

YOUNG WOMEN'S WORK-FAMILY ORIENTATIONS IN THE TRANSITION TO
ADULTHOOD

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ABSTRACT

Bo Hyeong Lee: Young Women's Work-Family Orientations in the Transition to Adulthood
(Under the direction of Lisa Pearce)

Young women in the transition to adulthood carry with them various sets of ideas about “what makes a meaningful or worthwhile life” (Damaske 2011). Among these ideas are schemas that frame young women's expectations about how their family, education, and work lives are to unfold. While studies have often focused on these realms of life separately, many young women in fact jointly consider work and family matters in forming their aspirations and making critical decisions. A wealth of research detailing work and family attitudes and behaviors that treat these as independent from one another, therefore, may fail to empirically represent advancements in theory that argue individuals' ideas about education, work, and family as being pieced together—particularly in competing and sometimes conflicting ways (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011; Miles 2014). Moreover, this dissertation examines (a) how young women combine different ideas about parenting, partnering, education, and work; (b) how these configurations of schema influence educational outcomes; and (c) how configurations of schema change over time especially in relation to experiences of romantic relationships.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1. WORK-FAMILY ORIENTATIONS IN THE TRANSITION TO ADULthood: HOW YOUNG WOMEN ENVISION COMBINING PARTNERING, PARENTING, EDUCATION, AND WORK.....	5
Introduction.....	5
Defining Schemas and Types of Schemas.....	7
Correlates of Work-Family Orientations.....	11
Data and Methods.....	13
Schematic Indicators.....	14
Analytic Strategy.....	17
Results.....	17
Description of Latent Class Profiles.....	18
Personal Background Characteristics as Covariates.....	21
Conclusion.....	22
References.....	33
CHAPTER 2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUNG WOMEN'S WORK-FAMILY ORIENTATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL TRANSITIONS IN EARLY ADULthOOD.....	37
Introduction.....	37
Background.....	38

Description of Work-Family Orientations.....	41
This Study.....	43
Data and Methods.....	45
Independent Measure.....	45
Dependent Measure.....	46
Personal Background Factors.....	47
Analytic Strategy.....	47
Results.....	48
Conclusion.....	53
References.....	63
CHAPTER 3. HOW AND WHY YOUNG WOMEN’S WORK-FAMILY ORIENTATIONS SHIFT IN THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD: ASSESSING THE EFFECT OF ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP EXPERIENCE.....	66
Introduction.....	66
Young Women’s Schemas and Conjunctures Over Time.....	69
Changes in Romantic Relationship Status as Conjunctures.....	70
Intimate Partner Violence as Conjunctures.....	72
Data and Methods.....	74
Measurement of Work-Family Orientations.....	74
Measures of Romantic Relationship Experience.....	75
Analytic Strategy.....	76
Results.....	77
Description of Work-Family Orientations.....	77
Shifts in Work-Family Orientation Over Time.....	79
Romantic Relationship Experience as LTA Covariates.....	81

Conclusion.....	83
References.....	92
CONCLUSION.....	98

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 – Descriptive Statistics of Personal Background Measures (RDSL Baseline).....	25
Table 2 – Descriptive Statistics of Schematic Indicators (RDSL Baseline).....	26
Table 3 – Fit Statistics of Latent Class Models (RDSL).....	27
Table 4 – Model Comparisons using Bootstrap Likelihood Ratio Tests (RDSL).....	28
Table 5 – Proportions and Conditional Probabilities of Responses for Four Latent Class Work-Family Orientations (RDSL).....	29
Table 6 – Latent Class Prevalences and Log-Likelihoods of Latent Class Models by Personal Background Characteristics (RDSL).....	30
Table 7 – Covariate Analysis of Membership in Latent Classes by Personal Background Characteristics (RDSL).....	31
Table 8 – Survey Measures Included in Latent Class Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL)....	56
Table 9 – Proportions and Conditional Probabilities of Responses for Four Latent Class Work-Family Orientations at Baseline (RDSL).....	57
Table 10 – Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients of Young Women’s Educational Attainment by Work-Family Orientations at Baseline (RDSL).....	58
Table 11 – Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients of Educational Attainment by Baseline Personal Background Variables (RDSL).....	59
Table 12 – Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients of Educational Attainment by Baseline Work-Family Orientations and Personal Background Variables (RDSL).....	60
Table 13 – Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients of Educational Attainment by Baseline Schematic Measures (RDSL, Additive Model).....	61
Table 14 – Survey Measures in Latent Class Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL).....	86
Table 15 – Fit Statistics for Latent Transition Analyses (RDSL).....	87
Table 16 – Initial Proportions and Conditional Probabilities in Latent Class Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL).....	88
Table 17 – Status Membership Probabilities and Transition Probabilities in Latent Transition Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL).....	89
Table 18 – Latent Transition Analysis with Measures of Romantic Relationship as Covariates Predicting Shift in Work-Family Orientations at Time 2 (RDSL).....	90

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 – Bar Graphs Summarizing Significant Mediating Effects of Work-Family Orientations on Educational Attainment (RDSL).....	62
Figure 2 – Summary of Significant Romantic Relationship Measures in the Latent Transition Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL).....	91

INTRODUCTION

The Theory of Conjunctural Action (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011) is a unique framework that conceptualizes the negotiation among multiple schemas, as well as the interplay between schemas and materials, in shaping the course of individuals' decisions and outcomes throughout the life course. *Schemas*, which are learned primarily through social interactions, refer to underdetermined ways of perceiving and acting through which individuals make sense of the world around them (e.g. ideas, values, habits of the mind). *Materials*, on the other hand, consist of the physical objects and conditions that may reinforce existing schemas or instill new ones in individuals' perceptions and experiences (e.g. socioeconomic resources, situational constraints, organizational or institutional structures). Applying this theoretical framework to particularly young women in the transition to adulthood, this dissertation explores how schemas and materials together contribute to the unequal experiences of how young women navigate their relationships and identities at this life stage. I focus on the transition to adulthood not only as a time of developing identities and perspectives, but also as a critical period influencing future trajectories of socioeconomic status and well-being (Arnett 2000; Shanahan 2000).

For my research, I use longitudinal survey data from the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life study (RDSL), an innovative study intended to follow the relationship patterns and social contexts of young women between the ages of 18 and 20 from one county in Michigan (N=1003). (The specific county is not named to protect the anonymity of respondents.) These data are a representative, population-based sample, drawn from women residing in this county

who were selected from the state driver's license and personal identification card databases. The principal investigators note that the target county was chosen specifically because of the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity of its residents (Barber et al. 2011). A significant number of African American residents and substantial variation in economic circumstances within this county allow researchers to compare across poor African Americans, poor Whites, middle class African Americans, and middle class Whites within a single geographic area. Moreover, with repeated measures of respondents' relationships, education, and a wide range of attitudes and schemas, the RDSL is a unique dataset that allows researchers to focus particularly on the complex and dynamic nature of young women's changing attitudes and relationships during the transition to adulthood.

In my first paper, I explore different patterns in the combinations of schemas young women hold about pregnancy, marriage, education, and work. Schemas about these and other aspects of life can reinforce, compete, or conflict with each other (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). Prior research on education, work, and family schema often measure each with separate attitudinal measures, missing variations in how individuals package these different schemas in their minds. For example, research suggests that educational expectations are positively associated with educational attainment, but some women combine high educational aspirations with high desires to be a mother, and others do not. We may expect different educational outcomes for these women with differing schemas about motherhood, but according to current research, we rarely learn about how *combinations* of various work and family schemas look or matter. By using latent class analysis (LCA), I identify and describe four distinct *work-family orientations* that reflect interesting ways in which young women combine their attitudes, expectations, and salient identities regarding pregnancy, marriage, education, and work. Also

using covariate analyses within LCA, I examine how personal background characteristics, such as family SES and religion, are associated in varying distributions across work-family orientations. Understanding these four types of configurations, their distributions in the population, and sociodemographic characteristics unique to each group will give family, education, work, and gender scholars a useful framework for the ways in which young women come to view their lives and prioritize various roles and opportunities.

In my second paper, I use the work-family orientations developed in the first paper to examine the links between these schematic configurations and young women's educational attainment. Particularly in the transition to adulthood, education is an important contributing factor to setting the pathways for future socioeconomic status (Buchmann and Diprete 2006). This study further brings to question the links between culture and action (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011; Miles 2014). That is, under what conditions and in what contexts might the links between work-family orientations and educational outcomes be more or less significant, or more or less substantial? I use multinomial logistic regressions to examine these statistical relationships, and further assess the extent to which young women's work-family orientations may mediate or help to explain the effect of personal background characteristics on educational attainment in early adulthood.

Having examined the significance of young women's work-family orientations upon educational attainment, I focus my final chapter on exploring the patterns of how young women's schematic configurations shift over time, and the extent to which experiences of romantic relationships may be significantly associated with these schematic shifts. Among the factors that are likely to influence the stability or change of schemas over time are *conjunctures*, which the Theory of Conjunctural Action describes as a specific set of circumstances that may

require a form of response by the individual (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). As young women pass through the transition to adulthood, varied experiences of romantic relationships are particularly likely to give rise to these *conjunctures*, during which individuals draw upon existing schemas or adopt new schemas to shape their response to unfolding circumstances. Using longitudinal data from the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life study, I conduct a latent transition analysis in this final paper to estimate the likelihoods that young women shift from one work-family orientation to another, and further investigate how young women's conjunctural experiences of romantic relationships—specifically, getting engaged to marry, separating from a romantic partner, or experiencing verbal or physical intimate partner violence (IPV)—may play a role in these schematic changes.

Altogether, the three papers in this dissertation speak to the complex combinations of schema that young women hold in the transition to adulthood, how their educational attainment is affected by work-family orientations, and further, how work-family orientations may shift over time based on various experiences of romantic relationships. These papers contribute to contemporary conversations about the socialization of young women, the impact of romantic relationships and intimate partner violence, and sources of inequality in education in the transition to adulthood.

CHAPTER 1. WORK-FAMILY ORIENTATIONS IN THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD: HOW YOUNG WOMEN ENVISION COMBINING PARTNERING, PARENTING, EDUCATION, AND WORK

Introduction

The period of the transition to adulthood is a unique stage in the life course that can allow for heightened flexibility in the exploration of identities and relationships (Arnett 2000; Shanahan 2000). During this time, young adults' considerations about the future are intertwined in a complex web of *schemas* which inform the multiple layers of meaning and expectations that individuals hold with regards to marriage, childrearing, work, and other social markers of "adulthood." More generally consisting of underdetermined ways in which individuals perceive and make sense of the world around them (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), schemas that are developed and adjusted during the transition to adulthood address such critical questions as: What is to hold salience in an individual's life—advancement in one's career, parenthood, happiness and self-fulfillment? What is the meaning or purpose of marriage? What is the ideal context in which to raise children? How central are the roles and relationships within family to an individual's identity?

Drawing from Sewell's model of *structure* as the recurrent patterning of social life (1992), the Theory of Conjunctural Action framework describes structures of family as being shaped and sustained through the interplay of *schematic* and *material* elements (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). *Schemas*, or underspecified and often taken-for-granted ways of perceiving and acting in various contexts, are learned primarily through social interactions and exposures (e.g.

ideas, values, habits of the mind). *Materials*, which are distinct from but interdependent with schemas, consist of the physical objects and conditions that instill and reinforce schemas in an individual's perceptions and experiences (e.g. socioeconomic resources, situational constraints, organizational and institutional structures). Individuals have access to multiple schemas that may be partially contradictory, competing with one another, or mutually reinforcing. Such combinations of schemas often have significant implications for shaping actions and choices at specific *conjunctures*, or specific sets of circumstances that require a response through which action can occur. Material conditions and constraints may require individuals to adjust available schemas or to develop new ones, but new and existing schemas can also influence how material structures develop and change over time (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011).

While the Theory of Conjunctural Action (TCA) framework effectively orients the discourse of cultural and cognitive schemas within the context of family research, it remains a challenge to discern empirically “whether and how some cultural elements control, anchor, or organize others” (Bail 2014; Miles 2014; Swidler 1986, 2001). In other words, while the breadth of available and accessible schemas is certainly vast, not all schemas are equally influential, and individuals may choose to employ some schemas in certain situations and not others (Lamont and Thevenot 2000). As individuals develop and draw upon complex sets of schemas, transferring what they might consider as ideals into realities that are more specific to their own lives, the period of the transition to adulthood stands out as a particularly important and engaging time during which young people face both the burden and opportunity of combining attitudes and expectations that concern their future decisions and trajectories (Furstenberg 2010).

Applying the TCA framework to the study of young women in the transition to adulthood, this paper explores how individuals come to view and evaluate—simultaneously—

such significant milestones in the life course as education, work, parenting, and marriage. Thus, in an effort to respond to and bridge the scholarly literatures of family, work, and culture, I examine the unique combinations of schemas that young women construct about *parenting*, *partnering*, *education*, and *work*, and what schemas they are likely to adopt, reject, or combine to shape their outlooks upon the future. In order to do so, I use survey data from the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life study to conduct a latent class analysis (LCA) of these combinations of young women's schemas, which hereafter I will refer to as *work-family orientations*.

This paper essentially builds on prior work from the life course literature that examines the timing and sequencing of transitional events in early adulthood (e.g. education, marriage, family formation). Using latent class and cluster analyses, these studies have effectively demonstrated how individuals are probabilistically distributed across unique sets of intersecting role configurations and life paths (Barban and Billari 2012; Macmillan and Eliason 2003; Oxford et al. 2005; Shanahan 2000). Borrowing this person-oriented methodological approach, I will use LCA in the present analysis to highlight common patterns in how various schemas about work and family are combined as configurations in the transition to adulthood. By doing so, I will identify a distinct set of profiles that reflect the most representative *work-family orientations* of young women in the United States, and examine the extent to which these work-family orientations vary by personal background correlates.

Defining Schemas and Types of Schemas

Schemas—a term used broadly throughout the social sciences, but in this case, specific to the Theory of Conjunctural Action (TCA)—refer to a range of cultural and cognitive phenomena through which individuals perceive the world around them and are motivated to action. The TCA framework emphasizes that schemas, which provide cultural models “of and for life” (Geertz

1973), may be partial, overlapping, and often contradictory. All schemas, which function as tools that individuals can use to simplify and make sense of recurring exposure to information, are virtual; thus, they cannot be measured directly. However, the effects of schemas on perception and decision-making can indeed be observed by posing questions to individuals that require them to rely on these schemas to discern what is good, appropriate, probable, etc. (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). Because schemas are underspecified, they are applicable in different social domains and transferrable from one situation to another. For example, schemas about organizational hierarchy in the military may be transposed onto the family, making the male adult the “captain” or “general” of the household, as is consistent with the perspective observed among some Evangelical Christian families (Bartkowski 2001). As individuals hold multiple schemas within and across social domains, schemas are likely to be acquired and altered in a piecemeal fashion, and further shaped by ongoing interactions with materials and conjunctures over time.

Schemas can be distinguished according to three basic characteristics: categorical, procedural, and evaluative (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). Categorical schemas define types and shape individuals’ expectations for *what* things are (e.g. What makes a family? What is the purpose of work?). Procedural schemas, in contrast, define the *sequence* in which events occur and *how* to do things (e.g. Marriage occurs after dating and cohabitation. People find jobs after graduating from school.). Lastly, evaluative schemas define what is good, desirable, shameful, or disagreeable, and thus frame individuals’ perspectives about how things *should* or *should not* be (e.g. A good employee is _____. It is wrong for politicians to _____.)¹ Schemas may, in

¹ I recognize that it is not only possible, but often necessary, to distinguish between the study of culture as a variety of means and cognitive capacities that can be put to use (e.g. frames, scripts, repertoires) and the study of culture as a set of subjective states that can motivate action (e.g. normative values, desires, attitudes) (Kaufman 2004; Lamont and Small 2008; Swidler 1986, 2001). However, I draw from the TCA framework and prior studies that suggest that many schemas are, in fact, inherently evaluative and normative. The actions and outcomes that we observe are likely to be shaped by cognitive frames and perceptions, as well as cultural norms and attitudes, which cannot accurately or effectively be disentangled (Manski 2004; Vaisey 2009, 2010). Johnson-Hanks et al. (2011) therefore emphasize

fact, have more than one of these characteristics. For instance, in Willoughby et al.'s conceptual framework for understanding how individuals think about marriage (2014, 2015), scholars identify several examples of schemas that are jointly categorical and evaluative, and procedural and evaluative. *Contextual* schemas about the conditions in which individuals expect to be ready for marriage or to get married, and *timing* schemas about the ideal or expected timing of events related to marriage are examples of procedural-evaluative schemas. *Centrality* schemas about the expressed importance of an individual's spousal role to that individual's overall identity, and *salience* schemas about the relative significance of constructs like marriage and its related identities in relation to other identities are examples of categorical-evaluative schemas. While Willoughby et al. (2015) use these distinctions to describe specifically the marital paradigms of young people in the United States, the TCA framework emphasizes the interconnectedness of social structures, and therefore builds on this research to explore how schemas about marriage coexist, or not, with related schemas in such social domains as work and education.

