

Working Fathers and Work-Family Relationships: A Comparison of Generation X and Millennial Dads

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While there has been an increased attention on researching the unique concerns of working fathers, there has been comparatively little work done to distinguish the work-family concerns of fathers of differing circumstances. In this study, we use a Multi-Group Moderation Analysis using Structural Equation Modeling to examine whether and how the relationships between work-family conflict/synergy and a set of antecedents and outcomes vary by generational cohort. Specifically, we used data from the National Study of the Changing Workforce (Tahmincioglu, 2014) to determine whether work-family dynamics differ between working fathers of Generation X and the Millennial generation. The results of our exploratory study reveal generational differences in the relationships between coworker and supervisory support on work interference with family, as well as the relationships between work interference with family and such outcomes as life satisfaction, job satisfaction, and self-rated health. Implications and directions for future research are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Fathers and Work-Family

One of the “new” groups to be recognized in the work-family arena is working fathers (Fischer and Anderson, 2012), a group that has been traditionally under-represented in the literature. Over the past several years, there has been an increasing recognition that working fathers face similar levels of work-family conflict and stress as working mothers (Galinsky, Aumann, and Bond, 2011), and that working fathers are increasingly interested in more egalitarian distribution of household work (Harrington, Van Deusen, Fraone, Eddy, and Haas, 2014), and of more flexible and family-supportive workplaces (Harrington et al., 2014).

Owing to societal expectations, financial pressures, traditional gender roles, and workplace demands, most working fathers experience work-family dynamics differently than working mothers (Behson, 2015; Heilman et al., 2016; Thébaud and Pedulla, 2016). For instance, in a global study of working parents from 74 countries, Hill et al. (2012) found that fathers reported longer work hours and more overnight travel than mothers, but reported less organizational and supervisory work-family support. Compared with mothers, fathers were less aware of work-family programs, less likely to have used work-family programs in the past, and less likely to be planning to use work-family programs in the future. Fathers who used

work-family programs evaluated them less favorably than mothers did. In addition, fathers were much more likely to use work-family programs that did not reduce their compensation (e.g., work-at-home) than programs that did (e.g., part-time employment, leaves). These results support the notion that fathers experience the workplace differently than women and may face additional hurdles to work-family balance and involved parenthood.

Recent research demonstrates that when it is offered, American men are increasingly taking two paid weeks of paternity leave (Harrington et al., 2014). It is further reported that 89% of American men consider paid paternity leave at least somewhat important when evaluating employers and potential employers. Despite these encouraging statistics, other research has found that American men who use paternity leave or other workplace accommodations for family face considerable stigma from their employers (Behson, 2013). Many are reluctant to use paternity leave for fear of being seen as uncommitted and unmanly, perceptions which are linked to lower performance evaluations, increased risks of being demoted or downsized, and reduced pay and rewards (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Men also fear potential career consequences (Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013); specifically, fathers who are seen by bosses and coworkers as engaging in higher-than-average levels of childcare are subject to more workplace harassment and more general mistreatment as compared to their low-caregiving or childless counterparts (Berdahl & Moon, 2013). Finally, men who interrupt their employment for family reasons earn significantly less after returning to work (Coltrane, Miller, DeHaan, & Stewart, 2013).

Many men internalize this pressure themselves, in that they are attuned to societal norms regarding masculinity. Where they see other men using family policies and increasing family involvement, they are more likely to do so (Thébaud and Pedulla, 2016). This research indicates that cultural pressure comes not only from employers but also from peers and societal signals such as media depictions of fathers. Thus, even American employees who can take paternity leave often feel social pressure at work that dissuades them from fully utilizing work-family benefits. Furthermore, in the United States, the lack of federal policy on this matter means only about 14% of private sector employees are offered paid paternity leave. The real and felt need for men to provide for their families makes unpaid leave more difficult for fathers to take. As summarized by Ladge, Humberd, Baskerville Watkins, and Harrington (2015), many working fathers today feel torn between the desire to be an involved father with an egalitarian approach to home and work and the felt need to uphold traditional expectations placed upon men in our society.

