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**Mothers working full- and part-time: Their organizational
centrality-peripherality, marital role power, and work self-esteem**

Barker, Kathleen Marie, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1990

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**MOTHERS WORKING FULL- AND PART-TIME:
THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL CENTRALITY-PERIPHERALITY,
MARITAL ROLE POWER, AND WORK SELF-ESTEEM**

by

KATHLEEN BARKER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1990

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

MOTHERS WORKING FULL- AND PART-TIME: THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL CENTRALITY-PERIPHERALITY, MARITAL ROLE POWER, AND WORK SELF-ESTEEM

by

Kathleen Barker

Advisor: Professor Florence Denmark

Major economic, societal and demographic changes have contributed to the growth of employment schedules which are less than full-time. Recently, women in occupations traditionally dominated by male incumbents are seeking part-time work schedules. They are sometimes regarded as being on the "Mommy Track," a subordinate career track compared to men or women working full-time.

Little is known about the attitudes and experiences of part-time workers who generally have been considered members of the "contingent," "peripheral," or "disposable" workforce. Therefore, a survey was conducted of 237 mothers in the United States working part or full-time in professions typically male-dominated (law, executives), professions which are female-dominated (nursing), and traditional feminine jobs (clerical). A 29 item

Centrality-Peripherality scale was administered to measure worker's perceptions regarding their centrality to organizational activities, interpersonal relations, and skill advantages. In addition, women's work self-esteem and marital role power were investigated.

Part-time workers typically perceive themselves as less central than full-time colleagues and this finding was greater for those with lower occupational attainment. Women in traditional feminine occupations reported the least centrality. Differential treatment was reported in terms of organizational activities and skill advantages; no differences were found between occupational groups on the interpersonal relations subscale. Within groups, differences between part-time and full-time workers was greatest for women in the masculine professions. Differential treatment of workers, based on work status, may account for prior research findings regarding the high turnover and low commitment of part-time workers.

Regardless of employment status or profession, women with children reported similar marital role power. Women working part-time reported greater happiness at home, higher marriage satisfaction and satisfaction with children. In addition, women working part-time reported a greater number of social roles but lower role conflict.

Women working full-time in the masculine professions reported the greatest amount of conflict and women working part-time in feminine professions reported the least.

The majority of women (78%) said they were happiest at home. Of the women who said work, 56.3% were in the feminine occupations. Of the women working in the masculine occupations, 82% selected home as where they were happiest; in addition, this group reported the most difficulty in choosing between the two sites.

Women working part-time reported higher work self-esteem, except for women working part-time in masculine occupations. Women working full-time in traditional feminine occupations, typically clericals, reported the lowest work self-esteem and women working in feminine professions, nurses and educators, reported the highest self-esteem. Work self-esteem was significantly correlated with income for full-time women, but not for part-time women. The salience of roles, paid work vs. parent, is conjectured to influence work self-esteem. Part-time women were far more likely than full-time women to report their primary role as parent.

Part-time work is as much a personal decision as it is a response to the intractability of institutions in permitting families to influence organizational policies and

actions. Not coincidently, these same policies result in the differential treatment of part-time employees.

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The basic idea of tiding the unemployed over present hardships by employing more hands for fewer hours a day or fewer days a week is simplicity itself...

The Share-the-Work Movements appears to... help the employer because work spreading hastens business recovery; that it is to the advantage of the worker because job sharing makes for job security; the public benefits because spreading employment means spreading spending power and the feeling of confidence and security that follow in their train.

....one is impressed by a trend of thought that may continue to have its innings long after the present crisis has passed and its scars have ceased to ache. This is the idea that business and industry alike must eventually abandon the notion that there is a fixed and definite number of hours a day, or days a week, or weeks a year that constitutes a cast-iron and sacrosanct work schedule, which must be adhered to at any cost regardless of changing conditions...if we are learning anything at the present session of the hard school of experience we are learning the necessity of devising and getting...countless economic buffers and shock absorbers that will come into play in future years, so that the next time we have to make a descent from the level of prosperity to that of adversity, we shall be eased down instead of being bumped off with a crash.

It is safer to go through the locks than to be shoved over the dam.

--Editorial, The Saturday Evening Post, p. 20,
November 19, 1932.

I believe...that shared employment is the most promising and will be the most widespread form of flexible scheduling in the future. It is feasible at every level of the corporation except at the pinnacle, for both the short and the long term.

--Felice N. Schwartz, Harvard Business Review,
January-February, 1989

It will be over my dead body before we have part-time professionals.

--Anonymous executive, quoted from,
Richard S. Belous, The contingent economy:
The growth of the temporary, part-time and
subcontracted workforce (1989, p. 18).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The part-time worker remains an enigma to work place scholars. Eclipsed by interest in the issues germane to full-time work and inadvertently included in data-bases largely comprised of full-time workers, the part-time worker is poorly understood. Towards the close of the 20th century, part-time work is associated with stigmatized and female crowded occupations. With women attaining a firm, if still segregated, position in the labor market, the part-time worker appeals to our sense of curiosity, and perhaps for some, strikes a note of envy or suspicion. Are part-time workers more interested in pursuing life-goals distinct from mainstream full-time workers or are they simply more traditional women or less educated men adapting to the work place? The association of part-time work with stigmatized or female labor permeates the slim literature on part-time work, both in academic research and in the popular press.

It was only with the arrival of the "subtle revolution," the change in values that encouraged the paid

employment of adult females, that working assumptions regarding the part-time worker in the United States were considered ripe for re-examination. The recent shift towards a more thorough understanding of these "missing persons" (Rotchford & Roberts, 1982) will be documented below. The trend to employ those individuals for whom work is less than a full-time schedule has increased worldwide (Cordova, 1986; Gustavsen, 1986). The "peripheral" (Morse, 1969), "disposable" (Pollack & Bernstein, 1985) or "contingent" (Freedman, 1986) worker is long overdue as a candidate for social psychological research.

The catalyst for this study was the observation that the voluntary part-time worker is represented by conflicting and contradictory images. The potential conflicts pertain to the number of roles that part-timers appear to accept or pursue more readily than full-timers; contradictions are inherent in the extent to which this work is "voluntary." The peripheral organizational role assigned to part-timers contradicts their critical importance to peak production activities (Morse, 1969; Nollen, 1982). Another contradiction, given the commitment usually associated with professional occupations, is the small, but growing, group of female professionals who convert a full-time job into a part-time job. Is it the "male" model of work life that has contributed to

characterizations of part-time workers, who are primarily female, as uncommitted and low-skilled (Gannon, 1975; Werbel, 1985; cf. Granrose & Applebaum, 1986)? Are part-timers truly jeopardizing organized labor's demands for adequate pay rates and reduced work hours for the entire labor force (Hallaire, 1968)? Should women working part-time in masculine occupations accept a new work place contract that provides lower pay and non-career tracks (Schwartz, 1989)? Finally, are these perceptions and recommendations strengthening traditional views that women are secondary wage earners (Vickery, 1979)?

