, transportation issues like rush

hour commutes add to the challenge of balancing parenting and employment. Part-time work with long commutes comes close to the demands of a full time, 8-hour workday.

To be clear, it is not the intensive parenting alone that leads to challenges for mothers to remain in the workforce. Rather, the high-level parenting coincides with the inflexibility and long hours of the current work structure that makes it difficult for women to balance paid work and parental responsibilities thereby leading them to exit the workforce (Stone, 2007).

Contemporary Work Culture

The current work structure did not develop with working mothers in mind, and the view of the ideal mother is still at odds with the ideal worker (Weeden, et al., 2016). Work demands are structured around the dated family standard of a breadwinner husband and a stay-at-home wife (Stone, 2008; Williams et al., 2013), except working women are pulling double duty in and out of the home. Current work structure and parental expectations are not harmonious, and women face challenges trying to balance both caregiving and paid work responsibilities. This is especially true as current careers are structured around the 'clockwork' of men, meaning that what we think of as a successful trajectory in the workplace does not take into account gendered reproductive needs and responsibilities that clash with the ability to participate in such a trajectory. This issue is exacerbated by the move toward women having children at later ages. Delayed births increase the possibility of women becoming part of the sandwich generation overlapping with their working years (Wiemers & Bianchi, 2015). The trend in delayed births also include nonmarried single mothers who may not have the economic advantage of household cost sharing, stability in finances (reliance on single income) or division of caregiving and domestic tasks and are likely even more constrained in their options.

Potentially, women are dropping out of- or limiting their participation in the workforce during their prime working years, perhaps at the cusp of reaching their career goals or as they were relishing being in their prime workwise. This leads to the "'leaky pipeline' problem" (Stone, 2007) where highly skilled women are withdrawing from high-status occupations. Women have gained entry to historically male fields by graduating from business, medical and law schools and working in those fields. However, women are not remaining in those positions, which ultimately leads to a smaller pool of women working towards senior positions and becoming mentors for other women, which all contribute to the lack of women's participation at the highest levels of an occupation (Stone, 2007). Also, there are costly turnovers for employers, not to mention the mismanagement of professional talent, and women's limited return on their investment in themselves (Stone, 2007).

Contemporary work culture also stigmatizes workers who go against the expectations of the ideal worker or work devotion (Blair-Loy et al., 2015). *Flexibility stigma* is when an employee is stigmatized for working non-traditional work hours (Stone & Hernandez, 2003). The hours worked for salaried (non-hourly) employees who are in positions with possible advancement are not bound by work restrictions (e.g., cannot work more than 'x' number of hours) or overseen by official employment policies the way hourly workers are. In place of those restrictions, they are bound or influenced by workplace norms that dictate full time devotion to work where adherence is mediated by off-the-record social penalties like being stigmatized at work (Stone & Hernandez, 2003). There are no objective measures for commitment to an employer or job, so in effect hours put into work symbolize and are a measure of a person's devotion to work (i.e., participating in overwork; Cha, 2010; Cha & Weeden, 2014; Stone & Hernandez, 2003). People do not commit to long hours just because it increases their pay, it also

represents what type of worker they are, their work ethic, and commitment to the position, all which influence workplace advancement. It is also more difficult now to have a clear distinction between work and home as workers are easily in reach through use of e-mail and company subsidized cell phones (Cha, & Weeden, 2014). Oftentimes, workers are not consciously aware of the stigma and accept the employer's lack of support as justified. This leads to women quitting or 'opting out', which creates a self-fulfilling prophecy (Stone, 2007; Stone & Hernandez, 2003). Likewise, men who request work flexibility to take care of caregiving responsibilities are seen as feminine (Blair-Loy et al., 2015), which maintains the caregiving burden on women. Evidence of the stigma may be shown by the low use of policies, such as telecommuting, compressed work weeks or job sharing (Williams et al., 2013) and employee's wariness of utilizing work flexibility options for fear of penalty are demonstrated through empirical studies (Blair-Loy et al., 2015).

Taken together, the clash of the ideal mother and ideal worker leaves working mothers feeling like they are half-heartedly doing an okay job of fulfilling both roles. And the contemporary work structures make it challenging for women to balance both equally important responsibilities (but also desires). This leaves women with a "choice gap" (Stone, 2007) where women's careers are considered to be disposable in the name of taking care of children. The currently available options for women to balance work and family are not realized as intended. For example, options to work part-time often require flexibility demands (on the worker) for the employer to agree to a part-time arrangement. Women report that part-time work ends up having the demands of full-time work, but without the pay, potentially leading women to leave the workforce altogether (Stone, 2007). Essentially, part-time work is still full-time work because it is often predicated on the part-time worker being available to be called on for work as needed.

And again, there is stigma in asking for a part-time work arrangement, which affects how the employees are viewed at work and leads to negative consequences (e.g., not getting assigned to certain projects, questioning worker's devotion to organization). Family-friendly workplace policies are now more prevalent. However, these polices are casually punitive and hollow when workers who use the policies are stigmatized and workers are reluctant to use them because they fear stigma or unofficial backlash.

While parenting duties impact women's ability to work, there are also other related factors that must change for women to be able to better balance paid work and family, especially as more families are becoming dual-income households (Raley et al., 2006). Furthermore, men's decreasing wages have also contributed to women's increased participation in the labor force—thereby increasing women's need to balance work and family responsibilities—meaning that women's gains are partly due to men's losses (Blau & Kahn, 2016). Men's decreasing wages also suggests that women's wages are becoming more meaningful in traditionally gendered households. Thus, addressing barriers to women maximizing their labor force participation is an issue that affects more than women. Women's career trajectories are an outcome of a more subtle and multifaceted process that both women and men are a part of, which reinforces women's progress that stalls over time within cohort despite women's advancements. Examining factors that influence women's experience of balancing work and family will help inform future parent/caregiver-friendly work places and help expand policies that are focused on supporting long term goals (e.g., work and family balance), and not largely focused on immediate adjustments to parenthood (viz., maternity/paternity leave). Destigmatizing use of current policies or creating new policies that recognize both individual and structural differences can help women be informed of factors that impact work-family balance where they can exercise

agency to address challenges. Hopefully, this leads to women and families making informed choices and leave mothers/caregivers less vulnerable to poverty in old age. Resolving this issue is important for women to get a return on their investment in higher education, and this is especially significant for working mothers/caregivers that are first generation college graduates and embarking on a career track. While there have been reported increases in time spent on parenting across education levels (Ramey & Ramey, 2010), college educated women spend more than twice the amount of time in parenting activities compared to less educated women (Kalil et al., 2012). Although the work-family challenges impacts more than women (i.e., impacts families with caregiving responsibilities), as women are the majority of students in higher education and bear the majority of the childbirth and childrearing responsibilities, this study focused on querying women. The next chapter reviewed previous findings relating to the contemporary work-family balance and present the theoretical foundation and conceptual framework that supports the study of parenting preference and compensating differentials to further understand why women's career trajectories stall within cohorts over time.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Modern advancements have led to several changes for women that allowed for increased participation in the labor force. Technological development for household appliances (e.g., washer, dryer, refrigerator, microwave oven) have saved time and effort towards household tasks (Bose et al., 1984). Going from a manufacturing workforce to a more service-oriented workforce meant that "female" occupations were in higher demand (Goldin, 1990). The invention of the birth control pill gave women more control over delaying motherhood or marriage and avoiding unplanned pregnancies (Goldin & Katz, 2002; Bailey et al., 2012). As women became more prevalent in the workforce several models and frameworks have been developed to study women's trajectory in the labor force.

Human Capital Model

The human capital model is an economic theory where wage disparities are because of differences in skills (see Becker, 1971 as cited in Kilbourne et al., 1994). Human capital is composed of skills that are acquired through education, training or work experience and is used to determine workers' wages (Grybaité, 2006). It can also be thought of as gender differences existing within the labor supply, such as differences in number of hours worked or intermittency in workforce participation along gender lines (Noonan et al., 2005). Possession of advanced or sought-after skills will result in higher pay. Historically, men had more human capital (viz., education and work experience) than women, which explained much but not all women's lack of career advancement in the previous decades (i.e., women's lower levels of education and work experience led to lower paying occupations; Blau & Kahn, 2007a; Blau & Kahn, 2016). Women were less likely to be able to participate in paid work (or only participate part time or intermittently) because of traditional gender roles in families (e.g., father is the breadwinner,

mother is the homemaker) preventing them from doing so. In relation, women were less likely to see the value in- or profit from investments, such as higher education or job training because they would leave the labor force after having children (Becker, 1985 as cited in Grybaité, 2006; Blau & Kahn, 2007a). Furthermore, human capital can depreciate with women's intermittent workforce participation (Blau & Kahn, 2016).

From the 1980s to 2010 women increasingly delayed childbirth and marriage to pursue higher education and entered the workforce (Wiemers & Bianchi, 2015). Women's increased participation in the labor force led to women investing in work related skills (Becker, 1993 as cited in Grybaité, 2006). As a result, there was a gender reversal in terms of education and work experience. Today, women are on average better educated than men and begin work with similar work history (e.g., college degrees and years of work experience; Becker et al., 2010; Geiger & Parker, 2018; Goldin et al., 2006; Wang, 2014). Blau and Kahn (2016) analyzed PSID and CPS data for the period of 1980 to 2011 to assess the changes in factors of women's increased entry into the workforce. In 1981, men compared to women were more likely to have a bachelor's degree or higher, but by 2011, women had higher rates of having at least a bachelor's degree, meaning that compared to men more women had a bachelor's degree and/or an advanced degree (Blau & Kahn, 2016). Similarly, with work experience, in 1981 men compared to women had more years of work force participation (viz., 7 years; Blau & Kahn, 2016), but by 2011 there was only a difference of 1.4 years difference in average years of workforce participation between men and women (Blau & Kahn, 2016). Women's gains in education, work force participation and experience were supplemented by women's gains in rising to- and holding professional/managerial positions (Blau & Kahn, 2016). Another aspect was that men lost wages in that same period due to loss in collective bargaining powers through employee unions and

men were more affected by this given the gendered nature of occupations with collective bargaining (Blau & Kahn, 2016).

Labor Market Discrimination

Women's stalled work progress that cannot be explained by human capital is assumed to be explained in part by discrimination in the labor force (Blau & Kahn, 2007a, 2007b; Grybaité, 2006). *Direct discrimination* occurs when workers who are the same with respect to job qualifications, yet receive different compensation (viz., wages) based on gender. Discrimination can also manifest in hiring and promotion decisions that affect women's upward mobility or getting coveted positions (e.g., women being passed over for working with high profile clients, coveted work projects or less considered for promotions, managerial positions) resulting in *distribution discrimination*. *Value discrimination* occurs when women-occupied professions (e.g., teachers in primary and secondary education, childcare) are less well compensated compared to male-dominated professions (e.g., engineering; Hegewisch et al., 2010). While it is difficult to assess discrimination in occupations (Blau & Kahn, 2016; Goldin, 2014), experimental studies simulating hiring situations have shown that discrimination against women in the workplace and academic contexts can take place (see Bear & Glick, 2017; Correll et al., 2007; Davison & Burke, 2000; Goldin & Rouse, 2000; Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Krikeli-Katz, 2012; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012).

These types of discriminatory behaviors are based on stereotypes of women. However, it is not the presence of stereotype alone, but a lack of fit between stereotypes and work roles that keep women from seeking or attaining wanted positions (Heilman & Eagly, 2008). The positive stereotype of women as caring could be interpreted as a mismatch with attributes needed for a managerial position, such as being decisive or objective (i.e., attributes associated with men;

Heilman & Eagly, 2008). Therefore, both positive and negative stereotypes can influence workplace decisions that are biased against women (Heilman & Eagly, 2008). Furthermore, women may possess and exhibit the favored attributes for higher positions. However, those same attributes may be reframed as a negative nullifying potential positive association with work (e.g., woman who is authoritative is seen as domineering). Occupational segregation has also been of interest. However, the experience women have within the job is more important compared to which occupational field the woman is in and if it is male-dominated (Goldin, 2014).

Theoretical Foundation – Compensating Differentials Framework

As women have progressed in education and paid work, previous models and frameworks explain less of women's loss of career parity over time. With the *compensating differentials framework*, Goldin proposed that with all things equal, if employers did not pay a premium for long working hours (i.e., overtime pay) then the career disparity, and consequently the gender pay gap would disappear. Compensating differentials (i.e., equalizing differences) is an economic theory (see Smith, 1979 and Rosen, 1986 as cited in Kilbourne et al., 1994) that looks at monetary and nonpecuniary aspects of a job and how together it influences a worker's overall appraisal of a job. Non-pecuniary aspects of the job are the non-monetary benefits (amenities) and drawbacks (i.e., disamenities). Physical hazards that a worker experiences, and amenities like flexible scheduling, medical coverage or on-site childcare are examples of non-pecuniary drawbacks and benefits, respectively. It is theorized that jobs with many drawbacks will need to have higher pay to retain employees. Whereas, jobs with amenities can pay employees lower wages (Kilbourne et al., 1994) because the jobs are in high demand. What is considered drawback or amenities are specific to the employee. On-site childcare, for example would be an amenity to parents and occupations that offer it would be in more demand by parents (Goldin &

Katz, 2016). Goldin and Katz (2016) used the compensating differentials framework (CDF) to identify factors that contribute to a within-cohort gender disparity in career trajectory that increases over time. Goldin (2014) refers to *job flexibility*, *substitutability* and *linearity* as the "micro-foundations" of compensating differentials, which explain how jobs that emphasize overwork are tied to significant losses for employees who cannot or choose not to engage in overwork (Goldin, 2014).

Job Flexibility

Goldin and Katz (2016) focus on temporal aspects of job flexibility as a non-pecuniary amenity that impacts how parents/caregivers balance work and family. It concerns the variation in the number of hours employees can work (e.g., part time-, overtime work), as well as having control over one's own scheduling of work and predictability (e.g., not on-call work that requires flexibility on the *worker's* part). CDF theorizes that workers pay a cost for amenities like job flexibility because it is costly to the employer (Goldin & Katz, 2016).

Substitutability

When a job has *substitutability* then it is easier for workers to take over jobs for one another. Consider a job where information needed to perform the job is accessible and easily interpreted by all workers. Pharmacists, for example have access to customers' prescriptions and medical information, making it easy for workers to substitute for one another (Goldin, 2012). In contrast, jobs like working on a legal case involves a deep understanding of the intricacies of any one case (and retaining those details in long term memory with ability to recall information)—information that is not easily transferred from one worker to another—making it difficult to transfer ("hand off") clients from one worker to another (Goldin, 2014; 2015). This type of work structure requires overwork where mothers are less able to participate. The work structure of

pharmacy eliminates the gender career disparity in that profession because the substitution allows for flexibility, and consequently linearity where the difference in pay between genders is a function of the number of hours worked (Goldin & Katz, 2016). Having substitutability means lower cost to employers for providing job flexibility, such as part time hours or employees setting their own hours because one employee can easily substitute for another without disruption to business. This in turn allows for women to have more choice and autonomy to balance work and family responsibilities without jeopardizing their job. Lack of substitutability makes job flexibility costly to employers, and in some cases costly to employees as well. Mothers who worked in low-substitutability positions and switched to part time work after having children found that they ended up doing the workload of a full-time position for part time pay (Stone, 2007; 2008). One reason was because employers would only agree to part time positions if the employee agreed to be flexible (i.e., ready to be called up for work when needed; Stone, 2007). Substitutability makes job flexibility (and consequently job linearity) possible.

Job linearity

Linearity, in this case refers to a linear relationship between the number of hours worked and the amount of money earned per hour (Goldin, 2014). In non-linear occupations a worker who puts in 80 hours a week, will get paid more than twice the amount of a worker who works 40 hours a week. Compare to occupations with linearity where a worker working 25 hours per week will have the same hourly pay as a worker working 50 hours per week. In other words, the amount earned per hour is the same across workers despite the number of hours worked. Workers do not get a different rate of pay for working overtime (i.e., working over 8/40 hours per day/week), which is important in this context because overtime is the realm of work where working mothers are less able to participate. Substitutability and linearity have a corresponding

relationship where low substitutability results in low linearity (i.e., non-linearity; Goldin, 2014). Pharmacy workers enjoy substitutability, job flexibility and job linearity. But lawyers experience low substitutability, job inflexibility and non-linearity. Non-linear jobs reward overwork (e.g., long and inflexible hours), which is more likely to be performed by childless workers (Bertrand et al., 2010; Cha, 2010; 2013), unless it is a traditional (and stereotypically gendered) breadwinner-homemaker family. However, the overwork contributes to perpetuating the traditional family form, which will continue to be a barrier for women to balance work and family. The factors of the compensating differentials framework as potential moderators were assessed as part of the parenting preference model.

Conceptual Framework – Parenting Preference Model[4]

Parenting preference is "…an individual's aspirations to nurture and care for others above and beyond any obligation" (Bear, 2019a). The parenting preference model (PPM; see Figure 1) advances how we view work-family balance in several ways. Oftentimes, caregiving roles, such as parenting is discussed in the context of 'caregiver burden' and as an obligation. However, PPM recognizes a parent's willing desire to perform parenting duties. Second, PPM acknowledges that people's ambitions are not relegated to work and career. It extends ambition to apply to other realms of life, in this case devoting energy to family and home life. In other words, paid work outside the home is not the only or main endeavor where people have goals and aspirations. PPM appreciates caregiving as an undertaking where people want to succeed, akin to someone wanting to perform well in a professional career. Third, the framework outlines

[4] The Parenting Preference Model (PPM) is based on the Caregiving Ambition Model (CAM; Bear, 2019a; 2019b). CAM discusses caregiving work broadly to include work and community settings (i.e., caregiving outside of family context). For the proposed study, CAM has been renamed as Parenting Preference Model to specify focus on parenting aspects of caregiving.

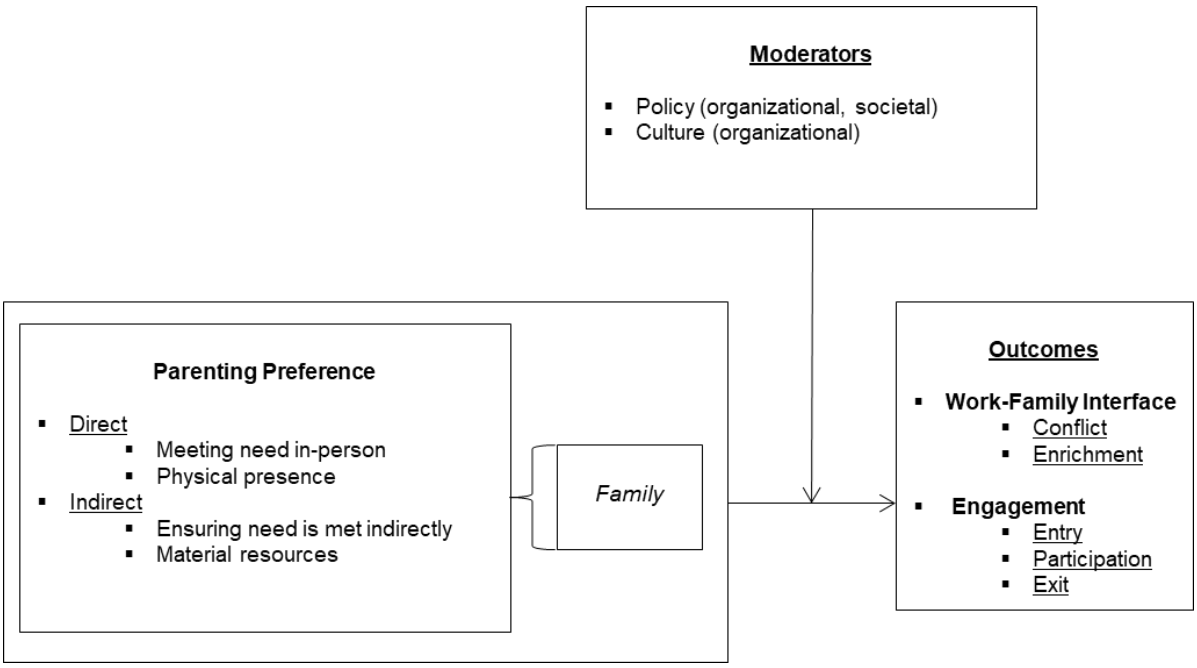

Figure 1. Parenting Preference Model (Bear, 2019a)

two subcategories that reflect conceptually separate components of parenting preference: direct and indirect parenting.

