ANTICIPATING WORK AND FAMILY: EXPERIENCE, CONFLICT, AND PLANNING IN THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD

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Dissertation Prepared for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

August 2011

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Vicki L. Campbell, Major Professor and Chair of the Department of Psychology Lawrence Schneider, Committee Member Ed Watkins, Committee Member James D. Meernik, Acting Dean of the Toulouse Graduate School Campbell, Elizabeth L. <u>Anticipating work and family: Experience, conflict, and planning in the transition to adulthood</u>. Doctor of Philosophy (Counseling Psychology), August 2011, 164 pp., 15 tables, 3 figures, references, 92 titles.

The purpose of this study was to examine the development of work and family plans in young adults, and to clarify the long-term stability, prevalence, and consequences of anticipated work-family conflict. The study utilizes Super's model of career development and social cognitive career theory, as well as research on current work-family interface, as a framework for understanding the period of anticipating and planning for multiple role integration that occurs between adolescence and adulthood. A sample of 48 male and 52 female college students assessed two years prior completed self-report questionnaires measuring work, marriage, and parenting experience; anticipated work-family conflict; and multiple-role planning. Results of this study suggest that students desire both a career and a family, and recognize potential challenges of a multiple-role lifestyle. Such recognition of anticipated work-family conflict varies by conflict domains and measurement methods, but remains stable over two years. Results also suggest that anticipated work-family conflict does not mediate the relationship between experience and planning; instead, marriage experience predicts planning directly. Implications for the findings are discussed as are suggestions for directions of new research concerning anticipated work-family conflict and planning for multiple roles.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the past three decades, the interface of work and family roles is of increasing interest to scholars from a wide range of academic disciplines, including psychology, sociology, business, and family social sciences; and also to the general public. In fact, the Washington Post reported that in the past two years, the newspaper included more than 500 articles devoted to the matter of balancing work and family. The newspaper's online site, washingtonpost.com, received over 100,000 comments from readers on the subject (Steiner, 2008).

Similarly, pre-emptive aspirations about career and family roles are increasingly interrelated (Super, 1957). Although in the past these choices were often seen as either/or decisions (e.g., men typically planned for their careers and women focused solely on family roles), both men and women are now considering how role participation in both domains will combine (Spade & Reese, 1991). Increasingly, young men and women are asking themselves questions including, do we choose to pursue a family and attain our career aspirations? Can we have both? What does it mean to "have it all"?

In addition, many see these roles as conflicting. Having a family may interfere with career aspirations, or work may interfere with plans for a family. A recent study of working and stay-at-home mothers showed that both report conflict about the idea of combining work and family (PEW Research Center, 2007). The majority of both working and nonworking mothers reported that full-time involvement in work while

raising a family is not ideal for them or their children. As such, it appears that a multiple role lifestyle causes conflicts that significantly impact individuals and families.

In the past, career and family goals were often thought of as opposing choices as illustrated by the following transcript including commentary that was published in 1955 as an example of "effective" career counseling with women:

C31 [Counselor]—Had you intended to make whatever work that you go in to your career or is that employment for a limited period of time before you plan to get married, or what?

[Commentary] This is almost a universal question to be considered by women in making vocational plans. Frequently a strong "career" interest in women is indicative of personality deviation (not necessarily personality maladjustment). In any event, the relative strength of career and marriage motivation and goals needs to be considered and understood.

S32 [Client]—Well, it was my career. (long pause) So far as I know.

C32—I was not thinking of any specific plan, but the general idea that maybe you would teach for three or four years or something before you get married (Callis, Polmantier, & Roeber, 1955, p. 14).

In the past, many counselors were influenced by the stereotypic notions of the "woman's place" as being in the home, and consequently, family roles were encouraged to impede on career goals. While for men the focus was strictly on career, for women the focus was typically on family alone. Until recently, many counselors believed there must be something "wrong" with a young woman who entertains other possibilities for her future besides family aspirations, including work or a combination of work and family (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980).

Over the last 25 years, however, there has been a dramatic effort by research, career counseling, women's groups, and other organizations to understand women's career choice and adjustment (Fassinger, 1990). Accordingly, efforts have been made

to decrease the obstacles women have experienced related to work-family conflicts on career. For example, there has been a rapid growth in the career psychology of women, and thus, it has become a critically important focus of career psychology and counseling psychology in general (Betz, 2005). In fact, Division 17 of the American Psychological Association created a set of guidelines to specifically address concerns regarding the fair and unbiased treatment of women in career counseling. In these guidelines, psychologists were called to recognize how gender socialization may effect their own perceptions and biases about work, multiple roles, and dual-earner relationships. The guidelines also highlight the stressful demands of working and having a family and the pervasiveness of negative perceptions of changing gender roles, particularly for women (Fitzgerald & Nutt, 1986). Today, such a broader perspective on the influences of career development has expanded to include both women and men. Yet, work-family conflict still exists, and concerns about how work and family aspirations combine and influence one another are still prevalent.

Research continues to focus on how young people develop their aspirations, and research thus far has concluded that at the same time that women are aspiring to more work-related goals, men are becoming equally committed to family aspirations. Recent research on young men's family plans has suggested that men report high importance and commitment to family roles, which is equivalent to that of females (Burke, 1994; Spade & Reese, 1991). For the majority of males and females, research suggests that family roles are viewed as equally important if not more important than career goals. Such changes in men's family aspirations can also be seen in the changing nature of current work behavior and policy. Research suggests that men's average level of family

involvement has increased in recent decades (Galinsky, Aumann & Bond, 2008), and companies are increasingly instating family –supportive employer policies that include men through the replacement of "maternity leave" with "family leave" (Pleck & Pleck, 1997).

Collectively, findings suggest that the career and family aspirations of both females and males have become increasingly similar, with the vast majority of both men and women reporting that they hope to participate in both career and family roles in the future. These findings reflect that young men and women no longer aspire to a future involving primarily work or family, but instead a combination of both. Similarly, both men and women participate in a combination of both career and family roles.

Taken together, these trends have prompted researchers in several disciplines to investigate the nature of career and family aspirations as well as the experience of multiple role involvement, although the two domains remain largely segregated in separate realms. Studies to date have not yet merged the two areas by considering the period of time that connects multiple role anticipation and multiple role participation; the time where expectations develop into plans for involvement. Instead, research on the development of multiple roles largely ignores that it is made up of a developmental process and remains largely segregated between anticipatory and participation phases.

However, two major career development theories that have attempted to incorporate family plans in their explanations address the development of such plans, including Super's model of career development and social cognitive career theory (SCCT). These theories offer potentially useful frameworks for understanding the development of multiple role plans. Both theories recognize the potential impact of

family aspirations on career planning, but conceptualize that this process occurs in different ways. Both, however, frame multiple role combination in terms of conflict, barriers and difficulties. Since little research has been done in this area, understanding how work and family plans intertwine and are associated with such conflict and barriers remains largely theoretical, but skewed to a conflict perspective. Yet increased knowledge of the interface of work and family plans is vital, because it allows for better understanding of many young people's transition to adulthood. Additionally, this information can help career counselors better address career concerns in the context of overall life concerns. Young men and women continue to plan for multiple roles, and correspondingly, research and theory need to consider the development of such roles in combination in order to fully understand young people's future plans.

The current study utilizes Super's model of career development and SCCT, as well as research on current work-family interface, as a framework for understanding planning for multiple role integration. The literature was reviewed to understand what is known about young people's work and family aspirations, and the effect they have on each other. Theoretical ideas relevant to this question are considered in the following sections, along with research studying those currently combining work and family, work family conflict, future perceptions of work and family involvement, and anticipated work-family conflict.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Background

The interface of work and family plans has been typically considered by developmental theories as an aspect of identity development in adolescence and early adulthood. Freud's (1940) psychoanalytic theory recognized this interface as a part of the genital stage, which was his final psychosexual stage of development. This stage was said to begin at puberty and continue into adulthood. During this time, a young person is driven by pressing sexual energy that is partially satisfied through the pursuit of socially acceptable substitutes in a process of sublimination. Acceptable outlets for sublimination include finding satisfaction in love through a committed adult relationship, and work. Thus, Freud's theory recognized the importance of simultaneously building both a career and lasting relationships during adolescence and early adulthood.

Like Freud's theory, Erikson's psychosocial theory also discussed the development of both work and family roles in adolescence, but Erikson framed it in terms of identity formation. Erikson (1950) defined identity as one's sense of self, and achieving this self-definition or "ego identity" was the central objective in adolescence. According to Erikson, an adolescent's task is to solidify a sense of self by testing and integrating various roles including politics, religion, occupation, friendships, gender roles, and romantic relationships. Failure to reach this goal may cause confusion in sexual identity, the choice of an occupation, and the roles they perform as adults. Erikson suggested that until stated tasks are reached, normative conflict occurs which reflects an opposition between identity and confusion, also referred to as an identity

crisis. Thus, identity formation involves a period of uncertainty where an adolescent considers what roles they would like to pursue in a variety of domains, including work and family.

Following the attainment of identity in adolescence, Erikson's theory of development claimed that intimacy is typically achieved in young adulthood. Erikson defined intimacy as the capacity for mutuality and stability in relationships. During this period, independence is established from parents and individuals begin to function as mature, responsible adults. Erikson included in this stage the undertaking and commitment to productive work and establishing intimate relationships. Undertaking such roles in the stage of young adulthood, however, is contingent on the resolution of preceding stages. According to Erikson, successful identity achievement is a prerequisite to the development of intimacy. Thus, young adulthood is conceived as a period when young people actually commit to the roles they consider and identify in adolescence.

A related framework often used to theorize about how young people think about their futures is that of possible selves. Possible selves is a concept coined by developmental adolescent researchers Markus and Nurius (1986) to describe images or conceptions of what a person would like to become, could become, or is afraid of becoming. Each is imagined as a "possible self," of which a person has many. The repertoire of possible selves is considered a cognitive manifestation of an individual's goals, aspirations, motives, fears, and threats. Possible selves reflect personal concerns of enduring salience and investment, and help determine over time which selves are selected for further attention and pursuit. This framework has been

specifically applied to young people envisioning future life domains of work and family (Curry, Trew, Turner, & Hunter, 1994). From this perspective, young people consider possible selves including being employed, having children, and participating in home and childcare activities all at once. The possible self framework proposes that possible selves have a substantial impact on how actions are initiated and structured, both to realize certain possible selves or to avoid negative ones (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Thus, the perceived appeal, likelihood, and fear of certain selves influence the roles young people choose to pursue for the future. Through possible selves, young people may consider a variety of possibilities for roles in both career and family, and their decisions regarding these roles may be largely influenced by their perception of them.

Although developmental theories and frameworks have identified planning for multiple roles as part of a simultaneous process in identity development, empirical research on how planning for such roles actually takes place has typically remained segregated. From the career development literature, however, two major developmental theories have attempted to incorporate the influence of family plans in their explanation of career development, including Super's model of career development and social cognitive career theory (SCCT). This first section reviews these two theories and their perspective on the nature and consequences of family planning on career development.

Super's Model of Career Development

Donald Super (1957) generated a life span vocational choice theory that considers career development as a process that extends throughout the life span to include five stages of growth. Super identified developmentally appropriate tasks for

each stage, with the goal being that of career maturity. Career maturity was a construct originally identified by Super (1957) to describe and assess the stage of career development reached by individuals to determine their ability to make career decisions. Instead of focusing on whether a person had made a career choice or not, the theory proposed that successful career development involved engaging, or having engaged, in appropriate career-related tasks, and career maturity is a reflection of the level of that engagement.

Another central component of this theory is its focus on the life space, or multiple roles enacted by an individual. The theory states that a person's multiple roles in life interact to reciprocally shape each other (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996). Thus, decisions about one's career influence and are influenced by decisions about other life roles, including that of family. Super explained the importance of life space through the terms of life structure, role interactions, and life redesign. Life structure reflects the arrangement or pattern of roles in a person's life, and is made up of both core and peripheral roles. Super claimed that people identify two or three roles as core, meaning such roles are fundamental to identity and essential to life satisfaction. Other roles in the life structure are considered peripheral or absent. Although these roles may still hold some importance, such roles are minor and can be vacated when core roles require more time and commitment. He defined "role salience" as the importance an individual assigned to life roles including work/career, family, and leisure roles in relation to other roles in his or her life. Since role salience includes the intended level of commitment of personal time and energy resources put forth toward a role, Super used the term "salience" interchangeably with the term "commitment". This concept became

a key measure as Super found that individuals in various roles and life stages differed greatly in types and levels of commitment of role salience (Super, 1995). Subsequent use of this concept in the work and family literature has typically referred to it as "commitment" (Friedman & Weissbrod, 2005; Spade & Reece, 1991).

"Role interactions" is another term by Super to explain the variety of ways multiple roles can interrelate. Such interactions create a web of life roles that can be extensive or minimal, and supportive, supplementary, compensatory, or neutral. Role interactions may also be conflicting if they take time and energy away from other important roles. Lastly, the life space involves life redesign, which refers to the tendency for life structures, role interactions, and even roles themselves to shift and change throughout the life span. Life redesign involves adapting to changes by redefining one's web of life roles. Life redesign may be experienced in a variety of ways, and may be seen as predictable or novel, developmental or traumatic.

Recently Super's notions of the interface of work and family roles in development were expanded through the construct of multiple role realism. Multiple role realism is grounded in Super's career theory, and was adapted from his career maturity model to represent the engagement in tasks relating to the combination of work and family aspirations. Multiple role realism was proposed by Weitzman (1994) as a theoretical framework for understanding the process of planning to balance career and family roles. Weitzman's model of multiple role realism is a construct used to describe and assess the stage of career and family development reached by individuals to determine their ability to make decisions regarding the balance of work and family. Multiple role realism refers to "the recognition that multiple-role involvement is a complex and potentially

stressful life style, paired with an awareness of the need for careful planning and consideration of the interface between work and family roles" (Weitzman, 1994, p. 16). According to Weitzman, individuals high in multiple role realism are likely to develop an awareness of the ways in which work and family roles interact and are subsequently more likely to develop feasible plans that are congruent with their values, goals, and abilities (McCracken & Weitzman, 1997). In contrast, individuals low in multiple role realism are unrealistic in their awareness of work and family roles, and are more likely to develop life plans that are unworkable or vague. Consequently, a realistic individual is less likely than an unrealistic individual to face disappointment as a result of impossible or incompatible goals. Weitzman contended that planning for multiple roles and considering how to manage them in advance can reduce difficulties in actually taking on a multiple role lifestyle in the future (Weitzman & Fitzgerald, 1996).

A central aspect of both Super's theory and the multiple role realism construct is an awareness of future possibilities. A division of multiple role realism, multiple role knowledge, reflects the level of concrete knowledge of issues related to multiple role involvement. Weitzman (1994) stated that young people tend not to know what things they need to consider, and what knowledge may be important upon which to make decisions about multiple roles. The five areas of knowledge that Weitzman deemed likely to impact a multiple role lifestyle are consequences of career interruption, employer leave policies, negotiation and communication techniques, cost and availability of childcare, and anticipated multiple role conflict. Weitzman contended that in order for individuals to make realistic plans for a multiple role lifestyle, accurate information about these essential areas must be obtained and utilized in making plans.

Social Cognitive Career Theory

In contrast, the interface of work and family is perceived differently within social cognitive career theory (SCCT). SCCT is a recently developed conceptual framework aimed at understanding the processes through which people develop interests, make career-relevant choices, and achieve in career-related domains (Lent, Brown, Talleyrand, McPartland, Davis, Chopra, Alexander, Suthakaran, & Chai, 2002). SCCT is based on Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), which recognizes social learning as the fundamental component of development. While SCCT highlights personal agency in career development through cognitive-person variables such as self-efficacy, it also recognizes the interplay between cognitive-person variables and the environmental context that may influence personal agency. Such an interplay gives rise to barriers, which are defined as "events or conditions, either within the person or in his or her environment, that make...progress difficult" (Swanson & Woitke, 1997, p. 446). Swanson and Woitke (1997) claimed that barriers undermine self-efficacy. Accordingly, a fundamental assumption of SCCT is that people are unable or unwilling to translate their occupational interests into goals and their goals into actions if they perceive insurmountable barriers to career entry or success (Lent et al., 2002). Research has identified the importance and influence of career barriers, and a commonly cited career barrier is commitment to family. Although it has not been as well researched, initial findings suggest that the reverse is also true: barriers to family include commitment to career (Perrone, Civiletto, Webb, & Fitch, 2004). Thus, SCCT would suggest that the conflicting barriers between career and family would negatively impact planning for a balance between the two. While Super's model of career development posits that

anticipating the possible conflicts between work and family roles will encourage planning or result in more planning activity, SCCT suggests that perceived conflict will inhibit planning or result in less or no planning for the integration of work and family. Theoretical Background Summary and Critique

In sum, both Super's theory and SCCT recognize the potential impact of family aspirations on career development, but they conceptualize how this process occurs in different ways. Super's model regards planning for multiple roles as a simultaneous process that must involve recognition of potential conflicts in order for adaptive planning to take place. Conversely, SCCT posits that, while planning for multiple roles may occur simultaneously, knowledge of their reciprocal effects can have a negative impact on each.

What these theories have in common is that they are both grounded in career theories. Although each addresses the influence of family planning, the theories do not give equal importance to multiple domains but rather remain focused solely on career, with family as merely an added component. This runs contrary to research that suggests young men and women place equal importance on both work and family (Spade & Reese, 1991; Burke; 1994). Yet, a developmental theory independent from the career literature that gives equal focus to planning for both career and family development for both men and women does not yet exist. As such, the two theories that have addressed the relationship between work and family have framed it in terms of the family's effects on career development. This provides only a narrow theoretical perspective on the integration of work and family.

Multiple role realism and SCCT also rest on the assumption that conflict is inherent in multiple role relationships, but suggest that awareness of such conflicts result in opposing consequences on planning for the future. While Super's model of career development posits that anticipating the possible conflicts between work and family roles will encourage planning or result in more planning activity, SCCT suggests that perceived conflict will inhibit planning or result in less or no planning for the integration of work and family. Thus, anticipated work-family conflict and barriers have demonstrated that they are linked to the same construct, although their unique theoretical underpinnings suggest opposite consequences. Research is needed to resolve this theoretical discrepancy. Yet despite their differing views on the consequences of recognizing conflicts between work and family, both theoretical perspectives concentrate on conflict alone in multiple role planning. This "conflict perspective" appears to follow from a similar trend of research on current work and family roles by means of current work-family conflict.

Current Work and Family

This section focuses on the experiences of those who are currently involved in both career and family roles, and work-family conflict. Most research on this area has been generated by industrial organizational (IO), organizational behavior (OB), and vocational psychology fields. In fact, the examination of work-family conflict is considered to be a primary area of IO/OB research (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005). In addition, sociology and other psychology disciplines including family and counseling psychology have contributed to the literature. A central focus for most of the research has been on work-family conflict. Approached from a variety of

disciplines, the purposes regarding its study have differed between investigators. While some were interested in work productivity, others focused on family functioning, and still others were primarily interested in the health and well-being of individuals. As such, the research on work-family conflict is abundant, but only general findings and personal consequences will be discussed here for the purposes of this study.

Before examining the literature on current work-family conflict, a review of the nature of work and family roles will be presented. Specifically, the literature reviewed in this section will suggest that: (a) work and family roles are changing and interdependent, but still appear to be largely gender specific, (b) such interdependence leads to work-family conflict, which can have negative effects for many people, and (c) preventative strategies, including planning for multiple roles, can reduce work-family conflict.

Work and Family Roles

Substantial changes have occurred during this last century in the life expectations, labor force participation rates, and childbearing practices of men and women in the United States, but these changes have accelerated especially in the past thirty years. The most marked changes have occurred in the life style choices of women. Traditionally, men were breadwinners and women were homemakers, in which men were expected to hold a job outside of the home and women were relied on as the primary caretakers of the home and children. These social norms were restrictive and clear. The rapid entry of women into the workforce since the 1950s, however, has changed this pattern for many people. In fact, society's expectations of the roles of women especially are now varied. Women have a range of role options from which to

choose, including the choice to devote themselves solely to their families or to their careers, or both. With new options available, most women chose not to restrict themselves to only the home role. In fact, the traditional family in which the father works and the mother stays at home is becoming increasingly rare. Less than 7% of all United States households were like that in the 1990s (Barnett & Rivers, 1996). Instead, increasing numbers of women are participating in work and family roles. Sixty percent of women with children under the age of 12 months are employed. The odds that a woman will work outside the home during her adult life are more than 90% (U.S. Department of Labor, 2003). The pressure on women to work outside the home is partly economic, partly social, and partly a function of increasing opportunities (Machung, 1989). These statistics imply that paid employment is now the rule, not the exception.

Despite the increased participation of women in the paid labor force, women are still marrying, having children, and maintaining family responsibilities. Men's roles in the family have also adapted and expanded to include increased involvement in household labor and child care (Pleck & Pleck, 1997), although women generally continue to maintain primary responsibility of the home and children. Thus, more and more adult men and women have become involved in multiple-role lifestyles in which they must strive to combine work and family. In fact, the most common family lifestyle today is the "dual-earner" family in which both the man and woman work outside of the home (Barnett & Hyde, 2001).

With more and more people becoming involved in multiple-role lifestyles, work and family have become the two most important domains in the lives of the majority of

adult men and women today. As described by Barnett and Hyde (2001), "work-family role convergence" now exists where both work and family are considered important in the lives of both men and women and many, if not most, prefer the two roles equally. With the changes in the demographic composition of the workforce, research into the links between these two domains has grown tremendously. Each domain has its own role demands and requirements, and research has found that these demands may be in conflict with each other to varying degrees.

