Women's Gender Role Attitudes, Career Salience, and Paid Work-Family Conflict

by

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Abstract

The purpose of the present study was to explore the relationship between work-family conflict (WFC), career salience, and gender role attitudes in a sample (n=147) of women staff and faculty at universities and colleges. Participants were recruited via e-mails and completed measures of WFC (Work Family Conflict Scale), career salience (Career Salience Scale), and gender role attitudes (Attitudes Toward Women Scale). Career salience was found to be a significant predictor of WFC, with greater salience being associated with greater WFC. Gender role attitudes were found to be a significant predictor of WFC, although contrary to prediction more non-traditional gender role attitudes were associated with higher scores on WFC. Also contrary to prediction, gender role attitudes were not a moderator in the relationship between career salience and WFC. Additionally, there were not significant relationships between WFC and number of children, WFC and having children under the age of 6, WFC and number of weekly hours worked, and WFC and partner/living status.

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INTRODUCTION

Changing societal roles for men and women, fueled by an increase in career and job opportunities for women, as well as economic need, have led to a proliferation of families in which both partners[1] share breadwinning responsibilities. Women continue to be a group increasingly represented in the workforce. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that between 1970 and 2004 women increased labor force participation from 43 to 59 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). In fact, women now participate in the American workforce at equal levels with men (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005). Women also have become a more permanent and full-time contingent of the paid work force. For example, nearly 60 percent of women who worked during 2003 worked full time and year round, compared with 41 percent in 1970. Additionally, from 1951 to 1997, the percentage of working women who were married almost tripled from 23 percent to 62 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). National statistics highlight the changing nature of the American family unit and the reality of multiple roles for working parents. Thus it has become important to examine how work and family domains interact with each other and the corresponding outcomes for the individual, work, and family.

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[1] Partners refers to a couple consisting of two adults residing together and raising a child(ren).

Researchers have examined the issue of Work Family Conflict (WFC) from a number of angles in order to better understand this phenomenon as dual earner couples increase in number and more women and men balance both work and family responsibilities (Swiss, 1996). WFC has been associated with a plethora of negative outcomes documented in research. Kossek and Ozeki (1998) looked at 32 studies and found work family conflict to be negatively related to both job satisfaction and life satisfaction. The compiled results of 67 studies revealed WFC was negatively related to job satisfaction, organizational commitment and turnover intentions and family outcomes such as marital and family satisfaction. Stress-related outcomes also were found including, general psychological strain, physical illness, depression, substance abuse, burnout, work-related stress, and family-related stress. These greater implications and outcomes of WFC underscore the importance of studying this phenomenon and generating new theoretical models that will further advance the understanding of this process.

While the literature acknowledges that WFC affects both women and men, the nature of how women and men experience such conflict is quite different (Rider, 2000). The conflict between work and family roles for women is more oppositional or dichotomous because of established sex roles and gender norms. Women's experiences in the workforce are also influenced by their gender role attitudes or ideas about what being a woman entails. Some women may have more traditional attitudes about being a woman, while others may have more non-traditional attitudes (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987). Men have been found to have more ease in balancing the roles of family and work, as

social norms place greater emphasis on men's work roles and lesser, secondary importance on their family roles (Rider, 2000).

This relative importance an individual places on certain roles is defined as salience. The WFC literature has looked at this concept of career salience and how it relates to WFC. A positive relationship between career salience and WFC has been consistently documented in research (Cinamon & Rich, 2002).

The purpose of this study was to examine a model of WFC for women that includes career salience and gender role attitudes. The role of other variables on the experience of WFC was also examined, such as number of children, social support, and number of hours worked. Several of these variables have been studied in past research and were included in this study to describe the WFC of the sample.

Despite this distinction in how men and women experience WFC, there has been little, to date, written about the relationship between women's gender role attitudes, career salience, and WFC. The primary focus of this study was to examine the moderating influence of gender-role attitudes on the relationship between career salience and WFC for university and college staff and faculty. Only 15 percent of past WFC research studies have examined moderators of WFC (Casper, Eby, Bordeaux, Lockwood, & Lambert, 2007). Additionally, the WFC literature has been criticized for a lack of theoretical models, (Eby, Casper , Lockwood, Bordeaux , & Brinley, 2003). Studying the moderating effects of variables helps to expand upon existing theoretical models. Thus, this study makes a contribution to the existing literature. Additionally, the present study will add to the current body of WFC research by shedding new light on women's experience of WFC.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research has found that when conflict occurs between an individual's work and family roles, satisfaction in life, job and marriage decreases (Allen,Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000). There is a large body of research examining the phenomenon of WFC, its antecedents, and its outcomes. A number of articles have reviewed the existing research in an effort to synthesize what has been found and to point the way for areas that warrant more exploration. The studies in these literature reviews have examined different components of WFC, including relationships between work and family roles (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). The differential investment in work and family roles (Cinamon & Rich, 2002), consequences of WFC (Allen et al., 2000; Kossek & Ozeki, 1999; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998), the effects if organizational policies on WFC (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999; Kossek& Ozeki, 1998; Glass & Estes, 1997), the distinct emotional components of work and family roles (Wharton & Erickson, 1993), developmental/life-span aspects of WFC (Swanson, 1992), and the different types of WFC including time-based, strain-based, and behavior-based (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Allen and colleagues (2000) looked at 67 empirical studies of WFC and corresponding family and work consequences. The authors identified four prominent themes within the literature: the meaning of work embedded in people's lives, multiple life roles, work and family navigation, and supportive family systems.

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The literature also has looked at the relationships between organizational policies, WFC, and job and life satisfaction measures (Glass & Estes, 1997; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). WFC was found to be correlated with job and life satisfaction such that as WFC increased job and life satisfaction decreased. The process of managing emotions at work and home, and the relationship between WFC and multiple roles and corresponding consequences have also been studied in two articles (Wharton & Erickson, 1993; Judge, 2006). The ability to keep work and home roles distinct and focus on the role at hand was found to be correlated with WFC. As individuals were better able to keep the roles distinct and segmented, they experienced less WFC. Organizational commitment and its relationship with WFC has been another area of study in the literature (Frone , Russell, & Cooper, 1992). Organizational commitment was found to be correlated with WFC, such that as organizational commitment increased so did WFC; however this was moderated by employee-friendly organizational policies.

A brief description of the different types of WFC studies has been provided to help establish the context of this study. However, a complete description of all of these studies is beyond the scope of this review. Pertinent studies to this research will be further detailed in the specific sections of the literature review.

Initially, this chapter will provide an overview of the literature in WFC, followed by a review of literature on career salience. This study focuses on the experience of WFC, which may be influenced by a woman's gender role attitudes. In addition, research looking at the relationship between gender roles and WFC will be summarized. Connections between the above constructs will be drawn, providing the framework and rationale for this study. Because it has been proposed that gender role attitudes and

career salience together are related to WFC, theory and research pertinent to these

relationships will also be discussed.

<center>Definitions and Conceptualizations of Work Family Conflict</center>

Work has been conceptualized in many ways, but for the purposes of this study

work is defined as an activity that is entered into for the purposes of providing goods or

services to others while also providing rewards for the worker such as monetary gains

and personal fulfillment (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Michelozzi, 1988). This study

does not examine unpaid work. The existence of this relationship between service and

reward creates a system in which individuals provide services and are compensated. The

extent to which an individual feels adequately compensated will depend on how that

person assesses the equality between the service they provide and the compensation

received. For example, a high salary and good insurance benefits are, in the United

States, a standard of good compensation for services rendered. It is important to note that

work has also been defined to include activities that one is not paid for monetarily, such

as household chores and duties involved in the management and caretaking of the family

(Goodnow & Bowes, 1994). However, the bulk of WFC literature does not include that

definition of work.

Family too has been defined in a variety of ways. This study will look at those

families which include at least one child and an adult parental unit. While the majority of

WFC research has looked at the "so-called" traditional nuclear family consisting of a

married heterosexual couple with children, all people who live communal lives face the

challenges of combining work and family roles (Palladino-Schultheiss, 2006).

Consequently, family in this study includes single parents, a traditional married heterosexual couple with children, a heterosexual unmarried couple, or lesbian or gay male couple residing together with children. The children may be biological children, stepchildren, adopted children, foster children, or children in legal guardianship. It is important to incorporate diverse living situations into the definition of family, as the structure of a family may assume many different forms other than the two-parent married couple. It should be noted that the demographic reality in the United States is consistent with an inclusive definition of family. The "so-called" traditional two-parent heterosexual couple raising biological, adopted, or step children accounts for fewer than 50 % of family households (U. S. Census Bureau, 2001). The diversity of different types of family households supports the need to look at many types of families in WFC research.

The definition of WFC is based in part upon the scarcity hypothesis, which is the notion that an individual possesses a finite amount of emotional and physical energy constrained by a 24-hour day, and as demands are met, an individual's resources decrease. Multiple roles may contribute to a scarcity of resources, especially when role demands are high (Barnett & Gareis, 2006). The occurrence of WFC would seem to be inescapable when individuals occupy both family and work roles. Frone and colleagues (1992) found negative psychological and physical consequences resulting from occupying multiple roles. Research supports the notion of the scarcity hypothesis. In a study of 113 registered women nurses, the total amount of time spent in both work and family roles was found to moderate the stressor-conflict relationship (Fox & Dwyer, 1999). As work hours and career salience increased, so did WFC. Additionally, nurses who reported higher involvement in both domains reported the most conflict in general.

However, some researchers have begun to conceptualize WFC through an enhancement theory perspective. Enhancement theory suggests that roles are complementary, and that strengthening performance in any given area enhances well-being in other roles, predicting that multiple roles will increase well being (Marshall & Barnett, 1993). Enhancement theory supports the idea of being able to blend work and family domains in a complementary fashion. When considering the plausibility of enhancement theory, it is also important to consider how different roles fulfill different needs. The satisfaction derived from spending time with one's child or partner is substantially different than the satisfaction garnered from endeavors at work such as solving difficult problem or closing a deal (Rider, 2000). Multiple roles may help women to meet more of their needs such as socialization, a sense of self efficacy, self esteem, a sense of contribution to society, and variety. A lack of various roles may lead women to feel unfulfilled and in search of meaning in their lives. Research suggests there may be some benefits of holding multiple roles; such benefits include privileges, increased self esteem, personality, and social relationships (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). In addition, one role can buffer the stresses of another role for working women and decrease the experience of WFC (Gallivan, 1994). This argument is based on the idea that a person receives satisfaction and other psychological gains from various roles outside the home such as work or social roles.

The problem with this is that it implies that the more roles a person occupies the more rich and fulfilled a person will be, because of the increased buffering abilities of these multiple roles. This does not account for a person becoming overextended and experiencing role-overload by trying to meet demands from many roles. There is support

for the position that people need to meet different needs through different life roles and this is why people occupy a combination of roles. Other people occupy multiple roles out of an economic necessity based on their socio-economic status. Regardless of the motives that people have for occupying multiple roles, what also needs to be examined is how certain individual variables such as gender role attitudes affect the quality of certain roles and thus also affect the buffering abilities of those roles.

Researchers have found that it is the quality of the role that predicts conflict between work and family roles, (Perry-Jenkins, Seery, & Crouter, 1992). For example, if an individual is dissatisfied with her work and/or family roles, then there is more likelihood she will experience WFC, while if the individual is satisfied with work and family roles, then there will be less chance for conflict.

While this study focuses on WFC, family demands may also interfere with work. The concept of WFC has been theorized to have a counterpoint in Family to Work Conflict (FWC). FWC has been defined as the process by which family demands interfere with work performance (Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2005). Although the current trend in research is to view work and family domains as fluid or part of a cohesive whole (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000), empirical support exists for viewing WFC and FWC as two distinct constructs (Byron, 2005; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2005). Research indicates that WFC occurs more often than FWC because the economic repercussions associated with work are more compelling for survival and thus work pressures are considered more compelling than family pressures (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999). Research has found that WFC occurs more frequently than FWC. This finding has been attributed to an increased ability in our society to keep

work boundaries firmer than family ones. The increased occurrence of WFC has been underscored by findings that individuals are three times more likely to experience WFC than FWC (Frone, Russell, & Cooper 1992). The existing body of research on WFC is also significantly larger than the body of research addressing FWC, suggesting a greater interest in WFC (Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996).

