

Everyday Hassles and Family Relationships

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For many American families, daily life involves negotiating a maze of activities that includes cooking; cleaning; running errands; paying bills; dropping off and picking up children; commuting to and from work; tending to pets; scheduling appointments; attending events (community, religious, and school related); returning phone calls, e-mails, and texts; caring for aging family members; and remembering birthdays—often while parents fulfill the duties of full- or part-time jobs. These routinized experiences define the rhythm of family life, and family members can experience them at times as rewarding and at other times as hassles. Whether family members perceive a particular event to be a hassle, a pleasure, or both can depend on any number of factors. For example, women and men define and react to hassles differently; socioeconomic resources, cultural context, and work schedules make it easier for some families and harder for others to deal with daily hassles; and differences in personality characteristics and coping resources influence how individual family members experience and respond to everyday hassles.

In this chapter, we discuss the everyday hassles that researchers have examined in studies of daily stress and family life. We first define the kinds of events that constitute such hassles and then describe the methods researchers use to study them, including the means by which researchers explore invisible dimensions of family life. We then examine how everyday hassles are associated with family functioning, paying particular attention to the variability in family members' experiences. We present Karney and Bradbury's (1995) vulnerability-stress-adaptation (VSA) model as a helpful way to frame the research on daily hassles and family relationships, focusing on the diversity that exists both across and within families in each of the three domains proposed in the model. Because elements of context such as socioeconomic factors, workplace policies, and macrosocietal patterns (e.g., institutionalized discrimination based on race, gender, and sexual orientation) potentially introduce differential opportunities and constraints for family members that are likely to affect the links between each element of the model, we adapt Karney and Bradbury's model by nesting it within the ecological niches that families inhabit. In so doing, we underscore how contextual factors moderate the associations between vulnerability, stress, and adaptation. Furthermore, given the gendered meanings attached to many routinized family activities and the often divergent experiences of women and men in families, our approach is necessarily feminist. We conclude the chapter with a discussion of how existing social

policies in the United States fail to mesh with the daily reality of most American families and thus contribute to family members' experiences of everyday hassles. We close with implications and suggestions for family policy interventions.

What are Everyday Hassles?

Everyday hassles are the proximal stressors, strains, and transactions of day-to-day life that can be viewed as common annoyances. These events are relatively minor and arise out of routinized daily activities, such as the tasks involved in maintaining a home, caring for family members, working at a paid job, and participating in community activities (e.g., Serido, Almeida, & Wethington, 2004). Both anticipated and unanticipated events constitute daily hassles (Wheaton, Young, Montazer, & Stuart-Lahman, 2012). For example, commuting to work in morning traffic, chauffeuring children to and from school and activities, and working longer hours at particular times of the year (e.g., holiday season for retailers, tax season for accountants) are all daily hassles that families routinize and anticipate. Unanticipated daily hassles, in contrast, are distinct in their episodic nature. Examples of such hassles include an argument with a spouse, a midday phone call concerning a sick child who needs to be picked up from a childcare center, a flat tire on the way to work, or an unexpected text from a boss demanding attention during nonwork hours. Although many unexpected daily hassles are relatively minor, they often disrupt the flow of everyday life and thus add to family stress.

Whether anticipated or unanticipated, everyday hassles are distinct from other daily stressors that are severe in nature (e.g., microaggressions, discrimination, racism) and the major life events or transitions discussed in other chapters of this book (e.g., death of a loved one, divorce, job loss, immigration). First, everyday hassles represent a more frequent and continuous form of stress than the relatively rare events that constitute major life changes. Because of their frequency, everyday hassles may be more important determinants of family stress than major, but less frequent, life events (Repetti & Wood, 1997b; Serido et al., 2004). Accordingly, the aggregate effects of everyday hassles have the potential to compromise family and individual well-being and even increase vulnerability to major life events. Second, hassles are characterized by relatively minor ongoing stressors that occupy daily living. Although they may contribute to a major life stressor or co-occur with other more toxic forms of daily stress, everyday hassles are viewed as conceptually distinct from other forms of daily stress (Serido et al., 2004). These conceptually distinct forms of stress may interact; families experiencing major life changes also confront daily hassles and continuous toxic stressors. For example, a family member who is adjusting to a major life event, such as immigration to the United States, may feel heightened stress if they miss an appointment or has to pick up a sick child from school. The stress from a relatively minor everyday hassle is likely to be heightened for a recent immigrant who may also be exposed to more severe

chronic stressors related to English competency, legal status, or discriminatory practices at work.

Methods for Studying Everyday Hassles and Family Relationships

Researchers who study the links between everyday hassles and family relationships have utilized a variety of methods to assess family members' experiences of daily stress. In early studies, researchers defined *hassles* as "those irritating, frustrating, distressing demands and troubled relationships that grind on us day in and day out" (Miller & Wilcox, 1986, p. 39). Participants in these studies were presented with lists of various kinds of hassles and were asked to rate the frequency and severity with which they had experienced each hassle in the past month (Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1981). One criticism of this method is that it does not take into account the complexity of individuals' experiences of daily hassles. For example, Lazarus (1999) argued that the likelihood that an individual perceives or experiences a particular event as a hassle depends on the person's appraisal of the event as well as their coping resources. To account more fully for individual differences in appraisals of daily hassles, DeLongis, Folkman, and Lazarus (1988) revised Kanner et al.'s (1981) measure of daily hassles to enable respondents to rate how much of a hassle or an uplift they found each category (e.g., work, health, family, friends) to be on a particular day. DeLongis et al.'s revised checklist demonstrates an important shift in scholars' thinking about daily hassles, from viewing hassles as inherently stressful events to viewing them as experiences that individuals might appraise as hassles, uplifts, or both.

Feminist scholars who have used qualitative methods to study everyday, routinized experiences within families have also emphasized the multidimensional nature of daily hassles. Focusing on the routine, gendered experiences of everyday family life, feminist researchers have conducted in-depth, face-to-face interviews to uncover valuable insights regarding daily hassles. These studies provide rich sources of information about the nuances of daily family life that include participants' own, often quite complex, appraisals of their experiences. Through the use of these methods, feminist scholars have learned that although women may label many of the routinized tasks of daily life as essential and often unpleasant hassles, they also view these tasks as expressions of care for the people they love. For example, caring for an elderly partner or parent may include providing transportation to activities and doctor's appointments, grocery and clothes shopping, cleaning, and help with personal care. Women are more often responsible for carrying out these types of tasks than are men and, on average, experience them as more stressful than do men; yet regardless of the stress that accompanies the added responsibilities of caregiving, many women derive meaning and satisfaction from attending to the needs of their loved ones (Walker, Pratt, & Eddy, 1995).