Work-Family Conflict

One common stress-related result of this role combination is work-family conflict. Work-family conflict is defined as a form of interrole conflict in which the pressures from work and family roles are mutually incompatible so that meeting the demands in one domain makes it difficult to meet the demands in the other domain. This definition was developed by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985), who are IO/OB psychologists and have written extensively about work-family conflict. The definition was derived from a review of the literature on work-family conflict to that point. Greenhaus (1988) was the first to develop a model of work-family conflict. Sociology research has also defined similar constructs to work-family conflict, using such terms as role overload (Thoits, 1992) and spillover (Pleck, 1977) between work and family. Role conflict is the state of having too many roles with conflicting demands, such as trying to juggle the demands of both home and work. However, research has not found a clear relationship between the number of roles a person must manage and the degree of distress he or she experiences (Thoits, 1992). Spillover is the fact that stressful events in one part of a person's daily life often spill over into other parts of his or her life. Spillover can occur

whether or not the person experiences role overload. It is theorized to be a problem for both men and women, and is thought to result in neglect and withdrawal of both work and family roles, as well as irritability (Pleck, 1977).

More recently, researchers in this area have distinguished between two types of work-family conflict: work-interfering-with-family (WIF) conflict and family-interfering-with-work (FIW) conflict. WIF conflict occurs when work-related activities interfere with home responsibilities, and FIW conflict arises when family-role responsibilities impede work activities. Frone, Russell, and Cooper (1992) proposed the two types based on Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) definition of work-family conflict. The authors suggested that this conceptualization of work-family conflict was more appropriate, as it more accurately portrayed the bi-directional nature of conflict in multiple domains.

Research on the two types of work-family conflict support the assumption that WIF and FIW conflict are unique in terms of work- and family-related antecedents and outcomes. Thus, the two work-family conflict measures function as key mediating variables linking variables in the work domain with variables in the family domain.

Frone and colleagues (1992) also found that the two types of work-family conflict have an indirect reciprocal relation to each other. It was assumed by the researchers that the indirect effect of FIW conflict on WIF conflict is explained via work overload and work distress. Thus, it is suggested that such indirect relationships exist because high levels of WIF conflict lead to perceptions of elevated parental overload and family distress because work-related demands, preoccupation, or time commitments reduce the amount of time and energy available to meet parenting and other family responsibilities. High levels of parental overload and family distress then lead to

elevated levels of FIW conflict. Thus, although research has suggested that WIF and FIW have indirect reciprocal relationships to one another, their unique antecedents and consequences have distinguished them by many researchers as empirically distinct constructs (e.g., Adams, King, & King, 1996; Duxbury, Higgins, & Lee, 1994; Frone et al., 1992; Gutek, Searles, & Klepa, 1991; O'Driscoll, Ilgen, & Hildreth, 1992).

Research findings suggest that work-family conflict puts individuals at risk for a number of negative consequences. In general, work-family conflict has been associated with diminished satisfaction and lower levels of psychological well-being (Frone et al., 1992). Other consequences vary depending on the type of conflict assessed. FIW conflict is more related to work-related penalties such as job satisfaction and burnout (Gignac, Kelloway, & Gottlieb, 1996). WIF conflict is associated more with measures of psychological distress (Frone et al., 1992). Despite these differences, a meta-analysis of the work-family conflict literature by Kossek and Ozeki (1998) concluded that, "a consistent negative relationship exists among all forms of work-family conflict and job-life satisfaction" (p. 139).

Research findings on the prevalence of work-family conflict have concluded that these issues are extremely common for both men and women. While findings on the prevalence of work-family conflict vary depending on the type of conflict assessed and the measurement approach used, research has consistently demonstrated that WIF conflict surpasses FIW conflict among working adults with families, although both are common (Frone, 2003). Work-family conflict in general is prevalent among working adults, with most studies finding about 80% of male and female participants report having experienced some type of work-family conflict (e.g. Duxbury et al., 1994; Frone

et al., 1992, Galinsky et al., 2008). Yet, it appears that not all individuals who are involved in both work and family roles experience conflict.

Since a minority of participants report that they do not experience such difficulties, a great deal of research has been devoted to investigating the correlates and predictors of work-family conflict. Research findings have identified a number of factors that correlate to work-family conflict. Emotional and instrumental spousal support has been shown to correlate with work-family conflict, in which lack of support from spouses and partners increases experienced conflict (Adams, King, & King, 1996). Organizational policies also have an influence. When individuals receive minimal accommodations from their employers, work-family conflict is higher (Thomas & Ganster, 1995). Quality of work and family roles (Barnett & Baruch, 1985), and family life cycle stage (Voyandoff, 1985) also correlate with work-family conflict, in which individuals who feel less satisfied with their jobs or family relationships, and have younger children have been shown to be at higher risk for experiencing work-family conflict. Overall, women have been found to experience higher levels of work-family conflict than men (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991), which has been attributed to the trend of women continuing to bear the majority of the household and family responsibilities (Wiersma & Van Den Berg, 1991). Moreover, in addition to being at higher risk for experiencing conflict between roles, women also appear to suffer greater consequences from work-family conflict such as lower life satisfaction and psychological distress when compared to men (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). Yet, men's reported level of work-family conflict has risen significantly over the past three decades, and some researchers suggest that men are equally if not more likely to experience work-family conflict than

women (Galinsky et al., 2008). Thus, work-family conflict is now a significant issue for both men and women.

Research has suggested that a multiple-role lifestyle poses challenges that can lead to work-family conflict for many people. Some research has focused on adaptive strategies to prevent and cope with work-family conflict in dual-career earner families, in which both the husband and wife work while raising children. A common finding among researchers is that many families effectively cope with multiple roles by using some form of scaling back strategy, in which one partner reduces their work involvement to care for the children and home responsibilities (Becker & Moen, 1998; Moen & Wethington, 1992). Research reveals that typically it is women rather than men who most often reduce their work involvement. In addition, a substantial number of women using this strategy did not anticipate reducing their labor force participation when they planned their careers. Researchers have suggested that this unforeseen withdrawal from the workforce might contribute to distress and dissatisfaction (Becker & Moen, 1998), and subsequent studies have confirmed this assertion (Hughes & Galinsky, 1994). By unexpectedly reducing their participation in the labor force, many women experience psychological distress and personal strain, resulting in FIW conflict, in which they view their family demands as hampering their ability to achieve their career goals (Hallett, 1999; Hughes & Galinsky, 1994). Thus, studies suggest that conflicting work and home-related demands are often sources of stress as well as possible barriers to achieving career goals, especially for women. The decisions a couple makes regarding how to manage multiple roles can have a significant effect on one's satisfaction with a

multiple role lifestyle, as well as the individual roles they comprise, including marriage, job, children, and life in general.

Multiple Role Planning

One factor that is thought to contribute to increased satisfaction with and decreased stress from a multiple role lifestyle is the extent to which one has planned for this type of lifestyle realistically (Weitzman & Fitzgerald, 1996). Indeed, research has shown that planning may be important for those presently involved in a multiple-role lifestyle. Studies have indicated that dual-career planning is predictive of less conflict among roles, problem-solving effectiveness, and marital satisfaction (Hall, 1972; Steffy & Ashbaugh, 1986). Further research in planning also suggests that, while the type of strategy men and women adopt to manage their multiple role demands is not related to life satisfaction, people who report using any type of strategy to manage competing demands from multiple roles have higher levels of satisfaction than those who have no explicit strategy in place (Gray, 1983; Hall, 1972). In sum, studies with dual-earner couples suggest that developing conscious strategies for coping with multiple role demands and planning approaches to work-family integration that are congruent with one's goals and aspirations may be valuable ways of avoiding some of the negative consequences associated with multiple roles.

Researchers have suggested that developing realistic plans for managing multiple roles in advance can reduce difficulties encountered once one actually engages in a multiple-role lifestyle. This is also reflected in a growing number of suggestions found in the counseling literature that encourage practitioners to address multiple role planning issues with their young adult clients. These suggestions rest on the

assumption that an individual who makes realistic plans for combining work and family is less likely to face disappointment as a result of finding it impossible, or at least much more difficult than expected, to attain his or her goals (McCracken & Weitzman, 1997). Current Work and Family Summary and Critique

In sum, studies suggest that the nature of families are changing, in which both men and women are involved in both career and family roles, yet women continue to retain the majority of household and childcare responsibilities. The majority of research on current work and family has focused on work-family conflict. Studies suggest that, particularly for women, managing work and family roles is a significant source of stress and strain. Although the majority of couples experience work-family conflict, research on those who do not suggest that developing conscious strategies for coping with demands through multiple role planning may diminish the negative consequences associated with work-family conflict.

Similar to career theories that consider the influence of family on career, current work-family research tends toward a "conflict perspective," in which the majority of research focuses on work-family conflict. This perspective downplays the possibility that multiple roles can be beneficial, and instead focuses on the incompatibility and resulting discord of multiple role interfacing. Even the term "work-family conflict" represents a focus on tension and controversy, rather than a more neutral term such as work-family integration, interfacing, or intersection. Accordingly, empirical research has documented positive effects of a multiple-role lifestyle including improved self-esteem, and better physical and mental health (Gilbert, 1994). Yet both conceptually and

empirically, the primary focus on work and family has been on the resulting conflict and stress of multiple roles.

In view of the conflict perspective, it seems reasonable that researchers would search for preventative strategies to minimize the numerous negative effects documented for work-family interface. One such strategy that may be promising is that of multiple role planning, in which young people develop strategies for coping with demands in an effort to consciously prevent negative consequences. Yet, the multiple role planning strategy remains largely theoretical, through suggestions from counselors, theories, and research articles. Although this strategy has received initial empirical support with couples, additional research could help to determine if this is a viable strategy for young adults in the planning stages of their future roles in work and family.

Such a suggestion, however, brings up questions about people who are in the anticipatory stages of work and family. For example, if planning can be beneficial, what kind of planning are young people engaging in? What are their aspirations and attitudes regarding their future roles? Are they realistic? These questions and others have arisen specifically from the research on work-family conflict, and additional research on young people and their views on future work and family roles has been the result.

Students and Future Work and Family Roles

Since planning is suggested to be an important factor in preventing dissatisfaction caused by multiple role strain, some researchers have turned their attention to individuals who are in the anticipatory stages of their career and family lives to investigate their views and aspirations on future work and family roles. Although this preliminary stage includes individuals both in and out of school, most studies have

focused solely on college students. Similar to research on current work and family roles, most research on students and future work and family roles has also been generated by IO/OB and vocational psychology fields. In addition, sociology and other psychology disciplines including counseling psychology have contributed to the literature. Lastly, women's studies perspectives focused on women's issues have also made a contribution.

Approached from a variety of disciplines, the purposes regarding its study have differed between investigators. While the vocational investigators typically look toward implications for work productivity, others focus on implications for family and personal well-being. Perspectives focused on women's issues are especially concerned about the potential bias and marginalization of women's career advancement, as well as the potential for conflicting demands acting as possible barriers to achieving career goals for women. While each discipline has unique goals and interests regarding students and their futures, disciplines are similar in that nearly all of the research produced is influenced by research on current work-family conflict.

Career development theories also highlight the importance of considering students' futures. In Super's (1957) theory of career development, exploration is a significant part of the decision-making process and is essential to career maturity. Likewise, Weitzman's (1994) extension of this theory to multiple role realism stresses the importance of making plans for the future for later success. SCCT also recognizes the importance of developing interests and making choices to impact one's future. More broadly, developmental theories and work on students' future orientations also highlight the importance of considering students' future expectations. In Erikson's theory,

adolescence is a time of uncertainty when young people attempt to make decisions about their futures, which is a necessary component of identity development. Lastly, the framework of possible selves stresses the necessity for individuals to initiate and focus their orientation in order to realize certain possible selves and avoid negative selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Not only have theories highlighted the importance of considering young people and their future roles, research has also focused on this topic as well. Yet research on students and future work and family roles has encompassed a vast array of topics, some in isolation by topic area and some in combination. Topics that have been studied include students' future aspirations, commitment to future roles, and expectations for their futures. It also includes studies on students' planning behavior and level of realism for these roles. Research on each of these topics will be considered in turn. This area of research also includes studies on anticipated workfamily conflict and barriers, which will be discussed in detail later.

Due to its multidisciplinary nature and the vast array of topics it includes, there is clearly a lack of continuity in research on students' views of future work and family roles. Researchers in one discipline were often unfamiliar with the current literature in others, and as a result, names and measures of similar constructs have differed across studies. In addition, although relevant theories are abundant, empirical findings remain largely atheoretical, since practical issues of work-family conflict were the driving force of most research on students' views of future work and family roles, rather than theoretical concerns. Thus, the research appears to be guided by the following question: since the

majority of adults participate in both work and family and experience conflict in doing so, what are students' expectations regarding their own future work and family roles?

Despite stated difficulties, the literature on students' views of future work and family roles will be reviewed at this time. Specifically, the literature reviewed in this section will consider two lines of research: 1) what are students' aspirations for work and family roles, and 2) how are students planning for involvement in such roles? Students' Aspirations

A review of literature on students' views on future roles suggests that aspirations have been referred to by several names in the research including aspirations, plans, expectations, and goals. Such terms have been used interchangeably in the research and have not been clearly defined in the studies that have considered them. It has been suggested that aspirations have not been clearly defined in the literature because most authors assume that readers already know what aspirations are and do not need to be reminded (Rojewski, 2005). Thus, a clear definition of aspirations remains rather elusive, and often includes a variety of related terms.

Overall, career and family aspirations appear to be similar for both men and women. A study by Crimmins, Easterlin, and Saito (1991) compared the aspirations of 18-year-olds over a decade, from 1976 to 1986, surveying around 3,000 young men and women per year, with roughly equal numbers of each gender. Results indicated that later cohorts of young men and women were more similar in both their desire to work and have a family. While in 1976, men and women showed larger percentage differences for those who desired to work full-time (1.9% difference), get married (10.6% difference), and have children (4.5% difference), men and women were more similar in

1986 as to their desires to work full-time (1% difference), get married (3% difference), and have children (1.1% difference). Men's desire for a full-time career remained high, and women's inclination to work rose to a comparable level. The desire to marry and have a family increased for both men and women, but men to a larger degree.

Career and family plans for men and women have also been considered in their relationship to each other. Business management researchers (Sanders, Lengnick-Hall, Lengnick-Hall, & Steele-Clapp, 1998) conducted a study of 746 students ranging from 15 to 19 years old, including 398 females and 348 males, on their career-family attitudes using a measure created for the study called the Career-Family Attitudes Measure (CFAM). This measure asked participants to rate on a 7-point scale their level of agreement with an item, with 7 representing maximum agreement with the item, and 1 indicating strong disagreement. Results separated participants with a strong focus toward family, career, or both into three groups of family focus, career focus, and balance, respectively. Results indicated a strong preference for balance, with means of 5.90 for males and 6.26 for females, while family focus had means of 2.77 for males and 2.66 for females, and career focus had 3.83 for males and 3.82 for females. As such, both males and females agreed more with items relating to work-family balance, and disagreed more with items that focused on career or family roles alone. The researchers concluded that these results indicated that career-family attitudes involve preferences for the integration of career and family rather than for trade-offs between them.

Other studies have focused on the construct of commitment rather than aspirations to consider students' work and family plans. Commitment as defined by

Super (1995) as a measure of life role salience has been used to measure young adults' expectations for work and family roles. A study by Friedman and Weissbrod (2005) studied 46 male and 49 female college students, aged 19 to 23 years, on their level of work and family commitment using the Life Role Salience Scales (LRSS; Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986). Although the study predicted gender differences in levels of work and family commitment, no differences were found. The study concluded that men and women had similar levels of work and family commitment. Additionally, Burke (1994) conducted a survey of 216 college students including 83 women and 133 men with a mean age of 21.7 years, using the LRSS (Amatea et al., 1986) to measure men and women's commitment to work and family roles. The scale yields scores of 5 to 25, with higher scores indicating higher levels of importance and expected involvement in a given role. The study found that men and women rated career, children, and marriage as important roles that they anticipated in being highly involved. Marriage roles elicited greatest commitment (19.9), followed by children roles (19.1), and career roles (18.8). No significant sex differences in rating on any of the measures of life role salience were found. Taken together, these findings suggest that both men and women rank both career and family roles as important aspects of their future lives and most plan to participate in both career and family roles in the future.

Planning for Multiple Role Involvement

Based on the premise that most young men and women appear to "want it all" including a family and a career, some researchers have turned their attention to how students are planning for multiple role involvement. Some of the research has been

based on multiple role realism. The research has been generated by considering the following questions: how do students plan to integrate work and family roles? Do they know how to plan for work-family integration? Are these plans realistic in comparison to current work and family conditions?

Based on the concept of multiple role realism, Weitzman and Fitzgerald (1996) developed a scale to measure attitudes toward multiple role planning, called the Attitudes Toward Multiple Role Planning Scale (ATRMP). The ATRMP was developed to assess college students' attitudes toward planning for multiple roles. It consists of four subscales including knowledge/certainty, commitment to multiple roles, independence, and involvement. The knowledge/certainty dimension refers to confidence in one's ability to solve difficulties integrating work and family. Commitment means the strength of one's desire to seek a multiple role lifestyle. Independence is one's feeling of autonomy in making multiple role lifestyle decisions, and involvement means one's perceived immediacy of the need to plan for a multiple role lifestyle. Using the ATRMP, McCracken and Weitzman (1997) studied 131 undergraduate and graduate college women with a mean age of 23.4. On the ATRMP, scores can range from 10 to 50, with 10 indicating strong disagreement with items, 30 being unsure, and 50 being in strong agreement. In the study, means on all four ATRMP scales ranged from 33.62 to 36.88, with standard deviations ranging from 4.80 to 7.24. Based on results of the four scales, it appeared that the majority of women in the sample reported a great deal of uncertainty about their knowledge and confidence in planning, as well as their perceptions of the immediacy of the need for planning and their involvement in doing so.

In addition to feeling uncertain and unprepared in planning for multiple roles, some studies questioned whether students' plans were realistic when compared to current work and family conditions. A study by Machung (1989) conducted in-depth interviews with 30 students in the fall of their senior year, consisting of 17 males and 13 females. All but one of the females interviewed planned to stop working for 1 to 5 years after their children were born, unaware that at the time, current parental leave policies were typically 12 weeks or less and that only about 40% of women were eligible even for this amount of leave time. All of the men agreed that if someone were to stay home with the children, it would be their wife. Similarly, in a study by Schroeder, Blood, and Maluso (1993) of 1,356 students including 821 women and 535 men aged 18 to 26, 53% of the women expected to stop working until their youngest child was in school and then continue to pursue a full-time job. Thus, these studies suggest that women anticipate that they will interrupt their careers to have children and then return to work when the children have grown. Based on the high rate of current dual-earner couples, researchers have questioned the feasibility of one parent taking such extended leave away from work (Machung, 1989; Schroeder et al., 1993).

In addition, studies have also found gender differences in students' plans for work-family integration. In the study by Schroeder and colleagues (1993), the majority of women expected to continue with a full-time job after their children had grown, although 50% of the men in the sample expected that their wives would not work at all after the birth of their children. An additional 7% of men expected that their wives would stop working after marriage, although none of the women reported wanting or expecting to do so. Another gender difference in expectations emerged in the interviews by

Machung (1989). Over 85% of the sample held the expectation that their future spouse would share household tasks and childcare equally. Yet, 94% of the men said they preferred these duties to be mainly their wife's job. Researchers have suggested that the divergent viewpoints expressed by college men and women represent visions of realities that may be incompatible within the same relationship.

Students' Plans Summary and Critique

A review of the literature on work and family planning reveals that the concept of planning is significant. It is being discussed in the literature by numerous researchers, and has been investigated primarily through the use of interviews and open-ended response questions. However, few measures exist in the literature to measure work and family planning behaviors. Thus, despite the interest and discussion of work and family planning from several studies, measures to quantify the construct have yet to be employed. This makes it difficult to assess and evaluate research findings for students' planning behavior, and likely explains the reason why researchers have resorted to talking about planning, but studies have not measured the construct through quantitative means.

Despite the fact that the ATRMP scale is related to planning, it does not assess planning attitudes or behaviors directly as the name might suggest. Instead, the ATRMP is meant to assess the developmental readiness required before any planning can take place such as a young person's confidence in their ability to plan (Weitzman & Fitzgerald, 1996). The ATRMP, therefore, provides valuable information about students' perceptions of their ability to plan, but does not measure planning attitudes or behaviors directly.

Despite the lack of measures for work and family planning behaviors, an instrument called the Life Choices Questionnaire (LCQ; Grotevant, 1989) was developed to assess planning and exploration attitudes across several domains of development, including work and family roles, and work-family integration. The instrument has been implemented as a measure of planning for other domains including romantic development (Rader, 2003), although studies have not yet used this instrument for work and family planning.

From the information that has been gathered on work and family planning, these studies appear to demonstrate that while the simple desire to have both a rewarding career and good family life is prevalent, students' ability to plan out how to integrate these roles is rarely thought out. When plans are considered, they are often inconsistent with what people presently engaged in work and family roles define as feasible, or they are inconsistent among men and women. Given that: most undergraduate students expect to be fully engaged in both work and family roles in the future, but most students are unclear about how work and family domains can be combined, and the vast majority of working adults with family experience work-family conflict, the question remains whether students foresee the difficulties related to combining work and family roles that so many couples face.

Furthermore, it is unknown what affect such forethought produces on the planning process. Previous research provided only snapshots in time of either students in the anticipatory stage of development or couples currently involved in multiple roles. Studies are needed to link these two phases of life by examining the process of planning through longitudinal research to address not only whether students foresee

difficulties, but also if and how this may change over time and what affect it may have on planning.