Given the multidimensionality of different types and characteristics of schemas, it is important to note that a variable-based approach for studying attitudes about family and work as an average or index measure would oversimplify the combinations or unique *configurations* of schema to a single continuum (e.g. "traditional" to "modern") (Carroll et al. 2007; Mosko and Pistole 2010; Wilcox and Dew 2010). However, an alternative approach that can be used to differentiate among schemas and describe systematically distinct *sets* of schemas that are held together is the *person-centered* or *person-oriented* approach, which estimates latent subgroups of individuals as *types*, with unique configurations of schema. Common methods of applying this approach in sociological research have been to develop typologies within a certain population

that it is critical to examine the distribution of material contexts that structure the interaction and significance of these different types of schemas.

through qualitative analysis of interviews and ethnographies, cluster analysis, and less often using latent class analysis (Pearce et al. 2013).

Particularly in the family literature, the person-centered approach has been used effectively to describe schemas related to the subjective meaning of marriage. Drawing from a series of in-depth interviews, Kefalas et al. (2011) identify two groups of individuals as Planners and Naturalists. The authors find that many young Americans consider being able to afford higher costs of living, completing higher education degrees, and becoming established in their careers as important factors of marriage. Planners with this perspective consider these milestones of adulthood as *prerequisites* for marriage and expect to delay marriage until these requirements are fulfilled. In contrast, Naturalists, who comprise about one-fifth of the study sample, view marriage as a “natural” outcome or next step in romantic relationships that last for a certain period of time; therefore, an expectation to delay marriage is not evident in the Naturalists’ rhetoric about family. In related studies, Willoughby and Hall (2014) identify three groups of college students – Enthusiasts, Delayers, and Hesitants – who express varying commitments to marriage based on their beliefs about its importance, permanence, and appropriate contexts, while Halpern-Meekin (2012) presents distinctions among Believers, Skeptics, and Unlikely Optimists in the extent to which individuals embrace the normative timing and ordering of marriage and childbearing, particularly in light of the respondents’ own family experiences as adolescents. (See also Hall 2006; Kay 2012.) While such qualitative and person-oriented studies address important questions about the changing and varied meanings of marriage, there has not yet been extensive exploration of how young women in the transition to adulthood come to develop and combine their schematic orientations toward work and family.

By focusing on young women's *work-family orientations*, the present research does not constrain the relationship between work and family as independent or unidirectional, but instead, applying the Theory of Conjunctural Action, recognizes the *interplay* between schemas and materials that involve parenting, partnering, education, and work as part of a reciprocal and iterative process (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). Highlighting the transition to adulthood as a particularly significant period for young women's family formation as well as development of the self (Arnett 2000; Shanahan 2000), this paper will disentangle the distinct *work-family orientations* held by young women who are faced with the challenge of bridging their ideals with what begins to unfold as real conjunctures and material constraints.

In light of existing bodies of literature about family formation patterns and their related cultural schemas, one may expect there to be one type of work-family orientation that largely prioritizes work, and another that prioritizes family. Ethnographic studies like Edin and Kefalas (2005) suggest that some women may in fact value marriage in ways that are not immediately achievable, and as a result, may be more likely to put their roles as mothers first. It is, therefore, the exploration of unique combinations in young women's schemas, the examination of different types of individuals who are likely to hold and express these combinations of schemas about parenting, partnering, education, and work, and the specification of how prevalent these combinations of schemas are in the population that are of primary objective to this project, and the scholarly contribution of this research.

Correlates of Work-Family Orientations

Across studies, researchers consistently find that personal background factors such as socioeconomic status, race, and gender, as well as family and religious characteristics, are significantly related to young people's attitudes about marriage and family formation processes.

Socioeconomic characteristics like lower parental education and parents' educational expectations for their children are found to be positively associated with adolescents' earlier anticipated age for marriage and parenthood (Fan and Marini 2000; Manning et al. 2007). Considering how race/ethnicity is often closely interrelated with socioeconomic characteristics, studies also show that black adolescents are more likely than white adolescents to view childbearing, as opposed to marriage, as the primary pathway for family formation (Trent 1994; Kane 2000; Landale et al. 2010).

In addition to such socioeconomic characteristics which shape the resources available to young people's family formation processes, studies indicate that personal experiences of religious participation can further influence young people's expectations about work and family. Specifically, considering religion to be personally "very important" and identifying as evangelical predict less egalitarian gender ideologies, as people with these religious identifications are likely to espouse family values which prescribe separate roles related to work and family for men and women (Hayford and Morgan 2008; Pearce and Thornton 2007). As certain schemas within various contexts of family and religion are enacted more often than others, social identities are created and sustained (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). Schemas are given material form through patterned behaviors which give rise to identities that reflect and embody the social structures present in young people's personal background characteristics.

Previously discussed person-centered approaches also reveal similar patterns with regards to the significance of personal background characteristics. Kefalas et al. (2011) find that socioeconomic conditions surrounding young adults, such as economic independence and financial support, critically shape the obstacles and opportunities for marriage—especially among Planners more so than Naturalists. When comparing the Delayers, Enthusiasts, and Hesitants,

Willoughby et al. (2014) find that religiosity is a significant correlate of marital paradigms, with Delayers reporting the lowest levels of religiosity and the Enthusiasts reporting the highest religiosity. Halpern-Meekin (2012) highlights that not only family structure but also family experiences, such as parental conflict and mother's work, significantly shape young people's perspectives about their future family relationships. Overall, young women's perspectives about marriage and family are consistently found to vary by SES (Gibson-Davis et al. 2005; Kefalas et al. 2011), religion (Carroll et al. 2007; Mosko and Pistole 2010), and family background characteristics (Halpern-Meekin 2012; Larson et al. 1998). Young people are likely to draw upon their parents' attitudes and family experiences, both directly and indirectly, when forming their own perspectives and expectations about marriage and family (Willoughby et al. 2012). Therefore, I expect the *work-family orientations* in this paper to be correlated with such personal background measures.

My analyses in this paper explore the following central questions: (a) what are young women's configurations of schema about parenting, partnering, education, and work, and how do they cohere together into *work-family orientations* in the transition to adulthood; (b) how do distributions of these *work-family orientations* vary within the population by personal background characteristics; and (c) which personal background characteristics are predictive of women's *work-family orientations*?

Data and Methods

To answer my research questions, I use data from the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life (RDSL) study, which comes from a population-based sample of 1003 young women ages 18-20, residing in a county in Michigan (Barber et al. 2011). The first component of the study, launched in 2008, consisted of 60-minute face-to-face baseline survey interviews assessing

aspects of family background; demographic information; a wide range of attitudes, values, and beliefs; current and past friendship and romantic relationships; education; and career trajectories. Following the baseline survey, all respondents were invited to participate in a journal-based mixed methods follow-up survey (by Internet or phone) for approximately the next two years. Of the initial sample of young women, 95% agreed to participate in the follow-up journal study. Each weekly journal collected updates about respondents' relationships, and every twelve weeks, the journal collected updates about respondents' education, employment, and attitudes.²

More specifically, this paper takes a *person-centered* approach to examine more holistically the configurations of schema that give perspective to young women's family processes. Building upon prior research that points to variations in such cultural frames (Harding 2007; Willoughby and Hall 2014), I will conduct a latent class analysis (LCA) to highlight common patterns in how young women combine various schemas about parenting, partnering, education, and work (Collins and Lanza 2010). Using LCA will allow me to identify a set of profiles that reflect the most representative schematic configurations that young women possess in the transition to adulthood. Taking into account the covariation of multiple attitudinal measures, LCA is essentially a data reduction technique that will suggest a well-fitting number of latent classes in the population and use patterns of individual survey responses to assign the probabilities that each case or person belongs to one of these classes.

Schematic Indicators

Drawing from Willoughby et al.'s (2015) conceptualization of different types of schemas related to marriage, I have selected ten schematic indicators for the latent class analysis of work-

² Given that LCA does not default to list-wise deletion of missing values but makes use of all available data (Collins and Lanza 2010), the analytical sample for this study consists of all those with data for attitudinal and personal background measures at baseline ($N = 984$).

family orientations. These schematic indicators are measures of *centrality*, *salience*, *context*, and *timing* related to young women's perspectives on parenting, partnering, education, and work. The survey items used as *centrality* schemas of motherhood and work, which represent frames about the general importance of these roles, are measured by the extent to which respondents agree or disagree with the following:

C-mom: Being a mother and raising children is the most fulfilling experience a woman can have.

C-work: You expect work to be a major source of satisfaction in life.

The items used as measures for the *salience* of "mother" and "spouse" as expected identities, which capture the respondents' perceptions about the perceived significance of marriage and childbearing to their sense of self, are:

S-marry: Suppose that your life turned out so that you never married, how much would that bother you?

S-kids: Suppose your life turned out so that you never had children, how much would that bother you?

The items used as young women's *contextual* schemas concerning education, pregnancy, and marriage capture the expectations about specific contexts in which respondents anticipate certain events to occur; these measures are:

E-educ: How far do you think you will go in school?

E-quit: If you get pregnant, you would have to quit school.

E-partner: If you get pregnant, would you get married to your partner?

Lastly, the items used as young women's schemas about the *timing* of pregnancy and parenting, which capture respondents' attitudes about the sequencing of present and future events, consist of the following:

T-trouble: If a woman waits for the perfect time to have a baby, she will probably have trouble getting pregnant.

T-worst: Getting pregnant at this time in life is one of the worst things that could happen to you.

T-handle: If you got pregnant now, you could handle the responsibilities of parenting.

These schematic indicators together measure the *configurations* of schemas that young women hold about their present and future work-family lives. Although the present analyses may not encapsulate the complexity of TCA's implications for multidimensional and dynamic schemas (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), this study will provide a critical snapshot of the broader underlying schematic configurations that young women are most likely to draw from during the transition to adulthood. While some individual schemas may shift over time³, the deeper schematic configurations possess an underlying stability and enduring quality that hold significance for shaping actions in various conjunctures (Davis and Pearce 2007). In other words, these schematic configurations are a reflection of the underlying identities of young women, which have the capacity to change over time when faced with new experiences, but have an overall sense of inertia as a result of the mutual reinforcement of virtual and material components of people's identities (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011).

In addition to identifying and describing latent classes of young women's *work-family orientations*, I will consider variations across personal background characteristics. (See Table 1 for details.) These additional measures include the respondent's family income⁴, mother's highest level of education completed, respondent's race/ethnicity, whether the respondent's mother worked⁵, whether the respondent's biological parents are married⁶, personal importance of religion, and whether the respondent has ever been pregnant.

³ With regards to age, the overall distribution of work-family orientations remains fairly consistent for young women ages 20-22, compared to ages 18-20. See Appendix 1 for details.

⁴ Don't Know or Refused coded as missing

⁵ Most of the time and full time

⁶ Biological parents married when respondent was born

Analytic Strategy

The components of my analyses will proceed as follows: I first conduct a latent class analysis of the schematic configurations of young women, using ten schematic indicators related to parenting, partnering, education, and work. To ensure reliability and reproducibility of the model results, I test the latent class models using different seeds—or starting values—and conduct resampling through bootstrap likelihood ratio tests which examine the relative explanatory power of models with different numbers of latent classes (Huang et al. 2016). On the basis of these findings, I then conduct a series of multi-group latent class analyses to explore how the distributions across work-family orientations may vary by personal background characteristics. Lastly, I examine the statistical significance of these personal background characteristics in predicting membership in each of the latent classes.

Results

I tested for the best-fitting number of latent classes and assessed models using different seed values, in order to estimate the most parsimonious model that accurately predicts the variations and distribution of work-family orientations in this representative sample of young women. The survey items included in the model were recoded as shown in Table 2.

As shown in Table 3's statistical output, model fit improves substantially from two to three latent classes. From the four-class model onward, improvements in model fit become more gradual. After the five-class model, the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) increases to indicate weaker fit. Although the five-class model technically has a lower BIC, the information matrix of the five-class model could not consistently be inverted. Furthermore, results from resampling using the bootstrap likelihood ratio tests (in Table 4) suggest that the explanatory power of the five-class model compared to the four-class model is non-significant—lending

support again to the reliability of the four latent classes of work-family orientations. In fact, further evaluation of the conditional probabilities in each LCA model actually suggests that the latent classes in the five-class model resemble those of the four-class model, with the exception of one latent class which appears to have been split into two (i.e. similar conditional probabilities, but one latent class with lower magnitudes). Following Collins and Lanza's (2010) guidelines for taking into consideration both parsimony and interpretability in determining best fit, I have selected the four-class LCA model to estimate and examine the types of work-family orientations that young women hold in the transition to adulthood.

Based on the unique combinations of conditional probabilities in the four-class LCA model, I have evaluated and compared the distinct characteristics in each of the latent classes of young women's work-family orientations. More specifically, I identify these latent classes of schematic configurations as *Career-and-Family Idealists*, *Family Agnostics*, *Independent Maternalists*, and *Family Conventionalists*—each of which I describe in more detail in the following section. Table 5 shows the estimated proportions of each class within the population (gamma estimates), and conditional probabilities of responses to each of the schematic indicators within the four latent classes (rho estimates).⁷

Description of Latent Class Profiles

The first class, Career-and-Family Idealists (CFI), which comprise about 33% of the sample, are most likely to give the highest response for educational expectations (graduate school $\rho=.4607$) and are also likely to “agree” that work is a major source of satisfaction in life

⁷ In addition to assessing the fit statistics to determine the best-fitting number of latent classes, I conducted multi-group analyses of the four-class model—first, allowing for both gamma and rho estimates to vary by age, and subsequently, restricting the model so that gamma estimates may vary but rho estimates do not. I find that rho estimates in the unrestricted and restricted multi-group models by age are not significantly different. These steps serve as sensitivity analyses which verify the same four-class latent model of work-family orientations hold consistent across this study.

(rho=.6496). In addition, they are likely to respond that they'd be "extremely bothered" if they never got married (rho=.5730) and if they never had children (rho=.5877). While CFIs are likely to "agree" that motherhood is one of the most fulfilling experiences in life (rho=.6496), this schema for the centrality of motherhood is not quite as high for CFIs relative to some of the other latent classes. If CFIs "get pregnant now," they are likely to strongly agree that this would be the "worst thing," and that they are not yet prepared to handle the responsibilities of parenting. If pregnant, CFIs are most likely to agree that they would have to quit school (rho=.3986). CFIs are also least likely to agree that one may have trouble getting pregnant if one waits for the perfect time (rho=.8526). In other words, CFIs appear to hold schemas about the centrality of parenting, marriage, education, and work not only simultaneously, but optimistically and with little compromise. CFI's likely response that they would have to quit school if pregnant suggests an implicit sequence of expecting motherhood to follow after education.

The second class, Family Agnostics (FA), about 14% of the sample, are most likely to report their educational expectations as attending a 4-year college (rho=.3803) or graduate school (rho=.4038). FAs are most likely to "strongly agree" that they view work to be a major source of satisfaction in life (rho=.2757). They are most likely to respond that they would be "slightly or not bothered at all" if they never got married (rho=.6432), and especially if they never had children (rho=.9376). FAs are least likely to agree that motherhood is the most fulfilling experience in a woman's life (disagree, rho=.5584). If FAs were to become pregnant at the present time, they are likely to respond that they would have to quit school (rho=.3680), that getting pregnant would be the "worst thing" (rho=.7912), and that they are not prepared for the responsibilities of parenting (rho=.0880). FAs are likely to disagree that they would marry their partner if they get pregnant (rho=.7193). While FA's responses about getting pregnant at the

present time are relatively similar to those of CFIs (i.e. quit school if pregnant now, marry partner if pregnant, worst thing if pregnant, could not handle responsibilities of parenting), FA's schemas about parenting and marriage reveal that these aspects of adulthood are far from most central to this group's overall work-family orientations.