The present examination explores new ground by investigating the role part-time employment has in the lives of professional and non-professional female workers. By controlling for life-stage effects, this study will focus on the uses of part-time employment as a preference or as a supplement to unpaid work in the home, primarily childcare. It will examine whether part-time workers feel a sense of exclusion or perceived peripherality within organizations. If they do, what are the sources of prejudice which are most salient? Does working part-time influence work-related self-esteem or is perceived peripherality within organizational activities, whether working in a full- or part-time condition, more predictive of work-related self-esteem.

Most reports of part-time workers concur that childcare responsibilities appear to provide a major impetus towards women's acceptance of part-time work (Margolin, 1983). However, although they appear to prefer multiple role involvements, college educated part-time female workers reported higher levels of conflict and lower satisfaction than full-time workers (Hall & Gordon, 1973). Recently, theorists have proposed that multiple roles enhance well-being (Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974) but revisions to the theory suggest that it is the quality of experience within a role which predicts role conflict, overload, and satisfaction (Barnett & Baruch, 1985).

Previous research has not controlled for occupation, work schedule arrangements and role variables. The present research study is designed to control for occupational type, which may influence quality of experience within the paid worker role and mediate role variables. Occupations will be designated professional masculine, professional feminine, and traditional feminine based on professional or non-professional status and its gender composition. Feminine professional and traditional clerical work have routinely provided opportunities for part-time employment. Women in masculine occupations are expected to work full-time and part-time or reduced hours employment is not customary. It is hypothesized that the quality of

experience in the paid worker role varies by types of settings, both for full-time and part-time workers. Women working as executives or attorneys, for example, are traditionally viewed as having invested in their careers and possessing high career-commitment. The experiences of women working part-time or re-negotiating a full-time job into a part-time job in a traditionally masculine work environment with full-time schedules may be different from the experiences of women working in clerical or feminine professions. Role conflict, overload and satisfaction may vary among women based on their occupational setting and work status.

Additional research questions include examining the variation in marital role power associated with work status. What compromises are made to maintain career and family by child-rearing professional women who choose to reduce their work hours and take on a work schedule most associated with clerical occupations? Whose idea is it for a women to seek part-time employment? What are the risks for professional women who opt for part-time status?

In part, the selection of research issues for this study has been directed by a broad view of the historical, social, and demographic characteristics of the part-time work force. It is this background to the study that is

examined in Chapter II prior to a review of psychological research and formulation of hypotheses.

The lexicon of terms that describe part-time workers, as well as temporaries, leased employees, contractors, and home workers, range from "flexible," "marginal," "peripheral," and even "disposable." In all of these terms, there is a reference to an individual who is casually undervalued by virtue of being tenuously absorbed into the activities of the work place -- a "throw-away" employee. This is not a frivolous development in a society which is premised on the work ethic. Are new psychological contracts in the work place emerging? If so, do they restrict not only economic development but employee commitment to one of the central activities of life, work?

The aim of this research is to gain a more complex and sophisticated view of women working full- and part-time so as to reform assumptions regarding their marginality to the work force and therefore their undervaluation.

CHAPTER II

PART TIME WORK AND WORKERS

In 1983, Golding (Golding, Resnick & Crosby, 1983) commented that only a handful of studies of women's responses to employment consider job status. This contention appears supported by a review of recent research examining the psychology of women and work. Many psychological studies have been restricted to professional women (Epstein, 1970; Gray, 1983; Heckman, Bryson & Bryson, 1977; Pines & Kafry, 1981) or have reported results without controlling for job status or occupation. Yet, although limited, these studies have contributed to our understanding of the recent unprecedented phenomenon of women's mass entry and attachment to the work force.

Recent changes in the work place include the rise of the "contingent" work force comprised of part-time and temporary workers, free-lancers, home workers, and independent contractors (Freedman, 1986). The number of contingent workers in the United States is estimated to range from 29.9 million to 36.6 million or 25% to 30% of all Americans working (Belous, 1989). If conservative

estimates are correct, the contingent workforce is growing 40% faster than regular employment and this "drive toward flexibility" (Belous, 1989) may indicate a need to refine our research focus. The increasing number of Americans employed in various forms of work schedules raises a new concern: what are the salient issues which emerge for individuals working for employers under highly different attachment schemes? Just as psychologists found that mental health and self-esteem issues were related to women's gains or limitations in economic independence (Astin, 1978), it is of equivalent importance to focus on intra-group variability: why women choose different attachments (part-time, full-time, temporary, etc.), and how different attachments to work are the result of, or mediate, women's responses to work, colleagues, childcare, and family.

As Almquist (1977) observed, most research provides us with a clear view of women's position in the labor force, not the route by which they arrive. Perun and Bielby (1981), writing from a lifespan developmental perspective, comment:

...although we do know about changes in female labor force participation over time, we know little about the developmental course of the work cycle in women's lives (p. 235).

That part-time work has been traditionally linked with the employment of women, youth and older worker (Kahne, 1985) is well documented. What remains unexplored in research probing women's responses to employment are the outcomes of their selection and their use of different attachment schemes as strategies for coping with both career and family -- i.e., the double-burden (Hewlett, 1986).

According to a theory proposed by Weitz (1977), the decision by women to have a career at all overshadows the commitment to a career. Unlike their male peers, women must resolve a life plan in which choices are conflictual due to either socialization or the biological clock. Perun and Bielby observe that models of vocational development (Roe, 1966; Ginzberg, 1966; Holland, 1963) primarily predict outcomes based on personality differences, the predominance of the work cycle, and age. Are models based on the male life cycle inappropriate in understanding the occupational decisions of women? Such models do not account for historic segregation of women in the labor force, nor consider the temporal fluctuations of the adult female life course as it encompasses both family and work cycles (Perun & Bielby, 1981). Nor do such models account for mixed societal messages woman receive regarding the values of family life and the rewards of success in the work place.

Given the questionable assumptions which have guided theories of vocational development, it is important to document the full variety of reasons women give for selecting part-time employment. Some observers have concluded that 25% of the female labor force are simply "...escap[ing] household tasks" (Gannon, 1975, p. 687). Alternatively, other authors have presumed de facto a lower commitment and a "willingness" to withdraw from a work environment (Werbel, 1985). Are these individuals both escaping home and work? Interestingly, a recent study of gender stereotypes and occupational roles found female part-timers are perceived as more communal than female full-time workers, and male part-time workers are also stereotypically perceived as less agentic than their full-time peers (Eagly & Steffen, 1986). The meager management and industrial research on part-time workers, the only literature which focuses on part-time work, will be discussed below. In keeping with the results of the Eagly et al study, a review of this literature uncovered a consistent tendency to attribute colloquial sex-typed characterizations to part-time workers.

