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WORK-FAMILY-SCHOOL CONFLICT AMONG NON-TRADITIONAL STUDENTS

BY

AMY TRAUTNER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

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2015

WORK-FAMILY-SCHOOL CONFLICT AMONG NON-TRADITIONAL STUDENTS

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the Master of Science in Human Sciences degree and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

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ABSTRACT

WORK-FAMILY-SCHOOL CONFLICT AMONG NON-TRADITIONAL STUDENTS AMY TRAUTNER

2015

Research is scarce on the subject of work-family-school (WFS) conflict for non-traditional students. This study assessed the relationship between non-traditional students' age, gender, and perceived level of support and their level of WFS conflict. It was predicted that older students would report higher levels of conflict than younger students, women would report higher levels of conflict than men, and students who received more support would have lower levels of conflict than those with less support. Three Midwestern universities were surveyed (N = 287). Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered. Although the three hypotheses were not supported, the qualitative responses indicated new avenues for future inquiry into WFS conflict. Finally, suggestions for future research are discussed.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Literature Review

Work-Family Conflict

Following the widespread entrance of women into the workplace, researchers have increasingly focused on the need to balance work demands while raising families. Termed work-family conflict, this phenomena is defined as, "the effects of the work domain on the family domain or the effects of the family domain on the work domain" (Milkie, Kendig, Nomaguchi, & Denny, 2010, p.1330). Milkie et al. (2010) also points out that available resources pertaining to work-family conflict play a part in how well individuals feel they balance work and family demands. If individuals have high work-family conflict, but they also have resources to help them with the conflict, they may feel more balanced (Milkie et al., 2010).

Work-family balance and work-family conflict are two terms that are often used interchangeably, but there are some differences in the two definitions. Work-family balance has been defined as the ability of an individual to give equal amounts of attention and satisfaction to work life and family life (Greenhaus, Collins, & Shaw, 2003). Work-family balance uses the individual's equal commitment to multiple roles in life instead of assigning a hierarchy to each role (Marks & MacDermid, 1996). By using these definitions, work-family balance does not focus on the conflict that may arise between different roles in the individual's life. Conflict that occurs in one role in an individual's life may spillover into another role, which may cause feelings that would impact responsibilities for that role (Rogers & May, 2003). Because this study focuses on the

specific conflicts in the participants' lives, the term work-family conflict is used instead of work-family balance.

Effects of work-family conflict

Work-family conflict affects families of all types. When parents have an increase in hours spent in paid work, they may feel a time strain with their children (Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). Parents spend time with children in two different ways: quality time and routine time. Quality time with children includes activities such as reading together, eating family meals, and playing while routine time includes daily care activities like bathing, bedtime routines and assisting with homework (Milkie et al., 2010). Overall, parents who were satisfied with their children's well-being, specifically routine and quality time, felt they were able to balance work without sacrificing family time (Milkie et al., 2010). Work-family conflict can also affect children in the household. Hart and Kelley (2006) found mothers with increased work-family conflict had children with internalizing behavior such as anxiety or sadness. Parenting stress can also negatively affect children's behavior. Rodriguez (2011) found that maternal parenting stress was related to children's anxious and depressive behavior.

Parents with children still living in the household are not the only group affected by work-family conflict. There is a growing number of working adults who are providing elder care. In fact, 42% of working adults have provided care to an elder in the past five years (Aumann, Galinsky, Sakai, Brown, & Bond, 2008). Previous research has indicated that caregivers are experiencing work-family conflict as well. Caregivers have reported the need for more workplace flexibility and understanding about their situation from

management (Aumann et al., 2008). These requests are very similar to parents of young children who also requested more flexibility with their workplace to fulfill family demands (Milkie et al., 2010).

Gender Differences

Men and women may experience variable amounts of conflict as they may handle work and family related stress differently. Competing roles can affect men and women's mood (Rogers & May, 2003). As mentioned above, individuals have more conflict with the addition of caregiving duties. Minnotte (2012) found that single mothers reported the highest levels of work-family conflict, while single fathers reported the lowest levels. Minnotte concluded that the low levels among single fathers are due to having more resources available such as higher per capita income (Hilton & Kopera-Frye, 2007).

For couples sharing a residence, housework can be a source of tension. Some may view housework as a shared responsibility, whereas others may view it as one person's duty. Today, society is moving towards gender equality in many aspects of daily life due to the high number of dual-income families, but there continues to be variation. Even among couples who have successfully negotiated household chores, women are still more likely to complete household tasks (Bianchi et al., 2000; Geist & Philip, 2011). Overall, less housework is being done than in the past (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000). A possible reason for the decline in housework in general is because of the changes in services available today. For example, it is more common to hire a cleaning service to complete household chores. Given busy family schedules, it is also more common to visit restaurants instead of cooking every meal at home. Having someone else

preparing meals and cleaning frees up time one would normally spend on housework, which could reduce conflict in relationships.

Additionally, men's hours spent in housework decrease after they are married while women's hours increase (Bianchi et al., 2000). Possibly, women take over household tasks men used to do when they were not married. Poortman & van der Lippe (2009) also note that women may hold housework to a higher standard than men; men and women could complete the same chore but spend a different amount of time on that chore because of differing standards.

Work-family conflict can also play a part in how couples interact with each other on a daily basis. These interactions may be different based on gender, however. For instance, after a face paced work day, women are more likely to withdraw from their spouses; husbands tend to withdraw only after a negative end to the work day (Schulz, Cowan, Cowan, & Brennan, 2004). Just as work lives can impact marriage relationships, interactions within a relationship can also affect work. Rogers and May (2003) found that when marriage satisfaction is high, individuals also had high job satisfaction. Similarly, if marriage satisfaction is low, there is a decrease in job satisfaction.

Parents typically have the same demands as married couples with the additional responsibilities of raising children. Child rearing has been traditionally viewed as the mother's responsibility, but now fathers are becoming more involved (Milkie et al., 2010). Even though there is an increase in father involvement, mothers tend to adapt their responsibilities to meet the needs of their children and partner (Maume, 2006). Thus, some of the more traditional work-family roles are still in use today. In fact, one study

showed 76% of women felt stigmatization from their jobs due to motherhood (Stone, & Hernandez, 2013). For example, women who take maternity leave may fear that their superiors think work is not their top priority. Others have reported job responsibilities were taken away after announcing a pregnancy (Stone, & Hernandez, 2013). Therefore, work-related policies may be especially difficult for mothers to navigate as women also notice a stronger connection between their family life and work life. Zhao, Settles, and Sheng (2011) noted that women who had higher family demands, such as child care or housework, also had a higher interference with work life, which in turn, decreased job satisfaction.