The third class, Independent Maternalists (IM), about 25% of the sample, are most likely to expect to attend a 4-year college ($\rho=.4606$) or a vocational/technical/community college ($\rho=.2575$), and most likely to consider motherhood as one of the most fulfilling experiences (agree $\rho=.6301$; strongly agree $\rho=.3273$). IMs are most likely to respond that they would be "extremely bothered" if they never have children ($\rho=.8831$), but least likely to respond that they would be "extremely bothered" if they never get married ($\rho=.0542$). Relative to previously mentioned classes, IMs are not as likely to view work as a major source of satisfaction, although more likely than the final latent class. If IMs became pregnant at the present time, they would not consider getting pregnant to be the "worst thing" ($\rho=.8497$), are likely to respond that they would not quit school ($\rho=.9579$), and are most likely to expect not to marry their partner ($\rho=.7731$). IMs are also most likely to believe they are prepared to handle the responsibilities of parenting ($\rho=.8215$), and are most likely to agree that it is difficult to wait for the perfect time to become pregnant ($\rho=.3635$). It is notable that IM's responses to questions about how they would handle getting "pregnant now" are distinctly different from the responses given by both CFIs and FAs. However, IMs appear to hold a similar perspective about marriage as FAs, while holding an even stronger schema about the centrality of motherhood compared to CFIs.

Lastly, Family Conventionalists (FC), who comprise about 28% of the sample, are most likely to expect to attend a 4-year college ($\rho=.4669$) or vocational/technical/community college

($\rho=.2754$), and are least likely to “strongly agree” that they view work as a major source of satisfaction in life ($\rho=.0163$). FCs are likely to report that they would be “extremely bothered” if they never married ($\rho=.5861$), and “very bothered” if they never had children ($\rho=.5452$). FCs “agree” that motherhood is one of the most fulfilling experiences ($\rho=.6172$), and are most likely to expect to marry their partners if they become pregnant ($\rho=.3822$). If FCs became pregnant at the present time, they are not nearly as likely as CFIs and FAs to respond that this would be the “worst thing” ($\rho=.2353$), but rather, agree that they could handle the responsibilities of parenting ($\rho=.4848$). These responses to questions about getting “pregnant now” are generally similar to those of IMs; however, it is clear that FCs consider marriage to be much more central to their work-family orientations than all other latent classes.

Personal Background Characteristics as Covariates

Table 6 presents variations in the distribution of individuals across work-family orientations by personal background characteristics, and Table 7 summarizes the statistical significance of these personal background measures in predicting membership in the four latent classes of work-family orientations. These findings suggest that family income, mother’s education, whether the respondent’s mother worked, whether the respondent’s biological parents were married, personal importance of religion, and whether the respondent has ever been pregnant are all statistically significant in estimating membership in latent classes of work-family orientations. Controlling for all other covariates, race/ethnicity is moderately significant in predicting latent class membership.

While estimates in the multi-group LCA models (Table 6) indicate notable variations in how young women are distributed across latent classes based on personal background characteristics, results from the LCA with covariates (Table 7) confirm that compared to the

reference category of Family Conventionalists, personal importance of religion is significantly lower among Family Agnostics; family income is significantly higher among Career-and-Family Idealists; and non-white individuals are significantly more likely to be members of the Independent Maternalists latent class. As for family background characteristics, Career-and-Family Idealists and Family Agnostics are significantly more likely to have mothers with higher educational degrees, mothers who worked full time, and parents who were married, when compared to Independent Maternalists, as well as Family Conventionalists.

In addition to identifying and estimating the four distinct combinations of young women's family and work schemas, the present analyses serve as a critical snapshot of the interconnectedness between young women's work-family orientations and various personal background characteristics. Overall, the personal importance of religion (or the lack thereof) is found to be most significant in distinguishing Family Agnostics and Family Conventionalists, while family background characteristics are most notable in contributing to Career-and-Family Idealists and Independent Maternalists.

Conclusion

As this study illustrates, using latent class analysis (LCA) to explore young women's work-family orientations not only extends the understanding of how young women view marriage, but critically examines how young women's multiple schemas may interact to inform unique configurations of expectations for future family and work. This person-oriented approach juxtaposes Career-and-Family Idealists and Family Agnostics who, on one hand, express very high educational expectations and consider that getting pregnant is not compatible with continuing in school, with Independent Maternalists and Family Conventionalists, whose educational expectations are not as high but would *not* consider getting pregnant to mean a pause

or end to their education. The LCA approach, moreover, highlights that young women's work-family orientations which emphasize the centrality of career may, or may not, be paired with strong aspirations related to motherhood and marriage (i.e. CFI and FA); in contrast, work-family orientations which are much less centered around career may, or may not, emphasize marriage as requisite to future work and family (i.e. IM and FC). Not only are the present analyses descriptive of these notable and unique differences across combinations of schemas, but the latent class analyses furthermore contribute to prior literature by estimating how these work-family orientations are distributed at the population level and across various personal background characteristics.

In light of the Theory of Conjunctural Action framework (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), the schematic configurations identified and explored in this study are expected to interact in meaningful ways with the material elements of young women's lives to shape the structure of their family and work experiences. For example, if the material context of young women were to include changes in paid maternity leave policies, the combinations of schemas that result from such material conditions may be likely to appear differently from the work-family orientations in the present paper. Given this ongoing interplay between schemas and materials, one limitation of this paper may be that it represents the configurations of schema at one specific point in time, as a snapshot of schematic configurations in the transition to adulthood. The present discussion of different work-family orientations, however, contributes to broader scholarly literature by clarifying specifically which schemas are most likely to be combined in the experiences of young women during this critical window of time between ages 18 and 20. As young women are faced with the challenge of evaluating the significant milestones that shape and define adulthood, the different work-family orientations described here are likely to provide a different set of

assumptions and expectations in young women's decisions and actions. Therefore, the present study in fact benefits from being able to closely examine this specific period of transition among young women, and may challenge broader conceptual notions of viewing adulthood through an extended lens into the late twenties (Arnett 2007).

Responding to the overarching theoretical question of how cultural elements are organized in relation to one another (Swidler 1986), the findings in this paper provide an initial framework for delineating how schematic elements about work, family, and education are organized among young women in the transition to adulthood. Consistent with the TCA's description of how schemas are not evenly distributed throughout the population (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), the multi-group analyses in particular reveal significant variations among work-family orientations based on personal background factors, such as family socioeconomic status and personal importance of religion. Future research that builds on the present work should examine the significance of these work-family orientations that young women have begun to develop in early adulthood for actual outcomes of marriage, childbearing, educational attainment, and women's participation in the workforce. Given a longitudinal perspective, scholars may further explore changes in work-family orientations throughout the life course, both as prospective and retrospective ways of organizing cultural elements about work and family.

TABLE 1: Descriptive Statistics of Personal Background Measures (RDSL Baseline)

VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	RELATIVE FREQUENCIES
<i>Family income</i>	\$15k or less	.1829
	\$15k to 45k	.3496
	\$45k to 75k	.2418
	\$75k or more	.2257
<i>Mother's education</i>	Less than HS	.0923
	HS or GED	.3476
	Some college	.3385
	BA or more	.2216
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>	White	.6321
	Non-white ⁸	.3679
<i>Mother's work</i>	Worked ⁹	.6474
	Did not work	.3526
<i>Parents' marital status</i> ¹⁰	Married	.5803
	Not married	.4197
<i>Importance of religion</i>	Religion not important	.0966
	Somewhat important	.3263
	Very important	.3658
	Most important	.2113
<i>Ever pregnant</i>	Never pregnant	.7714
	Ever pregnant	.2286
<hr/> N = 984		

⁸ 33.7% black, 3.1% other race/ethnicity

⁹ Most of the time and full time

¹⁰ Biological parents married when respondent was born

TABLE 2: Descriptive Statistics of Schematic Indicators (RDSL Baseline)

VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	RELATIVE FREQUENCIES
<i>C-mom</i>	3=strongly agree	.2002
	2=agree	.5650
	1=disagree/strongly disagree	.2348
<i>C-work</i>	3=strongly agree	.1382
	2=agree	.6138
	1=disagree/strongly disagree	.2480
<i>S-marry</i>	3=extremely bothered	.3628
	2=very bothered	.4045
	1=slightly/not bothered	.2327
<i>S-kids</i>	3=extremely bothered	.4603
	2=very bothered	.2998
	1=slightly/not bothered	.2399
<i>E-educ</i>	4=graduate school	.3323
	3=four-year college	.4421
	2=vocational/technical/community college	.2022
	1=high school	.0234
<i>E-quit</i>	2=strongly agree or agree	.2440
	1=disagree/strongly disagree	.7560
<i>E-partner</i>	2=yes	.3212
	1=no	.6788
<i>T-trouble</i>	2=strongly agree or agree	.2480
	1=disagree/strongly disagree	.7520
<i>T-worst</i>	2=strongly agree	.4359
	1=agree/disagree/strongly disagree	.5641
<i>T-handle</i>	2=strongly agree or agree	.4126
	1=disagree/strongly disagree	.5874

N = 984

TABLE 3: Fit Statistics of Latent Class Models (RDSL)

Number of classes	G^2	BIC	AIC
1	-21089.98	9266.17	9172.14
2	-20637.91	8495.93	8301.99
3	-20310.28	7974.58	7680.73
4	-20165.79	7819.51	7425.75
5	-20075.36	7772.56	7278.89
6	-20027.36	7820.47	7216.89

TABLE 4: Model Comparisons using Bootstrap Likelihood Ratio Tests (RDSL)

Null model	v.	Alternative model	P-value
1-class		2-class	0.0145
2-class		3-class	0.0196
3-class		4-class	0.0373
4-class		5-class	0.8235
5-class		6-class	1

TABLE 5: Proportions and Conditional Probabilities of Responses for Four Latent Class Work-Family Orientations (RDSL)

		Career-Family Idealists	Family Agnostics	Independent Maternalists	Family Conventionalists
<i>ESTIMATED PROPORTION OF SAMPLE</i>		.3280 (.0209)	.1437 (.0149)	.2513 (.0205)	.2765 (.0249)
<i>C-mom</i>	3=strongly agree	.2014	.1111	.3273	.1300
	2=agree	.5721	.3305	.6301	.6172
	1=disagree/SD	.2266	.5584	.0426	.2529
<i>C-work</i>	3=strongly agree	.1975	.2757	.1158	.0163
	2=agree	.6496	.5275	.5743	.6515
	1=disagree/SD	.1529	.1967	.3099	.3322
<i>S-marry</i>	3=extremely bothered	.5730	.1297	.0542	.5861
	2=very bothered	.4086	.2271	.5936	.2801
	1=slightly/not bothered	.0184	.6432	.3523	.1338
<i>S-kids</i>	3=extremely bothered	.5877	.0171	.8831	.1537
	2=very bothered	.4121	.0453	.0274	.5452
	1=slightly/not bothered	.0002	.9376	.0460	.0261
<i>E-educ</i>	4=graduate school	.4607	.4038	.2359	.2316
	3=four-year college	.4347	.3803	.4606	.4669
	2=vo/tech/community	.1015	.1923	.2575	.2754
	1=high school	.0032	.0236	.0460	.0261
<i>E-quit</i>	2=agree/SA	.3986	.3680	.0421	.1119
	1=disagree/SD	.6014	.6320	.9579	.8881
<i>E-partner</i>	2=yes	.3668	.2807	.2269	.3822
	1=no	.6332	.7193	.7731	.6178
<i>T-trouble</i>	2=agree/SA	.1474	.2167	.3635	.2792
	1=disagree/SD	.8526	.7833	.6365	.7208
<i>T-worst</i>	2=strongly agree	.6665	.7912	.1503	.2353
	1=agree/disagree/SD	.3335	.2088	.8497	.7647
<i>T-handle</i>	2=agree/SA	.1803	.0880	.8215	.4848
	1=disagree/SD	.8197	.9120	.1785	.5152

SE in parentheses

$l = -20165.79$, entropy = 0.71

TABLE 6: Latent Class Prevalences and Log-Likelihoods of Latent Class Models by Personal Background Characteristics (RDSL)

	Career-Family Idealists	Family Agnostics	Independent Maternalists	Family Conventionalists	Log- likelihood
<i>Baseline model</i>	.3280 (.0209)	.1437 (.0149)	.2513 (.0205)	.2765 (.0249)	-20165.79
<i>Multi-group models</i>					
\$15k or less	.1371	.0870	.3258	.4501	-19037.96
\$15k-45k	.3664	.1659	.2391	.2286	
\$45k-75k	.2770	.1750	.2509	.2971	
\$75k or more	.5641	.1445	.1229	.1686	
Mother less than HS	.0366	.1084	.5114	.3437	-19414.16
Mother HS or GED	.2227	.2229	.3945	.1599	
Mother some college	.1122	.2273	.4021	.2584	
Mother BA or more	.4086	.2101	.2254	.1558	
White	.3866	.1674	.1959	.2501	-20149.85
Non-white	.2750	.1350	.3173	.2727	
Mother did not work	.3093	.1436	.2861	.2610	-20163.67
Mother worked	.3528	.1493	.2418	.2560	
Parents married	.4159	.1677	.2201	.1963	-19964.06
Not married	.1939	.1128	.3209	.3723	
Religion not important	.1991	.3490	.3068	.1451	-20119.51
Somewhat important	.3183	.1279	.2832	.2706	
Very important	.3367	.1034	.2934	.2665	
Most important	.4107	.1482	.2001	.2411	
Never pregnant	.4643	.3989	.0628	.0740	-17538.19
Ever pregnant	.1954	.0532	.3070	.4444	

SE in parentheses

TABLE 7: Covariate Analysis of Membership in Latent Classes by Personal Background Characteristics (RDSL)

	Career-Family Idealists	Family Agnostics	Independent Maternalists	Family Conventionalists
<i>Intercept</i>				
β_0	.0551	-.1894	-6.3899	ref
Odds	1.0567	.8275	.0017	ref
<i>Family income</i> ($p=.0002$)				
β_1	.3786*	.0892	.2130	ref
Odds	1.4602	1.0933	1.2374	ref
<i>Mother education</i> ($p=.0143$)				
β_2	.2216*	.2757*	.1469	ref
Odds	1.2480	1.3175	1.1583	ref
<i>Non-white</i> ($p=.0530$)				
β_3	-.1908	-.0158	.8098*	ref
Odds	.8263	.9843	2.2475	ref
<i>Mother worked</i> ($p=.0152$)				
β_4	.4073*	.4532*	.5136	ref
Odds	1.5128	1.5734	1.6712	ref
<i>Parents not married</i> ($p<.0001$)				
β_5	-1.3039*	-.6933*	.0980	ref
Odds	.2715	.4999	1.1030	ref
<i>Importance of religion</i> ($p<.0001$)				
β_6	.1200	-.5576*	.3617	ref
Odds	1.1275	.5726	1.5116	ref
<i>Ever pregnant</i> ($p<.0001$)				
β_7	-2.6493*	-1.5265*	.5243+	ref
Odds	.0707	.2173	1.5917	ref

$l = -15474.44$, * $p < 0.05$

Appendix 1: Latent Class Prevalences Estimated Over Time, by Respondents' Age (RDSL at Baseline and Two Years after Baseline)

	Career-Family Idealists	Family Agnostics	Independent Maternalists	Family Conventionalists	Log-likelihood
Age 18-20	.3280 (.0209)	.1437 (.0149)	.2513 (.0205)	.2765 (.0249)	-20165.79
Age 20-22	.2875 (.0212)	.1542 (.0160)	.2579 (.0246)	.3004 (.0274)	-20138.21

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CHAPTER 2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUNG WOMEN'S WORK-FAMILY ORIENTATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL TRANSITIONS IN EARLY ADULTHOOD

Introduction

Educational expectations are often considered to be among the most significant factors related to an individual's educational attainment and eventual socioeconomic status (Sewell et al. 1969; Haller and Portes 1973; Sewell and Hauser 1980). However, as young people's future goals about work and career are not always considered separately from their attitudes and expectations about family (Eccles 1994; Greene and DeBacker 2004; Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011; Marini et al. 1996), research has shown that gender ideologies related to family and work are also significant to educational outcomes, especially for young women (Kimmel 2000; Marini 1984; Padavic and Reskin 2002). While studies consistently show that young women generally hold more egalitarian gender ideologies compared to their male counterparts (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Davis and Greenstein 2004; Fan and Marini 2000), young women's attitudes about work and family are found to be more closely related and significantly more influential to their educational expectations, compared to the impact of these attitudes among young men (Davis and Pearce 2007). This greater significance of gendered ideologies about work and family on young women's future trajectories thus warrants further examination of specifically how young women's various attitudes about family and work may be related to the education they obtain in early adulthood.