Parenting Preference: Direct and Indirect

Direct parenting is the parent's face-to-face attempt to meet their child's needs, which requires the physical presence of the parent. Direct care exists across physical (e.g., feeding, bathing), cognitive (e.g., attending to-, instructing care recipient) and emotional (e.g., comforting, validating) tasks. *Indirect parenting* is the parent providing the means to secondarily fulfill a child's need. Instrumental tasks, such as managing the outsourcing (e.g., arranging paid childcare), creating growth-related opportunities (e.g., music lessons, college savings for child) by securing financial resources or investing time and effort to organize and plan for the implementation of opportunities are examples of indirect parenting. Lastly, in this way, the PPM reframes (and advances) work/career as an aspect of parenting through indirect care and does not treat parenting and paid work outside the home as mutually exclusive endeavors (i.e., time spent

at work is in the name of parenting). The PPM challenges the long-standing assumption of caregiver-breadwinner categories as irreconcilable domains. However, Bear (2019a) makes clear that indirect parenting is inclusive of-, but not exclusively about earning money. An example of this would be a parent working extra hours to afford higher quality childcare and also investing time in researching childcare options that would be in line with the importance they place on concerted cultivation or intensive parenting that they themselves are unmotivated to do (i.e., low on direct parenting, high on indirect parenting).

Bear (2019a) proposes that direct and indirect parenting are independent of each other, where individuals have unconnected preferences towards their approach to childcare. The independent subcategories of parenting preference are further developed where parents fall into one of four categories depending on whether they are low or high on direct and indirect parenting (viz., high direct/high indirect, low direct/low direct, high direct/low indirect, low direct/high indirect; see Figure 2). To illustrate, a parent may secure private piano lessons for their child (indirect) and sit with them during piano practice at home (direct; i.e., the parent in this example would represent the high direct/high indirect category). This conceptualization makes clear that it is not the presence of parenting needs itself that conflicts with work. Rather, it is the type of parenting that a person feels pulled to devote their energies toward that can present challenges because of incompatibility between parenting and paid work responsibilities.

Parenting Preference Outcomes

Whether a person is high or low in direct and indirect parenting can determine outcomes of how parents choose to balance their childcare and paid work roles. These outcomes are also moderated by things like workplace culture (e.g., supportive of temporal flexibility or not) that can determine work-related outcomes. The PPM identifies two outcome pathways: work-family

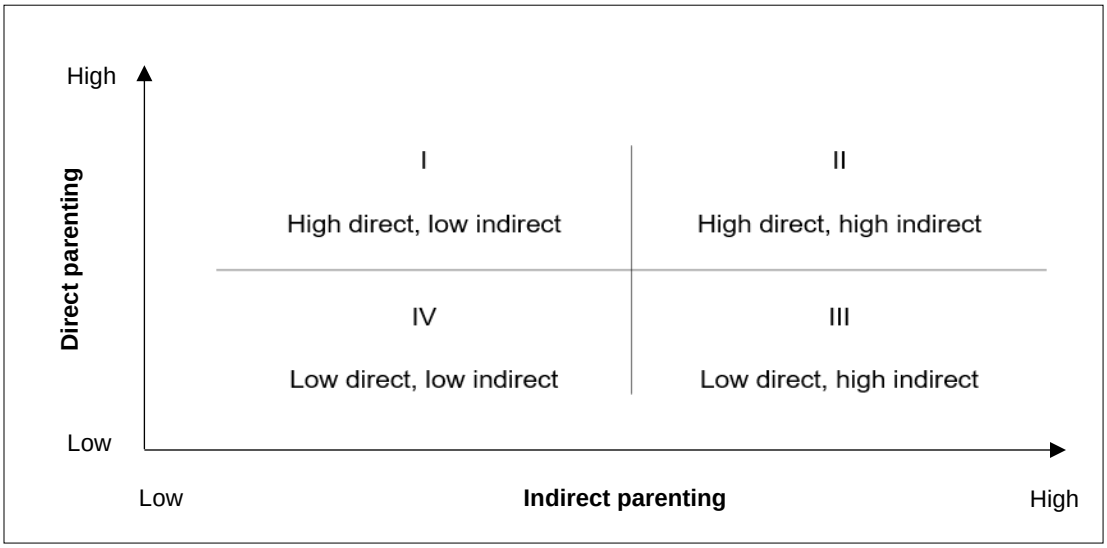

Figure 2. Four Categories of Parenting Preference

interface and engagement.

Both outcomes of the PPM are described here for completeness. However, the current study did not assess the engagement outcome of the PPM. Doing so would require collection of respondents work history, which was not within practical means of the exploratory study. In addition, the PPM specifies Greenhaus and Powell's (2017) construct of engagement, which at the time of data collection did not have a corresponding measure.

Work-Family Interface: Conflict and Enrichment

The work-family interface is the junction of work and life that yields conflict and/or enrichment between fulfilling responsibilities as a paid worker and a parent. Work and family are competing demands and are both tapping into limited resources of time and energy. This results in conflict where work demands may use up resources leaving a parent working outside the home without enough resources to meet family demands and feel the push-pull of incompatibility in the work-family interface.

Positive outcomes of the work-family interface have received less extensive attention. However, the PPM incorporates the potential for paid work and family to benefit each other. Namely, enrichment in the work-family interface is when aspects about paid work yield benefits in family life and/or in the reverse direction (i.e., aspects of family enriches paid work). For example, feeling personal fulfillment in paid work can help someone be better engaged in family life. Both conflict and enrichment are bidirectional, where the process occurs in both work-to-family and family-to-work directions and are assessed separately.

Engagement: Exit, Participation, Entry

The conflict or enrichment stemming from the work-family interface impacts how people engage in their work, communities and with their families. The PPM specified engagement as three behaviors (viz., entry, participation, exit; Greenhaus & Powell, 2017). Entry refers to what would be a start of a new role/position, such as becoming a parent or starting a new job. Participation refers to the time and effort spent towards work or family. Exit refers to the end of a role/position, such as ending a marriage/relationship or leaving the workforce. In short, engagement can refer to a person either maximizing the roles/processes they enjoy and/or reducing participation and disengaging (i.e., exiting from a role/process).

Where one lands on the quadrants of the PPM influences the experience of conflict and enrichment (in the work-family interface) or engagement. Harmony between one's parenting preference and work-family context will likely yield low conflict, high enrichment and engagement. If there is mismatch (at the extremes) between one's parenting preference and work-family life, then there will be high conflict, low enrichment and disengagement. As such, parenting preference shapes the interpretation of work-family interface, and the subsequent decisions that may be made to engage (and how) or disengage in the spheres of paid work and/or

family. The consequence of mismatch can have implications at the person- and organizational level. Current work structures that reward those who can- and are willing to work long hours may be less constraining to working parents with low desire for direct parenting and high desire for indirect parenting. However, the work structure revolves around long hours is not practical for parents with high desire in direct parenting, but still have career ambitions or need to work for financial reasons.

The PPM presented several opportunities for research. First, was to observe the new construct and measure of 'parenting preference'. Second, PPM aims to expand on previous studies by presenting subjective preference toward different components of parenting and how they may relate to different outcomes. Third, the model incorporates the potential interaction between personal (parenting preferences) and organizational factors (compensating differentials) as working parents negotiate the competing demands of labor force participation and family in making work-family decisions (Bear, 2019a). The current study was exploratory in further testing a measure of parenting preference and tested the potential interaction with compensating differentials.

Workers decisions are not just based on the availability (or unavailability) of amenities, such as job flexibility. Since amenities incur a cost for workers, they will consider how much of a cost they are willing to forfeit for the amenity (Goldin & Katz, 2016). The cost, in this case may be the time they give up spending to care for children. The interpretation of this cost would vary depending on where the worker falls on the parenting preference quadrant. Those high in direct parenting will likely consider temporal inflexibility to be a significant disamenity compared to someone low in direct parenting or high in indirect parenting, which would impact their workforce participation. Both the direct and indirect components of parenting preference

mirror and encompass what is expected as part of concerted cultivation and intensive mothering. In this way, constructs from qualitative studies maps onto the PPM in keeping with the aim of the current study to incorporate emergent themes from qualitative studies on mothers' obstacles with labor force participation. This was relevant to the current study because it was not enough to only consider the work context since we were looking at the work-family interface. The PPM accounts for the different desire and orientation toward parenting and the micro-factors of the compensating differentials framework account for the aspects of work that conflict with or support work and family balance.

Key Variables (see Figure 3)

Hypotheses

Bear's (2019a) Parenting Preference Model was tested to explore whether conflict and/or enrichment (for both work-to-family and family-to-work directions) in the work-family interface relates to individual differences in parenting preference. In addition, the moderating role of organizational factors, namely compensating differentials were examined.

Conflict

It was predicted that mothers with a stronger preference towards face-to-face parenting (direct parenting) would experience more work-to-family conflict (where work interferes with family) because time spent at work impedes on their time to directly parent their children. In contrast, mothers who have a stronger preference towards indirect parenting would experience more conflict where family interferes with work, given their desire to work to secure resources for their children. Organizational factors, such as scheduling flexibility and substitutability (i.e., compensating differentials) would likely moderate the impact of direct parenting on work-family conflict. It was predicted that mothers who prefer direct parenting would report less work-family

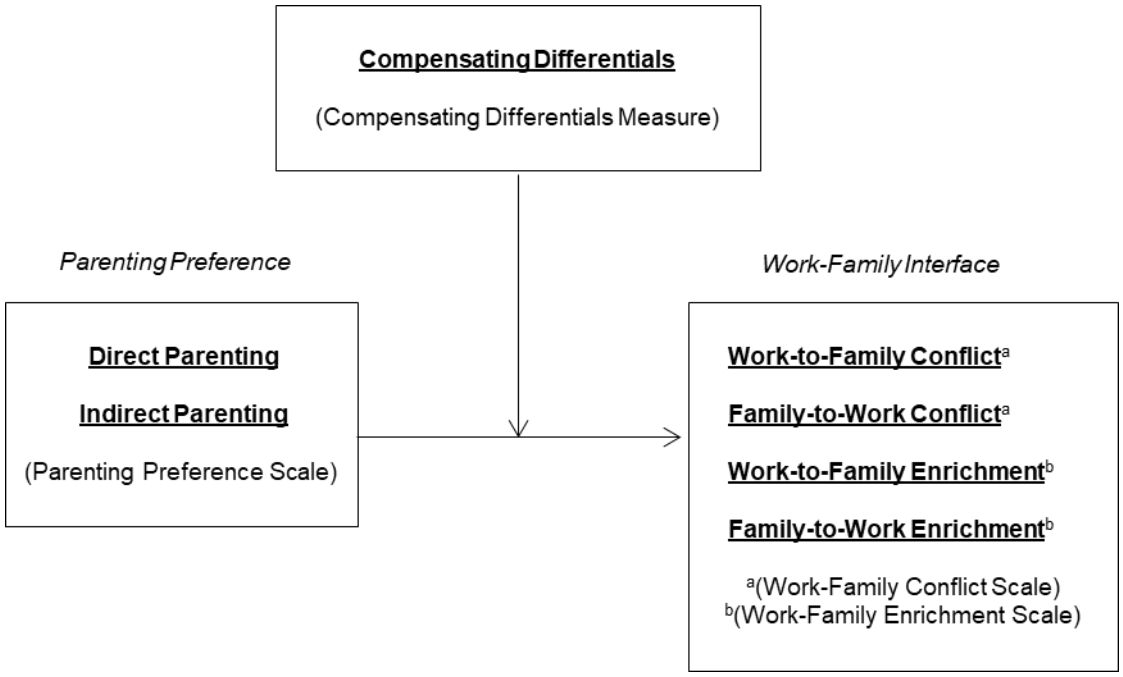

Figure 3. Key Variables and Measures

conflict if they have more flexibility to balance both endeavors, compared to a similar mother where the job is inflexible, making it more difficult to accommodate paid work and direct parenting.

Hypothesis 1a: Scores on the work-family conflict scale will be positively correlated with scores on the direct parenting scale.

Hypothesis 1b: Scores on the family-work conflict scale will be positively correlated with scores on the indirect parenting scale.

Hypothesis 2: The positive association between work-family conflict and direct parenting will be moderated by compensating differentials (see Figure 4).

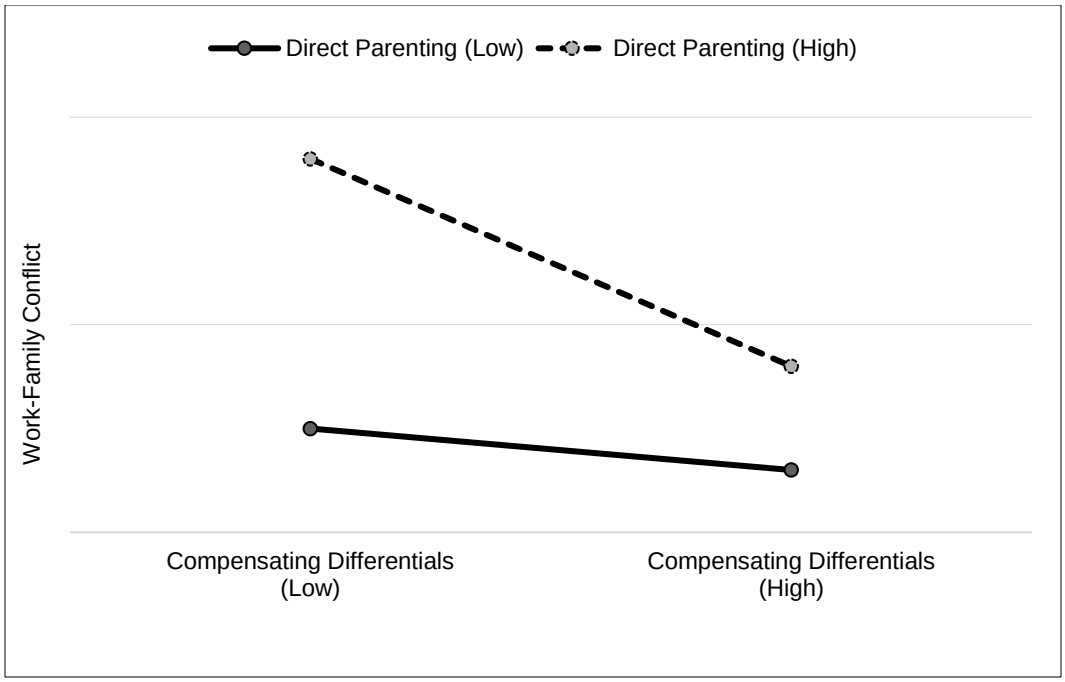

Figure 4. Compensating Differentials x Direct Parenting[5]

Enrichment

If mothers with preference for direct parenting would experience more work-family conflict, it was predicted that those mothers would experience less work-family enrichment (i.e., work does not enrich their family). In relation, it was predicted that mothers with preference for indirect parenting would experience more work-family enrichment, given that they have a preference to devote their parenting energies to securing resources, which relates to paid work. In addition, it was predicted that direct parenting mothers would experience more family-to-work enrichment compared to indirect parenting mothers who would experience less family-to-work enrichment.

Hypothesis 3a: Scores on the work-family enrichment scale will be negatively correlated with scores on the direct parenting scale.

[5] All independent variables in the moderation analysis will be continuous data; scores will not be categorized into 'high' and 'low' groups.

Hypothesis 3b: Scores on the work-family enrichment scale and will be positively correlated with scores on the indirect parenting scale.

Hypothesis 4a: Scores on the family-work enrichment scale will be positively correlated with scores on the direct parenting scale.

Hypothesis 4b: Scores on the family-work enrichment scale will be negatively correlated with scores on the indirect parenting scale.

Chapter 3: Method

The UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program (OHRPP) approved the study as exempt from Institutional Review Board (IRB) review on January 16, 2020 (Protocol ID# 19-002226). Principal Investigator Annual Assurances were completed December 21, 2020.

The study is based on quantitative data from a between-subjects, correlational approach using an online survey consisting of demographic questions, as well as measures for parenting preference, compensating differentials, and work-family conflict and enrichment. Data collection and recruitment took place on Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online marketplace where people are paid to complete simple tasks, such as online surveys. The sample consisted of working mothers of young children who were registered on MTurk prior to recruitment.

Participants

Participants (M_{age} = 35.87, SD_{age} = 6.44, age range: 24-57 years) were recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) through a post describing the task, expected time to completion and amount of payment. The recruitment posting was only viewable to participants who were residing in the United States, had a minimum Human Intelligence Task (HIT) acceptance level of 98% and had more than 500 HITs approved. [6] Workers with at least a 95% HIT acceptance submit higher quality data compared to those with an acceptance rate below 95% (Peer, Vosgerau, & Acquisti, 2014). Workers were eligible to take the survey if they were (1) mothers of minor children (viz., oldest child is no older than 14 years), (2) working for pay outside the home for 35 hours or more, (3) married and (4) residing in the United States.

[6] HIT refers to any task that is available for participants to complete for payment on MTurk. Approval and acceptance rates are determined by the requestors who have offered tasks and can reject submitted work if they consider it to be subpar (Caslet et al., 2013).

Eligibility was determined by a 4-item screener with multiple responses to hide the sample selection criteria.

Sample Criteria

Age of Oldest Child

The sample restriction for the age of participants' oldest child was informed by studies that used the age of the youngest child living in the house as a proxy to measure parental demands (see Bedeian et al., 1988; Frone et al., 1992). The levels of parental demands ranged from none (viz., no children) to high (viz., one or more children under 6 years). Studies grouped children 6-12 years old separately from children 13-18 years with the former representing higher parental demand (i.e., presence of younger children represents higher parental demand; see Frone et al., 1992, Milkie & Peltola, 1999). The delineation likely addresses the impact of the presence of older children who may take on childcare duties and who parents informally rely on as a method of childcare. Or the total number of children living at home (regardless of age) was used to assess parental demand (e.g., Carlson et al., 2010). Mack et al. (2012) analyzed data from the Second Injury Control and Risk Survey Phase 2 (ICARIS-P2) where U.S. parents were asked about the youngest age that a child could stay home alone. The average age that respondents felt was appropriate for a child to be home alone was 13 years. However, the average age was different as a function of income, education and race. Respondents of lower income and education levels reported higher mean ages with 13.9 (range = 13.5-14.3 years) and 13.7 (range = 13.2-14.1 years) years, respectively. The mean age for when children can be left home without an adult was higher for Hispanic (13.5 years old, range = 13.1-13.8) and African American (13.7 years old, range = 13.4-14.0) respondents compared to White (12.8 years old, range 12.7-12.9) and Other (12.6 years old, 12.1-13.1) respondents. Also, the survey did not specify the context of

leaving a child home alone (e.g., time span and regularity). The question referenced a "typical child", so the respondents' answers may not have aligned with their actual behavior of whether they leave their own children unsupervised at the ages they suggested. Furthermore, mothers reported most parenting related distress when their children were middle school aged because children at that developmental stage are grappling with physical and hormonal changes, as well as efforts to exercise independence, including risk-taking behaviors (Luthar & Ciciolla, 2016). Thus, the current study included up to age 14 years old (viz., oldest child is 14 years or younger) to ensure coverage of middle school ages, as well as to account for different ages reported across income and education levels, and race.