In addition to underscoring the complex and sometimes contradictory nature of family members' experiences of daily hassles, a rich history of qualitative research has uncovered routinized aspects of daily family life previously overlooked by researchers. This body of work directs our attention beyond the activities typically identified in survey studies to include (a) emotion work (Dressel & Clark, 1990), (b) kin work (DiLeonardo, 1987), (c) marriage work (Oliker, 1989), (d) the scheduling of family time (Roy, Tubbs, & Burton, 2004), (e) the feeding of the family (DeVault, 1991), (f) the enactment of family rituals (Oswald, 2000), (g) household labor (Coltrane, 2000), (g) childcare and care for aging or sick family members (Abel & Nelson, 1990), (h) volunteer or service work (Hunter, Pearson, Jalongo, & Kellam, 1998), and, most recently, (i) the impact of information and communication technology (ICT) on work and family (Golden, 2013).

At the start of the 21st century, researchers began to examine whether and how fluctuations in daily hassles affected daily interactions in families. The methods used in these labor-intensive studies generally featured precise temporal sequencing of daily stressors and subsequent interactions with family members. The development of innovative research tools, such as time diaries and experience sampling, permitted researchers to obtain detailed accounts of daily hassles and resolve problems associated with retrospective recall that limited earlier research. Perhaps the greatest benefit of this body of research is that the methods allow for a within-person examination of the day-to-day or even hourly fluctuations in everyday hassles and their links with family relationships and functioning (Almeida, Stawski, & Cichy, 2010).

Influenced by family systems and stress transmission literatures as well as ecological and psychobiological perspectives, contemporary scholars have conducted daily experience studies focusing on how one family member's daily stress is linked to another family member's affect or behavior, as well as the reactivity of men versus women to daily stressors, and—most recently—family members' physiological arousal. Reed Larson's seminal work in the area of emotional transmission across family relationships is noteworthy in its utilization of the experience sampling method (ESM; Larson & Almeida, 1999)—an approach in which family members carried preprogrammed alarm watches throughout the day for 7 consecutive days and were signaled at random moments. When signaled, family members completed brief questionnaires about their activities, companions, and emotional states at those moments. In addition, researchers have coupled multiple methods (i.e., observations of marital and parent-child interactions, daily diary self-report data of mood and workload) with self-collected saliva samples gathered by each family member at multiple time points on each day of the study (Saxbe, Repetti, & Nishina, 2008; Seltzer et al., 2009; Stawski, Cichy, Piazza, & Almeida, 2013). In combination, these time-intensive and comprehensive methods have allowed researchers to examine the complex associations between family members' everyday hassles, their physiological arousal, and subsequent marital and family functioning in multiple contexts throughout the day.

Early work in this area was criticized for its reliance on relatively small, nonrepresentative samples (Perry-Jenkins, Newkirk, & Ghunney, 2013), the use of self-administered checklists to assess daily hassles and stressors, and the time-intensive demands placed on respondents, which often lead to attrition or missing data (Almeida, Wethington, & Kessler, 2002). To address these concerns, researchers have begun to examine the links between everyday hassles and family functioning in understudied populations, including same-sex couples, older adults, cohabiters, families with children, military families, and families of color (Cinchy, Stawski, & Almeida, 2012; Doyle & Molix, 2014; Lara-Cinisomo et al., 2012; Totenhagen, Butler, & Ridley, 2012; Totenhagen & Curran, 2011; Villeneuve et al., 2014). Informing this body of work is the Daily Inventory of Stressful Events (DISE), a semistructured telephone interview designed for use with a nationally representative sample of 1,483 adults (i.e., the National Study of Daily Experiences; Almeida, Stawski, & Cichy, 2010). The DISE methodology involves eight consecutive daily telephone interviews in which participants respond to a series of semistructured, open-ended questions about the occurrence of daily stressors across several domains, including arguments or disagreements, work or school, home life, discrimination, and issues involving close friends or relatives. Participants are asked to provide narrative descriptions of all the daily stressors they mention as well as the perceived severity of the stressors. All interviews are recorded, transcribed, and coded. Almeida's methodology is unique in that rather than relying on participants' self-reported appraisals of stressors, it uses investigator ratings of objective threat and severity to determine the type of threat each stressor poses (i.e., loss, danger, disappointment, frustration, and opportunity) as well as its severity. Participants' highly specific, brief narratives provide detailed explanations about the types of events that men and women typically experience as daily hassles, and the investigator ratings reduce some of the bias associated with self-reported appraisals of stressors. Almeida's methodology reflects scholars' calls for studying the intensity, duration, and source of stress in understanding daily hassles (Randall & Bodenmann, 2009). In addition, interviewing participants over eight consecutive days enables researchers to examine within-person fluctuations in daily hassles and well-being over time as well as the cumulative effects of hassles rather than relying on single reports about particular days or subjective estimates of hassles over several days.

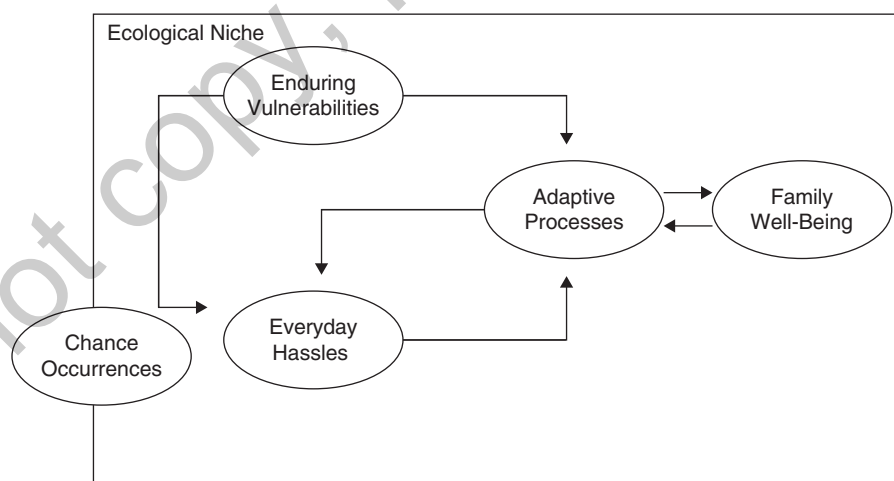
Understanding the Links between Everyday Hassles and Family Well-Being

In this section, we examine how family members manage daily hassles and discuss the links between everyday hassles and individual and family functioning. We begin with a discussion of Karney and Bradbury's (1995) VSA model, and then use this model to frame a review of the literature on the effects of everyday hassles for families and their members.