Practical issues such as these have served as an impetus for research on the constructs of anticipated work-family conflict and the perception of work and family barriers. It also leads to questions including, what is anticipated work-family conflict? What are work and family barriers? How prevalent are anticipated work-family conflict and barriers among college students? Do they change over time? What impact do they have on multiple role planning? Literature pertaining to these questions and others will be addressed in the following section.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict and Barriers

In review, anticipated work-family conflict is a concept related to Super's model of career development through the construct of multiple role realism (Weitzman, 1994), and work and family barriers is a concept that arose from SCCT. Despite the difference in terminology and theoretical origin, anticipated work-family conflict and barriers actually represent one and the same construct. The two have been used interchangeably in the literature (Arnold, 1993; Perrone et al., 2004), and a study by Campbell (2008) verified that several measures of anticipated work-family conflict and barriers demonstrated construct validity. Yet although these constructs are equivalent both in definition and empirical analysis as explained later, their differing theoretical backgrounds imply opposing consequences. While Super's model of career development posits that anticipating the possible conflicts between work and family roles will encourage planning or result in more planning activity, SCCT suggests that perceived conflict will inhibit planning or result in less or no planning for the integration

of work and family. Thus, although anticipated work-family conflict and barriers represent the same construct, their theoretical underpinnings suggest it has opposite consequences. Yet, Super's theory and SCCT both posit that anticipated work-family conflict and barriers can have drastic consequences on planning for the future, which leads to the question of whether students foresee the possibility for conflict in combining work and family roles. Thus, before research can focus on the consequences of anticipated work-family conflict and barriers, the prevalence and stability of this occurrence must first be ascertained.

A review of the literature in this section will include relevant research studies, highlighting prevalence rates and gender differences first on anticipated work-family conflict, then followed by research on barriers. The subsequent review will consider the various methods used to measure anticipated work-family conflict and barriers, as well as highlight the similarities and differences in how anticipated work-family conflict and barriers are defined.

Prevalence of Anticipated Work-Family Conflict and Barriers

As the research reviewed in this section will illustrate, studies have approached the prevalence of anticipated work-family conflict and barriers with a variety of different questions in mind including, do students spontaneously report conflict and barriers when questioned about related topics? What about when directly asked? Of the latter, some studies also considered the magnitude of such prevalence, while others simply relied on an either/or, yes/no format. A few studies also considered types of conflict and barriers and researched the prevalence of subtypes separately. Prevalence rates,

including gender differences, in a wide array of studies will be considered first for anticipated work-family conflict, and then for barriers.

Anticipated work-family conflict. In some studies, researchers did not explicitly asses for anticipated work-family conflict, but rather relied on spontaneous reports to draw conclusions about the level of conflict participants were expecting. For example, Machung (1989) reported such findings from her qualitative study of 30 graduating senior college students in the fall semester of their final year. In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted of 17 men and 13 women with a mean age of 23 years, seeking to understand their goals and expectations about combining career and family. The study reported that neither men nor women discussed anticipated workfamily conflict, and rarely seemed cognizant of the potential conflicts and costs to their career development. While both sexes did not mention such conflicts, Machung did identify a gender difference in that men appeared to consider such conflict irrelevant for them, since most of them expected to pursue career development while their wife took care of the family and home responsibilities. Although women anticipated some need for compromise within their careers to accommodate raising a family, they anticipated egalitarian division of labor for the house and family care and did not anticipate their involvement in multiple roles to cause conflict.

Another study that used spontaneous responses to assess levels of anticipated work-family conflict was found in a sample of 100 female and 100 male undergraduate students in Maines and Hardesty's (1987) "life history interviews." In response to a question about how they planned to coordinate work and home activities, the majority of men (59%) reported they either had not viewed this as a problem or expected to rely on

their future wives to take care of the family-related demands. None of the women in the study described combining work and family as unproblematic or expected their future spouses to take care of home demands, indicating similar results to Machung's (1989) study that the women but not the men anticipated conflicts and difficulties between future work and family roles.

Some studies have employed simple single-item measures to directly probe for and measure anticipated work-family conflict. One study using a single-item measure created for the study surveyed women only (Tangri & Jenkins, 1986). This study consisted of a single question regarding the concern for future work-family conflict, requesting an answer of "yes" or "no." The researchers asked participants, which consisted of approximately 350 female college students in their final year of college, if they expected to face conflict between career and marriage once they graduated. Only 25% answered "yes," indicating that only a fourth of the participants anticipated work-family conflict in their futures.

In contrast, high prevalence rates were found for both women and men using a different single item format (Burke, 1994). In a sample of 216 undergraduate and graduate business students consisting of 83 women and 133 men, participants were asked if they thought combining work and family roles would cause difficulty or be easy. Fifty-five percent of the participants agreed that combining work and family roles would be "often difficult." Only 4% of the sample reported that balancing work and family would be "easy". This was the case for both males and females, as no gender differences were found in the levels of anticipated work-family conflict.

Other studies have used multiple items created for use in a single study of anticipated work-family conflict to assess the prevalence and magnitude of anticipated work-family conflict. One such study by Schroeder, Blood, and Maluso (1993) assessed anticipated work-family conflict in 1,356 undergraduate students, including 821 women and 535 men ranging from 18 to 26 years old. Anticipated work-family conflict was assessed using responses to a set of three items created for the study. A high score on all three items, with scores collectively ranging from 3 to 15, represented greater expectations for anticipated work-family conflict. Most participants expected "a little" role frustration, with average scores on the combined three items of 4.84 for women and 4.46 for men. Although both men and women anticipated only minimal future conflict between career and family, women expected significantly more role frustration for themselves than men.

Another study that used a few items created for use in a single study of anticipated work-family conflict surveyed a group of college seniors in the spring semester of their senior year at a private university (Barnett, Gareis, James, & Steele, 2003). However, this study was unique in that it did not focus on the broad construct of anticipated work-family conflict; it instead focused on a more domain-specific topic and focused solely on career-marriage conflict. The rationale for doing so was that college seniors may be planning more for marriage than for family with children at that point in their lives. Participants included 201 women and 123 men, and they ranged in age from 21 to 32 years. The participants reported being "somewhat" and "a little" concerned about future conflict, with average scores around 2.68 on four items created for the

study, asking them to rate the degree they worried about the difficulty of combining work and family in the future on a 4-point scale.

Two studies addressing anticipated work-family conflict used the 4-item Interrole Conflict Scale (ICS), created by Kopelman, Greenhaus, and Connolly (1983). The scale items closely resemble that of the adapted scale used in the study by Cinamon (2006) discussed later, although the ICS only yields a single score for anticipated work-family conflict. Responses to the ICS are scored on a 5-point scale, based on the degree of agreement to four statements about future work-family conflict. Interestingly, while most studies have found either higher levels of anticipated conflict in women or no gender differences in expected work-family conflict, the two studies that used the ICS to assess anticipated work-family conflict found higher levels of anticipated conflict among male relative to female college students (Burley, 1994; Livingston, Burley, & Springer, 1996). Both studies used the same sample of participants, and reported identical findings on the prevalence of anticipated work-family conflict. In both of the studies, participants included 254 undergraduate students, including 120 men and 136 women from universities in Northern Louisiana, with ages ranging from 18 to 30. Although means were not reported, both studies claimed that women anticipated relatively low levels of conflict in contrast to high levels of conflict anticipated by men (r = -.23, p < .01). The reasoning behind such gender differences remains unclear.

A study by Cinamon (2006) offers yet another variation for measures of anticipated work-family conflict. While most of these studies used measures that focused on global definitions of future conflict, this study implemented the bi-directional nature of current work-family conflict to distinguish between and measure both

anticipated WIF conflict and FIW conflict. The participants for this study included 358 students including 145 men and 213 women attending universities in Israel. This study compared Israeli college students' anticipated conflict using an adapted version of Gutek, Searles, and Klepa's (1991) Work-Family Conflict Questionnaire. The questionnaire was converted into future tense to measure participants' anticipated conflict. Anticipated FIW and WIF conflict for both men and women were found to be moderate, with means of 2.26 (WIF) and 2.38 (FIW) for men, and 2.45 (WIF) and 2.57 (FIW) for women on a 5-point scale. The study also reported gender differences in which females reported higher expectations for both WIF and FIW conflict than males, although these differences were weak, with both male and female participants reporting some concerns for both WIF and FIW conflict. Overall, participants reported expectations that their family life would interfere in their work life more than vice versa. This finding was consistent with a study by Campbell (2008) with 120 male and female college students in the United States. Campbell (2008) also found that students reported moderate levels of WIF and FIW conflict, although participants reported higher levels of FIW over WIF conflict. Interestingly, this finding is contrary to the relation between the WIF and FIW conflicts reported among adult employees (Frone, 2003). The WIF/FIW measure is the first and only instrument that allows such comparison to research on current work-family conflict, and suggests that anticipated work-family conflict, like current work-family conflict, is not a global variable.

Barriers. Similar to some measures of anticipated work-family conflict, in some studies of barriers, researchers did not explicitly asses for work-family barriers, but rather relied on spontaneous reports to draw conclusions about the barriers participants

were expecting. One such study by Swanson and Tokar (1991a) with forty-eight undergraduate students, consisting of 24 females and 24 males aged 18 to 32 were asked to spontaneously generate a list of barriers to their future career goals. The responses were then sorted into categories and analyzed. After removing uninterpretable responses and responses that were categorized as stating no concerns, the final number of responses was 1,098. Of these responses, barriers categorized as pertaining to "balancing career and family" elicited the lowest number of responses, with less than 14% (152 reports) of the reported barriers attributed to work-family concerns for both men and women. Interestingly, women contributed the entire 14% of these responses and men contributed 0%, yet "balancing career and family" still ranked as the lowest barrier for women, as well.

Also similar to measures of anticipated work-family conflict, some studies of barriers have used interviews. One such study by Arnold (1993), specifically asked about career as a family barrier and family as a career barrier to 81 graduated valedictorian high-school students, including 46 women and 35 men. The graduates participated in two-hour, semi-structured interviews five years after their high school graduations. The study reported that most of the women but none of the men expected future conflict between their work and family aspirations. As such, vast gender differences were found in this study, indicating that high prevalence rates for career to family and family to career barriers were only found for females, while prevalence rates for males revealed few such barriers.

Barriers have also been measured using more psychometrically sound, multiitem measures that are frequently found in studies from the barriers literature where family and anticipated conflict were conceptualized as a barrier to career development. Within these barrier frameworks, concerns about balancing future work and family roles have been categorized as social or interpersonal barriers (Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001). These studies consistently found that college students report a moderate degree of concern that the conflict of balancing career and family is an obstacle to a career (Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001; Swanson & Tokar, 1991b). For example, in an initial validation study of the Career Barriers Inventory (CBI; Swanson & Tokar, 1991b), participants were 558 college students, including 313 females and 245 males, ranging in age from 17 to 49 years. Scores on the CBI were based on a 7-point rating scale with higher scores reflecting greater concern over barriers. Mean scores on the "multiple-role conflict" and "children interfering with career" scales of the CBI were 4.60 and 4.15, respectively, indicating moderate levels of anticipated barriers. Although no significant gender differences were found on the multiple role conflict scale, the children interfering with career scale revealed significant gender differences, in which women perceived it as more of a barrier to career than men. A study by Campbell (2008) found similar results with 120 male and female college students. CBI results revealed moderate levels of anticipated barriers, although women considered work and family barriers to be more of a hindrance to career than men.

Similar prevalence rates for barriers were also found in a study by Luzzo and McWhirter (2001) that used the Perceived Barriers Scale (PBS; McWhirter, 1997) to measure barriers in 286 college students, including 168 women and 118 men aged 16 to 38 years. The PBS is another instrument similar to the CBI that is designed to assess career-related barriers. The PBS measures barriers on a 5-point scale, with

higher scores representing the perception of more barriers. The study by Luzzo and McWhirter (2001) found that mean responses ranged from 2.5 to 2.9, indicating a moderate level of perceived barriers to career on three items regarding children and partner issues. In contrast to results from the CBI, however, results for the PBS revealed no gender differences on work-family conflict barriers, in which males and females reported similar expectations of future conflict as an obstacle to career.

Another measure used to assess barriers is the Future Difficulties Scale (FDS). Rather than focusing on barriers to career, this instrument focuses on barriers to future work and family roles in general. The FDS was developed by Gilbert, Dancer, Rossman, and Thorn (1991) and includes 16 items that are meant to reflect conflicts dual earner couples often experience in their attempts to integrate work and family roles. The test creators proposed that it was created to measure whether certain situations common to dual-earner couples were perceived by young people as a barrier to their future lives. Although this measure has been proposed as a measure of barriers, researchers have claimed that this is an appropriate measure of anticipated work-family conflict and has been used as such (Hallett & Gilbert, 1997). Instructions ask participants to indicate how likely or unlikely listed scenarios might pose as barriers for their future, one of which is "finding good childcare" (Gilbert et al., 1991). Similar to other multi-item barriers measures, studies by Campbell (2008) and Hallett and Gilbert (1997) reported participants' scores on the FDS revealed moderate levels of obstacles associated with their expectations for a dual-career lifestyle. Campbell (2008) found that this was the case for both males and females, as no gender differences were found in the levels of anticipated work-family conflict. Additional data on gender differences

are not available, as most studies using the FDS have focused on women only (Gilbert et al., 1991, Hallett & Gilbert, 1997).

While several studies such as those described previously tested one anticipated work-family conflict measure or one barriers measure, only one study considered multiple measures in combination. A study by Campbell (2008) examined the construct of anticipated work-family conflict using multiple measures including a spontaneous report measure, single-item measure, multi-item measure, and barriers measure. Results suggested that anticipated work-family conflict and barriers measures demonstrate construct validity, although sample means varied depending on the method used to gather the information. These differences revealed noteworthy complexities when considering the meaning of the different scales. For instance, results of the AWFC single-item measure revealed that the majority of participants expected some work-family conflict in the future, but the WIF and the FIW scales indicated that most participants disagreed that work and family would conflict. The discrepancy between these two types of measures indicated that while students have an understanding of anticipated work-family conflict in a general sense, they may not be aware of the specific ways work-family conflict may be experienced in their own lives. Discrepant results between the WIF and the FIW scales further indicated that participants agreed that work would interfere with family more than family would interfere with work. This finding is interesting given that most dual-earner couples report similar experiences, in which they encounter higher levels of WIF conflict than FIW conflict, although both are common (Frone, 2003). CBI results indicated that the

vast majority of participants expected family to be a somewhat of a hindrance to their career.

The researchers concluded that discrepancies in prevalence rates between the scales appear to be likely due to differences in the meanings of the scales, which reveal that students have some awareness of the potential for future work-family conflict in a broad, internal way, but do not expect to encounter external difficulties that would be problematic in their lives. Results suggested that perhaps differences in prevalence rates of barriers may be due to differences in types of conflict, such as work interfering with family and family interfering with work, and between internal and external barriers. Internal barriers were those items that included feelings of stress and conflict, and external barriers were comprised of items that included difficulties encountered in relationships or the environment. Despite the initial evidence this study presented for differences in prevalence rates between types of conflict and internal and external barriers, little research has been conducted on types of conflict or internal and external barriers to work and family.

One study by Creed, Patton, and Bartrum (2007) attempted to differentiate between internal and external barriers. The study included 130 Australian male and female high school students, and attempted to measure the influence of internal and external barriers on career planning. Results suggested that internal barriers decreased career planning while external barriers increased planning. However, the methods that the study used to measure internal and external barriers were questionable. The concept of internal barriers was used as a pseudonym for self-esteem and measured using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and external barriers were measured using the

Perceived Barriers Scale (PBS). However, the PBS was described by McWhirter (1997) as a general barriers scale that included both internal and external barriers.

Additionally, Creed and colleagues (2007) acknowledged that their operationalisation of internal and external barriers was insufficient, and called for better measures of internal and external barriers in future studies.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict and Barriers Summary and Critique

In sum, the research on anticipated work-family conflict and barriers remains inconsistent and unclear. The variety of methods used to measure anticipated work-family conflict has resulted in wide variation in prevalence data and gender differences. The variety of assessment methods that have been used to measure both anticipated work-family conflict and barriers in previous research including interviews and openended measures, single-item measures, and multi-item measures, complicate the research and make it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions from the existing data. However, although different measures of anticipated work-family conflict yield different prevalence rates, most studies generally indicate that students have low (Barnett et al., 2003; Machung, 1989; Schroeder et al., 1993; Swanson & Tokar, 1991a; Tangri & Jenkins, 1986) to moderate (Cinamon, 2006; Hallett & Gilbert, 1997; Livingston et al., 1996; Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001; Swanson and Tokar, 1991b) levels of anticipated work-family conflict. Nevertheless, prevalence rates vary to a wide degree.

The majority of studies also suggest that men and women generally have similar levels of anticipated work-family conflict, although findings differ to a vast extent. Some studies have found higher levels of anticipated work-family conflict among female participants (Arnold, 1993; Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001; Machung 1989; Maines &

Hardesty, 1987; Schroeder et al., 1993; Swanson & Tokar, 1991b); other studies have also reported no gender differences in levels of anticipated work-family conflict (Barnett et al., 2003; Burke, 1994; Perrone et al., 2004). Additional studies have reported significantly higher levels of anticipated work-family conflict for men than women (Burly, 1994; Livingston et al., 1996). Other studies have focused on women only and thus cause difficulty in drawing conclusions about gender differences at all (Hallett & Gilbert, 1997; Tangri & Jenkins, 1986). Since gender differences in anticipated work-family conflict differ to such a vast extent, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions about men's versus women's reports of anticipated work-family conflict. Continued research on both men's and women's reports of anticipated work-family conflict is needed.

Such inconsistency in findings of anticipated work-family conflict may be partially due to the lack of uniformity across studies in how the construct is defined and measured. Anticipated work-family conflict has been defined in different ways, depending on the study. The majority of studies define anticipated work-family conflict as a concern for how to balance, combine, and coordinate the demands of work and family domains (e.g. Barnett et al., 2003; Hallett & Gilbert, 1997; Machung, 1989). This definition recognizes anticipated work-family conflict as an awareness of the potential incompatibility of multiple roles, in which involvement in one may interfere with involvement in the other. Such a definition refers to external and pragmatic concerns of one's future circumstances. Other studies define anticipated work-family conflict as the anticipation of experiencing stress and frustration in attempting to combine work and family (e.g. Maines & Hardesty, 1987; Schroeder et al., 1993). For this definition, anticipated work-family conflict represents the expectation for future inner turmoil

resulting from combining multiple domains of work and family. Whereas the first definition represents anticipated conflict as an external tension between the two demanding domains of work and family, the second definition represents conflict as an internal tension resulting from managing both work and family domains. Thus, while some studies define anticipated work-family conflict as expectations of future difficulties, others define it as expectations of future stress resulting from such a lifestyle.

Similarly, researchers Swanson and Woitke (1997 delineated two types of career barriers that were identical to the two definitions of anticipated work-family conflict. These included internal barriers, which include feelings of stress or conflict; and external barriers, which include difficulties encountered in relationships or the environment. Numerous researchers (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Campbell, 2008; Chi-Ching, 2001; Coogen & Chen, 2007; Creed, Patton, & Bartrum, 2007; Crites, 1969; Farmer, 1976; O'Leary, 1974; Raiff, 2004; Sullivan & Mahalik, 2000; Swanson & Tokar, 1991a; Swanson & Woitke, 1997) have called for studies that attempt to delineate anticipated work-family conflict between internal barriers and external barriers. Furthermore, initial data supports this separation between types of barriers. Data from a study by Campbell (2008) suggested that prevalence of anticipated work-family conflict may be different for internal versus external barriers. Campbell (2008) also found higher rates of internal barriers than external barriers in a college sample. Despite numerous suggestions in the literature and initial support for separating internal and external barriers, this is based primarily on inferences and retrospective accounts of data. Empirical studies have yet to accurately measure internal and external barriers directly. This may be partially due to the fact that measures do not yet exist that delineate between internal

and external barriers to work and family. This makes it difficult to assess and compare research findings for internal versus external barriers, and likely explains the reason why researchers have resorted to talking about the two without directly measuring the differences between them. A further complication is that what defines a barrier as an internal or external issue may vary depending on the person. The same event can have a different impact on different people. For example, even the term 'conflict' can refer to either an internal feeling of dissonance or an external incompatibility between events. A conflict between one's family and one's career may be defined as internal, external, or both, depending on the person's interpretation of the event. As a result, although further research on the differences between internal and external barriers would be valuable, the complexity involved makes measuring internal and external barriers extremely difficult.

Similar to research on current work-family conflict, some researchers have differentiated between domain specific types of anticipated work-family conflict, including FIW conflict that focuses primarily on the domain of work, and WIF conflict that focuses on the domain of family (Campbell, 2008; Cinamon, 2006). Initial results from these studies support the delineation of different types of anticipated work-family conflict, which, consistent with current work-family conflict, operate differently from each other. Yet, only a few studies have separated anticipated WIF conflict from FIW conflict. Other studies have called for further differentiation between domain specific types of conflict by separating conflict focused on the role of family between marriage and parenting roles. Barnett and colleagues (2003) suggested that due to the developmental nature of planning for and creating a family, young adults might first

focus on relationship commitments and the marriage role before considering their role as a parent. It follows that young adults may anticipate conflicts concerning the family roles of marriage and parenting at varying degrees and at different points in their development. Differences in prevalence rates of anticipated work-family conflict, therefore, may represent differences between domain specific types of anticipated work-family conflict, including anticipated work conflict, anticipated marriage conflict, and anticipated parenting conflict. Additional research could determine if differences in prevalence rates represent differences between these types of conflicts, and how each type may differ in terms of causes and consequences.

Although differences in types of barriers may be to blame, variation in prevalence rates may also be affected by the stability of the construct itself. Perhaps the inconsistent results accurately reflect the varied and changing nature of anticipated work-family conflict. Both Super's theory of career development and SCCT posit anticipated work-family conflict and barriers as part of a developmental process. As such, levels of anticipated work-family conflict are likely to change over time and be influenced by other developmental factors. Although findings from a study by Campbell (2008) suggested that anticipated work-family conflict is likely to remain stable over short time intervals, research is needed to determine the stability of anticipated work-family conflict over longer periods of time. Another possibility is that the inconsistency in prevalence rates may be due to factors affecting perceived conflict, such as exposure to work and family roles. As multiple role realism suggests, perhaps there is link between anticipated work-family conflict and multiple role experience. Based on this prediction, higher levels of anticipated work-family conflict would be associated with

more experience with work and family. As such, prevalence rates would differ depending on the degree to which participants had engaged in such roles or not. Thus, it is possible that the variation in prevalence rates may be due to varied levels of experience between samples.