Continuing Education

Adults returning to education are increasing in numbers across higher education institutions. The number of adults attending colleges has increased greatly since the 1980s. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2012), approximately 7.5 million students over the age of 25 enrolled in college in the United States. That is nearly double what the rates were 29 years before (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). With this increase in numbers, researchers have started to look at how continuing education affects adults' other responsibilities to their families and place of employment.

Non-traditional students. A standard definition of a non-traditional student does not exist. According to Gilardi and Guglielmetti (2011), "the U.S. Department of Education has identified non-traditional students that have at least one of the following characteristics: delayed enrollment; attends part time; works full time; is financially independent; has dependents other than a spouse; is a single parent; does not have a high

school diploma (p. 34)." Although most traditional students (i.e., those who attend higher education directly after graduating high school) may experience balancing work and school life, few find themselves balancing work, family and school at the same time.

Because of this, adult learners may have different priorities than traditional students, and they may need to adjust their learning accordingly.

Reasons for higher education among non-traditional students are varied. The majority of non-traditional students enroll in college courses because of their career (Kasworm, 2003). They could be seeking further education to advance in their current place of employment or switch to a different career field. Many employers may include job benefits or training through college courses as a bonus for employees (Hostetler, Sweet, & Moen, 2007). Additionally, life stage transitions, such as divorce or launching children, and proactive life planning (e.g., setting personal or professional goals) may influence an individual's decision to return to school (Aslanian, 2001; Kasworm, 2003). Some parents who stay at home with their children take the opportunity to further their education once their children become old enough to attend school daily. Others make plans in their lives to purposely incorporate a college education. They may make a move to a community with a college campus or seek a job with a company that encourages furthering employees' education (Kasworm, 2003).

Age. Just as non-traditional students have different reasons for attending school, they also vary in age. A student's age can be an asset or a barrier to furthering their education. Saar, Thät, and Roosalu (2014) found that one barrier for adult students is affordability. Adult students may not be eligible for student loans, and if they are, they may not be willing to accept the loans depending on their personal financial situation.

Not having the personal funds necessary to attend school, or being forced to choose between spending money on school or needs for their family can negatively impact the decision to seek higher education among adults

Cross (1981) identified three categories of barriers for adult students attending higher education. One barrier is situational, which is reflective of the students' current life situation such as number of hours working and family status. The second barrier is institutional, which includes the practices of the university. This could include the variety of classes offered, the available times of the courses, or credit prices. The third barrier is dispositional and includes any personality traits related to attending school such as personal thoughts on being too old to attend school. If a student has not attended schooling of any kind for many years, they may encounter a dispositional barrier because of changes to schooling, such as new technology required to complete assignments. Thus, new challenges may emerge as students age, which can negatively impact their ability to complete a post-secondary degree.

Work-family-school conflict

Because of the choice to continue their education, in addition to the demands in other areas of life, non-traditional students often have different priorities than traditional students (Giancola, Grawitch & Borchert, 2009). Thus, researchers are beginning to focus on the conflict between work, family, and school. Understanding the unique stressors associated with adding another role, that of student, may assist school administrators and employers in supporting non-traditional students as the students may look to their university for programs to assist them in being successful in their educational journey (Hammer, Grigsby, & Woods, 1998).

The workplace can be a source of inspiration for students, but it can also hinder the education process (Kasworm, 2003). If a student does not have support and flexibility from their workplace, they may not be able to participate as much in class. Hammer, Grigsby and Woods (1998) found that students with high levels of work and school conflict were less satisfied with their educational experience. Alternatively, the students who received excellent support reported the lowest levels of conflict.

School can also be a source of conflict with family time and responsibilities. Kirby et al. (2004) found that 40% of students felt that their educational responsibilities were interfering with family time. Students not only have classes to attend but they also have assignments and projects to complete. Many of these assignments require time spent out of class. For non-traditional students, this likely means completing the work at home when the rest of the family is spending time together. Even if the student is home with their family, concentrating on projects takes time away from spending quality time with the family.

Services. Research has suggested support services may help non-traditional students cope with work life and continuing their education (Hammer et. al., 1998). The university can be a great resource in the area of services. At one university where support services were available to students, students who reported utilizing the services exhibited lower levels of work-school conflict than students who did not use the services (Hammer et al., 1998). This demonstrates the benefit of specific programs for non-traditional students at universities in order for the students to be less stressed and more successful in their studies.

Support services can also assist the students in understanding the educational process. Giancola et al. (2009) suggested that support services, such as orientations, advisors, and support staff, be directed towards the needs of adult learners while still providing sufficient academic goals. When faculty and staff are aware of the busy schedules of non-traditional students, they are able to relate to the students and work with their varying schedules.

Including work and family in the educational experience of non-traditional students can also be very beneficial. For example, families can be invited to social events for the students on campus and they can also have an orientation specifically targeted towards family members (Giancola et al., 2009; Kirby et al., 2004). As a result, families are included in the students' education and understand what is expected of the students for the semester. Kirby et al. (2004) also recommends combining a student's work content with their course assignments, such as applying a topic in class to work situations.

Bronfenbrenner's Bio-Ecological Systems Theory.

Work-family-school (WFS) conflict can best be explained using Uri
Bronfenbrenner's ecological model. Bronfenbrenner (1994) discusses human
development as the process of evolving interactions between people and things in a
person's environment. That is, humans are affected by their relationships within different
environments. Bronfenbrenner (1994) explains the ecological model through five
subsystems:

- a) the microsystem consists of an individual's immediate environments, such as work, home and school;
- b) the mesosystem focuses on the relationships between the subjects in the microsystem, such as friends at work; these relationships will likely change, add or disappear over time;
- c) the exosystem contains activities that the individual does not participate in directly, but feels the effect of, such as upper management meetings at work;
- d) the macrosystem contains the culture, customs and belief systems of the micro-, meso-, and exosystems; Bronfenbrenner explains this as a societal blueprint for a "particular culture" (1994, pg. 40); and
- e) the chronosystem consists of the passage of time. The chronosystem shows the changes of the individual and the environment over time.