Thus far, two broad issues have been discussed. The first issues pertains to the importance of differentiating occupation, work schedule arrangements, and the inferred importance of reduced work schedules for the child-bearing

life stage. The second issue is the prevalent bias or sex-role stereotypes which are attributed to those who hold a part-time job. Regarding the latter issue, what are the sources of such belief systems? If, as Eagly and Steffen conclude, beliefs about occupations override gender stereotypes, what are the historical sources for such beliefs about part-time workers? As the American labor process becomes increasingly diversified by various forms of contingent, peripheral, flexible, or disposable relationships to employers (Axel, 1988), what are the consequences for women who are the predominant work group in these forms? The proposed research will investigate the intragroup variability of working women by discriminating among occupational type and the work schedule arrangements that govern their employment. A review of interdisciplinary research has assisted in explicating the most pertinent issues for social psychological study. While social psychology has been criticized for its failure to define a realm within psychology which examines work place issues according to social psychological knowledge and models (Meyers, 1984), this research makes such an attempt. The aim is to organize knowledge about the psychological and social forces currently facing women at home and in the work place, and the social stigma associated with less than full-time employment, a stigma

probably originating with the negative image of part-time or intermittent male employment. If occupational stereotypes override gender stereotypes (Eagly & Steffen, 1986; Yount, 1986), how do these impact on the day-to-day lives of working women and on their work self-esteem?

To clarify the psychological issues for study, background to the research is presented. This includes an examination of the history of the peripheral worker in the United States, a theory of peripherality (Morse, 1969) which may be also viewed as a social psychological theory of inclusion-exclusion (Allport, 1954), the economic theories which provide an understanding of the position of these workers in the labor market, and recent demographic trends.

First, however, part-time work will be defined. As will be seen, contemporary views of part-time work, a form of disposable or contingent labor which is either voluntary or involuntary, have influenced the revision of working assumptions regarding part-time work, workers and data analyses.

Definitions of Part-Time Work

Part-time work typically refers to less than the standard number of work hours associated with full-time

work. Since 1947, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) uses the cut-off of 35 weekly work hours to distinguish part-time from full-time employment. In permanent part-time work arrangements, both the employee and employer share mutual expectations that the employment is stable and regular (Kahne, 1985). In many cases, due to the demand or need for flexibility on the part of the employee (Morse, 1969), the permanency of the job is more important than the number of hours worked, although a minimum number of weekly hours is typically part of a base-line agreement (Kahne, 1985).

The definition of part-time work provided by the BLS differentiates part-time workers by their choice of full-time or part-time employment. For individuals who work less than 35 hours, the BLS divides the sample into three groups: 1) voluntary part-time workers; 2) part-time workers working for economic reasons (those working part-time because of inability to find full-time employment); and 3) those who worked part-time during the week data was collected but who typically work full-time. Labor analysts have noted the difficulty in applying the common distinction of "voluntary" versus "involuntary" part-time labor (Deutermann & Brown, 1977). Nardone (1986) has pointed out that these components are problematic in estimating the number of individuals in the U.S. who

usually work part-time.

Another problem in dovetailing a working definition of part-time work with statistical analyses is that the BLS definition of part-time work does not exclude the part-time work which is purposively casual in nature. Voluntary casual employment whether full-time or part-time is ephemeral in nature. A student who holds a part-time summer job is an example of a brief contractual situation in which the basic feature of the job is not its part-time status, but its short-lived nature.

According to Margolin (1983), the permanent part-time worker is characterized as being career-oriented, possessing labor force attachments, job protections and fringe benefits as equitably pro-rated against what full-time workers receive. In fact, this definition probably derives from her study of permanent part-time workers in the public sector who receive many of the benefits associated with state employee unions. Kahne (1986) has distinguished between two types of part-time work, old concept and new concept part-time work. The axes of differentiation is job versus career and the presence or absence of benefits associated with full-time work.

Old concept part-time work is defined as traditional part-time work which has existed for a long time, across

limited occupations, and offers little if any career advancement. Characteristically, this type of part-time work is recompensed at lower than average hourly rates (Owen, 1978) and is often marked by the absence of fringe benefits (Daski, 1974).

As many authors note, this type of work is useful at different life stages, for different groups (youth, women with children, and retirees), and for trying out new careers, but is, purportedly, rarely esteemed. Management, anecdotally, views the part-time worker as useful in maintaining production during peak periods and reducing labor costs considerably (Morse, 1969; Nollen, Eddy & Martin 1978). Kahne (1985) summarizes managers' view of part-time work as having a "particular, but limited, value" (p. 4). The literature on part-time work includes many of the arguments managers have historically made against the use of the part-time worker in organization: high turnover, lower job satisfaction, and lack of organizational commitment due to primary life involvement with the family (Gannon, 1975). More serious concerns are the higher initial costs of staffing and training associated with increasing the number of part-time staff in an organization (Owen, 1978). As reviewed below, many of these arguments have been silenced in the face of growing market pressures to reduce labor costs. The result is the

institutionalization of organizational "detachment" from part-time and temporary workers and the formation of more secure "attachment" or bonds with fewer full-time, skilled or core employees (Magnum, Mayall, & Nelson, 1986).

In contrast, new concept part-time work is defined as work which receives both prorated wages and fringe benefits based on full-time workers within the same firm (Kahne, 1985). Notably, career progression is associated with this type of part-time work, especially for the "professional" (Harriman, 1982) or public sector employees (Margolin, 1983) who do not lose job grade level when converting from a full-time to a part-time schedule. Alternative work schedule activists and organizations, such as the Association for Part-Time Professionals, envision wages and benefits associated with full-time work being made available for all or most part-time workers. As yet, there is little empirical evidence regarding the prevalence or absence of benefits for part-time professionals. Daski's (1974) study of the comparison of benefits provided to part-time and full-time employees controlled for broad occupational groupings, not job status. In Olmstead's (1983) survey of 310 firms, 80% of employers reported paying pro-rated benefits to permanent part-time employees. Occupational ranking of these employees was not included in the survey and the sampling technique makes it difficult to

generalize to the part-time work force.

The security that is provided to the full-time worker, medical benefits, sick and vacation leave, promotion and training, life insurance, pensions, and paid jury duty, is absent in many part-time jobs, especially those classified as "involuntary" (Pollack & Bernstein, 1985).

