



## Reflections from the Sloan Foundation

# Viable Options



Kathleen Christensen, Ph.D.

By Kathleen Christensen, Ph.D.

*Kathleen Christensen, Ph.D. is the Program Director for the Working Families Program at the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Dr. Christensen has articulated funding strategies designed to have an impact on our understandings of work and family issues and to promote innovative approaches to research. Over the past four years, Dr. Christensen has continued to refine these strategies so that they continue to challenge research, practice, teaching, and policy.*

*In each issue of the Work-Family Research On-line Newsletter, Dr. Christensen shares her insights about research trends and emergent work and family challenges. In addition, her column will discuss the cutting-edge strategies developed by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation to enhance the well-being of today's working families.*

During the past five years, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has supported a range of investigations into the complex dimensions of the work and family experiences encountered by dual earner, middle class families. The Foundation is committed to deepening our knowledge about viable options for easing the stress related to work-family conflicts. We strive to understand the changing circumstances of working families rather than to advocate for a particular point of view.

It has been the position of the Sloan Foundation that working families chart different directions for their everyday lives. Some families may prefer to simplify specific aspects of their personal and home lives, perhaps by "outsourcing" particular domestic tasks. Others may reduce the number of hours devoted to paid employment, making it possible for them to assume greater roles at home while maintaining meaningful connections to work. The challenge for most families is that the ideal "mix" of strategies is constantly shifting due to emergent priorities of the family, the developmental

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## Issue Highlights

# New Understandings of Children's Experiences



Marcie Pitt-Catsoupes, Ph.D.

By Marcie Pitt-Catsoupes, Ph.D.

The experiences of children have always been an important line of inquiry in work and family research. During the past couple of years, some exciting investigations have resulted in new understandings of children's experiences as well as the development of innovative methodological approaches.

This issue of the Newsletter highlights a few of these recent studies and approaches.

In the **Boundary Pushing** section, Barrie Thorne argues for a broadening of the work-family field by including children: "A fresh perspective emerges if one starts with childhoods, children, and the caring project of adults who are 'raising up children'

(which also involve children as negotiators and contributors.)" Dr. Thorne also discusses some of the innovative methodological approaches the Berkeley Center researchers are using, such as combining field work and interviewing, having children draw maps of their "roots" and the places they go, and taking photographs of favorite places.

The **Feature Article** section takes a look at three specific studies in the area of children and work-life experiences.

Elizabeth Harvey's widely-reported study investigating the effects of early parental employment on children has contributed to a body of research that had somewhat mixed results. The study found minimal effects of early parental employment on children, which provoked a firestorm in the press. In an interview,

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changes of individual family members, and the fluctuations in resources and supports that may be available at the workplace or in the community.

The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation is interested in exploring new models that can increase the responsiveness of workplaces, marketplaces, communities, and government policies to the needs of today's dual earner, middle class families. Two of our funding areas, Alternative Workplace Structures and Public Policy Directions for Working Families, are particularly relevant in this regard:

- The goal for the Alternative Workplace Structures Program is to identify and research innovative ways that work hours can be reduced and to research the outcomes of reduced hours/high autonomy arrangements on specific business outcomes. To date, 10 projects have been funded that have examined alternative workplace structures as they are experienced in selected professions, including: law, medicine, accounting, computer programming, technical writing, and management. Please click here for Grantee and Grant Information.

- The goal of the Public Policy Directions for Working Families program is to identify federal, state, or local laws or regulations that limit choices available to working families. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation will be commissioning analytic papers about policies that could facilitate choices for working families. These papers will focus on the assumptions, frameworks, and implications of important policies such as employment and labor laws.

The Sloan Foundation believes that our country needs to pursue directions that make it possible for the changing needs of families to be satisfied, both in the workplace and in the home. We acknowledge and celebrate the efforts of researchers, teaching faculty, business leaders, and policy makers across the country who are helping to move this important agenda forward. □

## Issue Highlights, cont.

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Dr. Harvey shares some thoughts about the research process as well as the extreme reaction to her findings.

Kathleen Gerson conducted interviews with young adults (18-30 years of age) who "came of age" during the gender revolution that occurred during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Dr. Gerson observes: "This generation is young enough to have experienced the dynamics of family change at close hand, yet old enough to have a perspective on their childhood circumstances and to be formulating life strategies of their own." This article excerpts some of Dr. Gerson's findings from a recent working paper.

Ellen Galinsky interviewed children in the 3<sup>rd</sup> through the 12<sup>th</sup> grades for her widely anticipated book, *Ask the Children*. Ms. Galinsky, President of Families and Work Institute, suggests that "by adding children's voices to our national conversation about work and family life it will change the way we think about work and life forever." Although the book will be excerpted in *Newsweek*, Ms. Galinsky has kindly shared with us some of the insights gleaned from her research. □

*To contact us regarding the Work-Family Research Newsletter, the Sloan Work-Family Researchers Electronic Network, or the Center for Work-Family, please send an e-mail to [cwf@bc.edu](mailto:cwf@bc.edu), or use the contact information below.*

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## Boundary Pushing

# “Finding Fresh Angles of Vision”

An Interview with Barrie Thorne.

By Teri Ann Lilly



Barrie Thorne,  
Ph.D.

**How has the Center for Working Families pushed methodological boundaries? What's different, what's unique about your research?**

**Thorne:** Our approach starts with a recognition of various standpoints that are embedded in bodies of knowledge, so we're expanding the number of voices and positioned experiences that are present in the study of

work and family. We are expanding it to include children. Arlie Hochschild's conceptualization of "cultures of care" serves as a frame for much of our work. "Cultures of care" are defined as "the beliefs and practices that define, guide, and express the care which working families give and receive from relatives, friends, co-workers, members of society and public institutions." {see Arlie Russell Hochschild 1999}.

Since methodology and theory are so closely tied, part of our approach is theorizing children's agency, children as participants. In a sense, we are activating voices that have not been there, that have just been passively present. We are also trying to figure out innovative ways to grasp children's experiences. For example, we have children drawing and writing about their lives.



We have also tried to understand large scale trends in the context of children's daily lives. We are asking what do work-family phenomena, such as "work-family balance," look like when one starts with the child rather than the adult, or the primary balancers. We are also looking at how "work-family juggling" appears if one starts from a community perspective, by map-

ping local ecologies of institutions and resources and then exploring ways in which families and individuals and children maneuver through them {see Thorne 1999}.