Theoretical Foundations of Work Family Conflict

The literature has typically addressed the phenomenon of WFC from an identity theory framework or a role theory framework. Within these two frameworks the experience of WFC is conceptualized as dependent on the degree of involvement in work and family domains (Smoot, 2004). Therefore, a discussion of identity theory as it relates to WFC and role theory as it relates to WFC will follow.

A role specifies expectations about appropriate behaviors for a person occupying a specific position, such as mother or teacher, within a social context (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). For example, the mother role is associated with behaviors such as caring for and nurturing one's child(ren), and the teacher role is associated with behaviors such as educating and disciplining others' children. Role behaviors carry extrinsic and intrinsic rewards within them such as increased self-esteem (intrinsic) or a salary (extrinsic). These rewards motivate individuals to fulfill role expectations.

Roles allow individuals to attribute meaning to themselves, through explicit specifications and by categorizing different life components as relevant, complementary, primary or as counter to others (Hogg et al., 1995). As well, people respond to and react to each other based on the distinct roles of the other, thus facilitating the phenomenon of validating and maintaining a self concept.

Role theory has been applied to WFC by examining the multiple work and family roles within a person's life and how those roles interact, specifically by drawing links between work and family domains. WFC research has viewed role theory as encompassing three dimensions: (a) experiences encountered in a role, (b) attitudinal reactions to participation in a role, and (c) the level of involvement in a role (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999). The manifestation of these dimensions in one role can potentially affect the experiences in the other role (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999).

For example, consider a mother who is very devoted to her job as an attorney and has a high level of involvement in her work physically, working 60 hours a week. She may also be devoted to her role as a mother, but because of her work role demands may be unable to fulfill this role's responsibilities. Because each role has rewards associated with completing specific demands, the potential exists for a negative experience if a person is unable to meet demands and receive rewards from a role that is important to them. The mother depicted above may not be able to fulfill all the duties required by her parent role if she is working 60 hours a week. She will have an attitudinal reaction, depending on her "gender role beliefs," to this experience of not being able to fulfill some of her maternal role duties. Thus if she believes that she should prepare meals, bathe, and read stories to her child every night, then she will be distressed when she is not able to receive the rewards associated with these behaviors. This will then create conflict between her work and family roles.

While role theory provides a framework for linking work and family domains, identity theory provides an alternative approach to understanding WFC. Identity theory looks at WFC as a phenomenon that occurs because of an inability to successfully merge

distinct aspects of one's identity. Identity theory asserts that individual identity is a compilation of social roles that are hierarchical in nature (Hogg et al., 1995). Within WFC studies, multiple roles of focus are the work/career role, spouse/partner role, the parental role, homecare role etc. The degree of importance or "salience" attached to a specific role is of concern in identity theory. The concept of salience will be addressed in further detail in a later section.

Identity theory applies to WFC when the parent and/or work roles a woman occupies are not congruent with her belief system, such as her gender role attitudes. For example, if the lawyer and mother described earlier has traditional gender role attitudes about her mother role, while also endorsing high career salience, she will have difficulty merging these divergent roles within her identity, creating conflict for her. It is impossible to fulfill both of these roles as she would like because she has a finite amount of physical and emotional resources. There is no such thing as a super-mom who works 50 hours a week, cooks dinner, bakes cookies, attends her child's school activities and attends to professional obligations, all without making a sacrifice in one role.

Identity and role theory are particularly significant for this study which examines how the importance of one's career role (career salience) is related to the experience of WFC. Also, identity and role theory support the need to look at how social roles such as gender roles affect the experience of WFC and its relationship with other variables.

Work and Family Conflict Underlying Linking Processes

In examining WFC, linking mechanisms or causal variables, such as spillover, have been identified by researchers as a way to explain how work and family domains affect each other (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). After reviewing the body of WFC

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literature, Edwards and Rothbard (2000) synthesized the bulk of variables studied into

five categories, which captured the primary concepts addressed in WFC research:

spillover, compensation, segmentation, resource drain, and congruence (Edwards &

Rothbard, 2000).

Spillover

The process by which experiences in one domain affect and influence experiences

in the other domain is termed spillover (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). It becomes a

linking mechanism when for example a disagreement with a supervisor one afternoon

results in an irritable mood at home later that evening. Research has focused on spillover

in affect variables such as mood and satisfaction, spillover of values, as well as spillover

of skills (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Specifically, the research has found that mood

generated at work has a direct and positive relationship with mood experienced or

expressed in the home (Barling & Macewen, 1992; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). This

relationship occurs for both negative and positive spillover.

Compensation

The linking mechanism of compensation addresses rewards accrued or pursued in

work and family domains. It comprises met and unmet needs of the individual and how

an individual goes about fulfilling those needs (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). An example

of compensation is illustrated in the case of the wife who feels a lack of authority and

power at work and then to compensate for this feeling of powerlessness takes on an

authoritarian parenting style at home. In addition, the term has been used to explain the

process by which an individual allocates more time and resources to the domain which

she finds most satisfying of her needs.

Segmentation

Essentially segmentation can be conceptualized as the opposite of spillover. The ability to keep work and family domains distinct from one another is referred to as segmentation (Edwards, 2000). While the most widely accepted view in WFC research now considers work and family as interconnected, the process of segmentation is seen as a coping mechanism or level of boundary setting between the two domains. Simply put, the concept is the act of keeping work issues at work and family issues at home. For example, this would translate into a person actively avoiding work-related thoughts or discussions while at home. Conversely, an individual might maintain a certain level of connection between the two domains, never really setting a firm boundary between the two. The process of segmentation is a difficult task for women as they report experiencing work and family demands simultaneously, whereas men report this experience to be sequential (Bedeian, Burke, & Moffett, 1988).

Resource Drain

Both work and family roles require the use of an individual's finite amount of resources such as time. Resource drain describes the actual transfer of resources between work and family roles (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). For example, there are only so many hours in a day, so working overtime will mean less time to help a child with homework. As a majority of working women continue to bear a larger burden of household and family responsibilities, while also working a full time job, the notion of resource drain can be seen when working women are unable or struggle to meet the household demands placed upon them after working a full day (Chapman, 2004).

Congruence

Congruence is often used to infer similarity or equality between two things. This remains the case in WFC research. Congruence refers to the level of similarity between the work and family domains. Researchers have attributed this similarity to factors such as personality/temperament or social customs (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). For example, a woman who endorses a "so-called" traditional (American, Caucasian, middle-class) view of womanhood, in which a woman's primary focus is on the home and family domains, might behave in ways that similarly affect both her work and family roles such as choosing a job as a teacher to work with children and being the primary caregiver of her own children.

Methods, Design, and Analysis of Work-Family Conflict Research

The extent and scope of WFC research is vast, spanning numerous academic fields including business and management, human development and family studies, sociology, public administration, industrial/organizational psychology, and counseling psychology. An overview of some of this research follows.

Methodology

The bulk of WFC studies have used hypothesis testing through exploratory analysis and structural model building. Much of the WFC research centers around theoretical models linking work and family variables. Self-report measures assessing the individual's experience of WFC are the normative data collection mode. Literature reviews of existing WFC studies indicate that construct refinement and measurement is a

major focus (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). For example, Casper and colleagues (2007) found in their meta-analysis of 225 WFC studies that methodological trends varied widely among specific WFC content areas, suggesting that distinct methodologies be utilized to advance research in this domain. Several researchers have proposed models that include antecedent, moderating, and mediating variables for WFC (Weigel & Weigel, 1995).

A recent literature review indicated that 89% of WFC studies were cross-sectional, 97% were conducted in field settings, and 89% were correlational. Only 2% of studies used experimental designs and 6% used quasi-experimental designs (Casper et al., 2007). The body of research lacks a consistently used measure to allow for generalizations or comparisons between studies. The measurement of WFC, its relationship with other variables, and the general nature of the construct itself remain ill-defined. There has been a paucity of findings that can be generalized across populations, causing some researchers to label the actual measurement process of the phenomenon as ambiguous (Allen et al., 2000, Netemeyer et al., 1996).

Samples

WFC research studies tend to represent a homogenous group with a lack of diversity, (Casper et al., 2007; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). Much of the research looks at middle-class, educated, married couples with children. This is due to the fact that this demographic represents a large portion of the national population, and also this demographic is typically most represented in the white-collar workforce. Dual-earner couples occupy a majority of the research studies. Additionally, men and women have been studied in groups to look at gender differences in the experience of WFC. Single mothers have also been examined. Sample characteristics of 220 studies over a 23-year

period ending in 2003, reveal that 50% of participants were female, 72% were Caucasian, 83% were married or cohabiting, and 68% were managers or professionals. A small percentage of studies looked only at women, and those that did had small samples. "The average participant had 1.7 children and worked 41 hours per week, and 75% of samples were from the United States" (Casper et al., p.30, 2007). Findings in WFC research have yielded inconsistent results perhaps due to the use of multiple instruments and poor construct refinement (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). Some literature reviews have been critical of the fact that the samples used in WFC research have been homogeneous, specifically focused on middle-class, married, Caucasian men and women (Casper et al., 2007; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). So results cannot be generalized across diverse populations.

Measures

Instruments to assess WFC date back to 1979 when Quinn and Staines developed the first 1-question measure (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). The instrument simply asks, "How much do your job and family interfere with each other - a lot, somewhat, or not all?"

Two measures that have been used across multiple studies include Kopelman, Greenhaus, and Connolly's 4-item scale developed in 1983 and Gutek, Searle, and Klepa's (1991) addition to the earlier scale (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). The 1983 instrument briefly assesses for WFC by asking participants to rank items such as, "After I come home from work, I am usually too tired to do the things I want to do." The later addition to the scale includes the same number of similar sentences, but looks at FWC. Measures designed specifically to assess both bi-directional phenomena of WFC and FWC have

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been found to have more reliability and to yield more useful data (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

Netemeyer et al. (1996) developed a more sophisticated measure that also is used often in research to assess the bidirectional occurrence of WFC and FWC levels. This measure, which was developed by incorporating past research findings and was created using multiple samples, asks more in-depth questions and has been found to have stronger overall validity (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999; Netemeyer et al., 1996). Research documents a clear distinction between the FWC and WFC, supporting the use of measures that assess the two domains separately. In fact, a 1999 meta-analysis of all WFC published studies revealed that WFC was more likely to hurt workers' job satisfaction than was FWC. This finding illustrates, how by using instruments that focus on WFC and FWC separately, more specific conclusions may be drawn (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999).

The most in-depth measure to date is a multi-dimensional instrument designed by Carlson, Kacmar, and Williams in 2000 to look at different sub-types for both WFC and FWC. The three forms of WFC and FWC are assessed by three distinct scales (time-based, strain-based, and behavior-based) providing a thorough analysis of the possible dimensions of WFC and FWC (Carlson et al., 2000). Out of the 31 items, 18 relate to WFC and the remainder assess FWC, with one item, item number 19, assessing the coexistence of both WFC and FWC.

The self-report assessment of constructs has been criticized because of its lack of objectivity (Allen et al., 2000; Casper et al., 2007). It is important to note that the phenomenon of WFC is a subjective individual experience and thus requires subjective

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measures of assessment. Still, the need for additional measures of WFC that involve objective data collection has been called for by researchers (Allen et al., 2000). Additionally, the absence of a uniform measure of WFC across studies has aroused criticism, and some cite the diversity of measures as the cause of the divergent and inconsistent findings (Allen et al., 2000; Casper et al., 2007; Kossek & Ozeki, 1999; Netemeyer et al., 1996). However, the measures of WFC have consistently built upon past findings and sought to incorporate parsimonious theoretical models, which has changed the nature of the type of information that can be obtained through standardized assessment.

Overview of Work Family Conflict Research Findings and Framework of Variables Studied

While studies have yielded divergent findings, nearly all the research indicates a negative relationship between all forms of WFC and job and life satisfaction (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999). The following section will discuss the exact nature and the specific types of variables studied.

Antecedent Variables of Work Family Conflict

Researchers have studied WFC by examining a number of antecedent variables that influence the experience of WFC. These antecedents can be grouped into the following four over-arching categories: Work-related psychological variables, Work-related structural variables, Non-work related psychological variables, and Non-work related structural variables (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Edwards and Rothbard's (2000) review of WFC studies yields specific variables studied within each above category. Work-related psychological variables have included level of job involvement or

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career salience and amount of job stress. Work-related structural variables include items such as number of hours worked and flexibility of work position. Non-work related psychological variables include personality traits, marital stressors, parental stressors, family involvement or salience, and social support, and social resources. Finally, non-work related structural variables consist of family duties or responsibilities performed, and number of children (Weigel & Weigel, 1995).