The Vulnerability-Stress-Adaptation Model

The application of theory to the study of everyday hassles and family relationships is as varied as the methodologies used. Studies range from the atheoretical to research grounded in life course theory (e.g., Almeida & Horn, 2004; Moen, 2003), the ecological perspective (e.g., Repetti & Wood, 1997a/1997b), feminist perspectives (e.g., Daly, 2001; DeVault, 1991), emotional transmission paradigms (e.g., Larson & Almeida, 1999), more recently, biopsychosocial approaches (e.g., Saxbe et al., 2008; Slatcher, 2014), boundary theory (e.g., Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007), spillover theory (e.g., Harris, Marett, & Harris, 2011), and conservation of resources theory (e.g., Harris, Harris, Carlson, & Carlson, 2015). Originally designed to provide an integrative framework for understanding the empirical research on marital quality and stability, Karney and Bradbury's (1995) VSA model is helpful in that it parsimoniously integrates and expands principles from various social and behavioral theoretical perspectives to explain the ways in which family members' experiences of potentially stressful events may be linked to relational outcomes. In our application of Karney and Bradbury's model, we treat everyday hassles as stressful events and explore how they interact with enduring vulnerabilities and adaptive processes to predict family well-being. In addition, the opportunities and constraints afforded by the ecological niches that family members inhabit are viewed as central to each element of the model, and we illustrate the adapted model in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Adapted Vulnerability-Stress-Adaptation Model



Source: Karney, B. R., & Bradbury, T. N. (1995). The longitudinal course of marital quality and stability: A review of theory, method, and research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 118, 3–34.

At the most basic level of their model, Karney and Bradbury (1995) identified three elements that contribute to our understanding of the links between everyday hassles and family relationships. Adaptive processes, which play a central role in the model, are the ways in which individuals and families cope with everyday hassles. They are critical to our application of the model because they moderate the associations between daily hassles and family well-being. Family well-being and functioning changes as a function of the way family members behave in response to everyday hassles, and, in turn, family well-being can affect how family members appraise daily hassles. For example, some studies suggest that employed spouses and parents withdraw from family interaction following workdays characterized by interpersonal difficulties and high work demands (Repetti & Wood, 1997a; Schulz, Cowan, Cowan, & Brennan, 2004). This type of social withdrawal has short-term benefits, in that solitary time can rejuvenate spouses and parents and buffer children and partners from the transmission of negative emotions. Rejuvenated parents and protected children are then better able to deal with additional hassles as they unfold. However, the short-term benefits of emotional withdrawal for the individual and the family may be offset over time as repeated instances of withdrawal may erode feelings of closeness in the family, leading to negative interactions, resentment, and more hassles which ultimately decrease family functioning and overall well-being (Story & Repetti, 2006).

The model also proposes a reciprocal relationship between adaptive processes and daily hassles. The level of stress is partially determined by the number, severity, and centrality of daily hassles that the family and its members encounter (Almeida, Wethington et al., 2002; Randall & Bodenmann, 2009). Interpersonal tensions or arguments have been linked with both physical symptoms and psychological distress, whereas everyday hassles that disrupt daily routines, threaten physical health, or generate feelings of self-doubt are rated as highly psychologically distressing by adults (Almeida, 2004; Stawski et al., 2013). Furthermore, the manner in which family members deal with hassles can exacerbate or alleviate family stress. To put it simply, certain days, weeks, and months are better than others; some hassles are easier to manage than others; and some people cope with everyday hassles better than others (Almeida, 2004).

In a study of divorced single mothers, Hodgson, Dienhart, and Daly (2001) found that careful planning, scheduling, and multitasking were important coping strategies for mothers of young children. To the extent that the mothers in their study were able to navigate daily hassles, they maintained a sense of control over their family routines. For example,

I have a certain amount of minutes allotted to get in and out of the day-care center . . . then I have half an hour to get to work so I have it timed to about, I have like six minutes to get them in and out . . . I can't always, things don't always go that way, smoothly, you know those six minutes to get him dropped off in the morning, I can't guarantee that that happens five days a week, 52 weeks of the year. . . . if I didn't leave the daycare

right at the right minute then there's a school bus that I follow all the way down [Highway] 21 . . . there was construction last fall on 21, you know, and there have been situations where I've forgotten things or (child) hasn't settled into daycare. . . . He needed a few extra minutes of comforting. . . . I drop him off the minute it opens and the minute it closes is the minute I'm there to pick him up. (Hodgson et al., pp. 14–15)

This mother's words illustrate that, as the model suggests, even with the most careful planning around rigid work and childcare schedules, chance events (e.g., bad weather, road construction, forgetfulness, an upset child) can lead to unanticipated hassles, disrupted plans, and the need for additional adaptation. For single mothers with young children, backup plans and the anticipation of the unexpected are essential coping strategies for dealing with daily hassles.

A family's ability to adapt to daily hassles is also influenced by the enduring vulnerabilities that the family and its members possess. Karney and Bradbury (1995) defined *enduring vulnerabilities* as family members' relatively stable intrapersonal characteristics (e.g., personality, child temperament) and family background variables (e.g., structural and behavioral patterns in family of origin). In her seminal research using daily diary methods, Repetti and colleagues (e.g., Repetti & Wood, 1997a) documented that the extent to which parents are able to refrain from engaging in negative interaction with their children following high-stress depends, in part, on the parents' own general level of psychological functioning. Using mood data collected at the end of study participants' workdays as well as self-report and observational data collected in the first few minutes of mother-child interaction at a work-site childcare center, Repetti and Wood found that mothers with higher levels of type A behaviors, depression, and anxiety were more likely than other mothers to engage in aversive interactions with their preschoolers on days during which they had experienced either overloads or negative interpersonal interactions at work. Such enduring vulnerabilities can both contribute to family members' appraisals of daily hassles and affect how they adapt to those hassles.

In the VSA model, adaptive processes are hypothesized to be positively associated with family well-being; that is, families and their members function better to the extent that they deal with daily hassles in constructive ways. In addition, the model proposes an inverse association between family well-being and enduring vulnerabilities and family well-being and daily hassles. High levels of enduring vulnerabilities and daily hassles are linked with low levels of family well-being. However, adaptive processes are expected to moderate this link in such a way that families with average levels of enduring vulnerabilities and daily hassles have lower levels of family well-being when adaptive processes are poor and higher levels of family well-being when adaptive processes are average or good.