Until further research is conducted on anticipated work-family conflict, much remains unknown about the construct. Prevalence rates and gender differences are still unclear. Long-term stability and change is unknown, and consequences of anticipated work-family conflict remain a mystery.

Rationale

In light of the inconsistent and limited data on the construct, further research on the anticipated work-family construct seems warranted. Both Super's theory of career development and SCCT posit anticipated work-family conflict and barriers as part of a developmental process. As such, levels of anticipated work-family conflict are likely to change over time and be influenced by other developmental factors. If and how this change process occurs, however, is unknown since no studies to date have investigated anticipated work-family conflict through a longitudinal study. Research demonstrates that young people anticipate relatively low levels of anticipated work-family conflict, yet most adults involved in such roles report a significant amount of conflict. Little is known about what occurs during the period in between looking ahead to future multiple role involvement and actually adopting a multiple-role lifestyle. The course and development of how anticipated work-family conflict evolves over time remains a mystery. Furthermore, it is uncertain what affect such levels of anticipated work-family conflict have on planning, especially since Super's theory and SCCT

suggest that it has opposing consequences. Longitudinal studies are needed to confirm the stability of anticipated work-family conflict.

Also, researchers have suggested that some young people are not even thinking about combining work and family because nothing in their lives has yet triggered a perceived need to consider work and family plans or the difficulties of balancing the two (Peake & Harris, 2002). Levels of anticipated work-family conflict may be highly susceptible to whether a person has had any experience with work and family roles at all. Additional research is required to determine the relationship between anticipated work-family conflict and experience in work and family roles. Overall, research is needed in the investigation and refinement in the prevalence, stability, and consequences of anticipated work-family conflict.

Accordingly, the research questions to be addressed in this study are discussed in turn. The first research question is: Do prevalence rates of anticipated work-family conflict vary by type of measurement instrument used? Prevalence rates of anticipated work-family conflict remain contradictory and unclear. A possible explanation for this is that prevalence rates vary based on the type of instrument used. Variability between measurement instruments could reflect that prevalence rates depend largely on how people are asked about anticipated work-family conflict. This study will attempt to determine whether prevalence rates remain consistent within measurement instruments, and if the variability in prevalence rates is due to the variety of measurement instruments used in the literature.

The second research question is: Do prevalence rates vary by the type of conflict measured? A second possible explanation for the variety of different prevalence

rates seen in different studies is that prevalence rates vary based on the type of conflict being measured. Anticipated work-family conflict involves a struggle affecting multiple different roles including work, marriage, and parenting. This study will attempt to determine if the variability in prevalence rates previously reported is due to differences between the domain specific types of anticipated work-family conflict, including anticipated work conflict, anticipated marriage conflict, and anticipated parenting conflict.

The third research question is: How stable are different measurement instruments of anticipated work-family conflict over time? This study will explore the stability of anticipated work-family conflict. Since it is regarded as part of a developmental process by both Super's theory of career development and SCCT, levels of anticipated work-family conflict are likely to change over time and be influenced by other developmental factors, which may affect multiple analyses of anticipated work-family conflict. The study will use a test-retest procedure in which participants who were tested using multiple measures of anticipated work-family conflict will be tested again after two years have elapsed. These results will attempt to shed light on if and how the change process occurs for anticipated work-family conflict. This study will also attempt to determine differences in stability using different measurement instruments, and whether stability depends on how people are asked about anticipated work-family conflict.

The fourth research question is: How stable are different types of anticipated work-family conflict over time? Researchers have called for differentiation between types of anticipated work-family conflict including domain specific conflict of work,

marriage, and parenting, but only a few studies have tested them empirically with initial support. Suggestions in the literature posit that due to the developmental nature of planning for and creating a family, young adults might focus first on relationship commitments and the marriage role before considering their role as a parent. It follows then that young adults may anticipate conflicts concerning the family roles of marriage and parenting at varying degrees and at different points in their development. This study aims to determine whether there are differences in the stability of different types of anticipated work-family conflict over time.

The fifth research question is: What is the effect of work, marriage, and parenting experience on anticipated work-family conflict? This study will follow suggestions in the literature that levels of anticipated work-family conflict may be highly susceptible to whether a person has engaged in work and family roles at all. As such, this study will examine the relationship between anticipated work-family conflict and level of experience in work and/or family roles. This study will examine both personal experience and vicarious experience to determine what types of experience in the various domains of work and family roles impact the anticipation of conflict. Such information could suggest whether anticipated work-family conflict is susceptible to whether a person has witnessed others' experience in work and family roles or from their own engagement in such roles as has been previously suggested in the literature.

The sixth research question is: What is the effect of anticipated work-family conflict on planning for future roles? The influence of anticipated work-family conflict on planning remains unclear. While Super's model of career development posits that anticipating the possible conflicts between work and family roles will encourage

planning or result in more planning activity, SCCT suggests that perceived conflict will inhibit planning or result in less or no planning for the integration of work and family. However, these suggestions remain theoretical and have not yet been tested empirically. Since Super's theory and SCCT are contradictory, further research is required. This study attempts to determine what impact anticipated conflict has on future roles.

The seventh and final research question is: What is the relationship between experience, anticipated conflict, and planning? Research has not yet focused on how these different constructs relate to each other, so more research is needed to determine if and how these constructs impact one another. According to both SCCT and Super's theory, experience of an event is not as important as one's interpretation of the event. Thus, it follows from these two theories that experience itself may not affect whether or not a person does or does not plan for the future, but rather what they perceive from the experience. Thus, it is expected that the impact of work and family experience on planning is indirect and depends on whether or not experience gives rise to a perception of anticipated conflict. In other words, this study attempts to determine if anticipated conflict mediates the influence of experience on planning behavior.

Overall, research is needed in the investigation and refinement in the stability, prevalence, and consequences of anticipated work-family conflict. Through a longitudinal research design, this study attempts to address multiple holes previously left in the literature about anticipated work-family conflict. Such research will investigate and refine the definition, assessment, and stability of the anticipated work-family conflict construct.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

This study is a longitudinal extension of a previous research project conducted two years prior. The participants for this study consisted of 49 male and 53 female college students, ages 18 to 25. Participants for the first data collection were recruited from the University of North Texas through lower-level undergraduate psychology courses. Participation was voluntary and some participants were offered extra credit for participating.

For the first data collection, eligibility was limited to participants who were not married and not already parents since the study focused on individuals in the anticipatory stages of planning for multiple roles. Eligibility was also limited to 18 to 25, since this age group was more likely than older age groups to be in the anticipatory stages of their family and career. The purpose of these selection criteria was to control for participants who were experiencing such roles directly, rather than looking forward to the future. Three hundred college students participated in the first data collection. Two years later, the participants of the first data collection were contacted by email to participate in a second data collection for the present study.

The data for the first and second data collection was gathered in conjunction with a larger research project focused on future goals. All information the participants disclosed was kept confidential. Code numbers were assigned to the materials and kept separate from any names. This information was kept in a secure location and only those involved with the research project were able to access the information.

Procedure

For the first data collection, participants were asked to participate in a study about future plans. Students were recruited from undergraduate psychology courses and participated in-person. The first data collection consisted of a paper-and-pencil survey packet that was available for qualified students. The survey packet consisted of a consent form and various measures. The various measures were not linked to the consent form to maintain anonymity. Instead, participants were assigned a code to identify corresponding materials. All measures were given in the following order: Demographics; possible selves; single item measure; FIW/WIF; Future Difficulties Scale; and CBI.

Approximately two years after the first data collection, participants were contacted by email using a recruitment email (see Appendix A) and were asked to complete a final survey packet online through the web-based survey tool, Survey Monkey. The packet once again consisted of a consent form, and the same measures used in the initial testing packet, with additional instruments added. All measures were given in the following order: Demographics; possible selves; single item measure; FIW/WIF; Future Difficulties Scale; CBI; Life Choices Questionnaire; work, marriage, and parenting experience scales, and additional exploratory items (see Appendices B and C for consent form and survey packet).

Instruments

Demographics

To provide descriptive information about the sample collected, a demographic questionnaire was included in the research packet. Demographic information including

age, gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, sexual orientation, year in school, and other background information was gathered.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Open-Ended Measure

An open-ended possible selves measure was used to obtain scores for both the open-ended measure of anticipated work-family conflict and as an exploratory measure. This measure was adapted for this study from a version of the open-ended questionnaire developed by Cross and Markus (1991). This questionnaire was designed to spontaneously elicit both hoped-for and feared possible selves. The instructions to the participants were, "We would like you to write down your hopes for the future. Write as many as you can think of, one on a line" on one page, and "We would like you to write down what you fear or hope to avoid in your future. Write as many as you can think of, one on a second page. Instructions then asked participants to go back to each possible self and rate the likelihood that each would occur in his or her future on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 meaning *not at all likely* and 7 meaning *very likely*.

Possible selves were coded to indicate whether three topics were mentioned: work, family, and anticipated work-family conflict. Only those possible selves relating to work interfering with family, family interfering with work, or work-family conflict were scored for the anticipated work-family conflict open-ended measure and used for the primary analyses. For anticipated work-family conflict possible selves, Likelihood scores were calculated to represent the anticipated work-family conflict open-ended measure. Likelihood scores represented the average rated likelihood of possible selves

mentioning anticipated work-family conflict on a scale of 0-7, with a higher score indicating a greater likelihood of the particular possible self occurring in one's future.

In the first data collection, the means for the likelihood scores of anticipated work-family conflict were very low at .26. Examples of hopes related to anticipated work-family conflict were, "being able to enjoy my profession and my family;" and in fears were, "being incapable of working and taking care of my family." The results were severely positively skewed and indicated that 94.2% of participants did not spontaneously report any anticipated work-family conflict. Due to the extremely low scores and lack of variability, the average likelihood scores were somewhat problematic, which should be taken into account when interpreting results for the first and second data collections.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Single-Item Measure

A single-item measure of anticipated work-family conflict was created for the purpose of this study. This item asked participants, "If you end up working and having a family at the same time, how likely do you think the two will conflict?" Participants were asked to rate their responses on a scale from 0 to 100, with 0 meaning *not at all likely* and 100 meaning *very likely*. This number was used as the anticipated work-family conflict single-item measure. The previous study by Campbell (2008) reported that the test-retest reliability estimate for this measure over three to five weeks was low (r = .62), suggesting a change in scores over time.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Multi-Item Measures

Adapted current measure. The study included an adapted version of a current work-family conflict measure. This questionnaire was based on the Work Interference

with Family /Family Interference with Work Questionnaire created by Gutek et al. (1991; WIF/FIW), which was designed to assess the perception of conflict between current work and family roles. The original version consists of two subscales: Work Interference with Family and Family Interference with Work. Each subscale contains 4 items in which responses are given using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). Items are then reverse scored for each subscale, with scores representing an average of the items comprising that subscale from 1 to 5. Thus, the scale yields two scores, one for WIF and one for FIW, with the score for each subscale comprised of the mean of its 4 items. A high score indicates a high level of perceived interference of the given domain with the other.

Gutek and colleagues (1991) reported that over two different studies, the means for the WIF were 3.39 and 3.67 for women, and 2.93 and 3.31 for men. The mean for the FIW was 1.82 and 1.71 for women, and 1.69 and 1.80 for men. Gutek et al. (1991) also found that internal consistency reliability was adequate, with alpha coefficients of .81 and .83 on the WIF, and .79 and .83 for the FIW. Adequate construct validity was indicated by factor analysis, revealing that the two subscales demonstrated relative independence (Gutek et al., 1991).

In this study, anticipated work-family conflict was assessed using a slightly altered version of the WIF/FIW. Following Cinamon's (2006) adaptation to Cinamon and Rich's (2002) Hebrew version of the WIF/FIW questionnaire, the WIF/FIW Questionnaire was converted into future tense to measure participants' anticipated work-interfering-with-family and family-interfering-with-work-conflict. The instructions encouraged participants to consider the relations between work and family after they

had established a family and begun work in their chosen occupation. The tense modified questionnaire changed responses from present tense to future tense; for example the item "My work takes up time that I'd like to spend with my family/friends," was changed to "My work will take up time that I will want to invest in my family."

For the modified Hebrew version of the WIF/FIW that was changed into future tense, Cinamon (2006) reported means of 2.43 for anticipated WIF, and 2.51 for anticipated FIW with 145 male and 213 female Israeli college students, aged 19 to 28 years. In the present study, means were slightly higher for anticipated WIF at 2.88 and slightly lower for anticipated FIW at 2.36.

Concerning psychometrics, Cinamon (2006) reported Cronbach's alphas for the tense modified scales of .78 for anticipated WIF, and .81 for anticipated FIW, which were comparable to those of the original scale. The correlation between the two modified subscales still demonstrated relative independence, with a Pearson r of .53. In the first data collection of this study, Cronbach's alphas were slightly lower (.77 at time 1 and .73 at time 2 for anticipated WIF, and .72 at time 1 and .76 at time 2 for anticipated FIW). Test-retest reliabilities were also calculated in this study, revealing adequate and slightly low test-retest reliability over three to five weeks (r = .80 for anticipated WIF and r = .70 for anticipated FIW).

Multi-item measure. The study included the Future Difficulties Scale, created by Gilbert et al. (1991), which is a multi-item measure of anticipated work-family conflict frequently used in previous studies. The instrument was created to "assess young adult's perceptions of the obstacles and realities associated with the dual-career lifestyle" (Hallett & Gilbert, 1997, p. 314). The 16 items of the scale were developed

through a literature review of the difficulties reported in studies of dual-earner couples. Items represent difficulties commonly reported by dual-earner couples. The instrument scores these items based on three scales including Childcare (4 items), Sharing Family Work (5 items), and Career Advancement (4 items). Sample items from the scale include for Childcare, "Finding good childcare," for Sharing Family Work, "Getting my spouse to really share household work," and Career Advancement, "Feeling a lot of conflict if I continue my career and have a child." For each item on the three scales, participants were asked to provide a rating of the level of anticipated difficulty in these tasks using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all an anticipated difficulty) to 5 (very much an anticipated difficulty). A total average was calculated from these scores to indicate overall difficulties.

In their validation studies with college women and men, Gilbert et al. (1991) reported alpha coefficients for the three subscales of .61 for the Career Advancement Scale, .71 for the Childcare Scale, and .78 for the Sharing Family Work Scale.

Intercorrelations between the scales were found to be low to moderate and ranged from .13 to .40. Alpha coefficients for the total score of the FDS were not available. Despite initial validity data, the instrument has not been subject to rigorous validation studies, and the extent to which the items on the Future Difficulties Scale truly capture the construct of anticipated work-family conflict has been questioned by researchers (Conlon, 2002).

In the previous study by Campbell (2008), coefficient alphas were calculated for the total average score for overall difficulties. Internal consistency reliability was adequate and higher than those reported by Gilbert et al. (1991), with Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .81 for time 1 and .80 for time 2. However, the study calculated alpha coefficients on the entire scale rather than individual scales as was previously done, so a higher alpha coefficient was expected. Test-retest reliability was also calculated in this study, revealing adequate test-retest reliability over three to five weeks (r = .86).

Barrier measure. For a barriers measure, this study used the Multiple Role Conflict and Children Interfering with Career scales from the Career Barriers Inventory – Revised by Swanson, Daniels, and Tokar (CBI-R; 1996). The CBI-R was designed to "tap a broad domain of barriers that might occur across a range of career-related events" (Swanson et al., 1996, p. 422). Respondents were asked to report how likely they think it is that a particular barrier would hinder their career progress using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (would not hinder at all) to 7 (would completely hinder), and these items are combined and converted into one mean overall score. The CBI-R ordinarily contains 13 factor scales that include Sex Discrimination, Lack of Confidence, Multiple Role Conflict, Children Interfering with Career, Racial Discrimination, Inadequate preparation, Disapproval by significant others, Decision-Making Difficulties, Dissatisfaction with Career, Discouraged from Choosing Nontraditional Careers, Disability/Health Concerns, Job Market Constraints, and Difficulties with Networking/Socializing. In the current study, only the 15 items from the Multiple Role Conflict and Children Interfering with Career scales were used and combined into a single mean score, since these are the only two scales that represent barriers related to anticipated work-family conflict.

In a study by Swanson and Tokar (1991a), mean scores reported on the Multiple Role Conflict and Children Interfering with Career scales were 4.60 and 4.15,

respectively, for a group of 558 college students. In the first data collection of this study, means for the combined scales were comparable at 4.35 at Time 1 and 4.19 at Time 2.

Concerning psychometrics, Swanson and Tokar (1991a) reported internal consistency reliability for all of the CBI-R scales that ranging from .64 to .86, with a median of .77. Intercorrelation among scales ranged from .27 to .80 with a median of .60. Swanson and colleagues (1996) asserted that evidence exists for the validity of the CBI-R, such as how groups respond differently to the scales such as men and women, and majority and minority ethnic groups. In the previous study by Campbell (2008), internal consistency reliability was good and higher than what was reported initially, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .87 for Time 1 and .89 for Time 2. Test-retest reliability was also calculated in this study for the combination of the two scales used, revealing adequate test-retest reliability over three to five weeks (*r* = .81).

Anticipated Work and Family Domain Scales

The scales used to measure domain specific types of anticipated conflict including work, marriage, and parenting conflict were created for the present study and were derived from a collection of items taken from other anticipated work-family conflict measures used in the study. The scales were compiled using exploratory factor analysis as proposed by Field (2005).

Exploratory factor analysis is performed to describe and summarize data by grouping together variables that are correlated. It can be used to determine what items or scales should be included and excluded from a measure (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Field (2005) suggested that this process includes two stages: factor extraction and

factor rotation. The goal of the first stage is to make a decision about the number of factors underlying a set of measured variables. It is conducted through principal components analysis. Principal components analysis involves a matrix representing the relationships between variables, the elements of which provide the loading of a particular variable on a particular factor. The goal of the second stage is to use factor rotation to statistically manipulate the results to make the factors more interpretable and to make final decisions about the underlying factors. Due to the fact that the measures used in this analysis were likely to correlate since they were all measures of anticipated work-family conflict, Field (2005) suggested using a direct oblimin rotation.

The measures included in this analysis were the six aforementioned anticipated work-family conflict measures, including the possible selves anticipated work-family conflict measure, single-item anticipated work-family conflict measure, WIF, FIW, FDS, and CBI. First, items pertaining to the three domains of interest including work, marriage, and parenting were selected by the researcher and included in the analysis. These items were then analyzed using exploratory factor analysis. Two criteria were used to determine the number of factors to rotate: interpretation of the scree test and the results of the factor extraction using principal components analysis. Both the scree plot and the principal components analysis suggested extracting factors with small amounts of variance, leaving three factors to be rotated. The three factors were rotated using a direct oblimin rotation procedure. The rotated solution, as shown in Table 1, yielded three interpretable factors, including anticipated work, marriage, and parenting conflict. The work conflict factor accounted for 29.6% of the item variance, the marriage conflict factor accounted for 19.3%, and the parenting conflict factor accounted for

16.6%. From this analysis, the anticipated work, marriage, and parenting conflict scales used for the current study were derived.

Anticipated work conflict scale. The anticipated work conflict scale (AWC) was comprised of the four FIW items from the questionnaire based on the WIF/FIW Questionnaire created by Gutek et al. (1991), which was previously discussed. The AWC contained 4 items in which responses were given using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Items are then reverse scored for each subscale, with scores representing an average of the items comprising that subscale from 1 to 5. A high score indicates a high level of perceived interference of family with work.

Anticipated marriage conflict scale. The anticipated marriage conflict scale (AMC) was comprised of three items from the FDS, a scale previously discussed. Items represent difficulties commonly reported by dual-earner couples. The items used for the AMC scale included, "getting my spouse to really share household work," "getting my spouse to really share in the childrearing," and "getting my spouse to be supportive of my career efforts." For each item, participants were asked to provide a rating of the level of anticipated difficulty in these tasks using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all an anticipated difficulty) to 5 (very much an anticipated difficulty). A total average was calculated from these scores to indicate overall difficulties in the marriage domain.

Anticipated parenting conflict scale. The anticipated parenting conflict scale (APC) was comprised of three items from the FDS, a scale previously discussed. The items used for the APC scale included, "using child care for a child less than one year old," "using child care for a pre-school aged child," and "finding good child care." For

each item, participants were asked to provide a rating of the level of anticipated difficulty in these tasks using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all an anticipated difficulty) to 5 (very much an anticipated difficulty). A total average was calculated from these scores to indicate overall difficulties in the parenting domain.

Multiple Role Planning

The instrument used to measure multiple role planning was the Life Choices Questionnaire (LCQ; © H. Grotevant, St. Paul, MN). The LCQ was designed to assess exploratory behaviors across twelve domains of identity development. The instrument has been implemented as a measure of planning for other domains including romantic development (Rader, 2003), although studies have not yet used this instrument for work and family planning. Although it was designed as a measure of exploratory planning attitudes rather than planning behaviors, it addresses strategies that are relevant for both the planning and the exploratory process. Since measures that directly assess planning behaviors are not yet available, the LCQ was chosen as a viable alternative. For the LCQ, respondents were asked to think about recent planning strategies they had engaged in that are considered part of the exploratory process. Planning strategies included "searched for more information about the topic" and "gained first hand experience with the topic." For each of the 12 domains, participants rated whether they have used each strategy within the past month on a scale from 1 (not used) to 5 (actively and seriously used). Ordinarily scores for each domain are averaged to result in twelve subscale scores, and a total average is also calculated. Subscale scores for the LCQ include the domains of Occupation, Religion, Politics, Myself as a Friend, Myself in Dating or Close Relationships, Myself as a Marriage Partner, Myself as a

Parent, Myself as an Adult Child of my Parents, Family Roles, Leisure/Recreation, Attitudes about Sexual Expression, and Men's and Women's Roles. In the current study, only the Occupation, Myself as a Parent, Myself as a Marriage Partner, and Family Roles subscales were used because these are the only four scales that represent planning for work and family roles. These four scales were averaged to produce a total planning score.