*The Center for Working Families at the University of California, Berkeley is one of four Centers funded by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation to study work and family experiences of dual-earner families. Arlie Hochschild and Barrie Thorne, Co-Directors of the Center, have created an exciting research agenda designed to explore the impact of "cultures of care" on family welfare. Conceptualized by Arlie Hochschild, "cultures of care" are defined "as the beliefs and practices that define, guide, and express the care which working families give and receive from relatives, friends, co-workers, members of society and public institutions." Using the "cultures of care" concept as a departure point, several of the Berkeley researchers have pushed the methodological boundaries of the work/family field by focusing on children's lives and experiences. Barrie Thorne recently shared both the vision driving the research and the methodological challenges inherent in studying children.*

### How do you feel children are currently conceptualized in the work-family literature?

**Thorne:** Currently children have a passive presence in the work-family literature, defined by their economic and emotional dependence and by their demands for adult labor and time. For example, research on childcare arrangements and on the time adults spend with kids essentially regards these activities as a form of domestic labor; not much subjectivity or agency is granted to children.

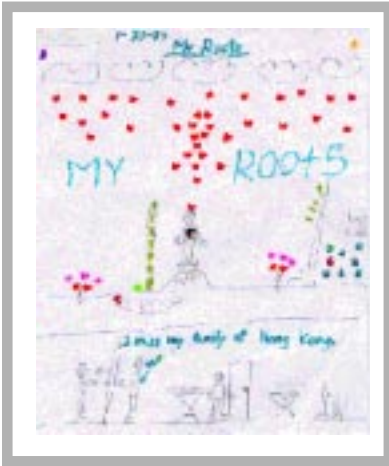
I've been thinking about the circus imagery one finds in the literature, both academic and popular "juggling work and family"; "balancing work and family." The perspective comes from the vantage point of adult men and women, and is geared to the perspectives of employers. If you read the literature, the implication conveyed is that if you are a working parent with children, you've got the biggest balls to keep in the air, because of all the demands and unpredictability — for example, they get sick and you have to attend to them, unlike the dishes that you don't have to do...

There is a very good article by Kate Thorpe and Kerry Daly, "Children, Parents, and Time: The Dialectics of Control" (1999). It discusses the weight and the tug of parents' experiences with 'parented time.' It refers to the emotional dimensions of the

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parent's sense that 'I should be at the soccer game and I should be at work.' While this is really important to name, it doesn't tell us how the children are tugging — actively, shaping, negotiating, protesting, and also contributing.

Another stream of literature, which is informed by developmental psychology, correlates 'child outcomes' with various arrangements, such as employed

mothers, two-earner household, single-parent households. Again, children's experience and agency are neglected.

**You have called for a "broadening" of the work and family field by including children's lives and experiences. What do you think will be gained by focusing on children's experiences?**

Thorne: By attending more fully to children's lives and experiences, I think we are finding a fresh angle of vision. ...When I was doing Gender Play (an ethnography of children's constructions of gender in schools), I began thinking conceptually about the ways in which sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, delegated research on children to child development, a subfield of psychology — and limited research questions to those about individual growth and change. We need to pay more attention to children as social actors and as participants in all of social life. One thing we gain by focusing on children's experiences is a recognition of children's active participation in shaping the world...

If one starts with children's vantage points, one can pursue questions like the following:

- How do children experience the work-family (and more broadly, daily life) arrangements in which they are involved or deployed?
- How much and in what ways do children participate in 'working out' particular arrangements as they negotiate for more autonomy (e.g., refusing to go to 'that baby after school program'; or begging to be home with a parent instead of a baby sitter).
- How do the children perceive their parent's jobs? How do they perceive the 'arrangements' (e.g., with kin, neighbors, paid child-care workers, lessons, particular schools, etc.). More generally: How do things work? and How is household labor divided?

In addition, by beginning with children's vantage points, one can shed light on how children shape daily life (both their presence — actively demanding time— as Kerry Daly has studied; AND their contributions, their often invisible work). Sociologists and anthropologists of childhood emphasize children's agency, and their participation in, contribution to, and experiences of social life. At the Center, we are experimenting with varied ways of bringing children's consciousness and experiences into knowledge. (See *Childhood*, a Sage published journal, which I'm now co-editing; Berry Mayall 1994, 1994; Allison James & Alan Prout 1997; and Ann Solberg 1997).

A fresh perspective emerges if one starts with childhoods, children, and the caring project of adults who are 'raising up children' (which also involve children as negotiators and contributors.) Currently, in my own writing, I'm linking this 'agentic' approach to children-in-society, with theories of care (as a complex, situated, relational process), and thinking about the process or 'raising up children' as a type of 'caring project.' {see Thorne 1999.

### *Center for Working Families at the University of California, Berkeley*

*Literature Database: Papers/Reports*

*The Sloan Network has constructed a database of key papers and reports produced by the Berkeley Center.*

### *Links*

*The Center for Working Families at the University of California, Berkeley  
MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Successful Pathways Through Middle Childhood*

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## Interview with Barrie Thorne, cont.

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## Children of the Gender Revolution: Some Theoretical Questions and Preliminary Notes from the Field

By Kathleen Gerson, Ph.D.,  
New York University

As a new century arrives, it is clear that fundamental changes in family, work and gender arrangements have transformed the experience of growing up in American society. This revolution in the experience of childhood has provided an unprecedented opportunity to unravel the processes of human development and better understand the consequences of growing up in diverse family situations. As the recipients of widespread gender and family changes, this generation is ideally positioned to shed light on a number of important theoretical problems and questions. These include:

- Is family structure the central and most important aspect of a child's developmental environment, or is it mediated by other factors, such as interactional processes within the home and contextual factors outside the home?
- How do children make sense of their family situations and their parents' circumstances, and what strategies do they develop to cope with their situations?
- What is the future of gender — as a cultural belief and a lived experience?