Married and Working At Least 35 hours Per Week

The sample restriction to married mothers was informed by studies using representative national samples to study the role of marital status for working mothers. Barth, Kerr and Olivetti (2019) analyzed decennial U.S. census data and Longitudinal Employer Household Dynamics (LEHD) data and found that trajectory of earnings was similar across married men, non-married men and non-married women. In relation, the lower growth of earnings for married women accounted for the disparity in earnings between men and women. In addition, differences between married men and women is most pronounced for those who are college educated (Barth et al, 2019; Goldin et al., 2017) and it was observed that the timing of married women's loss in earnings growth was simultaneous with parenthood. It was concluded that family responsibilities keep women out of the full spectrum of career choices, limiting them to constrained choices. Married women with young children experience the most loss in trajectory of earnings growth (Barth et al. 2019; Budig, 2014; Goldin et al., 2017). Lastly, women who had worked full time (and then transitioned to part-time after becoming mothers) reported that part-time work still has

the demands of part-time work (Stone, 2007). Therefore, the sample restriction included working at least 35 hours or more (per week) to ensure coverage to women who qualitatively are close to the experience of working full time. As the disparity in career trajectory (viz., in terms of earnings) resulting from limiting work is most pronounced for married mothers, the current exploratory study assessed that a sample of married mothers working at least 35 hours per week would be the most appropriate sample at this stage for testing factors potentially associated with work-family balance.

Sample Size Estimate

Sample size was estimated with G*Power (Faul et al., 2009). There were no reported correlations in the literature between the independent variable measures (viz., parenting preference, compensating differentials) and dependent measures (work-family conflict, work-family enrichment). The effect size used to estimate sample size was f^2=.15 following Cohen's (1992) standards for medium effect size for multiple/partial correlation tests. The sample size estimate with power=.80 and error=.05 was 166 participants (df=23/142). The study exceeded estimated sample size with 242 participants.

Sampling

A total of 2,804 people were screened (viz., answered at least one screener question). Of those, 2,490 people were eliminated for not meeting eligibility criteria. People were excluded at the screening stage for the following reasons: not a mother (1183 people), age of oldest child was 15 years or older (721 people), working less than 35 hours a week (464 people), non-married (130 people), and early exit from screener (11 people). This left 295 eligible participants (10.52% eligibility). Of those, 12 people declined to participate, leaving 283 participants that attempted the survey (95.93% participation). Participants were eliminated for (1) failing the

attention filter item (viz., 3 participants; 98.94% pass rate), (2) failing to complete the survey (i.e., early exit; 14 participants, 4.95% attrition), or (3) for missing data on key variables (24 participants; 8.48% participants had missing data). All participants passed the bot filter, apart from those who exited the survey before reaching the bot filter item. With 41 participants eliminated, the total number left for analysis was 242 participants.

Measures

Independent Variables

The (1) direct parenting, (2) indirect parenting and (3) compensating differentials were the independent variables of the study.

Parenting Preference Scale: Direct and Indirect. The *Parenting Preference Scale* (PPS; Bear, 2019b) was used to measure participants' levels of desire for each type of care: direct and indirect. The PPS is a "preliminary measure" (Bear, 2019b) composed of eight items scored on a scale from 1 to 7 (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*; viz., there are four items for each of the two subscales). Higher scores on the measure represent higher levels of direct and indirect parenting preference. The PPS is a new measure that was tested across three studies. Items were generated by asking participants to respond to open-ended questions relating to caregivers exhibiting parenting preference and how it manifests in caregivers' behaviors, feelings and thoughts. Items were tested on Amazon MTurk across two studies. The items in Study 2 were specific to caring for one's children and respondents were limited to parents. Bear (2019b) used proxy variables from the General Social Survey and further tested for external validity of the caregiving ambition construct using a representative sample and to control for social desirability effects. The PPS was found to have acceptable levels of reliability (viz., direct parenting subscale = .85, indirect parenting subscale = .81) and factor structure for the subscales,

and results from the first two studies were supported by findings assessed using secondary data (viz., General Social Survey).

Compensating Differentials. In keeping with Goldin's (2014) measure of CDF's micro-foundations (viz., job linearity, substitutability, temporal flexibility) the current study used an assessment of job characteristics from the *Occupational Information Network* (O*Net). O*Net provides occupational information for job seekers, researchers and human resource administrators (O*Net, 2019). O*Net is managed under the U.S. Department of Labor – Employment Training Administration, which administer surveys to employees in the workforce to collect occupational information, such as worker characteristics, worker/experience/occupational requirements, workforce characteristics, and occupation specific characteristics. The study used six items that were chosen as most applicable to assessing compensating differentials micro-foundations (Goldin, 2014; see Appendix A) and are referred to as the *Compensating Differentials Measure* (CDM). Goldin analyzed the data associated with the six chosen items to evaluate the differences in compensating differentials between occupations. The current study measured compensating differentials using the same items. The CDM's first item assesses the time pressure to which an employee must be working at specified times and the item is scored on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = *never*, 3 = *once a month or more but not every week*, 5 = *every day*). Higher scores indicate more pressure for employees to work specified times (i.e., low job flexibility in relation to schedule). The second item assesses the amount of interpersonal contact that the job requires, and the item is scored on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = *no contact with others,* 3 = *contact with others about half the time,* 5 = *constant contact with others*). The more interpersonal contact that the job requires, the less flexibility there is (e.g., remote work is not an option). The third and fourth items assess the professional

relationships (e.g., clients) required of the employee. The third item considers the magnitude of having professional relationships and is scored on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = *not important*, 5 = *extremely important*). The fourth item considers the level of professional relationships and is scored on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 = *exchange greetings with a coworker*, 3 = *maintaining good relationships with almost all coworkers and clients*, 7 = *gain cooperation from a culturally diverse group of clients hostile to your agency*[7]). Higher scores would indicate more professional relationships which demands more direct contact and presence from employees and less flexibility (e.g., need to accommodate and adjust to clients' needs). The fifth and sixth items assess the extent of substitutability across employees in the same job. Both items are scored on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = *no freedom*, 5 = *a lot of freedom*) with higher scores representing low levels of substitutability (i.e., more difficult to hand off one's work without impacting business continuity). The fifth item considers whether the structure of the job is highly specific to each individual. A highly structured job has lower likelihood of employees being able to substitute for one another (Goldin, 2014). The sixth item considers the employee's ability to independently make decisions in the context of their work. The more freedom an employee can exercise to make decisions, employees are less able to substitute for each other (Goldin, 2014). All items, except for the fifth item are reverse scored; scores were summed to get a composite score (per respondent) with higher scores indicating higher levels of compensating differentials (i.e., more linearity, substitutability, job flexibility).

Dependent Variables

There were four dependent variables: (1) work-to-family conflict, (2) family-to-work conflict, (3) work-to-family enrichment, and (4) family-to-work enrichment.

[7] The original wording for this response choice was "gain cooperation from a culturally diverse group of *executives* hostile to your *company*". Word in italics were modified for the proposed study.

Work-Family Interface: Conflict and Enrichment. The conflict and enrichment results of the work-family interface are conceptualized as cross-domain effects, meaning that what one experiences in their work setting impacts family life and vice versa (i.e., results stem from bidirectional influence between domains; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; McMillan, Morris, & Atchley, 2011).

Conflict. Conflict occurs when the work and family domains are mutually incompatible (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; McMillan et al., 2011). The conflict dimension of the work-family interface was measured using the *Work-Family Conflict Scale* (WFCS; Carlson et al., 2000; see Appendix B). The WFCS improved upon previous measures that (1) only measured work-family conflict in one direction (e.g., how work affects family, but not how family affects work) and (2) did not account for different types of conflict. The literature establishes three types of conflict: time-, strain-, and behavior-based (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). *Time-based* conflict addresses the bounded nature of time where time spent in one domain leaves less time for other domains. *Strain-based* conflict addresses how pressures (e.g., stress, emotional drain) in one domain impacts participation in other domains. *Behavior-based* conflict addresses how effective behaviors in one domain may be incompatible in other domains (e.g., time-pressure driven work behaviors, such as working on the floor of the stock exchange would be incompatible with family life). The WFCS is an 18-item measure answered on a scale 1 to 5 (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores on the work interference with family items would indicate that work interferes with family more than family interfering with work; the opposite circumstance is indicated by higher scores on the family interference with work items.

The WFCS accounts for the bidirectionality of conflict in the work-family interface, such as family responsibilities impacting work (nine items; e.g., “I have to miss family activities due

to the amount of time I must spend on work responsibilities") or work responsibilities impacting family (nine items; e.g., "Behavior that is effective and necessary for me at home would be counterproductive at work"). The WFCS also has separate items under each direction addressing different types of work-family conflict: time-, strain-, and behavior-based pressures (viz., six items for each type of conflict; three items per directional subscale). This construction of conflict within the work-family interface yields six dimensions (see Figure 5).

In the original study validating the WFCS, the internal consistency across the six dimensions ranged from α=.78-.87 (Carlson et al., 2000). In a subsequent study by the measure's lead author, the work-to-family subscale was α=.91 and the family-to-work subscale was α=.92 demonstrating excellent internal consistency (Carlson et al., 2009). Matthews, Barnes-Farrell and Bulger (2010) reported good internal consistency for both subscales (α=.88 for both). The WFCS is the most comprehensive measure for work-family conflict with well validated psychometric properties (Matthews, Kath, & Barnes-Farrell, 2010; McMillan et al, 2011).

Enrichment. Much of the previous literature on work-family interface has focused on conflict, but lately researchers are turning to positive aspects of the work-family interface (Carlson et al., 2006; Kacmar et al., 2014) where paid work has positive impact in the worker's family domain and/or family has positive impact in the work domain (Greenhaus & Powell, 2017). Greenhaus and Powell (2017) describe enrichment as work and family being allies rather than enemies. The enrichment dimension of the work-family interface was measured using the *Work-Family Enrichment Scale Short Form* (WFES; Kacmar, et al., 2014; see Appendix C).

The WFES was developed as a response to existing measures falling short in one of two ways. For one, there was a disconnect between the construct of enrichment and the operationalization of enrichment in other measures where enrichment is discussed as a

Directions of Work-Family Conflict

	Work-->Family	*Family-->Work*
Time	Time-based work interference with family	Time-based family interference with work
Strain	Strain-based work interference with family	Strain-based family interference with work
Behavioral	Behavioral-based work interference with family	Behavioral-based family interference with work

Figure 5. Six Dimensions of the Work-Family Conflict Scale

multidimensional construct, yet existing measures operationalize it in a one-dimensional way (Carlson et al., 2006). In addition, the WFES accounts for the need to assess enhanced functioning in the domain other than where the benefits were accrued, which was lacking in previously developed measures; this component is key in differentiating enrichment from other positive work-family constructs, such as positive spillover (Carlson et al., 2006). Lastly, the WFES accounts for the bidirectionality that is an integral characteristic of the work-family interface. The WFES short form consists of six items (e.g., "My involvement in work helps me to understand different viewpoints and this helps me be a better family member" and "My involvement in my family encourages me to use my work time in a focused manner and this helps me be a better worker") scored on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate higher levels of enrichment present in either the work or family context. The WFES accounts for different types of enrichment. For work-to-family, the scale assesses respondent (1) *development* (e.g., knowledge and skills gained at work helps one improve as a family member), (2) *affect* (e.g., positive feelings stemming from work helps one improve as a family member), and (3) *capital* (e.g., personal fulfillment through work help one's function as a family member). For family-to-work, the scale assesses confidence and affect as it

Directions of Work-Family Enrichment

Work-->Family	*Family-->Work*
Development-based work enrichment of family	Development-based family enrichment of work
Affect-based work enrichment of family	Affect-based family enrichment of work
Capital-based work enrichment of family	Efficiency-based enrichment

Figure 6. Six Dimensions of the Work-Family Enrichment Scale

is conceptualized in the work-to-family direction. In addition, the family-to-work includes *efficiency*, where family creates exigency and motivation that leads to better performance at work. This yields a six-dimension construction of work-family enrichment (see Figure 6). Work-family enrichment is thought to happen through both affective and instrumental tracks (Greenhaus & Powell, 2017) and the WFES dimensions account for this. The internal consistency for the WFES short form is .87 (work-to-family) and .83 (family-to-work; Kacmar et al., 2014).

Items to assess participant demographics and childcare options were also included in the survey. Items were revised for the CDM and WFCS after seeking feedback on the survey from parents through an informal pilot study.

Research Design

Amazon MTurk

The study collected individual level data using Amazon MTurk, an online crowdsourcing platform. The name for Amazon's platform originates from an 18th century hoax with a chess-playing automaton named "The Turk." The automaton was challenged to chess matches with live players and won dozens of times. However, the automaton was later revealed to be controlled by a chess master (Morton, 2015). MTurk hinges on the idea that humans still surpass artificial intelligence on certain simple tasks, which creates a need for a marketplace, such as MTurk

(“About Amazon Mechanical Turk”, n.d.). In 2005, MTurk began as an internal marketplace to outsource tasks that can easily be done online (Chambers et al., 2016). It was meant to address the gap still left by a deficit in technology where human skills are superior over artificial intelligence in completing a range of tasks (e.g., transcribing audio to text; Ipeirotis, 2010; Mason & Suri, 2012). It affords businesses and organizations efficiency and cost-effectiveness by using the MTurk platform with online workers compared to the traditional method of hiring an in-person, temporary, short-term workforce (“About Amazon Mechanical Turk”, n.d.). Tasks are posted with a short description of the person or company/organization posting the task, as well as details of what the task entails, how long it will take and how much it will pay to those who complete the task. People who are registered on the MTurk platform can view and access these tasks. In time, social scientists have made use of the platform to conduct research, such as surveys or online experiments, especially as previous methods (e.g., telephone interviewing) have become less used because of new challenges stemming from changes in technological development (e.g., cell phone numbers are not indicative of residential location as would be with landlines [creating sampling issues] and use of residential landlines have decreased). The first peer-reviewed article reporting on data collected using MTurk was published in 2010 (see Eriksson & Simpson, 2010; Rouse, 2015).

MTurk Key Terms. The MTurk platform uses its own specialized terms to refer to what would include researchers and study participants using the program. People who post tasks (e.g., researcher posting an online survey or employer) are called “requestors” and respondents completing online tasks are called “workers” (i.e., employee; Buhrmester et al., 2011). The tasks themselves are called “human intelligence tasks” or shortened to “HITs” (Casler et al., 2013).

For the current study, the terms ‘researcher’, ‘participant’ and ‘survey’ correspond to the MTurk terms of ‘requester’, ‘worker’ and ‘HIT’, respectively.

Basic Features of MTurk. Researchers can develop and test their surveys on MTurk using the “developer sandbox” (“Developer Sandbox”, n.d.; Mason & Suri, 2012) before officially posting them for participants to view and participate. The developer sandbox is a matched simulation of the “production website” where surveys are published to “go live” (“Developer Sandbox”, n.d.). Researchers can see what the survey would look like as a respondent taking the survey. Once a survey is created, tested and finalized in the developer sandbox, it is easily transferred to the production website (Mason & Suri, 2012). Mturk can also be used in conjunction with external survey programs (e.g., Survey Monkey, Qualtrics) where participants access a link to the survey through the MTurk website. Participants can be assigned a unique identification number through MTurk that they must input on the Qualtrics site prior to starting the survey (Beymer et al., 2018). The current study used Qualtrics in conjunction with MTurk. With the use of Qualtrics, data is not stored on Amazon’s server where others may have access, which increases security of the data (Mason & Suri, 2012). Qualtrics has started out as a research tool and has developed security measures to support their main consumers (i.e., researchers), whereas over time consumers have used MTurk in spontaneous ways. Researchers also have more flexibility in formatting the survey (e.g., single page versus multipage format) when using MTurk with an external survey program (Mason & Suri). In addition, researchers can preview what the survey would look like on mobile devices (viz., cellular phone), which is a popular way to complete surveys. In short, Qualtrics was used to collect and store data, and MTurk was used for recruitment of participants.

Participants are required to provide an e-mail address and a mailing address to open an account on MTurk and a payment account where compensation is received. Participants are compensated for completing surveys and the amount of compensation is set by researchers at the outset (Buhrmester et al., 2011). Amazon charges participants a 10% commission on earnings (Buhrmester et al., 2011) and a 20-40% fee charged to requestors for each payment made to participants ("Amazon Mechanical Turk Pricing", n.d.). A study by Chilton et al. (2010) assessed acceptance of tasks and found that participants base accepted pay was $1.38 (Ipeirotis, 2010) or $1.40 per hour (Horton & Chilton, 2010), while the average pay was $4.80 per hour (Iperirotis, 2010). Or it has also been reported that participants earn five to ten cents for tasks estimated to be completed in five to ten minutes (Buhrmester et al., 2011).

Researchers can elect to have compensation automated at completion of the survey or to pay workers manually. Some researchers exercise the latter option to refuse payment for low-quality work (Buhrmester et al., 2011), which is more relevant for the types of tasks that MTurk was originally designed for (i.e., human intelligence tasks not intended as academic research; e.g., accuracy of a transcription from audio to text is more concretely assessed by counting mistakes). Researchers could choose to use this option to refuse payment to participants who fail attention filter items or experimental manipulation checks. MTurk workers are inclined to avoid payment refusals to maximize future opportunities to participate in HITs. MTurk workers who consistently submit low-quality work and are refused payment would get high refusal rates, which can affect their ability to participate in future HITs (Buhrmester et al., 2011). Researchers can screen out workers with high refusal rates at the outset (Buhrmester et al., 2011). MTurk does not have an analogous process in place to monitor the reputation of requestors. However, there is an unofficial checks and balances where participants discuss and rate researchers on

external MTurk community forums (e.g., Turker Nation, Turkopticon; Mason & Suri, 2012). Researchers who have a high refusal rates (e.g., in the worst case where researchers exploit workers) may not recruit as many participants as previous and potential participants avoid their HITs (i.e., researcher has a bad requestor reputation among workers; Mason & Suri, 2012; Paolacci et al., 2010). Participants can also report exploitative researchers to Amazon, who ban researchers after multiple offenses (Mason & Suri, 2012).

Critiques About MTurk. Data collection through MTurk has some potential drawbacks, as do all other practical forms of data collection. The main critiques about the use of MTurk are the quality and fit of the data collected. The quality of the data is questioned given that data collection takes place with much less oversight and with relatively lower rates of pay (Paolacci, et al., 2010). Critique regarding the fit of the data hinges on whether the MTurk sample is representative of the population of interest.

Quality of Data. The initial tests of MTurk data quality started with contrasting MTurk data with non-MTurk data (i.e., more traditional methods of data collection). Paolacci et al. (2010) are authors of the earliest peer-reviewed article that compared MTurk data to data collected by other means (Rouse, 2015). In a comparative study of respondents—across MTurk, a university participant pool, and online recruitment from discussion forums—respondents on MTurk were more likely to finish surveys (91.6%) compared to survey respondents that were recruited from online forums (66.7%). In relation, non-response error was lower for MTurk respondents compared to university participant pool respondents. The university participant pool had the highest rates of survey completion; however, there is a tradeoff of low representativeness when using university student samples. The high completion rate for university students may be due to the direct interaction and surveillance that occurs for in-person data collection in lab

settings. The lack of such direct oversight in online data collection could be a concern for data quality. However, Paolacci et al. (2010) found no significant differences between groups for attention paid during the survey, as assessed by the pass/fail of attention filter items. In addition, MTurk participants had the highest rates of passing attention filter items (Beymer et al., 2018; Hauser & Schwarz, 2016; Paolacci et al., 2010).