As such, the primary aim of this paper is to examine the links between young women's *work-family orientations* and their educational attainment. In contrast with prior studies that have often assessed the effect of educational expectations and personal background factors separately on educational outcomes, *work-family orientations* highlight the interconnectedness of how young women combine various attitudes, expectations, and identities about family, education, and work, essentially as configurations of schema (Lee 2018). The central question of this study thus concerns the extent to which belonging to certain latent classes of work-family orientations may be associated with the amount of education women are obtaining in early adulthood. Through a series of statistical analyses using the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life (RDSL) survey data, I examine which combinations of schemas about work and family a woman has between the ages of 18 and 20 are significantly associated with the level of education she has obtained two years later.

Background

Forming the theoretical background for this study of how young women's work-family orientations are related to subsequent educational attainment are (a) the Theory of Conjunctural Action (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), and (b) an identity-based model for culture in action (Miles 2014).

Drawing from Sewell's model of structure as the recurrent patterning of social life (1992), the Theory of Conjunctural Action framework describes how *schemas* and *materials* interact to shape individual behavior and action at specific *conjunctures*, particularly in family contexts (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). *Schemas*, which are developed primarily through interactions in social contexts, are underdetermined ways of perceiving and acting through which individuals make sense of the world around them (e.g. ideas, values, habits of the mind).

Individuals have access to multiple schemas that may be partially contradictory, competing with one another, or mutually reinforcing. *Materials*, which are distinct from but interdependent with schemas, consist of the physical objects and conditions that instill and reinforce schemas in an individual's perceptions and experiences. Material conditions and constraints may require individuals to adjust available schemas or to develop new ones, but new and existing schemas can also influence how material structures change or develop over time. Moreover, schemas and materials interact in particularly significant ways during *conjunctures*, or short-term configurations of structure in which an individual's action may occur. Conjunctures, such as an unintended pregnancy, admittance to a college out-of-state, lay-off from work, or an unexpected end to a committed romantic relationship, pose opportunities for individuals to draw from available materials and a range of schemas, in response to a specific set of circumstances (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011).

In a similar vein, Miles' identity-based model for culture in action also elaborates upon the process through which individuals negotiate between identities and behavior (2014). Recognizing that people have multiple identities and try to behave in identity-consistent ways, Miles highlights that situational cues (i.e. materials) and meanings held by the individual (i.e. schemas) interact to activate salient identities which can direct and influence less salient ones (Stryker and Serpe 1994). The ordering and re-ordering of identities thus form the *core self* (MacKinnon and Heise 2010). As an extension of situational cues that interact with an individual's schematic meanings, Miles notes that resources are also necessary for individuals to verify salient identities and act in ways that are identity-consistent. Without the necessary capacity—in the form of material resources, cultural capital, social roles, or skills (Bourdieu

1986; Dumais 2002)—to enact and maintain the core self, individuals may be required to adjust their identities and schematic perspectives.

On one hand, the TCA framework is particularly notable in the way that it maintains the tension and multidimensionality of overlapping structures in an individual's life experiences. When considering the conjuncture of an unintended pregnancy between two working individuals, for example, does reproduction construct the context for work, or does work form the context for reproduction (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011)? The TCA framework highlights the significance of how multiple structures “conjoin” or come together at specific conjunctures, through which individuals have the opportunity to draw from a range of schemas. In light of this broader theoretical framework, the identity-based model for culture in action proposes that identity salience may be one of the organizing principles by which individuals draw from specific schemas to influence subsequent outcomes (Miles 2014). Taken together, the multiple schemas described in the TCA framework and multiple identities in the identity-based model for culture in action motivate further examination of how the certain combinations of salient schemas that young women form about their future work and family may be significant to their educational outcomes in early adulthood.

Given the diversity of young women's goals and expectations related to career, marriage, and family (Greene and DeBacker 2004), the present study builds on prior work which has identified four unique *work-family orientations* among young women, or combinations of schemas that young women hold regarding parenting, partnering, education, and work (Lee 2018). By using latent class analysis (LCA), work-family orientations do not constrain the relationship between work and family as independent or unidirectional, but instead, recognize the

interplay between schemas that involve parenting, partnering, education, and work, while also identifying which schemas may be more salient within these distinct schematic configurations.

More specifically, the four latent classes of work-family orientations held by young women are: *Career-Family Idealists*, *Family Agnostics*, *Independent Maternalists*, and *Family Conventionalists* (Lee 2018), each of which I will describe in further detail in the following section. Each of these work-family orientations represents different configurations of schemas and salient identities that are held by young women in the transition to adulthood.¹¹

Description of Work-Family Orientations

Of the four work-family orientations identified in Lee (2018), the first class, Career-Family Idealists (CFI), comprise about 33% of the sample. CFIs are most likely to give the highest response for educational expectations (graduate school) and are also likely to agree that work is a major source of satisfaction in their lives. The salience of this class' expected identity as "spouse" is very high, as is their expected identity as "mother." While CFIs are likely to agree that motherhood is one of the most fulfilling experiences in life, the centrality of motherhood among CFIs is not quite as high as some of the other latent classes. If CFIs were to "get pregnant now," they are likely to strongly agree that this would be the "worst thing," that they would have to quit school, and that they are not yet prepared to handle the responsibilities of parenting. However, CFIs are least likely to agree that one may have trouble getting pregnant if one waits for the perfect time.

¹¹ While schemas are dynamic and may change over time through interaction with social and material contexts, there is an important distinction to be made between shallow schemas, which only apply to a narrow set of situations or contexts, and deep schemas, which are more foundational and underlie numerous other related schemas. Johnson-Hanks et al. (2011) note that most family-relevant schemas, like the work-family orientations in this study, are examples of the latter—being rooted in schemas that have an underlying stability and enduring quality that can be estimated by latent measures at specific points in time.

The second class, Family Agnostics (FA), about 14% of the sample, are likely to report their educational expectations as attending a 4-year college or graduate school. FAs are most likely to strongly agree that they expect work to be a major source of satisfaction in their lives. The salience of this class' expected identities as "mother" and "spouse" is extremely low, especially in terms of the prospect of becoming a "mother." FAs are least likely to consider motherhood as the most fulfilling experience in a woman's life. If FAs were to become pregnant at the present conjuncture, they are likely to respond that they would have to quit school, that getting pregnant would be "the worst," and that they are not prepared for the responsibilities of parenting. FAs are likely to disagree that they would marry their partner if they were to get pregnant.

The third class, Independent Maternalists (IM), about 25% of the sample, are likely to expect to attend a 4-year college or a vocational/technical/community college, and most likely to consider motherhood as one of the most fulfilling experiences. The salience of this class' expected identities as "spouse" and especially as "mother" is very high. However, relative to previously mentioned classes, this class is not as likely to expect work to be a source of major satisfaction. If IMs were to become pregnant at the present conjuncture, they would not consider getting pregnant to be the "worst thing," are likely to respond that they would not quit school, and are most likely to expect not to marry their current partner. IMs also believe that they would be prepared to handle the responsibilities of parenting, and are most likely to agree that it is difficult to wait for the perfect time to become pregnant.

Lastly, Family Conventionalists (FC), who comprise about 28% of the sample, are most likely to expect to attend a 4-year college or vocational/technical/community college, and are least likely to strongly agree that they expect work to be a major source of satisfaction. The

salience of this class' expected identities as "mother" and "spouse" is very high, but not as high as CFIs or IMs. FCs agree that motherhood is one of the most fulfilling experiences, and are most likely to expect to marry their current partners if they become pregnant. If FCs were to become pregnant at the present juncture, they are not nearly as likely as CFIs and FAs to respond that this would be the "worst thing," and agree that they could handle the responsibilities of parenting.

Prior work has shown that young women's work-family orientations are significantly associated with sociodemographic factors, such as parents' income, parents' education, race/ethnicity, and religious participation (Lee 2018). The present study will be an extension of this research to explore two central questions: first, the significance of these latent classes for young women's educational attainment in early adulthood; and second, the extent to which young women's work-family orientations may be related to the effect of sociodemographic characteristics on educational outcomes.

This Study

As the theoretical implications of the TCA framework and identity-based model for culture in action would suggest, I expect the unique work-family orientations held by young women to be significantly associated with measures of their educational attainment. For those work-family orientations in which education and work are more salient aspects of young women's identities, i.e. Career-Family Idealists and Family Agnostics, I expect membership in these latent groups to be positively associated with higher educational attainment. Especially since Career-Family Idealists consider both their educational and family goals to be of equal importance, it is likely that educational attainment among CFIs would not be deterred even with aspirations of marriage and parenthood. Family Agnostics, who do not have strong aspirations

for parenting or partnering, would also be likely to be able to continue pursuing higher levels of education through early adulthood. On the other hand, I expect the Family Conventionalists to be most closely associated with lower educational attainment. While the centrality of motherhood is significant to both the schematic configurations of Independent Maternalists and Family Conventionalists, work and career are still salient aspects of the schemas held by Independent Maternalists, relative to Family Conventionalists whose priorities are heavily focused on marriage and parenthood.

However, considering the significance of material contexts and resources to schemas in TCA (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), the possible impact of young women's personal background characteristics upon work-family orientations and educational outcomes must also be taken into account. Previous research makes clear the significant associations of parents' education, occupation, and income with young people's educational aspirations and attainment (Buchmann and Diprete 2006; Cohen 1987; Mau and Bikos 2000; Rhea and Otto 2001). In particular, studies suggest that higher levels of mother's education are closely linked to adolescents adopting more egalitarian attitudes about gendered family roles (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Cunningham 2001; Thornton et al. 1983), which is likely to contribute to further academic and career achievement among young women. Additionally, studies show that religious service attendance is significantly and positively associated with higher educational outcomes (Glanville et al. 2008; Muller and Ellison 2001), and that individuals from lower socioeconomic status families are significantly more likely to attend community colleges or be enrolled in postsecondary education part-time (Baker and Velez 1996; Kao and Tienda 1998; Reynolds and Burge 2008). As young women's work-family orientations are likely to be interrelated with such contextual factors as family socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, and religious participation, I will further examine

the extent to which young women's work-family orientations might mediate or help to explain the effect of these personal background characteristics on educational attainment in early adulthood.

Data and Methods

To answer my research questions, I use data from the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life (RDSL) study, which comes from a population-based sample of 1003 young women between ages 18 and 20, residing in one county in Michigan. The first component of the study, launched in 2008, consisted of 60-minute, face-to-face, baseline survey interviews assessing aspects of family background; demographic information; a wide range of attitudes, values, and beliefs; current and past friendship and romantic relationships; education; and career trajectories. Following the baseline survey, all respondents were invited to participate in a journal-based mixed methods follow-up survey (by Internet or phone) for approximately two years. Of the initial sample of young women, 95% agreed to participate in the follow-up journal study. Each quarterly journal collected updates about respondents' attitudes and education—which are the focus of the present analyses.

Independent Measure

Using ten selected schematic indicators from the RDSL's baseline survey (See Table 8), I draw upon the four latent classes of work-family orientations identified in Lee (2018) as the most representative combinations of attitudes, expectations, and identities that young women hold with regards to parenting, partnering, education, and work. This measure of *work-family orientations* highlights common patterns in how young women combine these various schemas about their present and future relationships, education, and work. Taking into account the covariation of numerous attitudinal measures, LCA is essentially a data reduction technique that

suggests a small number of latent classes in the population and uses patterns of individual survey responses to assign the probabilities that each case or person belongs to one of these classes (i.e. gamma estimates). Using LCA thus allows me to employ a set of profiles that reflect the most representative schematic configurations among young women in these analyses (Collins and Lanza 2010).

Furthermore, the main independent variable for this study is a categorical measure of young women's latent class membership in one of these four work-family orientations at baseline. Based on the highest probability of an individual belonging to a latent class, I have assigned individuals to their most likely work-family orientation.¹² More specifically, as outlined in the summary of conditional probabilities for an individual's responses to the selected survey indicators (Lee 2018), the four categories of work-family orientations applied to this study are: (a) *Career-Family Idealists*, (b) *Family Agnostics*, (c) *Independent Maternalists*, and (d) *Family Conventionalists*. (See Table 9 for details about each latent class.)

Dependent Measure

Drawing from the last available quarterly journal data, I include as my main dependent variable of educational outcomes the respondents' highest level of education completed at ages 20 to 22 (two years after the baseline measures comprising the work-family orientations were collected). The ordinal categories for this measure of educational attainment are: (a) less than high school, (b) high school (c) some college or associate's degree at a vocational/ technical/

¹² I have assigned individuals to their most likely work-family orientation given that the entropy level of this analysis exceeds 0.7, which approaches a level that is considered high and shows that the method of maximum probability assignment is likely to perform better than posterior probability weighting for estimating class membership (Clark and Muthen 2009).

community college, and (d) some college or bachelor's degree at a four-year postsecondary institution.

Personal Background Factors

Personal background factors that I further include in my analyses include survey measures of parents' income, mother's education, race/ethnicity, respondent's religious attendance, and age. As measures of family socioeconomic status, I use an ordinal variable of parents' combined income, with categories of (a) \$15,000 or less, (b) \$15,000-45,000, (c) \$45,000-75,000, or (d) \$75,000 or more.¹³ I also include mother's education as an ordinal measure of whether the respondent's mother has attended some college or higher, with categories of (a) less than high school, (b) high school or GED, (c) some college, and (d) bachelor's degree or higher. In addition, as a measure of religious participation, I use a categorical measure of whether the respondent attends religious services on a regular basis, with categories of (a) more than once a week, (b) once a week, (c) few times a month or year, and (d) never. As control variables, I include a continuous measure of the respondent's age, and a nominal measure of whether the respondent identifies as (a) white or (b) non-white¹⁴.

Analytic Strategy

With the baseline measure of membership in each latent class work-family orientations and subsequent measures of young women's education, I first conduct a multinomial logistic regression to examine the statistical associations between young women's work-family orientations (at baseline) and their educational attainment at ages 20-22. Then, I assess the statistical significance of personal background characteristics to educational attainment,

¹³ Don't Know or Refused coded as missing

¹⁴ 33.7% black, 3.1% other race/ethnicity

comparing the changing coefficients of these personal background variables after adding work-family orientations to the expanded multinomial logistic regression. More specifically, I examine measures of parents' income, mother's education, respondent's race/ethnicity, religious attendance, and age, so as to evaluate the extent to which work-family orientations may mediate the effect of these personal background variables on educational attainment. Lastly, I compare the results of the full multinomial logistic regression model with an additive regression model of young women's educational attainment using the attitudinal measures about pregnancy, family, education, and work without latent classes (Table 8). This final analysis will be used to strengthen the justification for applying this approach of latent class work-family orientations.

Results

Statistical analyses using multinomial logistic regressions indicate that certain work-family orientations are more significant than others in models predicting educational outcomes at different levels of educational attainment. In the first model of variations in educational attainment by work-family orientations (see Table 10), I find that Career-Family Idealists are significantly more likely to have completed a bachelor's degree-level education by age 22, compared to all other work-family orientation groups (Career-Family Idealists as reference category). Results in this first model of work-family orientations also suggest that, compared to Career-Family Idealists, Family Agnostics and Independent Maternalists are significantly more likely to have completed some vocational/technical/community college education, and Family Conventionalists are significantly more likely to have completed less than a high school education. In models not shown here, I find that Family Conventionalists are also less likely than all other work-family orientations to complete a bachelor's degree-level education, and Family

Agnostics are more likely than all other work-family orientations to have completed vocational/technical/community college education.