To answer these questions, I have interviewed late adolescents and young adults between the ages of 18 and 30. This generation is young enough to have experienced the dynamics of family

*Kathleen Gerson has kindly agreed to share with the Sloan Work-Family Researchers Electronic Network excerpts from one of her recent working papers. The final version of this paper will be included as an article in the forthcoming volume, Restructuring Work and the Life Course (Victor W. Marshall, Helga Krueger, and Anil Verma, eds. Toronto: Toronto University Press. 2000).*

*Kathleen has conducted interviews with young adults who "came of age" during the gender revolution that occurred during the second half of the 20th century. As you will be able to tell from these excerpts, she has derived a number of exciting insights from her findings. Kathleen's study is on-going. We look forward to her future publications about this research.*

change at close hand, yet old enough to have a perspective on their childhood circumstances and to be formulating life strategies of their own. Of the 115 people interviewed to date, approximately 56% are non-Hispanic white, 20% are African-American, 18% are Hispanic, and 6% are Asian. As a whole, this diverse group of young women and men grew up in homes that ... experienced the full range of changes now emerging in U.S. family and gender arrangements.

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While still preliminary, early insights from these interviews suggest that the lives, paths, and outlooks of this generation should prompt us to question a number of long-held assumptions about the primacy of family structure in human development ... From the point of view of the child, family structure, at least as we conceive of it, is not the crucial factor. What matters instead are more subtle family processes and trajectories. Rather than focusing on family structure, which implies a static and determining institutional arrangement, we need to examine family trajectories and the child's experience of stability or change. Children sift through a range of family experiences to form their own identities and outlooks on marriage, children, and family relationships. The most important of these include perceptions of their parents' relationship, the kinds of bonds they develop with each parent, and their assessments of their parents' satisfaction with family and work.

Most of the interviewees grew up in a home in which their mother was deeply involved in earning a living, and these children are quite appreciative. While some worried that their mothers had to toil long and hard at difficult and low-paying jobs, no one felt neglected or interpreted a mother's job as a way to avoid being a "good" mother. Children felt loved and supported when parents made choices that provided for everyone's needs and did not pit the wishes of mothers against the needs of children. The employment status of the mother matters far less than the overall context in which mothers create their lives. On balance, children see their mothers' employment as a benefit on many levels. Mothers' jobs offer families greater economic security and increased resources, enhance mothers' satisfaction and

autonomy, and provide an example worthy of emulation. Children do worry, however, about their mothers' ability to obtain good jobs with supportive working conditions and enough flexibility for combining work with family life. They also worry about their fathers' ability to gain work opportunities, supports, and time for family involvement.

Most (of those interviewed) have high standards for what constitutes a good marriage and would rather go it alone than become or remain enmeshed in an unhappy or narrowly confining commitment. Most have also concluded that a child is better off with separated parents than with unhappy parents who are constantly fighting. Nevertheless, while both women and men feel that the best parenting is equal parenting, women are skeptical that men can be counted on to shoulder their fair share, and men doubt that they will have the job flexibility to do so.

Given the varied and ambiguous influence of family structure, our focus needs to turn to the institutional arrangements and social processes that make a difference, regardless of family structure. We have seen, for example, that community context and economic resources are crucial. They provide the context for family life, either opening opportunities or posing risks and dangers. Resources such as educational and work opportunities, child care services, and personal networks of adults and peers help shape parents' strategies for rearing their children and children's ability to cope with difficult circumstances.

For a complete copy of this working paper, please contact the Boston College Center for Work & Family. □



## Effects of Early Parental Employment on Children

An Interview with Lisa Harvey.

By Teri Ann Lilly



Elizabeth Harvey, Ph.D.,  
Department of  
Psychology,  
University of  
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Amherst

Studying the effects of early parental employment on children is somewhat of a departure from your previous research. What led you to choose this topic?

**Harvey:** My interest in the work-family area started with my previous research within the context of families who had children with behavior problems. Part of where that came from was working initially with mothers and realizing how stressed out the mothers were; and then thinking about fathers' involvement and thinking about juggling work and family commitments. I came across it clinically as well. I saw a mother of an ADHD child who quit her job because she felt that maybe her

working was part of what contributed to her child's behavior problem. And so I was seeing it as an important clinical and research issue.

Having reviewed the literature, I knew that the literature on early maternal employment was pretty mixed and that there was still some debate about the findings. Within the field of psychology there wasn't much debate about employment when kids were older, but there was still some debate about employment when kids were younger.

When I was at the University of Connecticut I had a colleague in the Economics department who was interested in these issues from an economic perspective. We were talking about our research interests, when he mentioned that the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) had some variables that might be relevant. He lent me a copy of what he had and I looked through it, and it jumped out at me that it was a great data set (with a large sample) for the questions I was asking. So I went out and bought my own copy of it, and started working and looked more in depth at the other studies that had used the data set earlier, many years earlier, and that's what led up to the paper.

Following a review of the key studies in the parental employment debate, I noticed that you focused on the studies that used the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) data set. I think that by restricting your analysis, it made for a stronger framework and more convincing findings.

*Elizabeth (Lisa) Harvey recently published "Short-Term and Long-Term Effects of Early Parental Employment on Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth" in *Developmental Psychology*, 1999, 35(2), 445-459. The findings, which suggested minimal effects of early parental employment on children, provoked a firestorm in the media. Lisa Harvey shared some thoughts about the research process and the reaction to her article.*

**Harvey:** Actually, to be honest, the first draft didn't talk as much about those studies. It was the reviewers who suggested that I tease apart what's going on, by asking — why the past studies got such mixed results. So on a revision of the manuscript, that's when I really went into a lot of detail on studies using NLSY data. I agree that made for a clearer picture of what was going on and gave a clearer context of what I was doing.

**Would you like to highlight any of those comparisons?**

**Harvey:** I think what struck me was not any one study in particular, but just how consistently different the research was. The process of comparison was very complicated, and it took me several days of wading through the research studies, several intense days! I created this big table of what the researchers did and what they found. And I was just struck by how on any given dimension, there was no consistency across the studies...

There were a few things that were done fairly consistently that I actually thought should be done differently. I was finding inconsistencies between the way I thought it should be done versus how other researchers had done it. For example, I thought it would be better to look at the variables on a continuum rather than creating artificial categories, as many of the researchers had done. Looking at the variables on a continuum makes it harder to think about, but I think statistically is a better approach.

Another comparison worth highlighting is that almost all of the researchers had controlled for income after the child was born, which obviously is incredibly confounded with maternal employment status. I argue that by controlling for parents' income after the child is born, you're controlling for one of the advantages of parental employment. One of the reasons why parental employ-

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ment may benefit children is because it brings more financial resources to the family, can decrease stress because of increased income, and can allow the child to have opportunities she/he might not otherwise have. To really distinguish between selection factors, the researcher needs to sort variables that precede employment from those that are a consequence of employment. These are a few things that other studies had done consistently that I thought should be done differently.