A study by Casler et al. (2013) compared data between (1) MTurk participants, (2) social media recruited participants (e.g., Facebook, Reddit) and (3) college students recruited on campus. The college students' participation was in a lab and in-person, while the MTurk and social media recruits participated online. Results indicated that there were no differences across experimental conditions and recruitment method, and findings were interpreted as MTurk data collection yielding high quality data (Casler et al., 2013).

Critique about the quality of MTurk data is more associated with non-U.S. participants where data collected with non-U.S. samples were of lower quality, and a potential for fraudulent accounts was a concern (Sheehan, 2018; Smith et al., 2016). The current study required participants to be U.S. residents, decreasing concerns about quality of data collected using MTurk. The low-quality data of non-U.S. participants may also be due to low English language proficiency (Goodman & Paolacci, 2017). In addition, while there may be concerns about MTurk data collection, there are empirically identified methods to increase data quality. For example, a study by Hunt and Scheetz (2018) found that the use of screeners increased data quality where failure of manipulation check items was decreased, and viable data was significantly increased. Informing participants that their attention level will be assessed also helps attention item pass rates (Paas et al., 2018). An increase in reliable responses was found to be associated with including an item asking respondents to self-assess or confirm their attentiveness and honesty in

completing the HIT (Rouse, 2015). The use of attention and manipulation check items also increase quality of the responses (Mason & Suri, 2012; Sheehan, 2018). In addition, researchers can use other common methods, such as tracking the time it takes for respondents to complete surveys or to look for response sets. Furthermore, MTurk has built in safeguards that give some guarantee of data quality, whereas traditional forms of online data collection do not. Workers have two forms of incentives to provide good data. They are motivated by short-term reward of receiving pay for the HIT, and long-term incentive to garner a good worker reputation (Goodman & Paolacci, 2017). There is not much evidence to confirm that MTurk data are by and large low quality (Thomas & Clifford, 2017).

Quality of MTurk data has also been assessed by comparisons within MTurk collected data for reliability of responses to measures and self-reported data, such as demographic information, as well as special considerations when using MTurk data. For example, since lower compensation is a hallmark of MTurk it is important to explore the potential impact of differential compensation. Buhrmester et al. (2011) conducted a 3 (compensation level: 2, 10, 50 cents) x 3 (survey time: 5, 10, 30 minutes) between-subjects study to assess how often participants respond to the HIT as a function of different compensation levels and completion times (i.e., time it takes to complete the HIT). This study is the most influential and most cited study to contend the merit of using MTurk for research (Rouse, 2015). Buhrmester et al. (2011) found that while rates of participation decreased according to compensation levels and survey time (i.e., lower rates of participation for longer surveys and lower compensation levels), the results did not show any difference in data quality. Specifically, reliability for the outcome measures (viz., six personality measures) were compared across compensation levels and there were no significant differences between the three groups. Participants also completed the same

outcome measures three weeks after the initial completion and the data demonstrated high test-retest reliability (viz., range=.80-.94, mean *r*=.88; Buhrmester et al., 2011). Ability to recruit participants for the lowest paid conditions demonstrated that participants have motivations other than compensation in completing MTurk tasks (Buhrmester et al., 2011). Buhrmester et al. (2011) surveyed MTurk workers about their motivations for participating in HITs. Workers most-often reported that they "enjoy doing interesting tasks" followed by motivations "to kill time" and "to have fun". Reports of participating in HITS "to make money" were below the response scale mean.

Representativeness of MTurk Workers. Amazon has not publicly shared any information about the demographics of their MTurk workers (Sheehan, 2018). Perhaps because it is difficult to estimate given that workers go through periods of being active and inactive (Sheehan, 2018). Even so, there are consistencies found on age, gender, education, and income in the MTurk worker pool that have been reported by researchers. It is estimated that there are 500,000 registered users (Chandler & Shapiro, 2016; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014) with the majority in the U.S. (viz., 80%; Sheehan, 2018; Casler et al., 2013; Hitlin; 2016; Ross, Irani, Silberman, Zaldivar, & Tomlinson, 2010). It is estimated that there are 15,000 active U.S.-based workers at any one time (Stewart et al., 2015) and there are workers represented in all 50 U.S. states (Buhrmester et al., 2011). It has been estimated that researchers sample from a population of 7,300 workers (Stewart et al., 2015). The MTurk workers are representative of U.S. internet users (Ross et al., 2010) and more representative of the larger population (Mortensen & Hughes, 2018) and more diverse when compared to a standard internet sample (Buhrmester et al., 2011). MTurk workers are predominantly female (Buhrmester et al., 2011; Casler et al., 2013; Gosling et al., 2004; Paolacci et al., 2010) and more educated when compared to the larger population

(Paolacci et al., 2010; Sheehan, 2018). At the same time, MTurk workers report lower incomes, but the distribution of income is similar to the larger population (Paolacci et al., 2010). The average age of MTurk workers is reported to be 36 years (Casler et al., 2013; Paolacci et al., 2010), which is younger than the general U.S. population, but older than the average age of an online recruited sample compared by Buhrmester et al. (2011).

Taken together, MTurk yields data that meet or surpass psychometric benchmarks to indicate good quality data (Buhrmester et al., 2011; Rouse, 2015) along with specific advantages to utilizing MTurk. The cost-effectiveness and option to pre-screen respondents was a good fit for the current study because it was an exploratory study where a new model was tested. Anonymity was also thought to be helpful to mitigate social desirability when respondents were asked to answer questions about their desires toward parenting. Being aware of limitations and controversy of MTurk and building in precautionary items to address some of the concerns can result in high quality data. In addition, due to the wariness regarding MTurk collected data it has been studied and discussed at length in the literature. Those efforts have resulted in various resources, such as how-to-guides (see Hunt & Scheetz, 2018; Mason & Suri, 2012), a website dedicated to collecting data about MTurk itself (see Mechanical Turk Tracker v2.0 by Ipeirotis), tips/recommendations on MTurk options that can impact data quality (e.g., unpaid screeners versus paid screeners), and best practices (see Sheehan, 2018; Goodman & Paolacci, 2017). With a precautionary approach, using MTurk for data collection is not riskier for more significant concerns with data quality (Casler et al., 2013).

Procedure

The HIT was described as a screener to determine eligibility for a larger survey that would ask questions about work-family balance. The survey was pilot tested on MTurk to ensure

accurate data recording in Qualtrics and to verify the payment process for participants. Initial results indicated faulty skip and exit patterns in the screener that allowed participation in the survey to who did not meet the sample criteria. The survey was estimated to take 12 minutes to complete (Qualtrics, n.d.) and participants were informed of the estimated time of completion and were given 60 minutes to complete the survey. The screener was composed of four questions: (1) are you a mother (1 = *yes*, 2 = *no*), (2) what is the age of your oldest child (1 = *infant to 5 years old*, 2 = *6-14 years old*, 3 = *15-17 years old*, 4 = *18 years or older*), (3) how many hours do you work for pay outside the home (per week; 1 = *0-20 hours*, 2 = *21-34 hours*, 3 = *35 hours or more*), (4) what is your marital status (1 = *married*, 2 = *unmarried*). All participants who completed the screener were assigned a qualification that became a part of their MTurk profile. Assigning qualifications to participants prevented them from completing the screener, and thus survey, more than once. The survey was only accessible by first completing the screener and meeting the eligibility criteria (as a function of answers to the screener). Qualtrics was programmed to generate a random number for each participant, which was only visible to participants at the end of the screener or survey. Participants entered the unique code to complete their participation in the survey. This step added extra protection to verify valid participants. All respondents who completed the screener were paid $.05. Participants who completed the survey were paid an additional $1.25. The maximum amount of compensation for any one participant was $1.30. MTurk collected fees of $.02 and $.25 (per payment) for the screener and survey payments, respectively (i.e., total cost to researcher per participant was $.07 for the screener and $1.50 for the survey). Participant compensation was determined by the reports of average pay per hour as $3.13-$3.48 (Hara et al., 2018) and $4.80 (Ipeirotis, 2010).

The total cost of participant compensation and MTurk fees was $634.78 and was funded in part by the Myer's Fund.

Data Analysis

Descriptive Statistics

Measures of central tendency and standard deviations are reported for respondents' demographics (e.g., age, income, number of children), as well as for the key study variables (viz., direct/indirect parenting, compensating differentials, conflict [work-to-family and family-to-work directions], and enrichment [work-to-family and family-to-work directions]). Frequency distributions are presented for other demographic data, such as education level, race/ethnicity, and childcare options.

Main Analyses

A correlation matrix of the independent variables was completed to determine the correlation between the variables of direct parenting, indirect parenting, and compensating differentials. Correlation coefficients and scatterplots of residual variance were generated for each independent variable (to dependent variable) to assess the linear relationship and assumptions of normality for regression analysis.

Dummy Coded Variables. The race/ethnicity variable was dummy coded with the White category designated as the reference group. The spouse employment variable was organized into three categories: working 40 or more hours per week, working less than 40 hours per week, and not working. The spouse employment variable was dummy coded with the 'working 40 or more hours per week' category as the reference group. Reference groups were chosen by following recommendations for the reference group to be what is considered a standard comparison, a well-

defined category and not having a relatively small sample size compared to other groups in the analyses (Hardy, 1993).

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to assess the impact of the independent variables of (1) direct parental preference and (2) indirect parental preference on the dependent variables of (a) work-to-family conflict, (b) family-to-work conflict, (c) work-to-family enrichment, and (d) family-to-work enrichment. The dependent variables were assessed separately. For all analyses, demographic variables and independent variables were added as control variables because aspects such as education level, number of children, parenting preference or compensating differentials were assumed to impact women's experience of work in terms of occupational opportunity, childcare demands and job flexibility, which in turn would impact experience of conflict and enrichment in the work-family interface.

Hypothesis 1a: Scores on the work-family conflict scale will be positively correlated with scores on the direct parenting scale.

Hypothesis 1b: Scores on the family-work conflict scale will be positively correlated with scores on the indirect parenting scale.

Hypothesis 3a: Scores on the work-family enrichment scale will be negatively correlated with scores on the direct parenting scale.

Hypothesis 3b: Scores on the work-family enrichment scale and will be positively correlated with scores on the indirect parenting scale.

Hypothesis 4a: Scores on the family-work enrichment scale will be positively correlated with scores on the direct parenting scale.

Hypothesis 4b: Scores on the family-work enrichment scale will be negatively correlated with scores on the indirect parenting scale.

To assess compensating differentials as a moderating variable, scores for direct parenting and compensating differentials were standardized—for easier interpretation—and multiplied to calculate *direct parenting x compensating differentials* interaction term. Hierarchical regression analysis was conducted.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between work-family conflict and direct parenting will be moderated by compensating differentials.

Quality Checks

Additional statistical information on the data are reported given the testing of a novel measure and model. Reliability measures are reported for key variables of the study using methods to assess for internal consistency.

Demographic information for the MTurk population as reported by the *MTurk Tracker*[8] website (Ipeirotis, n.d.) is presented. MTurk worker information on gender, marital status, household characteristics were isolated to the consecutive span of days that data collection took place.

[8] http://mturk-tracker.com

Chapter 4: Results

Data was analyzed using *IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) 26*.

Means and Standard Deviations

Independent variables	***M***	***SD***
Direct parenting	22.92	4.26
Indirect parenting	24.73	3.16
Compensating differentials	15.09	3.38
Dependent variables	***M***	***SD***
Work-family conflict scale	25.76	7.91
Family-work conflict scale	21.91	7.98
Work-family enrichment scale	11.23	11.23
Family-work enrichment scale	11.98	2.32

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Key Variables for Analysis Sample

Medians and Ranges

Independent variables	***Med***	***Range***
Direct parenting	24	19
Indirect parenting	25	16
Compensating differentials	15	18
Dependent variables	***Med***	***Range***
Work-family conflict scale	26	36
Family-work conflict scale	21	36
Work-family enrichment scale	12	12
Family-work enrichment scale	12	10

Table 2. Medians and Ranges of Key Variables for Analysis Sample

Demographics – MTurk Population

Data was collected over 33 consecutive days. Demographics for the Amazon MTurk worker population during the data collection period was obtained from the MTurk Tracker website (Ipeirotis, n.d.). See Figures 7-9 for the breakdown of gender (Figure 7), marital status

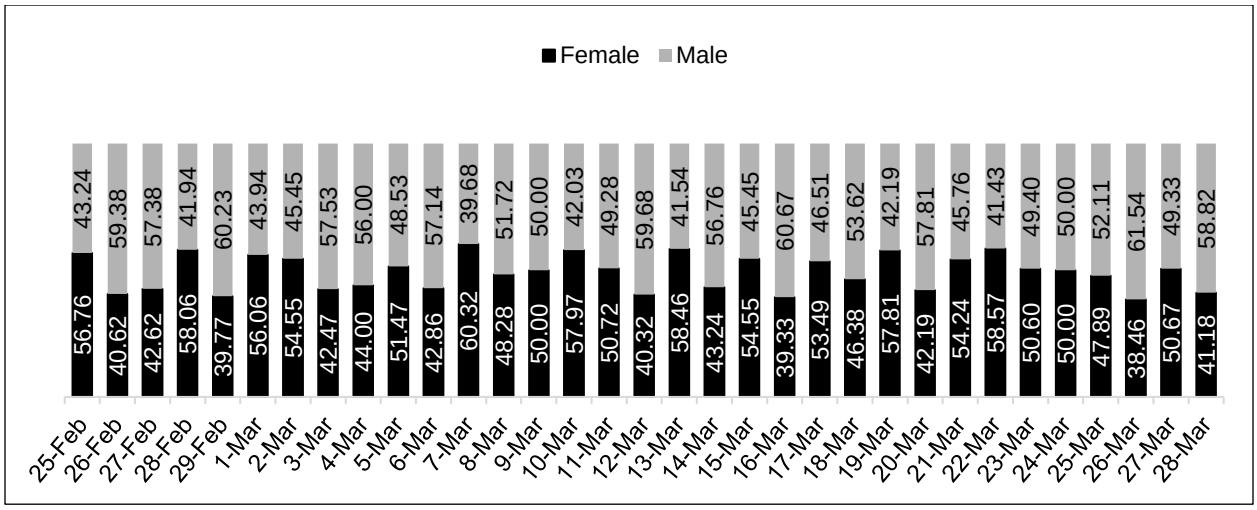

Figure 7. Gender of MTurk Population (United States)

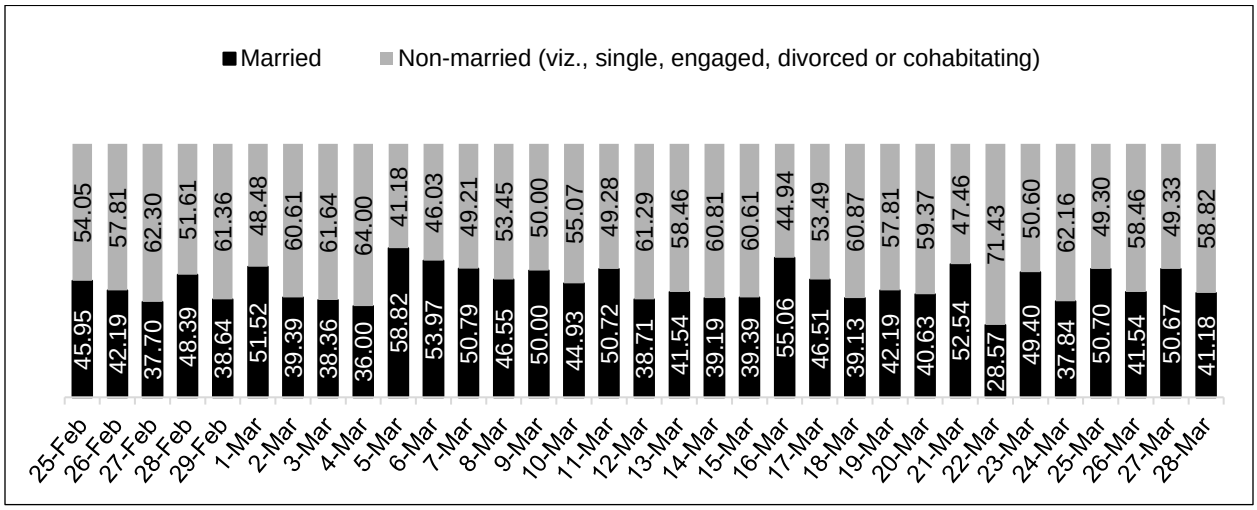

Figure 8. Marital Status of MTurk Population (United States)

(Figure 8), and household size (Figure 9) of the MTurk population that participants were sampled from.

Demographics – Full Sample

These demographics refer to eligible respondents that attempted the survey including those with missing data (i.e., before any participants were eliminated).

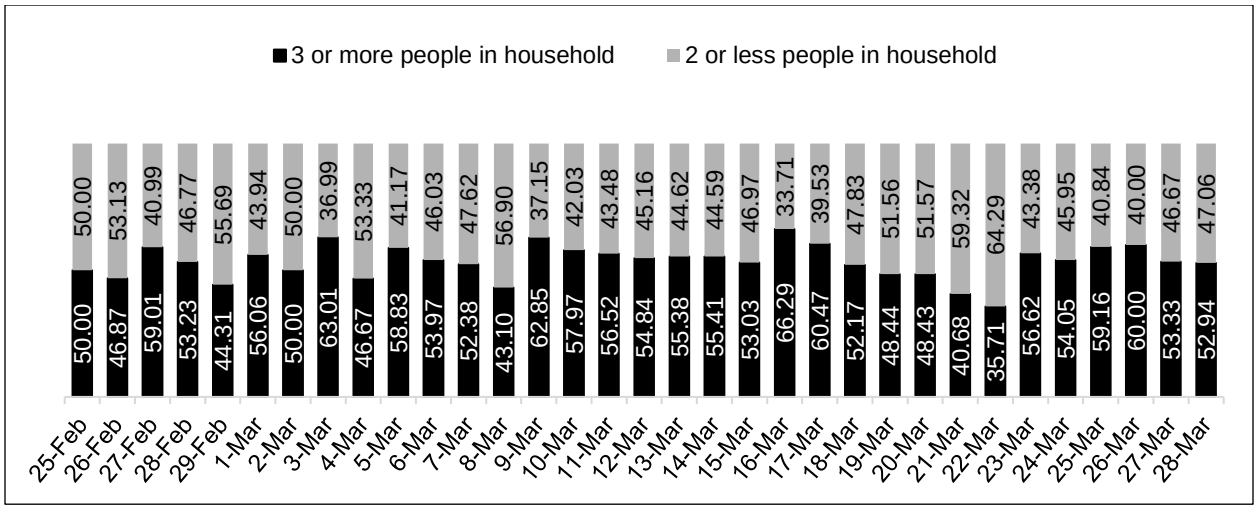

Figure 9. Number of People in Household of MTurk Population (United States)

Race/Ethnicity	**Frequency**	**%**
White	208	73.5
Black/African American	25	8.8
Asian	16	5.7
Multiracial/Other	23	8.5
Spanish/Hispanic/Latino	1	.4
Missing data	9	3.2
Total	283	100
Spanish, Hispanic or Latino	**Frequency**	**%**
Spanish	4	1.4
Hispanic	8	2.8
Latino	6	2.1
None of these	263	92.9
Missing data	2	.7
Total	283	100

Table 3. Race/Ethnicity and Spanish, Hispanic or Latino (Full Sample)

Highest level of school completed/highest degree received	Frequency	%
High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)	7	2.5
Some college, but no degree	31	11
Associate degree in college (2 year)	27	9.5
Bachelor's degree in college (4 year)	133	47
Master's degree	71	25.1
Doctoral degree	4	1.4
Professional degree (JD, MD)	7	2.5
Missing data	3	1.1
Total	283	100

Table 4. Highest Level of Education (Full Sample)

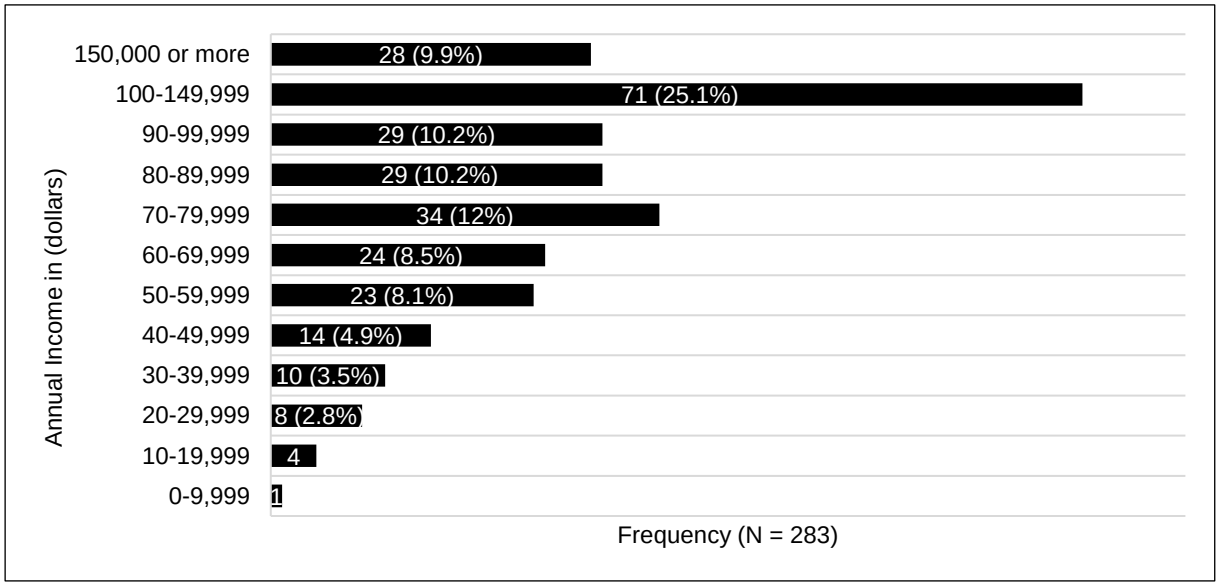

Figure 10. Annual Household Income (Full Sample)[9]

Income reported here includes any money income received (e.g., earnings from work, income from rent, investments, disability payments; see Figures 10 and 11)

[9] Missing data for 8 participants (2.8% of total responses); income categories of '10-19,999' and '0-9,999' accounted for 1.4% and .4% of the responses, respectively.