The majority of WFS conflict takes place in the microsystem and mesosystem levels. For example, a non-traditional student's job and classes would be considered microsystems. The mesosystem would explain the interaction between the two microsystems, in this case, how the student schedules their classes in order to align with their work schedule. A student who attends school and work will need to schedule time for both, and sometimes they may work and attend classes during the same day. Also, a deadline at work may interfere with the individual's ability to complete a class assignment on time. The mesosystem is the subsystem where we find the most work-family-school conflict because all three components overlap in this area and affect the

individual directly. For example, a student has a work presentation and a midterm on the same day as their child has a school competition.

It is through this model that researchers are able to understand how an individual grows and develops. A human is able to "adapt to, tolerate, and especially to create the ecologies in which it lives and grows" (as cited in Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. xiii). When students are balancing the relationships between work, family, and school, they are adapting to changes to schedules and creating new ones. These changes assist individuals in learning new strategies in coping, time management and other planning approaches.

Current Study

The number of students over the age of 25 increased by 41% from 2000-2011 (U.S. Department of Education, 2013). With this rise in numbers, more adult students have to balance work and home life along with their school schedule. This creates potential conflict and stress when trying to make all three areas of life fit together. In the past, researchers have studied the conflict between work and family life. Now that more adults with families and full or part time jobs are returning to school, the impact of school on work-family conflict is of increasing interest.

The current study provides insight into the experiences of non-traditional students who are trying to balance their work life, family life, and school life. When individuals have multiple responsibilities, it can often lead to stress and conflict. Specifically, the current study explored predictors of WFS conflict among non-traditional students.

For the purpose of this study, WFS conflict is defined as stress or pressure from one area of life that negatively affects another area. For example, if an individual is feeling

pressure from a deadline at work and in turn, misses a family event because of it, they would be experiencing conflict.

Additional research on the topic of WFS conflict is needed. Non-traditional students have increased greatly in numbers since 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). This is a large part of the population that has specific needs in the area of education, employment, and family care. Research related to work-family conflict is abundant today. However, adult students may face different obstacles because of the addition of education. Research on this topic may lead to a better understanding of how to support the unique needs of non-traditional students balancing family, work, and school responsibilities. The following predictions are based on evidence in the reviewed literature.

H₁: Women will have higher levels of WFS conflict than men.

Women continually adjust their schedules to meet the needs of their children and partners (Maume, 2006). They also show an increase in hours spent on housework once they are married in comparison to men (Bianchi et al., 2000). Because women tend to make these changes to their lives, they are expected to report higher levels of WFS conflict than their male counterparts.

H₂: Older students will have higher levels of WFS conflict than younger students.

As previously stated, adult students are likely to encounter a dispositional barrier to furthering their education (Cross, 1981). Older students who have been away from the classroom setting for many years may have a harder time adjusting to certain learning techniques, such as technology. This can be explained using the chronosystem of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model. Because the chronosystem is the passage of time, for

these students the evolution of technology and the students' individual changes over time could impact how they handle the responsibilities of school. Younger students may not encounter this if they have used these techniques recently. Additionally, financial incentives such as scholarships or student loans may not be as readily available as the individual ages.

H₃: Students who report receiving more institutional support will have lower levels of WFS conflict than those reporting less support.

Students who receive support from their university have previously shown lower levels of WFS conflict than individuals reporting limited or no institutional support (Hammer et al., 1998). University support services can help students understand class schedules and be successful in the education process. A university's support services fall under Bronfenbrenner's exosystem. They affect students' educational journey, but the students do not personally make decisions to create or take away services. Previous research has suggested incorporating work and family roles into the educational experience may increase the educational success of non-traditional students (Giancola et al., 2009; Kirby et al., 2004).

In addition, three exploratory qualitative questions were administered. Because the majority of research on WFS conflict was completed approximately a decade ago, more contemporary non-traditional students may have unique needs not specifically addressed in the measures utilized for the current study. As the qualitative questions were exploratory in nature, no hypotheses are provided.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Overview of Design

This project provides insight into students' experiences with WFS conflict in three Midwestern universities, and serves as a foundation for future work on this topic. Specifically, non-traditional students were recruited to complete an online questionnaire addressing basic demographic variables as well as their incidence of WFS conflict. Exploratory, open-ended questions were included to gain more insight on this relatively understudied topic.

Participants

Participants included non-traditional undergraduate students from public universities in a Midwestern state. Because a consistent definition of 'non-traditional student' does not exist (Gilardi, 2011), students were asked to complete the survey if they self-identify as a non-traditional student. For the purpose of this project, the focus was on students who identified as at least one of the following: 25 years or older, had a spouse and/or children, and/or worked at least 30 hours per week while attending school.

The universities were chosen because of their diversity in population as well as geographic location. The selected universities were expected to provide a more representative sample of university students within the state in comparison to gathering data in only one location. Because the enrollment numbers differ between these universities, they may have different resources available to students. One university was

also targeted because it has a predominately male student population, and much workfamily conflict research has focused more on women.

- a) University 1 has an enrollment of approximately 4,000 undergraduate students. Sixty-five percent of students are female and 35% are male. This university is located in a small community of 12,000 and offers 75 academic programs.
- b) University 2 has an enrollment of nearly 2,500 undergraduate students.

 Approximately 22% of students are female and 78% are male. This university specializes in STEM (i.e., science, technology, engineering, and mathematic) fields and is located in a community of 75,000.
- c) University 3 has enrollment of just over 10,000 undergraduate students. Fifty-three percent of students are female and 47% are male. This is the largest university in the state located in a community of 23,000.