### **Many of the previous studies didn't include the effects of fathers' employment, they looked just at the effects of mothers' employment on children.**

Harvey: To be perfectly honest when I did my first analyses, I just looked at mothers. I thought, 'What am I doing?' I've been doing this research on father involvement, 'How could I leave them out?' It's so easy to do, because all of the literature is focused on mothers' employment, and because there's not tons of variability in father employment. I went back and added effects of fathers' employment.

### **And your study was longitudinal, unlike many of the other studies.**

Harvey: Right. Or it was a longer term longitudinal. Most of the other studies had been done with the '86 data, looking at 3-4 year old kids, so it was looking at the effects of employment during the first 3 years on 3 and 4 year olds' development. It was very short-term longitudinal. One of the studies, Vandell & Ramanan (1992) did follow the kids until they were 6 or 7 years old. That was quite a small sample and the mothers were very young in that sample, so it wasn't a very representative sample. In fact that was one of the things that Clarke-Stuart said in her article — that if we're going to understand the effects of early employment we need to do longitudinal research.

### **Please compare and contrast some of your findings with the other research?**

Harvey: First I looked at comparing the children of mothers who were employed, to mothers who weren't employed on their language development, their academic achievement, their behavioral problems, and their self-esteem and their compliance to, which is similar to behavioral problems, and I found no differences in just employment status per se. Then I looked among mothers who were employed; the number of hours they worked; at what point they returned to work; and discontinuity of employment. I found some slight negative effects with variables when working more hours was associated with slightly lower

language development and cognitive academic achievement that lasted through elementary school. But the effects were incredibly small, we're talking about correlations, I think it was .07, or .08, because it was such a small sample, even very tiny correlations came out very significant when using a .01 criteria. They were very tiny and tended to fade over time. The few negative effects I found were small and had to do with the extent of maternal employment. As far as fathers go, I didn't find much for fathers, there were occasional small effects but nothing linear. So generally fathers' employment doesn't seem to be related to kids development. I also looked at the moderating effects of various variables, and found some. Although what was striking was how few I found. I did find a couple but they weren't all that consistent. I was surprised at how few moderating effects I found. In part, because of the moderating variables I had available to me. For example, a variable that measured parent satisfaction with their employment was not available. Other research has suggested that's an important moderator.

### **What do you think the implications of the findings are?**

Harvey: Well, I think that the study suggests that we need to look at individual differences. We need to understand individual differences. When, for example, childcare works out well for employed parents and when it doesn't work out well. Most psychologists response to this study was that they weren't particularly surprised. Most researchers within psychology said "Why is there such a big furor over this? We're beyond this, we're looking at individual differences."

### **I promised we'd touch on the press reaction, because it was surprising.**

Harvey: Yes, I was shocked. When Ellen Goodman interviewed me, she expressed the viewpoint that I think a lot of researchers felt as well, which was: 'What's the big deal? Why?' It was interesting to see this kind of split reaction between people saying 'What's the big deal?' and people saying 'This is a huge shock.' When reporters would interview me and they'd say, 'were you surprised?' and I'd say 'No.' I wouldn't really be that surprised either way, because the research has been kind of mixed.' Often the reporters expressed disbelief.

I think outside of the research world there's a very strong belief that early maternal employment is harmful to kids, so a study showing that's not the case is surprising. It challenged a lot of peoples' values. I got some negative reaction from media,

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namely Dr. Laura and Rush Limbaugh. I also received a lot of e-mails and mail from individuals, mostly parents, many of whom were pretty angry.

I think the study was interpreted as being threatening to families who choose to have either parent stay home. I think they felt that if the study is saying there's no difference between people working outside of the home, and stay at home parents, then 'Why are we doing it?' They feel like 'I'm making a sacrifice for my child,' and this study is saying that it's not really doing any good; it really makes them feel like the study is questioning their worth.

And I try to emphasize that's not the case, that the study is really looking at huge groups, not at individual differences, and that staying at home is a valuable thing as well. I think it really threatened a lot of people. But I was surprised, I would have never guessed that it would have been front page news. It was strange to be talking about this complicated study and complicated issue with non-professionals.

### **It does seem that work-family issues trigger a response from the media/ public that many other research topics don't.**

Harvey: Yes, childcare does bring research back to the real world. In some ways that's satisfying, and in some ways it's hard. As psychologists, we're used to talking with other psychologists, not with people outside the field.

### **Are there any other points you'd like to make, or anything you think is important to add?)**

Harvey: I don't know if you saw Jim Levine's editorial in the *New York Times*. I thought he made a really good point that all of the media attention focused on the mothers' employment piece, and very few of them mentioned that the research did look at fathers' employment as well.

### **Reactions from Press/Public: A Sampling**

#### **Feder, Don (March 8, 1999).**

"Day-care study defies common sense," *Boston Herald*; Boston, MA.

Feder charges that Harvey's "cause-driven" study is reflective of her feminist agenda. He posits that the results of the study "contradict common sense" by suggesting that mother-child bonding can "be established in an hour or two of quality time." Feder suggests the study will be "used as an endorsement of institutional day care," and criticizes the study for not distinguishing between various child-care arrangements. Feder describes child-care centers as "less than ideal," creating in children a "sense of loss and abandonment."

#### **Goodman, Ellen (March 4, 1999).**

"A mother's choice" *Boston Globe*; Boston, MA.

Goodman suggests that Harvey's study is support for the idea that "our children's whole future doesn't rest on this one choice." Citing the emotional nature of the "mommy wars," Goodman notes that "even the author found that 'the most shocking result of the study was the overwhelming response'." Goodman points out that even though the study also looked at the effects of fathers' employment, the public reaction was focused overwhelmingly on maternal employment, showing that "it's mothers that still matter in the public mind."

#### **Levine, James A. (March 4, 1999).**

"The other working parent," *New York Times*; New York, NY.

Levine asserts that Harvey's study is "not a study of working mothers but of working parents," noting that the study "is one of the first national studies to examine the effect of men's employment on their children's development." Levine criticizes the media coverage and public response because "focusing on only the maternal role reinforces a way of thinking that perpetuates women's sense of burden [and] constrains their careers." Levine urges women and men to "stop assuming that the workplace is incapable of responding to men's family needs...[in order to] help mothers feel less guilty about going to work."