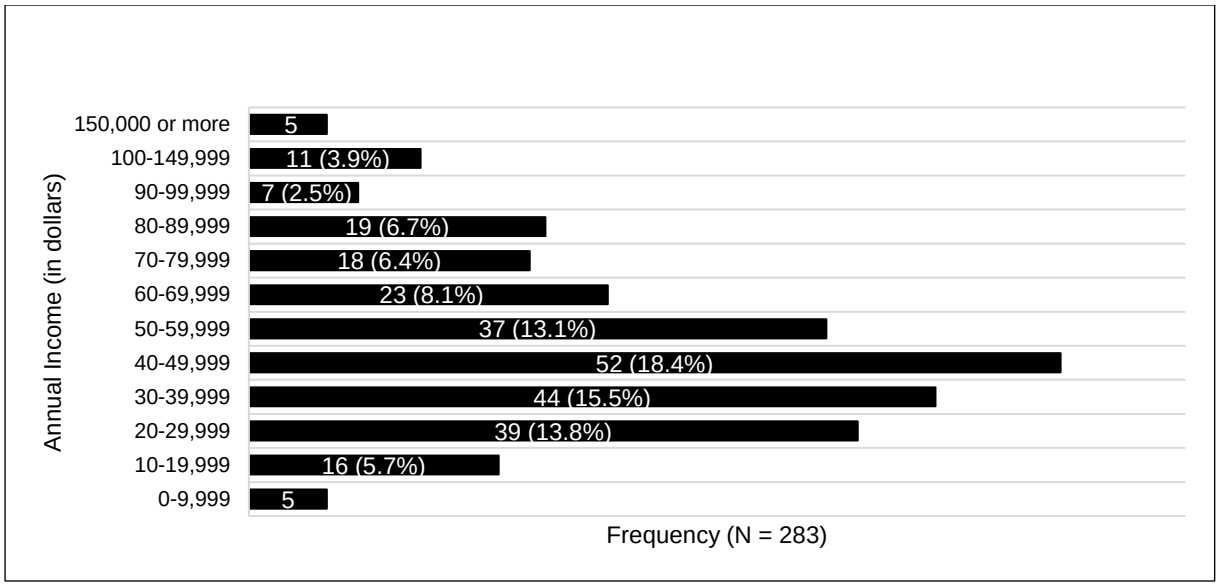

Figure 11. Annual Personal Income (Full Sample)[10]

Demographics – Analysis Sample

These demographics refer to eligible respondents that completed the survey and whose responses were included in the data analysis (i.e., final sample for data analysis).

Race/Ethnicity. Participants were categorized as: White (75.6%), Black/African American (9.1%), Asian (6.2%), and Multiracial/other (9.1%; see Table 5). Participants who chose more than one category (e.g., White and Latino) were considered multiracial. One respondent identified themselves as "Other". Together, they make up the 'multiracial/other' category. Participants' responses indicated that 1.7% were Spanish, 2.9% were Hispanic and 2.5% were Latino (see Table 5).

Education. Participants reported their highest level of education as follows: having a high school diploma or equivalent (2.1%), some college but no degree (11.6%), an associate

[10] Missing data for 7 participants (2.5% of total responses); income categories of '150,000 or more' and '0-9,999' each accounted for 1.8% of the responses.

Race/Ethnicity	Frequency	%
White	183	75.6
Black/African American	22	9.1
Asian	15	6.2
Multiracial/Other	22	9.1
Total	242	100
Spanish, Hispanic or Latino	**Frequency**	**%**
Spanish	4	1.65
Hispanic	7	2.9
Latino	6	2.48
None of these	225	93
Total	242	100

Table 5. Race/Ethnicity and Spanish, Hispanic or Latino

Highest level of school completed/highest degree received	Frequency	%
High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)	5	2.07
Some college, but no degree	28	11.57
Associate degree in college (2 year)	23	9.5
Bachelor's degree in college (4 year)	110	45.45
Master's degree	65	26.86
Doctoral degree	4	1.65
Professional degree (JD, MD)	7	2.89
Total	242	100

Table 6. Highest Level of Education

degree (9.5%), a bachelor's degree (45.5%), a master's degree (26.9%), a doctoral degree (1.7%), or professional degree (e.g., law or medical; 2.9%; see Table 6).

Income. The most frequent household income category was $100,000-$149,999 at 25.6%. The most frequent personal income category was $40-$49,999 at 19% (see Figure 12 and Figure 13).

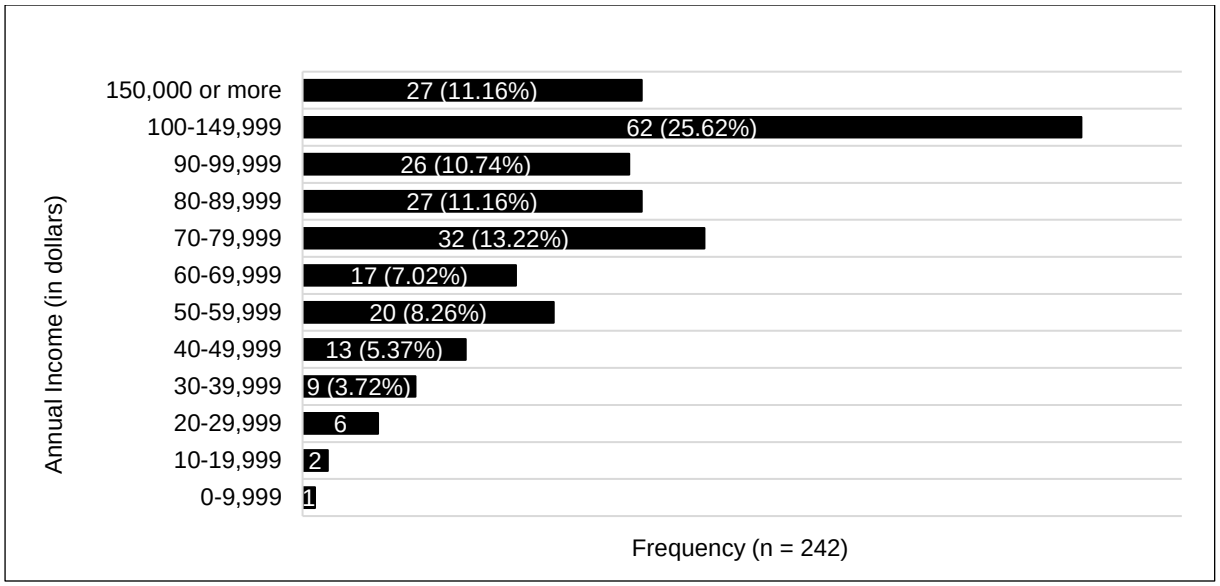

Figure 12. Annual Household Income[11]

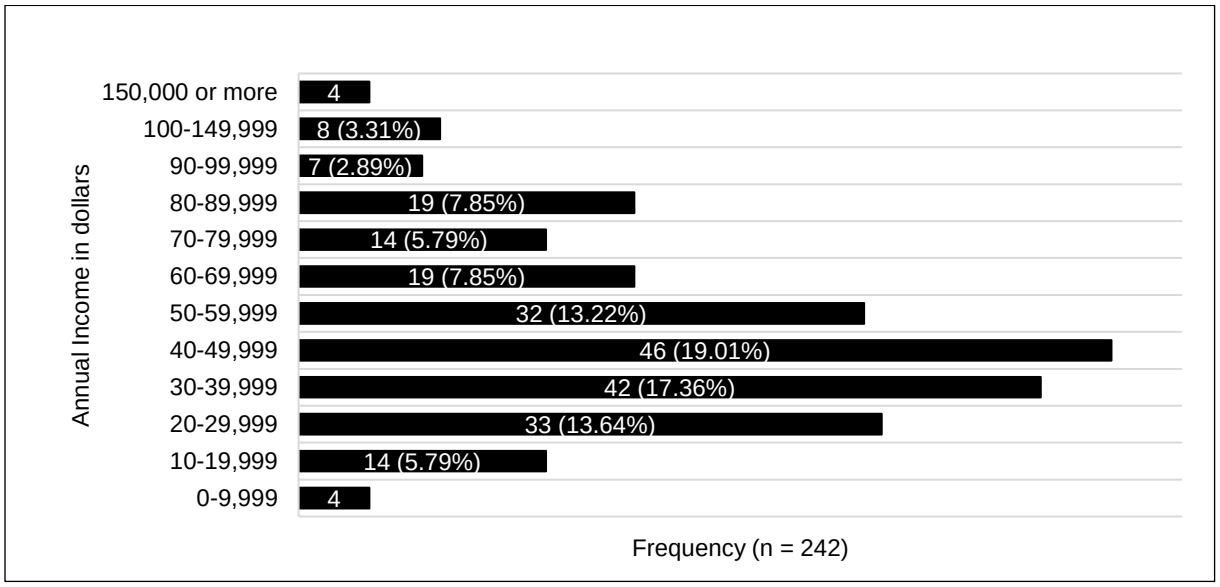

Figure 13. Annual Personal Income[12]

[11] Income categories of '20-29,999', '10-19,999' and '0-9,999' accounted for 2.48%, .83% and .41% of the responses, respectively.

[12] Income categories of '0-9,999' and '150,000 or more' each accounted for 1.65% of the responses.

Spouse/partner employment status	Frequency	%
Employed (working 1-39 hours per week)	48	19.8
Employed (working 40 or more hours per week)	180	74.4
Not employed (looking for work)	3	1.2
Not employed (NOT looking for work)	6	2.5
Not employed (retired)	2	.8
Disabled (not able to work)	2	.8
Not employed ("Other")	1	.4
Total	242	100

Table 7. Spouse/Partner Employment Status

Spouse/Partner Employment Status. The most frequently reported employment status of participants' spouses (as reported by participant) was working '40 or more hours/week' at 74.4% (see Table 7).

Number of People in Household. The mean number of adults in the household was 2.10 (*SD* =.36) with 92.56% of the participants reporting two adults in the household. The mean number of children in the household was 1.68 (*SD* = .86) with 51.24% of participants reporting one child in the household (see Table 8). The average age of youngest child was 4.92 years (*SD* = 3.55).

Childcare Options. Participants most frequently reported depending on a spouse/partner, relative or a childcare center/formal daycare. See Figure 14 for participants' responses to all types of childcare used in a typical week.

Preliminary Analysis – Assumption Testing

Independence of Observations

A Durbin-Watson statistic was assessed and the assumption of independence of residuals was met with the statistic ranging from 1.93 to 2.17 across analyses.

Number of adults	Frequency	%
2	224	92.56
3	13	5.37
4	5	2.07
Total	242	100
Number of children	**Frequency**	**%**
1	124	51.24
2	84	34.71
3	26	10.74
4	4	1.65
5	4	1.65
Total	242	100

Table 8. Number of Adults/Children in Household

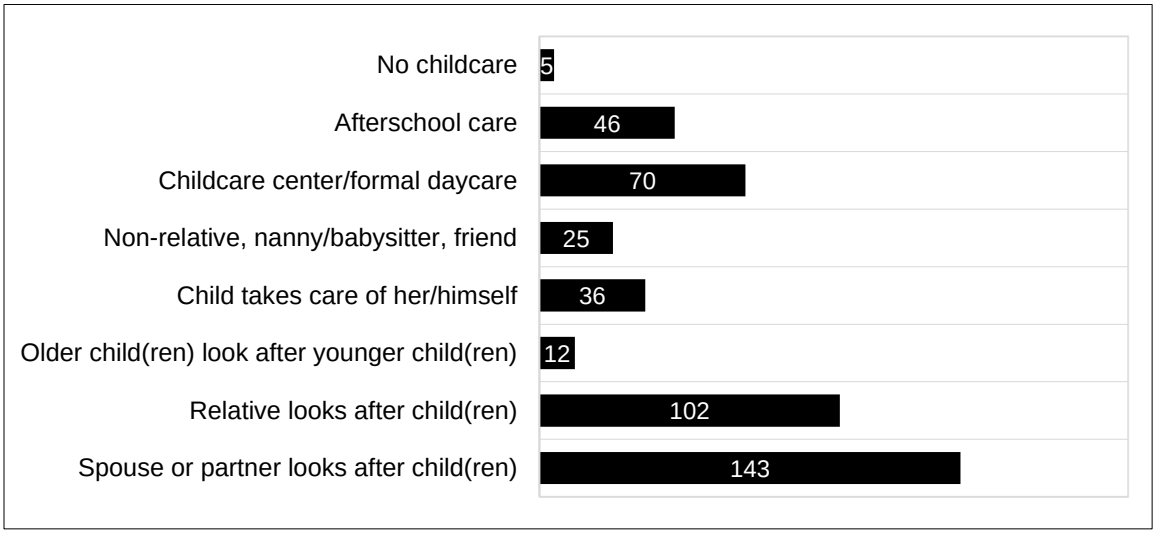

Figure 14. Types of Childcare Used in a Typical Week[13]

[13] Participants chose multiple answers (i.e., all that apply)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Direct parenting						
2. Indirect parenting	.50*					
3. Compensating differentials	-.17*	-.25*				
4. Conflict (work-family)	.09	-.06	-.09			
5. Conflict (family-work)	.00	-.12	.01	.69*		
6. Enrichment (work-family)	-.03	.17*	-.12	-.30*	-.20*	
7. Enrichment (family-work)	.21*	.29*	-.18*	-.31*	-.34*	.44*

*correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

Table 9. Correlation Matrix

Linearity and Homoscedasticity

Linearity and homoscedasticity were determined by a scatterplot of studentized residuals by unstandardized predicted values, which were interpreted as independent variables collectively being approximately linear to the dependent variables and that variance of predicted values for the dependent variable were approximately equal across all analyses. Partial regression plots were also interpreted as indicating linearity for each key independent variable to the respective dependent variable.

Multicollinearity

A correlation matrix across the key independent variables (viz., direct parenting, indirect parenting, compensating differentials; see Table 9) indicated minimal multicollinearity as evidenced by correlations ranging from -.25 to .50 (.7 was used as the cutoff, Laerd, n.d.). However, the direct and indirect parenting scales showed moderate correlation. Tolerance and VIF values were within the recommended range (viz., tolerance value is .1 or greater and VIF value is below 10). Tolerance values ranged from .48 (VIF = 2.11) to .94 (VIF = 1.06) across variables used in the analyses. However, correlation between the independent variables and dependent variables was below .30 indicating low correlation.

Outliers, Influential Points and Leverage

Casewise diagnostics indicated outliers on the work-family enrichment scale (standardized residual value = -3.05) and the family-work enrichment scale standardized residual value = -3.13). Inspection of studentized deleted residuals indicated one outlier on the family-work conflict scale (studentized deleted residual value = 3.02), three outliers on the work-family enrichment scale (studentized deleted residual values = -3.14, -3.12, -3.02), and two outliers on the family-work enrichment scale (studentized deleted residuals = -3.47, -3.21). There were no extreme leverage points (viz., greater than .5; Huber, 1981) indicated by leverage scores ranging from .01 to .25. Cook's distance values were below 1 (viz., ranged from .00 to .12) indicating an absence of influential points. Outliers were not removed because there was no justification; outliers were not due to data entry error, result of bots or other identifiable error. Results reported with the outliers may be more informative for future researchers who may use the measures or test the model.

Normal Distribution

Histograms and P-P plots of standardized residuals, and Q-Q plots of studentized residuals were interpreted as the residuals being approximately normally distributed.

Main Analysis – Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis 1a – Work-to-Family Conflict

A multiple regression was conducted to analyze whether higher scores for work-family conflict were associated with higher scores for direct parenting (Hypothesis 1a). The independent variable was direct parenting (M = 22.92, SD = 4.26) and the dependent variable was work-to-family conflict (M =25.76, SD = 7.91). Control variables included in the model were indirect parenting, compensating differentials and demographic variables. Results indicated that the

	Work-to-Family Conflict		
Variable	***B***	***SE***	***p***
Constant	34.96	7.11	-
Direct parenting	.19	.14	.17
Indirect parenting	-.31	.19	.10
Compensating differentials	-.28	.16	.08
Black	2.09	1.84	.26
Asian	2.26	2.15	.29
Multiracial/other	1.00	1.82	.58
Participant age	-.06	.10	.55
Education level	-.81	.50	.11
Income (household)	-.14	.28	.62
Income (personal)	.26	.29	.37
Number of children	-.24	.61	.70
Number of adults in household	1.47	1.45	.31
Spouse work (1-39 hours per week)	1.55	1.32	.24
Spouse work (not working)	3.27	2.30	.16
Age of youngest child	.12	.17	.47
R^2	.09		
F	1.47, *p* = .12		
Std. error of the estimate	7.80		
n = 242			

Table 10. Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Work-to-Family Conflict

model was not significant, R^2 = .09, adjusted R^2 = .03, $F(15, 226) = 1.47$, $p = .12$ in predicting work-family conflict (see Table 10).