Procedures

Data were collected through online surveys. The students were contacted through different methods at each university due to individual university policies. At University 1, the invitation to complete the survey was included in a weekly student email sent through student services. Students at University 2 were emailed individually with the survey invitation. Students at University 3 were able to access the survey through a posting on the university's student website. The survey took approximately 20 minutes to complete. After the students completed the survey, they had an option to enter their name into a drawing for one of ten \$25 gas gift cards. Entries for the drawing were registered through an independent website in order to keep participant responses anonymous. All procedures were approved by the primary university's Institutional Review Board.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Basic demographic information was collected from participants. Demographic information of interest included age, sex, ethnic background, relationship status, number of children, and employment information.

Work-family-school conflict. WFS conflict data were collected from an adapted version of the School-Family-Work Survey (Hammer et al., 1998). The survey assesses perceived stress and sources of support related to students' work, family, and school life measured through a series of Likert scales. A sample question is: "My work takes up time I would like to spend on my family." The survey is divided into three subscales (i.e., work-family conflict, school-work conflict, and school-family conflict). Reliability in the current student was good with a cronbach alpha of .96.

The students were also asked to evaluate their university's support services through a Likert scale in the survey. Each service was coded based on use by each individual student; 1 if they used the service, 0 if they did not. The average was then calculated using only the services used by the student. The three universities may not offer all seven services listed and each student may not need to use all services. Calculating the support service variable by including only the services used ensured non biased scores.

Additional qualitative questions were added to more fully explore the students' views on the type of support they receive. The three qualitative questions were; What services would you like to see your university offer to help you meet the demands of

school; Briefly explain how attending school has impacted your family life; and Briefly explain how attending school has impacted your work life.

Data Analysis Plan

Analyses explored the relationship between gender, age, and level of support and WFS conflict. Univariate analyses were used to identify correlations between the variables of interest. Specifically, it was expected that women would have higher levels of conflict than men, students would see an increase in conflict as their age increased, and students with perceived high levels of support would have lower levels of conflict. Multiple regression analyses were used to identify the relationship between predictors (i.e., gender, age, and support) and the outcome variable (i.e., WFS conflict).

Additionally, thematic analysis was used to interpret responses to the qualitative questions. In thematic analysis, researchers seek patterns that emerge from the responses of participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Two researchers reviewed the responses independently and identified individual codes. Following independent reviews, the coders met to compare codes. A second round of independent reviews occurred until each coder was satisfied with the codes created. Discrepancies between coders were discussed until a consensus was reached. Codes were then combined to create overall qualitative themes and subthemes.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Sample Characteristics

The survey was completed by 290 students. Twelve of the surveys were completed by students who did not meet the criteria for this study (i.e. they were not 25 years or older, have a spouse and/or children, and/or work at least 30 hours per week while attending school). These responses were not included in the results, leaving a sample size of 278. The mean age of the participants was 24.7 years (SD = 7.9). There were slightly more female respondents at 59% (n = 165). The majority (57.9%) of the students attended University 2, a predominantly male university. Self-reported ethnic background of the sample was Caucasian (86.3%), Hispanic (4.0%), American Indian (3.6%), African American (1.1%), Asian (1.1%), and Other (3.9%). See Table 1 for complete demographic information.

Preliminary Analysis

Univariate analyses were completed to compare female and male respondents on age and level of support they received from their university, family, and other sources. Independent sample t-tests were non-significant, therefore, males and females did not differ in age or the level of support received.

Primary Analysis

Quantitative data. Multiple regression was used to examine the level of WFS conflict non-traditional students experience. The three subscales (i.e., work-family conflict, school-work conflict, and school-family conflict) were summed to create a total WFS conflict score which was used as the dependent variable. Independent variables in

the model were age, gender, and support received. The full model was not significant (F(3, 255) = .84, p = .471) indicating no relationship between age, gender, or level of support and WFS conflict. See Table 2 for regression results.

Qualitative data. Participants were invited to respond to a series of open-ended questions related to their experiences with work, family, and school as a non-traditional student. The qualitative data for this study consisted of three questions, which are categorized in this section as university services, school impacting family life, and school impacting work life. Multiple themes emerged from each category; five themes related to university services, four for school impacting family life, and four for school impacting work life.

University services. Students were asked the question, 'What services would you like to see your university offer to help you meet the demands of school?' The themes identified from the responses were academic advising and tutoring, family support, student health services (physical and mental health), financial and scholarship support, and class times.

Academic advising/tutoring. Students in this study reported a lack of adequate advising and tutoring services at their universities. Some students mentioned the need for higher level tutoring. They indicated tutoring is not available for some courses, especially the more advanced courses. With the addition of higher level tutoring, the need for more flexible hours of tutoring was also noted. One student mentioned interest in tutor availability on weekends. This student was currently enrolled in night classes and used the weekends to complete homework assignments. Another student was also interested in flexible tutoring hours stating, "I would like to see more time options for tutoring and SI

(supplemental instruction) services because the times open right now do not work well with my schedule".

Many students spoke about their advisors and what they would like to see change with the advising system. Multiple students felt it would be helpful to have academic advisors specifically for non-traditional students. One student who shared this feeling stated it would be helpful, "for the twisted path non-traditional students take trying to navigate the course flow chart designed around a traditional college experience". Another student mentioned the need for advisors "who are understanding toward our issues". Additionally, students reported a need for more advisors at their universities. One student reported feeling "that my advisor has too many students to advise". Other students advocated meeting with advisors more frequently: "more one-on-one with advisors," and, "maybe make academic advisor meetings mandatory once a month".

Family support. Child care was a topic frequently mentioned in this study. Some students requested onsite child care at the university, while others wanted options for child care in addition to those already in place. For instance, one student suggested, "opening up another daycare". The need for flexible child care hours was also reported, especially for those students who were enrolled in night or online classes. One student stated they would be interested in, "organized playgroups during certain Saturdays in the wintertime so parents can study and the kids can play with others at the indoor track or basketball courts". Another form of family support students would like to see at their universities is family events. For instance, one student suggested having activities specifically for non-traditional students, "I would like to see ... extracurricular activities geared towards older, married students or students with children".

Student health services. Mental health issues were a common theme among the students. Students were unaware of existing counseling services at their school or requested the availability of more services. One student explained their feelings about the services:

The counseling services are very difficult to contact. I look online and I can't find emails or anything. And it's not something I want to ask the front desk about, I would like it to be private. Many times I have wanted to see a counselor but have no clue who they are or where they are.