Annotations by Kelly C. Dwyer, Boston College. □



## Navigating work and family life

# Ask the Children:

## What America's Children Really Think About Working Parents

*Editor's note: Ellen Galinsky's widely anticipated book, Ask The Children, will be excerpted in Newsweek. Ms. Galinsky suggests that "by adding children's voices to our national conversation about work and family life it will change the way we think about work and life forever." Ms. Galinsky has kindly shared with us some of the insights gleaned from her research.*

Ellen Galinsky's forthcoming book examines the impact of work on family through the eyes of children and their working parents. The book draws on focus group, interview, and survey data. Two key sources of data include: telephone interview data from a sample of 605 employed parents with children 18 years old or younger and survey data from a representative group of more than 1,000 children in the third through the twelfth grades (which was self-administered in English classes).

### A sampling of findings:

#### Quality time or Quantity Time?

Over 60% of the children in the sample felt that they spent just enough time with their working parents. In contrast, 53% of employed parents felt that they have too little time with their child. Older children were more likely to voice a need for more time, especially with their fathers. The content of time spent matters: The children felt that 'focused time' and 'hanging around time' were important.

#### Do Children think we work too much?

About two-thirds of children (3<sup>rd</sup> through 12<sup>th</sup> grades) thought their parents worked about the right amount. More than one-fourth thought their parents worked too much. Children did view fathers as working more. The children's reports were related to the economic health of the family. When the children perceived the family to be 'struggling,' they were more often to view their father as working too much (43%) than children who perceived the family as having more than they need (27%).

#### How successful are parents in managing work and family life?

Children (3<sup>rd</sup> through 12<sup>th</sup> grades) thought their parents were very successful in managing work and family life – 74% said their mothers and 69% said their fathers were very successful. Parents were less positive: only 34% of parents said they were very successful; 60% reported somewhat successful; while 6% reported they were somewhat or very unsuccessful.

### Biographical Sketch:

Ellen Galinsky is cofounder and president of the Families and Work Institute. Galinsky was a faculty member at the Bank Street College of Education. Recent publications include *The New Providers* (1995), *1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce*, and *Reframing the Business Case for Work-Life Initiatives* (1998).

Families and Work Institute website: <http://www.familiesandwork.org/>

In the Overview of her new book, Galinsky cautions: "If the findings in this book are simply read and reported as another study that weighs in on whether mothers should or shouldn't work, that would be a terrible misreading, a black-and-white rendering of a full-color portrait. This study, like many others, shows that the impact of parental employment on children depends on a number of factors, including whether the parent is doing what he or she thinks is right..."

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The book will be published in Autumn 1999. □

### Excerpts:

Based on the findings of her research, Galinsky calls for a "new language to describe everyday realities of employed parents and their children. We need new nondichotomous, non-either/or terms to replace the quality/quantity time conundrum. I suggest we use *focused time* and *hang-around time*.

We also need to replace the notion of "balancing: work and family life. Balancing implies an either/or situation\_a scale on which if one side is up, the other is down. It is thus a win/lose seesaw. Yet the research conducted for this book reveals that if work is 'up,' the other side is very likely to be up as well...I suggest the phrase *navigating work and family life*. (see Overview)



## Grant Updates

### Alfred P. Sloan

#### The dual-career working family programing area.

There is widespread recognition that dramatic changes in our social and economic institutions have had a significant impact on the ways that the middle-class organizes work and family lives. Amidst these changes, the dual earner family has emerged as a dominant family structure. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has a commitment to support and encourage the scholarly study of these important issues. The Sloan Foundation announces the following new grants:

*Editor's Note: The amount and variety of research conducted as a result of Sloan Foundation support for work-family studies is nothing short of impressive. This section of the newsletter is devoted to one or more grants which are either near completion or at some other critical junction.*

Grantee	University	Grant	Grantee	University	Grant
Annette Lareau	Temple University	To write a book on the ethnography of every day lives of children in working families	Thomas J. Cooke	University of Connecticut	Conduct research on family relocation and effects on women's careers
Frank Dobbin	Princeton University	Support study on employment law and corporate work-family practices	David Almeida	University of Arizona	Support study of transmission of emotion from work to home by fathers
Phyllis Moen	Cornell University	To support the Employment and Family Careers Institute, a Sloan Center on Working Families	Eileen Appelbaum	Economic Policy Institute	Partial Support to conduct a one-day symposium on issues faced by working families
Nicholas Townsend	Brown University	Support a Book on the ethnography of middle class working fathers	Toni S. Zimmerman	Colorado State University	Support to study home and work strategies of resilient dual-earner couples
Lena Lundgren-Gaveras	Boston University	To support research on the impact of part-time careers in medicine from the perspective of full time physicians	Dean Cappello	WNYC Radio	To support radio coverage on issues faced by working families
Barrie Thorne	University of California, Berkeley	To co-sponsor a Conference on Working Families, with the UC Berkeley Center on Working Families and the Business and Professional Women's Foundation	Jennifer Glass	University of Iowa	Support for research to examine effects of employment conditions on mothers' careers and family well-being
Bradd Shore	Emory University	Conduct preliminary research for a possible Center on Rituals and Myths in Working Families			



## Recent Events

# Sloan Working Families Conference

## Findings from the Alfred P. Sloan Working Family Centers.

by **Lisa Hoogstra, Research Analyst**  
**Center on Parents, Children, and Work,**  
**An Alfred P. Sloan Working Family Center**

*Editor's Note: This section of the newsletter will be used to provide some highlights of events, gatherings, and meetings which have recently taken place.*

*Please feel free to send us an e-mail with any "news" that would be of interest to fellow researchers and teaching faculty. We'll be happy to include it.*

*Also, if you have any working papers or conference presentation that you would like included in the Sloan Work-Family Literature Database, please contact us. [pittcats@bc.edu](mailto:pittcats@bc.edu)*

A conference showcasing the first empirical findings from the Alfred P. Sloan Working Family Centers was hosted in early May by the University of Chicago's Center on Parents, Children, and Work. The 2 1/2 day conference was attended by the directors and associated faculty, research fellows, and graduate students from the Working Family Centers at the University of Chicago, Cornell University, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of Michigan, as well as by researchers from the University of Maryland and Emory University. Kathleen Christensen, program director for the Centers, participated by phone.