Hypothesis 1b – Family-to-Work Conflict

A multiple regression was conducted to analyze whether higher scores for family-work conflict were associated with higher scores for indirect parenting (Hypothesis 1b). The independent variable was indirect parenting (M = 24.73, SD = 3.16) and the dependent variable was family-to-work conflict (M =21.91, SD = 7.98). Control variables included in the model

	Family-to-Work Conflict		
Variable	***B***	***SE***	***p***
Constant	26.78	7.22	-
Direct parenting	.09	.14	.54
Indirect parenting	-.31	.19	.11
Compensating differentials	-.01	.16	.94
Black	.81	1.86	.67
Asian	1.19	2.18	.59
Multiracial/other	1.58	1.84	.39
Participant age	-.23	.10	.02
Education level	-.26	.51	.61
Income (household)	.04	.29	.90
Income (personal)	.35	.29	.23
Number of children	.06	.62	.92
Number of adults in household	2.98	1.47	.04
Spouse work (1-39 hours per week)	.36	1.34	.79
Spouse work (not working)	1.09	2.33	.64
Age of youngest child	.28	.17	.10
R^2	.08		
F	1.26, p = .23		
Std. error of the estimate	7.91		
n = 242			

Table 11. Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Family-to-Work Conflict

were direct parenting, compensating differentials and demographic variables. Results indicated that the model was not significant, R^2 = .08, adjusted R^2 = .02, $F(15, 226) = 1.26$, p = .23 in predicting family-work conflict (see Table 11).

Hypothesis 2 – Work-to-Family Conflict Moderated by Compensating Differentials

A hierarchical regression was conducted to analyze whether compensating differentials (M = 15.09, SD = 3.38) moderated a relationship between work-family conflict (M = 25.76, SD = 7.91) and direct parenting (M = 22.92, SD = 4.26). In the first step, demographic variables were

Work-to-Family Conflict									
	Model 1			**Model 2**			**Model 3**		
Variable	***B***	***SE***	**β**	***B***	***SE***	**β**	***B***	***SE***	**β**
Constant	30.85	6.44	-	35.18	6.84	-	35.68	6.86	-
Direct parenting				.19	.14	.10	.18	.14	.10
Compensating differentials				-.28	.16	-.12	-.25	.16	-.11
Interaction							.03	.03	.07
Indirect parenting	-.11	.16	-.04	-.31	.19	-.13	-.30	.19	-.12
Black	2.15	1.84	.08	2.09	1.84	.08	1.99	1.84	.07
Asian	2.70	2.13	.08	2.26	2.15	.07	2.25	2.15	.07
Multiracial/other	1.01	1.83	.04	1.00	1.82	.04	.87	1.82	.03
Participant age	-.09	.10	-.08	-.06	.10	-.05	-.07	.10	-.06
Education level	-.80	.50	-.12	-.81	.50	-.12	-.87	.50	-.13
Income (household)	-.10	.28	-.03	-.14	.28	-.05	-.18	.29	-.06
Income (personal)	.23	.29	.07	.26	.29	.08	.30	.29	.10
Number of children	-.26	.62	-.03	-.24	.61	-.03	-.22	.61	-.02
Number of adults in household	1.54	1.45	.07	1.47	1.45	.07	1.47	1.45	.07
Spouse work (1-39 hours per week)	1.66	1.33	.08	1.55	1.32	.08	1.50	1.32	.08
Spouse work (not working)	2.97	2.31	.09	3.27	2.30	.10	3.12	2.30	.09
Age of youngest child	.16	.17	.07	.12	.17	.05	.12	.17	.06
R^2	.07			.09			.09		
F	1.26, $p = .24$			1.47, $p = .12$			1.44, $p = .12$		
ΔR^2	-			.02			.00		
Δ*F*	-			2.71, $p = .07$			1.07, $p = .30$		
n = 242									

Note. All values were non-significant.

Table 12. Hierarchical Regression for Direct Parenting x Compensating Differentials Interaction entered. In the second step, centered variables for direct parenting and compensating differentials were entered, In the last step, a centered interaction variable for direct parenting x compensating differentials was entered. Results for change across models indicated that compensating differentials did not moderate the effect of direct parenting on work-family conflict. With the

addition of the interaction term there was a non-significant increase in total variation explained of 0.4% (R^2 change = .004), F change (1, 225) = 1.07, p = .30. And the interaction model was not significant, F(16, 225) = 1.44, p = .12 (see Table 12).

Hypothesis 3a and 3b – Work-to-Family Enrichment

A multiple regression was conducted to evaluate whether (1) higher scores for work-family enrichment were associated with lower scores for direct parenting (viz., Hypothesis 3a) and (2) higher scores for work-family enrichment were associated with higher scores for indirect parenting (viz., Hypothesis 3b). The independent variables were direct parenting (M = 22.92, SD = 4.26) and indirect parenting (M = 24.73, SD = 3.16), and the dependent variable was work-to-family enrichment (M =11.23, SD = 2.78). Compensating differentials and demographic variables were included in the model as control variables. Results indicated that the model was significant, R^2 = .13, adjusted R^2 = .07, F(15, 226) = 2.23, p = .01 in predicting work-family enrichment (M = 11.23, SD = 2.78). The significant coefficient in the model was indirect parenting, B = .17, SE = .07, t(241) = 2.62, p = .01 (see Table 13).

Hypothesis 4a and 4b – Family-to-Work Enrichment

A multiple regression was conducted to analyze whether (1) higher scores for family-work enrichment were associated with higher scores for direct parenting (i.e., Hypothesis 4a) and (2) higher scores for family-work enrichment were associated with lower scores for indirect parenting (i.e., Hypothesis 4b). The independent variables were direct parenting (M = 22.92, SD = 4.26) and indirect parenting (M = 24.73, SD = 3.16), and the dependent variable was family-to-work enrichment (M =11.98, SD = 2.32). Compensating differentials and demographic variables were included in the model as control variables. Results indicated that the model was significant, R^2 = .17, adjusted R^2 = .11, F(15, 226) = 3.02, p = .00 in predicting family-work enrichment (M =

	Work-to-Family Enrichment		
Variable	***B***	***SE***	***p***
Constant	11.21	2.44	-
Direct parenting	-.09	.05	.08
Indirect parenting	.17	.07	.01*
Compensating differentials	-.06	.05	.29
Black	-1.04	.63	.10
Asian	.64	.74	.38
Multiracial/other	-.91	.62	.15
Participant age	-.03	.03	.41
Education level	.12	.17	.47
Income (household)	-.04	.10	.71
Income (personal)	.08	.10	.40
Number of children	-.04	.21	.84
Number of adults in household	-.29	.50	.56
Spouse work (1-39 hours per week)	.74	.45	.10
Spouse work (not working)	.82	.79	.30
Age of youngest child	-.11	.06	.06
R^2	.13		
F	2.23, *p* = .01*		
Std. error of the estimate	2.68		
n = 242			

**indicates significance at the 95% level (two tailed)*

Table 13. Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Work-to-Family Enrichment

11.98, *SD* = 2.32). Of the key variables, the coefficient for indirect parenting was significant, *B* = .17, *SE* = .05, *t*(241) = 3.13, *p* = .002. Additional significant coefficients were for race/ethnicity (viz., multiracial/other compared to White; *B* = -1.04, *SE* = .51, *t*(241) = -2.04, *p* = .04) and participant age (*B* = -.07, *SE* = .03, *t*(241) = -2.69, *p* = .01; see Table 14).

Exploratory Analysis – Time-, Behavior-, and Strain-based Conflict

The WFCS's subscales (i.e., work-to-family and family-to-work directions) are further specified with items mapping onto three components—time, behavior, and strain (-based

	Family-to-Work Enrichment		
Variable	***B***	***SE***	***p***
Constant	10.14	1.99	-
Direct parenting	.05	.04	.21
Indirect parenting	.17	.05	.002*
Compensating differentials	-.06	.04	.18
Black	-.42	.51	.42
Asian	-.41	.60	.50
Multiracial/other	-1.04	.51	.04*
Participant age	-.07	.03	.01*
Education level	-.02	.14	.90
Income (household)	-.07	.08	.38
Income (personal)	.07	.08	.37
Number of children	.34	.17	.05
Number of adults in household	-.08	.41	.84
Spouse work (1-39 hours per week)	.06	.37	.88
Spouse work (not working)	-.23	.64	.72
Age of youngest child	-.01	.05	.89
R^2	.17		
F	3.02, *p* = .00*		
Std. error of the estimate	2.18		
n = 242			

**indicates significance at the 95% level (two-tailed)*

Table 14. Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Family-to-Work Enrichment

conflict)—which allowed for additional analysis. A multiple regression was conducted to assess the impact of direct and indirect parenting on the three types of work-family conflict for both subscales (work-to-family and family-to-work; see Figure 5). In effect, analyses for Hypothesis 1a and 1b were retested using each component of conflict as a separate dependent variable. Results indicated that the model for time-based strain in the work-family direction (M = 9.17, SD = 3.33) was significant, R^2 = .13, adjusted R^2 = .07, F(15, 226) = 2.26, p = .01. The significant coefficients in the model were compensating differentials, B = -.18, SE = .07, t(241) = -2.78, p =

	***Time-Based* Work-to-Family Conflict**		
Variable	***B***	***SE***	***p***
Constant	11.44	2.93	-
Direct parenting	.12	.06	.05
Indirect parenting	-.05	.08	.54
Compensating differentials	-.18	.07	.01*
Black	.62	.76	.42
Asian	1.74	.88	.05
Multiracial/other	-.13	.75	.87
Participant age	.02	.04	.61
Education level	-.38	.21	.07
Income (household)	-.19	.12	.11
Income (personal)	.19	.12	.11
Number of children	.10	.25	.70
Number of adults in household	.16	.60	.79
Spouse work (1-39 hours per week)	.20	.54	.71
Spouse work (not working)	1.97	.95	.04*
Age of youngest child	-.001	.07	.99
R^2	.13		
F	2.26, p = .01*		
Std. error of the estimate	3.21		
n = 242			

**indicates significance at the 95% level*

Table 15. Exploratory Analysis

.01 and spouse employment, B = 1.97, SE = .95, $t(241)$ = 2.09, p = .04 (viz., not working compared to working 40 or more hours per week; see Table 15).

Reliability Analysis

Reliability analysis was conducted for the two subscales of the PPS to contribute to the literature for the new measure of parenting preference. Reliability analysis was also conducted for the CDM because the selected items collectively representing compensating differentials

were used as a standalone measure, which had not been done prior to the current study. Cronbach's alpha for the subscales of the PPS were good: direct parenting (4 items; $\alpha = .85$) and indirect (4 items; $\alpha = .80$). The CDM had poor reliability (6 items; $\alpha = .47$) suggesting that the CDM is not ideal as a composite measure for the construct in the way that it was used in the current study.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Summary

The dependent variables—conflict and enrichment—were put forth as potential factors in answering the research question: 'Why does the trajectory of women's work stall despite women initially having parity with men at the start of their careers?' The independent variables—direct parenting, indirect parenting and compensating differentials—were proposed as contemporary factors to answer the research question: 'What contemporary factors (personal and organizational) contribute to challenges for women balancing paid work and parental responsibilities?' While the original hypotheses relating to work-family conflict and compensating differentials were not supported by the results, there was some support with the exploratory analysis, and select hypotheses relating to work-family enrichment were supported by the results. Although findings were of limited practical value, more importantly, the study revealed practical deductions and raised potentially important questions to inform future studies that continue the work of answering these research questions.

Conflict: Hypotheses 1a, 1b, and 2

It was hypothesized that parental preference would correlate with how much conflict mothers experience in the work-family context, as well as which direction the conflict would go (i.e., work affecting family [work-to-family direction] or family affecting work [family-to-work direction]). Direct parenting—feeding, transporting in car—was hypothesized to positively correlate with mothers' feelings of conflict, specifically where work impacted their ability to fulfill their family responsibilities/aspirations. Correspondingly, preference for indirect parenting was predicted to positively correlate to parents' feelings of conflict, but in the direction of family impacting work. In relation, more compensating differentials—job characteristics that would

lessen the rigidity of work (e.g., flexible scheduling, substitutability) and make it easier for mothers to juggle work and family—was predicted to attenuate the link between direct parenting preferences and work-to-family conflict.

Overall, the results did not support the hypotheses for work-family conflict. Direct parenting did not significantly correspond to work-to-family conflict. Indirect parenting also did not significantly correspond to family-to-work conflict, and furthermore the association was not in the hypothesized direction. Lastly, compensating differentials did not moderate a relationship between a mother's preference for direct parenting and their experience of work-family conflict. Altogether, the results for Hypotheses 1a and 1b indicated that neither direct nor indirect parental preference were significantly associated with mothers' experience of work-family conflict. However, there was evidence for a link between compensating differentials and work-family conflict, when specified to time-based conflict.

Time-Based Work-Family Conflict: Exploratory Analysis

The subcomponents of the work-family conflict scale were analyzed where each component was treated as a dependent variable, and analysis for Hypotheses 1a and 1b were retested. Results indicated that compensating differentials was associated with time-based work-family conflict. Specifically, increase in compensating differentials was linked to a decrease in time-based work-family conflict. This finding is in line with the hypotheses. The time-based conflict taps into the dynamic of not being able to fully commit to both roles because of the finite nature of time (i.e., more time spent at work leaves less time spent with children). Presence of compensating differentials, flexibility in scheduling and substitutability, would put less strain on a mother's need to adhere to work, thereby leading to less time-based work-family conflict. It was also found that participants with spouses who were not working reported higher levels of

time-based work-to-family conflict compared to those with spouses working 40 or more hours per week.

The variables in the model accounted for 13% (adjusted 7%) of the variance within time-based work-family conflict. However, an important aspect of the significant finding is that it shows the potential importance of assessing different types of work-family conflict rather than relying on a general measure. It also suggests a potential modification to the parenting preference scale where each subscale may uniquely correlate to a different sub-type of work-family conflict.

Enrichment

Work-to-Family Enrichment: Hypotheses 3a and 3b. It was hypothesized that enrichment—where work enhanced family—would be predicted by lower preference for direct parenting and higher preference for indirect parenting. The results indicated that indirect parenting predicted work-family enrichment, and that the relationship was in the hypothesized direction (viz., an increase in indirect parenting predicted an increase in work-family enrichment), but it was not a meaningful effect. The model explained 13% (7% adjusted) of the variability in respondents' reported experience of work-family enrichment.

Family-to-Work Enrichment: Hypotheses 4a and 4b. It was hypothesized that enrichment—where family enhanced work—would be predicted by higher preference for direct parenting and lower preference for indirect parenting. The results indicated that of the key variables, only indirect parenting predicted family-work enrichment. However, it was not in the hypothesized direction of a negative association. Rather, a positive association between indirect parenting and family-work enrichment was found. Results also indicated that participant age was negatively associated with family-to-work enrichment, where older working women experience less family-to-work enrichment. It was also found that those in the 'multiracial/other' category

reported lower levels of family-to-work enrichment when compared to Whites. Perhaps this is because those in the multiracial/other category have higher levels of family obligations and/or stronger cultural expectation regarding care of older adult relatives.

Together these findings suggest that direct parenting is not associated with enrichment, but those high in indirect parenting are likely to experience enrichment in both directions. The unexpected positive association between indirect parenting and family-to-work enrichment indicates that higher preference for indirect parenting was associated with higher levels of family-work enrichment where family has a positive effect on the work domain. In retrospect, the positive association may be interpreted as family motivating or giving meaning to work efforts. Since indirect parenting identifies the place of parenting as not necessarily within the home (i.e., indirect efforts to enhance children's lives, such as researching best schools, doing well at work to get a promotion to be able to provide more resources for child), the finding that family has positive impact on work seems to be consistent with the construct of indirect parenting. And this finding is complemented by the results for direct parenting where it was found that there was no significant association found for direct parenting and family-to-work enrichment

Altogether, the study provided some limited support for associations between indirect parenting and work-family enrichment, as well as an association between compensating differentials and work-family conflict (when specified to time-based conflict). The findings on enrichment and indirect parenting may provide important preliminary support for the distinction between direct and indirect parenting preferences. Despite the limited support, the findings revealed important methodological considerations for the constructs of parenting preference and compensating differentials.

Conclusions

While there were statistically significant findings in the study, there were of little practical value where parenting preference and compensating differentials did not explain much variability for conflict or enrichment in the work-life interface. At the same time, the results of the current study provided important discoveries that will inform future studies looking to assess the role of parenting preference and compensating differentials in the context of work-family balance and women's work trajectory. Work structure and job characteristics are changing, most recently shaped by COVID-19 and the transition to remote work where possible. The current study developed research on women's labor force participation by studying how subjective factors (e.g., attitudes about parenting) interact with contemporary factors (e.g., linearity).The study was an initial exploration of whether the success of work policies and job characteristics are somewhat hinged on personal factors, such as availability of support, dedication to parenting, and a person's ability to multitask non-overlapping roles. While it is difficult to say how subjective factors would be incorporated into workplace policies, a person's knowledge about themselves—working style, attitudes toward parenting and preference of parental duties—can be informative for the individual to make mindful personal decisions regarding the balance of work and family. The study findings contribute to our understanding of the women's labor force behaviors over time by discovering limitations of promising factors and honing our knowledge of how they might relate (or not) to the challenge of balancing work and family. In so doing, the findings also help suggest other avenues of research and informs future studies.

Compensating Differentials

Goldin's work on linking compensating differentials with women's ability to maximize their earning potential offers a solution on how to eliminate the widening career disparity that

happens over time by taking away the premium for overwork. However, simultaneously addressing subjective factors—how women interpret and take on social expectations of their responsibilities as mothers—could enhance Goldin's important technical solution (i.e., eliminating the disparity by removing premium for overwork) to ameliorating the obstacles to women fulfilling both work and family responsibilities, since not all jobs are able to have a linear structure. A connection between practical solutions and Stone's work on women's subjective interpretations of the limited options presented to them would help present a more comprehensive look at the balance of caregiving responsibilities and work. Interpreting factors to resolve this work-family challenge is important as more women and men will be confronted with this caregiving bind given longevity and longer working years (or taking longer to get to a place of financial independence [e.g., adult children fully independent of financial support] and freedom [e.g., being debt free, having a secure retirement—if at all]). People will likely be confronted with the caregiving bind as both a caregiver in earlier years and a care recipient in later years. In short, the intersection of caregiving and work affect everybody.

Goldin's use of the compensating differentials measure highlighted multiple job characteristics (e.g., job flexibility, substitutability, need for overwork) as microfoundations of compensating differentials, but a previous study by Carlson et al. (2010) found that schedule flexibility by itself was significant in predicting work-family conflict and fulfillment of family responsibilities and satisfaction with work. Schedule flexibility indicates presence of substitutability and low face-to-face interaction, which were measured as components making up compensating differentials. Also, Thomas and Ganster (1995) found that higher levels of perceived control over work and family tasks, along with flexibility in scheduling and supervisor support, were related to lower levels of work-family conflict. Higher sense of control over work

and caregiving responsibilities led to lower levels of emotional exhaustion (Greaves et al., 2017). More significantly, higher levels of work-family conflict were related to decreasing levels of physical and mental health, which in turn led to higher rates of women exiting/switching jobs (Carlson et al., 2011), thereby supporting the idea that aspects of compensating differentials and work-family conflict play a role in mothers' labor force decisions.

Goldin's use of the measure was to compare occupations and confirm varying levels of compensating differentials across occupations. However, this was in the context of comparing occupations in science and technology (i.e., low face-to-face interaction required) to occupations in health, business and law (i.e., high face-to-face interaction required). In addition, most of the work done on the role of compensating differentials has been relegated to certain occupations where the microfoundations of compensating differentials is clearly contradictory. Namely, lawyers and pharmacists have very high and low compensating differentials, respectively and show clear differences when compared (Goldin, 2014). In retrospect, seeing as how the current study did not select for specific occupational fields, conceptualizing compensating differentials in a different way may have been more informative. For example, asking employees about their opinions of their workplace climate would be helpful in addition to assessing the demonstrable job characteristics and policies (and rates of utilization, when available). Employees' views of workplace climate may matter more in that it may influence their decision-making perhaps more than the availability of generous policies relating to work-family balance. The presence of a policy does not mean employees are comfortable with using the policy. Considering only the availability or generosity of work-family balance policies or job characteristics assumes that the presence of such policies and a friendly climate for employees to use those policies go together,

but there may be interaction effects related to subjective differences (i.e., subjective x objective interaction).