Generational Theory and Work-Family Relationships

The theory of generations was proposed to give an alternative to social class as an explanatory variable. Mannheim (1952) is credited with expounding the generational concept explaining how social factors and the zeitgeist affect human development (Mannheim, 1952). Socio-historical events are presumed to shape individuals who are personally affected by such events during their youth. The sum of these experiences coalesces into a shared worldview that is distinctive resulting in a generational cohort. Eyerman and Turner (1998) refined Mannheim's ideas by suggesting that: "generation is defined as a cohort of persons passing through time who come to share a common habitus, hexis and culture, a function of which is to provide them with a collective that serves to integrate the cohort" (Eyerman and Turner, 1998). As such, generational cohorts represent more than chronological age. The experiences shape the way in which to cohort tends to view the world. Other studies have reported on these cohorts and the factors that shaped their distinctive worldviews (Beutell, 2013; Beutell and Wittig-Berman, 2008; Greenberg and Weber, 2008; Howe and Strauss, 2007; Scott, 2000).

Generational cohorts grew up with distinctive sets of gender role expectations, particularly with regard to work and family roles. Boomers (1946-1964) represent a cohort that was influenced by turmoil in social roles for men and women. During this period, the family, stable and traditional for the previous generation, was disintegrating with the highest number of divorces and second marriages. Boomers saw their mothers entering the workforce and their fathers experiencing increased pressure to be more family-oriented. Boomers "live to work" and are quick to challenge authority. They are driven and work long hours in a quest for personal fulfillment. Work-family conflict theory (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985a;

Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, and Rosenthal, 1964), suggests that the family turmoil experienced by this group as children (and now caring for their own children and parents) coupled with extensive work commitments would be associated with higher levels of work-family conflict and lower levels work-family synergy.

Generation X (hereinafter Gen X) (1965-1980), unlike Boomers, were the first generation with large numbers of single-parent families, because of the continuing high divorce rate, where the “traditional family” was not the modal family structure. (The parents of Boomers divorced but were more likely to remarry in a serial fashion maintaining vestiges of the traditional family.) Gen X have been termed “latchkey” children since their parents worked during an era when day care was not widely available; Gen X had to fend for themselves with little parental supervision (Howe and Strauss, 2007). Corporate downsizing strongly affected the parents of Gen X. This served to make Gen X less trusting of corporations since jobs could be taken away on a moment’s notice. As such, Gen X seek to achieve balance between their work and family lives since technology would, in theory, allow them to work anytime from anywhere (Glass, 2007). Gen X have “begun to construct the strong families that they missed in childhood” (Strauss and Howe, 1991) p. 45). Gen X were the first generation to do less well financially than their parents. Gen X have struggled at work since the flexibility they seek, including family supportive organizational policies, is not a reality in many organizations. This constellation of factors would be expected to heighten work-family conflict and diminish synergy.

Finally, Millennials (1981-2000) have displaced Boomers as the largest living generational group (Andrews, 2016; Kunkle, 2015). This cohort was raised in a child-centered, technology-mediated milieu with parents who undertook significant efforts to protect Millennials from the evils of the world. Coddled by parents, this was the first cohort to grow up with schedules. Many Millennials children grew up in blended families. They seek more than work-life balance; they add community and self-development to this as well. Millennials report happy childhoods and a tendency to be closer to their mothers than their fathers (Greenberg and Weber, 2008). Even when two parents are present, this is not the two-parent family experienced by Boomers. Millennials tend to be accepting of gay marriages as well as living together without being married (Greenberg and Weber, 2008). This cohort is ambitious but not entirely focused. They work to live viewing the workweek as the time between weekends. Millennials use technology and prefer to be judged by results as opposed to hours spent at work. Galinsky et al. (2011) found that Millennial men and women expressed a preference for more egalitarian gender role expectations, as compared to prior cohorts.