Similarly, many students suggested stress-relieving services. Specifically, one student reported, "These programs already exist but only during finals time and the stress is all semester long". Another student offered the suggestion of adding more elective classes that would help with stress relief, such as yoga or meditation courses.

Another aspect of health services commonly cited by students was the campus health clinic. Students voiced concern about the current hours; office hours were not flexible enough to accommodate busy schedules. Some stated the wait was too long when they visited the clinic: "I would rather pay to go to an off campus clinic than wait the 45 minutes in the germ infested waiting room on campus".

Class times. Flexibility in class schedules was mentioned by multiple students in this study. Students were interested in seeing more online classes available "to promote schedule flexibility", as one student stated. Another student seemed to disagree with this statement, however, stating, "Quit making online classes require twice the work of a face-to-face class. I'm not there because of time issues". Summer classes also seemed very intriguing for non-traditional students. A student reported, "Summer classes would be

awesome. I could take one class every summer, making my next semester that much easier". Other students noted they have taken summer classes, but would like to see the amount and variety of classes offered at this time of the year increase.

Financial/scholarship support. Financial assistance was another popular topic among students in this survey. While many students voiced concern for tuition support in general, some were interested in scholarships particular to their situations. "I would like to have information on grants and scholarships for single parents" one student reported, while another agreed saying, "more scholarship opportunities for non-traditional students". Another student did not mention the cost of tuition, but pointed to other school expenses:

More assistance for students who can't afford the meal plan, or the food on campus, or the books from the bookstore...let's be real, we're all broke and can't afford this. ANY extra help makes a big difference.

As mentioned above in relation to class times, many students were attracted to the idea of online classes. Even though online classes are a draw for non-traditional students, one student wished that "online classes were not as expensive".

School impacting family life. The second opened-ended question was: 'Briefly explain how attending school has impacted your family life'. The themes regarding this question were time, choices, and positive lifelong impact.

Time. Students reported feeling a time strain between school work and family time. This was especially noticeable for those students in relationships. One student reported having to live separately from her husband while attending school, while another reported feeling distant from her boyfriend even though they reside together. Similarly,

several students reported ending relationships because of time strain while attending school. One cited the distance as a contributing factor to the breakup. Another noted how his marriage ended in divorce:

I was married when I started going to school again. After a year and a half into school my wife left me claiming she wasn't happy. School, work, and extracurricular activities put a strain on our marriage because I lacked the energy for my marriage after spending so much energy on school work, work, and clubs.

Even though students felt strained for time, especially in their relationships, there was also an optimism associated with the way they spent time with their loved ones. One student said, "It has made us more appreciative of each other because we don't see each other very often". Another student stated, "I have grown closer to my family even though I am away from them. I spend more time with them when I am home". One student mentioned spending less time together actually improved their communication because, "I want to inform them of what is going on in my life since they don't see me…daily".

Choices. Many students felt the pressure of making choices between family and school responsibilities. A student mentioned, "It makes it hard to balance things and I feel worn out or my family feels ignored". Another said, "I do not get all the family time in that I would like, but I am aware that this is my choice".

A few students discussed feeling like their families did not understand what it is like to be a non-traditional student. "Family members do not think that my school life is demanding, therefore believe that I can drop what I'm doing for them". One student described their experience with the choice between school and family in this way:

My family is generally supportive; the only thing that causes issues is that my husband doesn't quite understand how much time a full time student has to give schooling. Just because I am not working outside of the home during the day, I am still working; it's just that it's school. With three kids and their activities, trying to keep up the work at home, getting my hours in at my job, and studying, it can become quite exhausting.

Missing holidays and family events was also mentioned repeatedly. Students who live away from family indicated they miss spending holidays and events together with family because of school. One student stated, "While at school, I have had to miss family events because I do not have time with my class schedule". Another student said, "I've had to miss out on family events because of school, but my family was understanding. Even though now, I regret not going to those family functions". Other students who chose to attend family events still felt conflicted, as one student explained, "My school load is INTENSE. Understandable, but a little sad to be constantly doing homework at family get-togethers".

Positive lifelong impact. Many students acknowledged the struggle they encounter while balancing school and family, but see it positively; as one student stated, "In time it will be positive, you have to look at the big picture". Two students talked about the effect on their children: "It has spread me thin, but it does make me greatly appreciate them for their support. Hopefully my children will see the importance of staying in school as they grow up," and, "It got my kids to finish their degrees".

Some non-traditional students stated they learned a lot about themselves by going through the process of earning a degree. One student felt "confident and empowered,"

while another had "grown as a person". Other students mentioned they gained the ability to be more organized with their time. Still for others, college was a way to escape. As one student noted, "It helped me to get away from a less than desirable family life/situation and let me become my own person and make my own decisions".

School impacting work life. The last question stated: 'Briefly explain how attending school has impacted your work life'. Choices and time also emerged as strong themes in addition to themes related to financial insecurity and opportunity.

Choices. Similar to school impacting family life, students felt pressure to balance work with school responsibilities. Many times this resulted in scheduling conflicts.

According to one student, "I can give my all to one or the other, but when I'm too involved in both it is exhausting". Another student had a similar comment, "It's like having three full-time jobs to go to school, work, and have a family. Extremely stressful balancing scheduling demands".

Some students mentioned their scheduling of work and school was easier because of support they received from their employer. "My employer has been flexible so it has been a small impact", stated one student. Another student mentioned how important job flexibility was to them "My job is very flexible around my school schedule. I don't think I would take a position if there wasn't that understanding and flexibility". Not all students reported having workplace flexibility, however. One student said they felt the need to "choose between completing assignments or getting more hours [at work]". Another student explained their struggle between school and work, "Attending school has decreased the amount of hours I can put in because my classes are demanding. This also affects my income, which most goes towards paying for school anyways".

Time. Time strain came in many forms for the non-traditional students in this study. Many students reported they had little or no time for a job. One student indicated they quit their job in order to attend school. Another stated, "I don't work because I would have no time, as well as it would impede on my studies". Some of the students that did have a job while attending school mentioned they were unable to work as much as they would like. As one student explained, "Due to the demands of school I'm unable to work much in order to keep up with good grades and not get behind in school work". Other students only worked during summer or school breaks in order to relieve some time strain. "I cannot have a job during the school year. I cannot handle work and school at the same time", one student admitted.