Hypothetically, these "older" attachment schemes associated with voluntary and involuntary part-time jobs mediate individual perception of work, commitment to a particular employer, differentiation from full-time colleagues, and feelings of importance or centrality to an organization. Historically, new concept part-time work is the successor to old concept part-time work. Yet, part-time occupations retain many of the stigmatized facets of this older work form. To amplify the above interpretation, contemporary demographic trends highlight the changing nature of part-time work in the United States and its association with stigmatized occupations.

Contemporary Demographic Trends

The nature and extent of part-time employment in the United States was not available until 1954, the first year in which individuals were asked their reasons for working part-time (Deutermann & Brown, 1977). Recently published data series on part-time work separates individuals working

part-time for economic reasons or voluntarily from those who fail to find full-time work and are found performing "slack work" or part-time work (Nardone, 1986). The time series based on this new definition informs this section.

The classic portrait (or stereotype) of the American worker is of an individual employed full-time. Not only does this stereotype persevere in the media, but dominates academic research and popular surveys (Rotchford & Roberts, 1982). Nardone (1986) introduced a new definition of part-time work by commenting:

Young people working while attending school, parents juggling childbearing and career responsibilities, those in retirement wishing to remain partly active in the work force, and workers whose hours have been reduced because of economic conditions are examples of persons who either choose or have to settle for part-time employment (p. 13).

Of the 107 million workers in the United States, 18.6 million, or one in every six workers, work part-time (Nardone, 1986; Plewes, 1987). The rising proportion of individuals working part-time is demonstrated in Table 1. The variety of part-time employment opportunities is reflected in the fact that part-time employment nearly doubled between the years 1968 through 1985 while full-time employment increased by slightly over 35%. Furthermore,

TABLE 1

Employed full- and part-time workers by sex and age;
selected annual average, 1968-1985 (in thousands)*

Sex and Age	1968	1970	1975	1980	1985
Total	75,920	78,678	85,846	99,303	107,150
Full-Time	65,276	66,752	71,585	82,564	88,535
Part-Time	10,643	11,924	14,260	16,742	18,615
Men, 20 years and over					
Total	44,859	45,581	48,018	53,101	56,562
Full-Time	42,720	43,138	45,051	49,699	52,425
Part-Time	2,139	2,444	2,966	3,403	4,137
Women, 20 years and over					
Total	25,281	26,952	30,726	38,492	44,154
Full-Time	19,600	20,654	23,242	29,301	33,604
Part-Time	5,681	6,297	7,484	9,102	10,550

*Excerpted from Nardone, T. J. (1986). Part-time workers: Who are they.
Monthly Labor Review, February, 13-19.

the number of individuals working part-time tends to be underestimated due to the exclusion of individuals who are multiple job-holders or "moonlighters" (Plewes, 1987). The BLS counts multiple job-holders only once (Nardone, 1986) and those individuals who hold a full-time job and a part-time job, as well as those holding two part-time jobs, are excluded. Total multiple-job holders numbered 5.7 million in 1985 with women increasing their multiple-job status by 40% between 1980 and 1985 for a total of 2.2 million or 5% of all working women (Stinson, 1986).

Table 2 indicates that while almost twice as many men hold full-time jobs as compared with women, women are more than twice as likely to hold part-time jobs than men. Of the entire part-time labor force, women account for almost 68%. Table 3 (Nardone, 1986) demonstrates the percentage of full-time to part-time workers in the United States. Almost 27% of all women who perform paid work are employed part-time. Examination of Tables 1 and 2 reveal that the highest numbers of women employed part-time occur during the period of 25-54 years of age, the period during which family responsibilities compete with the ability of women to hold a full-time job. In 1982, approximately 24% of all married employed women were "voluntarily" working a part-time schedule as compared with 3.3% of employed married males (Kahne, 1982). Alternatively, age differences among

TABLE 2

Employed full- and part-time workers by age, sex, and race,
1985 annual averages (percent distributions)*

Age, Sex, and Race		Full-time Workers	Part-Time Workers
Total, 16 years and over (thousands)		88,535	18,615
Men		60.8	32.4
	16 to 24 years	8.5	16.9
	25 to 54 years	44.3	8.4
	55 years and over	8.1	7.0
Women		39.2	67.6
	16 to 24 years	6.7	20.3
	25 to 54 years	28.1	36.7
	55 years and over	4.4	10.6
White	Men	54.0	28.1
	Women	33.3	60.4
Black	Men	5.2	3.4
	Women	4.7	5.6

* From Plewes, T. J. (1987). Understanding the data on part-time and temporary employment. Paper presented at, "The Contingent Workplace: New Directions for Work in the Year 2000." New York, N.Y., January 15-16.

Table 3
Employed full- and part-time workers by sex and race, 1985 annual
averages (percent distributions).*

Sex and Race	Total	Full-Time Workers	Part-Time Workers
Total, 16 years and over	100.0	82.6	17.4
Men	100.0	89.9	10.1
Women	100.0	73.4	26.6
White	100.0	82.4	17.6
Men	100.0	90.2	9.8
Women	100.0	72.4	27.6
Black	100.0	84.0	16.0
Men	100.0	88.1	11.9
Women	100.0	79.9	20.1

* Excerpted from Mardone, T.J. (1986). Part-time workers: Who are they? Monthly Labor Review, February, pp. 13-19.

men demonstrate that nearly two-thirds of men working part-time are found in the younger (16-24) or older (55 and older) brackets, when attendance at school and partial retirement is facilitated by part-time employment.

According to Nardone, most women who are employed part-time are married, while most men working part-time are single, in part due to the high proportion of young and retired men who work part time. Although women of African-American descent are more likely than white women to work full-time, individuals of African-American descent are over-represented within the part-time work force. In 1985,

individuals of African-American descent comprised 10% of employed individuals, but 16% of all persons working part-time for economic reasons (Plewes, 1987).

The explosive growth of the retail trade and service industries largely accounts for current patterns of part-time employment and their projected growth. The BLS estimates that between 1985 and 1997, nine out of every 10 new jobs will be in the retail and service sectors. As of 1985, these two groups accounted for nearly 80% of the part-time work force (Plewes, 1987). Elements of the retail and service sectors' work place, notably peak market demand periods, has affected the hours of work for part-timers. While working during the day was typical for nearly 83% of the full-time work force, it was true for only one-half of the part-time labor force in 1985 (Flaim, 1986). Additionally, there has been a trend toward part-time workers "spreading" or distributing their hours over six or seven days (S. Smith, 1984), in part due to the special needs of businesses which conduct business beyond the 8 hour, 5-day week pattern.