Examining how personal background characteristics may be related to young women's educational attainment, I find that parents' income, mother's education, race/ethnicity, religious attendance, and age are all statistically significant before including work-family orientations in the multinomial logistic regression. As shown in Table 11, lower parents' income is significantly associated with less than high school educational attainment, while higher parents' income is significantly associated with completing a bachelor's degree-level education. Similarly, I find that having a mother who completed some college education is positively associated with respondents completing some vocational/technical/community college education, while having a mother with a bachelor's degree or higher is negatively associated with respondents not finishing high school and positively associated with respondents also completing a bachelor's degree-level education. In terms of religious attendance, results indicate that more frequent religious service attendance is positively associated with respondents completing a bachelor's degree-level education by age 22.

In the subsequent analysis, I have added work-family orientations to the multinomial logistic regression of personal background characteristics and educational attainment. These results are shown in Table 12. Comparing first the results from Table 10 with Table 12, I find that the coefficients of work-family orientations on educational attainment remain fairly consistent, with few changes. Controlling for background factors, Family Agnostics are significantly more likely than Career-Family Idealists to have completed some years of schooling at a vocational/technical/community college, while Independent Maternalists and Family Conventionalists are still less likely than Career-Family Idealists to have completed a bachelor's

degree-level education. Mainly, the two changes in the expanded model with personal background variables are that there is no longer a statistically significant difference in Family Agnostics completing a bachelor's degree-level education, and no statistically significant difference in Independent Maternalists completing a vocational/technical/community college education, compared to Career-Family Idealists. It is possible that part of the variation in these associations is being accounted for by other variables included in the model.

Comparing across the results in Tables 11 and 12, I have further examined how the effects of personal background characteristics on educational attainment may be mediated or explained by young women's work-family orientations. Based on a series of mediation analyses that I have conducted using a Stata module for decomposing the total effects of categorical variables (Buis 2011), I find that there are indeed significant mediation effects of work-family orientations on the relationship between certain personal background characteristics and highest level of education completed ($p < .05$).

Results indicate that the effect of mother's education on completing some vocational/technical/community college education is significantly mediated by the Family Agnostic orientation, where 4% of the total effect of mother's education is accounted for by the indirect effect of work-family schemas held by FAs. For women in the Family Agnostics group, it may be that their more educated mothers have instilled a value for education in them that has them presently downplaying the necessity of family formation, so they can focus on getting at least a two-year degree. Results also show that the Family Conventionalist orientation has a mediating effect on the relationship between mother's education and completing some bachelor degree-level education, with 6% of the total effect of mother's education being accounted for by the schemas held by FCs. In this case, women with a Family Conventionalist work-family

orientation have mothers with lower education, and it may be partly the schemas picked up from their mothers and other significant individuals, that downplay educational achievements in favor of family formation, which mediate the relationship between mother's education and educational attainment for them.

In terms of the relationship between parents' income and completing some bachelor degree-level education, I find that parents' income is significantly mediated by the Career-Family Idealist and Independent Maternalist orientations—where 7% of the total effect of parents' income on educational attainment can be explained by its influence through the schemas held by CFIs, and 2% of the total effect of parents' income can be explained by its influence through the schemas held by IMs. As discussed earlier, when resources such as family income are more readily available, young women are free to assume they can afford as much education as they desire, and parents and other adults are likely to be assuming and encouraging higher levels of education in addition to normative female family aspirations of becoming a wife and mother someday (Buchmann and Diprete 2006; Cohen 1987; Mau and Bikos 2000; Rhea and Otto 2001). Conversely, when resources such as family income are more limited, as is the case for many Independent Maternalists, young women from such disadvantaged backgrounds may be more likely to adjust their aspirations for continued years of education (i.e. focusing on achieving a two-year degree in early adulthood) while they place greater immediate importance on motherhood.

In addition to the mediating effects of work-family orientations on the relationship between socioeconomic variables and educational outcomes, results indicate that the effect of religious attendance on completing some bachelor degree-level education is significantly mediated by the Career-Family Idealist orientation, where 2% of the total effect of religious

attendance is accounted for by the schemas held by CFIs. This is in line with other studies showing that religious service attendance, controlling for religious affiliation, is positively related to education attainment and stronger preferences for marriage and childbearing (Lehrer 2010; Pearce and Thornton 2007).

To lend further support for the use of work-family orientations in the aforementioned analyses, I estimated a multinomial logistic regression of educational attainment using the ten individual schematic measures, instead of work-family orientations, as an additive model. These results, presented in Table 13, indicate that each of the ten schematic measures is statistically significant in relation to educational attainment, controlling for personal background characteristics. However, in conducting a likelihood ratio test to assess the goodness of fit in the additive model compared to the model using work-family orientations, I find that there is not adequate evidence to reject the work-family orientations model in favor of the additive model with personal background characteristics ($p = .999$). In addition, the interpretability of the additive model presents critical challenges, as the statistical associations of the individual schematic measures are inconsistent across the different levels of education.

For example, the additive model shows that there is a positive and statistically significant association between the centrality of work to young women's identities (i.e. "You expect work to be a major source of satisfaction in life") and having completed vocational/technical/community college education as well as a bachelor's degree-level education. The direction of the relationship between the schema for the centrality of work and educational attainment is quite clear. However, the same conclusion cannot be drawn for other schemas that have a more complex relationship with educational attainment. For instance, the schema for the centrality of motherhood (i.e. "Being a mother and raising children is the most fulfilling experience a woman

can have”) is positively associated with having completed less than a high school education, while it is also significantly and positively associated with having completed some years of schooling at a four-year college or university. Given that young women indeed hold distinct expectations for parenting, partnering, education, and work in different combinations, the results of this additive model may provide a variable-centered analysis that highlights which schematic measure is significant in what way at which levels of education. The person-centered approach of using latent class work-family orientations, however, provides a valuable shift of focus toward more clearly understanding how unique configurations of schemas held by subgroups of individuals in the population may be significantly associated with young women’s educational outcomes at different levels of attainment.

Conclusion

This study highlights the significance that different combinations of schemas about parenting, partnering, education, and work, together with resources, have in influencing young women’s educational outcomes in early adulthood. Results suggest that the most significant difference in educational attainment is the greater likelihood that young women who are Career-Family Idealists will have completed a bachelor’s degree-level education by age 22, compared to Independent Maternalists and Family Conventionalists. This configuration of schema, prizing career and family achievements, whether stemming from parental values and encouragement, the availability of family resources to make these kinds of aspirations possible, the quality of schools, the modeling of positive family interactions, or some combination of the above, coheres to encourage these young women to make choices and have the resources to successfully pursue higher education straight from high school.

It is important to consider the significance of personal background variables, such as parents' income, mother's education, and religious attendance, and their role in shaping work-family orientations. In fact, I find that there are significant mediation effects of certain work-family orientations on the relationship between specific personal background characteristics and educational attainment—specifically, with the Career-Family Idealists and Independent Maternalists helping to explain part of the relationship between parents' income and educational attainment; the Family Agnostics and Family Conventionalists helping to explain the relationship between mother's education and young women's educational attainment; and the Career-Family Idealists helping to explain part of the relationship between religious attendance and educational attainment.

These results underscore the importance of understanding and modeling the interconnectedness of schemas and materials in the study of young women's work-family lives (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). The schematic configurations of young women, which have direct significance for educational outcomes, are not independent from the socioeconomic resources and material contexts in which young women's educational and family experiences are also embedded. In fact, this study illustrates that the overall effect of various personal background characteristics may be manifested *through* the indirect effect of work-family orientations that young women hold and are likely to draw from at critical conjunctures in the transition to adulthood.

One limitation to this study is the short and early window in adulthood through which to observe educational attainment. Research indicates that women particularly of racial/ethnic minorities are more likely to complete higher levels of education at later ages (US Census Bureau 2014). Despite this limitation in the scope of available data, a significant contribution of

the present analysis is that it highlights the influence of work-family orientations on the educational transitions of young women out of high school age and into post-secondary education trajectories. Future research may further investigate the educational trajectories of women throughout the life course, and how work-family orientations continue to matter, particularly in conjunction with significant life events such as pregnancy, marriage, and divorce. Overall, this paper contributes to the larger discussion of how young individuals' experiences of combining schemas about work and family may influence their educational attainment in the first few of years of early adulthood.

The major strength of this data and analysis is the ability to extend prior work that has helped to identify and describe the multiple schemas and identities that are present among young women in the transition to adulthood, particularly with regards to expectations about family, marriage, work, and education (Davis and Pearce 2007; Greene and DeBacker 2004; Lee 2018). This study is a critical first step in examining the significance of young women's work-family orientations to substantive outcomes in early adulthood, and in doing so, brings together the Theory of Conjunctural Action and the identity-based model for culture in action (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011; Miles 2014). By using the person-centered approach to examine young women's work-family orientations, this study highlights the importance of understanding how various schemas are in interaction with one another to influence young women's educational attainment in early adulthood.

TABLE 8: Survey Measures Included in Latent Class Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL)

<i>Variable</i>	Survey Item	Categories
<i>C-mom:</i>	Being a mother and raising children is the most fulfilling experience a woman can have.	3=strongly agree 2=agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree
<i>C-work:</i>	You expect work to be a major source of satisfaction in life.	3=strongly agree 2=agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree
<i>S-marry:</i>	Suppose that your life turned out so that you never married, how much would that bother you?	3=extremely bothered 2=very bothered 1=slightly/not bothered
<i>S-kids:</i>	Suppose your life turned out so that you never had children, how much would that bother you?	3=extremely bothered 2=very bothered 1=slightly/not bothered
<i>E-educ:</i>	How far do you think you will go in school?	4=graduate school 3=four-year college 2=vocational/technical or community college 1=high school
<i>E-quit:</i>	If you get pregnant, you would have to quit school.	2=strongly agree or agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree
<i>E-partner:</i>	If you get pregnant, would you get married to your partner?	2=yes 1=no
<i>T-trouble:</i>	If a woman waits for the perfect time to have a baby, she will probably have trouble getting pregnant.	2=strongly agree or agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree
<i>T-worst:</i>	Getting pregnant at this time in life is one of the worst things that could happen to you.	2=strongly agree 1=agree/disagree/strongly disagree
<i>T-handle:</i>	If you got pregnant now, you could handle the responsibilities of parenting.	2=strongly agree or agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree

TABLE 9: Proportions and Conditional Probabilities of Responses for Four Latent Class Work-Family Orientations at Baseline (RDSL)

		Career-Family Idealists	Family Agnostics	Independent Maternalists	Family Conventionalists
<i>ESTIMATED PROPORTION OF SAMPLE</i>		.3280 (.0209)	.1437 (.0149)	.2513 (.0205)	.2765 (.0249)
<i>C-mom</i>	3=strongly agree	.2014	.1111	.3273	.1300
	2=agree	.5721	.3305	.6301	.6172
	1=disagree/SD	.2266	.5584	.0426	.2529
<i>C-work</i>	3=strongly agree	.1975	.2757	.1158	.0163
	2=agree	.6496	.5275	.5743	.6515
	1=disagree/SD	.1529	.1967	.3099	.3322
<i>S-marry</i>	3=extremely bothered	.5730	.1297	.0542	.5861
	2=very bothered	.4086	.2271	.5936	.2801
	1=slightly/not bothered	.0184	.6432	.3523	.1338
<i>S-kids</i>	3=extremely bothered	.5877	.0171	.8831	.1537
	2=very bothered	.4121	.0453	.0274	.5452
	1=slightly/not bothered	.0002	.9376	.0460	.0261
<i>E-educ</i>	4=graduate school	.4607	.4038	.2359	.2316
	3=four-year college	.4347	.3803	.4606	.4669
	2=vo/tech/community	.1015	.1923	.2575	.2754
	1=high school	.0032	.0236	.0460	.0261
<i>E-quit</i>	2=agree/SA	.3986	.3680	.0421	.1119
	1=disagree/SD	.6014	.6320	.9579	.8881
<i>E-partner</i>	2=yes	.3668	.2807	.2269	.3822
	1=no	.6332	.7193	.7731	.6178
<i>T-trouble</i>	2=agree/SA	.1474	.2167	.3635	.2792
	1=disagree/SD	.8526	.7833	.6365	.7208
<i>T-worst</i>	2=strongly agree	.6665	.7912	.1503	.2353
	1=agree/disagree/SD	.3335	.2088	.8497	.7647
<i>T-handle</i>	2=agree/SA	.1803	.0880	.8215	.4848
	1=disagree/SD	.8197	.9120	.1785	.5152

SE in parentheses

$N = 984$, entropy = 0.71

TABLE 10: Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients of Young Women's Educational Attainment¹⁵ by Work-Family Orientations at Baseline (RDSL)

	Less than HS	HS	Vo/Tech/ Community College ¹⁶	4-Year University ¹⁷
Work-Family Orientation ¹⁸				
<i>Family Conventionalist</i>	0.847* (0.345)	ref	0.234 (0.484)	-1.488* (0.359)
<i>Family Agnostic</i>	0.434 (0.346)	ref	1.230* (0.490)	-0.698* (0.310)
<i>Independent Maternalist</i>	0.507 (0.488)	ref	0.956* (0.370)	-0.793* (0.349)
SE in parentheses l = -1064.49, * $p < 0.05$				

¹⁵ 2 years after baseline

¹⁶ Some college or associate's degree at a vocational/technical/community college

¹⁷ Some college or bachelor's degree at a 4-year postsecondary institution

¹⁸ Career-Family Idealists as reference category

TABLE 11: Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients of Educational Attainment¹⁹ by Baseline Personal Background Variables (RDSL)

	Less than HS	HS	Vo/Tech/ Community College ²⁰	4-Year University ²¹
Parents' Income				
<i>less than \$15k</i>	2.434* (0.351)	ref	-0.683* (0.361)	-2.801* (0.510)
<i>\$45k – \$75k</i>	0.720 (0.487)	ref	0.802* (0.401)	0.872* (0.266)
<i>\$75 or more</i>	-0.890* (0.395)	ref	-0.532 (0.402)	1.999* (0.475)
Mother's education ²²				
<i>Less than HS</i>	1.295* (0.537)	ref	-0.859 (0.707)	-2.698* (0.615)
<i>Some college</i>	0.903 (0.702)	ref	1.200* (0.523)	0.574 (0.561)
<i>Bachelor's or higher</i>	-1.879* (0.784)	ref	-0.879 (0.608)	2.619* (0.579)
Race/Ethnicity				
<i>Non-white</i>	0.655* (0.299)	ref	0.860* (0.290)	0.301 (0.288)
Religious Attendance				
<i>Few times a year/month</i>	1.304* (0.360)	ref	0.536 (0.861)	0.160 (0.288)
<i>Once a week</i>	0.278 (0.344)	ref	-0.283 (0.774)	1.890* (0.396)
<i>More than once a week</i>	1.780 (0.941)	ref	1.335* (0.478)	2.201* (0.470)
Age	0.180 (0.199)	ref	0.950* (0.290)	1.895* (.288)
SE in parentheses l = -898.43, * $p < 0.05$				

¹⁹ 2 years after baseline

²⁰ Some college or associate's degree at a vocational/technical/community college

²¹ Some college or bachelor's degree at a 4-year postsecondary institution

²² High school or GED as reference category

TABLE 12: Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients of Educational Attainment²³ by Baseline Work-Family Orientations and Personal Background Variables (RDSL)