Financial insecurity. Many students discussed the financial issues they encounter while attending school. One student reported his family had "shifted our standard of living in order for me to further my education and hopefully result in an outcome where our standard of living will significantly increase". This student reported feeling the pressure of financial insecurity on his family: "Decreased income impacts the living situation for myself, my 12 year old son, and my 78 year old mother who both live with me". Another student explained how inter-connected school and money are saying, "I don't have money to pay for it, and I don't have time to earn money to pay for it. My prime frustration". This sentiment was shared by another student: "I have had to hold multiple jobs to assist in paying for class, this has helped aid me in staying in school, however, it caused my GPA to drop".

Opportunity. Much like the school impacting family life category, students found positivity and opportunity in balancing school and work life. Many students reported that

attending school helped their work lives. As one student said, "Attending school got me my job, so it created my work life". Another student reported, "Attending school has gotten me a better job so I don't have to work as many hours to pay all my bills and I'll get an even better job once I graduate". One student found personal confidence, saying, "I am more qualified and feel more comfortable in my study of work. Opened up opportunities I might have not otherwise had". Thus, many students experienced a positive outcome due to participating in both the education and employment systems at the same time.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The primary purpose of this study was to understand non-traditional students' experiences with WFS conflict and the relationships between age, gender, and support and WFS conflict. Non-traditional students may face different challenges than traditional students while attending school. The exploratory qualitative data indicated that these challenges may help or hinder the educational process, their work life, or personal family life.

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis predicted that women would report higher levels of WFS conflict than men. This hypothesis was not supported by the data possibly due to the decrease in men and women following traditional gender roles today. For example, fathers are becoming more involved with child rearing (Milkie et al., 2010). From 1975-1998, women began spending more time in paid work and the gender differences between paid and unpaid work began to narrow (Sayer, 2005). If fathers have a more active role taking care of children, women may not feel as much conflict when spending time on school or work. Also, previous research exploring dual earner families, found that mothers and fathers who worked full time reported equal parenting strains (Roxburgh, 2005).

Another reason for similar levels of conflict among males and females may be because of children. A low number of participants (n = 64; 23%) in this study reported having children living at home. Without the added responsibilities of caring for children,

males and females may have similar perceived levels of conflict. For instance, in Australia, there was a greater gender division of household labor for couples who had children living at home compared to couples without children (Craig, Mullan, & Blaxland, 2010).

The second hypothesis predicted older students would report higher levels of WFS conflict than younger students. This prediction was also not supported. Initially, it was expected that older students may have spent more time away from the classroom than younger students leading older students to have a harder time adjusting to changes in classroom instruction during their absence from schooling. The lack of significant differences suggests adult students in this sample did not face any more WFS conflict than younger students. This may be because older students have increased family support. Park and Choi (2009) found that it is more likely for adult students to drop out of online courses when there is a lack of family support. Also, some women have reported only enrolling in school after being encouraged to do so from their children (Deutsch & Schmertz, 2011). Having this type of family support before enrolling in school may ease the stress adult students feel during their educational journey.

Increased workplace flexibility may also be a reason why older participants did not have a higher level of conflict. Older students may have spent more time in the workforce than younger students and may have earned more paid time off which could be used to attend classes. Previous research has found that workplace scheduling flexibility and being able to take time off from work increases an employee's happiness overall (Golden, Henly & Lambert, 2013). If older students in this study have flexibility such as

this in their job, they may not have reported high levels of conflict because they feel happy with their workplace arrangement.

The Non-traditional No More project (Lane, Michelau, & Palmer, 2012) focused on improving policies, such as increased workplace flexibility, to increase graduation rates in higher education among adult students in six states in the U.S. from 2008-2011. Through the project, partnerships between institutions and employers were recommended that offer flexible work schedules for employees with the intention of breaking down barriers for adults returning to school (Lane et al., 2012). While this project is still in the infancy of development, other universities have incorporated some of the same policies successfully into their programs. The Thomas Edition State College (TESC) was created especially for adult learners, holds no face-to-face classes, and provides previously earned credit transfer, guided self-study, and prior learning assessment. This college was founded in 1972, has an average enrollment of 13,000 students, and focuses on bringing the education to the student instead of bringing the student to the education (Winogron, 2007). This shift toward acknowledging and accommodating the unique needs of nontraditional students in higher education may account for lower levels of WFS conflict among older students.

And finally, contrary to predictions, students who reported receiving high levels of institutional support did not have lower levels of WFS conflict. This differs from Hammer et al.'s (1998) findings that did, in fact, find lower levels of conflict when students reported having more institutional support. Perhaps the difference can be attributed to the types of support services assessed and policy changes in the years between studies. That is, participants were asked to report how often they accessed a

specific set of campus services. However, it is possible that more relevant services were not included. The same list of services used in Hammer et al.'s study was also used in the current study, and it is possible that the needs of non-traditional students have changed. Some evidence of this change is found in the qualitative responses of participants. When asked about missing services at their university, students commonly mentioned the need for more inter-personal services such as one-on-one time with advisors, or organized play groups for students with children. The services assessed in the survey (e.g., child care centers, health care centers) may be considered basic services to today's students, and may not be especially salient to their more contemporary needs. Therefore, even if students are utilizing the current university services (i.e., those assessed in the survey), they may still be experiencing stress and conflict because the services are not relevant to their needs.

Insights from Student Experiences

Barriers. Some of the main challenges students mentioned in the open-ended questions were similar to those in previous research. The need for counseling and tutoring services was stated numerous times, for example. Although some students were completely unaware of the services available on their campus, others were aware, but unable to access them because of time issues. Tones, Fraser, Elder, & White (2009) found these barriers were especially troubling for students with low socioeconomic status because the support services were often available during normal work hours when those students were in class or working themselves. Unfortunately, many non-traditional students struggle with finances while attending college making holding a job necessary in order to continue schooling (Kasworm, 2003), but hindering their ability to seek mental

health services. Lane et al. (2012) suggest having institutional offices open outside of traditional daytime hours to mitigate this barrier.