While the retail and service sectors provide the part-time schedules which meet the needs of individuals who do not want or can not work a full-time schedule, part-time wages are the trade off for working within these typically

poorly paid sectors. In a 1984 survey conducted by the BLS, 80% of the part-time work force were paid hourly wages as compared with only 54% of the full-time work force (Mellor & Haugen, 1984). Whereas only 5.2% of the full-time work-force worked at or below the minimum wage of \$3.35, 28% of part-time workers received the minimum wage or less. Median hourly earnings ranged from \$9.42 for professionals to \$4.08 for service jobs. Retail trade, private households, personal services, entertainment and recreation, and social services were the lowest paying jobs -- jobs traditionally held by women. On average, holding education and experience constant, part-timers are paid less than full-timers; male part-time workers earn 30% less than males working full-time and female part-timers earn 17% less than women working full-time (Owen, 1978). Interestingly, equivalent gains in earnings were correlated with education and experience for both part-time and full-time workers, a finding partially supported by Applebaum's (1981) research. Owen (1978) theorized that part-time workers and full-time workers represent two distinct queues of applicants in the labor market. To account for his findings, Owen postulated that while both queues of applicants are ranked by personal characteristics, and both groups of workers are assumed to be evenly distributed according to characteristics, "full-timers are generally

ranked ahead of part-timers." (p. 13). It is only when the combination of education, experience and other characteristics are superior to a comparable worker in the full-time group that a part-time worker is considered competitive with a full-time worker for a highly paid position.

While part-time work is strongest in the service and retail trade sectors, the predominant pattern of work in the United States is still a full-time work schedule across many occupations, especially for professionals, executives, and managers (Table 4). The most significant pattern observed in Table 4 is the consistent difference between men and women in voluntary part-time work across the five occupational groups represented. Especially noteworthy is that over 20% of professional women are working a voluntary part-time schedule as compared with slightly over 6% of professional males. Operators, craft workers and laborers who typically work in goods production, have traditionally maintained 8-hour work shifts and have low percentages of part-time workers. Yet, even for full-time workers, there is evidence that long-standing tendencies toward a standard work-week are weakening in the presence of an advanced industrial economy (Christopherson, 1988). The redistribution of workers into part-time, extended hours, and compressed-week schedules has been attributed to

Table 4

Employed full-time workers, part-time workers working for economic reasons, and part-time voluntary workers by gender and occupation, 1985 (percent distributions)*

Gender Occupation	Total	Part-Time Economic	Part-Time Voluntary	Full-Time
Female				
Executive, Administrative and Managerial	100.0	1.4	8.7	89.9
Professional Specialty	100.0	3.5	20.2	76.3
Technical & Rel. Support	100.0	3.3	16.7	80.0
Sales	100.0	9.7	31.9	58.5
Administrative Support, including Clerical	100.0	3.5	18.8	78.7
Male				
Executive, Administrative and Managerial	100.0	1.0	2.7	96.1
Professional Specialty	100.0	1.8	6.1	92.1
Technical & Rel Support	100.0	2.5	8.5	89.0
Sales	100.0	1.0	5.3	93.6
Administrative Support, including Clerical	100.0	2.7	9.2	88.1

*Percent distributions derived from Table 34, Employment and Earnings (United States Department of Labor), January, 1986.

the decline or "stagnation" of the manufacturing sector (J. Smith, 1984). Interestingly, while the decline of the extended work-week (more than 5 days) has been largely a male phenomenon, the concentration of women in this schedule has increased. The increase in the compressed part-time schedule (31-35 hours over three days) and the compressed full-time schedule (40 hours over 4 to 4.5 days) has been dominated by men (S. Smith, 1984), probably due to their preponderance in high-shortage skill areas.

Finally, professionals comprise a small but growing proportion of the part-time and temporary work force. For a variety of reasons, but mostly due to child-rearing responsibilities, well-educated and highly skilled women are employed part-time. Traditionally, typically feminine professions such as nursing, social work, teaching, for example, have structured positions which are part-time. Professional part-time positions in fields which have not traditionally provided part-time jobs, especially those professions which are dominated by male incumbents, are considerably more difficult to find. Furthermore, men who pursue a part-time job are discriminated against, conceivably due to managerial "...attitudes about men's and women's roles" (Rothberg, 1986).

It is apparent that shifts in the way employees and employers alike view their household and life style preferences, the growth of jobs that are designed for part-time or contingent workers, in addition to the expanded number of women in the work force, have transformed the work place in the latter half of the twentieth century. In the 1960's, a body of literature on the part-time or peripheral employee disparaged part-timers' provisional attachment to the work force. The emergence of various developments such as a competitive international economy, corporate mergers and acquisitions, increasing foreign product and market competition, has intensified the rate of increase in provisional arrangements between employer and employee not only domestically, but on a world scale as well (Cordova, 1986; Gustavsen, 1986). The employer who does not provide any budget for a "just-in-time workforce" (Belous, 1989) is unusual (Nelson, 1988). The "peripheral employee" (Morse, 1969) is now a member of a growing labor force that is "contingent" (Freedman, 1986) on the variable market demands without the benefits that define "core" employees (Barron & Norris, 1976; Mangum, Mayall, & K. Nelson, 1985; J. Smith, 1984). In effect, the employee who is contingent is "disposable," economically classified as part of the secondary labor force. Belous (1989) has estimated that perhaps almost 30% of the work-force could

be classified as contingent: contract workers, temporary workers, consultants, home-workers and part-time workers. A section of this study will examine whether part-time workers, both clerical and professionals, share this view or image of their position and work activities and regard themselves as contingent or disposable.

Does individual experimentation, social change, new technologies, and a global economy increase the growing diversity of work-styles and life-styles of individuals and households? How much of this diversity can be proclaimed as due to "preference" (Nardone, 1986)? Can the diversity be claimed as due to not wanting full-time jobs (Gannon, 1984), especially when considering the long-term career investment of many professional workers (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971)? These questions merit further examination. One hypothesis is that it is not family responsibilities per se that maintain:

tentative, vague work commitments, represent(ing) neither a significant departure from past patterns nor a significant force for a change in the future. Instead, they remain committed to a traditional family structure and dependent on a male breadwinner who leaves them responsible for child-rearing and housekeeping. (Gerson, 1985, p. 129).

Failure to consider the constraints which emerge due to the lack of child-care results in work activity, whether in the

home or in the work place, manifesting as preference rather than need. Christopherson (1988) observes that even the notion of "voluntary" part-time worker is problematic in that it does not account for those who are employed due to availability of jobs within a locality nor those who are charged with responsibilities within the home.

Schwartz (1989), in a highly controversial article, argued that employing women was more expensive than employing men due to corporations' ambivalence toward career and family women, women's "counterproductive expectations and perceptions" (p. 67) of the work place, and their attention to child rearing (cf. Freedman, 1989). Schwartz views two tracks as most promising for women. One track, the full-time typical professional track, is comparable to male predecessors. Another, labelled by other scholars as the "mommy track," is essentially a position which attains flexibility at the cost of salary and promotion.