In a recent meta-analysis of WFC research findings, job involvement, work support, and work hours were all found to be significant WFC predictors. All of these variables combined to account for an estimated 37% of the variance in WFC scores (Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007).

In a study of 328 working mothers and 187 working fathers, low job quality, low job value, hours in a second job, a preference for spousal sharing of housework, a preference for egalitarian family role sharing, the social stigma of being a working mother, and having younger children, predicted WFC in women (Weigel & Weigel, 1995). In essence, the authors found empirical support that work-related psychological variables, work-related structural variables, non-work related psychological variables, and non-work related structural variables contributed to WFC in working mothers.

Carlson and Perrewe (1999) studied social support in a number of possible models of WFC and found that social support can be best understood as an antecedent variable. Specifically, social support is defined as a resource or coping mechanism that offsets negative effects of stressors. In their study of 400 government employees, they found that when an individual has a strong social support system in place there is decreased report of WFC. Carlson and Perrewe (1999) found some support for the assertion that social

support reduces the stressors of conflict and ambiguity and multiple time demands, therefore reducing the likelihood of WFC. The working mother with ample social support will thus be less likely to experience conflict from multiple roles and demands of work and family. The presence of such resources serves as a protective factor against strain and conflict. For example, friends, family, and co-workers serve as confidants and provide moral support easing the mental burdens such as guilt over less time spent on family. These people can aid in helping a woman to cope with such inner conflicts. However research findings do indicate that when WFC is already apparent, social support may not be an effective factor in combating its presence.

Carlson and Perrewe (1999) also found that the work-related structural variables such as number of hours worked, perceived flexibility of work, and time demands of work were also found to be related to WFC. A high number of hours worked, inflexible schedule, and high demands of time predicted increased WFC.

The number and age of children a person has, which are considered a family structural variable, have been found to be related to WFC (Bedeian et al., 1988; Weigel & Weigel, 1995). Younger children predict WFC and as the number of children increases so does the amount of WFC.

The psychological work-related variable of organizational commitment, which is defined as the allegiance an individual has toward her employing company, business, or organization, was found to be negatively related to WFC (Frone et al., 1992).

The degree of importance ascribed to family involvement, which is classified as a psychological non-work related variable, also has been studied as an antecedent. Family involvement has been found to be positively related to the occurrence of WFC (Frone et

al., 1992). Additionally, career salience has been found to be positively related to the occurrence of WFC (Adams, King, & King, 1996; Frone et al., 1992).

In a random sample of 631 individuals interviewed in their household, researchers tested a model of antecedents of WFC and FWC and the relationships between WFC and FWC (Frone et al., 1996). Specifically, the authors proposed a conceptual model with the four antecedent variables of job stressors, job involvement, family stressors, and family involvement. In this model, they further tested the relationships between WFC and FWC with job distress, family distress, and depression, using structural equation modeling. This study found that job involvement and job stressors were positively related to the frequency of WFC.

A different study looked at 163 male and female workers who lived with at least one family member. This study proposed a model of WFC in which the amount of involvement in work will be positively correlated with job satisfaction and job interfering with family, whereas family involvement was hypothesized to be positively correlated with family social support and family interfering with work (Adams et al., 1996). They found that higher levels of work interfering with family predicted lower levels of social support. Other significant findings of the research include that job involvement was found to be a significant predictor of job satisfaction and that WFC has a strong negative relationship with life satisfaction.

Research has further explored individual pressures in work and family domains by separating them into time-based, strain-based, and behavior-based categories (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Time-based pressures refer to the sheer amount of time required by a specific role. For example, in order to make partner, a lawyer may be

required to put in 60-hour work weeks, while behavior expectations in her parent and

partner role call for her to be home at breakfast and dinner to prepare meals, thus leading

to conflict. Strain-based pressures deal with role-caused strains such as fatigue,

irritability, or anxiety. This is also referred to as spillover mentioned earlier. Spillover

occurs when pressures from one role affect behavior in the other role (Edwards &

Rothbard, 2000). Behavior-based pressures have to deal with specific behaviors in one

role that are incompatible with expectations of behaviors in the other role. In the case of

mothers, behavior-based pressures may manifest as an incompatibility between the

ambitious, self-focused, driven, no-nonsense style of a successful lawyer and the

sympathetic, selfless, kind, and caring behaviors linked with motherhood.

ANTECEDENTS
Work-related:
Psychological   Structural
-job involvement   - number of hours
-job stress   - flexibility of work
-career/work salience - wage/salary

Non-work related:
Psychological   Structural
-family stressors   - number of children
-family involvement - parental demand

Individual Variables

-personality
-gender role attitudes

Social Support
Emotional   Instrumental

Figure 1. Antecedent Variables Studied in the WFC Literature

The job vs. career perspective of work has been found to influence the experience of WFC. Holahan and Gilbert (1979) examined the question of whether working women with bachelor's degrees perceived their employment to be a career or a job. Career was defined as an occupation which carries a high level of personal commitment. The women who defined their employment as a job were defined by a low level of personal commitment to their work. Results indicated that the "jobs" group endorsed greater conflict between work and family roles as compared to the "career" group. However, when spousal support was used as a control variable, the differences in conflict were no longer significant (Holahan, 1979).

Moderator Variables

Factors such as a partner support, social support, jobs vs. careers, and gender have been studied as moderator variables in the experience of WFC. Social support has been examined in numerous studies and has been found to moderate the relationship between WFC and life satisfaction, as well as predict the absence or presence of WFC. Specifically, reported levels of social support from family defined as low levels of two types of social support, emotional support and instrumental/tangible support, moderated the relationship between job and life satisfaction and WFC (Adams et al., 1996). Participants reported lower levels of family duties interfering with work when they also reported ample social support. In a study of female nurses, levels of spousal emotional and instrumental support moderated the relationship between a lack of adequate child care and WFC levels such that the relationship between inadequate child care and WFC was weakened (Fox & Dwyer, 1999).

Gender itself has also been found to have a moderating effect on the experience of WFC and its relationship with a number of other variables such as family demands and life satisfaction. McElwain and colleagues (2005) found gender to moderate the relationship between WFC and family demands, such that for women as family demands increased so did WFC, but the same was not true for men. Researchers also have found that gender moderates the relationship between life satisfaction and WFC such that for women, as WFC increases, *work* life satisfaction decreases, but the same is not true for men. For men, as WFC increases, *family* life satisfaction decreases, but the same is not true for women (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991).

As women are subjected to a different set of social role expectations than men, they may experience WFC differently, which could account for the difference across men and women in the relationship between antecedent variables such as the quality of childcare and the outcome variable of WFC. For example, Fox and Dwyer, (1999) found gender to moderate the relationship between quality of childcare and WFC and found that for women, as quality of childcare increased, WFC decreased. However, they found no such relationship for men.

Summary of WFC Literature Review

A theoretical basis of WFC research and the linking mechanisms that are thought to cause WFC have been explained. It is clear that a number of variables are related to the phenomenon of WFC such as spillover, compensation, segmentation, resource drain, and congruence. Additionally, variables such as career/work salience, gender role attitudes, social support, salary, number of hours worked, flexibility of work, number of children, and family salience have been correlated with WFC. Some of these same variables like

social support also moderate the relationship between WFC and a number of variables. Among these variables, career salience is of particular interest in the current study and will be further discussed in the following section.

<div align="center">Career Salience: Definitions and Theory</div>

As WFC is an individual experience, it is important to consider individual differences. One such difference is the salience individuals place on specific roles such as career.

<div align="center">*Definitions*</div>

Role theory stipulates that individuals' identities are comprised of multiple roles, each with varying salience for that individual (Hogg et al., 1995). As a role becomes more salient for an individual, it becomes more important to fulfill demands of that role. The salience attributed to a career or job role is implicated in the experience of WFC because WFC is a phenomenon resulting from the challenge of merging work and family roles. The importance or salience one places on her job or career will affect how she balances her work role demands with her family role demands and her level of WFC.

Career salience has been studied in the WFC literature as an antecedent variable, specifically a work-related psychological variable. In general, high career salience has been related to higher levels of WFC (Cinamon & Rich, 2002). Salience refers to the relative importance of a specific aspect or role, such as work, of a person's identity. For some individuals, work will be more salient, while for others family will be more salient. Still others may have high salience for both work and family domains. A salient aspect of our lives serves as a gauge of self esteem or self-evaluation, in that positive self-esteem depends upon successful fulfillment of this salient domain (Callero, 1985). Thus if career

is highly salient for a woman who is working fulltime, then she would be motivated to pursue a career, with her emotional, mental, and physical energy and resources.

Callero (1985) examined salience in a sample of blood donors. This study looked at how the differential salience of being a blood donor interacts with blood-donation related behavior and choices. The results reveal that individuals who endorsed the highest salience for giving blood, were among other things more likely to define themselves as a regular blood donors, to be aware of expectations from others concerning blood donation, and to participate in blood donation more often. Callero's study of salience empirically supports the principles behind salience. He identifies the consequences for strong salience to be self definition, social relations with others, and behavior related to the activity that is salient.

The literature on specific domain saliences, such as career salience, has defined the construct of salience through a number of terms. Thus engulfment, occupational identification, psychological centrality, and commitment have all been used to define components of salience (Callero, 1985).

Additionally, work attitude has been equated with career salience. "Attitudes reveal individuals' motives for work, what they are willing to sacrifice to achieve their occupational goals, and how they view work in relation to other aspects of their lives. It has been assumed that individuals who have positive work attitudes will view work as central to their lives and as a basis for evaluating themselves and relative importance in life" (Smith, 1983, p.192).

Super (1980) referred to career motivation as a measure of how important an occupation is in an individual's life. Specifically, Super discussed the importance of how

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central work is in the overall life of a person. The level of importance of career in one's life is defined as career salience in this study. Career salience has also been viewed as synonymous with career commitment and professional commitment (Cooper-Hakim & Viswesvaran, 2005).

The notion of career or work centrality to one's life was highlighted by London (1983) in the sub-domains of the actual level of work involvement, both psychologically and physically, and the desire for upward mobility. Within this framework, London theorized that individuals espousing a high career salience would consequently place more value on career satisfaction than on satisfaction from other areas in life. As well, he proposed that a high career salience would necessitate making sacrifices and delaying gratification in other areas of life such as family (London, 1983).

Assessment of Career Salience

A widely-used measure of career salience does not currently exist, as researchers have generally used differing definitions of career salience. However, career salience is a variable that has primarily been defined by questions asking how important individuals' careers are to their identity. This has been measured by accounting for both an individual's time involvement in career and psychological involvement in their career (Adams et al., 1996; Amatea et al., 1986; Cinamon & Rich, 2002). Likert scale ratings of questions such as "I am very much personally involved in my job" or "Most of my interests center around my job" have been used (Adams et al., 1996).

Greenhaus' 1971 instrument titled the Career Salience Scale encompasses various aspects of career salience, allowing for a comprehensive definition of career salience. For example, it measures general attitudes toward work, the degree of vocationally relevant

planning and thought, and the priority ascribed to an occupation relative to other sources

of satisfaction. There is no consistent measure of career salience used across studies but

the Career Salience Scale covers several different aspects of career salience.

Career Salience and WFC Research Findings

In studying career salience and WFC, researchers have studied the level of career

salience in comparison to the level of family salience. The differential salience of career

and family life domains has been found to result in corresponding differential WFC and

FWC levels (Cinamon & Rich, 2002). One study illustrated that the level of salience of

the career role, defined as individuals' ascribed importance to their work or career in their

daily lives, is positively correlated with the amount of time, energy, and resources a

person devotes to that role and also the experience of WFC. After grouping participants

into three groups of work and family salience profiles including high family-high work

(dual profile), high family-low work, and low family-high work, trends for each group

revealed significant differences between the three groups in terms of employment hours,

housework hours, spousal support, and WFC levels. The individuals in the high family-

low work worked fewer hours relative to the two other groups, invested the most time in

housework, and received the most spousal support. Those individuals in low family-high

work group the oldest in age compared to the other groups, invested the most hours in

work and the least in housework, and reported the lowest level spousal support. The high

family-high work group consisted of the youngest members of the sample and included

those who spent the most time on both work and housework. Additionally, members of

the low family high work and high family high work group endorsed significantly higher

levels of WFC than did the high-family low-work group. Cinnamon and Rich's findings

linked increased career salience with greater WFC. In addition, they found that individuals with high levels of both work and family salience experienced the highest levels of WFC. In other words, their study revealed that the more importance of a role for the individual, the greater the likelihood of experiencing conflict around that role.