Additional difficulty for students involved an option that is often in place to assist non-traditional students: online classes. Students in this study had mixed opinions of online coursework. Some saw it as a highly convenient option from the university because of the flexibility it provided, while others were disappointed in the amount of extra work they were required to put into online classes and saw this as a hindrance instead of a support. These students may have felt online classes require more work because they are more self-directed than traditional face-to-face classes. Maddux (2004) states that in order to be successful in online courses, a student must be motivated to learn and enjoy learning independently. If a student is not familiar with the more independent format of an online class, learning could be challenging and require the student to spend more time just learning how to work independently.

Another issue with online coursework is the elevated cost of these courses in comparison to traditional, face-to-face courses. Because financial situations can be a source of stress for non-traditional students, selecting a more expensive course instruction method due to the benefit of flexible scheduling can be a difficult choice for students. As stated previously, finance is the main reason students drop out of college (Harish, 2013). Scholarships and financial aid can help offset the cost of classes, however many times this type of aid is reserved for traditional students (Lane et al., 2012). Therefore, the additional cost may make online degree options less appealing and supportive than originally expected.

Positivity. An interesting theme that emerged from the qualitative data was the students' acknowledgment of the positive impact their educational path supplied. Some students felt empowered by their situation and others mentioned their families as a driving force behind their desire to finish a degree. This is similar to Kasworm's (2003) finding that children of adult students were a source of motivation. Some students also looked to higher education as the opportunity to gain more benefits and rewards in life (Kasworm, 2003). Similarly, Kirby et al. (2004) found that those who return to school are often viewed as role models by other family members. Thus, the authors suggested including family members in the educational process by having family orientations and newsletters to keep family members involved.

Positive attitudes toward higher education may have lead students in this study to report lower levels of WFS conflict due to a 'spill over' effect that is associated with more recent research on Work-Family Facilitation (Sieber, 1974; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). The basic premise of work-family facilitation is that experiences in one domain or system of one's life can enhance, rather than complicate, another domain/system (Balmforth & Gardner, 2006). Studies focusing on facilitation have found that when employees had positive associations with work they also had positive experiences in their family life. The same positive spillover may also occur for non-traditional students. If they are encountering positive support from one area in life (e.g., family encouraging higher education) it may increase positive reactions in another area (e.g., satisfaction with academic performance). Thus, reports of WFS conflict may have been mitigated due to facilitation.

Limitations

The current study has some limitations that should be considered in relation to WFS conflict. First, this study was completed with participants from one Midwestern state resulting in limited generalizability. Including other states and regions across the United States in future research could provide more widespread support for the findings in the current study.

Another limitation to this study was the number of respondents for each university. University 2 has the lowest enrollment at 2,500, yet had the highest response rate at 57.9%. This disproportionate rate may have been caused by the specific recruitment methods used in this study. Because of differing university policies, the students at University 2 were emailed the link directly while students at the other universities had to be directed to the link through a special online portal. A more proportional response rate may have been obtained if other recruitment practices were used. For example, connecting with students through their advisors may have reached students in a more effective way.

This study also included data collection at one point in time only; participants were asked the questions at one random point in their college careers. It is possible that responses during this time period did not accurately represent their overall levels of WFS conflict. Future research may benefit from using more long term data collection, such as diary methods which require students to report their experiences over multiple time points.

Strengths

Even with the limitations listed above, the current study contained several strengths. This study included a high number of male participants unlike previous research (Noor, 2004; Shelton, 2006; Lee, Danes & Shelley, 2006). By including a STEM university with a high male enrollment, there was an increase in access to male students. Women continue to lag behind men in enrolling and completing STEM majors (Gayles & Ampaw, 2014). Therefore, the high male response rate gives good insight into the type of conflict males face in this specific industry.

This study also assessed students from more than one state university, which differs from previous research (e.g., Hammer et al., 1998; Kirby et al., 2004). By including several universities within the same state, the results of the current study are more representative of the student experience across this particular Midwestern state. For instance, one of the universities in this study had an onsite child care facility while another did not have access. This allowed for a better comparison of barriers and support for non-traditional students within the state.

Finally, with a lack of previous research on WFS conflict, this study fills a gap in the work-life balance literature base. Much of the research on this topic was conducted at least a decade ago (e.g., Hammer et al., 1998; Kirby et al., 2004). In the 2008 recession, many adults lost their employment and returned to school, a trend that has occurred with every recession since the 1960s (Barker & Hoxby, 2015). A primary focus of previous research was the transition from one-income to dual-earner families and the associated stresses of balancing a household (Bianchi et al., 2000). However, more contemporary

issues, such as more working parents attending college, have created a need for more nuanced research. The current study is a first step in understanding the additional stress and strain associated with adding the role of adult student in families.

Conclusion and Future Directions

WFS conflict is an area that will greatly benefit from further research. First, technology is constantly evolving and becoming more integrated into face-to-face as well as online courses. However, results from the current study indicated it may present new challenges in addition to benefits for non-traditional students. Because students in this study mentioned positive and negative perceptions of online courses, it should not be assumed that non-traditional students will prefer online coursework. Instead, work and family researchers would benefit by focusing on the specific needs of non-traditional students while learning online.

Exploring the needs of non-traditional students over time may also assist universities in providing services more effectively. For example, students may need specific services at different points during the years they attend school. Understanding the trajectory of needs common among non-traditional students would allow universities to focus their efforts rather than providing universal, and often high cost, services when students are not necessarily struggling. By focusing on non-traditional students' WFS conflict levels throughout their years in college, researchers may have a more accurate picture of what services students use or need allowing resources to be allocated to the most relevant needs.

With the rising number of non-traditional students, WFS conflict is an increasingly important topic. A lack of previous literature leaves many questions unanswered and a great opportunity for additional research. In order for non-traditional students to be successful in their educational journey, as well as family and work life, their changing needs must be continually addressed. Although the current study found no significant differences in WFS conflict based on age, gender, or support, the qualitative responses of participants provided new directions for future exploration into the experiences of a new, and growing, generation of non-traditional students.