Part-time employment is the single greatest inducement to getting women back on the job expeditiously and the provision women themselves most desire...enables them to maintain responsibility for critical aspects of their jobs, keeps them in touch with the changes constantly occurring at the work place and in the job itself, reduces stress and fatigue, often eliminates the need for paid maternity leave by permitting a return to the office as soon as disability leave is

over, and, not least, can greatly enhance company loyalty....rates of advancement and pay will be appropriately lower for those who...work part-time than for those who work full-time. (p. 73)

The description Schwartz provides appears more as a cost-saving technique for corporations than a humane career-saving track for professional women, given the stereotypes of part-time workers discussed above, the negative association of part-time work with stigmatized labor, as well as the advice to provide such schedules only to the "high performers".

Ten years prior, Vickery (1979) commented that the tendency of more women than men to accept part-time jobs would result in a perpetuation of "...the subordinate position of women in our society" (p. 119).

Three points are made regarding these comments. First, there is no indication that changes in preference alone account for the growth in part-time work; rather, jobs specially designed for a contingent worker have increased in part due to employers' "load leveling" (Christopherson, 1987) as well as to women's demands for increased flexibility. Secondly, the rise of the contingent work force has meant that jobs traditionally held by men have also been threatened (Axelrod, 1987). As a secondary status in the work force is now true for 25% of

all American workers (Freedman, 1986), both men and women are facing an increasing risk of holding an economically subordinate position within society. An assumption of much that has been written on the traditional woman working part-time has focused on family structure and the division of labor. However, commitment to traditional family structure, with the attendant division of labor within the home, may be changing despite women's acceptance of, or seeking, part-time work. Third, and related to this last point, stratifying "tracks" for women may result in discrimination against any woman through the legitimation of different tracks for men and women.

The proposed research will clarify whether it is personal preference, husband's influence, or child care constraints which encourage professional and non-professional women to reduce their work place hours. This research will also examine whether women who work part-time report lower marital power than women working full-time. To carefully stratify samples for study, as well as understand the reasons for women's dominant role in part-time work, a brief history of part-time work in the United States supplements this analysis.

From Peripheral to Contingent: Background to the Research

The only available theoretical work on part-time

workers is that by Morse (1969) which is an economic and socio-historical account of the peripheral, part-time, or intermittent worker in the United States. Morse asserts that the standard models of labor force participation assume a progression from agricultural society when the individual worked as many hours in a day as possible and the work cycle grew to dominate other spheres of living. Morse provides evidence that such models do not account for the activity of workers who chose to allocate time differently or for whom entry into the labor force was problematic due to immigrant status or racial prejudice. For example, when men of African-American descent were first introduced into Northern factories, their jobs paralleled the assignments held by Southern and Eastern European male immigrants (Gordon, Edwards, & Reich, 1982). Morse employs peripherality as a "frame of reference [for] the work experience concept" (p. 5). For the immigrant and African-American, the constitution provided a sense of acceptance. Yet, socially the immigrant, for example, was unacceptable unless his or her national origin conformed to the dominant Protestant group. Social stability and approval were derived from skilled, continuous and full-time jobs; immigrants, both male and female, were confined to intermittent jobs which were often attained by ethnic competition or bribery (Kornbluh, 1988). The prior

exclusion of the American of African descent, American Indian, and Asian provided "proof" of their inferior status by way of their poverty, different standards of living and their lack of education.

...[T]he white Protestant community would not think of him (sic) as one of "us" when it came to the question of the nature of his employment experience...those immigrants who lacked any special skills...constituted the bulk of the peripheral labor force of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. More important for the long run, the mainstream of American society developed deep-seated attitudes toward the kind of person who carried out the peripheral tasks of the economy, the casual day laborer, the intermittent worker, the part-time worker, attitudes which were destined to be carried over to those groups who succeeded the immigrant once the major flows of European and Asiatic immigration had ceased (Morse, 1969; pp. 60-61).

By the close of World War I, ambivalent attitudes toward immigrants, characterized by marginal political acceptance and social exclusion, resulted in a legal ban on immigration (Handlin, 1951; 1957).

If the attitudes towards peripheral workers could be conceived as rooted in an exclusionist philosophy (Allport, 1954), a problematic marginal status was better than no work at all and provided an opportunity to combine much needed paid employment necessary to meet family

responsibilities. Piven and Cloward (1971) examined the role of relief in defining and enforcing the terms of employment for agricultural workers during the 1930's, 1940's, and as late as the 1960's. The institutionalization of marginal agricultural workers coalesced with the regulations of relief:

That the Southern rural relief system did not respond to the dislocation of people from agriculture is no surprise. Relief restrictions continued to serve an economic function; while agricultural modernization meant that less marginal labor was needed, it did not mean that none was needed. Low-paid workers were still required, and a substantial improvement in formal benefit levels...would have put the availability of that cheap labor in doubt...The relief system continued to be managed in a way that accorded with this extremely low wage structure. (p. 209)

Between 1900 and 1930, women increased their participation rates in white-collar jobs from less than one-quarter to more than one-half of all such workers (Gordon, Edwards, & Reich, 1982). Occupational segregation is demonstrated by the findings that by 1910 almost 90% of all working women were crowded into a few industries: teaching, clerical, retail, apparel operatives and domestic/personal services (Kessler-Harris, 1982).

They [women] sacrificed higher wages for the relative satisfactions of working with compatriots or of doing respected work. Sexual divisions in

the job market tended to restrict vocational ambition, bunched together women of like ethnic and racial groups...even an expanding pool of jobs could not prevent the resulting cycle of deteriorating work conditions, low wages, and squalid home lives. The result was to raise again the issue of whether home and work roles could ever be compatible, and to destroy, at least temporarily, any possibility that the two could sustain each other (Kessler-Harris, p. 141; emphasis added).

The lack of data-collection and interest in part-time workers has made them a difficult group for historians such as Kessler-Harris to include in an analysis of women's work history. A review of popular press articles, however, does convey a sense of part-time employment in the United States. By the late 1920's, articles appeared which encouraged working women, primarily married women, to seek a rapprochement between work and home: the part-time job. In point of fact, by the 1930's, the "breadwinner" myth (Bernard, 1981) was beginning to suffer dislocation as scores of women sought and obtained much needed employment, and were economically advantaged by being able to obtain jobs due to sex-segregation in low-paying industries (Kessler-Harris, 1982). In a study of part-time workers who were primarily considered "voluntary," Bancroft (1958) provided an analysis of part-time work between 1940 and 1950. By 1950, women accounted for over half the part-time workers and were found primarily in industries where wage

rates were relatively low and work schedules considerably more flexible. Many of these workers were in high-employment industries, and Bancroft concluded that there was an "extensive use of workers scheduled to work part time because they did not want or could not accept full-time work" (p. 97). This analysis is one of the few that exists prior to 1956; yet it conceals the issue of unpaid work in the home during a period in which "daycare" was not yet in the lexicon. A report by the Department of Labor (1951) found that most part-time jobs were filled by married women who seldom had young children. Reasons given by the 1,800 respondents for working part-time were 1) to supplement or increase income; 2) to have outside interests and contact; and, 3) to use skills and abilities.