It has been established that career salience, defined as one's physical and psychological involvement in work, is positively correlated with WFC (Adams et al., 1996; Frone et al., 1992). Researchers have posited that increased investment in work psychologically, physically, and emotionally may drain an individual's resources available for family. However, previous studies have failed to consider the influence of specific variables such as gender role attitudes on this relationship. Next, the literature on gender role attitudes will be reviewed as well as the literature on gender roles and WFC.

Gender Role Attitudes: Definitions and Theory

While not all women hold the same personal expectations, societal gender behavior expectations are encountered by all women and are to some extent inescapable. The attitudes women possess concerning their place in society shape how they perceive the world and what they value as important. At the broadest level, this is conceptualized as gender identity (Eagly, Diekman, & Wood, 2000). Women's corresponding gender role attitudes, whether traditional or nontraditional, provide a framework through which they interpret their experiences of balancing work and family responsibilities.

Roles

In order to understand the link between WFC and gender attitudes, a discussion of the underlying mechanisms that formulate and ultimately create an individual's gender identity is warranted. Identity has been conceptualized in a number of ways, but the basic underlying structure can be broken down into roles and how a person perceives and qualifies those roles. Callero (1985) asserts that roles serve the purpose of self definition, structuring relations with others, stipulating behaviors of the individual, and in essence creating one's identity.

A social role is defined by Callero (1985) as a set of prescriptions and proscriptions for behavior. The social role is comprised of a set of expectations about what behaviors are appropriate for an individual within a specific social context (Callero, 1985). Gender differences in social behavior have been accounted for by Eagly and colleagues' (2000) social-role theory which stipulates that social roles are directly related to difference in women's and men's behavior. A historic division of labor between men and women is traced to women's roles of child bearing and mothering behaviors, which interact with other life roles such as work, thus establishing different labor roles for the two genders. The different "prescribed" labor roles for men and women, according to Eagly and colleagues (2000), result in distinct gender-role expectations that fit within the prescribed roles. For example, a woman, who is charged with bearing and caring for children is by consequence expected to behave in a caring, gentle, patient, kind, nurturing, and loving manner.

An individual's identity is comprised of multiple roles with distinct meanings and importance in her life. For some women, the mother or family role will be the most important role within her overall identity. For others, the work role will be the most important role in her identity. Still some women may place relatively equal importance on both work and family roles.

Gender Roles. Gender role attitudes are a byproduct of an individual's exposure to and experience with the social role of being a man or woman. Individuals naturally will internalize and manifest their gender identity in ways unique to their life course. Through socialization, an individual acquires a particular gender role orientation. Gender identity formation has three primary components of development: (a) modeling, as when an adult woman acts a role model for socially appropriate gender behaviors; (b) enactive experience, when a child copies a role model's gender-role behaviors; and (c) direct teaching, when a child is instructed to behave a certain way because of gender (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). These elements combine to form an individual's internalized gender role orientation.

The specific gender role orientation of the individual operates in a hierarchical manner to other roles a person may hold such as parent, spouse, or worker (Eagly et al., 2000). Ethnicity, sexual orientation, and race have also been depicted as belonging at the top of the hierarchy of life roles. While the literature has acknowledged that individuals conceive themselves in a number of identities, such as by occupation, nationality, and ethnicity, gender identity carries a master role status such that gender permeates other roles one might hold such as being a spouse, or parent (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). No one role defines an individual's identity, but some roles such as gender are encompassing

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of other more finite roles. An individual's gender role orientation and subsequent gender role attitudes therefore come to bear heavily on the roles she selects and how she carries these roles out in life.

Gender identity traditionally has been defined as the identification of oneself as a boy or girl in early childhood (Deaux & Stewart, 2001). A survey of theoretical models and studies of gender by Deaux and Stewart reveals that gender identity takes hold between two and three years of age. The early roots of gender attitudes also lend support to its overarching, hierarchical nature. To understand the function of gender attitudes it is also necessary to look at how individuals develop their gender identity over time. Children move through distinct phases in their development process ending in gender constancy, when they realize that they cannot change their gender and thus begin to seek out and copy gender appropriate behaviors and activities (Siann, 1994). Thus pursuing gender inappropriate activities or roles would create a state of disequilibrium for individuals because they would be in conflict with their ideas of who they are supposed to be (Rider, 2000).

Gender Stereotypes

A discussion of gender roles is not complete without an exploration of gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes allow society to differentiate between men and women by providing a reference point for cultural norms (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). Gender stereotypes also correspond to what are defined as traditional gender roles for women and men. Deaux and Stewart (2001) describe the stereotypes of men as being independent, objective, active, competitive, self-confident, and ambitious, and of women as being

dependent, subjective, passive, non-competitive, and lacking self-confidence and ambition.

Eagly and colleagues (2000) further separates the gender beliefs held by the majority of people into two positive personal attribute categories, the communal and the agentic. The communal category, which is ascribed traditionally to women, refers to qualities that involve concern for the wellbeing of others. Eagly and colleagues (2000) highlight the following nurturing and caring descriptors from the research on gender stereotypic beliefs: affectionate, able to devote self completely to others, eager to soothe hurt feelings, helpful, kind, sympathetic, and loves children. Additionally, research has found the gender stereotypes of women to include interpersonal sensitivity and the awareness of other's feelings, a high level of emotional expression, gentility, and soft-spokeness (Antill & Cunningham, 1979). Eagly and colleagues' agentic category of descriptors typically attributed to men comprise mainly controlling and assertive qualities. As stereotypes influence society at large, it is logical to reason that stereotypes exert influence over women's identity formation to some degree, such that women will incorporate some of these stereotypes into their gender role attitudes. In this study, the degree to which gender stereotypes affect a woman's attitude towards female gender roles, or the degree to which the woman adopts a view of roles consistent with stereotypes, is similar to the degree to which she could be classified as traditional in her attitudes

A recent longitudinal study looked men (n=275) and women (n=255) , who had been identified as top-performing math and science scholars or extremely gifted at age 13 (Ferriman, Lubinski & Benbow, 2009). The men and women were assessed at ages 25

and 35 to assess for changes in their attitudes towards work and family. The study's findings were similar to the research discussed above. Specifically, men were found to have a significantly more agentic and career focused perspective as compared to women. Women were found to be more family and community focused, which increased with age and if they were parents.

<center>*Assessment of Gender Role Attitudes*</center>

Research on women's gender role attitudes is typically measured through self-report instruments that tap into how a woman views herself in that role and the accompanying rights and responsibilities. Because of the complex nature of gender role attitudes as a construct, there has been debate about how best to measure them.

The assessment of gender identity emerged as a controversial topic in the early 1990s, when the commonly used measures of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975) and the Bem Sex role Inventory (BSI) (Bem, 1974), a self-report measure of gender stereotypic attributes, were criticized for failing to tap into the complexities of gender identity and only assessing specific categories of descriptors. Specifically the instruments address gender role stereotypes, but have been found to have different meanings for different populations. An alternative to these measures is the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) constructed by Spence and Helmreich (1972). This measure is the most widely used instrument assessing gender role attitudes (McHugh & Frieze, 1997). It was created to measure attitudes about the rights, roles, and responsibilities of women as compared to rights, roles, and responsibilities of men. The AWS has been found to be a valid and reliable instrument over time (McHugh & Frieze, 1997).

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Gender Role Attitudes as Predictor Variables

The bulk of the literature on gender role attitudes looks at gender role attitudes as a predictor variable for other dependent variables such as self-esteem, coping skills, and ability to handle conflict (Antill & Cunningham, 1979; Beutell & Greenhaus, 1983; Kleinplatz, McCarrey, & Kateb, 1992). Kleinplatz and colleagues (1992) found that women who identified themselves as traditional on the BEM Sex Role Inventory (BSI) and the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS) scored significantly lower on measures of self-esteem and lifestyle satisfaction and higher on a measure of anxiety/conflict than women who espoused non-traditional identities. Antill and Cunningham (1979) also found significant positive correlations between masculinity and self-esteem, but no such correlation for femininity. Empirical support for the negative correlates of traditional female identity implies that traditional gender role attitudes could assert a negative influence on other variables in women's lives. Research indicates that non-traditionally oriented women utilize more effective coping mechanisms when dealing with conflict in general (Beutell & Greenhaus, 1983; Kleinplatz et al., 1992).

Gender role attitudes also are studied in the context of how powerful beliefs about gender can be. Gender role expectations were self-fulfilling in research participants, as seen when men and women taking math tests were told that gender differences were found in the past on the test and the participants then scored accordingly (Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999). Whereas when another group of men and women were instructed differently, with no mention of gender differences, the results showed no gender differences.

Thus far, gender role attitudes research has been discussed in general terms, laying the foundation to address the relationship of gender role attitudes with WFC and career salience. A number of studies have looked at gender role attitudes as a predictor of various work-related outcomes. In general, the literature has found gender role attitudes to be correlated with the well-being of employed women. For example, as gender role attitudes become more traditional, employed women report lower overall well-being. Conversely, as gender role attitudes become more non-traditional, employed women report increasingly higher levels of well-being (Kim, 1998). However, this correlation between gender role attitudes and well-being does not exist for women who don't work. This discrepancy between working and non-working women suggests that gender role attitudes play a special role for working women's well-being that warrants further investigation

One relationship documented consistently among working women is a positive correlation between liberal gender role attitudes and positive work-related outcomes and a negative correlation between traditional gender role attitudes and positive work-related outcomes. Higher well-being in general, work-family gains, lower levels of depression and anxiety, and lower levels of other psychological symptoms all have been related to liberal gender role attitudes in working women (Barnett & Marshall, 1991; Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987; Kim, 1998; Marshall & Barnett, 1993). These findings suggest that nontraditional gender role attitudes are negatively correlated with WFC. While several studies have looked at gender-role attitudes as a predictor variable for health and well-being variables of working women, a smaller number of studies have addressed the relationship between gender role attitude congruence and general conflict levels for

working women. Additionally, a recent study conducted in Austria, the Netherlands, and Portugal countries found that as men and women become more traditional in their gender role attitudes, the division of household labor becomes more imbalanced with women doing most of the housework (Lothaller, Mikula, & Schoebi, 2009).

Congruence

Congruence, as discussed earlier, is defined as the similarity and compatibility between work and family roles. McHale and Carter (1992) researched the phenomenon of incongruence between women's gender-role beliefs and family and work role duties. They found that women with non-traditional beliefs and roles outside the home, who occupied traditional roles in the home, were at higher risk for marital conflict and internal conflict than women whose roles in each domain were congruent with her gender role attitudes. These findings are logical because the nontraditional women would be acting against their beliefs if they occupied traditional roles at home, which naturally would create conflict. Women college students espousing non-traditional beliefs were also found to experience higher levels of conflict between non-family and family roles, though most women reported some conflict between non-family and family roles (Beutell & Greenhaus, 1983). Specifically, when women with non-traditional attitudes occupied traditional family roles in the home they experienced more role conflict than women whose family and non-family roles were congruent.

The two studies cited above bear significance for this study because they provide support for the examination of a relationship between gender role attitudes and WFC. If these non-traditional women have been shown to experience conflict at home when they occupy traditional roles, conversely then it may be the case that women who hold

traditional beliefs and work in positions that prevent them from being able to fulfill certain traditional roles and duties, such as preparing home-cooked dinners, will experience conflict about the fact that they cannot meet these traditional standards to which they hold themselves accountable (Beutell & Greenhaus, 1983; McHale & Carter, 1992). However, the women who hold non-traditional gender role attitudes will experience less conflict because they do not hold themselves accountable to traditional standards of childrearing and homemaking.

Similar to how traditional women may experience incongruence and conflict between what their beliefs would have them do and what their job requires, other studies have suggested that the congruence of women's traditional attitudes about their role as provider with their employment situation significantly influenced their experience of WFC. Specifically they found that women who worked, but preferred to be homemakers or "stay-at-home moms," were more likely to experience WFC (Helms-Erikson at al., 2000; Hood, 1986; Katelman & Barnett, 1968). In this case, traditional women, who preferred to be homemakers, would be behaving in ways that were against their beliefs and preferences, which would create inner conflict. Perry-Jenkins and colleagues (1992) suggested that it is the way in which women perceive and interpret their work experience that influences their well-being more than their employment status. They found that wives who were employed only out of necessity but believed that their husband should be the "breadwinner" and wives who had ambivalent views about their provider role in the family reported the most role overload and depression vs. wives who described themselves as comfortable with being a co-provider. Therefore research supports that gender role attitudes correlate strongly with the conflict levels and mental health

outcomes for working women, supporting further study of the relationship between gender-role attitudes with WFC and with WFC–related variables such as career salience.