	Less than HS	HS	Vo/Tech/ Community College	4-Year University
<hr/>				
Work-Family Orientation ²⁴				
<i>Family Conventionalist</i>	0.846* (0.412)	ref	0.138 (0.778)	-1.946* (0.559)
<i>Family Agnostic</i>	0.401 (0.447)	ref	1.948* (0.522)	-0.232 (0.407)
<i>Independent Maternalist</i>	0.600 (0.557)	ref	0.328 (0.552)	-1.037* (0.498)
Parents' Income				
<i>less than \$15k</i>	2.326* (0.410)	ref	-0.592 (0.858)	-1.633* (0.502)
<i>\$45k – \$75k</i>	0.631 (0.457)	ref	0.747* (0.405)	0.883* (0.271)
<i>\$75 or more</i>	-0.545 (0.483)	ref	-0.644 (0.466)	1.572* (0.437)
Mother's education ²⁵				
<i>Less than HS</i>	1.198* (0.356)	ref	-0.404 (0.547)	-1.464* (0.416)
<i>Some college</i>	0.706 (0.822)	ref	1.076* (0.371)	0.147 (0.318)
<i>Bachelor's or higher</i>	-0.730* (0.430)	ref	-0.606 (0.425)	2.291* (0.400)
Race/Ethnicity				
<i>Non-white</i>	0.883* (0.227)	ref	0.921* (0.284)	0.268 (0.247)
Religious Attendance				
<i>Few times a year/month</i>	1.047* (0.487)	ref	0.631 (0.861)	0.273 (0.324)
<i>Once a week</i>	0.378 (0.270)	ref	-0.706 (0.831)	1.820* (0.403)
<i>More than once a week</i>	1.718 (1.742)	ref	1.447 (0.862)	2.185* (0.454)
Age	0.1003 (0.146)	ref	0.883* (0.202)	1.575* (.267)

SE in parentheses
 $t = -829.97$, * $p < 0.05$

²³ 2 years after baseline

²⁴ Career-Family Idealists as reference category

²⁵ High school or GED as reference category

TABLE 13: Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients of Educational Attainment by Baseline Schematic Measures about Parenting, Partnering, Education, and Work (RDSL, Additive Model Controlling for Personal Background Measures)

	Less than HS	HS	Vo/Tech/CC	4-Year University
C-mom (motherhood most fulfilling) ²⁶				
Agree	0.447	ref	0.242	0.303*
Strongly agree	1.760*	ref	-0.867	0.130
C-work (work as major satisfaction) ⁹				
Agree	-0.162	ref	1.270*	1.335*
Strongly agree	0.743	ref	-0.212	1.052*
S-marry (bothered if never marry) ²⁷				
Bothered	2.191	ref	-1.217*	-0.841*
Extremely bothered	1.500	ref	-1.084*	-1.383*
S-kids (bothered if never have children) ¹⁰				
Bothered	-6.109	ref	1.280*	1.018*
Extremely bothered	0.690	ref	1.575*	0.902*
E-educ (how far do you think you will go in school) ²⁸				
High school	1.036	ref	14.204	0.308
Vo/Tech/Community	-0.102	ref	-1.524	-2.783*
Graduate school	-1.835*	ref	-9.489	0.553*
E-quit (quit school if pregnant now) ⁹				
Strongly agree or agree	-2.947*	ref	-6.153	0.693*
E-partner (get married if pregnant) ²⁹				
Yes	-0.285*	ref	-0.785*	-0.182
T-trouble (difficult to wait for perfect time) ⁹				
Strongly agree or agree	-1.435*	ref	6.765	-1.129*
T-worst (getting pregnant now as worst thing) ³⁰				
Strongly agree	-0.379	ref	-4.833	0.609*
T-handle (could handle parenting if pregnant) ⁹				
Strongly agree or agree	0.437	ref	-1.100*	-1.602*

$l = -809.90$, * $p < 0.05$

²⁶ Disagree or strongly disagree as reference category

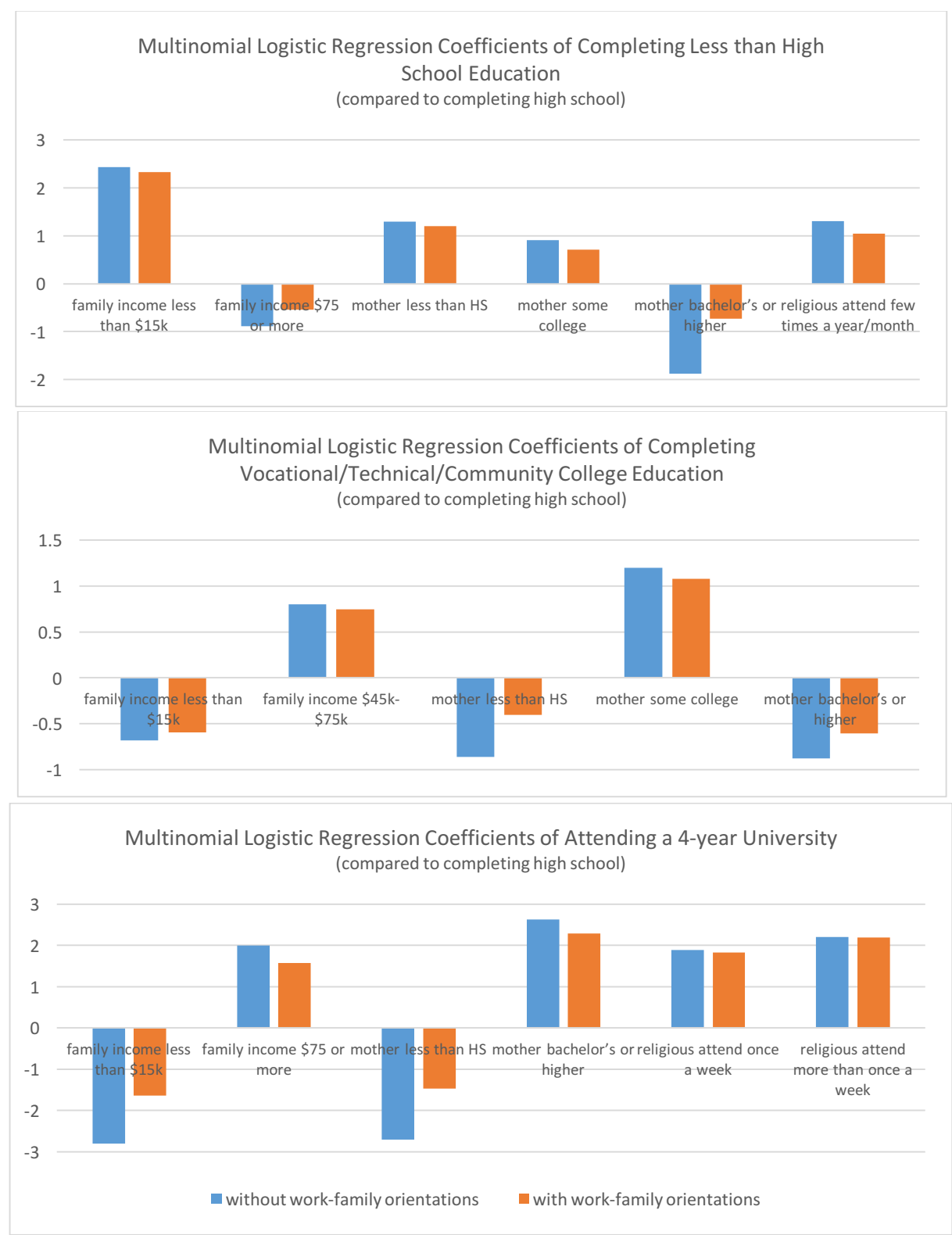
²⁷ Slightly or not bothered as reference category

²⁸ Four-year college as reference category

²⁹ No as reference category

³⁰ Agree/disagree/strongly disagree as reference

FIGURE 1: Bar Graphs Summarizing Significant Mediating Effects of Work-Family Orientations on Educational Attainment (RDSL)



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CHAPTER 3. HOW AND WHY YOUNG WOMEN'S WORK-FAMILY ORIENTATIONS SHIFT IN THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD: ASSESSING THE EFFECT OF ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP EXPERIENCE

Introduction

Young women come to the transition to adulthood with a set of ideas about how life should or might turn out to be. These ideas are embedded in *schemas* that frame young women's expectations for how their family, education, and work lives are to unfold. According to the Theory of Conjunctural Action (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), *schemas* refer to the underdetermined ways of perceiving and making sense of the world, through ideas, values, or habits of the mind. The Theory of Conjunctural Action (TCA) highlights that schemas are in interaction with *materials* (i.e. physical objects, resources, and conditions that instill and reinforce schemas, but also influence individuals to adjust or develop new schemas), and that individuals in fact draw from *multiple* schemas to shape the social actions which compose the pathways that individuals take throughout the life course. For example, the institution of marriage in the U.S. is structured and supported by materials, such as laws that give unique rights and privileges to married partners, religious ceremonies, and even activities, houses, and furniture designed specifically for married couples; these materials reinforce schemas that assume the need to prioritize the permanence of commitment and the need to regulate processes of reproduction, but may also be challenged by schemas that highlight the importance of independence and personal fulfillment in young people's lives (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011).

While studies often focus on women's experiences in the realms of family, work, and education separately, scholars have noted the limitations of assessing only one element of young people's attitudes about family at a time (Carroll et al. 2007; Hall 2006). Schemas related to parenting and partnering are especially culturally dense, as they cross over many life-domains, such as women's work, social class, and the role of marriage and the state (Garro 2000). As a result, theoretical frameworks such as TCA call for the closer examination of how varying schemas regarding marriage, family, and work are related to one another in young people's expectations about the future (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). In particular, young women are more likely to have a diverse set of goals and expectations about future work and family, compared to men, and these varying configurations of schemas are crucial to understanding the factors that contribute to young women's different outcomes throughout the transition to adulthood (Greene and DeBacker 2004).

In the broader literature, it is also well-established that an individual's schemas, and attitudes that represent them, are unlikely to be static over time (Axinn and Thornton 1992; Thornton 1989). Thus, an individual's *configurations* of schemas may also be adjusted throughout the life course. Empirical examples of longitudinal research on patterns of change in young people's attitudes about family and work have, however, been limited. Willoughby (2010), for example, models the trajectories of marital attitudes among adolescents, but notes the need for further examination of the interaction between ensuing life experiences, cultural and social contexts, and changing attitudes and behaviors. While studies have indicated that expectations of marriage and family have remained stable across cohorts (Thornton and Young-Demarco 2001), intra-individual change over time is likely more substantial (Marshall and Shepherd 2017; Willoughby 2010). In particular, shifts in young women's attitudes about family

and work have been found to be closely interconnected with early experiences of romantic relationships in young women's lives (Crissey 2005; Joyner and Udry 2000; Shulman and Seiffge-Krenke 2001).

This paper thus explores patterns in how young women's schematic configurations about family and work shift over time, and to what extent romantic relationship experiences may be significantly associated with these schematic shifts. I focus on the transition to adulthood as a particularly critical period during which individuals learn to navigate various multifaceted and intersecting social roles, develop more complex relationships, and practice important decision making (Arnett 2000; Shanahan 2000). Especially for young women, the transition to adulthood is likely to consist of a heightened sense of variability in the possible pathways to adulthood, with the sequence and timing of events such as pregnancy, work, and marriage taking priority but not always being explicitly defined (Carroll et al. 2007; Willoughby et al. 2012). Therefore, this paper further examines how young women may jointly consider work and family matters especially when faced with various sets of circumstances or *conjunctures* within their romantic relationships during the transition to adulthood (Eccles 1994; Greene and DeBacker 2004; Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011; Macmillan and Copher 2005; Marini et al. 1996).

To answer these questions, I build upon work from a previous study which uses latent class analyses to capture four common configurations of schemas about work and family at one point in time (Lee 2018). With prospective survey data from the same study, the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life study, I use latent transition analysis in this paper to estimate the likelihoods of shifting from one *work-family orientation* to another. I then investigate how young women's experiences of romantic relationships play a role in these changes.

Young Women's Schemas and Conjunctures Over Time

If individuals are likely to hold multiple schemas at any given point in time, what happens to these configurations of schemas as time passes, especially if these multiple schemas are conflicting or competing with one another? More generally, how do schemas change over time? According to the Theory of Conjunctural Action (TCA), the process by which schemas are acquired and altered is largely social and results from interactions and lived experiences (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). Not all individuals will have equal exposure to or experience with the same range of schemas, and these diverse interactions will depend on an unequal distribution of both materials and schemas in an individual's context (Bachrach and Morgan 2013). Keeping this inequality of materials and schemas in mind, an individual's configurations of schemas may be further reiterated, legitimated, and strengthened through experiences that confirm existing schemas. In this way, many schemas may often remain uncontested, but it is also likely that various interactions and experiences will lead individuals to choose between contradictory schemas or be faced with the need to reconcile schemas that are conflicting with one another. For example, young women who initially express an egalitarian outlook on their future work and family lives may be likely to fall back on a self-reliant approach when the expectations of a committed partner or stable work are not fulfilled (Damaske 2011; Gerson 2009).

Among the factors that are likely to influence the stability or change of schemas over time are *conjunctures*, which the Theory of Conjunctural Action describes as a specific set of circumstances that may require a form of response by the individual. At these specific *conjunctures*, individuals draw upon combinations of schemas and materials to shape their response to unfolding circumstances; as a result, the configurations of individuals' schemas may

often be reinforced and remain stable, but they may also shift and be adjusted over time (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011).

As young women pass through the transition to adulthood, varied experiences of romantic relationships present unique opportunities to explore new roles as well as experience deeper levels of intimacy and commitment (Adams et al. 2001; Shulman and Seiffge-Krenke 2001). The life experiences that result from such relationships are likely to give rise to conjunctures—or decision points which can highlight where schemas conflict and require a resolution that draws from existing schemas or adjusts schemas to align actions with available materials. These relational conjunctures thus contribute significantly to how schematic expectations about marriage, family, and work are shaped and influenced (Joyner and Udry 2000; Shulman and Seiffge-Krenke 2001; Zimmer-Gembeck et al. 2001). In particular, in light of the interconnectedness of young women's marital attitudes with their educational and family goals, scholars highlight the importance of understanding work-family expectations within the context of how various schemas are in interaction with both positive and negative experiences of romantic relationships throughout the transition to adulthood (Crissey 2005; Raley et al. 2007; Rhoades et al. 2011; Sassler and Schoen 1999; Simons et al. 2012).

Changes in Romantic Relationship Status as Conjunctures

According to research on early romantic experiences in the transition to adulthood, Shulman and Seiffge-Krenke (2001) identify four sequences that constitute the development of romantic relationships: initiation, affiliation, intimate, and committed. Each phase in this sequence introduces a deeper level of commitment and intimacy, and therefore serves as a critical conjuncture that requires a response from the individuals involved. Depending on the specific relational sequences experienced, earlier romantic relationships are likely to play an

influential role in shaping an individual's view of and approach to later family experiences, such as marriage, cohabitation, and childbearing (Brown et al. 1999; Crissey 2005; Smock 2004). In particular, studies indicate that higher levels of relational commitment, such as becoming engaged for marriage, increase an individual's positive perceptions and expectations about marriage (Kefalas et al. 2011; Raley et al. 2007). Personal commitment in an intimate relationship is significantly associated with an individual's satisfaction with their relationship, as well as the centrality of that relationship to one's self-concept (Gaertner and Foshee 1999; Hanley and O'Neil 1997; Kapinus and Johnson 2003). Therefore, I expect that moments in which a commitment intensifies, such as engagement to be married, will elevate schemas around the importance and desire for marriage, as possibly childbearing, in relation to schemas about education and career.

As a sort of "training ground" for how individuals organize and configure their multiple schemas about future relationships, experiences of conflict and discord in romantic relationships during the transition to adulthood may, in contrast, result in less positive expectations about marriage and future family relationships (Simons et al. 2012). Studies indicate that the break-up of romantic relationships among young people can often negatively influence schemas about love, levels of life satisfaction, as well as marital expectations and salience (Choo et al. 1996; Rhoades et al. 2011; Willoughby et al. 2015). The extent to which such experiences of relational conflict and romantic break-ups impact young women's overall schematic perspectives may depend on specific characteristics of young people's relationships (Crissey 2005; Raley et al. 2007; Willoughby and Carroll 2010). Overall, however, I expect that relationship dissolution will be likely to weaken schemas related to the centrality of marriage within young women's work-

family expectations, leading to shifts away from schematic configurations that prioritize marriage relative to education and work.