A primary goal of the Working Family Centers is to promote the multi-disciplinary study of work and family experiences. Conference presentations by researchers from the disciplines of sociology, psychology, anthropology, and economics reflected this goal. While presentations and discussions focused on common themes-issues confronting contemporary families, children in working families, and the quality of life in working families-each center brought a unique perspective to these issues.

Researchers from Cornell's Employment and Family Careers Institute presented several papers that were informed by a life-course perspective, among them "Assessing the Life Course Related Implications of Work-Life Policies and Practices: The Case of Employee Loyalty" by Patricia Roehling and Phyllis Moen. The paper's pri-

mary finding was that men and women display different patterns of loyalty to their employers as they get older and begin to establish families. As they take on greater family responsibilities, men are less willing to leave their current employers. In contrast, women are more likely to seek employment opportunities that allow them to balance the demands of work and family. Ross Stolzenberg, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and discussant for the paper, noted that the paper "asks what family structure does to employee loyalty." "This is an important question," he argued, "in part because it links two major social institutions, and in part because it goes right to the heart of some of the more obnoxious beliefs that have come to characterize attitudes toward women workers in large corporations."

Researchers from the University of Chicago and the University of Maryland focused on time use in families and addressed issues of family structure and the household division of labor.

In "The Rise of Dual-Career, Middle Class Family," Linda Waite and Mark Nielsen of the University of Chicago noted that "If we had to pick the most dramatic, far-reaching change affecting women, men and families over the last 35 years, the rise of the dual-career family is the prime candidate. In the early 1960s, two-thirds of married couples with children had only one wage earner; in 1997 two-thirds had two wage earners. In the early 1960s, less than a quarter of married women with children were working full time. By 1997, 42 percent were." Suzanne Bianchi, John Robinson, Lianna Sayer, and Melissa Milkie of the University of Maryland presented findings from a recent study of time allocated to household tasks in "Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends and Gender Differentials in America's Least Favorite Activity."

Researchers from The Working Family Center at Berkeley and the recently established Center for the Ethnography of Everyday Life at the University of Michigan focused on the changing culture of working families.

Papers from the Berkeley Center included "Hegemonic Motherhood: Deviancy Discourses and Employed Mothers' Accounts of Out-of-School Time Issues" by Teresa Arendell. Tom Fricke, director of the Michigan Center, presented a paper entitled "Cultural Issues in the Transformation of Everyday Life among Dual Career Couples." In discussing Arendell's paper, Rachel Gordon, a research associate at the University of Chicago Center, observed that it "beautifully documents some of the social comparisons that . . . go on within communities. For example, she finds a working mother who confronts stay-at-home moms at her child's school whose schedules allow them to be ever present at school functions; this mother feels belittled in those situations-as though she's being judged as less than a mother." Citing her own recent work on the neighborhood and community contexts in which families live, Gordon speculated that "the kinds of normative assessments Arendell studies may vary across local communities, and where a working mother lives may affect how she compares herself to others and whether she feels deviant." □

### *Alfred P. Sloan Centers for the Study of Working Families*

*The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has articulated a funding strategy that supports and encourages the scholarly study of the ways that the middle-class organize work and family lives. Key to that strategy is the funding of four academic centers:*

- *Center for the Ethnography of Everyday Life at the University of Michigan*
- *Center for Working Families at the University of California, Berkeley*
- *Cornell Employment and Family Careers Institute*
- *Parents, Children and Work at University of Chicago and NORC*



## Publication Highlights

# Work-Family Research

Working papers, dissertations, and conference presentations on the work-family situation.

The March 1999 issue of *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science* was devoted to different work/life experiences. A number of leading scholars contributed to this volume, which was edited by Marcie Pitt-Catsouphes and Bradley Googins of Boston College.

The following articles are included:

### • Diverse Families

"Working to Place Family at the Center of Life: Dual-Earner and Single-Parent Strategies" by Rosanna Hertz

Based on findings from interviews, Hertz describes the strategies that working parents in single-parent and two-parent families use to ensure that they can actively keep their family roles and relationships "at the center of their lives." The strategies adopted by two-parent families include adjustments to work schedules and employment options. The importance of the informal social support systems developed by working single parents is explored.

"Work-Family Backlash: Begging the Question, What's Fair?" by Mary Young

Young draws from her own qualitative and quantitative research as she explores some of the uncharted territory of "fairness." She dispels the myth that most employees are both married and raising children. In light of these facts, Young challenges work/life researchers and practitioners to consider questions of equity related to work/life initiatives.

"Restructured Families: Issues of Equality and Need" by Maureen Scully and W.E. Douglas Creed

Scully and Creed interpret the discourse about family diversity, equality and need in the context of advocacy for the rights of gay, lesbian, bi-sexual, and transgendered employees. Reflecting on their experiences working with grassroots groups and managers at different companies, the authors suggest that values and meanings attached to the concept of family has a powerful influence on employees' interpretation of different work/life initiatives.

### • Families in Transition

"The Impact of Family on Job Displacement and Recovery" by Paul Attewell

Attewell explores the relationship between family structure and experiences with involuntary job loss. Analyses were conducted using data from the Current Population Surveys (U.S. Census Bureau) and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. The analyses identify specific groups, such as younger workers and employees who have

been divorced or never married, who are more likely to be displaced from their jobs than other sub-populations.

"Young Europeans' Orientations to Families and Work" by Suzan Lewis, Janet Smithson, and Julia Brannen

The researchers convened over 70 focus groups and 100 interviews to gather qualitative data from young people (aged 18-30) in five European countries. The authors discuss how these adults view their current work/life experiences and their expectations for the future. The article discusses the work/life realities of these young people who indicated that they have adapted to economic uncertainties by living in "the extended present."

"Work and Family Over Time: A Life Course Approach" by Shin-Kap Han and Phyllis Moen

Han and Moen discuss the importance of re-conceptualizing work/life issues in two ways: first, as they unfold over time and secondly, as they are experienced (and shared) between and among family members. Information collected from couples (n = 212 women and 246 men) who participated in the Cornell Retirement and Well-Being Study is presented. The authors focus on some of the differences in work-life interactions as experienced by husbands and wives

### • Diverse Organizations

"Organizational Size and Work-Family Issues" by Shelley M. MacDermid, Leon C. Litchfield and Marcie Pitt-Catsouphes

Much of the organizational research about workplace responsiveness to work/life issues has focused on the experiences of large family-friendly corporations despite the fact that a minority of today's laborforce works at these firms. This article offers insight about some of the characteristic responses of small businesses to employees' work/life priorities. For example, smaller companies participating in one recent study were more likely to report that it was a priority for them to help employees with work-family balance issues.

see **Work-Family Research**,  
next page



## Work-Family Research, cont.

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"The Non-Profit Sector's Responsiveness to Work-Family Issues"  
by Judith G. Gonyea

Gonyea establishes the importance of gaining a better understanding about the responsiveness of not-for-profit organizations to their employees work/life experiences. Several factors that might motivate non-profit organizations to develop work/life initiatives (e.g., potential to address human resource problems experienced by many non-profits such as recruitment and unwanted turnover; connection to mission) are explored. Gonyea comments on the importance of developing a research agenda that studies the policies and practices of non-profit workplaces.