Another study found that men and women who were more egalitarian or non-traditional in their gender role attitudes, had a stronger positive relationship between WFC and guilt than traditional men and women (Livingston & Judge, 2008). The authors hypothesized that the non-traditional men and women view work and family demands as shared between men and women, and equally important, and thus feel more guilt because they are torn between the two role demands of work and family. However traditional men and women view the work role as the most important role because it supports the family's livelihood and thus do not experience as much guilt as the non-traditional men and women. The traditional men and women also both view the family role as primarily the woman's responsibility even if she works too.

Gender Role Attitudes and Career Salience

A small number of studies have looked at the relationship between gender role attitudes and career salience. One such study involved 148 Spanish, White middle-class dual earner couples. Of the women who were surveyed, those who endorsed traditional gender ideology, lower education level attainment, and who reported being heavily influenced by their partners, were also the women who had low career salience. In comparison, the women who held career as more salient endorsed more non-traditional gender ideology, higher education status, or reported being less influenced by their male partners.

In general, the study found that men and women exhibited similar scores on measures of career salience (Moya, Exposito, & Ruiz, 2000). While this study reveals a

correlation between low career salience and traditional gender identity among Spanish, White middle-class working women, this relationship may be due to other factors such as low education status, culture, and being strongly influenced by their male partners. It cannot be assumed that low career salience is correlated with traditional gender role attitudes.

It is important to note that it is conceivable that a woman could have both high work salience and traditional gender identity. For example, consider the case of the mother who is a devoted teacher or nurse and endorses a traditional gender identity. WFC may be intensified for those individuals who have high career salience and endorse traditional gender identities, because these women will likely find it difficult to compromise in their obligations to both work and family when faced with choosing between two roles that are both important to their self concept and meaning in life. Thus compromising in one role to meet the needs of the other leaves the woman with an unmet need in that domain. This constant push-and-pull phenomenon would leave her feeling torn in a way that does not seem easy to reconcile.

Another study provides support for the notion that despite traditional views of marital roles, women can still hold high career salience and a desire for a career. In a sample of 174 never-married, undergraduate women, researchers looked at differences in career commitment variables between women who planned to have a career but also planned on a conventional marriage where the woman does the bulk of the housework, and women who planned on a career and a marriage where home roles were shared (Hallett & Gilbert, 1997). The women in the role sharing group were significantly more likely than the women in the conventional group to be committed to a lifelong career that

would demand a considerable amount of time and energy. However, the groups did not differ in their levels of reported career salience or in their desire to work even if there was no financial necessity. This study illustrates that the traditional gender role attitudes are not necessarily linked with low career salience.

In addition, another study found that career salience, defined as actual behavior/physical involvement in work, is not dependent on traditional gender role attitudes. For the majority of 113 nurses studied, family responsibilities ranked as their top priority, and this was not dependent on the level of job involvement (Fox & Dwyer, 1999). Thus this study did not support a correlation between traditional gender roles and work involvement. In other words, gender role attitudes may have little effect on involvement in work. For example, if financial resources are strained in a family, the woman may have little choice in how much she works regardless of her beliefs and attitudes. While some research has linked low career salience with traditional gender role attitudes, women who hold traditional or moderately traditional gender role attitudes and also have high career salience have not been studied.

Rationale for Gender Role Attitudes as a Moderator Variable

Of Work-Family Conflict

Research has found gender to significantly moderate the relationship between many of the antecedent variables described earlier and WFC (Smoot, 2004). Furthermore women have been found to experience more WFC than men (Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991). It has been suggested that the reason for this differential experience of WFC, in which women suffer worse outcomes of WFC than do men, can be accounted for by the fact that women adhere to traditional gender roles (Rothausen, 1998; Smoot, 2004).

Perhaps non-traditional women possess gender role attitudes more like men, which allow men or women to be more adept at combining work and family roles. However even non-traditional women will experience these societal expectations to some degree, and it is useful to study how women's gender role attitudes are related to WFC and career salience.

The relationship of career salience with WFC may be influenced by the attitudes one has about her gender roles, because gender role attitudes affect women's decisions in their roles as worker, mother, and partner (Eagly et al., 2000). A woman may likely desire to make decisions that reflect her values, beliefs, and attitudes (Callero, 1985). These attitudes could then spillover into work variables such as the amount of time she devotes to work and family, the compromises she makes between work and family, and her ability to balance work and family roles (Eagly et al,. 2000).

Research indicates that the level of career salience is positively correlated with the level of WFC (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Greenhaus, Bedeian & Mossholder, 1987). While this finding fits within a scarcity hypothesis framework, variables such as non-traditional gender role attitudes may affect this relationship. As stated earlier, the hierarchical nature of gender identity, may allow for a woman's gender role attitudes to influence how she balances her work and family roles. Career salience and its relationship with WFC, is a component of a woman's work role, which could be influenced by her gender role attitudes. Much like social support has been studied as both an antecedent and moderator variable, gender role attitudes can be studied in this manner as well. It has been documented that traditional gender role attitudes are significantly correlated with negative work outcomes (Barnett & Marshall, 1991; Baruch, Biener, &

Barnett, 1987; Kim, 1998; Marshall & Barnett, 1993). This past research has studied gender role attitudes as a predictor variable and has yielded useful results. It seems reasonable to extend this research on gender role attitudes and test its efficacy as a moderator variable of the relationship between career salience and WFC.

Working women with traditional gender role attitudes and high career salience, may experience more WFC as a result of the conflict between what their gender role attitudes dictate and the time and effort required by a job or profession. This middle ground has been referred to as being stuck between an old dream and a new reality (Hertz & Marshall, 2001). These women simply do not have enough resources to meet the demands of a traditional womanhood and work. The traditional woman who works likely does not take steps to redefine her gender role, but instead expands her role, creating an overload of demands.

Since research has found that non-traditional women are better able to cope with conflict in general and less likely to feel compelled to meet all family obligations themselves, levels of career salience will not predict WFC for women who work and have non-traditional gender role attitudes. These women will experience less conflict because they will not feel as compelled to meet certain "traditional" family obligations. For those women classified as non-traditional in gender role attitudes, WFC would likely be less prominent, because the women would not have such a set view of womanhood or time-consuming amount of family behaviors she feels obligated or inclined to do. This would allow her to more readily behave in ways that are required in occupying work and family roles, without feeling as if she is not living up to her "traditional" womanly duties.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                    Variables of Interest                     │
│                                                              │
│                      Work-related:                           │
│                                                              │
│         Psychological                    Structural          │
│        - career/work salience          - number of hours     │
│                                                              │
│                    Non-work related:                         │
│                                                              │
│         Psychological                  Structural            │
│        -gender-role                  -number of children     │
│         attitudes                    -age of children        │
│    (traditional/non-traditional)   - social support (living status) │
│                                                              │
│                                                              │
│            Figure 2. Variables Examined in this Study        │
│                                                              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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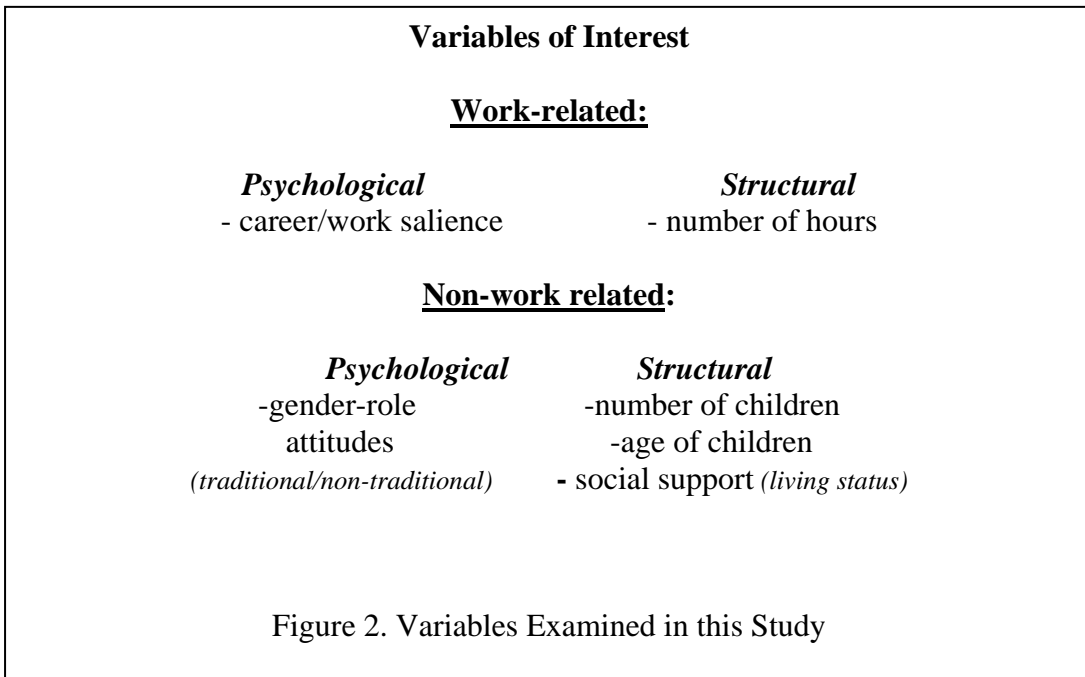
In addition, non-traditional women also have been found to be assertive, self-confident, and less invested in caretaking roles. Each of these attributes could help facilitate a conducive relationship between high career salience and the balancing of work and family roles (WFC).

Hypotheses

This study proposes a model of WFC based upon the moderating influence of gender role attitudes on the relationship between career salience and WFC. The following hypotheses developed out of research findings, discussed earlier, in gender identity, career salience, and the relationship with WFC. Past research findings support the existence of relationships between these variables and point towards the need to create new models. Below, Figure 2 lists the specific types of WFC variables to be measured in this study, which will be tested in the hypotheses to follow.

Hypothesis 1a

There is a positive relationship between the number of children and WFC.

Rationale: Researchers have found that as the number of children increases so does WFC (Bedeian et al., 1988; Kinnunen & Manuno, 1998; Weigel & Weigel, 1995). Having more children necessitates more childcare responsibilities and more drain on available resources so that more demands may go unmet.

Hypothesis 1b

The number of younger children (ages 0-5) will be positively related to WFC.

Rationale: Younger children require more time and care; thus having younger children should be positively related to WFC due to a depletion of an individual's resources. Research findings support that the age of a woman's youngest child predicts her stress levels and experience of WFC such that the younger her children are the higher her stress load and WFC (Weigel & Weigel, 1995).

Hypothesis 1c

Individuals who work more than 40 hours a week will experience more WFC than individuals who work less than 40 hours a week.

Rationale: As the number of hours spent on work increases, the amount of time available to spend on family tasks will decrease, thus resulting in increased WFC (Greenhaus et al., 1987). The scarcity hypothesis proposes that effort spent on one role such as work is, by default, effort that is taken away from another role such as family because resources are limited. A person has a limited amount of time in a day; thus as hours spent at work increase, hours spent at home will decrease. This will likely result in needs at home going unmet and may facilitate the occurrence of WFC.

Hypothesis 2

Women residing with another adult will experience less WFC than will women who live alone with their children.

Rationale: The literature on WFC and social support has found social support to buffer the experience of WFC (Adams et al., 1996). Specifically, it has been identified as a moderator variable. Having an adult partner provides instrumental support for women in the way of added help with chores, finances, child care, and pooled resources. The presence of this instrumental support therefore would create additional resources for a woman and less WFC. This study therefore seeks to replicate the findings of past research on social support and WFC discussed earlier.

Hypothesis 3

Career salience will predict WFC.

Rationale: Research indicates that a strong investment in work predicts increased WFC (Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Greenhaus et al., 1987)**.** Thus it is expected that women who endorse high levels of career salience will likely report higher levels of WFC.

Hypothesis 4

Gender role attitudes will predict WFC. As gender role attitudes become more non-traditional WFC will decrease.