A strength of the VSA model is that it provides an integrative framework that scholars can apply to gain a better understanding of everyday hassles and family stress. The components of the applied model—daily hassles, enduring

vulnerabilities, and adaptive processes—and the general paths in the model can help us understand the complex and reciprocal processes operating among the model's components. The model is limited by its inattention to the ecological niches and sociocultural characteristics that families and their members inhabit, which leads it to ignore the potential variability that may exist in model paths based on between- and within-family differences. For example, contemporary American families are likely to work evenings, nights, rotating hours, or weekends, and some have access to workplace policies, such as telecommuting and flextime that may enhance their ability to manage everyday hassles (Berg, Kossek, Misra, & Belman, 2014). However, low-income families are disproportionately more likely to work nonstandard shifts with little access to family-supportive workplace policies than their high-income counterparts who are disproportionately more likely to utilize and have access to these policies and also the associated gains to well-being (Mills & Täht, 2010). Though some parents may organize nonstandard shift work to reduce daily hassles (e.g., working opposite shifts to allow one parent to be home with the children), constraints created by a work schedule that is “out of sync” with family life and compounded by limited financial resources pose significant challenges for managing everyday hassles:

We interviewed Betty Jones, a low-income solo African American mother who worked the late afternoon and evening shift as a custodian in an Oakland hospital. Her car had broken down months before and she couldn't afford repairs, so her 11-year-old son Tyrone (all names have been changed) took responsibility for bringing himself and his 6-year-old sister to school on a city bus. After school, Tyrone picked up his younger sister and they walked to a bus stop to begin an hour-long daily ride, including a transfer, from Oakland to San Leandro where their grandmother lived. The grandmother took them with her to her evening job as a custodian in an office building. After she got off work at 10 or 11pm, she drove the kids back to their apartment in a low-income area of Oakland. This scheduling exhausted all of them, and Betty, the children's mother, was concerned about her own mother's willingness to continue watching after grandchildren while cleaning offices at night. Like others we interviewed with very tight budgets, Betty wanted to send her kids to the after-school program located at the public school but she found the fees exorbitant; her income was more than used up by basics like food, rent, and utilities. Betty's swing shift job as a hospital custodian precluded the presence of her children. (Thorne, 2004, pp. 168–169)

In other words, just as the “out-of-sync” nonstandard work schedule has the potential to undermine family well-being, providing families some degree of flexibility and autonomy in their work is related to higher well-being. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to develop a comprehensive model that can better account for variability in the ecological niches that families inhabit, but we suggest that the

current model should be expanded to consider contextual factors to better reflect the growing body of research on everyday hassles and family relationships.

Everyday Hassles

A growing number of researchers using widely varying methodologies have explored the everyday hassles that family members typically experience as well as the different meanings that men and women ascribe to these hassles. With a sample of 1,031 adults, each of whom completed an average of seven daily phone interviews, Almeida and Horn (2004) found that women reported experiencing everyday hassles more frequently than did men. However, they found no differences in the numbers of days that men and women reported experiencing multiple hassles. In addition, a negative relationship between age and reports of everyday hassles was found, with a decrease in reports of hassles occurring in old age (i.e., ages 60–74). Compared with older adults, young and midlife adults reported experiencing a hassle or multiple hassles on more days, and they perceived their hassles to be more severe.

The content of the everyday hassles that individuals reported included arguments or tensions, overloads (i.e., having too little time or resources), and hassles regarding respondents' social networks, health care, home management, and work or school. Arguments or tensions accounted for half of all daily stressors reported by men and women, and most of these tensions involved spouses or partners. Overload and network hassles were much less common, occurring on 6% and 8% of the study days, respectively. Women were more likely than men to report hassles involving their social networks (i.e., relatives or close friends), whereas men reported more overloads related to work or school than did women (Almeida, 2004). Compared with older adults, the younger and midlife adults in Almeida and Horn's study experienced a greater proportion of overloads and reported that hassles caused greater disruption in their daily routines.

Feminist scholars have focused on gender differences in family members' experiences and the subjective meanings that family members ascribe to routinized hassles. For example, feminist researchers have demonstrated that women perform the bulk of family labor (e.g., cooking, housecleaning, laundry), parenting, and caregiving, and this work has multiple and sometimes contradictory meanings for the individuals who perform it. Studies involving national surveys and time diaries confirm a gender gap in household labor but suggest that it may be narrowing somewhat in the 21st century (Sayer, 2005). These results show that men are spending more time on routine household chores and childcare than in the past. Women, however, continue to perform about twice the amount of housework as their husbands, and mothers spend substantially more solo time caring for children than do fathers (Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie, & Robinson, 2012; Sullivan, 2018). Furthermore, even though men's and women's time allocation has become more similar, the types of activities performed remain strongly gendered. Women spend a greater percentage of total time in unpaid labor on routine,

time-consuming, and less optional housework (e.g., laundry, cooking), whereas men spend a greater percentage of time on occasional household tasks that require less time and regularity (e.g., mowing the lawn, car maintenance). Relative to fathers, mothers experience childcare as more stressful and tiring, which may reflect the fact that mothers do more multitasking and physical care, provide care on a more rigid timetable, spend more time alone with children, and have more overall responsibility for managing care (Connelly & Kimmel, 2014; Craig, 2006; Offer & Schneider, 2011). In addition, gender disparities in free time have increased, with women reporting almost 4 hours less free time each week than men (Sayer, 2005). When paid and unpaid work hours are combined, married mothers work more total hours per week than married fathers (Bianchi & Raley, 2005; Sayer, 2005). Finally, the increased use of 24/7 information and communication technology (ICT) by 21st century families may lead to gendered patterns of spillover between hassles at work and home. For example, Chelsey (2005) found that increased ICT leads to more family demands spilling over into the workplace for women (e.g., caring for family needs while at work), and more work demands spilling over to the home for men (e.g., handling work demands while at home). The gendered nature of family work is not without costs, as evidenced in findings demonstrating that women report more stress from both external daily hassles and internal (relationship) daily hassles, and, relative to men's, women's internal and external hassles place both partners' relationship satisfaction at risk (Falconier, Nussbeck, Bodenmann, Schneider, & Bradbury, 2014).