Are these workers "peripheral" in the sense discussed by Morse? According to Morse's definition of peripheral work, workers did not choose intermittent or part-time work schedules; they were relegated to them due to racial or ethnic background. Their language skills and/or education did not permit them access to higher-paying and more prestigious jobs. Women who sought part-time employment did not resemble this aspect of the peripheral worker. Many had at least a high-school education (U.S. Department of Labor, 1951). The contemporary professional part-time worker bears even less of a resemblance. However, the

roots of peripheral work in low-skill and insecure jobs bears on two other related issues: the degree to which the work is "voluntary" or preferred and the crowding associated with Morse's definition of peripheral work. In this sense, women who "prefer" peripheral or contingent work attachments bear a resemblance to the work place outcast of the late 19th century and early 20th century part-time worker: given the availability of work schedules which mesh with unpaid work in the home, part-time work risks the least amount of economic insecurity. Furthermore, like their earlier counterparts, these part-time workers are crowded into a few occupations which remunerate workers at a low rate. Only the professional who seeks part-time employment would exemplify a group which does not suffer all of the economic or social limitations associated with disadvantaged groups.

A View From the Social Sciences: Missing Persons, Missing Research

The statistical analyses provided by economists and labor analysts working within the field of labor studies provide much of the information regarding part-time employment trends and conditions. A better understanding of part-time employment in the United States has also been sought by social scientists working within the fields of

social psychology, feminist psychology, industrial psychology, and sociology. Although the focus, empirical methods, and evidence vary within and between fields, this review will attempt to synthesize findings across disciplines and thus inform the scope of research and relevant hypotheses.

Job Attitude Studies. The majority of empirical research regarding part-time workers has focused on job attitudes and behaviors. In their review of psychological research which explores job satisfaction and turnover, Rotchford and Roberts (1982) point out that the aggregate of personnel research does not differentiate between part-time and full-time employees; both types of workers have traditionally been grouped together for analysis (cf. Vecchio, 1984). This area of research is primarily concerned with predicting job performance by controlling for attitudes and behaviors. The results of this research is summarized because it highlights the importance of probing beyond the typical singular question, "How satisfied are you with your job?" that characterizes research in the psychology of women and work. A working hypothesis throughout the more recent industrial research is that the individual who seeks part-time employment is differentiated from full-time employees due to the different demographic characteristics; more recent studies

attempt to include analyses of, or conjecture regarding, differential job opportunities, hours worked, and the job, task, and work environments.

One of the earliest studies of part-time employees was conducted by Gannon and Northern (1971). This research proceeded from the supposition that part-time employees are similar to temporary personnel (Moore, 1965; cited in Gannon & Northern, 1971), and distinct from their full-time colleagues, due to their use of the job as "...an escape from household tasks, as an additional source of income for the family, or as a stopgap measure until a full-time job is found" (p. 687). The authors conclude that the differences between long and short-term part-time employees (grocery clerks) was predicted by only one item, "I like my job." However, the differences between part and full-time employees was not reported. Therefore, the study neither confirmed the hypotheses regarding differences between the two groups of workers, nor offered necessary evidence to conclude that part-time employees "... are committed to the organizations where they work only for a short period of time" (Gannon, 1975). In a study of female hospital employees, no job satisfaction differences were found between part and full-time workers (Logan, O'Reilly & Roberts, 1973). However, each group defined job satisfaction differently. For full-time workers, job

satisfaction was a unitary concept with multiple components (i.e., liking the job, satisfaction with supervision, access to training, promotions, etc.); part-time workers defined job-satisfaction solely in terms of satisfaction with co-workers and excluded the component of satisfaction with promotion. The relationship between co-worker satisfaction and gender was not examined. European research (Sartin, 1965; cited in Hallaire, 1968) uncovered feelings of envy and jealousy between the two groups of workers when part-time workers were recompensed at the same wage rate; however, the researcher also discovered that each group expressed envy regarding the work-status or conditions of the other.

In Hom's (1979) study of full-time steady and part-time steady and seasonal retail workers, in contrast to the Logan et al study, the pattern of job satisfaction was unrelated to job status but the overall level of satisfaction was related to job status. Part-time workers who were steadily employed expressed greater satisfaction and job security than did seasonal or intermittent workers. Satisfaction with co-workers was higher for the continuously employed. In this study, however, race was confounded with marginal employment status; when race was controlled, differences in job status no longer accounted for the observed variance in satisfaction.

In one of the few studies to acknowledge differential treatment of full-time and part-time workers, Miller and Terborg (1979) compared part- and full-time clerical workers in a multi-site firm and reported differences in job satisfaction components used by the two groups. Part-time workers were more satisfied with pay and less satisfied with work, benefits, and the job overall, after controlling for gender, tenure, age, and education. Dubinsky and Skinner (1984) found that part-time workers relative to full-time workers rated their jobs as lower on variety, autonomy, task-identity. No differences emerged between the two groups on role-conflict, general job satisfaction, organizational commitment or feedback. The authors concluded, in agreement with Rotchford and Roberts (1982), that demographic characteristics account for some of the observed differences in employees responses and that unexamined factors influence the relationships between job status and employees' responses.

In a re-analyses of national surveys from 1972 through 1980, Vecchio (1984) found that although part-time workers were somewhat less satisfied than full-time workers with their jobs and life in general, work status did not significantly contribute to the observed differences in life and job satisfaction between the two groups. Relative to full-time workers, part-time workers tended to be older,

female, less-well-educated, in jobs of lower prestige, less well paid, and less likely to be union member. The failure to find an association between attitudes and work status was cited as inconsistent with many previous findings; due to the study's heterogeneous sample, Vecchio concluded that findings were more indicative of the relationship between part-time work and attitudes in the U.S. labor force. Yet in another study, part-time workers in a hospital were significantly more satisfied than full-time workers with regard to their organization, rewards, power and general satisfaction indices (Eberhardt & Shani, 1984).