Intimate Partner Violence as Conjunctures

Romantic relationships often carry the real risk of detrimental interpersonal outcomes among young people (Joyner and Udry 2000; Larson et al. 1999). Relationship violence extends beyond married and cohabiting couples, and increasingly, researchers point to its prevalence among dating relationships during early adulthood (Barber et al. 2010, 2013; Brown and Bulanda 2008; Johnson and Ferraro 2000; Kusunoki et al. 2010; Rhatigan et al. 2005). Drawing upon the conceptual work of Johnson (2010) on intimate partner violence (IPV), IPV is defined as any type of physical, verbal, or psychological violence exercised by one individual to another within an intimate relationship. IPV may include violence that is situational (also called common couple violence), as well as violence that is embedded in a sustained pattern of exerting power and control over a partner (also called intimate terrorism). According to studies which compare situational and sustained IPV, women in relationships of intimate terrorism are found to be more likely to leave, leave more often, and once they do, find their own residence and establish financial independence, compared to women who experience common couple violence (Johnson and Leone 2005; Leone et al. 2007). However, economic dependence and the threat of even greater harm after leaving are among the most significant barriers to escaping from violent relationships (Kelly and Johnson 2008; Kim and Gray 2008; Leone et al. 2004).

Scholars note that the short and long-term consequences of IPV are wide ranging, including physical injuries, depression, low self-esteem, post-traumatic stress disorder, unemployment, alcohol abuse, and drug abuse (Anderson 2004; Bogat et al. 2003; Houskamp and Foy 1991; Kemp et al. 1995; Kessler et al. 2001; Levendosky et al. 2004; Magdol et al.

1998; Vitanza et al. 1995). Particularly with regards to the relationship between IPV and young women's work, studies show that the termination of or resignation from a job may be due to partners who actively prevent women from working, as well as interruptions from work as a result of challenges in physical and emotional health (Bell 2003; Meisel et al. 2003; Moe and Bell 2004; Romero et al. 2003; Sable et al. 1999; Swanberg and Logan 2005; Tolman and Raphael 2000; Wettersten et al. 2004). Not only the physical barriers from work and transportation, but also the anticipation of material hardship is found to be significantly associated with job instability and negative outcomes in women's work and education (Adams et al. 2012).

Despite such prevalence, however, research has yet to articulate how different experiences of relationship violence among young women may affect changes in young women's expectations about work and family, particularly in early adulthood. In light of the wide range of IPV's negative impacts on well-being, I expect that experiences of IPV will be likely to disrupt young women's plans and expectations, especially for work and education. On one hand, IPV may result in sustained economic dependence upon one's partner, possibly elevating patriarchal schemas about marriage over those centered around building women's careers. On the other hand, experiences of IPV may also involve women's decision to leave their partners in order to establish economic, emotional, and relational independence, which may be more closely associated with schemas that emphasize women's independence in work and family. This paper thus builds upon prior studies which suggest a significant association between an individual's schemas and their conjunctural life experiences (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011) to examine how young women's overall experiences of romantic relationships, as well as specific experiences of

intimate partner violence (IPV), may influence configurations of schema about parenting, partnering, education, and work over time (Lee 2018).

Data and Methods

To answer my research questions, I use data from the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life (RDSL) study, which comes from a population-based sample of 1003 young women ages 18 to 20, residing in a county in Michigan. The first component of the study, launched in March 2008, consisted of 60-minute face-to-face baseline survey interviews assessing aspects of family background; demographic information; key attitudes, values, and beliefs; current and past friendship and romantic relationships; education; and career trajectories. Following the baseline survey, all respondents were invited to participate in a journal-based mixed methods follow-up survey (by Internet or phone) for approximately the next two years. Of the initial sample of young women, 95% agreed to participate in the follow-up journal study. Each weekly journal collected updates about respondents' relationships, and every twelve weeks, the journal collected updates about respondents' education, employment, and attitudes.³¹

Measurement of Work-Family Orientations

The RDSL presents a unique opportunity for this study because of its repeated measures of young women's schemas related to parenting, partnering, education and work, as well as the RDSL's journal supplement design which provides various measures of young women's relationship statuses and experiences of relationship violence over time. With this rich dataset, I will use the ten selected schematic indicators summarized in Table 14 in the latent transition analysis of young women's *work-family orientations*, which emerged from a prior study using

³¹ Given that LCA does not default to list-wise deletion of missing values but makes use of all available data (Collins and Lanza 2010), the analytical sample for this study consists of all those with data for attitudinal and personal background measures at baseline ($N = 984$).

latent class analysis with the same set of attitudes toward parenting, partnering, education, and work (Lee 2018).

Taking into account the covariation of numerous attitudinal measures, latent class analysis is essentially a data reduction technique that suggests a relatively small number of latent classes common in the population and uses patterns of individual survey responses to assign the probabilities that each case or person belongs to one of these classes (i.e. gamma estimates) (Collins and Lanza 2010). These latent classes of work-family orientations thus highlight common patterns in how young women combine these multiple schemas about their present and future relationships, education, and work. For the purposes of the present analyses, I will compare the latent classes of young women's work-family orientations at baseline (Time 1) and after two years (Time 2) of the RDSL study, using the last available quarterly journal data, collected through the Social Life supplemental journals between April and May 2010.

Measures of Romantic Relationship Experience

In order to examine the extent to which young women's experiences of romantic relationships are associated with the stability or change of work-family orientations over time, I use two dichotomous measures of young women's relationship experiences in the two years of observation—one of relationship formation and one of dissolution. These are measures of whether respondents became engaged to marry, and whether respondents experienced the termination of a "special romantic relationship" between Time 1 and Time 2. I also use two dichotomous measures of young women's experiences with intimate partner violence—i.e. whether respondents experienced verbal IPV, and whether respondents experienced physical IPV between Time 1 and Time 2. These measures of specific experiences within young

women's romantic relationships serve as examples of conjunctures which present unique sets of circumstances to which individuals are likely to respond by drawing upon their schemas to shape their actions to follow.

Analytic Strategy

In this study of young women's work-family orientations over time, I first conduct a latent transition analysis³², examining the status membership probabilities (i.e. delta estimates) at Time 1 and Time 2, in addition to the transition probabilities (tau estimates) to estimate what is the likelihood of individuals in each latent class work-family orientation to remain the same or shift to a different work-family orientation. To ensure reliability and reproducibility of the model results, I use different seeds (i.e. starting values) and assess the best-fitting number of latent classes at both time points in the latent transition analysis. This allows me to estimate the most parsimonious model that holds a consistent latent class structure across Time 1 and Time 2, and accurately predicts how young women's work-family orientations may shift during the transition to adulthood.

To investigate what factors in young women's experiences of romantic relationships may be significant to the stability or change of work-family orientations, I conduct a latent transition analysis with measures of relationship status and intimate partner violence as covariates. This extended model tests the statistical significance of specific measures of romantic relationship experience in predicting membership transitions of work-family orientations from Time 1 to Time 2, controlling for whether the respondents report being in a romantic relationship.

³² Latent transition analysis (LTA) is essentially an extension of latent class analysis (LCA), which identifies latent, or unobservable, subgroups within a population based on multiple observed variables (Collins and Lanza 2010). LTA uses longitudinal data to identify movement between these subgroups over time.

Results

Using different seeds to assess the best-fitting number of latent classes in the latent transition analysis (LTA) of work-family orientations at Time 1 and Time 2, I find that model fit improves substantially from the one-class to the four-class models, as shown in Table 15. As the BIC value again increases after the five-class model, these fit statistics indicate best fit for the four-class model of work-family orientations in these latent transition analyses.

In addition to identifying the best-fitting number of latent classes in the latent transition analyses at Time 1 and Time 2, results indicate that the overall structure of common schematic configurations also holds consistent over time. The four profiles of young women's work-family orientations at Time 1 and Time 2 are (a) *Career-Family Idealists*, (b) *Family Agnostics*, (c) *Independent Maternalists*, and (d) *Family Conventionalists*. Table 16 presents a summary of the conditional probabilities, which show the kinds of responses that members in each class were likely to give to questions about education, work, and family attitudes.

Description of Young Women's Work-Family Orientations

The first class, Career-Family Idealists (CFI), who comprise about 33% of the sample at Time 1, are most likely to give the highest response for educational expectations (graduate school) and are also likely to agree that work is a major source of satisfaction in their lives. The salience of this class' expected identity as "spouse" is very high, as is their expected identity as "mother." While CFIs are likely to agree that motherhood is one of the most fulfilling experiences in life, the centrality of motherhood among CFIs is not quite as high as some of the other latent classes. If CFIs were to "get pregnant now," they are likely to strongly agree that this would be the "worst thing," that they would have to quit school, and that they are not yet

prepared to handle the responsibilities of parenting. However, CFIs are least likely to agree that one may have trouble getting pregnant if one waits for the perfect time.

The second class, Family Agnostics (FA), about 14% of the sample at Time 1, are likely to report their educational expectations as attending a 4-year college or graduate school. FAs are most likely to strongly agree that they expect work to be a major source of satisfaction in their lives. The salience of this class' expected identities as "mother" and "spouse" is extremely low, especially in terms of the prospect of becoming a "mother." FAs are least likely to consider motherhood as the most fulfilling experience in a woman's life. If FAs were to become pregnant at the present conjuncture, they are likely to respond that they would have to quit school, that getting pregnant would be "the worst", and that they are not prepared for the responsibilities of parenting. FAs are likely to disagree that they would marry their partner if they were to get pregnant.

The third class, Independent Maternalists (IM), about 25% of the sample at Time 1, are likely to expect to attend a 4-year college or a vocational/technical/community college, and most likely to consider motherhood as one of the most fulfilling experiences. The salience of this class' expected identities as "spouse" and especially as "mother" is very high. However, relative to previously mentioned classes, this class is not as likely to expect work to be a source of major satisfaction. If IMs were to become pregnant at the present conjuncture, they would not consider getting pregnant to be the "worst thing," are likely to respond that they would not quit school, and are most likely to expect not to marry their current partner. IMs also believe that they would be prepared to handle the responsibilities of parenting, and are most likely to agree that it is difficult to wait for the perfect time to become pregnant.

Lastly, Family Conventionalists (FC), who comprise about 28% of the sample at Time 1, are most likely to expect to attend a 4-year college or vocational/technical/community college, and are least likely to strongly agree that they expect work to be a major source of satisfaction. The salience of this class' expected identities as "mother" and "spouse" are very high, but not as high as CFIs or IMs. FCs agree that motherhood is one of the most fulfilling experiences, and are most likely to expect to marry their current partners if they become pregnant. If FCs were to become pregnant at the present juncture, they are not nearly as likely as CFIs and FAs to respond that this would be the "worst thing," and agree that they could handle the responsibilities of parenting.

Shifts in Work-Family Orientations Over Time

Having confirmed model fit for the four work-family orientations described in Lee (2018)—i.e. Career-Family Idealists, Family Agnostics, Independent Maternalists, and Family Conventionalists—the latent transition analysis results consist of the overall probabilities of status membership in each work-family orientations at Time 1 and Time 2 (delta estimates), as well as the specific probabilities of transition, estimating the likelihood of those in each work-family orientation at Time 1 to transition to each of the four work-family orientations at Time 2 (tau estimates). It is notable that the overall probabilities of delta estimates for each work-family orientation are relatively consistent across Time 1 and Time 2, with the most significant variation being a decrease in the proportion Career-Family Idealists. The tau estimates, however, provide a much more detailed view of how work-family orientations may shift among young women during the transition to adulthood. These results are presented in Table 17.

As these latent transition results show, I find that around 57% of Career-Family Idealists remain in the same work-family orientation, 17% are likely to transition to Family

Conventionalists, 16% are likely to transition to Independent Maternalists, and 10% are likely to transition to Family Agnostics. Although the rates of transition out of a particular orientation are not dramatically different for any of these groups, the Career-Family Idealists have one of the higher rates of exit, suggesting it may be one of the more difficult configurations of schema to maintain in the face of various materials and conjunctures that are influential for young women in their early twenties.

In contrast, the Family Conventionalists were most likely to remain stable, with approximately 64% remaining as FC, while 15% are likely to transition to Independent Maternalists, 12% are likely to transition to Family Agnostics, and 8% are likely to transition to Career-Family Idealists. Indeed, it is possible that commitment to the configuration of schemas that strongly emphasize the primacy of marriage and motherhood is instilled early among women and faces less challenge than other configurations in the early twenties.

Among Independent Maternalists in Time 1, approximately 60% remained the same, while 25% are likely to transition to Career-Family Idealists, 14% are likely to transition to Family Conventionalists, and less than 1% are likely to transition to Family Agnostics. It is notable that transition from IMs to FAs is one of the least likely shifts across schematic orientations, suggesting that a distancing from schemas around motherhood may not necessarily be seen as an option for members within this group. Additionally, the IM's exit to Career-Family Idealists is one of the largest transitions observed, which may reflect a particularly significant influence of relational experiences among IMs in the transition to adulthood.

Finally, among Family Agnostics in Time 1, approximately 58% remained, while 18% are likely to transition to Family Conventionalists, 13% are likely to transition to Career-Family Idealists, and 10% are likely to transition to Independent Maternalists. With a relatively high rate

of exit, as well as weaker commitments to both family and work goals, Family Agnostics may be likely to experience a higher degree of flexibility in the ways that various life experiences and relationships shape their resulting configurations of schema.

Romantic Relationship Experience as LTA Covariates

Building on this fuller understanding of how the probabilities of membership in young women's work-family orientations may shift during the transition to adulthood, the extended models of latent transition analysis with covariates assess the statistical significance of various romantic relationship experiences to the transitions estimated in Table 17. As summarized in Table 18, I estimate the odds of Career-Family Idealists transitioning to the other work-family orientations in Model 1, based on predictors of young women's romantic relationship experiences. Model 2 estimates the odds that Family Conventionalists will transition to the other orientations, based on predictors of romantic relationship experiences. Model 3 estimates the odds that Independent Maternalists will transition to CFIs, FCs, or FAs, based on predictors of romantic relationship experiences. Model 4 estimates the odds that Family Agnostics will transition to CFIs, FCs, or IMs, based on predictors of young women's romantic relationship experiences. Overall, I find that getting engaged to marry, separating from a romantic partner, experiencing verbal IPV, and experiencing physical IPV are all statistically significant in predicting various shifts across work-family orientations from Time 1 to Time 2.

Taking a closer look at the specific transitions between work-family orientations, results indicate that getting engaged to marry between Time 1 and Time 2 is significantly associated to a transition from CFIs to FCs. More specifically, getting engaged raises the odds of Career-Family Idealists shifting to Family Conventionalists by over three times (odds ratio = 3.3310). Getting engaged is also positively associated with transitions from Family Agnostics to FCs (odds ratio =

2.3733), and from Independent Maternalists to CFIs (odds ratio = 3.1424). These shifts confirm the expectation that a greater level of commitment experienced in romantic relationships is likely to heighten the centrality of that relationship to one's self-concept and future expectations, making it more likely for young women who are engaged to hold CFI or FC orientations.

In contrast, I find that Family Conventionalists who experienced a break-up or separation from a romantic relationship are significantly likely to transition to Independent Maternalists. As shown in Model 2 of Table 18, separating from a romantic partner raises the odds of Family Conventionalists transitioning to Independent Maternalists by more than two times (odds ratio = 2.0696). As shown in Model 3, results also indicate that separating from a romantic partner is negatively associated with transitions from Independent Maternalists to Family Agnostics.

In terms of how IPV may impact transitions of work-family orientations over time, I find that experiences of verbal and physical IPV are most closely associated with shifts from Career-Family Idealists to other work-family orientations. Specifically, CFIs who experience verbal IPV are significantly likely to transition to Family Conventionalists (odds ratio = 1.3982) and Independent Maternalists (odds ratio = 1.5359). Experiencing physical IPV has an even more substantial effect of raising the odds of CFIs transitioning to Independent Maternalists by over two times (odds ratio = 2.7442). These results indicate that young women's experience of IPV is likely to decrease the centrality of work among those who transition to Family Conventionalists, but also likely to decrease the centrality of young women's romantic relationships among those who transition to Independent Maternalists.