### ● Organizations in Transition

"A New Work-Life Model for the Twenty-First Century"  
by Rosalind C. Barnett

Work/life initiatives are often considered to be innovative employer supports; however, Barnett contends that several out-dated assumptions continue to guide the development of policies and programs that may not reflect the realities of the life experiences of today's employees. For example, she suggests that many policies and practices have their roots in the scarcity hypothesis. This article introduces a new conceptual framework, based on workers' social systems, that could be used to consider alternative employer responses.

"Work and Life Strategies of Professionals in Biotechnology Firms"  
by Susan Eaton and Lotte Bailyn

The findings of case studies are used to consider how the experiences of today's bio-technology companies may help us to understand some of the dimensions of work/life issues in tomorrow's companies. Particular consideration is given to the structure of work, itself. The authors consider important implications for careers.

### ● Policy Perspectives

"Lower-Wage Workers and the New Realities of Work and Family"  
by Susan J. Lambert

Lambert suggests that changes in public and private sector policies elevate the importance of developing new work/life models that respond to the priorities of lower-wage families. For example, community-based child care services may be preferred by many lower-wage families to child care centers located at the workplace. The relevance of fundamental concerns such as wages, benefits, and work hours is stressed.

"Creating a Research and Public Policy Agenda for Work, Family and Community" by Paula M. Rayman and Ann Bookman

Rayman and Bookman recommend that an integrated research-policy approach be used to explore the complex interactions among family, work and community experiences. Lessons learned from three different efforts to link research and policy in these areas are discussed: the White House Conference on Families; the Bush Center Project on Infant Care Leave; and the Carnegie Foundation's Task Force. Factors such as the importance of leadership are explored. □

## Upcoming Events

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### Work-Family Conference

**"Work and Family: Expanding the Horizons".**

Call for Papers for an Academic Conference,  
**"Work and Family: Expanding the Horizons"**  
March 3-4, 2000

Cathedral Hill Hotel, San Francisco, California

Sponsored by the Business and Professional Women's Foundation,  
The Center for Working Families, University of California, Berkeley,  
and the Sloan Foundation

### ● Description of the Conference:

Over the last two decades, research on paid work and family life in the U.S. has flourished, resulting in an enormous body of new in-

formation. However, we still lack an over-all conceptual approach that links the daily struggles of working parents with broad structural changes, such as shifts in the organization of paid work brought about by rapid economic change and advanced technologies; the growing polarization of social classes; and the decline of state provisioning for families and children. More attention to links between changing institutions and the daily lives of working families will strengthen this field of research and policy-making. We welcome papers from a wide range of perspectives on work and family. The plenary sessions will highlight fresh angles of vision and seek to articulate a more comprehensive approach to this area of research.

*see Work-Family Conference,  
next page*



## Work-Family Conference, cont.

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● Among the topics to be considered are:

Economic and social trends (such as globalization, the move to a service economy, widening income gaps, new waves of immigration) and the changing contours of U.S. work and family life.

New technologies and the reconfiguring of relationships between work and family.

The effects of changes in state policies (e.g., welfare reform and diminished funding for schools, parks, and libraries; family leave legislation; or movements to fund more after-school programs) on the daily lives of working families.

The development and impact of family-friendly workplace policies in various sectors of the economy, and in relation to the activities of labor unions and the policies of local, state, and national government.

Relationships between families, markets, the state, and civil society, including comparative research in different national contexts.

Families negotiating jobs, schools, childcare, and other institutions.

The challenges and options for small businesses who want to implement family-friendly policies.

The development of children growing up in working families, at all stages of life.

Bringing the experiences of children, grandparents, the disabled, and dependent elderly family members into research on work and family.

Exploring other areas of research for insight into changing relations of work and family (for example, the dynamics of Social Security and Medicare; school choice and movements for school reform;

the organization of urban and suburban neighborhoods; the declining spatial autonomy of contemporary children; labor organizing strategies; trends in urban planning; housing policies and the design of domestic spaces).

Trade-offs between time binds and money binds

Gender relations at work, in families, in child-care arrangements.

Diverse kinship and family arrangements and the dynamics of paid and unpaid work.

The rituals and myths of working families.

The organization and the gender and racial-ethnic dynamics of caring work, and of cultures of care.

Consumerism and the varied experiences of working families.

The emotional dimensions of work and family

● Submission Requirements:

Submitted proposals should represent original work and should not be previously published. Authors are encouraged to submit proposals that address the topics in this call, but other topics related to the Conference theme will also be considered. Papers will be selected by academic peer review panels.

Call for a copy of the full for papers, which includes submission requirements (submissions must be postmarked by SEPTEMBER 30, 1999)

Registration forms, and hotel information:

Check the conference website: <http://www.bpwusa.org/foundation/horizons.html> □

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## Call for Papers

### Special issue of *Work and Occupations*.

Call for Papers

Special Issue of *Work and Occupations* on

"Time at Work: Implications of Changing Patterns of Time Use for the Sociology of Work"

Guest Editors:

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein

Department of Sociology Graduate Center,

City University of New York

and

Arne L. Kalleberg

Department of Sociology,

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Changes in technology, the organization of work, family structures, and life situations have altered the conditions of workplace scheduling and pacing. These changes have highlighted the importance of the measurement and markers of time for the study of the workplace as well as the fact that time at work is subject to negotiations, social controls and political policy. *Work and Occupations* will publish a special issue devoted to the implications of changes in the meaning and patterns of time in the workplace. The editors invite scholars to submit papers focusing on issues of time in the workplace based on empirical



**Call for Papers: Special Issue of Work and Occupations cont.**

investigation and also on the meaning and interpretation of work time by men and women at all levels of the occupational hierarchy.