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Appendix A

Tables

Table 1 $Demographic\ Data\ (N=278)$

Variable	M (SD)	%
Age	24.7 (7.9)	
Gender		
Male		41
Female		59
Ethnicity		
Caucasian		86.3
Hispanic		4.0
Other		3.9
American Indian		3.6
Asian		1.1
African American		1.1
University		
University 1		15.5
University 2		57.9
University 3		26.6

Table 2

Results of Multiple Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting WFS Conflict

Variable	В	SE B	β	p
Age	.511	.404	.081	.208
Gender	3.618	6.398	.035	.572
Support Received	407	.453	057	.370
R^2		.010		
F		.844		.471

Appendix B

Survey

Dear Student: We are conducting a research project entitled Work-Family-School Conflict Among Non-Traditional Students as part of a thesis at South Dakota State University. The purpose of the study is to understand work-family-school conflict from the student's perspective. You as a student are invited to participate in the study by completing the following survey. We realize that your time is valuable and have attempted to keep the requested information as brief and concise as possible. It will take you approximately 15 minutes of your time. Your participation in this project is voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time without consequence. Minimal risk is anticipated for participants. No names will be associated with your responses, and although there is always risk of confidentiality breaches, multiple protections are in place to maintain the confidentiality of your responses. It is also possible for you to discover unpleasant information about yourself after completing this survey which can cause distress. After the completion of the survey, you will be able to submit your name, through a separate portal, into a drawing for one of ten \$25 gas gift cards. Simply follow the link provided to you at the end of the survey. Your responses are strictly confidential. When the data and analysis are presented, you will not be linked to the data by your name, title or any other identifying item. Your consent is implied by the return of the completed questionnaire. If you have any questions, now or later, you may contact us at the number below. Thank you very much for your time and assistance. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the SDSU Research Compliance Coordinator at 605-688-6975, SDSU.IRB@sdstate.edu.

Sincerely,
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Age:					

Sex:

- 1. Female
- 2. Male

What University do you attend?

- 1. Black Hills State University
- 2. South Dakota School of Mines and Technology
- 3. South Dakota State University
- 4. University of South Dakota

Ethnic b	packground:
1.	African American
	American Indian
	Asian
	Caucasian
	Hispanic
6.	Other
Relation	nship status:
1.	Married and living with spouse
	Married and living alone
3.	In a relationship and living with partner
	In a relationship and living alone
5.	Single
	have children living at home?
	Yes
2.	No
	care for an elderly family member in your home?
	Yes
2.	No
Are you	a single parent?
	Yes
2.	No
How ma	any hours per week do you work?
	40+
2.	20-40
3.	Less than 20
Number	of credits currently enrolled:

Please answer the following questions if you work and if you have a spouse/partner and/or dependents(s). Otherwise, continue to question 17.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. My work takes up time that I would like to spend on my family.					
2. My work schedule often conflicts with my family life.					
3. My family dislikes how often I am preoccupied with my work while I am at home.					
4. After work, I come home too tired to do some of the things I would like to do.					
5. On the job I have so much work to do that I takes away from my family.					
6. Because my work is demanding, at times I am irritable at home.					
7. The demands of my job make it more difficult to be relaxed at home.					
8. My job makes it difficult to be the kind of partner/spouse or parent I would like to be.					
9. My family like takes up time that I would like to spend doing my work.					
10. My family life often conflicts with my work schedule.					
11. My co-workers dislike how often I am preoccupied with my family life while I am at work.					
12. When I go to work, I am too tired to do some of the things I would like to do.					
13. At home, I have so many responsibilities that it takes away from my work efforts.					
14. Because my family life is demanding, at times I am irritable at work.					
15. The demands of my family life make it more difficult to be relaxed while at work.					
16. My family life makes it difficult to be the kind of worker I would like to be.					
Please answer the following questions if you have a sp to question 33.					G1
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
17. My school work takes up time that I would like to spend on my family.					
18. My school schedule often conflicts with my family life.					
19. My family dislikes how often I am preoccupied with my school work while I am at home.					
20. After school, I come home too tired to do some of the things I would like to do.					
21. At school, I have so much work to do that it takes away from my family.					

	y school work is demanding, at ritable at home.				
	nands of school make it more to be relaxed at home.				
the kind of partner/s	demands make it difficult to be spouse or parent I would like to be.				
	life takes up time that I would ng my school work.				
26. My family 1	ife often conflicts with my class schedule.				
	s at school dislike how I am family life while I am at school.				
	to school, I am too tired to do hings I would like to do.				
	I have so many responsibilities m my personal interests.				
	ny family life is demanding, at ritable at school.				
	s of my family life make it more relaxed while at school.				
	life makes it difficult to be the dent I would like to be.				
Please answer the fol	lowing questions if you work. Ot	herwise, cont	inue to next p	age.	G. I

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
33. My work takes up time that I would like to spend on my class work.					
34. My work schedule often conflicts with my class schedule.					
35. My classmates dislike how often I am preoccupied with my work while I am at school.					
36. After work, I get to school too tired to do some of the things I would like to do.					
 On the job I have so much work to do that it takes away from my school work. 					
38. Because my work is demanding, at times I am irritable at school.					
39. The demands of my job make it more difficult to be relaxed at school.					
40. My job makes it difficult to be the kind of student would like to be.					
41. My school work takes up time that I would like to spend doing my work.					
42. My school life often conflicts with my work schedule.					
43. My co-workers dislike how often I am preoccupied with my school work while I am at work.					

44. When I go to work, I am too tired to some of the things I would like to do.	do								
45. At school, I have so many responsibil		Г	٦ .						
that it takes away from my personal interests.		-	_		_				
46. Because my school life is demanding times I am irritable at work.									
47. The demands of my school make it m difficult to be relaxed while at work.	ore								
48. My school life makes it difficult to be kind of worker I would like to be.	the								
49. In general, I am satisfied with my educational experience at my university.									
How would you rate the overall effectiveness of demands of school?				at y					- N/A
		Not eful	2		3	4	5- V use		N/A
Child Care Services	Ę								
Student/Parent Services									
Counseling and Psychological Services	Ę								
Academic Advising	Ę								
Tutorial Services	Ę								
Student Health Services	Ę								
Night and/or online classes	Ę								
What services would you like to see your university offer to help you meet the demands of school?									
Briefly explain how attending school has impacted your family life.									
Briefly explain how attending school has impacted your work life.									