Concerning psychometrics, Fullinwider-Bush and Jacobvitz (1993) presented evidence for construct validity for the LCQ in a study with college women. Results demonstrated significant positive correlations between exploration behaviors on the LCQ and Berzonsky's (1986) measure of exploration. A study by Rader (2003) used only the romantic development related subscales (Dating and Sexual Expression). This study found a strong internal consistency for each subscale with .92 and .93 as the respective Cronbach's alphas.

Work and Family Experience

Work experience scale. Five questions were included to assess the level of work experience in participants. The first question asked how much time the participant worked at a job each week and response choices ranged from 1 to 5 with 1 being not employed to 5 being more than 35 hours a week. The second question addressed what percent of living expenses the participant paid, and responses choices consisted of five categories that ranged from 1 (0%) to 5 (100%). These two questions were included in the first data collection and were used again in the second data collection. Difference scores were calculated and included in the work experience scale by subtracting the response value for each question in the first data collection from the response value in

the second data collection. The remaining questions were not included in the first data collection and were added to the second data collection. The third question asked, "Are you currently working in a job that is consistent with your long-term career goals?" and was scored on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very related). This question tapped into how intensely participants were involved in the role of career in their lives. The following two questions asked respondents about their perception of their personal and vicarious experiences over the past two years. Following an exploratory question about the degree to which the participant believed their understanding of what it is like to work/have a career has changed since two years ago, the fourth question used for the work experience scale asked, "How much experience have you personally had which influenced that change?" The fifth and final question asked, "How much have you seen people close to you have experience which influenced that change?" These questions were scored on a scale from 1 (none) to 5 (a great deal). Respondents were also asked to indicate in a free-response format what experiences they personally had or they saw people close to them experience which influenced the change, although this was for exploratory purposes and was not used as part of the scale.

Responses to the five questions included in the scale were combined into a single score and a total average was calculated to indicate the level of change in work experience over time, with higher scores indicating more work role experience.

Marriage experience scale. Three questions were included to assess the level of marriage experience in participants. The first question asked for the participant's relationship status, and response choices consisted of seven choices including married, separated, divorced, widowed, single in a long-term relationship, single and actively

dating, and single and not actively dating. Responses were then consolidated into five categories and scored from 1 to 5 to represent increasing involvement in relationships: single and not actively dating, single and actively dating, single in a long-term relationship, married but not together (including separated, divorced, and widowed categories) and married. This question was included in the first data collection and was used again in the second data collection. A difference score was calculated and included by subtracting the response value for the question in the first data collection from the response value in the second data collection. The remaining two questions were not included in the first data collection and were added to the second data collection. The following two questions asked respondents about their perception of their personal and vicarious experiences over the past two years. Following an exploratory question about the degree to which the participant believed their understanding of what it is like to be married/have a spouse has changed since two years ago, the fourth question used for the work experience scale asked, "How much experience have you personally had which influenced that change?" The fifth and final question asked, "How much have you seen people close to you have experience which influenced that change?" These questions were scored on a scale from 1 (none) to 5 (a great deal). Respondents were also asked to indicate in a free-response format what experiences they personally had or they saw people close to them experience which influenced the change, although this was for exploratory purposes and was not used as part of the scale.

Responses to the three questions included in the scale were combined into a single score and a total average was calculated to indicate the level of change in

marriage experience over time, with higher scores indicating more marriage role experience.

Parenting experience scale. Three questions were created for the purpose of this study and included in the second data collection to assess the level of parenting experience in participants. The first question addressed whether or not the participant had children, and was scored from 1 to 5 to represent increasing experience with having children: no children, thinking about having a child in the next 2 years, seriously planning to have a child, pregnant/expecting first child, and have at least one child. Scores represent difference scores between the first and second data collections since all participants at the first data collection did not have children. The following two questions asked respondents about their perception of their personal and vicarious experiences over the past two years. Following an exploratory question about the degree to which the participant believed their understanding of what it is like to be a parent/have children has changed since two years ago, the fourth question used for the work experience scale asked, "How much experience have you personally had which influenced that change?" The fifth and final question asked, "How much have you seen people close to you have experience which influenced that change?" These questions were scored on a scale from 1 (none) to 5 (a great deal). Respondents were also asked to indicate in a free-response format what experiences they personally had or they saw people close to them experience which influenced the change, although this was for exploratory purposes and was not used as part of the scale.

Responses to the five questions included in the scale were combined into a single score and a total average was calculated to indicate the level of change in

parenting experience over time, with higher scores indicating more parenting role experience.

Additional Exploratory Items

For exploratory purposes, additional items were included in an effort to gain information about how participants' understanding of work-family role combination changed from the first data collection to the second data collection. The exploratory items were listed at the end of the questionnaire packet to avoid influencing responses on the other scales. The first question asked, "How much do you think your knowledge of what it is like to have both a career and a family at the same time has changed since two years ago?" These questions were scored on a scale from 1 (none) to 5 (a great deal). The second question asked, ""How much experience have you personally had which influenced that change?" The third question asked, "How much have you seen people close to you have experience which influenced that change?" These questions were scored on a scale from 1 (none) to 5 (a great deal). Respondents were also asked to indicate in a free-response format what experiences they personally had or they saw people close to them experience which influenced the change. These questions were added in an effort to gain additional information about the level and types of experience that influence changes in a person's understanding of work-family role integration.

Hypotheses

This study explored seven research questions and hypotheses, listed as follows:

I. Do prevalence rates of anticipated work-family conflict vary by type of measurement instrument used? The specific hypothesis tested to examine this question was:

- A. Sample means of anticipated work-family conflict will vary by the type of measurement instrument used.
- II. Do prevalence rates vary by the type of conflict measured? The specific hypothesis tested to examine this question was:
- B. Sample means of anticipated work-family conflict will vary by the type of conflict measured.
- III. How stable are different measurement instruments of anticipated work-family conflict over time? The specific hypothesis tested to examine this question was:
 - C. Different measurement instruments of anticipated work-family conflict will show significant differences over time.
- IV. How stable are different types of anticipated work-family conflict over time? The specific hypothesis tested to examine this question was:
- D. Different types of work-family conflict will show significant differences over time.
- V. What is the effect of work, marriage, and parenting experience on anticipated work-family conflict? The specific hypothesis tested to examine this question was:
 - E. Work, marriage, and parenting experience will increase levels of anticipated work-family conflict.
- VI. What is the effect of anticipated work-family conflict on planning for future roles?

 The specific hypothesis tested to examine this question was:
- F. Higher levels of anticipated work-family conflict will increase planning for future roles.

- VII. What is the relationship between experience, conflict, and planning? The specific hypothesis tested to examine this question was:
- G. Experience will directly impact conflict and indirectly impact planning through conflict. In other words, conflict will mediate the influence of experience on planning behaviors.

Research Design and Analyses

Hypotheses A and C pertained to differences in the prevalence and stability of various measurement instruments of anticipated work-family conflict. To assess these hypotheses, group differences were examined through a series of Friedman's ANOVAs that investigated the effects of the type of measurement instrument used and time, as well as the type of instrument-time interaction in the dependent variable, the amount of anticipated work-family conflict. Ordinarily, a repeated measures ANOVA would be used for this analysis. However, the five anticipated work-family conflict variables included in this analysis (AWFC possible selves measure, single item measure, WIF, FIW, FDS, and CBI) were all on different response metrics. ANOVAs are computed on means and standard deviations, which are expressed in the same units as the data. Since the data from each measure used in this analysis were in different units, using the standard deviations would produce inaccurate results.

Accordingly, the nonparametric equivalent of a two-way repeated measures

ANOVA was used for this analysis instead, which is Friedman's ANOVA. Friedman's

ANOVA is a nonparametric test that also requires variables being compared to be on a

similar metric; however, it is not calculated using standard deviations. Instead, it ranks

each participant's scores, sums them, and computes the analyses based on the

differences of the summed ranks. Thus, the scores on each measure can be converted to the same metric for the purpose of testing using Friedman's ANOVA without concern of altering the standard deviation as would be the case for a parametric ANOVA. *Post hoc* tests and effect size for the Friedman's ANOVA were measured by performing a series of Wilcoxon signed-rank tests using a Bonferroni correction (T) and Pearson's *r* correlation.

Hypotheses B and D pertained to differences in the prevalence and stability of domain-specific of anticipated work-family conflict. Group differences were examined through a series of ANOVAs that investigated the effects of type of conflict and time, as well as a conflict type-time interaction. Post hoc tests and effect size were calculated for significant findings. Unlike the analysis for the previously described hypotheses, the scales used in this analysis were on the same response metric and did not pose the same difficulties with parametric tests. Therefore, ANOVAs were used for this analysis.

Hypotheses E, F, and G were tested using hierarchical multiple regression. The following are the constructs and variables used in the design. The experience block included work experience, marriage experience, and parenting experience as represented by the AWC, AMC, and APC scales. The anticipated conflict block included domain specific types of conflict including work, marriage, and parenting. The dependent variable was planning operationalized by the combined LCQ scales.

Criteria to assess for effects and mediation were examined to evaluate whether the anticipated conflict variables mediate the relationship between experience and planning. To demonstrate mediation, the experience block needed to predict anticipated conflict domains (Hypothesis E). Next, the anticipated conflict domains

needed to predict planning (Hypothesis F). The experience variables also had to predict planning, and finally, anticipated conflict domains had to predict planning after controlling for the block of experience variables (Hypothesis G).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Description of the Sample

A description of the sample is presented in Table 2. The present study consisted of 102 students, including 59 women and 43 men. For the first data collection, selection criteria limited participants to ages 18 to 25, since this age group was more likely than older age groups to be in the anticipatory stages of their family and career. The purpose of controlling for age was to minimize participants who were experiencing such roles directly, rather than looking forward to the future. Overall, attrition rates between initial testing and final testing were approximately 61% for women and 70% for men. Participants who did not return for the final testing session did not differ significantly in demographic characteristics or variable means from those participants who returned to complete the final testing of the study.

Participants were asked to take part in an initial testing session and final testing session with two years in between. The sample was primarily Caucasian (56.9%), followed by Hispanic (12.7%), African-American (10.8%), Asian (8.8%), Native American (2.0%), and other ethnic/racial background (7.8%), and was similar to the university population.

At the time of the first data collection, participants had a mean age of 20.41 years (SD = 1.77). Students with senior class standing represented 23.5% of the sample, juniors at 34.3%, sophomores at 18.6%, and freshman at 23.5%. The majority of the sample was not self-sufficient concerning work, with most currently unemployed (31.40%) and paying for less than 25% of their living expenses (58.8%). All of the

participants indicated that they were single and childless. Participants reported that they were currently in long-term relationships (53.9%), actively dating (21.6%), or not dating (24.5%).

Two years later at the time of the second data collection, participants had a mean age of 22.08 years (SD = 1.79). The majority of the sample was increasingly self-sufficient concerning work (t(101) = 1.91, p < .05) and living expenses (t(101) = 3.19, p < .01), with most working at least 15 hours per week (59.8%) and paying for more than 50% of their living expenses (44.1%). Yet, a substantial percentage of the sample remained unemployed (29.40%). Most participants indicated that they did not have children (92.2%), but 6.9% of the sample was married. The remaining participants were single with the majority in long-term relationships (47.1%), followed by actively dating (13.7%), and not dating (32.4%).

The majority of the sample was still in school including graduate students at 13.7%, college seniors at 41.2%, followed by juniors at 15.7%, sophomores at 4.9%, and freshman at 1.0%. In addition, 19.6% graduated college and 2% of the sample left college before graduating. However, changes in college status over two years were different for females and males. Females and males were similar in class standing at the first data collection (χ^2 (4) = 3.49, p = .48), but differed at the second collection (χ^2 (6) = 13.38, p < .05). At the time of the first data collection, both females and males were predominately college juniors and seniors (55.9% females; 60.5% males; Table 3). Two years later, the majority of males in the sample were seniors (41.9%) or juniors (25.6%), while the majority of females were college seniors (40.7%) or had graduated college (25.4%).

Descriptive Statistics for Measures

Possible Selves Measure

For exploratory purposes, several different scores were computed from the openended measures. First, possible selves were coded to indicate whether three topics
were mentioned: work, family, and anticipated work-family conflict. Only those scores
relating to anticipated work-family conflict were used for the primary analyses. For each
topic, possible selves were assigned several scores including Dichotomous Hopes and
Fears scores indicating whether a topic was or was not mentioned in hoped for selves
or feared selves. A Total Mention score indicated whether participants mentioned a
particular topic as either a hoped for or feared possible self. The Balanced score
indicated whether participants mentioned a particular topic as both a hope and a fear.
Likelihood scores represented the average rated likelihood of possible selves
mentioning each topic, with a higher score indicating a greater likelihood of the
particular possible self occurring in one's future. Frequencies for Hopes, Fears, Total
Mention scores, Balanced scores, and Likelihood scores are presented for each topic in
Table 4.

Possible selves results show that family and work were consistently mentioned more than any other category as part of participants' possible selves. While many participants appeared to be balanced in thinking about both hopes and fears for their futures in family and work roles, those topics were more often mentioned in what they hope for than fear, and they considered their hopes more likely to come to pass in the future than their fears.

According to Total Mention scores, family-related possible selves were found in the majority of participants' possible selves (91.2% at Time 1, 78.4% at Time 2). Possible selves relating to family yielded the highest frequencies for Time 1, but yielded slightly lower frequencies for Time 2 (t(101) = 2.58, p < .05). Some of the most common hopes related to family were, "getting married" and "having children;" and some of the most common fears were, "never getting married," "divorce," and "never having children." Possible selves related to work yielded slightly lower frequencies at Time 1, but yielded the highest scores for Time 2 (t(101) = 2.74, p < .01). According to Total Mention scores for work, work-related possible selves were consistently found in the majority of participants' possible selves (86.3% at Time 1, 90.2% at Time 2). Some of the most common hopes related to work were, "getting a good job" and "being happy with my job;" and some of the most common fears were, "not getting a job," "getting fired," and "having a job I don't like."

For both work and family possible selves, the frequencies for Hopes were slightly higher than those for Fears (t(101) = 5.77, p < .01 for Work; (t(101) = 4.85, p < .01 for Family), and the means for likelihood scores were significantly higher for Hopes than for Fears (t(101) = 6.10, p < .01 for Work; (t(101) = 10.53, p < .01 for Family). Possible selves related to anticipated work-family conflict, however, showed different results and will be discussed in the following sections.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Measures

Data from the anticipated work-family conflict measures were examined to assess the extent that participants perceived their involvement in work and family roles interfering in their future. Means, standard deviations, and ranges of the measures of

anticipated work-family conflict (Possible Selves, Single-Item, WIF, FIW, FDS, and CBI) are presented in Table 5, and the frequency of responses for each measure are presented in Figure 1 to illustrate the distribution of responses.

Overall, results suggest that participants generally reported low to moderate levels of anticipated work-family conflict on the various measures, but further examination of the anchors for each measure revealed dissimilarity and disagreement depending on the method of measurement. According to results from the AWFC single-item measure and the CBI, most participants had some awareness that work and family roles might conflict in the future. Findings from the WIF and the FIW suggested that participants expected that work would conflict with family most. Yet while participants may have anticipated some conflict in the future, possible selves findings suggested that most did not spontaneously report any fears about it, and FDS results suggested that most participants did not think any of these conflicts would be difficult to handle. The remainder of this section provides a detailed description of each individual anticipated work-family conflict measure.

Possible selves related to anticipated work-family conflict were problematic and excluded from further analyses. As seen in Table 5, the means for the open-ended possible selves measure were very low at .12 for Time 1 and .16 for Time 2. Examples of hopes related to anticipated work-family conflict were, "being able to enjoy my profession and my family;" and in fears were, "being incapable of working and taking care of my family." The results were severely positively skewed and indicated that 97.1% of participants did not spontaneously report any anticipated work-family conflict at Time 1 or Time 2 (Figure 1). For the 3 participants who reported possible selves

related to anticipated work-family conflict, likelihood scores only ranged from 1 to 6 on a 1 to 7 scale, where 1 was "not at all likely," and 7 was "very likely," indicating that none of the participants thought anticipated work-family conflict was very likely to occur in the future (Table 5). The Likelihood scores for all participants were considered to be the most representative score for the AWFC possible selves measure. However, due to the extremely low scores and lack of variability, the average likelihood scores are still problematic. Due to lack of discrimination, they do not represent a useful measure for further analyses and were not included in principle analyses.

For the AWFC single-item measure, scores represented how likely participants thought it was that work and family roles would conflict in the future on a 0 to 100 scale. Means for the AWFC single-item measure were in the moderate range at 56.28 and 55.64 at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively (Table 5), indicating that on the average, participants anticipated some conflict in their futures. As seen in Figure 1, most participants (76.7% for Time 1, 72.5% for Time 2) reported that work-family conflict was somewhat likely to likely to occur in the future (score 20 – 80).

On the adapted version of a measure of current work and family interference, the WIF and FIW scores were on a 1 to 5 scale, with responses to the question of whether work and family would interfere with each other ranging from 1 "strongly disagree" to 5 "strongly agree." Overall means were 3.04 at Time 1 and 3.19 at Time 2 for WIF, and 2.38 at Time 1 and 2.43 at Time 2 for FIW (Table 5). Overall means were lower for FIW than WIF, indicating that on average, most participants anticipated work interfering with family more than family interfering with work. Results for the WIF did not span the entire scale and were slightly positively skewed. As seen in Figure 1, only a small

proportion of the sample agreed that work would interfere with family (8.8% for Time 1, 19.6% for Time 2; score 4-5). Unlike the AWFC single item measure, most participants reported that they were uncertain whether work would interfere with family (53.9% at Time 1, 45.1% at Time 2; score 3).

Results from FIW revealed an even greater departure from the findings of the AWFC single item measure. The FIW scale spanned the entire scale but was more positively skewed with only a small percentage of the sample (1.0% at Time 1, 3.0% for Time 2) agreeing that family would interfere with work (Figure 1). The majority of the sample (86.8% for Time 1, 75.6% for Time 2) disagreed that family would interfere with work, and only about a fifth were uncertain (17.6% for Time 1, 21.7% for Time 2). Thus, the majority of participants disagreed that work and family would interfere with each other, but most participants believed that work would interfere with family and family would not interfere with work.

On the FDS, possible scores ranged from 1, "unlikely a difficulty" to 5, "very likely a difficulty." The means for both Time 1 and Time 2 was 2.72 (Table 5). Similar to the FIW, scores ranged nearly the entire scale but were slightly positively skewed, and the majority of participants (65.8% for Time 1, 67.0% for Time 2) reported that work-family conflicts were unlikely to be difficult to handle (score 1-2; Figure 1). About a third of participants were uncertain (31.4% for Time 1, 27.7% for Time 2; score 3), and only the remaining 3.0% for Time 1 and 6.0% for Time 2 believed that conflicts would likely be difficult to handle (score 4-5).

Lastly, the CBI indicated whether participants thought family roles would be a barrier to their career on a scale of 1, "would not hinder at all" to 7, "would completely

hinder." Findings from the CBI were again dissimilar from the other anticipated work-family conflict measures. Means were moderate at 4.27 for Time 1 and 4.20 for Time 2 (Table 5). As seen in Figure 1, scores ranged nearly the entire scale, but only small portions of the sample thought family would not hinder their career at all (12.0% for Time 1, 7.0% for Time 2; score 1-2) or completely hinder it (2.0% for Time 1, 3.0% for Time 2; score 6-7). The vast majority of participants (86.0% for Time 1, 90.0% for Time 2) reported that they anticipated family roles to be somewhat of a hindrance to their career (score 3-5). Thus, most participants indicated that they expected family to interfere with work somewhat.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Domains

Data from the three scales used to measure domain specific types of anticipated conflict including work, marriage, and parenting conflict were examined to assess the extent that participants perceived their involvement in each of these domains to be incompatible in their future. Means, standard deviations, and ranges of the measures of types of anticipated work-family conflict (Anticipated Work Conflict (AWC), Anticipated Marriage Conflict (AMC) and Anticipated Parenting Conflict (APC)) are presented in Table 6.

For both Time 1 and Time 2, results for each of the three domains spanned the entire scale, but on average, most participants expected low (AMC, AWC) to low-moderate (APC) levels of conflict for the three domains. For the AWC, AMC and APC scales, scores ranged from 1 to 5, with high scores indicating a high level of perceived interference with work, marriage and parenting, respectively. Overall means for AWC

were 2.38 for Time 1 and 2.43 for Time 2; for AMC, means were 2.18 and Time 1 and 2.73 for Time 2; and APC, means were 2.74 for Time 1 and 2.73 for Time 2.

Work and Family Experience Scales

Data from the three scales used to measure types of experience were examined to assess the extent that participants perceived they had previous work experience, marriage experience, and parenting experience. Means, standard deviations, and ranges of the measures of experience (Work Experience, Marriage Experience, and Parenting Experience) are presented in Table 7.

Results for each of the three domains of experience spanned nearly the entire scale, and on average, most participants had low (parenting experience, M = 1.96), low-moderate (marriage experience, M = 2.65), and moderate (work experience, M = 3.07) levels of experience for the three domains. Experience measures were on a 1 to 5 scale, with responses ranging from 1 "no experience" to 5 "a great deal of experience." Multiple Role Planning Measure

Data from the multiple role planning measure were examined to assess the extent that participants engaged in exploratory planning behaviors. Means, standard deviations, and ranges of scores for planning are presented in Table 7.