We focus on the latter two of these generally recognized cohorts, Millennials (those aged 18 through 29 at the time of data collection) and Gen X (those aged 30 through 43 at the time of data collection). Men of these two cohorts – as opposed to boomers or silent generation – are most likely to be fathers with young children living with them.

Generational Research and Working Fathers

Recently, there has been a raft of professional surveys and studies focused on Millennial working parents, and some academic study specifically aimed at Millennial dads. The most prominent study working millennial fathers was conducted by Harrington, Fraone, Lee, and Levey (2016). Overall, the findings suggest that generation is important but not the only variable that must be considered, at least in terms of fathers’ approach to parenting. Fathers were identified as egalitarian if they wanted egalitarian parenting and actually performed equally relative to their spouse, conflicted dads who wanted egalitarian parenting but actually did less parenting than their spouse, and traditional dads who expected to do less parenting and did do less.

These researchers (Harrington et al., 2016) assumed that Millennial dads would be more egalitarian in their approach to parenting in keeping with traits ascribed to this generation. The main takeaway from this study is that Millennial working fathers espouse egalitarian parenting yet fewer than one third of millennial fathers actually enact egalitarian parenting with their partners. The distribution of fathers as egalitarian, conflicted, and traditional was quite similar for Millennials and Gen X. This most likely does

not suggest the fathers from these generations have identical views of parenting but highlights the need to identify similarities as well as differences in generational research.

Research Question

As there is currently a dearth of research on comparing generations of working fathers in terms of work-family dynamics, ours is an exploratory study. We selected several important work-family variables to include in our study. We focus on work interference with family, family interference with work, and work family synergy. We consider a number of predictor variables suggested by previous research (Beutell, 2010; Galinsky et al., 2011; Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985a) including work hours, supervisor support, and coworker support; as well as a set of commonly associated outcome variables including job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and health. Our focus is on examining whether and how relationships among these variables differ for Gen X working fathers and Millennial working fathers.

TABLE 1
MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND PEARSON CORRELATIONS FOR
THE STUDY VARIABLES BY GENERATIONAL GROUP

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Self-rated health		.11*	.01	.16*	.09	-.17**	-.15**	.14	.15**	.24**
2. Work hours	.06		.25**	-.03	-.07	.17**	-.06	.01	.01	.08
3. Job pressure	-.36*	-.11*		-.13*	-.12*	.33**	.14**	.45**	-.03	-.14**
4. Supervisor support	.42**	.10	-.26		.53**	-.31**	-.02	.26**	.37**	.22**
5. Co-worker support	.43**	.17	-.25	.73**		-.24**	-.13*	.29**	.40**	.26**
6. WIF	-.47**	.16	.17	-.14	-.35*		.51**	-.12	-.36**	-.31**
7. FIW	-.35*	.03	.15	-.01	-.02	.67**		.00	-.13	-.23**
8. WFS	.36*	-.02	-.14	.32*	.45**	-.42**	-.13		.36**	.23**
9. Job satisfaction	.44**	.14	-.28	.74**	.64**	-.13	.11	.40**		.41**
10. Life satisfaction	.53**	.16	-.26	.27	.32*	-.32*	-.25	.48**	.31*	
Mean (Millennials)	3.20	42.04	2.84	3.25	3.36	2.44	2.19	3.22	2.89	3.28
SD (Millennials)	.79	11.97	0.58	0.73	0.68	0.88	0.70	0.82	0.58	0.62
Mean (Gen X)	3.14	45.97	2.78	3.36	3.34	2.70	2.14	3.04	2.92	3.37
SD (Gen X)	.71	11.22	0.57	0.58	0.66	0.79	0.62	0.74	0.47	0.67

Notes:

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed). $N=406$. Note. WIF=work interfering with family; FIW=family interfering with work; WFS=work-family synergy. Millennial correlations below the diagonal and Gen X correlations above the diagonal.