Rationale: Non-traditional gender role attitudes as opposed to traditional gender role attitudes have been linked with high self-esteem, autonomy, and coping skills (Kleinplatz et al., 1992). Non-traditional women therefore would be better equipped than traditional women to deal with the stress of managing work and family roles.

Hypothesis 5

Gender role attitudes will moderate the relationship between career salience and WFC in such a way that for women with more non-traditional gender role attitudes, the relationship between career salience and WFC is weakened.

Rationale: Women with non-traditional attitudes are more likely to possess traits such as high self-esteem, confidence, and a willingness to share family roles with partners and outside helpers (Kleinplatz et al., 1992). These traits could serve as buffers against the experience of WFC, altering the relationship between career salience and WFC, such that in women with non-traditional gender role attitudes the relationship between career salience and WFC is reduced (Barnett & Hyde, 2001).

METHOD

Participants

Study participants were women drawn from a sample of university, college, and community college faculty and staff across the country via an e-mail solicited survey. A pool of 1, 183 participants was compiled through searching departmental websites of 30 institutions of higher education. See Appendix A for a complete list of the universities that were included. Only individuals with feminine names or female photographs were included. A requirement for inclusion in the study was that the women be employed and have at least one child under the age of 18 living in the home. Universities, colleges, and community colleges were chosen from several geographic regions and various sized schools of higher education in order to ensure a diverse sample. An equal number of faculty and staff participants were recruited in order to get a more diverse sample as well. See Appendix B for a copy of the e-mail request for participation, and Appendix C for a copy of the informed consent letter. See Table 1 and Table 2 for further demographic information about participants.

Procedure

Initially the research protocol for this study was submitted to and approved by Auburn University's Institutional Review Board. In an e-mail (Appendix B), potential participants received information about the study's purpose, and assurance that participation was voluntary. A link to the on-line survey was included in the e-mail.

Participants were asked to complete three measures, which required approximately 15 minutes to complete. In addition, they were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire. Individual responses were anonymous and no identifying information was linked to the individual participants. Additionally, no names or IP addresses were collected in the process. The participants were informed that by completing the survey and submitting their answers they were consenting to participating in this research study. Survey Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com), ®a secure website, was used to conduct this research. Once data was submitted by participants it was held for analysis on a secure server, utilizing reasonable and customary measures, including firewall protection. The website remained active from March 23, 2008, until February 20, 2009. The sample was sufficiently large as it exceeded the limit of at least 112 participants needed for a statistical power of .8 at an alpha level of .05 and an effect size of .1.

<center>Measures</center>

Work-Family Conflict Scale (Appendix D), (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000)

The Work-Family Conflict Scale is a multi-dimensional instrument which assesses both WFC and FWC. The instrument is not copyrighted and is available on the Internet, allowing easy access for researchers. The entire 18-item test was administered, but only the WFC scale (items: 1, 2, 3, 7, 12, 13, 14, 17, and 18) was used. These items assess behavior-based, time-based, and strain-based WFC. The items are measured on a 5-point scale (ranging from 1=Never to 5=Always). The measure yields a composite score for WFC, which was utilized for the purposes of this study. Higher scores indicate higher levels of WFC.

The WFC Scale was constructed from three studies. Items in the measure were selected based on content adequacy, content analysis, exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, and correlation analysis (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000). As well, the scale possesses discriminant validity. Adequate internal consistency (coefficient alphas ranging from .78 to .87) was found across samples. The nine WFC items have a coefficient alpha of .88. Also, standardized within-factor item loading ranged from .60 to .89 across the three samples.

Career Salience Scale (Appendix E), (Greeenhaus, 1971)

The Career Salience Scale (CSS) (Greenhaus, 1971) was used to measure the importance of career in the participants' lives. This instrument is not copyrighted and is available for research use. Twenty-four items comprise the scale, which is measured with a five-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=uncertain, 4=agree, and 5=strongly agree). Ten items are negatively phrased, while 14 of the items are positively phrased. Item content taps three overarching categories: (a) general attitudes toward work (e.g., "Work is one of those necessary evils."); (b) degree of vocationally relevant planning and thought (e.g., "Planning for a specific career is usually not worth the effort."); and (c) the priority ascribed to an occupation relative to other sources of satisfaction (e.g., "I intend to pursue the job of my choice even if it cuts deeply into the time I have for my family"). Thus, summing all 24 answers determines the total career salience score. Scores range from 24 to 120, with higher scores reflecting higher degrees of career salience, (Hackett et al., 1989)

This instrument was normed with a sample of college students (Grennhaus, 1971). A coefficient alpha of .81 was reported, supporting adequate reliability. No validity data

has been reported for the scale, but the wide use of this instrument in other studies measuring career salience suggests that it has face validity (Beutell & Greenhaus, 1982; Hackett et al., 1989). High scores of career salience on this instrument have been positively correlated with the importance of career prestige and with occupational satisfaction (Greenhaus, 1971).

Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Appendix F), (Spence & Helmreich, 1972)

The 15-item brief version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) is a widely used measure of female gender role attitudes (McHugh & Frieze, 1997; Beere, 1990). It also is not copyrighted. This measure was used to classify participants on a continuum from traditional to non-traditional in their gender role attitudes. Beere found 270 published studies, and an additional 57 unpublished studies which used this measure through 1990.

Developed in 1972 by Spence and Helmreich, the test measures beliefs about the rights, roles, and responsibilities of women. This measure is scored on a 4-point scale (A = agree strongly, B= mildly agree, C= disagree mildly, and D = Disagree strongly). Scores on the test range from 0 to 60, with higher scores indicative of a non-traditional gender identity endorsement (Atkinson & Huston, 1984). Some items are reverse scored. An individual score is tabulated by adding all of the points received on each question. Sample items include: "A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage," and "The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men." Using a sample of college students, test developers obtained a coefficient alpha of .89, revealing good internal consistency (Atkinson & Huston, 1984). The AWS is strongly

correlated (r=.86) with the Sex Role Egalitarian Scale (Beere, 1984) another frequently used gender role attitude measure, which indicates strong convergent validity.

Demographic Questionnaire (*Appendix G)*

Demographic information and statistics on structural variables were collected via a questionnaire developed by the author for descriptive and statistical purposes. Information requested included: number of children below 6 years of age, number of children 6 years of age and above, living status, ethnicity, age bracket, number of weekly work hours, and salary.

Data was collected from a total of 184 participants, but due to some respondents providing only partial responses, a total of 147 participants were included in the final data analysis. The final sample was 65.3 % (n=96) faculty and 34.7% (n=51) staff. The number of work hours reported for the final sample of 147 was categorized by either less than 40 hours a week, 29.9% (n=44), or more than 40 hours per week, 70.1% (n=103). In terms of living status, 87.8% (n=129) of the participants lived with another adult, and 12.2% (n=18) reported that there was no other adult living in the house. See Table 1 for ages, ethnicity, and salaries of participants. See Table 2 for descriptive statistics of participants total number and age ranges of children.

Table 1

Demographic Descriptors for Variables Studied (N =147)

Variable					
Age	**18-25**	**26-35**	**36-45**	**46-55**	**56+**
% (n)	2%(n=3)	25.2%(n=37)	37.4%(n=55)	34%(n=50)	1.4%(n=2)
Ethnicity	**AA**	**Asian**	**CA**	**Hispanic**	**NA**
O					
	5.4%(n=8)	2% (n=3)	89.8%(n=132)	2%(n=3)	0%(n=0) .
8%(n=1)					
Salary	**<$30k**	**$30-$60**	**$60-$90**		**>$90**
	10.9% (n=16)	44.2% (n=65)	32% (n=47)		12.9%
(n=19)					

Note. AA=African American, CA=Caucasian, NA=Native American, O=Other.

Table 2

Participants' Numbers and Ages of Children

Variable				
#Children	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
% (n)	46.6%(n=60)	38.8%(n=57)	12.9%(n=19)	1.4%(n=2)
# of Children Ages ≥6				
0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
31.3%(n=46)	38.8%(n=57)	24.5%(n=36)	4.8%(n=7	.7%(n=1)
# of Children<6				
0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
53% (n=78)	32% (n=47)	12.2% (n=18)	2.7% (n=4)	0%(n=0)

Note: # Children = total number of children, Children<6 = number of children under age 6, Children>6 = number of children over age 6

RESULTS

Table 3 shows the means and standard deviations of the variables used in the study. Table 4 shows the means and standard deviations of the variables for the participant groups of either faculty or staff. Table 5 shows the intercorrelations between the variables.

Table 3

Mean Scores (and Standard Deviations) for Variables Studied (N =147)

Variable				
AWS	CSI	WFCS	Total Children	ChildrenU6
Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)
53.21 (6.52)	73.88 (11.91)	14.10 (2.65)	1.69 (.75)	.65 (.80)

Note. AWS=Attitude Toward Women Scale, WFCS=Work-Family Conflict Scale, CSI=Career Salience Inventory, and Children U6=Children Under 6.

Table 4

Group Mean Scores (and Standard Deviations) for Variables Studied (N =147)

	Variables		
	AWS	CSI	WFCS
Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)
Faculty	54.27 (5.12)[a]	77.80 (11.14)[b]	14.27 (2.58)
Staff	51.22 (5.97)[a]	66.49 (9.65)[b]	13.78 (2.77)

Note. AWS=Attitude Toward Women Scale, WFCS=Work-Family Conflict Scale, and CSI=Career Salience Inventory. Superscripts indicate statistically significant mean differences between groups; all of the mean differences that were significant were significant at the $p < .01$ level.

Table 5

Intercorrelations Between Variables (*n* = 147)

Variable	WFCS	CSI	AWS	Total Kids	ChildrenU6	Work Hours
WFCS						
CSI	.185*					
AWS	.197*	.525**				
Total Kids	.061	.100	-.002			
Children U6	-.015	-.117	.081	.317**		
Work Hours	.053	.185*	.243**	-.055	.085	
Living Status	-.009	-.121	-.120	.038	.172*	-.108

Note. AWS=Attitude Toward Women Scale, WFCS=Work-Family Conflict Scale, CSI=Career Salience Inventory, and Living

Status=whether or not the participant lives with another adult.

*p<.05, **p<.01

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1a

Hypothesis 1a (There is a positive relationship between the number of children and WFC.) was tested with a correlation by computing the Pearson correlation coefficient. This hypothesis was not supported (r=.06, p=.23).

Hypothesis 1b

Hypothesis 1b (The number of young children (ages 0-5) will be positively related to WFC.) was tested with a Pearson correlation coefficient. This hypothesis was not supported (r=-.015, p=.43).

Hypothesis 1c

Hypothesis 1c (Individuals who worked more than 40 hours a week will experience more WFC than individuals who worked less than 40 hours a week.) was tested using a t-test. This hypothesis was not supported. Those who worked more than 40 hours a week (M=14.19, SD=2.62) did not have significantly higher levels of WFC than those who worked less than 40 hours a week (M=13.89, SD=2.729, t (145)=.65, p=.81.)

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 (Women residing with another adult will experience less WFC than will women who live alone with their children.) was tested using a t-test. This hypothesis was not supported. Women living with another adult (M=14.09, SD=2.65) did not experience WFC significantly less than those living alone (M=14.17, SD=2.71, t (145)=-.11, p=.91).

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 (Career salience will predict WFC.) was tested with simple regression. This hypothesis was supported. Career salience was a significant predictor of WFC (β =.185, p=.025) and accounted for 3.4% of the variance in WFC scores.

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 (Gender role attitudes will predict WFC. As gender role attitudes become more non-traditional, WFC will decrease.) was tested with simple regression. This hypothesis was not supported. The direction of the correlation was not as predicted in this hypothesis. When predicting WFC, gender role attitudes were found to be a significant predictor of WFC (β =.197, p=.017); however as gender roles became more non-traditional WFC increased. Gender role attitudes accounted for 3.9 % of the variance in WFC scores.

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 (Gender role attitudes will moderate the relationship between career salience and WFC in such a way that for women with more non-traditional gender role attitudes, the relationship between career salience and WFC is weakened.) This hypothesis was not supported. CSI and AWS accounted for 4.8 % of the variance in WFC scores (p=.029) when entered in the first step of the regression model. When the interaction term was added in the second step, it did not result in a significant increase in the variance of WFC scores accounted for by the prediction model (ΔR^2 =.019, p=.094.) Table 3 contains the beta weights for the regression model.