Possible topics for this special issue include: the advent of the “24 hour” work day in many professional, corporate and industrial spheres; the growth of part-time work; the use of flexible scheduling arrangements such as flextime and job sharing; changes in the meaning of concepts such as the “work week,” “full-time,” “overtime,” and “retirement” in different historical periods and social contexts; and variations in work schedules and the number of hours worked by people of different races, ethnicity, age and gender groups. This list is intended only to be suggestive, and the editors are open to a wide variety of topics (and methods of studying these topics (and methods of studying these topics) related to the theme.

Short proposals and questions may be sent now to either Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (e-mail [cepstein@email.gc.cuny.edu](mailto:cepstein@email.gc.cuny.edu); fax: 212-642-2420) or Arne L. Kalleberg (email [arne\\_kalleberg@unc.edu](mailto:arne_kalleberg@unc.edu); fax: 919-962-7568). Completed manuscripts must be sent to Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (Department of Sociology Graduate Center, City University of New York, 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036) or Arne L. Kalleberg (Department of Sociology, Hamilton Hall CB #3210, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3210) by September 15, 1999.

Supported by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation □

**Call for Papers**  
***The Journal of Families and Economic Issues***

Call for Papers  
For an Upcoming Issue of  
*The Journal of Family and Economic Issues*

Due by January 1st, 2000

Contributions from the National Studies of the Changing Workforce

Guest Editors: Shelley M. MacDermid, Ellen Galinsky, and James T. Bond

The Center for Families at Purdue University and The Families and Work Institute are collaborating to edit a special issue of the Journal of Family and Economic Issues.

Submissions are due by January 1, 2000

Researchers’ progress in understanding work-family relationships has at times been hampered by limited access to large representative samples. The 1992 and 1997 National Studies of the Changing Workforce are the first detailed examinations of work and family issues with nationally representative samples in almost two decades. These data sets now are available to researchers for analysis.

The special issue will publish original empirical contributions addressing gaps in the work-family literature. Such gaps include but are not limited to:

- studies of groups under-represented in existing research (e.g., low-wage workers, single parents, ethnically and culturally diverse workers, and workers who work in small workplaces)
- studies of processes associated with strain between work and personal life, and the conditions under which they occur for specific populations
- studies designed to test specific theoretical propositions

Manuscripts must include analyses of one or both of the National Studies of the Changing Workforce. Analyses conducted for the special issue should be firmly grounded in theory, and those connections should be explicitly articulated. Analyses should not duplicate those already reported by the Families and Work Institute.

Devoted exclusively to the interface of the family and its economic environment, the Journal of Family and Economic Issues brings together work from a variety of disciplines that enhances the understanding of family economic behavior, family management, household division of labor and productivity, the relationship between economic and non-economic decisions, interrelationships between work life and family life, and other related topics. Articles should demonstrate the linkage between the family and economic systems. The contents are of interest to all scholars and practitio-

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**Call for Papers: *The Journal of Families and Economic Issues*, cont.**

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ners working in the area of the interface of the family and its economic environment, especially those in family studies, family economics, family management, and family economic policy.

Each paper will be blind reviewed by at least two reviewers. Manuscripts should be no more than 25 pages long including all references, tables, and figures, and should follow APA (4th ed.) guidelines. Submit copies of manuscripts to:

Shelley MacDermid  
The Center for Families at Purdue University  
1267 CDFS Building  
West Lafayette, IN 47907-1267

For information about the special issue, contact Shelley MacDermid ([shelley@purdue.edu](mailto:shelley@purdue.edu)).

For information about acquiring data set(s) or the analyses in the 1997 report on the National Study of the Changing

Workforce, see the Families and Work Institute's web site: ([www.familiesandwork.org](http://www.familiesandwork.org)). □

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**Final thoughts**

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## Comments

### From the Boston College Center for Work & Family.

The Sloan Work-Family Researchers Electronic Network has been up and running for a full academic year. We've passed some important milestones, encountered some challenges, and have kept our sights on the horizons of possibilities.

- **Affiliations:**

We have 416 individuals who have affiliated with the Work-Family Researchers Electronic Network. Please feel free to give our web address to your colleagues and students.

- **Literature Database:**

The number of entries into the database which contains the annotations of work-family articles, books, and reports has been burgeoning. There are currently over 2,000 entries and we are adding to our collection every day.

- **Virtual Library:**

As was noted in an e-mail message sent to all Network Affiliates, we are creating a database of syllabi that address work-family issues in one or more sessions. We are hoping that these will encourage faculty from different disciplines to incorporate work/life issues into the curriculum.

- **On-Line Forums:**

So far, the "standing" forums have not been used by many of the Network affiliates. Forums such as these seem to work best if they are designed for particular groups that either want to share experiences with one another, post insights and opinions, gain access to experts, or "chat." It appears that our affiliates are finding other vehicles for these needs (e.g., conferences, the workfam listserv,

etc.). As a consequence, we are thinking about removing the standing on-line forums, replacing them with the real time forums discussed below.

- **Real-Time Forums:**

Shelley MacDermid at Purdue University has once again become a trail blazer! She has organized a virtual task force that has accepted the challenge of conducting a scholarly assessment of existing measures of work/life tensions. They will be recommending alternatives that reflect innovative concepts. Shelley "et al." anticipate posting their working paper on the Sloan Work-Family Network this summer and will subsequently host a real time forum.

There have been some interesting developments concerning the protection of intellectual property and on-line publications. Recently, two members of the Sloan Electronic Network Team, Senior Research Associate Teri Ann Lilly and Webmaster Sophia Sasaki, attended the Fourth Annual Ethics and Technology Conference on June 4-5, 1999. The conference, hosted at Boston College, was sponsored by the Boston College Law School and Carroll School of Management, Loyola University Chicago, and Santa Clara University. It featured presentations on such intriguing topics as the one developed by Professor William S. Brown of Babson College, entitled: "The Impact Upon Self of Technologically-Mediated Organizational Control," as well as "Is Copyright Ethical? An Examination of the Theories, Laws and Practices Regarding the Private Ownership of Intellectual Work in the United States," by Professor Shelley Warwick of Queens College.

Our thanks to all of you for contributing to this project. Please e-mail me with any suggestions for improvement.

Marcie Pitt-Catsoupes  
[pittcats@bc.edu](mailto:pittcats@bc.edu) □