METHOD

Sample and Participants

The National Study of the Changing Workforce collects data from a random sample of U.S. working adults at approximately 5-year intervals (Tahmincioglu, 2014). The total 2008 sample consisted of 3504 respondents representing organizationally and self-employed individuals. Since our focus was working fathers, we included men aged 18 to 43 who were employed (organizationally or self-employed) and who had a child 18 years or younger living in the home for at least six months per year. This working sample ($n=406$) consists of 46 Millennial fathers and 360 Gen X fathers. Table 1 reports descriptive data and correlations for our major study variables by generational group for our sample. Respondents averaged 35.66 years of age. 81 percent identified themselves as white, 80% were legally married and 20% were

residing with their spouse or partner, and 74% had some college (23% had a college degree and 18% had a graduate or professional degree). Respondents worked an average of 45.52 ($SD=11.36$) hours per week and reported an average family income of US\$93,725 ($SD=\$87,269$).

Measures

Generational groups. Our two generational groups (Millennials, Gen X,) were coded in the dataset based on their age in the year of data collection. The age group for Millennials is 18 to 29 and for GenX is 30 to 43.

Children. Age of children was assessed using the question: *How old is your youngest child who lives with you for at least half the year?* We only included respondents who reported that a child 18 years or younger was present.

Self-rated health. Health was self-rated and measured by a one-item scale “how would you rate your current state of health” on a four-point scale (poor, fair, good, excellent). Post *et al.* used a similar item in their retirement study (Post, Schmeer, Reitman, and ogilvie, 2013). See McCullough and Laurenceau for a longitudinal review of self-rated health (McCullough and Laurenceau, 2004). High scores indicate better health.

Hours worked per week. This was assessed using the question, “How many hours do you usually work each week at your main job”? The actual number of hours work per week served as the response for this item. This question is consistent with the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) (<http://www.census.gov/cps/>) and the European Working Conditions Study (<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/ewco/surveys/index.htm>).

Work pressure. Work pressure is a job demand suggesting tasks exceed available time, work is fast-paced, and that hard work may not be sufficient to keep up. Job pressure ($\alpha = 0.51$) was also measured using two items (e.g., *I never have enough time to get everything done on the job*). Higher scores indicate more work pressure.

Supervisor support. Five items measured supervisor support (e.g., *I feel comfortable bringing up personal/family issues with my supervisor; My supervisor is fair in responding to my personal/family needs*) measured on four-point scales ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate more support. Reliability was .88.

Co-worker support. Coworker support was measured using three items, e.g., *I have the co-worker support I need to do a good job* rated on a four-point, Likert scale ranging from 1=*strongly disagree* and 4 = *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate higher coworker support. Reliability was .77. Higher scores indicate higher support.

Work interfering with family. Work interfering with family (WIF) consisted of five items (e.g., *I frequently have no energy to do things with my family because of my job*). Responses were provided on a 5-point scale that ranged from *very often* to *never*. Items were coded such that higher scores indicate higher WIF. Reliability was .85.

Family interfering with work. FIW was measured using five items (*I don't have enough time for my job because of my family*). Responses were provided on a 5-point scale that ranged from *very often* to *never*. Reliability was .80. Higher scores indicate higher levels of FIW.