Parenting Preference

The current study's results for the parenting preference scale replicated some aspects of Bear's testing of the measure. The means and standard deviations for direct (M = 5.73, SD = 1.07) and indirect parenting (M = 6.18, SD = .79) were similar to that of Bear's study (2019b; direct: M = 5.56, SD = 1.11, indirect: M = 5.99, SD = .88).[14] There is also evidence of social desirability given the means and range for direct and indirect parenting. While Bear (2019a) discusses direct and indirect parenting as conceptually distinct constructs, the empirical evidence shows high correlation between the direct and indirect subscales (2019b). The current study also found high correlation for the subscales, despite using a more restricted sample that controlled for age of youngest child, spouse employment status, income and other factors that may be associated with preferences for direct and indirect parenting. As such, participants' parenting preference does not mean that (1) they hold the same ideals about parenting as reported using the PPS or (2) that participants real-life parenting behaviors match up with self-reported ideals. Furthermore, parenting preference on its own has not yet been tested for links to relevant mediators such as parental stress or burnout. This suggests that measuring underlying factors of parenting preference is the next step to further assess the role of subjective parenting preferences in the context of work-family balance.

Perfectionism. Perhaps the significance does not lie in preference for direct or indirect parenting, but (1) the underlying behavioral, emotional, trait components tied to parenting preference and (2) how parenting preference might interact with underlying components like

[14] Bear's reported means are based on respondent average across each subscale and the current study's means reported in this section followed the same method of calculation for comparability.

perfectionism. Perfectionism may be linked with a preference for direct parenting where being hands-on to ensure the meeting of a standard necessitates direct engagement. A person with high levels of perfectionism and high preference for direct parenting may experience higher levels of work conflict, and in this case driven by the idea of a perfect mother being directly present, which is at odds with being present at work. This is may be especially so, when perfectionism becomes maladaptive where there are high levels of inflexibility stemming from high standards that a person is unwilling to relax (Hewitt & Flett, 1990). Mothers working for pay outside of the home experiencing feelings of pressure to be perfect (i.e., pressure to adhere to intensive mothering ideals) were more likely to experience burnout (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018; Mitchelson & Burns, 1998) and was most often stated as a reason for exiting the workforce (i.e., it became unsustainable for women to give their all in both domains and they were unhappy with high standards not being met in either domain and felt a choice had to be made, "…they're women that can only give 100%, and they can't give it both places."; Stone, 2007, p. 127). Parental burnout associated with perfectionism was also related to higher stress, and prevention-focused and gatekeeping maternal behaviors (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Maternal gatekeeping is described as mothers taking over tasks from their partner, believing that they have higher standards of parenting than their partners, and 'if I want [parenting task] done correctly, I have to do it myself' type thinking, and an unwillingness of- or discomfort with letting go of parenting responsibility (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Prevention-focused behaviors relate to avoiding failures and mistakes in parenting (Meeusen & Van Laar, 2018). Both behaviors are in line with intensive parenting. Prevention focused perfectionism behaviors are aligned with mothers engaging in intensive parenting that feel the need to not only meet but anticipate their child's needs. And gatekeeping maternal behaviors is consistent with

the intensive mothering idea of ‘essentialism’ (Liss, Schiffrin, Mackintosh, Miles-McLean & Erchull, 2013) where the mother believes that mothers are inherently better caregivers of children than men and that men need guidance from mothers to parent at the same level as mothers do. Men likely exhibit gatekeeping behaviors as well (e.g., paternal gatekeeping), however the maternal gatekeeping discussion is in line with the societal expectation of women as caregivers and what constitutes an ideal mother (i.e., intensive parenting). Work-family balance mediated the relationship between pressure to be a perfect mother and work ambition, where pressure to be a perfect mother was related to lower work-family balance, which led to lower work ambition (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Lowered levels of work ambition stemming from lack of work-family balance may be related to women downgrading their careers or exiting the labor force. Interestingly, there was a positive relationship between pressure to be a perfect mother and career ambitions. Meeussen et al. (2016) hypothesized that women who are ambitious professionally may feel more social pressure to be a perfect mother (i.e., professionally ambitious women feel the need to demonstrate that their career pursuit is not at the cost of being a good mother). Also, while career ambition was not assessed in the current study, in a previous study both direct and indirect parenting were positively correlated to career ambition (Bear, 2019b).

The caveat with using the PPS might be that it asks respondents to report their thoughts and behaviors about parenting situations compared to asking respondents about their feelings, where the latter may be less subject to social desirability. There is a difference in interpretation of ‘do you want to be a good mom’ versus assuming that all parents want to be good parents and asking if they feel pressure to do so (e.g., ‘do you feel pressure to be a good mom’). Although the PPS removed the assumption that all parents are motivated to be good parents and gave

respondents the choice to respond as having little interest in being a good parent, given the nature of the topic it seems hard to get widely varied responses. Or perhaps parenting preference is not varied in the population and the measure captures that. Alternately, parenting preference may capture external pressures relating to parenting rather than internally motivated behaviors, which raises the question of which of those contributes to work-family conflict or if it is the dissonance between external pressures and internal motivation that creates the most conflict. Also, indicating preference for high levels of parenting does not mean that parents do the work to meet the parenting ideals they report being aligned with. The disconnect between self-report and actual behavior affects any interpretations where parenting preference is found to be associated with other constructs. In this way, it may also be helpful to assess the level of parenting by number of hours dedicated to children's' activities or analyzing motivations for parents' decisions regarding children. Measuring the *perceived* workload and related stress is also important because the conflict is not because of the presence of responsibilities alone, but the stress stemming from the incompatibility between work and family responsibilities. Therefore, identifying personal factors that characterize women's own perception and experience of work-family conflict will be important; as illustrated in a *The New Yorker* comic: "It turns out it wasn't the giant asteroid that killed the dinosaurs. It was stress about the giant asteroid that killed the dinosaurs." (Sipress, 2020; see https://www.newyorker.com/cartoons/daily-cartoon/tuesday-may-12th-asteroid-virus).

Invisible Labor and the Mental Load. Domestic responsibilities are typified by observable tasks, such as food shopping, cooking meals or driving children to- and from school. However, the demand of domestic work also involves *invisible labor*, which is the mental and emotional aspects related to managing a household (Ciciolla & Luthar, 2019; Daniels, 1987 ;

DeGroot & Vik, 2020; Weidhaas, 2017). This "psychological caretaking" is the less observable work towards organizing and executing all household dealings (including management of outsourced tasks), as well as forecasting and managing resolutions for unexpected events (Ciciolla & Luthar, 2019). The invisible mental labor involves monitoring and predicting needs of household members, learning and holding requisite knowledge that relates to the family/household operations, planning ahead and managing/orchestrating (i.e., "executive oversight"), delegating with instruction, and self-regulating for the purpose of avoiding disruption in the household (Robertson et al., 2019; Walzer, 1996). The concept of invisible labor may be linked with the prevention-focused behavior of intensive parenting, which has been linked to parental burnout (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Invisible labor related to caregiving is more-often called the *mental load* in discussion outside of academia (see Desmond, 2017; Owens, 2018; Ruiz, 2019). Tasks encompassing mental load is varied across examples, such as being aware of their child's emotions, making sure family members show up for appointments/events on time and appropriately prepared (e.g., showing up with a birthday gift or food for a potluck) or knowing when it is time to get needed household supplies (e.g., laundry detergent, toothpaste, toilet paper).

The mental load as women's burden was illustrated in a viral comic by feminist cartoonist Emma (2017). It shows a mother trying to feed her children while cooking dinner until the contents of the pot boil over and onto the floor. The woman reacts with animosity of having to do "everything" and the husband's response is that he would have helped her if she asked him to. Emma (2017) deciphers the finer point of the exchange by pointing out that when the husband waits for his wife to ask him to do things then she becomes the default delegator of household tasks. The husband's stance in this example also means that the wife is responsible for

constructing and tracking the to-do list, while at the same time she is carrying out most of the tasks herself (Emma, 2017). Furthermore, the wife's invisible efforts beforehand are what allows for the opportunity of simple tasks to be handed off to others (e.g., the husband can do the laundry because the wife has made sure that they have laundry detergent; Desmond, 2017). By nature, invisible labor by mothers is only noticed when it is not done, and unnoticed otherwise and leads to the mother as the "default parent" (DeGroot & Vik, 2020) or the "primary mental laborer" (Robertson et al., 2019) and fathers as helpers (Walzer, 1996), thereby reinforcing the gender pattern of work division within the home. Furthermore, there is emotional impact for the mother as the one who is held responsible when things go wrong in the household (DeGroot & Vik, 2020).

The invisible labor and mental load are an important part of the caregiving work that adds to the difficulty for women to simultaneously manage paid work and household responsibilities. Concrete tasks can be handed off, but mental load and invisible labor cannot be handed off. Interestingly, this structure of household tasks mimics the type of work structure that is adverse to mothers, where the job has low substitutability and low flexibility (i.e., low compensating differentials work structure may be replicated in the home and is the context where caregiving/family tasks occur). Furthermore, the invisible nature of the work means that it is unregulated, and consequently unrewarded and unrecognized as 'work' by the workers themselves (Daniels, 1987). Mental load and invisible labor may be related to direct parenting and introduces an unforgiving work structure at home where there are low compensating differentials, which might provide insight into the difficulty of work-family balance. Invisible labor and mental load should be captured in future studies to comprehensively assess what underlying factors contribute to mother/caregivers' frustrations in balancing work and family.

The construct of direct parenting preference likely involves invisible labor and is linked to traits like perfectionism, but these factors are not explicitly discussed as part of the construct. Parenting preference might need to be supplemented with other measures of underlying factors and may be more meaningful when assessing interaction with other factors like perfectionism or maternal gatekeeping or mental load. There are several scenarios that would lead to different outcomes. For example, a mother may need to work outside the home for financial reasons, but may not want to, leading to a dissonance between preference and practice. Or someone who exhibits perfectionism in both mothering and work would also experience dissonance, albeit between work and home and juggling simultaneous roles. In contrast, for a mother who has preference for indirect parenting, the perfectionism may play out in the work sphere, but not the home sphere thereby leading to harmony between preference and practice, rather than dissonance. This conceptualization is in line with the PPM predicting more conflict for people high in both direct and indirect parenting because it would mean more incompatibility with work compared to someone who is low in both (see Figure 2). Assessing the incompatibility is an important factor captured in the PPM. Incompatible work and family circumstances likely lead to women perceiving their difficulties as a personal failure rather than a symptom of incompatibility across multiple spheres, as was the case for women in Stone's (2007) study. Such rationalizing in effect helps organizations sidestep any disruption to the traditional workplace and expectations of workers. Lastly, the more meaningful aspects of parenting preference may be overlapped with other trait factors (viz., intensive parenting, perfectionism) that are established in the literature and it may be helpful to include those when testing the PPM.

Another thing to consider would be that selection into marriage and/or parenthood also captures women at a point where significant life decisions have already been made that may

affect outcomes in the work-family interface and/or be associated other potential variables, such as mental load, approaches to work (e.g., pursuit of career or work as means to an end, switching to jobs with high compensating differentials) or decisions regarding household dynamics (e.g., who is designated as the main breadwinner versus caregiver). Women who choose to get married and have children may be different from women who are single and/or do not have children. Factors that determine whether women are more (or less) likely to get married and/or have children, might also affect women's experience of work-family conflict and enrichment and decisions regarding labor force participation.

Work or Career

The current study did not outline the different reasons for why women were working. Within the sample are likely women who are working for varied reasons: (1) pursuing a career (with a goal of working towards higher positions), (2) working for financial need alone, or (3) working as a choice (without explicit goals of promotion). Within the latter two categories are also women who have already downgraded (e.g., working part-time or putting pause on career goals) or switched careers (e.g., choosing different occupational field with more flexibility, no overtime work, work-family balance friendly environment) compared to women who are in the midst of juggling their family responsibilities and holding steadfast on to their original career/work intentions. The idea of downgrading is also varied where some women may switch out of a high-level position with low linearity and requisite overwork for a more flexible job that is a standard 40 hours a week. Otherwise, women may decide to work part time, but then find that the expectations for work completed require full time commitment (Stone, 2007). The study sample also leaves out a critically important group of working women, those who have already exited the workforce because of work-family balance challenges, who either found the juggling

unsustainable or were financially motivated where their salary was not covering childcare costs. It would also be of interest to study women who upgrade their careers after having children to see differences in relevant factors when compared to women who modify their career aspirations.

A longitudinal study examining women's intentions for work over time, along with assessment of subjective measures (e.g., perfectionism, intensive parenting attitudes), compensating differentials, supervisor support, work-family conflict, and intention to exit job would provide a comprehensive assessment of factors that may moderate or help explain the labor force trajectory of working mothers.

Which Jobs Have Compensating Differentials?

It is difficult to neatly organize all jobs into categories of low or high compensating differentials. Goldin's measure of compensating differentials identifies important factors and compares two fields of occupation where the difference of compensating differentials between the two fields is distinct. It is not yet clear if such comparisons could be successfully made across a broader range of occupations. One thing to consider is that there are nuances of compensating differentials that may affect some jobs and not others. For example, depending on the culture of the workplace employees may feel pressured to work overtime even though it is not a requisite part of the job. Or women may feel pressures stemming from gendered social expectations for jobs that are traditionally done by women. A historically gendered occupation, like teaching in primary school may put more pressure on women as teachers and who may be viewed as a mother figure, compared to men. Aside from the socioemotional aspects of teaching that might be gendered, there may be differences in how informal overtime work is rationalized. For example, teachers might recognize time they take to buy school supplies for their classroom or grading papers on the weekend as unpaid overtime or they may not think about it in such

concrete terms. In short, it may be challenging to apply compensating differentials more broadly, at least to categorize all occupations objectively for comparison when it is not clearly pronounced. The current study's findings on CDM suggest that it may be fruitful to develop a standalone measure that capture the complexities of determining the microfoundations of compensating differentials across a broad range of occupations.

Fatherhood Bonus and Stay-At-Home Fathers

Due to practical considerations of the amount of time for participants to complete the survey, the study did not assess the participants' spouses on many aspects. However, it is important in the context of the current study on working married women because fatherhood has positive connotations relating to work after they enter fatherhood, in stark contrast to motherhood having negative associations with work to employers. To employers, men who are fathers signal a strength that yields stronger commitment to work and merit (Budig, 2014). While mothers experience a motherhood penalty, men's incomes increase after entering fatherhood—'fatherhood bonus'—and it is most significant for men working at top income levels (Budig, 2014). In addition to increases in wage, fathers also experience more advancements in hiring and leadership roles in comparison to men without children (Budig & Hodges, 2010) above and beyond factors, such as human capital or employment status of wives (Hodges & Budig, 2010). Interestingly, an experimental study found that applicants identified as the main breadwinner were assigned higher incomes regardless of gender (Bear & Glick, 2017). Also, when applicants were identified as a caregiver, then lower incomes were assigned regardless of gender. In other words, motherhood penalty and fatherhood bonus were replicated, however the gender disparity disappeared when an individual was identified as the main breadwinner. Women identified as the main breadwinner were assigned same levels of income as men, prompting Bear and Glick

92017) to rephrase motherhood penalty and fatherhood bonus as caregiver penalty and breadwinner bonus, respectively.

In addition, historically stay-at-home fathers did so because of inability to secure work or were unable to work (e.g., disability). However, there are now more households where stay-at-home fathers are choosing to not to participate in the workforce to fulfill caregiving responsibilities at home (Kramer, Kelly, & McCulloch, 2015). These stay-at-home father households have mothers with significantly more educated compared to their husbands (Kramer et al., 2015), which may translate to higher income jobs or career aspirations. Economic and or practical issues (e.g., need for childcare, greater career potential for one spouse) prompt couples' decisions to become a stay-at-home father–breadwinner mother household (Chesley, 2011; Rochlen, McKelly, & Whittaker, 2010) and these households are often similar to the traditional stay-at-home mother–breadwinner father households or dual earner households (Kramer et al., 2015). Stay-at-home fathers replicate similar dynamics to how stay-at-home mothers have traditionally allowed for men to pursue their careers. Stay-at-home father households support working women's ability to more exclusively focus on work (Chesley, 2011). At the same time, some mothers express feeling jealous of their husband's time with children or feeling pressured as the breadwinner and wanting to be a stay-at-home mother, but not having the option (Chesley, 2011).

Depending on whether mothers identify themselves (and are identified by their spouse) as the main breadwinner or if both spouses' incomes are equally significant, there may be implications for work-family conflict and enrichment. In relation, both spouses' subjective feelings about their respective roles may influence their experience of work-family balance that might have consequences for variables in the current study. The current study's sample did not

account for stay-at-home father–breadwinner mother households, but the designated roles of each spouse would be an important factor to consider in the assessment of working mother's experience of balancing work and family. Lastly, not including men in the sample prohibited any gender comparisons, which is important to confirm considering the impact of gendered roles that shape expectations and behaviors or both women and men.

Limitations

Amazon MTurk

While the use of MTurk gave access to a select population, an expected limitation is the potential lack of generalizability to working mothers. The study sample was a selection of working mothers who are active on MTurk as "workers", but it is unclear what significant differences there may be compared to women who are not active on- or engaged in the MTurk platform. Perhaps the women in the sample are more tech savvy or have motivations linked to their MTurk participation that make them significantly different. Although for the latter point, previous studies have found that people's motivations for completing tasks on MTurk are varied; some are financially motivated, while others see it as an interesting way to pass the time.

An unexpected aspect of this data collection was that it overlapped with the timing of the work-from-home and stay-at-home orders related to curbing the spread of COVID-19. During the time of data collection 26 states issued stay-at-home orders (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2020; Mervosh et al., 2020). It is unclear what impact the increased time at home (for most people) had in relation to changing the study population. Perhaps more people were joining the MTurk platform or stagnant MTurk workers were reengaging on the MTurk platform. Participation—new or renewed—may have occurred to pass the time or to earn extra money as people were furloughed under the fear of permanent layoffs. Also, for participants who participated in the

survey, could their responses have been impacted by newfound frustrations with working from home in the context of the pandemic (i.e., their answers were influenced by working from home in the pandemic, not based on previous and usual working conditions)?

The current study's sample was compared to two national samples of working mothers. A national sample of 882 working mothers (viz., working full or part-time) who participated in the Listening to Mothers II survey showed that 54% of participants were 18–29 years of age, 28% were 30-34 years of age, and 18% were 35 years of age or older. Reported education levels showed that 54% of participants had at least a high school education, 54% had at least a college education, and 10% had beyond a college education. The race/ethnicity of the respondents were as follows: 63% were White non-Hispanic, 13% were Black non-Hispanic, 21% were Hispanic and 3% identified as "Other". Annual household income was as follows: 28% of respondents reported income of less than $35,000, 37% reported income between $35,000–$75,000, and 35% reported income over $75,000 (Shepherd-Banigan & Bell, 2014).

In comparison, the mothers in the study sample were older with 13.6% of participants 18-29 years of age, 33% of participants were 30-34 years of age, and 53.3% of participants were 35 years of age or older. Education levels were higher for the study sample with 2.07% having at least a high school education, 66.52% with some college/college degree, and 31.4% with graduate or professional degree. Race/ethnicity followed similar patterns with majority of participants being White (75.6%). Annual household income was somewhat comparable where 21.08% respondents reported income of less than $29,999. However, the study sample's income seems to be concentrated in the middle-income categories with 57.44% reported income between $30,000–$69,999, and 21.49% reported income above $70,000.