Summarizing the direction of various transitions in work-family orientations and the specific romantic relationship experiences that are most closely associated with these changes, Figure 2 helps us to see at once the schematic transitions that are likely to occur with changes in

relationship status and experiences of intimate partner violence. As Figure 2 illustrates, verbal and physical IPV are especially influential to transitions from Career-Family Idealists to other orientations. Getting engaged to marry is significantly associated with transitions from Career-Family Idealists, Independent Maternalists, and Family Agnostics (but not Family Conventionalists), while relationship dissolution is significantly associated only with transitions from Family Conventionalists. It is possible that getting engaged to marry is unlikely to challenge the schematic orientations already held by FCs, while separating from a romantic relationship is likely to challenge the commitment to marriage held so strongly by FCs compared to other work-family orientations. Taken together, the overall pattern of these results highlights that different romantic relationship experiences have unique influences on the likelihood of young women's transitions from one work-family orientation to another.

Conclusion

This study provides an exploration of how young women's schematic configurations about family and work are most likely to shift over time, and how romantic relationship experiences are associated with these schematic shifts between the ages of 18 and 22. While the overall distribution of work-family orientations remains relatively consistent across both time points during the transition to adulthood, using latent transition analysis (LTA) in the present study extends prior work by describing in significant detail how young women may be likely to transition from each of these work-family orientations to another. In particular, findings illustrate that CFIs and FAs are more likely to experience change in their schematic configurations, compared to FCs and IMs whose work-family orientations are more likely to remain stable over time. These results suggest that the schematic configurations of FCs and IMs which emphasize the importance of family formation may be less likely to be challenged in the experiences of

young women, while the schemas of CFIs and FAs which focus on young women's academic and career achievement are more likely to be adjusted through critical conjunctures during the early twenties. Future research should further investigate the processes by which young women may be most likely to have their existing schemas reinforced or be pushed to adjust to new schematic configurations about work and family.

Examining the factors that may contribute to these shifts in work-family orientations, the latent transition analysis with covariates highlights that relationship experiences such as getting engaged to marry, separating from a romantic partner, and experiencing verbal or physical intimate partner violence, are all statistically significant to young women's schematic shifts. Given that experiences of verbal and physical IPV are particularly influential to Career-Family Idealists with the highest educational and career aspirations, findings in the present study support prior research indicating that experiences of IPV are likely to pose critical disruptions to young women's efforts in education and work (Adams et al. 2012; Bell 2003; Meisel et al. 2003; Moe and Bell 2004; Romero et al. 2003; Swanberg and Logan 2005; Wettersten et al. 2004), and further highlight the importance of understanding the varying influences of IPV on young women's subsequent family relationships (Cherlin et al. 2004).

One of the limitations of the present analyses is that this may be somewhat of a simplification of the complicated process that is proposed by the Theory of Conjunctural Action (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), by which schemas are in dynamic interaction with each other and with surrounding materials and conjunctures. It is possible, for example, that someone with the same work-family orientation at multiple time points may hold certain schemas to a higher or lower level of importance within that schematic configuration. Future studies may consider examining more data points in a longitudinal study of conjunctures to capture more of this

complexity in young women's experiences, or consider using semi-structured and open-ended interviews to gain a richer understanding of the cognitive processes by which young women draw from certain schemas among many that are available at recent conjunctures.

By incorporating measures of young women's work-family orientations, which jointly consider schemas related to parenting, partnering, education, and work, this study complicates the theoretical understanding of how family processes are most likely to influence young women's subsequent outcomes. Specifically, results reveal that young women's commitment to work is in fact likely to be elevated through the experience of relationship dissolution among Family Conventionalists, or even through the experience of becoming engaged to marry among Independent Maternalists. While the present analyses focus on young women's work-family orientations between ages 18 and 22, continued research that builds on this study should further investigate how critical conjunctures throughout mid-adulthood, including pregnancy, changes in educational opportunities, job offers and job loss may continue to interact with various trajectories of young women's schematic configurations over time. Overall, this study highlights the importance of understanding the multidimensional and dynamic nature of young women's work-family orientations, as they are significantly associated with both positive and negative experiences of romantic relationships throughout the transition to adulthood.

TABLE 14: Survey Measures in Latent Class Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL)

<i>Variable</i>	Survey Item	Categories
<i>C-mom:</i>	Being a mother and raising children is the most fulfilling experience a woman can have.	3=strongly agree 2=agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree
<i>C-work:</i>	You expect work to be a major source of satisfaction in life.	3=strongly agree 2=agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree
<i>S-marry:</i>	Suppose that your life turned out so that you never married, how much would that bother you?	3=extremely bothered 2=very bothered 1=slightly/not bothered
<i>S-kids:</i>	Suppose your life turned out so that you never had children, how much would that bother you?	3=extremely bothered 2=very bothered 1=slightly/not bothered
<i>E-educ:</i>	How far do you think you will go in school?	4=graduate school 3=four-year college 2=vocational/technical or community college 1=high school
<i>E-quit:</i>	If you get pregnant, you would have to quit school.	2=strongly agree or agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree
<i>E-partner:</i>	If you get pregnant, would you get married to your partner?	2=yes 1=no
<i>T-trouble:</i>	If a woman waits for the perfect time to have a baby, she will probably have trouble getting pregnant.	2=strongly agree or agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree
<i>T-worst:</i>	Getting pregnant at this time in life is one of the worst things that could happen to you.	2=strongly agree 1=agree/disagree/strongly disagree
<i>T-handle:</i>	If you got pregnant now, you could handle the responsibilities of parenting.	2=strongly agree or agree 1=disagree/strongly disagree

TABLE 15: Fit Statistics for Latent Transition Analyses (RDSL)

Number of classes	G^2	BIC	AIC
1	-111145.46	26654.75	25803.90
2	-95230.05	24702.51	23575.66
3	-89984.63	22453.69	21326.84
4	-85232.56	21375.81	20248.96
5	-85022.75	21631.22	20234.37

TABLE 16: Initial Proportions and Conditional Probabilities in Latent Class Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL)

		Career-Family Idealists	Family Agnostics	Independent Maternalists	Family Conventionalists
<i>ESTIMATED PROPORTION OF SAMPLE AT BASELINE</i>		.3283 (.0209)	.1443 (.0149)	.2510 (.0205)	.2764 (.0249)
<i>C-mom</i>	3=strongly agree	.2014	.1111	.3273	.1300
	2=agree	.5721	.3305	.6301	.6172
	1=disagree/SD	.2266	.5584	.0426	.2529
<i>C-work</i>	3=strongly agree	.1975	.2757	.1158	.0163
	2=agree	.6496	.5275	.5743	.6515
	1=disagree/SD	.1529	.1967	.3099	.3322
<i>S-marry</i>	3=extremely bothered	.5730	.1297	.0542	.5861
	2=very bothered	.4086	.2271	.5936	.2801
	1=slightly/not bothered	.0184	.6432	.3523	.1338
<i>S-kids</i>	3=extremely bothered	.5877	.0171	.8831	.1537
	2=very bothered	.4121	.0453	.0274	.5452
	1=slightly/not bothered	.0002	.9376	.0460	.0261
<i>E-educ</i>	4=graduate school	.4607	.4038	.2359	.2316
	3=four-year college	.4347	.3803	.4606	.4669
	2=vo/tech/community	.1015	.1923	.2575	.2754
	1=high school	.0032	.0236	.0460	.0261
<i>E-quit</i>	2=agree/SA	.3986	.3680	.0421	.1119
	1=disagree/SD	.6014	.6320	.9579	.8881
<i>E-partner</i>	2=yes	.3668	.2807	.2269	.3822
	1=no	.6332	.7193	.7731	.6178
<i>T-trouble</i>	2=agree/SA	.1474	.2167	.3635	.2792
	1=disagree/SD	.8526	.7833	.6365	.7208
<i>T-worst</i>	2=strongly agree	.6665	.7912	.1503	.2353
	1=agree/disagree/SD	.3335	.2088	.8497	.7647
<i>T-handle</i>	2=agree/SA	.1803	.0880	.8215	.4848
	1=disagree/SD	.8197	.9120	.1785	.5152

$N = 984$, entropy = 0.71

TABLE 17: Status Membership Probabilities and Transition Probabilities in Latent Transition Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL)

	Career-Family Idealists	Family Conventionalists	Independent Maternalists	Family Agnostics
<i>Status Membership Probabilities (delta estimates)</i>				
Time 1	.3280	.2765	.2513	.1437
Time 2	.2936	.2963	.2618	.1515
<i>Transition Probabilities (tau estimates)</i>				
<i>Time 1 latent status (rows) by Time 2 latent status (columns)</i>				
Career-Family Idealists	.5665	.1720	.1656	.1059
Family Conventionalists	.0869	.6443	.1478	.1210
Independent Maternalists	.2535	.1419	.6046	.0000
Family Agnostics	.1375	.1808	.1020	.5797
<i>l</i> = -85232.56				

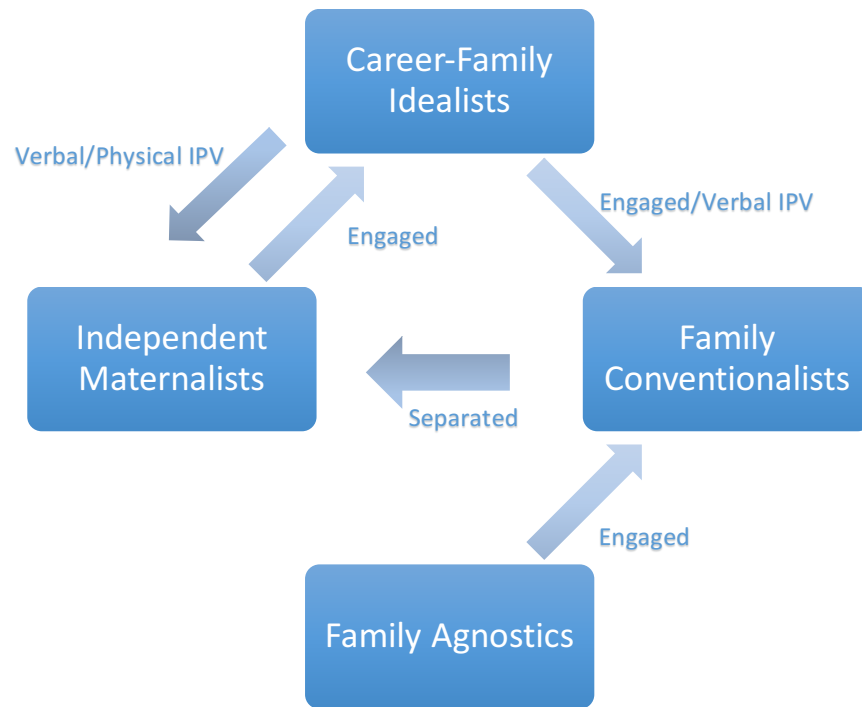
TABLE 18: Latent Transition Analysis with Measures of Romantic Relationship as Covariates Predicting Shift in Work-Family Orientations at Time 2 (RDSL)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	FC	IM	FA	CFI	IM	FA	CFI	FC	FA	CFI	FC	IM
	(CFI reference category)			(FC reference category)			(IM reference category)			(FA reference category)		
<i>Engaged</i>												
β_1	1.2032*	.5624	-.0434	-.5417	-1.2055*	-1.0308*	1.1449*	.6569	-.9063	.1080	.8643*	.1504
Odds	3.3310	1.7540	.9574	.5818	.2995	.3567	3.1424	1.8286	.4040	1.1145	2.3733	1.1624
<i>Separated</i>												
β_2	-.0883	.5371	.3767	.0469	.7923*	.1665	-.4452	-.4611	-1.5210*	-.5962	-.2383	-.9987
Odds	.9154	1.7109	1.4574	1.0481	2.0696	1.1812	.6507	.6306	.2185	.5509	.7792	.3683
<i>Verbal IPV</i>												
β_3	.3352*	.4291*	-1.5292*	-.4141	.5486	-2.0295*	-.8642	-.3394	-1.8630*	.5618	1.2159	1.0063
Odds	1.3982	1.5359	.2167	.6609	1.7309	.1314	.4214	.7122	.1552	1.7704	3.3740	2.7354
<i>Physical IPV</i>												
β_4	.4632	1.0094*	.3989	-1.5328*	-.1956	.3167	-.4922	-.2250	-.8664	1.6173	1.9397	1.7312
Odds	1.5879	2.7442	1.4901	.2159	.8224	1.3726	.6113	.7985	.4205	5.0396	6.9568	5.6477

$l = -82782.39$, * $p < 0.05$

CFI = Career-Family Idealists, FC = Family Conventionalists, IM = Independent Maternalists, FA = Family Agnostics
Controlling for whether respondents are in a romantic relationship

FIGURE 2: Summary of Significant Romantic Relationship Measures in the Latent Transition Analysis of Work-Family Orientations (RDSL)



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CONCLUSION

The three papers in this dissertation have explored three main aspects of young women's work-family orientations in the transition to adulthood: first, the structure of the most common combinations of young women's schemas about parenting, partnering, education, and work; second, the substantive significance of young women's schematic configurations at one point in time to outcomes of education in the two years that follow; and lastly, the patterns of change in young women's schematic configurations over time, particularly in relation to romantic relationship experiences as conjunctures in early adulthood. Drawing on the Theory of Conjunctural Action framework (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011), the four work-family orientations in this study, i.e. Career-Family Idealists, Family Conventionalists, Independent Maternalists, and Family Agnostics, help to illustrate how young women's multiple schemas cohere into unique configurations of expectations for future family and work, how these configurations are related to different levels of educational attainment, and how work-family orientations and schemas therein adjust based on relationship experiences.

In the first paper, I have used a person-centered approach to examine unique combinations of schemas that young women are most likely to hold in the transition to adulthood. The latent class analysis results highlight how some schemas which emphasize the centrality of career may, or may not, be paired with strong aspirations related to motherhood and marriage (i.e. Career-Family Idealists versus Family Idealists), and how schematic configurations that place a stronger emphasis on the importance of family may, or may not, view

marriage as requisite to future work and family (i.e. Independent Maternalists versus Family Conventionalists). The multi-group latent class analyses further reveal how these work-family orientations are, in fact, unevenly distributed throughout the population, as illustrated in the significant variations among work-family orientations based on personal background factors, such as family socioeconomic status and personal importance of religion.

In the second paper, I have used multinomial logistic regressions to examine the varying significance that different work-family orientations have in influencing young women's educational outcomes in early adulthood. These results reveal significant mediation effects of work-family orientations on the relationship between specific personal background characteristics and educational attainment—which underscores the importance of the interconnectedness of schemas and materials in the study of young women's work-family lives (Johnson-Hanks et al. 2011). The schematic configurations of young women, which have direct significance for educational outcomes, are indeed not independent from the socioeconomic resources and material contexts in which young women's educational and family experiences are also embedded.

In the final paper, I have used latent transition analyses (LTA) to explore how young women's schematic configurations about family and work are most likely to shift over time, and how romantic relationship experiences are associated with these schematic shifts. While the overall distribution of work-family orientations remains relatively consistent during the transition to adulthood, the results in this paper reveal details in the different patterns by which young women are likely to transition from each of these work-family orientations to another. Examining the factors that contribute to shifts in work-family orientations over time, I find that relationship experiences such as getting engaged to marry, separating from a romantic partner,

and experiencing verbal or physical intimate partner violence, are all statistically significant to young women's schematic transitions.

In conversation with broader theoretical questions about how cultural elements are organized in relation to one another (Miles 2014; Swidler 2001), the findings in this dissertation provide an initial framework for delineating how schematic elements about work, family, and education are organized and significant to the experiences of young women. Perhaps individuals arrive at various configurations of “what makes life meaningful or worthwhile” (Damaske 2011) as a part of a larger process of discovery in the interactions between multiple schemas, materials, and the conjunctures that bring these complexities to light. Taking a longitudinal perspective, scholars may further explore how configurations of schemas develop beyond early adulthood, in interaction with changing experiences of marriage, divorce, childbearing, educational attainment, and participation in the workforce. Continued study may also explore sources of socialization that contribute to the development of different schematic orientations. Findings in this dissertation indeed highlight the importance of jointly considering schemas about family, education, and work, as opposed to isolating these attitudes and behaviors from one another. Future study that builds on the present work should continue to investigate the significance of schematic configurations for intersecting patterns of inequality in the various trajectories of family formation, education, and work throughout the life course.