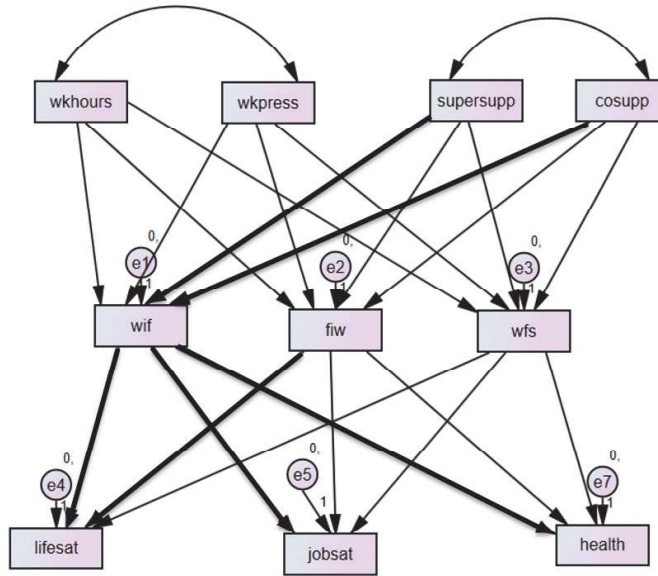
Work-family synergy - Work-family synergy (WFS) consisted of four items, e.g., *I frequently have more energy to do things with family because of my job*. All items employed five-point scales ranging from *never* to *very often*. Reliability was .70. Higher scores indicate higher WFS.

Job satisfaction – Three questions assessed job satisfaction: *How satisfied are you with your job?* (“1”=*not satisfied at all*; “4”=*very satisfied*), *Would you take the same job again?* (“1”=*definitely not*; “3”=*no hesitation*), and *Would you recommend your job?* (“1”=*no*; “3”=*yes strongly*). Reliability for this scale was .75. Higher scores indicate higher satisfaction.

Life satisfaction – Life satisfaction was measured by the following question: *All things considered, how do you feel about your life these days? Would you say you feel very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?* with higher scores indicating higher levels of satisfaction

(4=very satisfied). This item has been used extensively in work-family research (e.g., Liu et al., 2011) and in national and international surveys.

FIGURE 1
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG STUDY VARIABLES



Notes: Thick lines represent paths in which the relationship between the variables differs by generational cohort. Variables: ‘wkhours’=hours worked per week; ‘wkpress’=work pressure; ‘supersupp’=supervisory support; ‘cosupp’=coworker support; ‘wif’=work interfering with family; ‘fiw’=family interfering with work; ‘wfs’=work family synergy; ‘lifesat’=life satisfaction; ‘jobsat’=job satisfaction; ‘health’=self-rated health.

Analytic Strategy

In this study, we are interested in testing whether the relationships between relevant work-family variables differ by generational cohort (by contrast, we are less interested in testing the mean differences in the variables themselves). To accomplish this, we built an exploratory SEM model (see Figure 1). This model was built to include all study variables and was not constructed to provide optimal fit. Rather, we built this model in order to conduct a comprehensive Multiple-Group Moderator Analysis (Gaskin, 2011). This type of analysis allows one to test the difference in path coefficients between two different groups, using a common overall model.

This is done by first running a fully unconstrained model. Next, each path in the model is individually constrained so that the regression weight of the focal path must be the same for both groups, leaving the rest of the model unconstrained. By then comparing the differences in overall fit between the unconstrained model and the model with one constrained path, one tests the statistical significance of the difference in that path coefficient between the two groups. If the overall fit statistics between the unconstrained and constrained models differ, that difference is attributed to this focal relationship. This analysis is then repeated for each path coefficient in the model.