Even in situations where couples define their division of family work as equal, inequalities abound when examining the management of everyday hassles. Regarding the everyday hassles associated with organizing family members' schedules, Jeannie [a mother of two children ages 9 and 12] observed: "I mean the thing is it generally falls on the woman. It's really kind of hard to expect [this to happen] and maybe it's just because of . . . nature. When I first got married and had kids I thought [we should share childcare] fifty-fifty because everything else was fifty-fifty" (Kaplan, 2010, pp. 598–599). Inequalities may also manifest in the degree of worry mothers and fathers express about their children. For example, Eleanor, a mother of a 12- and 14-year-old, commented, "[My husband] doesn't worry as much as I about my daughter . . . Sometimes I say to him, 'Don't you know when she's coming home?' And he's sort of, 'Oh, she'll be home.' So we have a different standard of worry" (Kaplan, 2010, pp. 603–604). These mothers' experiences of tending to the everyday needs of their children underscore feminist characterizations of the often "invisible" nature of the work required to care for children and maintain a home and suggest that if this type of family work were measured directly in large-scale survey studies, gender differences may be even more pronounced.

To understand the links between everyday hassles and family relationships, one must recognize that family labor is multidimensional and time intensive, involves both routine and occasional tasks, and is highly variable across and within households. Furthermore, because much of the "worry-shift" is mundane, tedious, boring, and generally performed without pay, most women and men

report that they do not like doing it (DeVault, 1991; Kaplan, 2010; Robinson & Milkie, 1998). The sheer volume of family labor and caregiving, as well as the ongoing and relentless nature of many of these responsibilities, requires planning, preparation, scheduling, and multitasking—tasks that often fall disproportionately on the shoulders of women. Thus, although caring for family members includes enjoyable aspects, the work itself often creates hassles that impact family relationships (Connelly & Kimmel, 2014). Peg, a school psychologist working 45 hours per week and a married mother of three young children, explains the division of family labor in her home and her frustrations with the arrangement:

He's not a morning person. He has coffee and sits. That's one of the biggest gripes. When I've had a tough morning, I'll say, "Am I the only one who hears people say, 'more orange juice?'" . . . Things build to a head and then I have what you call a meltdown. "I can't do this anymore. This isn't fair. This isn't right. I'm not the only adult in the house!" Then for a few days he'll try to make lunch. It's generally when I'm feeling pressured . . . and the stress level just gets to me and then I let it all out. It changes for a short period of time but then reverts right back to the same. (Deutsch, 1999, pp. 50, 53)

Ethan, Peg's husband who works 60 hours per week in the biotechnology business, recognizes the inequality but explains it differently: "[Peg] just naturally jumps in where I kind of wait for her to take the initiative. . . . Maybe I'm not helping as much as I could because I feel like that" (Deutsch, 1999, p. 51). Ethan's response implies that "helping" with the children in the morning is an option for him—something he can opt out of if he does not feel like participating.

One explanation for the differences between women and men in the ways they experience everyday hassles focuses on the extent to which individuals interpret their involvement in family labor to be freely chosen or voluntary. In an exploration of the contextual conditions surrounding family members' experience of emotions, Larson, Richards, and Perry-Jenkins (1994) were the first to discover how married spouses' perceptions of choice played a key role predicting fluctuations in their moods throughout the day. Their rich data on the contrasting moods of husbands and wives at work and at home highlighted how differently men and women experience these contexts and the everyday hassles they encounter. For example, employed wives recorded their most positive moods while at work and an emotional decline at home during the evening hours, which were filled with housework and childcare. In contrast, husbands recorded their most negative emotions in the workplace; at home their moods lightened, in part, because non-work time included leisure activities. However, even when men performed housework or childcare, their moods while doing these tasks were more positive than were those of their wives when they performed the same activities. Further analyses revealed that performing housework and childcare tasks elicited more positive reactions from husbands than from wives because the husbands perceived

that they had more choice regarding their involvement in these domains than did the wives.

The reverse is true for paid work. Husbands in Larson et al.'s (1994) study reported low levels of choice while at work, potentially related to constraints associated with gendered expectations for men to be providers. Employed wives reported more positive moods at work than did employed husbands. For many (but not all) women, an unhurried work pace and a friendly work environment contributed to their positive moods while on the job, demonstrating the importance of social support in the workplace for women's mental health. Collectively, these findings suggest that the transfer of women's and men's routinized experiences in the workplace or at home to emotional distress is a gendered process. The translation of work and family experiences into emotional health or distress may depend, in part, on the degree to which the individual perceives the activity to be freely chosen and whether it provides opportunities for positive social interaction, rather than the characteristics of the activity per se.

In sum, the studies reviewed above suggest that scholars may achieve a better understanding of everyday hassles by considering the ecological contexts in which the hassles occur. A family's construction of gendered expectations is one such context (Allen & Walker, 2000) and contributes to differences in women's and men's perceptions of and reactions to daily hassles. In addition, research has shown that a family's socioeconomic status (Grzywacz, Almeida, Neupert, & Ettner, 2004; Maisel & Karney, 2012), exposure to chronic stressors at work or at home (Serido et al., 2004), nonstandard work schedules (Almeida, 2004), increased use of ICT, and minority stress linked to individuals' race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or immigration status (Lincoln & Chae, 2010; Riggle, Rostosky, & Horne, 2010; Trail, Goff, Bradbury, & Karney, 2012) may exacerbate (or buffer) the impact of everyday hassles on family well-being. For example, aspects of the larger sociopolitical climate including anti-immigration policies and deportation enforcement initiatives enacted by the United States Department of Justice under the direction of the Trump administration have increased fear and stress, including risk for and fear of deportation and separation, among immigrant families in the United States. Increases in Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids, efforts to build a border wall between the United States and Mexico, the weakening of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), and the practice of the detention and separation of families at the U.S. border impact everyday hassles for Latinx immigrant families regardless of their legal status (e.g., Dreby, 2015). As spoken by a Mexican immigrant wife and mother who experienced immense anxiety about deportation, "Sometimes I dream that I go get [my daughter] at the school and there I find all the other mothers who tell me, 'Don't go back to the apartments.' . . . Or sometimes I dream that my husband gets arrested by the police at work; they call me and tell me that he is in jail" (Dreby, 2015, p. 38). As this example illustrates, everyday hassles are embedded in a larger context that amplifies the impact that seemingly minor irritations (e.g., picking up a sick child from school, a traffic stop for a broken taillight) have on family and personal well-being. Laws and policies

that institutionalize discrimination are an important dimension of context that scholars have begun to study and address via publicly disseminated policy statements documenting their harmful effect on families (e.g., American Psychological Association [APA], 2019; Bouza et al., 2018; Vesely, Bravo, & Guzzardo, 2019).