Table 6

Hierarchical Regression Analysis for WFC Scores (N =147)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*sr*
Step 1				
CSI	.025	.021	.113	.096
AWS	.065	.045	.138	.117
Step 2				
Interaction	.006	.003	.148	.136

*P<.05, **p<.01

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between career salience and gender role attitudes and work-family conflict (WFC) for women. While a number of variables were measured, the three primary variables of interest were WFC, career salience, and gender role attitudes.

Participants in general scored low on WFC. Past research studies have generally found much higher mean scores of WFC (Adams et al.,1996; Frone et al., 1992). The fact that WFC scores were on the low end overall and that there was a small standard deviation raises the question that perhaps a restricted range may have contributed to a failure to find significant results.

On the AWS, which measures gender-role attitudes, participants scored in the higher end of the range of scores. On the CSI, which measures career salience, participants' scores fell in the upper-middle range of scores. Participants in past studies of career salience have also had mean scores of career salience falling in the upper-middle range (Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986).This mean score is consistent with the mean scores in other studies. The discussion to follow will examine the study's findings and suggest possible conclusions or alternative explanations for why the hypotheses were not supported by the research findings.

Hypotheses

Number of Children

Support was not found for a positive relationship between number of children and WFC. However past research has supported this relationship (Bedeian et al., 1988; Kinnunen & Manuno, 1998; Weigel & Weigel, 1995). This study did not measure the average age of the participants' children; rather the questions asked if children fell into either the age brackets of 0 to 6, or 6 to18. Younger children require more time and effort than older children in general. With older children there are typically less demands placed on the parents, requiring less time and energy. If the majority of the participants' children were teenagers or pre-teens, then as the number of children increased there might not be an increase in demands, as much as if the children were younger. So perhaps a higher average age of children could account for the lack of support for this relationship. This may have been the case as 53.1% of the sample had no children under age six.

Another explanation for why this relationship was not supported might be rooted in the characteristics of this sample. The sample was predominantly made up of people with doctoral degrees, which differs from the majority of other samples studied. Past research has looked at professionals such as accountants, teachers, and healthcare professionals, and also government workers, police, undergraduate and graduate students (Bedeian et al., 1998; Carlson & Perrewe, 1999; Livingston & Judge, 2008). Generally these samples were not as well educated as this sample. This difference in education may help account for participants answering differently than in past research.

Number of Young Children

Support was not found for a positive relationship between the number of younger children and WFC. The logic of the hypothesis was that younger children require more time and effort, which implies more responsibilities and demands at home, which would create a situation where WFC would be more likely to occur. Thus it is plausible to argue that as the number of young children increases so do the demands at home. Perhaps the individuals with younger children in this study had taken precautionary steps to avoid WFC. (For example, hiring nannies, working part-time, selecting flexible childcare arrangements, or engaging in more role-sharing at home in order to raise their young children). Faculty also typically have more flexible jobs and work schedules than most people, so they may be less affected by having young children. If this were the case, there would not necessarily be an increase of demands with an increase in the number of young children. As this sample was heavily comprised of faculty (65%), who would typically have access to the above resources, this may have been a reason why the hypothesis was not supported. A 1999 meta-analysis revealed that the literature has consistently found a positive relationship between number of children and WFC. Additionally other studies have sought to find relationships between the presence of and number of young children with WFC (Bedeian et al., 1998; Smoot, 2004). While this has not been supported yet by the research, the fact that other studies have considered this variable indicates that there is theoretical support for testing this relationship.

Hours Worked

Support was not found for the hypothesis that individuals who worked more than 40 hours a week would experience more WFC than do individuals who worked less than

40 hours a week. Past studies have found support for this relationship (Greenhaus et al., 1987). One reason this study did not support past findings may have been because of the research design. Work hours were not collected as continuous variables; instead work hours were categorized into only two categories of either less than 40 hours a week or more than 40 hours a week. This could have reduced the power of the statistical test. Additionally, a large percentage (70.1%) of participants reported working more than 40 hours a week, further contributing to a lack of variance.

<div align="center">Living Status</div>

The study did not find a significant relationship between living status and WFC. Living status was chosen because it was a structural variable not influenced by the subjectivity of self-report questions. Participants either did or did not live with another adult. Living status also was used because, on a basic level, it represents a form of social support in the form of another adult with additional emotional and physical resources to meet family demands. Therefore this other adult may serve as a buffer for WFC. There are several underlying variables that may play into why social support could buffer against WFC. These variables include whether or not the other adult fulfills family demands, provides emotional support, or engages in other behaviors that would alleviate some of the stressors associated with WFC. It appears that the sheer presence of another adult does not influence the relationship between career salience and WFC. Future research that specifies if and how a partner is supportive of family demands, could yield different results. Carlson and Perrewe (1999) found social support to be an antecedent variable of WFC. These researchers however defined social support more broadly, as a resource or coping mechanism that offsets negative effects of stressors. When

considering more aspects of social support, such as participants' self-report of their social

support system, they found that when an individual reported having a strong social

support system in place there was a decreased report of WFC.

Career Salience and WFC

Career salience was found to be a predictor of WFC. This finding has been

supported in multiple studies, through meta-analysis (Cinamon & Rich, 2002). According

to the literature, as career salience increases so does the amount of time and energy put

into work. Thus, according to the scarcity theory, there is then less time for family

demands and WFC arises. Because of the several other studies that have supported a

strong correlation between career salience and WFC, it was logical to look further and

see if career salience could predict WFC. While career salience was found to account for

3.4% of the variance in WFC scores, it can only be said that career salience is a weak

predictor of WFC. The lack of a larger effect size may be attributed in part to a limited

range of WFC scores (M=14.10, SD=2.65)**.** This is logical because if participants in

general experienced a low level of WFC then the predictive potential of career salience

would be reduced.

Gender Roles and WFC

Gender role attitudes did not predict WFC scores as hypothesized, however, non-

traditional scores on the AWS were associated with higher scores of WFC. It should also

be noted that the predictor, while significant, only accounted for a small percentage of

the variance in WFC scores, with a very small effect size.

This study found a significant correlation between career salience and gender role

attitudes, suggesting that these two constructs are similar in nature. It could be helpful to

the conceptualization and model building of the body of WFC literature to examine how these two constructs are similar and to identify potential moderator variables of this relationship.

Another post-hoc explanation for the unexpected finding that less traditional attitudes predicts WFC may be that women with traditional gender role attitudes devote fewer resources to work because of a lesser emphasis on their work role than non-traditional women, resulting in more resources to devote to family roles. Thus women with non-traditional gender role attitudes may experience resource drain if they are devoting more of their resources to their work role and then may experience higher WFC. The previous supposition is supported by previous research including a metanalysis that found career salience and investment in work to be positively correlated to WFC (Adams et al., 1996; Frone et al., 1992). In fact another metanalysis (cited earlier) found that job involvement, work support, and work hours were all significant predictors of WFC accounting for an estimated 37 % of the variance in WFC scores (Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007). The strong association between less traditional attitudes and greater career salience is consistent with the possibility that non-traditional gender roles is linked with greater devotion of resources to work. Thus it is logical that for working traditional women there will be less conflict about handling most of the home duties, because they are acting congruently to their beliefs.

While the WFC literature has not focused on incongruence between one's beliefs and one's behaviors, this is an area that warrants further study because the research has found congruence to be related to WFC (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Thus it is logical that WFC may be linked with women's experience of incongruence between being

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traditional at home and non-traditional at work. Incongruence has been found to be linked with WFC (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). "Although gender-roles are changing, traditional perceptions of responsibilities at home and work continue to be maintained" (McElwain, et al., 2005, p. 287). On average, women still take more of an active care-giving role for their children and in household duties than do men (Fredriksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001). This suggests that for non-traditional women, role demands may require them to behave incongruently with their belief systems, and to behave more traditionally at home by bearing the brunt of the home/family duties. When an individual has to behave in ways incongruent to her belief system, then she may be more likely to experience WFC.

The positive relationship between gender role attitudes and WFC may be accounted for by some of the linking mechanisms mentioned in the WFC literature review including segmentation, resource drain, and congruence. Segmentation, which is an individual's ability to keep work and family lives distinct, has been shown to be negatively related to WFC (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Perhaps women with non-traditional attitudes have more difficulty keeping these roles distinct and take work concerns/projects home, whereas women with traditional gender-role attitudes might have more ease in leaving work at the workplace and focusing only on family while at home, because their traditional gender role attitudes support a stronger emphasis on their family responsibilities as compared to work responsibilities.

These alternative explanations for why non-traditional women may experience more WFC, do not speak directly to why the hypothesis was not supported as anticipated. Research has linked non-traditional gender role attitudes with high self esteem,

autonomy, and coping skills (Kleinplatz et al., 1992), which implies that women with non-traditional gender role attitudes would be well-equipped to deal with the stress of managing work and family roles. Perhaps this could still be true and women with non-traditional gender role attitudes could better cope with WFC, but still experience higher levels of WFC than traditional women. The higher career salience in non-traditionl women may suggest that they simultaneously take on even more work demands as they have a greater desire to satisfy their career goals, but also retain their family responsibilities within the home. Women faculty comprised a large portion of this sample. It would make sense that women working in faculty roles have a high level of career salience as the time required to obtain a doctorate, commonly required for some faculty positions, is a large investment, consuming available resources. It is reasonable to expect that the earlier investment of the extent required to obtain a doctorate does not dissipate once a woman has her advanced degree. In fact, some common faculty activities require substantial time and energy investments (e.g., grantsmanship). Future research that looks at the relationship between coping skills, WFC, and gender-role-attitudes would be helpful on addressing this issue.

Gender Role Attitudes as a Moderator

While gender role attitudes predicted WFC, gender role attitudes did not significantly moderate the relationship between career salience and WFC. One possible contributor to the lack of a moderation effect is that there was a high correlation ($r=.525$, see Table 5) between scores on gender role attitudes and scores on career salience.

Perhaps the hierarchical nature of gender roles contributes to the shared variance between gender-role attitude scores and career salience scores. The literature on gender

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roles reports that an individual's gender and belief about what being that gender is, either

traditional or non-traditional, serves as an overarching lens through which other roles are

interpreted, such as the work and family roles (Eagly et al., 2000). Thus there could be

substantial overlap between the constructs of gender beliefs and valuing of the work role.

If this is true, then it may help explain why an interaction effect did not occur. This

supports the need to further research the relationship between gender role attitudes and

WFC, as well as the relationship between gender role attitudes and career salience.

Limitations

First, the correlational design of the study has limitations in the conclusions that

can be drawn. Therefore, the relationships discovered between the variables cannot be

considered as causal. In this matter, this study does not break outside of the mold of how

past WFC studies have been conducted. While it would be difficult to conduct a quasi-

experimental or true experimental study of WFC, this would add much to the existing

body of research.

The response rate for this study was quite low, considering 1839 e-mail requests

for participation were sent out and only 184 (10%) individuals responded. The small

sample size of 147 (number of useable score sets) may also have affected the results. It is

also plausible that individuals with more challenges would not respond, thus influencing

the study's results. A larger sample may have yielded stronger or more significant results.

Despite the fact that equal numbers of faculty and staff were recruited there were

significantly more faculty (65.3%) who responded. The disproportion between the groups

may be reflected in the findings because the two groups are not an equal representation of

their specific population. It is also important to note that post-hoc t-tests of the variables assessed for faculty and staff revealed a significant difference in the means for AWS and CSI between the groups. Faculty scored significantly higher than staff on CSI and AWS. However, there was no significant difference between the groups scores on WFC. This indicates that if there had been a more equal representation of faculty and staff in the sample this may have been reflected in the results specifically in the levels of AWS and CSI.

Specifically, staff and faculty were recruited so that various education and income levels would be represented in the study. Critics of past studies have suggested that more diverse samples needed to be studied as the majority of research on WFC looks at Caucasian middle to upper class couples (Eby et al., 2007). The sample was comprised of 89.8% Caucasian, with only 10.9 % making less than $30,000 a year, which is a fairly homogeneous upper middle class sample.

The study also is correlation based and therefore causal conclusions cannot be drawn from the results. The survey measures used in this study were all self-report. Thus, the participants' answers to the three measures used were subjective responses based upon their perceptions. Self-report measures are limited in their scope because of their subjective nature. Self-report instruments also may be influenced by participants' efforts to look good or to meet a desirable image, rather than their actual state (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2007). However, WFC, career salience, and gender role attitude are subjective constructs and therefore are best measured by self-report. Perhaps more interview studies would enrich this body of research. While interview studies too are self-report, they could yield much more information than survey studies.