TABLE 2
RESULTS OF THE MULTI-GROUP MODERATOR ANALYSIS

			Gen X		Millennial		z-score
			Estimate	P	Estimate	P	
WIF	<---	Work hours	0.006	0.094	0.020	0.037	1.349
WIF	<---	Work pressure	0.393	0.000	0.440	0.056	0.196
WIF	<---	Supervisor support	-0.349	0.000	0.310	0.269	2.233*
WIF	<---	Coworker support	-0.062	0.406	-0.870	0.008	-2.388*
FIW	<---	Work hours	-0.006	0.073	0.002	0.801	0.881
WFS	<---	Work hours	0.004	0.288	-0.007	0.465	-1.076
FIW	<---	Work pressure	0.179	0.003	0.455	0.019	1.357
WFS	<---	Work pressure	-0.019	0.793	-0.044	0.842	-0.108
FIW	<---	Supervisor support	-0.015	0.846	0.091	0.702	0.425
WFS	<---	Supervisor support	0.174	0.062	-0.057	0.832	-0.812
FIW	<---	Coworker support	-0.087	0.173	-0.248	0.373	-0.565
WFS	<---	Coworker support	0.249	0.000	0.450	0.153	0.620
Life satisfaction	<---	WIF	-0.188	0.000	0.081	0.371	2.681*
Job satisfaction	<---	WIF	-0.216	0.000	-0.053	0.515	1.888*
health	<---	WIF	-0.092	0.059	-0.356	0.001	-2.163*
Life satisfaction	<---	FIW	-0.113	0.038	-0.374	0.001	-2.018*
Job satisfaction	<---	FIW	0.051	0.176	0.060	0.567	0.079
health	<---	FIW	-0.102	0.097	-0.132	0.363	-0.187
Life satisfaction	<---	WFS	0.186	0.000	0.217	0.041	0.276
Job satisfaction	<---	WFS	0.162	0.000	0.178	0.062	0.160
health	<---	WFS	0.131	0.010	0.102	0.436	-0.206

Notes: * p-value < 0.05, bold type indicates that the relationship between variables differs by generational cohort.

Results

Table 2 shows the results of the Multi-Group Moderator Analysis testing the model depicted in Figure 1. Each row in Table 2 focuses on one path coefficient. First, we report variables that were significant for both generational groups but where the coefficients did not differ significantly. Work

pressure was positively related to WIF. Similarly, work pressure was positively related to FIW. Coworker support was positively related to WFS. And, WFS was positively related to life satisfaction.

We found two significant relationships that were unique to Gen X. WFS was positively related to job satisfaction. WFS was also positively associated with self-rated health. These relationships were similar for Millennials but did not reach statistical significance.

Next we examined differences between the generational groups. Referring to Table 3, the columns contain the regression weight for the path coefficient for each cohort, and the *z*-score and *p*-values columns report whether the path coefficient differs by generational cohort. A *z*-score above +/- 1.96 indicates a statistically significant difference at the $p < .05$ level. The statistically significantly different relationships are in bold type, and are also indicated with thick lines on Figure 1.

There are several differences between cohorts. First, supervisor support is significantly related to WIF for Gen X, but not for Millennials, and the difference between the two is significant. However, coworker support is significantly related to WIF for Millennials but not for Gen X, and the difference between the two is significant.

In terms of outcome variables, WIF is a significant predictor of reduced job and life satisfaction for Gen X, but is not a significant predictor for Millennials. WIF is a significant predictor of decreased self-reported health for Millennials but not Gen X. Finally, while FIW is a significant predictor of reduced life satisfaction for both cohorts, this is a significantly stronger relationship for Millennials. No other relationships among study variables differ by generational cohort.

In summary, our findings reveal variables that are similar for both generational groups (work pressure and WIF, work pressure and FIW, coworker support and WFS, and WFS and life satisfaction), unique findings for Gen X (WFS and job satisfaction, WFS and self-rated health), and significant differences between generations (supervisory support and WIF, coworker support and WIF, WIF and life satisfaction, WIF and job satisfaction, WIF and self-rated health, and FIW and life satisfaction).

DISCUSSION

Our results lend support to the emerging interest in generational cohorts, particularly Gen X and Millennial working fathers, their work-family experiences, and their job and life satisfaction. Work pressure increases WIF and FIW for both generational groups. This may be the result of time pressures increasingly the likelihood of time-based work-family conflict (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985b). Excessive time commitments at work interfere with family that, in turn, creates family demands that affect work. It is also possible that this relationship stems from high self-expectations for work/career success that reduces responsiveness to family and parenting behaviors. We did not measure egalitarian parenting expectations and behavior but the types of fathers identified by Harrington et al. (2016), i.e., egalitarian, conflicted, and traditional may play a role. As noted above, however, societal expectations for men may make egalitarian parenting less likely (Ladge et al., 2015).