On the planning measure, results indicated that on average, participants used planning strategies a moderate amount (M = 3.23, SD = .80). Scores spanned nearly the entire scale and were normally distributed. Planning was on a 1 to 5 scale, with responses to the question of whether participants have engaged in planning behaviors ranging from 1 "haven't used this strategy at all" to 5 "actively and seriously used this strategy."

The four scales that comprised the planning measure were: Occupation, Myself as a Marriage Partner, Myself as a Parent, and Family Roles, and all four revealed significant differences from each other. The mean for planning occupation (M = 3.47), was greater than marriage (Myself as a Marriage Partner; M = 2.52), which was greater than family roles (M = 2.42), which was also greater than parenting (Myself as a Parent; M = 2.37), and these differences were statistically significant (F(1, 101) = 28.22, p < .01).

Exploratory Items

Exploratory data was included in an effort to gain information about how participants' understanding of work-family role combination changed over two years. The exploratory question asked, "How much do you think your understanding of what it is like to have both a career and a family at the same time has changed since two years ago?" Results for the exploratory item spanned the entire scale, and on average most participants thought that their understanding of having a career and family changed "a little" to "some" (M = 2.60, SD = 1.29). Changes in participants' understanding of work-family role combination were on a 1 to 5 scale, with responses ranging from 1, "no change," to 5, "a great deal of change."

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to the main analyses, the variables were examined for accuracy in data entry, missing values, out-of-range values, and fit between their distributions and the assumptions of the respective analyses. A few participants did not complete all of the information regarding their parents for unknown reasons. Due to the nature of the online data collection, participants were required to fill in all data concerning the

principal analyses before moving on, so missing data did not exist for the principle analyses. Since cases with missing demographic information did not involve items used in the principal analyses, these cases were included and left with missing values.

The variables were then assessed for the normality of distributions and the impact of outliers. Most variables were normally distributed or were slightly positively skewed. Transformations did not improve the normality of the distribution of scores, therefore no transformations were made. Boxplots were examined for each variable to identify outliers. For a few of the scales there were a small number of outliers (1-3), which did not significantly affect the mean scores when taken out, so they were retained.

However, the lack of variability in scores on the anticipated work-family conflict possible selves measure was problematic and could not be remedied by transformations. According to Tabachnik and Fidell (2001), lack of variability in scores can be problematic in analyses because relationships become obscured when the data are limited to a restricted range. For analyses to provide accurate descriptions there should be wide ranges of values in the data. Thus, the anticipated work-family conflict possible selves measure was removed from the principle analyses.

All the variables included in the regression analyses were examined for multicollinearity, due to the negative effect on multivariate analyses of variance (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). A correlation matrix of all variables in the regression analyses is presented in Table 8, and indicates that multicollinearity does not appear to exist in this study. Multicollinearity typically exists when two or more independent variables are highly correlated, and they can cause difficulty in interpretation of the

results. The method of detecting multicollinearity is to examine correlations between variables to see if the two variables are highly correlated. Any bivariate correlation that reaches .80 will most likely affect the data set. Variables exceeding this level of correlation should be considered to measure the same construct and may need to be eliminated to reduce the risk of multicollinearity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Nevertheless, some relationships among variables were noteworthy. Because it was thought that all of the variables included in study—work and family possible selves, work and family experience, anticipated work-family conflict, and multiple role planning—might relate to other factors, correlations were examined to determine whether any of the demographic variables should be included in the principal analyses. Pearson correlations were used for continuous variables, and point-biserial correlations were used for categorical and dichotomous variables. Demographics included personal characteristics including age, gender, year in school, grade point average, ethnic/racial background, and religion, as well as information about parents' relationship status and education. It also included information about the individual's living and financial situation, and involvement in work. Lastly, it included information about current relationship status, relationship history, and relationship expectations.

Of these variables, most correlations tended to be very low and not significant. Therefore, no variables were identified that needed to be accounted for in the principal analyses. Yet, the correlations between work experience and both age and class standing were statistically significant, revealing small, positive relationships between the level of work experience and age, r = .26, p (two-tailed) < .01, and work experience and

year in school, r = .23, p (two-tailed) < .01. In general, these results suggest that the higher the age and year in school, the higher the level of work experience reported.

It is also noteworthy that no gender differences were found for any of the variables used in the study, except for parenting experience, which was significantly correlated with gender, in which females reported higher levels of parenting experience than males (r = .22, p (two-tailed) < .05).

However, it was thought that correlations between variables might differ for males and females. A correlation matrix of all anticipated work-family conflict measures is presented in Table 9 for males and females. For females, test-retest reliabilities for each measure of anticipated work-family conflict were low and not significant from Time 1 to Time 2, with scores only ranging from .05 to .17. None of the correlations for females were significant from Time 1 to Time 2, suggesting that individual scores for anticipated work-family conflict changed somewhat over time. These changes are not seen in correlations for men. Instead, test-retest reliabilities from Time 1 to Time 2 ranged from .09 to .50, and most were significantly correlated, suggesting that individual scores remained somewhat stable over two years.

Further differences between females and males are shown in Table 3, which reveal that college status and the change in scores on the anticipated work-family conflict single item measure from the first to the second data collection were significantly correlated for females, $r_s = .29$, p (two-tailed) < .05, but not for males.

As expected, all anticipated work-family conflict measures (AWFC single-item, WIF, FIW, FDS, and CBI) and anticipated work-family conflict domains (work conflict, marriage conflict, and parenting conflict) significantly correlated with each other. Since

each of these scales measured a component of the same construct, it was expected that they would correlate. Further reasoning for this expectation was that scales representing the anticipated work-family conflict domains were comprised of items in the anticipated work-family conflict measures.

Principle Analyses

The seven research questions and corresponding hypotheses posed in this study included assessing the prevalence rates and stability of different measurement instruments and types of anticipated work-family conflict; and the relationship between work and family experience, anticipated work-family conflict, and multiple role planning. Prevalence Rates and Stability of Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Measurement Instruments

To test the hypotheses that, sample means of anticipated work-family conflict would vary by the type of measurement instrument used, and that they would show significant differences from Time 1 to Time 2, a series of Friedman's ANOVAs were analyzed. The following discussion demonstrates that significant differences were found between several measurement methods, but no significant differences were found for time.

The five anticipated work-family conflict variables included in this analysis (AWFC single item measure, WIF, FIW, FDS, and CBI; Table 5) were adjusted for Friedman's ANOVA. Friedman's ANOVA is a nonparametric test that requires variables being compared to be on a similar metric, and the analyses then ranks the scores and computes the analyses based on the differences of the ranks. Since each of the anticipated work-family conflict variables were on a different response metric, the scores

were converted into percentages on a 0 to 100 scale to create a common metric for ranking.

A two-way within-subjects Friedman's ANOVA was conducted with the factors being type of measurement instrument used and time, and the dependent variable being the anticipated work-family conflict scores from the various instruments used. The means and standard deviations for the anticipated work-family conflict scores before transformations are presented in Table 5, and the means for the anticipated work-family conflict scores after transformations into percentages are presented in Figure 2.

The results for Friedman's ANOVA revealed that none of the effects for time were significant at p < .05 for any of the anticipated work-family conflict measurement instruments. Results indicated that participants reported similar levels of anticipated work-family conflict from Time 1 to Time 2 on the AWFC single-item measure (T = 45.07, r = -.19), WIF (T = 44.95, r = -.17), FIW (T = 39.63, T = -.04), FDS (T = 48.34, T = -.01), CBI (T = 49.54, T = -.05) and AWFC possible selves (T = 3.00, T = -.04). Thus, findings for specific measurement instruments described below are similar for both Time 1 and Time 2.

The results for Friedman's ANOVA revealed a significant measurement method effect, indicating that sample means of anticipated work-family conflict did vary by the type of measurement instrument used ($\chi^2(5) = 5.23$, p < .01). Results showed that for both Time 1 and Time 2, the AWFC single-item measure had the highest mean rank, followed by the CBI, WIF, FDS, and FIW with the lowest mean rank (see Figure 2). Wilcoxon tests were used to follow up this finding, and Bonferroni correction was

applied so all effects were reported at a .002 level of significance. All effect sizes ranged from .41 to .86, i.e. "medium" to "large" according to Cohen's scheme (1988). The FIW was significantly lower than all of the other anticipated work-conflict measures: the AWFC single-item measure (T = -8.46, r = .86), CBI (T = -7.59, r = .75), WIF (T = -7.49, r = .74), and FDS (T = -4.81, T = .41); the FDS was the second lowest measure and was significantly lower than the remaining measures: the AWFC single-item measure (T = -8.67, T = .86), CBI (T = -5.86, T = .58), and WIF (T = -4.27, T = .42). Significant differences were not found between the following three measures: the AWFC single-item measure, the WIF, and the CBI.

Although anticipated work-family conflict measures were put on the same metric in this analysis to compare their statistical properties, it is important to note that the anchors of each measure asked slightly different questions, as previously discussed in the descriptive statistics.

Prevalence Rates and Stability of Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Domains

Similar analyses to those recently discussed were repeated for anticipated work-family conflict domains. To investigate the hypotheses that, sample means of anticipated work-family conflict would vary by the domain type of conflict measured, and that they would show significant differences over time, a 3 (Domain Type: AWC vs. AMC vs. APC) x 2 (Time: 1 vs. 2) repeated-measures analysis of variance was conducted. The following discussion will explicate findings that all three domains of anticipated work-family conflict showed significant differences, but none of the domains were significantly different from Time 1 to Time 2.

The means and standard deviations for the types of anticipated work-family conflict including AWC, AMC and APC are presented in Table 6, and the results of the ANOVA are presented in Table 10 and Figure 3. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated for the main effect of type of anticipated work-family conflict ($\chi^2(2) = 7.30$, p < .05), and type of conflict x time interaction ($\chi^2(2) = 9.62$, p < .01). Therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon = .95$ for the main effect of type of anticipated work-family conflict and .92 for the type of conflict x time interaction effect).

The time effect was nonsignificant, F(1, 101) = .16, p = .69, as well as the type of conflict x time interaction effect, F(2, 202) = .15, p = .84. Since the time effect and the type of conflict x time interaction effect were nonsignificant in this analysis, *post hoc* tests and effect sizes are not reported. These analyses do not support Hypothesis D, which predicted that different types of anticipated work-family conflict would show significant differences over time. In fact, participants reported levels of all three types of anticipated work-family conflict remained fairly consistently over time, as seen in Figure 3.

There was a significant main effect of the type of anticipated work-family conflict, F(1,101) = 18.46, p = .00. Contrasts revealed that all three domain types of anticipated work-family conflict were significantly different from each other. As seen in Table 6, overall means were highest for APC (M = 2.74 for Time 1, 2.73 for Time 2), followed by AWC (M = 2.38 for Time 1, 2.43 for Time 2) and then AMC (2.18 and Time 1 and 2.73 for Time 2), indicating that on average, most participants anticipated the most interference with parenting, then work, and the least interference with marriage. When

considering the response anchors of the scales, results suggest that while participants on average disagreed that they would experience conflicts with work (AWC) or conflicts with marriage (AMC), they were uncertain whether they would experience difficulties with parenting (APC).

Summary of Prevalence Rates and Stability for Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Results

Results of this analysis are further elucidated when the results for all of the hypotheses concerning prevalence rates and stability are considered together. Both analyses concerning time showed that participants' reported levels of anticipated workfamily conflict did not change significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, regardless of whether anticipated work-family conflict was represented by different measurement instruments, or by domain-specific types of conflict. Yet, participants' reported levels of anticipated work-family conflict were significantly different when reporting on differing measurement instruments and domain-specific types. These findings did not change significantly over time, suggesting that in general, the differences were somewhat stable. Thus, regardless of the method of measurement or type of conflict, levels of anticipated workfamily conflict remained fairly consistent over time; however, methods of measurement and types of conflict were inconsistent amongst each other.

Relationship between Experience, Anticipated Work-Family Conflict, and Planning

The remaining hypotheses were tested using regression analyses. To test the hypotheses that experience would predict anticipated work-family conflict and anticipated work-family conflict would predict planning, regression analyses were

conducted between: (a) experience variables including work experience, marriage experience, and parenting experience; (b) anticipated work-family conflict domains; and (c) multiple role planning. These analyses provided initial criteria for the hypothesis that anticipated work-family conflict mediates the relationship between experience and planning.

Regression analyses predicting anticipated work-family conflict domains.

Regression analyses were first conducted to investigate whether the three experience variables predict the three domain-specific types of anticipated work-family conflict.

None of the analyses were significant.

The first analysis predicted the variable AWC, and a summary of the model is presented in Table 11. The combination of experience variables was not a significant predictor of AWC, F(3, 98) = .46, p = .71. Experience only accounted for 1.4% of the variance in AWC. The second analysis predicted the variable AMC, which is presented in Table 12. The combination of experience variables was not a significant predictor of AMC, F(3, 98) = .53, p = .67. Experience only accounted for 1.3% of the variance in AWC. The third analysis predicted the variable APC, and a summary of the model is presented in Table 13. The combination of experience variables was not a significant predictor of APC, F(3, 98) = .70, p = .56, and experience only accounted for 1.4% of the variance in APC. Contrary to expectations, the independent variables of work experience, marriage experience, and parenting experience did not significantly predict any of the dependent anticipated work-family conflict variables of AWC, AMC, and APC.

Regression analysis predicting multiple role planning variable. A regression analysis was conducted to examine whether the three anticipated work-family conflict

variables (AWC, AMC, and APC) predicted the multiple role planning variable. A summary of the model is presented in Table 14. The combination of anticipated workfamily conflict variables was not a significant predictor of planning, F(3, 98) = .31, p = .82. Anticipated work-family conflict only accounted for 0.9% of the variance in planning. Contrary to expectations, the anticipated work-family conflict variables of AWC, AMC, and APC did not significantly predict multiple role planning.

A second regression analysis was conducted to examine whether the three experience variables (work experience, marriage experience, and parenting experience) predicted the multiple planning variable. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 15. In the model, the three experience variables (work experience, marriage experience, and parenting experience) was a significant predictor of multiple role planning, F(3, 98) = 5.47, p < .01, and accounted for 14.3% of the variance. Although both marriage experience and parenting experience correlated with planning, further examination of beta values reveal that only marriage experience was the only significant predictor in the regression ($\beta = .277$).

Summary of regression analyses results. Regression analyses evaluated the contributions of three experience variables (work experience, marriage experience, and parenting experience) to the prediction of three anticipated work-family conflict variables (AWC, AMC, and APC). Multiple regression analyses also evaluated the contributions of the three anticipated work-family conflict variables to the prediction of multiple role planning. The three experience variables (work experience, marriage experience, and parenting experience) were then evaluated as predictors of multiple role planning.

Results did not support the hypotheses that experience would significantly predict anticipated work-family conflict, nor that anticipated work-family conflict variables would significantly predict multiple role planning. As a result, the hypothesis that anticipated work-family conflict would mediate the influence of experience on planning was not supported. Marriage experience was the only factor that emerged as a significant predictor for multiple role planning.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the development of work and family plans in young adults, and to investigate and clarify the long-term stability, prevalence, and consequences of anticipated work-family conflict. The aspects of anticipated work-family conflict that were under investigation were prevalence rates, longitudinal stability, and the relationship with experience and multiple role planning.

Accordingly, seven specific hypotheses were addressed. The hypothesis that prevalence rates of anticipated work-family conflict vary based on measurement instrument types was supported. Several of the measurement types differed from one another: the single-item measure (AWFC single-item measure), barriers measure (CBI), and work interfering with family measure (WIF) were the highest; followed by the multi-item measure (FDS), and the family interfering with work measure (FIW). This finding supports the proposition that the variability in prevalence rates may be partially due to the variety of measurement instruments used in the literature.

The hypothesis that prevalence rates of anticipated work-family conflict vary based on domain-specific types of conflict was also supported. Anticipated work conflict, family conflict, and parenting conflict were significantly different from each other, with parenting conflict highest, work conflict next, and marriage conflict lowest. Anticipated work-family conflict involves a struggle affecting multiple different roles, and this finding supports the suggestion that the contradictions in prevalence rates previously reported in the literature may be partially due to the different domain-specific types of conflict being measured.

The hypotheses that there are differences in the longitudinal stability of anticipated work-family conflict over time based on: (a) different measurement instruments, and (b) different domain-specific types of conflict, were not supported. None of the six anticipated work-family conflict measurement instruments included in the study demonstrated significant variability over time, nor did the domains of work conflict, marriage conflict, or parenting conflict. All measures and domains of anticipated work-family conflict remained relatively stable over time.

The hypotheses proposing that: relevant experience predicts anticipated work-family conflict, anticipated work-family conflict predicts planning for the future, and anticipated work-family conflict mediates the relationship between experience and planning, were also not supported. Instead, results suggested that marriage experience alone directly predicts planning such that higher levels of marriage experience predicted higher levels of planning.

These results point to several issues that warrant further discussion. First, the present study yields unique implications about young adults' awareness of future conflicts. Next, results offer ideas about how anticipated work-family conflict is defined and measured. The developmental course of young adults' concerns about the future is discussed next, followed by a commentary about the usefulness of approaching concerns from a conflict perspective. Discussion will then focus on the relationship between conflicts and planning, as well as other possibilities for encouraging planning. Finally, practical implications will be discussed, as well as limitations and directions for future research.

Young Adults' Awareness of Future Conflicts

The anticipated work-family conflict literature posed the following question: are students aware of work and family role combination and the multiple role conflicts they will likely face in the future? This question is important because the vast majority of working adults with families experience work-family conflict. Yet, some researchers express doubt that young people realistically understand the difficulties of combining work and family roles that so many couples face. For example, a study by Tangri and Jenkins (1986) reported that adults with both a career and a family said they experience more work-family conflict than they had anticipated. Due to the fact that reports of current work-family conflict are higher than anticipated work-family conflict, researchers concluded that young adults fail to think about work and family roles and are "unrealistic" about how to combine them (Weitzman, 1994).

Contrary to such doubts, results of the present study suggest that young people think about both work and family roles, and multiple role integration. The qualitative possible selves measure included in the study suggested that hopes and fears surrounding future family and work roles are high among students. For example, most students mentioned hopes related to work (77%) and family (83%). These included work related hopes such as, "getting a good job" and "being happy with my job," and family hopes such as, "getting married" and "having children." Fears were somewhat lower, but remained high for work (47%) and family (67%). Fears concerning work included, "not getting a job" and "getting fired," and fears related to family included, "divorce" and "never having children."

These results are consistent with previous studies that found that when asked, students ranked both career and family roles as important aspects of their future lives and they plan to participate in both career and family roles in the future (Burke, 1994). The current study lends further support to this finding in demonstrating that even when students are not directly asked about future work and family roles, they will spontaneously offer that these are both important roles for their futures. Thus, it appears that young people think about a future that is a combination of family and career.

Contrary to research that suggests students are unrealistic about the challenges of a multiple-role lifestyle (Machung, 1989), students do appear to have an understanding of the stresses of balancing work and family roles. Machung (1989) suggested that students' expectations are unrealistic because they did not include anticipated work-family conflict in spontaneous responses to interview questions. The current study also found that reports were low for spontaneous reports, suggesting that anticipated work-family conflict is not very salient for students. However, reports from multiple anticipated work-family conflict measures in the current study demonstrate that when directly asked about anticipated work-family conflict, both males and females report expectations of low to moderate levels of anticipated work-family conflict. These findings are important because they suggest that students do seem to have a realistic understanding and awareness of work-family conflict.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Definition

One reason that there has been disagreement in the literature over students' awareness of future conflicts may be inconsistencies in how anticipated work-family

conflict has been defined. Some researchers define anticipated work-family conflict as the concern for how to balance, combine, and coordinate the demands of work and family domains (e.g. Hallett & Gilbert, 1997; Machung, 1989), while others define it as the anticipation of feelings of stress and frustration (e.g. Schroeder et al., 1993). With such varied definitions, it is difficult to come to a consensus as to what exactly is meant by "anticipated work-family conflict."

Findings from the present study provide ideas toward refining the definition of anticipated work-family conflict. Inspection of the measures used in the present study suggests that definitions of anticipated work-family conflict should be separated into relevant domains of work, marriage, and parenting. Reports of anticipated work-family conflict appear to be highly susceptible to which domain type of conflict is in question, as students respond differently for each one.

Results further imply that anticipated work-family conflict can be delineated into categories of conflict. Anticipated work-family conflict measures used in the present study appear to correspond to one of two categories: either external situations or internal reactions. This division is equivalent to Swanson and Woitke's (1997) delineation of career barriers into external barriers and internal barriers. External barriers are defined as difficulties encountered in relationships or the environment, and internal barriers are defined as feelings of stress or conflict. Similarly, external aspects of anticipated work-family conflict focus on the pragmatic concerns of how to balance, combine, and coordinate the demands of work and family domains. Some examples of items that represent external situations include child care, job relocation, household tasks, disagreements with spouses, and navigating through the job market. In contrast,

internal aspects of anticipated work-family conflict focus on concerns of experiencing stress and frustration, and are represented by items that tap into feeling tense and conflicted, lacking confidence, and experiencing guilt and disappointment.

Since the majority of research defines anticipated work-family conflict in terms of barriers, conflicts, and difficulties (e.g. Barnett et al., 2003; Hallett & Gilbert, 1997; Machung, 1989) as opposed to feelings of stress and strain (e.g. Schroeder et al., 1993), external barriers may be the most accurate representation of anticipated work-family conflict. External barriers represent more consistent barriers that most people will encounter when they engage in a multiple role lifestyle. Conversely, internal barriers appear to represent something different—such as individual differences in values and response style, for example—that vary across different people and groups. This definitional distinction would likely reveal that notable differences exist between those who foresee some external difficulties in their future, and those who actively worry about it.