As discussed earlier, the range of WFC scores of the sample was quite limited which has strong implications for finding significant relationships between the variables. This may have reduced the power of the statistical tests.

Another limitation of this study is the fact that it was conducted via the Internet. Therefore, individuals who did not have computer access or abilities were not included in the sample. Thus only those individuals who received and responded to the e-mail request for participation were included. Furthermore, only employees affiliated with a university, college, or community college were recruited. This limited the pool of applicants, but due to the diversity of different jobs in a college setting, the pool still represents a wide variety of occupations from professor to maintenance worker.

Additionally, this study was primarily conducted during the summer months, which on some university campuses could be a less-hectic atmosphere as compared to the regular school year, depending upon childcare arrangements. The fact that it was summer could have influenced how participants were experiencing WFC.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

Working outside the home has become one of the most pervasive roles in adult life. Technological and economical changes have exacerbated this phenomenon and now adults are using more family and leisure time to meet work demands (Livingston & Judge, 2008; Stroller, 2006). Therefore the need to study WFC and how it relates to other variables is a practical pursuit that facilitates a better understanding of how to balance these life roles.

While men and women both experience WFC, research has supported the notion that women continue to be more invested in the family role and therefore have

experiences distinct from men (Cinnamon & Rich, 2002). Further studies that look only at women are needed to better understand their unique experience.

This study adds to the budding research body supporting the important influence of gender role attitudes, as well as career salience, in the experience of WFC. Further research examining how gender roles interact with other variables that also affect WFC is warranted. For example, there may be an interaction between gender role attitudes of spouses or domestic partners and WFC. One person may be traditional, while the other is non-traditional and this would likely affect the experience of WFC (Livingston & Judge, 2008). Also, studying behavioral-based sources of WFC such as specific job type is needed, as much of the research focuses on individual level predictors from time- and strain-based sources (Dierdorff & Ellington, 2008).

Mental health practitioners working with clients dealing with WFC may find this research applicable to their clinical practice. For example, counselors who have an understanding of how certain variables such as career salience and gender role attitudes can influence clients' experience of WFC can better conceptualize their clients' problems and address underlying issues contributing to the experience of WFC. For example, when a client presents for mental health services due to stress associated with work and home demands, practitioners might explore the client's beliefs about what constitutes appropriate expectations for performance across the domains of family and work. Normalization of the experience of greater work family conflict when a woman is highly invested in both the work and family roles may help women experiencing distress regarding their difficulties at meeting the simultaneous work and home demands view their difficulties less critically. Similarly, since reducing demands might help alleviate

some WFC, a therapist might help the client determine those activities in which she most wishes to invest her time and act accordingly. Additionally, research that raises awareness of the struggles women may face combining their work and family lives may be beneficial to helping make the general public more aware of this phenomenon.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A
Schools Participants Were Recruited From

Large Research Institutions

1. Auburn University
2. University or California, Berkeley
3. Clemson University
4. Colorado State University
5. University of Delaware:
6. University of Kentucky
7. New Mexico State University
8. Portland State University
9. University of Texas
10. Wake Forest University

Small/Regional Four-year colleges

1. Berry College
2. DePauw University
3. Grinell College
4. Guilford College
5. Hollins College
6. Humboldt Sate University
7. Mt. Holyoke College
8. Rollins College
9. Southern Oregon University
10. Wellesley College

Two-year colleges

1. Guilford Technical Community College
2. Gulf Coast Community College
3. Jefferson State Community College
4. Kansas City Kansas Community College
5. Riverside City College
6. Rogue Community College
7. Southern Union Sate Community College
8. Tacoma Community College
9. Western Nebraska Community College
10. Southern Maine Community College

Appendix B
E-mail Request for Participation

Dear Faculty or Staff Member:

My name is Bartie Hatchman and I am conducting research on the experience of work-family conflict among women with children. Please consider participation in this research study if you are a woman who works and have at least one child under the age of 19 living in the home.

Participation takes about 20 minutes and only involves completing an online survey. No identifying information will be collected (i.e., participation is anonymous). This study is a part of a dissertation requirement for Counseling Psychology at Auburn University, AL. To participate in this study or to learn more about what participation entails, go to https://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=w5eYoV_2fyb6gzMc9Ge9AkwA_3d_3d.

Thank you for your time and consideration. It is with people like you that this important study can be effectively carried out.

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Informed Consent Information Letter

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INFORMATION LETTER
for a Research Study entitled

"The relationship of Gender Role Attitudes and Career Salience with Women's Work-Family Conflict"
You are invited to participate in a research study to explore the relationships between gender role attitudes and Work-Family Conflict (WFC), career salience and WFC, and also gender role attitudes. Specifically, gender role attitudes, number of children, age of children, social support, career/work salience, type of occupation, and amount of hours worked will be examined. The study is being conducted by Bartie Hatchman, M.S. , a doctoral candidate in counseling psychology at Auburn University, under the direction of Dr. Randolph Pipes, a professor and advisor in the Auburn University Department of Counselor Education, Counseling Psychology, and School Psychology. You were selected as a possible participant because you are a female employee at an educational institution and are age 19 or older.

If you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to complete three brief questionnaires and a brief demographic questionnaire. Your total time commitment will be approximately 15 minutes. The risks associated with participating in this study are minimal but with any research study there is a possibility for a breach of confidentiality. To minimize these risks, data will be collected anonymously. Any results that come back associated with the study's web site link will not be identifiable. There are no personal benefits associated with participation in this study. A greater understanding of what influences work-family conflict for women may be a result of thus study. This will add to the current body of literature and could lead to an increased awareness of how to alleviate work-family conflict. There will be no compensation for participation.

If you change your mind about participating, you can withdraw at any time during the study. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you choose to withdraw, your data can be withdrawn as long as it is identifiable. Your decision about whether or not to participate or to stop participating will not jeopardize your future relations with Auburn University, or the Department of Counselor Education, Counseling Psychology, and School Psychology.

Any data obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous. We will protect

your privacy and the data you provide by using SSL encrypted survey links to ensure all information remains anonymous. Information collected through your participation may be used to fulfill an educational requirement, published in a professional journal, and/or presented at a professional meeting.
.
If you have any questions about this study, please ask them now or contact Bartie Hatchman at hatchba@auburn.edu, or you may contact my dissertation committee chair Dr. Randolph Pipes (pipesrb@auburn.edu). If you are interested in receiving a summary of the results of this study when it is finished, contact me and I will send you the results.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Human Subjects Research or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334)-844-5966 or e-mail at hsubjec@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

Having read the information above, you must decide if you want to participate in this research project. If you decide to participate, please click on the "I Agree" button and continue to the survey. You may print a copy of this letter to keep. Thank you in advance for your participation.

Sincerely,
Bartie G. Hatchman, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate

Counseling Psychology

Work-Family Conflict Scale (Carlson, Kacmar, and Williams, 2000)
Please indicate how frequently the following events occur in your life**.**

1. My work keeps me from my family activities more than I would like.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
2. I am often so emotionally drained when I get home from work that it prevents me from contributing to my family.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
3. Behavior that is effective and necessary for me at work would be counter-productive at home.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
4. The time I spend on family responsibilities often interferes with my work responsibilities	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
5. Because I am often stressed from my family responsibilities I have a hard time concentrating at my work.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
6. The problem-solving behavior that works for me at home does not seem to be as useful at work.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
7. Due to all the pressure at work, sometimes when I come home I am too stressed to do things.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
8. The time I spend with my family often causes me not to spend time in activities at work that could be helpful to my career.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
9. Tension and anxiety from my family life often weaken my ability to do my job.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
10. The behaviors that work for me at home do not seem to be as effective at work.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
11. Due to stress at home, I am often too preoccupied with family matters at work.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
12. The problem-solving behaviors I use in my job are not effective in resolving problems at home.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
13. The time I must devote to my job keeps me from participating equally in household responsibilities and activities.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
14. When I get home from work I am	Never	Some-	Often	Very	Always

too frazzled to participate in family activities/responsibilities.		times		Often	
15. Behavior that is effective and necessary for me at home would be counterproductive at work.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
16. I have to miss work activities due to the amount of time I must spend on family responsibilities.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
17. The behaviors I perform that make me effective at work do not help me to be a better parent, spouse, or family member.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always
18. I have to miss family activities due to the amount of time I must spend on work responsibilities.	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often	Always

Career Salience Scale (Greeenhaus, 1971)

This scale is designed to measure the importance of work and career in a person's life. Please circle your response according to the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I intend to pursue the job of my choice even if it cuts deeply into the time I have for my family.
   1   2   3   4   5

2. It is more important to have some leisure time after work than to have a job in your chosen field, be devoted to it, and be a success at it.
   1   2   3   4   5

3. If you work very hard on your job, you can't enjoy the better things in life.
   1   2   3   4   5

4. Work is one of the few areas in life where you gain real satisfaction.
   1   2   3   4   5

5. I intend to pursue the job of my choice, even if it limits my personal freedom to enjoy life.
   1   2   3   4   5

6. To me. A job should be viewed primarily as a way of making good money.
   1   2   3   4   5

7. I enjoy thinking about and making plans about my future career.
   1   2   3   4   5

8. It is difficult to find satisfaction in life unless you enjoy your job.
   1   2   3   4   5

9. Work is one of those necessary evils.
   1   2   3   4   5

10. Deciding on a career is just about the most important decision a young person makes.
    1   2   3   4   5

11. I don't think too much about what type of job I'll be in ten years from now.
    1   2   3   4   5

12. I'm ready to make many sacrifices to get ahead in my job.
    1   2   3   4   5

13. I look at career as a means of expressing myself.

    1   2   3   4   5

14. I would consider myself extremely "career minded."

    1   2   3   4   5

15. I could never be truly happy in life unless I achieved success in my job or career.

    1   2   3   4   5

16. I intend to pursue the job of my choice, even if it allows only very little opportunity to enjoy my friends.

    1   2   3   4   5

17. I want to be able to pretty much forget my job when I leave work in the evenings.

    1   2   3   4   5

18. I started thinking about jobs and careers when I was young.

    1   2   3   4   5

19. I intend to pursue the job of my choice, even if it leaves me little time for my religious activities.

    1   2   3   4   5

20. It is more important to have a job in your chosen field of interest, be devoted to it, and be a success at it than to have a family that is closely knit and that shares many experiences.

    1   2   3   4   5

21. The whole idea of working and holding a job is kind of distasteful to me.

    1   2   3   4   5

22. Planning for and succeeding in a career is my primary concern.

    1   2   3   4   5

23. I often find myself thinking about whether I will enjoy my chosen field.

    1   2   3   4   5

24. It is more important to be liked by your fellow man, devote your energies for the betterment of man, and be at least some help to someone than to have a job in your chosen field of interest, be devoted to it, and be a success at it.

    1   2   3   4   5

25. Planning for a specific career usually is not worth the effort; it doesn't matter too much what you do.

    1   2   3   4   5

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Uncertain	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree

26. I would move to another part of the country if I thought it would help advance my career.

   1   2   3   4   5

27. I never really thought about these types of questions very much.

   1   2   3   4   5

Appendix F
Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972)

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

3. It is insulting to women to have the obey clause remain in the marriage services.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

6. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

7. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as man.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

8. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

9. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

A	B	C	D

Agree Strongly   Agree Mildly   Disagree Mildly   Disagree-Strongly

10. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together,

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

12. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

13. In general, the father should hold greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

14. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

15. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

A	B	C	D
Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree-Strongly

Demographic Questionnaire

Please provide the following information about yourself.

1. Please select your appropriate occupation type.

a. Faculty

b. Staff

2. Age Group:

a. 18-25

b. 26-35

c 36-45

d. 46-55

e. 56 & above

3. Please check the appropriate salary.

a. under $30,000

b. $30,000-$60,000

c. $61,000-$90,000

d. above $90,000

4. Please check the appropriate ethnicity:

a. African American

b. Asian

c. Caucasian

d. Hawaiian

e. Hispanic

f. Native American

g. Other

5. Number of children living at home under the age of 6._____

6. Number of children living at home between the ages of 6 and 18 _____

7. Please check the appropriate number of weekly work hours.

a. Less than 40 hours

b. More than 40 hours

8. Do you live….

a. Alone (not including children)

b. With another adult