A random sample of 197 American working mothers were surveyed on impacts of COVID-19 (viz., COVID Impact Survey; NORC at University of Chicago, 2020; Lyttelton, Zand & Musick, 2020). Respondents on average were 39 years old with 2.22 children with the youngest child being 8 years of age. Of these mothers, 83% were married. More than half of the respondents reported having at least a college degree (61%) and reported working 36 hours per week on average for pay outside the home. Respondents were categorized as White (59%), Black (18%), and Hispanic (14%).

Compared to the participants in the COVID-19 Impact Survey, the sample analyzed in the current study was younger being 35.87 years old on average. The study sample also reported a smaller number of children on average at 1.68 children with youngest child of younger age on average at 4.92 years old. Education levels were higher for the study sample where 76.85% of participants reported having at least a college degree. The study sample consisted of mothers working at least 35 hours per week, which was somewhat comparable to the reported 36 hours worked per week on average for the participants of the COVID Impact Survey. Race/ethnicity followed similar patterns with majority of participants being White (75.6%).

Taken together, it appears that the study sample had a higher proportion of White participants—analogous to national samples—with higher education levels, a smaller number of children and lower age of youngest child. Perhaps higher education levels, along with younger children and less children indicates delayed childbearing of the study sample and may indicate career-oriented women.

Detailed demographic data (viz., education, income, race/ethnicity) for the population of mothers on MTurk was not available to compare to the study sample. Literature on MTurk workers do not report detailed demographic data specified by gender—aside from what

proportion of the MTurk population are women—and rather report demographics for U.S. workers as a group. With limited demographic information on MTurk women, it is challenging to verify the assumption of whether women and mothers on MTurk are qualitatively different from their counterparts to affect generalizability and/or study outcomes. However, the current study sample and analysis provides more detailed demographic information for subsets of women participating on MTurk, which is lacking in the available literature.

Measures

Demographics. Full demographic information was not available for all respondents that were screened. This was because respondents were exited out of the survey once they did not meet an eligibility requirement. In retrospect, respondents should have been asked to answer all items of the screener despite not meeting all eligibility requirements. Therefore, full demographic information is only available for those that met eligibility criteria, attempted the survey and answered all demographic questions.

The race/ethnicity and Spanish/Hispanic Latino questions were presented separately. In addition, there was not an option for 'none of the above' when asked to identify race/ethnicity (e.g., White, Asian, Black/African American). Ideally, these questions would be combined where Spanish/Hispanic/Latino would be an answer option for the race/ethnicity question. In addition, for those that chose more than one race/ethnic category, ideally there would be an additional question asking to choose one category (despite being multiracial/ethnic) that they most identify with. This would have resulted in a more authentic (i.e., as answered directly by participants) categorization of race/ethnicity, rather than grouping people into a multiracial/other group post-data collection.

Parenting Preference. Responses on the parenting preference subscales indicate social desirability on participants' responses. The range of possible scores for each subscale was 4 to 28. The median for direct parenting (*Mdn* = 24) and indirect parenting (*Mdn* = 25) and mode of 28 for both subscales were skewed. Responses also indicated that 76.85% of the participants had a bachelor's degree or higher. Assuming higher levels of education are linked with higher career ambition, the high parenting preference scores are in line with previous findings where pressure to be a perfect mother and career ambition are positively associated (Meeussen, Veldman, & Van Laar, 2016).

Parenting preference is a new construct and its related measure—PPS—has not yet been extensively tested and validated. However, the PPS is currently the only available scale purported to measure parenting preference. The parenting preference model includes desire for caregiving in three domains: work, family and community. However, the study only explored parenting preference in the family domain. It is unclear what type of effect, if any, this had on the outcome measures. Further testing of the model is needed to determine if the components of the model are related. Despite these limitations, the study has contributed to the currently limited knowledge about the PPS (and interactions with compensating differentials) and provides theoretical information for researchers to consider in using the measure.

Childcare. When respondents were asked which types of childcare they relied on, the most common response was that their spouse or partner looked after the children. However, this measure failed to capture the level of reliance and dependency. When choosing their answer for spouse/partner as a source of childcare, it is unclear if it was understood as 'support as needed' or a more regular/structured reliance on a weekly basis. It is assumed that this would be chosen across all participants given that all the women in the sample reported being married, but the

measure fails to capture the nuance of the levels of reliance and most likely the interpretation of the item varied across participants. Consequently, summing the responses could not be used as gauge of how much childcare resources and support participants had. From the data we can at least surmise that there was not a strong presence of stay-at-home partners; 94% of the participants' spouses were employed and working at least 35 hours per week. A better measure would have been to ask about the level of reliance, as well as the satisfaction with the childcare resources. Such details regarding use of childcare would have more useful information in assessing work-family conflict and enrichment.

Family Characteristics. While the current study measured the number of children in the home, as well as age of youngest and oldest child, the nuances of modern families as it relates to children was not captured. In cases of divorce and shared custody, each parent does not have the child(ren) full time, which may have different outcomes regarding impact of job characteristics, such as scheduling flexibility or experience of work-family conflict. Also, stepparents may or may not specifically identify with being a 'mother' to their stepchildren depending on whether the biological mother is present and/or the strength of the relationship between the stepparent and stepchild, which might have differential outcomes for households where these dynamics are present. Ideally, the survey should have included an operational definition of the term 'mother' to participants to acknowledge subjective interpretations of the term. Likewise, there was a missed opportunity to capture the presence of multiple generations living in the same household and what the related circumstances were. For example, did the presence of an older family serve as a source of childcare (or other household) support or was the respondent a member of the sandwich generation wherein the caregiving responsibilities exist across young children and an older relative. In relation, there was no assessment of whether any of the children in the home

were special needs. The current data did not show many households with more than two adults living in the same household (viz., 8% of the participants lived in households with three or more adults) signifying a low number of multigenerational households in the sample.

Job Characteristics. Ideally, the survey would have included an item asking about participants recent work history or intentions to exit the labor force. For example, is the participant's current job already a shift down from previous hours worked or switch from a more demanding occupation? Also, do they currently have intentions to exit the labor force altogether, and what are the factors (e.g., lack of childcare, spouse's income, impact of stress on health) making them consider an exit? Also, aside from measures of microfoundations of compensating differentials, assessment of managerial support relating to work-family balance would have been useful. Employees who felt they had higher levels of support (relating to issues of balancing work and family responsibilities) from their employers and lower levels of negative consequence to using existing work-family policies were less likely to express intention to leave their job (O'Neill et al., 2009). And even with high levels of work-family conflict, supervisor support was found to buffer the negative impact (Almeida et al., 2016).

Despite the limitations presented, MTurk was a functional platform for the study's needs to access a restrictive sample to test measures that were novel or being used in a novel way. The data collection yielded useful information about the measures for researchers who are considering inclusion of parenting preference and/or compensating differentials into their study.

Future Directions

In part, this study was born out of an interest to address frustrations with the lack of progress in women's career trajectories. Despite changes all around us that make it difficult to continue to approach work in the same way as we have done in the past, our current ideas and

expectations around work have not evolved to integrate what we know about contemporary families' daily challenges to juggle work and home, and employee well-being and productivity, in turn contributing to a gendered and within cohort disparity in pay over time. The study's findings (and timing) suggest interesting possibilities for future research in relation to identifying factors that interact with compensating differentials to influence women's experience of work as mothers.

The timing of the study coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic, where the stay-at-home orders forced an experiment of sorts for employers to see how organization-wide remote work would play out. As a response to maintain productivity during the COVID-19 shutdowns, workplaces have provided their employees the basic infrastructure to telecommute (e.g., Zoom or collaborative work software and training, webcams)—and more importantly the workplace's permission (e.g., from company/agency, direct managers, co-workers), as well as everyone participating in remote work—which begs the question of how workplaces will proceed once the threat of COVID-19 is eased. Will companies permanently adopt the job structure of employees working remotely or telecommuting and what impact would this have on the previous stigma of those who asked for work flexibility? Will companies continue to promote remote work to cut operating costs (e.g., renting office space, utilities) and if so, what impact will that have compared to if the change came about as a response to recognizing employees' needs for more flexibility? Will productivity expectations be adjusted? Will inadequate technological support (or lack of suitable space or environment at home) for remote work mar the possibilities of it as an option or only be an option for select workers (e.g., tech savvy, use their own resources for tech support, able to have work space at home [physical and environmental])? Will workers like remote working after all? The changed workplace may give employees a chance to try out

different work setups that can inform them of how they are most productive and are able to manage competing responsibilities. Otherwise, some may find that they need the social aspect of work or have difficulty with the permeability and lack of boundaries between work and home inherent in working remotely from home.

The renewed interest in remote work is evident with companies recognizing the timely opportunity and capitalizing on the situation by launching surveys for employees' opinions on working from home (e.g., https://www.pwc.com/us/en/library/covid-19/us-remote-work-survey.html, https://www.gensler.com/research-insight/workplace-surveys/us-work-from-home-survey/2020, https://www.qualtrics.com/blog/ready-to-work-from-home/). However, the experiment of working from home during the pandemic was complicated by children staying home from school (due to school shutdowns and closure of childcare centers/suspended childcare services), parental responsibility to homeschool, partner/spouses also working from home, additional meal preparation, additional responsibilities of taking care of disabled/older family members (due to suspension of paid caregiving services/closures of Adult Day Health Centers), tracking down essential household supplies with low availability due to collective hoarding, and added stress stemming from the pandemic and the consequent economic impact. The work-from-home and stay-at-home orders removed the physical space between work and home effectively merging work and home and creating work-family chaos. While it is unfair to compare such a circumstance to what remote working with flexible scheduling in a pre-COVID-19 work landscape would have been, perhaps the circumstance provided an opportunity for women to "try out" remote work. Benefits of remote work were no morning and evening commutes, and gaining back time that was previously needed for getting oneself ready for work or dropping off and picking up children from school, potentially leaving more time for women to connect with

family (viz., in a non-parenting task context) and engage in self-care or independent pursuits (e.g., exercise or enjoying hobbies). In addition, for some parents the extended time at home and staying in with children was a rare opportunity as work standards and expectations were temporarily modified. Parents expressed feeling like they were able to slow down and be present with children and family, and themselves (Strauss, 2020), and fathers, in particular have found more time to connect with children (Levs, 2020). For some parents, this experience will likely make them reevaluate their commitment to work in the aftermath of the pandemic and maybe propel them to be more uncompromising about seeking work-family balance. Perhaps the pandemic's impact on work and childcare is the tipping point that was needed to remind ourselves of what we give up for contemporary work and to reimagine what our way of life could be going forward.[15] And for some mothers, the experience might reveal that their self-narrative of work-family challenges being caused by personal inadequacy is less true than previously realized. For those that have lost their jobs, it may be more difficult to enjoy their time at home as the financial stress weighs on them. For others, choices regarding work and family may be decided by circumstance if they are parents who are unwilling to send their children to daycare because of COVID-19 concerns and yet finding it impossible to work from home with children present. Working from home may also be marred by how managers interacted with their employees in the context of telecommuting. Some managers may embrace the idea of working remotely, while others may not feel comfortable without having employees that are directly reachable or observable in an office setting. Also, as supervisor support and climate for work-family balance at work impact work-family conflict and intention to leave the

[15] In commuter heavy cities, such as Los Angeles, the stay-at-home/work-from-home orders provided the rare experience of driving on streets and freeways without traffic and seeing clear skies with visibly reduced smog, which were jarring reminders of the more ideal conditions we wish for, but do not have.

job, it would be interesting to see whether the work-from-home setup will change how employers will view employees needs regarding work-family balance (i.e., employers may be more or less generous in that regard). Depending on the combined effect of the employee-employer relationship, there may have been over management or undermanagement that occurred, which might impact the remote working experience for either party. Given the dynamic interaction between workplace response, the "new" workplace and personal reevaluation about work, the post-pandemic work-family juggle will be an interesting area of potential change as it relates to factors that impact the work-family interface. Will the post pandemic work landscape help or hurt efforts to prevent a stalling of women's careers from developing within cohorts over time?

In recent years, the gender pay gap has received a lot of attention. Of course, the monetary cost to women of interrupted work is important because financial security is the basis for access to resources that affect life trajectories and outcomes. But does the monetary impact matter more than the stress of juggling responsibilities within the context of constrained choices? Perhaps, the meaningful challenge of women's work-family balance is not the financial impact, but the everyday struggle of meeting demands of family and paid work where there is minimal support to women and caregivers who fulfill a societal need while making themselves financially vulnerable, and physically and emotionally burned out. These challenges may only get worse as COVID-19 has impacted the childcare industry and there is speculation on whether the industry will return to pre-pandemic levels of operation (Vesoulis, 2020) and the shortage of childcare options (and older adult care options) will affect women disproportionately. At the same time, COVID-19 has forced employers to recognize (and accommodate) childcare/caregiving responsibilities and make adjustments away from traditional expectations of work (e.g.,

flexibility in schedules and remote work), where workers will retain the changes after the pandemic fears are eased (Alon et al., 2020). In addition, the stay-at-home orders and working from home have made male spouses physically available in the home and Alon et. al (2020) discuss how the reallocation of childcare (and presumably household tasks) where men take on more responsibility—and in some cases becoming the primary childcare provider—will result in more gender equity by dismantling traditional gender roles and gendered expectations of who is responsible for household labor.

The current study's sample, as well as some of the perspectives and constructs used in the study were based on conventional gender norms. The ideas of 'double bind' and 'competing devotions' were originally presented in the context of cisgender, heterosexual couplings and the original interpretation was maintained for the current study. However, the same dynamics may be present across all types of couplings, where one person takes on a caregiver role opposite to their partner taking on a breadwinner role. The societal gender norms may not be what is driving the caregiver-breadwinner dynamic in same-sex couples, but the impact of the work-family conflict might be similar (i.e., couples trying to negotiate work and family responsibilities is not a gendered practice). Furthermore, there is concurrently growing trends of stay-at-home fathers (see Chesley, 2011; Kramer et al., 2015), breadwinner mother households (see Wang et al., 2013), stay-at-home mothers (see Cohn et al., 2014), as well the "new" involved father—the contemporary dad who is emotionally involved and child-centered with reports of increased experience of work-family conflict (see Harrington et al., 2011). Altogether, these simultaneous trends indicate a change from the stereotypical family makeup and a move toward households shaped by practical considerations (e.g., stay-at-home fathers are more likely to be married to women with higher education levels, Kramer et al., 2015) more than adherence to gendered roles

in the process of work-family negotiations. Thus, it is important to recognize the changing structure of families and how it interacts with people's abilities to balance work and family life.

Also, as it was exploratory, the current study did not secure a sample that allowed for group comparisons based on race and ethnicity or income levels. In the context of a flexibility stigma, workers can have more severe experiences of marginalization in the workplace because of multiple stigmas being present, as well potential interactive effects (Stone & Hernandez, 2013). This was illuminated by Williams, Blair-Loy, and Berdahl (2013) where they discussed how mothers with high level careers are stigmatized as not being ideal workers in asking for flexibility, but are still praised for their commitment to being a mother (Stone, 2007). However, for mothers working in low-income jobs asking for flexibility, they are criticized for having children at all and experience harsher social judgment and questioning (Dodson, 2013).

As such, the study sample left out meaningful experiences that make up mothers working outside the home and contemporary families. Studying a range of partnerships (in the family context) and intersection of working motherhood and race/ethnicity will be mutually informative of overlap and specificity across households. Data collection for a future—and more comprehensive—study should be more inclusive to progress to a perspective less dependent on limited perspectives and heteronormative marital conventions when studying work-family balance. In relation, regardless of the use of MTurk the lack of generalizability and limited practical value of findings may be related to the restrictive sampling criteria that hindered capturing variation in conflict and enrichment as a function of parenting preference and compensating differentials.

The current study helps to further uncover what we know about factors related to the daily challenge that is work-family balance specific to women. There is evidence that we are

transitioning away from gendered roles, which could help reframe the social narrative where childrearing/caregiving is a social issue affecting everyone, not just mothers and women. As families become smaller (i.e., beanpole family, people having less children) and have children at later ages, there will likely be less family members to shoulder part of the caregiving load, while caregiving needs may increase with more generations co-existing within families due to longevity. The overlap between the younger and older generations within a family seems to be moving further away from each other with more women in the middle of double duty caregiving. The adjustments to remote work have exposed the unquestioned work expectations that workers have been going along with and provided the realization to question and challenge what has been. There has been an urgent need to address the intersection of caregiving responsibilities and work, and the current pandemic-forced changes to work is a chance to be innovative and intentional (for both workers and employers/organizations) in creating an up-to-date routine of the work-family interface that matches current realities and needs of workers—women and family caregivers especially.

Appendix A

Compensating Differentials Measure (Goldin, 2014)

1. How often does your current job require you to meet strict deadlines? [*time pressure*]
2. How much contact with others (by telephone, face-to-face, or otherwise) is required to perform your current job? [*contact with others*]
3. How important is establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships to the performance of your current job? [*establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships*]
4. What level of establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships is needed to perform your current job? [*establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships*]
5. How much freedom do you have to determine the tasks, priorities, or goals of your current job? [*structured versus unstructured work*]
6. In your current job, how much freedom do you have to make decisions without supervision [*freedom to make decisions*]

Appendix B

Work-Family Conflict Scale (Carlson et al., 2000)

*Time-based **work interference with family***

1. My works keeps me from my family activities more than I would like.
2. The time I must devote to my job keeps me from participating equally in household responsibilities and activities.
3. I have to miss family activities due to the amount of time I must spend on work responsibilities.

Strain-based work interference with family

4. When I get home from work, I am often too frazzled to participate in family activities/responsibilities.
5. I am often so emotionally drained when I get home from work that it prevents me from contributing to my family.
6. Due to all the pressures at work, sometimes when I come home I am too stressed to do the things I enjoy.

Behavior-based work interference with family

7. The problem-solving behaviors I use in my job are not effective in resolving problems at home.
8. Behavior that is necessary for me at work would be counterproductive at home.[16a]
9. The behaviors I perform that make me effective at work do not help me to be a better parent.[17]

*Time-based **family interference with work***

1. The time I spend on family responsibilities often interfere with my work responsibilities.
2. The time I spend with my family often causes me not to spend time in activities at work that could be helpful to my career.
3. I have to miss work activities due to the amount of time I must spend on family responsibilities.

Strain-based family interference with work

4. Due to stress at home, I am often preoccupied with family matters at work.
5. Because I am often stressed from family responsibilities, I have a hard time concentrating on my work.
6. Tension and anxiety from my family often weakens my ability to do my job.

Behavior-based family interference with work

7. The behaviors that work for me at home do not seem to be effective at work.
8. Behavior that is necessary for me at home would be counterproductive at work.[11b]
9. The problem-solving behavior that work for me at home does not seem to be as useful at work.

[16a, b] Original item: "Behavior that is *effective and* necessary for me at…" Words in italics were deleted for the proposed study to avoid double-barreled questions.

[17] Original item: "The behaviors I perform that make me effective at work do not help me be a better parent *and spouse*." Words in italics were deleted for the proposed study to avoid double-barreled questions.

Appendix C

Work-Family Enrichment Scale (Short Form; Kacmar et al., 2014)

Work-to-Family: *My involvement in my work* _____.

1. Helps me to understand different viewpoints and this helps me be a better family member [development]
2. Makes me feel happy and this helps me be a better family member [affect]
3. Helps me feel personally fulfilled and this helps me be a better family member [capital]

Family-to-Work: *My involvement in my family* _____.

1. Helps me acquire skills and this helps me be a better worker [development]
2. Puts me in a good mood and this helps me be a better worker [affect]
3. Encourages me to use my work time in a focused manner and this helps me be a better worker [efficiency]

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