Despite requests by numerous researchers (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Campbell, 2008; Chi-Ching, 2001; Coogen & Chen, 2007; Creed, Patton, & Bartrum, 2007; Crites, 1969; Farmer, 1976; O'Leary, 1974; Raiff, 2004; Sullivan & Mahalik, 2000; Swanson & Tokar, 1991a; Swanson & Woitke, 1997) studies have yet to delineate anticipated workfamily conflict between internal barriers and external barriers. Even the authors of popular barriers measures including the CBI (Swanson et al., 1996) and the PBS (Perceived Barriers Scale; McWhirter, 1997) described these instruments as general barriers scales that include both internal and external barriers, but neither defined what represented each type. Swanson and Woitke (1997) further suggested that internal and

external barriers may be related to differences between perceptions in how likely a barrier is to occur, and how likely is it to hinder progress. They thought that internal barriers may relate to likelihood, while external barriers may relate to hindrance. However, McWhirter and Rasheed (2000) assessed barrier likelihood versus hindrance and concluded that they were highly correlated. Thus, empirical studies have yet to accurately distinguish and measure internal and external barriers, and ideas about internal and external barriers remain based primarily on inferences and retrospective accounts of data. Since measures do not yet exist that delineate between internal and external barriers to work and family, it is difficult to assess and compare research findings for internal versus external barriers. This likely explains why researchers have resorted to talking about the two without directly measuring the differences between them.

Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Measurement

As a result of variations in definition, measurement methods for anticipated work-family conflict have been widely varied. Spontaneous report, single- and multiple-item measures, work/family barriers, and scales adapted from current work-family conflict measures are but some of the variable means used for assessment purposes thus far. Similar to the present study, Campbell (2008) examined each of these measurement methods in combination and concluded that all but the spontaneous report measure met criteria for construct validity, meaning that there was a unifying relationship between all but one of the measures. However, both Campbell (2008) and the present study found that sample means of anticipated work-family conflict varied depending on the method

used to gather the information, meaning that measures produced different results between groups of people.

Thus, the measures included in the present study all represent the same construct, but yield different group means depending on the different aspects of the construct reflected in each measure. These aspects include different domain-specific conflicts related to work, marriage, and parenting, as well as types of conflict including internal and external conflicts. As the results discussed in this section will illustrate, each measure focuses on a different domain of conflict and is based on a unique scale stem; indicating that anticipated work-family conflict is a multidimensional construct comprised of several different component parts.

In the present study, the variation in measurement domains and scale stems demonstrate how different measures ask slightly different questions, which reveal noteworthy distinctions in students' reports. For instance, results of the AWFC single-item measure revealed that the majority of participants expected some work-family conflict in the future, but the FIW scale indicated that most participants disagreed that work and family would conflict. This discrepancy may be due to the fact that the AWFC single-item measure was based on a broad question about work-family conflict in general ("How likely do you think work and family will conflict?"), while the FIW poses explicit examples of how conflict limited to the work domain may occur, such as, "My supervisors and peers will dislike how often I am preoccupied with my personal life while at work." The discrepancy between these two types of measures indicated that while students have an understanding of anticipated work-family conflict in a general

sense, they may not be aware of the specific ways conflict concerning work may be experienced in their own lives.

Results of the WIF and the FIW further indicated that participants agreed that work would interfere with family more than family would interfere with work. This finding is especially interesting given that most dual-earner couples report similar experiences, in which they encounter higher levels of WIF conflict than FIW conflict, although both are common (Frone, 2003). Thus, students may accurately anticipate more WIF conflict than FIW conflict because they perceive that it is more prevalent among dual-earner couples. However, that does not explain why so few students anticipate any FIW conflict at all.

Lack of anticipated FIW conflict may again be a result of the scale stems on the measurement instruments. The wording used in the FIW items represent "family" by the terms, "personal demands," "personal life," and "home." These terms are much broader and vague compared to the term, "family." Although instructions say to think about work and family roles, students may not actually consider parenting or marriage responsibilities when specifically responding to this scale. Instead, they may think about how much their personal interests and recreational hobbies may interfere with work, which they may consider to be low. Furthermore, this measure—and, in fact, all available measures of anticipated work-family conflict—fail to differentiate between parenting conflicts and marriage conflicts, and results from the current study support that there are differences between these two domains.

Although FIW results suggested that most students do not anticipate that "family" will interfere with work, CBI results indicated that the vast majority of participants

expected family to be a somewhat of a hindrance to their career. While this appears to be a direct contradiction, further inspection of the CBI reveals that once again, the confusion can be accounted for by differences in domain-specific types of anticipated work-family conflict not accounted for within the measures.

The CBI was designed to measure how likely a particular barrier would hinder career progress (Swanson et al., 1996). This suggests that the CBI is limited to measuring conflicts related to the work domain; however, items of the CBI ask about conflict interfering with both the work and family domains. For example, the work domain is addressed in items such as, "stress at home (spouse or children) affecting my performance at work," and the family domain is represented in items such as, "having an inflexible work schedule that interferes with my family responsibilities," and, "stress at work affecting my life at home." Contrary to its stated purpose, the CBI represents a global measure of multiple conflict domains of work and family. Similar to other measures of anticipated work-family conflict, it fails to differentiate between the complex dimensions of the construct.

Results from the present study demonstrated that the single-item measure (AWFC single-item measure), barriers measure (CBI), and work interfering with family measure (WIF) were the highest; followed by the multi-item measure (FDS), and the work interfering with family measure (WIF). These results suggest that students anticipate the highest levels of conflict when considering it in a broad, general way (AWFC single-item measure; CBI), and when considering how work will interfere with their family (WIF). Although students recognize such conflicts, they do not think they will be difficult to handle (FDS), or that family will interfere much with their career (FIW).

Thus, varied reports may accurately represent the diversity of definitions and measurement aspects underlying each measure.

This notion is further supported by the fact that studies that found similar prevalence rates used the same measurement instruments as the current study, including the WIF/FIW Scales (Cinamon, 2006), the FDS (Hallett & Gilbert, 1997), and the CBI (Swanson & Tokar, 1991b). Other studies that found similar prevalence rates used scales that had very similar measurement instruments as the current study. For example, studies by Burley (1994) and Livingston and colleagues (1996) used the ICS, an instrument that closely resembles the WIF/FIW Scales. Luzzo and McWhirter (2001) used the PBS, a barrier instrument that is similar to the CBI. Most of the studies that found different prevalence rates used either interview formats (Arnold, 1993; Machung, 1989; Maines & Hardesty, 1987), or questions using scaled responses created for the particular study (Barnett et al., 2003; Burke, 1994; Schroeder et al., 1993), both of which were not implemented in the current study.

Developmental Course of Young Adults' Concerns

One hypothesis in the literature is that there is a developmental course to students' concerns about the future (Barnett et al., 2003), in which concerns steadily increase as a person gets closer to engaging in multiple roles. Since most adults with multiple roles report high levels of conflict, it was thought that students may anticipate increasingly higher levels of conflict as they move toward engaging in work and family roles. Consequently, this study aimed to investigate the developmental nature of anticipated work-family conflict as well as how it changed over a two-year segment of development.

Results from the present study support the idea that work and family plans evolve over time. For instance, results suggest that work experience increases as students age and advance in school. In addition, students' work and family role aspirations changed significantly between the time they were initially asked and again two years later. When first asked, students mentioned hopes and fears related to family roles most often, and rated them the most likely to actually take place in the future. Students mentioned hopes and fears related to work roles slightly less often, but these were still among the most frequently mentioned. Two years later, their responses had reversed: students mentioned hopes and fears related to work roles most often.

Although results support that aspirations changed, results lend only some support for changes in anticipated work-family conflict over time. Contrary to expectations, the current study did not yield significant differences in levels of anticipated work-family conflict over two years. Reports of average anticipated work-family conflict remained fairly stable over two years for both men and women, across every measurement method. However, test-retest reliabilities over two years for measures of anticipated work-family conflict were low and not significant for women, suggesting that reports from individual females had changed in two years. These changes were also associated with graduating from college, suggesting changes may occur in a developmental progression.

Thus, individual reports of anticipated work-family conflict may change somewhat over time, especially for women; although it does not appear to steadily increase to meet the high levels of current work-family conflict reported in the literature (Frone, 2003), at least over a two year period. These findings contradict propositions that

describe the developmental nature of anticipated work-family conflict as a linear progression, but may imply that it is akin to a stage-like change based on life experience.

In addition, Barnett and colleagues (2003) suggested that young adults might focus on different roles at varying points in their development, based on the developmental nature of involvement in work, marriage, and parenting roles. In support of this suggestion, results of the present study differentiate domain-specific conflicts surrounding work, marriage, and parenting roles. Barnett and colleagues (2003) also suggested that young adults looked ahead to work and marriage roles more than parenting roles because parenting roles were too distant in the future, which was once again supported by results indicating that students engaged in significantly more planning activities for work and marriage roles than parenting roles. Taken together, these findings suggest that a unique developmental path may exist for domain-specific roles.

These findings are consistent with developmental theories that have considered the interface of work and family plans. For instance, Erikson's psychosocial theory framed the integration of work and family roles in terms of developmental stages. Erikson proposed that at first, adolescents develop a sense of self by solidifying and integrating certain roles, including occupational choice. Following the attainment of identity, Erikson claimed that young adults work to establish intimate relationships with friends and marriage partners. Once achieved, their focus shifts to contributing to the world, often through family and children. Thus, Erikson's theory suggests that young people may focus on domain-specific roles in a developmental sequence beginning with

work, then marriage, and then parenting. Similar to Erikson's theory, results of the present study indicated that students engaged in significantly more planning activities for work and marriage roles than parenting roles; however, unlike Erikson's theory, some planning occurred for all three roles at once. This discrepancy echoes life-span critiques of Erikson's theory, which argue that development does not occur in a fixed, universal sequence of stages (Waterman, 1982). Research suggests that instead work and family roles are interrelated (Schultheiss, 2006). Students' views of the future appear to follow a developmental course where work and family roles are interwoven, but it remains uncertain how this process takes place.

Usefulness of the Conflict Perspective

While it is evident that students' plans about the future changed over two years, it was not reflected in reports of anticipated work-family conflict. Therefore, one question that emerges is: is the conflict perspective useful to represent how students think about the future?

Reports of anticipated work-family conflict remained fairly stable over two years. This unwavering outlook on future conflict is a stark contrast to the dynamic changes that participants reported in their lives. On average, participants aged two years; gained more experience in school, work, and relationships; and became more self-sufficient in terms of income, housing, and living expenses. They also changed in terms of the relative importance of work and family aspirations. When asked, participants directly reported that their understanding of career and family role combination changed over two years. They also reported that, on average, they increased their career and

marriage experience in two years. Yet, this was not reflected in reports of anticipated work-family conflict, which remained relatively unchanged.

Although anticipated work-family conflict comprises most of the literature on future work and family, it does not appear to accurately capture how students think about the future. Skewed to a conflict perspective, research has investigated anticipated work and family roles solely in terms of conflict, barriers, and difficulties. The conflict perspective is also shared by most of the current work-family conflict literature, although studies have found that work-family role convergence is agreeable and, in fact, preferable for most adults (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). Similarly, findings from the present study support that students have a balanced view of the future that include both fears and expectations of conflict, as well as a hopes and anticipation of a rewarding multiple-role lifestyle.

Research thus far has failed to capture how students think about work and family roles in combination, and what happens between these roles in student's minds.

Although developmental theories and frameworks have identified planning for multiple roles as part of a simultaneous process in identity development, empirical research on how planning for such roles actually takes place has been minimal and unrepresentative. In particular, Super's life span theory describes planning in terms of both a developmental course (life span), and a pattern of interacting life roles and social positions (life space). Super suggests that throughout the lifespan, multiple roles interact and interrelate to form a web of life roles. Empirical research is needed to elucidate how multiple roles develop throughout the lifespan. Studies can offer contributions through investigating what manner and by what means multiple roles

develop and interconnect. Research and theory that takes into account the full representation of how people think about the future is crucial to understanding how multiple role lifestyles develop.

Relationship Between Conflict and Planning

Literature concerning anticipated work-family conflict originated from the belief that worry about multiple role conflicts leads to planning for the future. This was an important line of research since planning has been suggested to be a promising strategy to prevent conflicts between work and family roles (McCracken & Weitzman, 1997). Contrary to expectations, however, a relationship between anticipated work-family conflict and planning was not supported by the present study.

However, results offer some ideas about how young adults go about planning for the future. Similar to findings concerning anticipated conflict, results from the present study suggest that multiple-role planning may differ between domains of anticipated work, marriage, and parenting roles. This was supported by results indicating that students engaged in significantly more planning activities for work and marriage roles than parenting roles. As suggested by Barnett and colleagues (2003), young adults may look ahead to work and marriage roles more than parenting roles because parenting roles are too distant in the future.

Results of the present study further implied that current theories do not accurately reflect how to encourage planning for multiple roles. Multiple role planning has been addressed by career development theories including Super's model of career development and SCCT. Super's theory and SCCT directly oppose each other on this issue, but both agree that anticipated work-family conflict can have drastic

consequences on planning for the future. While Super's model posits that anticipating possible conflicts between work and family roles will encourage planning, SCCT suggests that perceived conflict will inhibit planning. Contrary to both theories, results from the present study suggest that anticipated work-family conflict does not have a significant influence on multiple-role planning at all.

This was the first study to empirically test competing theories of planning, and to measure multiple-role planning using quantitative means. Although findings did not support Super's theory or SCCT, more research is needed to substantiate this finding. Corroboration is particularly important given that the LCQ measure used to assess multiple-role planning is somewhat problematic. The LCQ was designed to assess exploratory behaviors. Although it has been implemented as a measure of planning for other domains including romantic development (Rader, 2003), studies have not yet used this instrument for work and family planning. Research with improved measurement methods is required to support initial findings.

Encouraging Planning

Since initial data suggests that anticipated work-family conflict may not encourage planning and explanations from current theories were not supported, much of what was previously assumed about planning has been called into question. Given this uncertainty, identifying other avenues for exploration may be particularly valuable; thus prompting the question: what are other possibilities exist to encourage planning for the future?

Super's theory and SCCT suggested that anticipated work-family conflict was the link between multiple-role experience and planning, yet findings from the present study

suggested that anticipated work-family conflict is not related to experience or planning. One reason why anticipated work-family conflict may not encourage planning is that it is a form of extrinsic motivation. People are said to be extrinsically motivated when they engage in an activity (such as planning) to get tangible rewards or avoid unpleasant consequences (such as conflict). In contrast, people are said to be intrinsically motivated when they perform out of interest or optimism. This is an important distinction because research suggests that extrinsic concerns are less effective than intrinsic appeal in rousing motivation (Tang & Hall, 1995). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that anticipated work-family conflict is a less effective strategy to inspire planning than understanding and inciting future aspirations and interests.

Instead, findings from the present study suggest that experience—particularly relationship experience—directly encourages planning for the future. Experience appears to be important to inspire multiple-role planning in that the more experience a person has, the more likely the person will plan for the future. This is similar to findings in the career literature that career experience encourages career planning (Claes, 1998). A related concept, career exploration, has also been linked to career planning, as well as career satisfaction and success (Richard, 2005). Further research should investigate the relationship between relevant experience and planning, since initial data support this important linkage.

Practical Implications

Although a great deal remains unknown about how students think about and plan for the future, results of the present study provide insights for practical applications to help students prepare for adulthood.

Despite the focus empirical research and theories have paid to anticipated work-family conflict, results from the current study suggest that it is not especially important for encouraging future planning. Therefore, individuals who work with students are encouraged to refrain from using fear tactics to rouse concerns over potential conflicts, as they do not appear to encourage planning.

Instead, experience appears to be important to inspire multiple-role planning in that the more experience a person has, the more likely the person will plan for the future. While gaining experience appears to be partially a function of age—as evidenced by findings from the present study that work experience was significantly correlated with age and class standing—students may benefit from further encouragement to seek out and gain relevant experience. Thus, those who work with students should persuade them to seek out opportunities to gain experience with future work and family roles.

Furthermore, connections between the present study and research on extrinsic versus intrinsic motivation suggests that efforts should be made to inspire students to plan through further exploration of students' own aspirations and interests. Through exploration, those who work with students can highlight a desire for multiple roles, and persuade students that it is in their best interest to engage in planning for the integration of such roles. This approach reframes the negative focus of the conflict perspective to a positive focus, thereby complimenting the optimistic and hopeful nature of students' goals. This approach can affirm their goals while promoting further development and growth.

Measurement Issues and Limitations of Study

Anticipated work-family conflict has been a difficult construct in the literature to define and even more difficult to measure. Research examining anticipated work-family conflict has used a variety of different measurement methods to capture this variable, which has created confusion. Several studies used measures that were not subjected to rigorous validation studies and for which validity and reliability information is not available, and certain psychometric properties of the measures remain in question. Measures do not yet exist that delineate between different types of anticipated workfamily conflict such internal versus external barriers, and different types of domain specific conflicts including work, marriage, and parenting. This study was the first to divide anticipated work-family conflict into separate conflict domains of work, marriage, and parenting. The scales for the conflict domains were created for use in this study and have not been validated, and should be interpreted with this caution in mind. Additionally, the experience scales raise similar internal validity concerns. While the LCQ used to measure multiple role planning has demonstrated reliability and validity, it was not created for this purpose. Further study is required to determine the validity of the LCQ as a measure of multiple role planning. In addition, the current study used inconsistent methodologies to collect data, including an in-person paper-and-pencil survey at Time 1, and an online survey at Time 2. The impact, if any, of these discrete methodologies is unknown.

Another limitation of the study is the issue of generalization. The findings may not generalize to other populations, such as certain minority groups or non-college populations. Despite efforts to obtain an ethnically diverse sample, the majority of the

participants in the present study were Caucasian. As such, the results of this investigation may not generalize to other ethnic groups that were less well represented in this sample. In fact, Machung (1989) pointed out that ethnic differences exist in the sharing of outside work and household tasks. Thus, anticipated work-family conflict may also differ among ethnic groups.

In general, career development theory and research seem to apply primarily to well-educated people with "careers" rather than "jobs," which may make such findings inapplicable to certain groups. Some groups may also find the concept of anticipated work-family conflict irrelevant, since working and having a family may be a guaranteed reality of adult life rather than a choice to be made. For such lifestyles, these findings may not generalize.

Further Research Recommendations

This study aimed to examine anticipated work-family conflict over time with young adults, and to investigate the relationship with experience and multiple role planning. Further research should address measurement issues by constructing new measures that delineate between different types of anticipated work-family conflict such as internal versus external barriers, and domain specific conflicts including work, marriage, and parenting. Replication of this study with improved measurement methods and the use of additional measures, such as structured interviews and questions using scaled responses used in other studies, may lend additional clarity to the prevalence and stability of anticipated work-family conflict.

Developmental research should also examine anticipated work-family conflict over time and with different cohorts of participants. Longitudinal studies are needed to

confirm the stability of anticipated work-family conflict, and to examine what developmental factors influence this variable over time. In general, more research is needed to determine the developmental course of experience, anticipated work-family conflict, and planning for the future. It would be particularly illuminating to follow a cohort of participants from young adulthood to adulthood to examine changes that occur from the anticipatory stages to multiple role involvement. These findings may aid in understanding how students can be encouraged to engage in an optimal level of planning for the future, and what role, if any, anticipated work-family conflict plays in such development.

Lastly, theories that address multiple life roles within the broader context of developmental psychology are needed to ground this topic. Implications from broader theories and research suggests that work and family roles are interrelated (Schultheiss, 2006), but explicit theories are needed to address how students think about work and family roles in combination, and what happens between these roles in student's minds. It would be helpful to have a framework from which to accurately judge the combination of multiple roles, and what constitutes healthy realism and narrowing possibilities, and what constitutes overly limiting role choices. Theories that address the construction and integration of multiple roles are critical to developing a better understanding of many young people's transition to adulthood, and how best to address the future life concerns of young adults.

Table 1

Correlations between Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Items and Factors

		Factors	
Items	Work	Marriage	Parenting
Anticipated Work Conflict Items			
WIF/FIW ^a 5			
I'll often be too tired at work because of the things I'll			
have to do at home.	.82		.14
WIF/FIW 6			
My personal demands will be so great that it will take			
away from my work	.56	.37	
WIF/FIW 7			
My superiors and peers will dislike how often I will be			
preoccupied with my personal life while at work	.74		
WIF/FIW 8			
My personal life will take up time that I'd like to spend			
at work	.77		22
Anticipated Marriage Conflict Items			
FDS ^b 7			
Getting my spouse to really share household work		.82	

Table 1 (continued).

		Factors	
Items	Work	Items	Work
FDS 8			
Getting my spouse to really share in the childrearing		.92	
FDS 9			
Getting my spouse to be supportive of my career		.73	
efforts			
Anticipated Parenting Conflict Items			
FDS 1			
Using child care for a child less than one year old			.85
FDS 2			
Using child care for a pre-school aged child		15	.89
FDS 3			
Finding good child care		.29	.63

Note. Italicized information includes the scale the item originated from and the item number on the original scale. ^aWIF/FIW = Work Interfering with Family/Family Interfering with Work Scale; ^bFDS = Future Difficulties Scale.

Table 2
Frequencies for Demographics

Variables	Time 1 n	Percent	Time 2 n	Percent
Age Total Sample (n=102)				
18	18	17.6%	0	0.0%
19	16	15.7%	6	5.9%
20	22	21.6%	17	16.7%
21	20	19.6%	15	14.7%
22	9	8.8%	24	23.5%
23	13	12.7%	20	19.6%
24	3	2.9%	9	8.8%
25	1	1.0%	9	8.8%
27	0	0.0%	2	2.0%
Gender				
Female	59	57.8%		
Male	43	42.2%		
Ethnicity/Race				
Caucasian	58	56.9%		
African American	11	10.8%		
Hispanic	13	12.7%		
Native American	2	2.0%		
Asian	9	8.8%		
Other	8	7.8%		

(table continues)

Table 2 (continued).