Adaptive Processes

According to the VSA, the processes that family members use to cope with everyday hassles have important implications for how those hassles affect family interactions. In general, two different patterns of responses have been identified following workdays characterized by heavy workloads or negative interactions with coworkers: (1) increases in marital or parent–child conflict and (2) social withdrawal. These patterns, however, vary across studies, within couples, and by reporter.

In one of the first daily diary studies of married couples with children, Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, and Wethington (1989) found that on days when husbands experienced an argument at work with a coworker or supervisor, they were more likely to return home from work and argue with their wives, but not with their children. For wives, however, the researchers found no significant associations between arguments at work and subsequent arguments with spouses or children. In contrast, another diary study conducted by Story and Repetti (2006) found that wives, but not husbands, reported more marital anger toward their spouse and were more withdrawn from family interaction following workdays characterized by heavy workloads and unpleasant social interactions. In an interesting twist, husbands' reports of their wives' behavior suggested that husbands did not notice their wives' displays of anger or withdrawal on these same days. This may be partially explained by the finding that everyday hassles at work were found to contribute to wives' negative moods, which in turn colored wives' perceptions of their interactions at home. Although husbands did not perceive their wives to be more angry or withdrawn following difficult days at work, wives perceived that they were more irritable and less emotionally available, in part, due to their negative moods. For some families, daily stressors experienced at work may also spill over into interactions with children. For example, Repetti's (1994) early work demonstrated that fathers engaged in more expressions of anger toward children and more harsh discipline following days characterized by negative social interactions at work. In addition, both mothers and fathers have been shown to be less behaviorally and emotionally engaged with their children following busy workdays (Repetti, 1994; Repetti & Wood, 1997a).

Daily relationship stress—or hassles related to the sharing of housework, different goals, and partners' annoying habits—may also be important in understanding the link between everyday hassles (e.g., at work) and couple functioning (Falconier et al., 2014; Ledermann, Bodenmann, Rudaz, & Bradbury, 2010). For example, a study of 345 married and unmarried Swiss couples found that the everyday hassles that partners experienced impacted their overall relationship quality and communication effectiveness via elevations in daily relationship stressors

(Ledermann et al., 2010). In a second Swiss study of 110 couples, Falconier et al. (2014) found that women's daily hassles predicted their own physical well-being and anxiety and both partners' relationship stress. Women's relationship stress, in turn, was related to women's depression and both partners' relationship satisfaction. Men's daily hassles were related to their own relationship stress, depression, anxiety, and physical well-being. Men's relationship stress predicted their own depression and relationship satisfaction. Taken together, these findings suggest that although daily hassles are inherently beyond couples' control, couples who adopt effective strategies to reduce relationship stress may be able to protect their relationship quality and satisfaction from the negative effects of everyday hassles.

How might family members buffer others from the effects of the everyday hassles they encounter? Repetti and Wood's (e.g., 1997b) early research suggested that parents' behavioral and emotional withdrawal may actually protect children from the transmission of their parents' negative work experiences. Another early study (Bolger et al., 1989) found that when husbands experienced greater-than-usual demands at the workplace, they performed less household labor and childcare when they returned home, and their wives compensated for their withdrawal by performing more of the work at home. The parallel pattern did not occur when wives experienced overloads at work. When wives experienced overloads at work, they too performed less work at home (i.e., behavioral withdrawal), but their husbands did not reciprocate by performing more. Bolger et al. (1989) label this an "asymmetry in the buffering effect" (p. 182) and suggest that, in the short term, wives' stepping in for husbands may alleviate husbands' stress and avoid the transmission of stress from husbands' daily hassles to children. However, this short-term adaptive process may prove harmful over time for families—most particularly for wives. Coping in this manner in repeated instances over time may be one factor in explaining the consistent finding that marriage benefits the emotional health of men more than that of women (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003). To the extent that women's emotional health plays a key role in child well-being (Demo & Acock, 1996), a pattern of asymmetrical buffering may be detrimental for children in families as well.

Additionally, several researchers have inquired as to how patterns of emotional transmission from daily hassles in the workplace to home vary based on the quality of the marital relationship (Schulz et al., 2004; Story & Repetti, 2006). Story and Repetti (2006) found that both husbands and wives in higher-conflict marriages were more likely than their peers in less conflicted marriages to express anger toward their spouse and withdraw from family interaction on evenings following stressful days at work. Similarly, Schulz et al. (2004) found that husbands in more satisfying marriages were less likely than maritally dissatisfied husbands to express anger or criticism toward their wives following emotionally upsetting days at work. Taken together, this research suggests that husbands and wives in higher conflict families are more likely to express negative feelings toward their spouses following high-stress days. Spouses in these families also frequently withdraw

from family interaction following difficult workdays, perhaps in an attempt to disengage from further negative interactions.

One unexpected finding indicated that some wives in more satisfying marriages actually withdraw more and express more anger following demanding days at work than do wives in less satisfying marriages (Schulz et al., 2004). The authors suggest that a more satisfying marital relationship may create a context in which husbands encourage wives to express their frustrations as a way of coping. It may be that more maritally satisfied husbands facilitate wives' temporary withdrawal from family interactions by increasing their own involvement with childcare and housework so that their wives can recuperate (e.g., "Mommy needs some time to relax and unwind because she had a hard day at work."). In turn, wives in more satisfying marital relationships may feel freer than their maritally dissatisfied counterparts to express anger and withdraw from family interaction after difficult workdays because their husbands are willing to hear their complaints and increase their supportive behavior. This research suggests that the nature of the marital relationship may affect the extent to which everyday hassles at work spill over into family interactions and that these patterns may vary by gender. Similarly, the results of other studies suggest that additional family vulnerabilities or strengths (e.g., child conduct problems, overly controlling parenting) may influence the extent to which daily hassles transfer to family stress (Larson & Gillman, 1999; Margolin, Christensen, & John, 1996).

Research from a 10-year, multisite qualitative study suggests that buffering children from the effects of parents' everyday hassles may be a luxury afforded to only middle-class and more affluent families (Dodson & Dickert, 2004). In their study of low-income families, Dodson and Dickert (2004) found that parents engaged children, most typically eldest daughters, in childcare and housework tasks as a strategy to compensate for the inflexible work hours, low wages, and nonstandard shifts of working-poor parents. Whereas studies of both working- and middle-class families have found that girls, more than boys, assume household labor responsibilities when mothers' work demands are high (e.g., Crouter, Head, Bumpus, & McHale, 2001), low-income families differ in that girls' contributions to family labor are essential for family survival because the demands of parents' work render mothers and fathers unavailable to attend to even the most basic everyday hassles of family life. In this way, parents' workplace demands have direct impacts on eldest daughters' daily experiences in that these girls must contend with the everyday hassles and responsibilities customarily assigned to parents. As a teacher of the low-income adolescent girls participating in Dodson and Dickert's (2004) study observed, "They have to take their little brother to the bus stop in the morning and sometimes that means getting to school late or they are babysitting . . . they are like little mothers" (p. 326). One 15-year-old daughter's own words illustrate that the girls themselves are keenly aware of their responsibilities as childcare providers and assistant housekeepers: "I have to take care of the house and take care of the kids and I don't go outside. I have to stay home. They have to go to work so I take over" (p. 324).