Supervisor and coworker support were related to WIF and WFS. The work-family support literature suggests that supervisor and coworker support would be expected to reduce conflict and increase synergy (Kossek, Pichler, Bodner, and Hammer, 2011). This was the case for Gen X. Supervisor support was inversely related to WIF. Yet, for Millennials, the relationship was positive indicating that supervisor support increases WIF. Perhaps supervisor support elicits more attention to work expectations for Millennials who represent the youngest generation in the workforce. Younger workers may feel more need to be responsive to their supervisors. In essence, Millennials reciprocate for the supportive behaviors of their boss by giving more attention to work at the expense of family. This finding is counterintuitive and awaits replication in subsequent research.

Clearly the picture is complicated with many variables to consider. Children, part and parcel of the working dad equation, were considered implicitly in our study by virtue of the fact that all of the working fathers had a child 18 years old or younger. There is sufficient evidence at this point, however, that generational groups are worthy of additional research in the work-family literature (Beutell, 2013; Beutell and Wittig-Berman, 2008; Harrington et al., 2016). Our inclusion of Millennials, much discussed in the

popular media, but with relatively little empirical research to support the many suppositions about their nature and propensities. Harrington's work has been a big step forward in empirical findings on Millennials (Harrington et al., 2016). The fact that Millennials has overtaken Boomers as the largest living generational group (Andrews, 2016; Kunkle, 2015) makes understanding this very diverse and socially-conscious cohort even more consequential. The organizational and family consequences of this shift will carry the seeds of a work-life revolution.

There appears to be a heightened interest among Gen X and Millennials, but particularly the latter, toward work-life integration, previously unrealized, that points toward more successful ways of managing work-family interaction along with corporate work-family initiatives that may assist this process. Increasingly, "employers of choice", will need to create organizational processes that support the generational expectations of new entrants who will be keenly aware if espoused work-family benefits are not readily available and immediately useable.

Potential Limitations

Some possible limitations of this study should be noted. The most obvious one is the use of self-report data for all of the study variables. Although there were several response formats it is possible that response set influenced the results. We did test for common method variance and we found no evidence that this was an issue. Self-report measures also make it difficult to rule out other explanations of our findings since these results may have been the result of other unmeasured variables. The low reliability and convergent validity of our WFS measure should be noted.

The sample size for the Millennial dads was smaller perhaps for two reasons: Millennials are the younger generation who may have been too young to participate when the data were collected; and, Millennials are delaying marriage and are having children later than previous generations. We also acknowledge and recognize that the generational descriptors are advanced on a group basis. These characteristics have been ascribed to these generational groups. There is variability within each group as well with a wide array of Individual differences.

Future Research

Supervisor support has been identified as a multidimensional construct (Hammer, Kossek, Yragui, Bodner, and Hanson, 2009; Kossek et al., 2011). Our scale contained items measuring two dimensions: supervisor job support as well as family-supportive supervisory behaviors. It might be expected that these items would load on different factors. Yet, our exploratory factor analysis and our confirmatory factor analysis indicated only one dimension of supervisor support. Although identifying dimensions of supervisor support was not the focus of our study, our findings suggest that, respondents in this large sample, perceived support of their supervisor in a unitary fashion.

These findings are a positive first step to a greater understanding of the interplay between work and family domains for working fathers. As working fathers are still considered a "new group" in much work-family research and practice, they can sometimes be seen as a single group, often compared to working mothers. However, our research shows that there can be important differences between fathers of differing circumstances, and illustrates a need to examine how differences in generational cohort, demographics, personalities, values, job types and workplace considerations may affect differently situated men. Finally, from a practitioner standpoint, our study shows that "one size fits all" interventions and policies aimed at working fathers may not be as successful as more carefully crafted programs that reflect the differences in experience and circumstances that working fathers face.

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