Variables	Time 1 n	Percent	Time 2 n	Percent
Religion				
Protestant	25	24.5%		
Catholic	17	16.7%		
Islamic	1	1.0%		
None	25	24.5%		
Other	34	33.3%		
Sexual Orientation				
Heterosexual	94	92.2%		
Homosexual	0	0.0%		
Bisexual	8	7.8%		
Other	0	0.0%		
Biological parents				
Married	50	49.0%		
Separated	1	1.0%		
Divorced	38	37.2%		
Deceased parent	5	4.9%		
Never married	4	3.9%		
Other	4	3.9%		
Parents	Mother	%	Father	%
Biological parent	102	100%	97	95.1%
Adopted parent	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

Table 2 (continued).

Variables	Time 1 n	Percent	Time 2 n	Percent
Stepparent	0	0.0%	4	3.9%
Other	0	0.0%	1	1.0%
Parents Married	Mother	%	Father	%
Never	3	2.9%	3	2.9%
One time	69	67.6%	66	64.7%
Two times	24	23.5%	30	29.4%
Three times or more	6	5.9%	3	2.9%
Parent's Occupation	Mother	%	Father	%
Professional	41	40.2%	41	40.2%
Managerial	12	11.8%	20	19.6%
Sales	4	3.9%	9	8.8%
Trained worker	17	16.7%	14	13.7%
Laborer	3	2.9%	5	4.9%
Does not work outside the home	18	17.6%	7	6.9%
Unknown	7	6.9%	5	4.9%
Parent's Education Level	Mother	%	Father	%
Partial High School	3	3.0%	4	4.0%
High School Graduate	21	20.6%	15	14.7%
Partial College	33	32.3%	29	28.4%
College Graduate	25	24.5%	32	31.4%
Graduate Training	20	19.6%	22	21.5%

Table 2 (continued).

Variables	Time 1 n	Percent	Time 2 n	Percent
Year in School				
Freshman	24	23.5%	1	1.0%
Sophomore	19	18.6%	29	4.9%
Junior	35	34.3%	33	15.7%
Senior	24	23.5%	33	41.2%
Left College	0	0.0%	2	2.0%
Graduated College	0	0.0%	20	19.6%
Graduate Student	0	0.0%	14	13.7%
Other	0	0.0%	2	2.0%
Current Living Situation				
With both parents at parents' home	11	10.8%	15	14.7%
With one parent at parent's home	6	5.9%	5	4.9%
Alone in house/apartment	10	9.8%	17	16.7%
With other(s) in house/apartment	38	37.3%	57	55.9%
In residence hall	37	36.3%	8	7.8%
Percent Pay of Living Expenses				
0%	21	20.6%	13	12.7%
0 – 25%	39	38.2%	29	28.4%
26 – 50%	14	13.7%	15	14.7%
51 – 75%	7	6.9%	13	12.7%
76 – 100%	21	20.6%	32	31.4%

Table 2 (continued).

Variables	Time 1 n	Percent	Time 2 n	Percent
Time Work at Job Per Week				
Not employed	32	31.4%	30	29.40%
Less than 15 hours	12	11.8%	11	10.8%
15 – 24 hours	37	36.3%	27	26.5%
25 – 35 hours	18	17.6%	15	14.7%
More than 35 per week	3	2.9%	19	18.6%
Current Relationship Sexual				
Yes	48	47.1%	50	49.0%
No	11	10.8%	14	13.7%
Not involved in a relationship	43	42.2%	38	37.3%
In Love with Current Partner				
Yes	55	53.9%	58	56.9%
No	4	3.9%	9	5.9%
Not involved in a relationship	43	42.2%	38	37.3%
Think About Future Relationship				
Yes		97	95.1%	93
No		5	4.9%	9
Children				
No children				94
Next 2 years				3
Planning soon				1

Table 2 (continued).

Variables	Time 1 n	Percent	Time 2 n	Percent
Pregnant/Expecting				0
Have at least 1 child				4

Table 3

Frequencies of College Status at Time 1 and Time 2 for Females and Males

	Time 1	Time 2
	Fen	nales
College Status		
Freshman		
n	12	1
%	20.3%	1.7%
Sophomore		
n	14	2
%	23.7%	3.4%
Junior		
n	19	5
%	32.2%	8.5%
Senior		
n	14	24
%	23.7%	40.7%
Transferred colleges		
n	0	2
%	0.0%	3.4%
Left college		
n	0	1
%	0.0%	1.7%
		(table continues)

(table continues)

Table 3 (continued).

	Time 1	Time 2
Graduated college		
n	0	15
%	0.0%	25.4%
Graduate Student		
n	0	8
%	0.0%	13.6%
	N	lales
College Status		
Freshman		
n	12	0
%	27.9%	0.0%
Sophomore		
n	5	3
%	11.6%	7.0%
Junior		
n	16	11
%	37.2%	25.6%
Senior		
n	10	18
%	23.3%	41.9%

Table 3 (continued).

	Time 1	Time 2
Transferred colleges		
n	0	0
%	0.0%	0.0%
Left college		
n	0	1
%	0.0%	2.3%
Graduated college		
n	0	4
%	0.0%	9.3%
Graduate Student		
n	0	6
%	0.0%	14.0%
College Status & Change in	Females	Males
AWFCa (rs)	.29*	01

Note. ^a Change in Anticipated Work-Family Conflict (AWFC) Single Item Measure from Time 1 to Time 2. *p < .05.

Table 4
Frequencies for Possible Selves

	Work	Family	AWFC
		Time 1	
Total Mentions ^a			
n	88	93	3
%	86.3	91.2	2.9
Balanced ^b			
n	38	60	0
%	37.3	58.8	0
Hopes			
n	78	85	1
%	76.5	83.3	1
Likelihood ^c	4.05	4.64	.05
	(5.29)	(5.56)	(5.00)
Fears			
n	48	68	2
%	47.1	66.7	2
Likelihood	1.43	1.97	.07
	(3.03)	(2.95)	(3.50)

Table 4 (continued).

_	Work	Family	AWFC
_		Time 2	
Total Mentions			
n	92	80	3
%	90.2	78.4	2.9
Balanced			
n	54	51	0
%	48	50	0
Hopes			
n	89	75	0
%	87.3	73.5	0
Likelihood	5.09	4.44	.00
	(5.84)	(6.04)	(.00)
Fears			
n	57	54	3
%	55.9	52.9	3
Likelihood	1.83	1.64	.16
	(3.27)	(3.10)	(5.33)

Note. ^a Total Mentions: participants who provided possible selves for either hopes or fears. ^b Balanced: participants who provided same possible self category for both hopes and fears. ^c Likelihood: the average rated likelihood of possible selves occurring in the future on a 1 to 7 scale, with 1 being not at all likely and 7 being very likely. Scores in parentheses are the average rated likelihood of possible selves for only those participants who indicated a possible self.

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Scores for Anticipated Work-Family

Conflict (AWFC)

	Time 1	Time 2	Possible	Range
			Range	
AWFC PS ^a			0 – 7	0 – 6
М	.12	.16		
SD	.69	.92		
AWFC SI ^b			0 – 100	0 – 7
М	56.28	55.64		
SD	21.62	23.75		
WIF ^c			1 – 5	1 – 4.75
М	3.04	3.19		
SD	.65	.70		
FIW ^d			1 – 5	1 – 5
М	2.38	2.43		
SD	.56	.73		
FDS ^e			1 – 5	1 – 4.63
М	2.72	2.72		
SD	.65	.76		

Table 5 (continued).

	Time 1	Time 2	Possible	Range
			Range	
CBI [†]			1 – 7	1 – 6.60
М	4.27	4.20		
SD	1.07	1.13		

Note. ^aAWFC PS = Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Possible Selves Measure; ^bAWFC SI = Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Single Item Measure; ^cWIF = Work Interfering with Family Scale; ^dFIW = Family Interfering with Work Scale; ^eFDS = Future Difficulties Scale; ^fCBI = Career Barriers Inventory.

Table 6

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Scores for Anticipated Work-Family

Conflict Domains of Anticipated Work Conflict (AWC), Anticipated Marriage Conflict

(AMC) and Anticipated Parenting Conflict (APC)

	Time 1	Time 2	Possible Range	Range
AWC			1 – 5	1 – 5
М	2.38	2.43		
SD	.56	.73		
AMC			1 – 5	1 – 5
М	2.18	2.24		
SD	.95	1.01		
APC			1 – 5	1 – 5
М	2.74	2.73		
SD	1.09	1.16		

Table 7

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Scores for Experience, Anticipated WorkFamily Conflict (AWFC) Domains, and Planning Variables

	М	SD	Possible Range	Range
Experience				
Work Experience	3.07	.81	1 – 5	1.20 – 4.80
Marriage Experience	2.65	.98	1 – 5	1 – 5
Parenting Experience	1.96	.85	1 – 5	1 – 4.67
AWFC Domains				
AWC ^a	2.43	.73	1 – 5	1 – 5
AMC ^b	2.24	1.01	1 – 5	1 – 5
APC ^c	2.73	1.16	1 – 5	1 – 5
Planning				
Planning	3.23	.80	1 – 5	1.24 – 5

Note. ^aAWC = Anticipated Work Conflict; ^bAMC = Anticipated Marriage Conflict; ^cAPC = Anticipated Parenting Conflict.

Table 8

Correlation Matrix for Anticipated Work-Family Conflict (AWFC), Experience, AWFC Domains, and Planning Variables

-	SI	WIF	FIW	FDS	CBI	Work	Marr	Par Exp	AWC	AMC	APC	Planning
						Ехр	Exp					
SI ^a		.53**	.33**	.26**	.26**	.12	01	.04	.03	.05	.19	04
WIF ^b		(.629)	.47**	.43**	.30**	.13	.05	.06	.47**	.27**	.29**	.07
FIW ^c			(.555)	.46**	.32**	.06	07	.09	.29**	.43**	.25*	.04
FDS ^d				(.844)	.48**	.14	03	.08	.46**	.70**	.65**	01
CBI ^e					(.913)	.15	.09	.14	.32**	.30**	.28**	.14
Work Exp ^f						(.696)	.21*	.28**	02	10	.10	.13
Marr Exp ^g							(.743)	.50**	.01	04	.01	.35**
Par Exp ^h								(.685)	.10	.03	07	.29**
AWC ⁱ									(.840)	.24*	.14	08
AMC ^j										(.866)	.36**	06
APC^k											(808.)	.02
Planning ^l												(.965)

Note. *p < .05. **p < .01. Cronbach's alpha coefficients are reported in the first position of each row. ^aSI = Anticipated Work-Family Conflict Single Item Measure; ^bWIF = Work Interfering with Family Scale; ^cFIW = Family Interfering with Work Scale; ^dFDS = Future Difficulties Scale; ^eCBI

= Career Barriers Inventory; ^fWork Exp = Work Experience Scale; ^gMarr Exp = Marriage Experience Scale; ^hPar Exp = Parenting Experience Scale; ^jAWC = Anticipated Work Conflict; ^jAMC = Anticipated Marriage Conflict; ^kAPC = Anticipated Parenting Conflict; ^jPlanning = Multiple Role Planning Scale.

Table 9

Correlation Matrix of Anticipated Work-Family Conflict (AWFC) Measures Time 1 to Time 2 for Females and Males

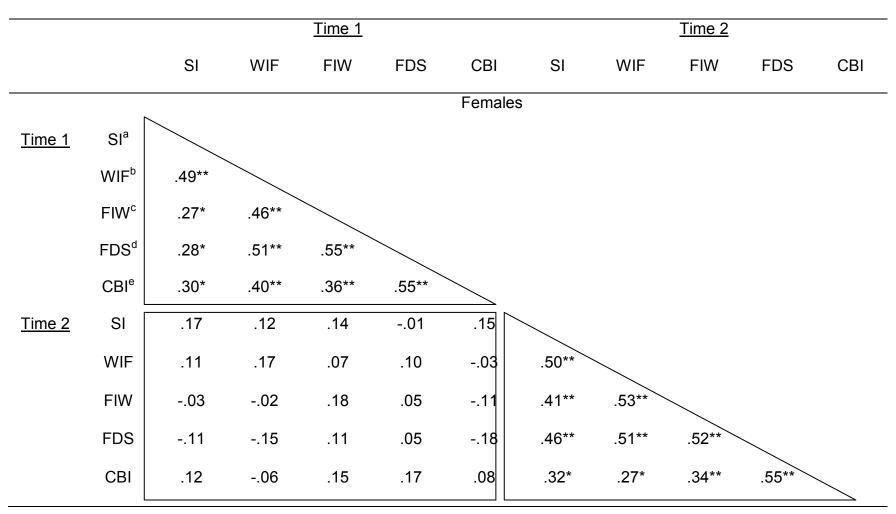


Table 9 (continued).

		Time 1					Time 2					
		SI	WIF	FIW	FDS	СВІ	SI	WIF	FIW	FDS	CBI	
						Males						
Time 1	SI											
	WIF	.61**										
	FIW	.43**	.48**									
	FDS	.21	.30*	.28								
	СВІ	.19	.16	.24	.33*							
Time 2	SI	.50**	.42**	.21	.13	.17						
	WIF	.16	.43**	.06	.32*	.16	.46**					
	FIW	.29	.54**	.43**	.24	02	.45**	.51**				
	FDS	.17	.14	.02	.13	08	.28	.28	.26			
	СВІ	.17	.20	04	.14	.09	.32*	06	.06	08		

Note. ^a SI = AWFC Single Item Measure. ^b WIF = Work Interfering With Family Scale. ^c FIW = Family Interfering With Work Scale. ^d FDS = Future Difficulties Scale. ^e CBI = Career Barriers Inventory. *p < .05. **p < .01. Triangles represent correlations between measures of same data collection time (Time 1 or Time 2). Square represents correlations between measures of different data collection times (Time 1 and Time 2).

Table 10

ANOVA Table for Type of Anticipated Work-Family Conflict (AWFC) Measure and Time

Source	df	F	р
		Within subjects	
Time	1	.16	.69
Type of AWFC Measure	2	15.30	.00*
Time x Type	2	1.83	.84
Error	185		

Note. *p value significant at p < .01. No other p values were significant at p < .05.

Table 11

Regression Examination of Experience and Anticipated Work Conflict (AWC)

Variables	R	R^2	F	r	Beta	t
Experience	.118	.014	.463			
Work Experience				018	046	435
Marriage				.007	051	441
Experience						
Parenting				.099	.137	1.159
Experience						

Table 12

Regression Examination of Experience and Anticipated Marriage Conflict (AMC)

Variables	R	R^2	F	r	Beta	t
Experience	.126	.016	.526			
Work Experience				099	111	-1.055
Marriage				042	062	534
Experience						
Parenting				.026	.088	.745
Experience						

Table 13

Regression Examination of Experience and Anticipated Parenting Conflict (APC)

Variables	R	R^2	F	r	Beta	t
Experience	.144	.021	.695			
Work Experience				.101	.127	1.217
Marriage				.004	.035	.305
Experience						
Parenting				066	119	-1.011
Experience						

Table 14

Regression Examination of Anticipated Work-Family Conflict (AWFC) Domains and Planning

Variables	R	R^2	F	r	Beta	t
AWFC Domains	.097	.009	.313			
AWC				079	072	695
AMC				055	054	494
APC				017	.047	.436

Table 15

Regression Examination of Experience on Planning

Variables	R	R^2	F	r	Beta	t
Experience	.379	.143	5.472**			
Work				.127	.027	.275
Marriage				.354**	.277	2.562*
Parenting				.290**	.145	1.320

Note. * p < .05. ** p< .01.

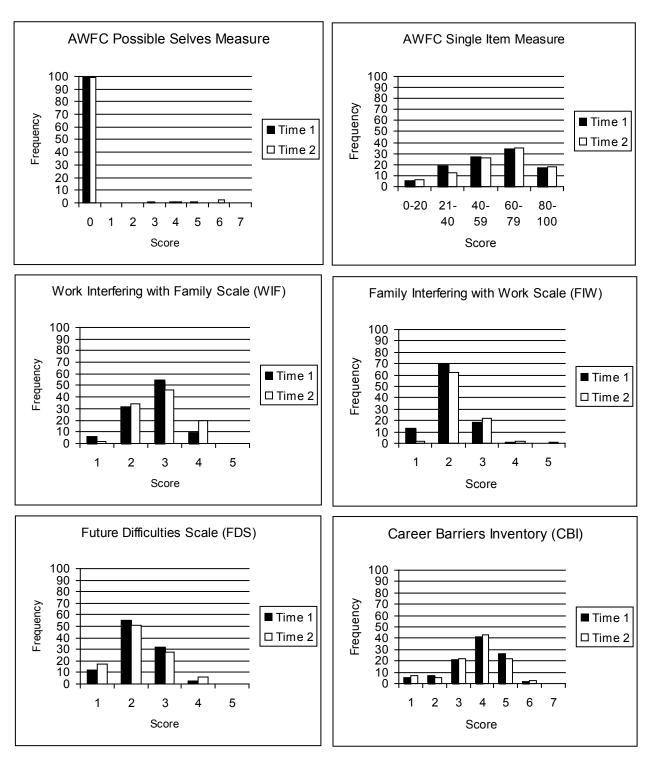


Figure 1. Frequency distributions of responses for the Anticipated Work-Family Conflict (AWFC) Measures at Time 1 and Time 2.

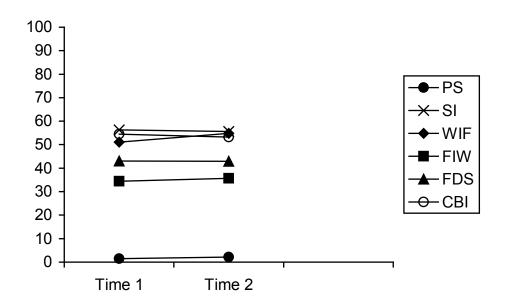


Figure 2. Percentages of instrument types of Anticipated Work-Family Conflict (AWFC) for Time 1 and Time 2. PS = Possible Selves Measure; SI = Single Item Measure; WIF = Work Interfering with Family Measure; FIW = Family Interfering with Work Measure; FDS = Future Difficulties Scale; CBI = Career Barriers Inventory.

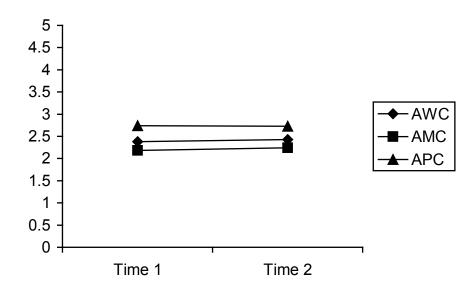


Figure 3. Means of Anticipated Work Conflict (AWC), Anticipated Marriage Conflict (AMC), and Anticipated Parenting Conflict (APC) for Time 1 and Time 2.

APPENDIX A RECRUITMENT EMAIL

Hello,

Two years ago you participated in a research study with me about your future plans for career and family. You gave me your contact information and said I could contact you down the road for a follow-up. That time has come and I am writing to ask for your help in participating in the follow-up study! Through your participation, I hope to learn more about how college students' plans change over time so we can discover ways to best help young people plan for their futures. I would very much appreciate your willingness to be a part of this project!

The survey takes up to **30 minutes** to complete.

Simply click on this address to go directly to the survey. If this does not work, copy and paste this address into the address bar of your Internet Browser. **Your participation in this research is strictly voluntary**. Furthermore, your response (or decision not to respond; you may opt out of the project if you like on our website) will not affect your relationship with UNT. The survey will ask for your UNT Student ID number so that I can merge your responses with the information you gave me two years ago. This will help me track changes while keeping your identity private.

Detailed information about the purpose of the study and your rights as a research subject is presented at the beginning of the survey. Your completion and submission of the questionnaire indicate your consent to participate.

I have already learned a great deal from your participation in this project two years ago. If you're interested in the results of that study, you will be offered a link to a summary of the results at the end of this survey.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact me or my research advisor.

Thank you very much for participating in this research project!

Sincerely, Elizabeth Campbell APPENDIX B
CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH College Students' Views of Future Work and Family Roles Study

You are being asked to participate in a research study on how college students view future work and family roles. Before agreeing to participate in this research study, it is important that you read and understand the following explanation of the purpose and benefits of the study and how it will be conducted.

YOUR PARTICIPATION

If you agree to participate, you will be asked o complete an online questionnaire that will take up to 30 minutes. The survey and activity will ask about descriptive information about you, your family environment, how you are doing now, and your thoughts about the future. We are not asking for this information to judge you, but because you can help us learn more about young adults' views of the future.

CONFIDENTIALITY

To safeguard your privacy, we do not ask for your name. Instead, we will ask for your student ID number to code your responses and keep your identity private. Only the researchers will see your specific responses, which will be kept confidential. Only summarized data will be reported concerning the study.

BENEFITS

This study is designed to help you think about your views of future role participation in work and family. Your participation will help us understand more about young adult development, and what we learn will eventually help young adults and those who work young adults.

POSSIBLE RISK

The risks from participating in this study are considered minimal. Some questions may address information you feel is personal. It could be uncomfortable to disclose this information, or make you more aware of concerns that you have, or you may find that it does not bother you at all. If you have any concerns or problems please let the researchers know at once and they will be prepared to help you find appropriate assistance. We believe the potential benefits outweigh any minimal risk.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION/WITHDRAWAL

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide not to participate and you can discontinue participation at any time. Your choice to participate or not and your responses will not affect your relationship with UNT or penalize you in any way.

If you have any questions or concerns, feel free to contact us.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the UNT Institutional Review Board (IRB). The UNT IRB can be contacted at (940) 565-3940 with any questions regarding the rights of research participants.

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