The results of Dodson and Dickert's (2004) study suggest that although this adaptive strategy has both short-term benefits (e.g., children are cared for and housework is completed) and long-term benefits (e.g., family cohesion or loyalty, higher levels of social responsibility for adolescents), families use it at considerable cost to eldest daughters. When eldest daughters assume responsibility for the everyday hassles associated with family care, their own education and goals are secondary to the needs of the family. In Dodson and Dickert's study, teachers, parents, and the girls themselves described lost opportunities for education and extracurricular involvement and, perhaps most disconcerting, lost hope for the eldest daughters' futures.

A relatively new line of research has examined the influence of information and communication technology (ICT) on everyday hassles, including how it may help buffer families from daily hassles or how it may create additional everyday hassles by blurring the lines between work and home. In some ways, the use of ICT can be viewed as an adaptive process that provides support for handling everyday hassles. A recent qualitative study demonstrated that for some couples the use of ICT makes it easier to manage daily schedules, communicate work and family needs, and organize their own and their family's time. For example, in Golden's (2013) qualitative study, an employee from a high tech organization in the Northeast reflected on managing daily routines with ICT:

If it's something like a doctor's appointment, or even an after-hours event I have. I'll put it on there [virtual calendar system] just so when I look at my calendar, it's there as a reminder that, hey, you've gotta go do this tonight or Saturday morning don't forget to take the car in . . . My wife and I also use a function of [e-mail] which, there's a shared calendar function.

Similarly, Golden (2013) found that individuals use ICT to increase their work flexibility (e.g., by completing some work tasks from home), manage doing work from home (e.g., answering e-mails in nonwork hours), and remain available to family demands during work hours (e.g., accepting instant messages, e-mails, or calls from spouse and children). Although workplace flexibility may benefit family well-being, technology-enabled flexibility (e.g., via cell phones, tablets, home-accessible e-mail) may also increase the potential of work to impede on family life for those "fortunate" enough to have it (e.g., Golden, 2013; Heijstra & Rafnsdottir, 2010). Therefore, although ICT may at times buffer the impact of everyday hassles, it may also contribute to family stress.

ICT blurs the boundaries between work and home by providing 24/7 access and availability to interact with individuals or tasks previously segregated into work and home spaces. This increased technology may make it difficult for workers to disconnect from work at home (Chelsey & Johnson, 2015; Golden, 2013; Madden & Jones, 2008), especially for employees with high levels of ambition and involvement in their work or those whose identity is tied to their career (Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007). Even individuals who do not actively

complete work tasks from home may become distracted by work during family time via technological communication (Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007). Additionally, a recent study from the Pew Internet and American Life Project found that increased access to technology is related to higher expectations from employers that workers remain engaged in work and available at all times (Chelsey & Johnson, 2015). These new demands represent additional everyday hassles that families must learn to manage. One adaptive process involves setting intentional boundaries and limits regarding work-related technology use at home (e.g., turning off notifications) which reduces ICT interruptions and subsequent work-to-family conflict (Fenner & Renn, 2010). Setting boundaries in this way may be difficult, however, as many individuals report feeling pressure to stay connected to work. A recent study reported that 50% of workers complete work tasks during nonwork hours (e.g., at home, on vacation; Madden & Jones, 2008).

Enduring Vulnerabilities

Individual differences or enduring vulnerabilities in personality and emotional functioning can both contribute to everyday hassles and affect how family members adapt to them. For example, enduring vulnerabilities play an important role in determining how family members process, interpret, and react to the everyday hassles they encounter. In addition, the extent to which individuals possess relatively stable traits can render them resilient or vulnerable to the transfer of stress from everyday hassles. For example, studies have found exaggerated stress responses to hassles among individuals with higher levels of negative affectivity, neuroticism, type A personality traits, depression, and introversion (e.g., Almeida, McGonagle, Cate, Kessler, & Wethington, 2002; Falconier et al., 2014) and lower levels of mastery and self-esteem (Almeida, McGonagle et al., 2002; Pearlin, 1999).

Gender differences may influence the extent to which enduring vulnerabilities moderate the links between daily hassles and family stress may differ for men and women. Almeida, McGonagle et al. (2002) asked 166 married couples to complete daily diaries for 42 consecutive days. In each diary entry, participants responded to a short questionnaire about a variety of daily stressors, including arguments with their spouse, as well as a questionnaire designed to assess psychological distress. The analyses addressed the moderating effects of psychological characteristics (i.e., neuroticism, mastery, self-esteem, and extraversion) on the link between marital arguments and psychological distress. They found that the extent to which wives felt distressed following marital arguments was exacerbated by high levels of neuroticism and attenuated by high levels of mastery, self-esteem, and extraversion. In contrast, self-esteem alone moderated the link between marital arguments and psychological distress for husbands. Almeida, McGonagle et al. (2002) suggested that because personality has been shown to be particularly salient for coping with stressors that are highly threatening or uncontrollable, the different patterns that emerged for husbands and wives in their sample imply that wives may perceive marital arguments as more threatening than do husbands.

Intervention: Toward a New Family-Responsive Policy Agenda

Feminists argue for gender equity in daily tasks as a solution to the disproportionate burdens that mothers, wives, and daughters carry in families (Allen, Walker, & McCann, 2013), but they also warn that even with gender equity, many contemporary families would still have too many hassles to manage on their own (Coontz, 2015). In contrast, those ascribing to structural-functionalist views suggest that families function best when women focus on children and home management and men focus on breadwinning (Popenoe, 2009). Rare among scholars but quite prevalent in popular culture are self-help perspectives that frame the link between everyday hassles and family well-being as a private matter that individuals can solve by using time more efficiently. Still others emphasize government- or employer-subsidized child- and eldercare services as mechanisms for outsourcing many of the everyday hassles associated with caregiving while also acknowledging that government and workplace policies may actually amplify sources of hassles if ineffectively administered (Bogenschneider, 2000, 2014).

We argue that contemporary American families need better opportunities both at home and in the workplace to meet family members' diverse needs without inadvertently creating additional stressors for individuals already living in chronically stressful situations (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2013; Roy et al, 2004). We support Moen's (2003) conclusion that we must "re-imagine and reconfigure work hours, workweeks, and occupational career paths in ways that address the widening gaps between the time needs and goals of workers and their families at all stages of the life course on the one hand and the time available to them on the other" (p. 7). For example, some families may want to devote more time to paid work outside the home and therefore need ways to simplify aspects of their daily home lives and outsource everyday tasks to readily available, high-quality substitutes. As Valcour and Batt (2003) note, for parents who want to focus more of their time on family obligations, flexibility in the workplace is of paramount importance. They quoted a mother of three children (including 4-year-old twins) who has been married to a business administrator for 15 years:

I was lucky to work out a job sharing arrangement because there was another woman in my department who did the same thing as me and was also struggling after she had her second baby. So we went to the human resource person and she was supportive but said the company doesn't have this in place. So we did the research and went to the president of the division and we went through a couple of struggles, but eventually they accepted it. I'm so glad it worked out, because it has been great for me and my family. (p. 320)

As this woman's experience illustrates, workplace policies that enable family members to care for the needs of their members without jeopardizing their

financial security or jobs are likely to be particularly beneficial for families caring for young children or sick or aging family members.

Although the needs and desires of family members in diverse family forms are likely to change over the life course, they exist in a sociohistorical context that has seen little development in family-responsive workplace policies (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2013). For example, the everyday hassles that today's families encounter are situated in a society that is still predicated on a breadwinner-husband-homemaker-wife script in which the breadwinner is assured an adequate wage for family provision and a full-time, linear rise up the occupational ladder, and the homemaker manages the everyday non-work aspects of her husband's life as well as the daily hassles of managing a home and family (Coontz, 2000; Moen, 2003). This outdated script contrasts starkly with the contemporary reality that the majority of American families (e.g., single-parent and dual-earner families) experience as they work in an economy where family-wage jobs are reserved for the highly educated, secure manufacturing jobs are few, job growth is limited to low-wage 24/7 service-sector positions with little security or hope for advancement, and income gains are disproportionately situated among more advantaged individuals (Autor & Dorn, 2013). Further, relative to high-wage workers, low-wage workers are less likely to be employed at firms large enough to entitle them to health insurance and family leave, and also less likely to be able to afford the insurance premiums and 12 weeks of unpaid leave (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2013). In addition, existing government and workplace policies have been slow to recognize that working family members have legitimate family demands on their time that may require greater flexibility in the workplace. As long as the culture of the workplace equates work commitment with overwork and fails to recognize the legitimacy of family caregiving as an employee right, those seeking a reasonable balance between work and family life are likely to be penalized (Jacobs & Gerson, 2005). This point is documented by a father of two children (ages 8 and 14) who is employed as a manufacturing production supervisor and married to a part-time educational coordinator:

I wish there were more flexibility, especially in our production environment. I've worked all my life around a rotating-work schedule, but this year alone I lost three excellent employees. They had each become single parents for one reason or another, and there's no way you can get child care in off hours and weekends. It just breaks my heart. Traditionally production has been a male-oriented thing, where one partner stays home with the children and the other one works crazy schedules. . . . the world is changing and the schedule is not. (quoted in Valcour & Batt, 2003, p. 310)

The mismatch between the work environments that family members inhabit and the needs of contemporary families creates a context in which everyday hassles emerge and multiply (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2013). The policies most effective at

improving family well-being take a holistic approach by integrating service delivery, prevention programs, universal high-quality services, and programs that are flexible to families' needs (Hengstebeck, Helms, & Crosby, 2016).

Valcour and Batt (2003) suggest that employers first adopt and promote a family-responsive attitude toward employees and then demonstrate support for this attitude through company policy. A primary objective of this approach is to reduce the often unspoken costs to employees who choose nonstandard work arrangements or take advantage of family-friendly policies (Jacobs & Gerson, 2005). Such an attitude recognizes that all employees, regardless of whether they have spouses, partners, children, or other kin at home, are members of families and experience everyday hassles and demands from personal involvements outside the workplace (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2013). Valcour and Batt (2003) note that family-responsive employers must offer employees the following: (a) a broad range of work-life programs that provide employees with control over their working time and support in meeting their family and personal needs; (b) adequate pay, benefits, and employment security; (c) work designed to provide employees with discretion and control in meeting work and life demands; and (d) a workplace culture, transmitted formally by organizational policies and informally by supervisors and coworkers, that values and supports the work-life integration of all employees (Thompson & Prottas, 2005; Valcour & Batt, 2003, pp. 312–313). Jacobs and Gerson (2005) further emphasize that family responsive reforms must uphold both two essential principles: (1) gender equality in opportunity structures and (2) support for employees regardless of socioeconomic location.

Moen (2003) argues that it is not enough for corporations to list such policies on the books. Employers must make continuous efforts to enforce these policies to cultivate a corporate climate that is truly responsive to the needs of families. Moen also suggests that employers and government officials need to keep better records of the variations (and the reasons for them) in employees' work-hour and career-path arrangements in order to track the implications of these variations for employees and corporations. The information gained through such tracking may help to convince employers and policymakers of the heterogeneity in employees' experiences both at work and at home and thus persuade them to change outdated workplace policies based on the breadwinner-homemaker template. Finally, and perhaps most important for families' experiences of everyday hassles and stress, employers and policymakers must view employees' vulnerabilities and family circumstances as key human resource, workforce, and labor issues. For family members struggling in uncertain economic times and working in low-wage jobs with inflexible work schedules, everyday hassles such as minor car accidents, sick children, and parent–teacher conferences scheduled during work hours can add strains that they may find hard to manage. Policies that focus on the risks, vulnerabilities, and family lives of workers are likely to attenuate the transfer of stress from everyday hassles to family relationships.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are everyday hassles? How do they differ from more severe daily stressors? Provide some examples of anticipated and unanticipated everyday hassles, including how they may impact families who are (or are not) dealing with additional chronic stressors.
2. What, if any, differences exist in the experiences of everyday hassles for men and women? What implications does this have for couples' relationships and overall family functioning?
3. What recommendations do you have for families to manage the stress of everyday hassles?
4. How might increases in technology help and/or hinder how families experience and manage everyday hassles?
5. What policy recommendations were suggested to help families manage everyday hassles? How might these changes support families?

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