Acknowledging their disparate results from other studies, the authors concluded that offering benefits comparable to full-time workers accounted for high satisfaction; additionally, many in their part-time sample occupied responsible positions. In a study which sampled mostly clerical workers, part-time employees were significantly less satisfied than full-time employees with company goals, store meetings, promotion, pleasure of work, increased responsibility, and training to do a supervisor's job (Bergmann, Grahn, & Wyatt, 1986). No differences were reported on components of work involvement, security, and job environment. In post hoc discussions, employees complained "that the organization viewed them as peripheral" (Bergmann et al; p. 48). Although 30% of the

males and 45% of the females worked part-time, no gender differences were reported on any measures.

This review points to the equivocal findings from industrial psychology regarding part-time workers' attitudes toward their jobs. In part, different findings may be attributed to restricted samples in limited settings and occupations (Bergmann et al, 1986). However, Vecchio's study is unique in its national sample character. Inconsistent results may also be due to the failure of researchers to distinguish voluntary part-time workers from involuntary or slack workers. Individuals who are "waiting" or searching for full-time work and working part-time as an interim measure may differ substantially in their attitude toward a job than those who seek a part-time job due to competitive responsibilities (school, family, retirement or pension supplement, etc.). Only one study (Eberhardt & Shani, 1984) reported data on individuals who have positions of responsibility and work part-time, but occupational classification is not reported. There are no data-based studies of part-time professionals. Allen, Keaveny, and Jackson (1979) report that occupation accounts for most of the variance in job task preferences and should be controlled when examining full- and part-time workers. Furthermore, while some researchers note that differential treatment is afforded to part- and full-time workers

(Bergmann et al, 1986; Miller et al, 1979), and that dissimilar treatment may in fact be due to a general managerial perception that part-time workers are not as committed as full-time workers, no effort has been made to investigate the potential differential treatment associated with work status and attitudes. Only one research effort, Bergmann, et al (1986) reported differential treatment of part- and full-time employees and suggested that future research explore this dimension of part-time status.

Gender is typically treated as a demographic characteristic yet differences are rarely tested or reported in results. Considering that women comprise the majority of part-time workers, gender is linked to characterizations of part-time workers working for "pin money", as in:

The job seems to be such a minor source of remuneration that it can be virtually eliminated from their perspective and outlook....the peripheral employee is essentially different from the committed or regular employee (pp. 482-483; Gannon, 1975).

As exemplified in this passage, if the holder of a job which is peripheral or contingent is defined in oppositional terms to the "regular employee," that individual is then assumed to possess the personal qualities matching the organization's posture toward the

individual: uncommitted. There is rare acknowledgement that most of the jobs the surveyed workers hold are in the secondary labor force, those jobs comprised mainly of women and characterized by dispensability, clearly visible social difference, little opportunity to acquire training, limited economic potential and lack of solidarity. In contrast, primary sector jobs, mainly held by males, are characterized by employment stability, higher earnings, training investment, and promotion, pensions and other benefits (Barron & Norris, 1976). Vecchio concludes that much of the research which examines part-time work attempts to assign personality as the reason for differences in work status:

There is an understandable tendency to discuss worker status as if it were an immutable individual differences attribute. A recognition that worker part/full status is not a permanent condition (as are such demographics as age cohort, race, or sex at birth) alters somewhat the discussion of differences between part-time and full-time workers, and argues against expectations of attitudinal differences (p. 217).

The job satisfaction literature reviewed above has focused on the search for individual differences based on work status but work status is a dynamic process linked to variables such as job and geographic availability, life stage, family responsibilities, etc. In this sense,

Vecchio's admonition to researchers is correct. However, he overlooks the confinement of individuals to the peripheral or contingent part of labor force and that this confinement is confounded with gender and race.

Barron and Norris, in discussing the dualism of the labor market and the search for behavioral aspects of job holders, argue that work status is a function of segmentation of the labor force and the sexual division of labor.

...it is very easy to confuse properties of jobs with characteristics of job holders, because individuals who are confined to a particular sector of the labour market will acquire histories and attitudes which reflect their jobs and which mark them off from workers who do not share the same experiences. These characteristics may then be seized upon, both by employers in the labour market and by researchers looking for explanations, to justify or account for the confinement of certain workers to a particular sector of the labour market. This circular process operates both in the real world and at the level of explanation (1976, p. 50).

While researchers have focused on individual differences in job satisfaction between full and part-time workers, they have overlooked the importance of work place social relations. There may not be immutable differences between different status workers, but there may be a variety of differences in their treatment on the job.

Miller and Terborg, in attempting to account for findings that suggested that part-time and full-time workers did not always appear to share a common frame of reference, recommended that subsequent research utilize a theoretical framework proposed by Katz and Kahn (1978), partial inclusion. Based on F. H. Allport's (1933) concept of partial inclusion which refers to "the segmental involvement of people in social groupings" (Katz et al, 1978, p. 46), it postulates that while the whole person is included within a situational context, such as a work setting, the engagement of personality is limited or defined by the organization. The demands for specific behaviors and attitudes implies that certain other behaviors are put aside. Required inclusion is expected to vary with individuals and their position. A codicil of the theory is that members behave as a compromise of their different segmental commitments unless specific demands are made extremely salient. "There must be clarity of demands and constraints so that they will give unto Caesar what is Caesar's" (Katz & Kahn, 1979, p. 47).

Hypotheses Concerning Centrality-Peripherality

It is proposed that partial inclusion, or the "psychological slice" that organizations demand, implies partial exclusion and varies with an individual's

attachment scheme in an organizational setting. Extending Morse's theory of the peripheral worker, the bi-polar construct of Centrality-Peripherality is introduced here to measure perceived differential treatment within an organization along an axis of inclusion-exclusion. The three levels across which feelings of centrality-peripherality are assumed to operate are the organizational, interpersonal and the skill or occupational development areas. Peripherality is defined as low participation in activities critical to the organization's survival, high uncertainty and low participation in activities which contribute to goal attainment, and occupational disadvantage vis-a-vis skill development. Centrality is defined in contrasting terms: high participation in activities critical to the organization's survival, control over uncertainty and participation in activities which contribute to goals, and occupational advantage. Centrality-Peripherality is intended to measure perceived differential treatment associated with work status; it is not considered an individual difference. No studies have been reported which examine differential treatment on the job. Related to Morse's characterization of the peripheral worker, exclusion from relevant job activities, events, friendships, etc., is an important social issue facing professional women who seek to re-

define their jobs as part-time as well as to part-time workers who are thinking about converting a full-time job to part-time.

Hypothesis 1: Individuals who work part-time are hypothesized to report higher peripherality across the three aspects than full-time workers.

Hypothesis 2: Individuals working part-time in professions designated as masculine (less than 30% female) are predicted to report higher peripherality than women working part-time in feminine professions (more than 70% female) and non-professional occupations (more than 70% female) with highly structured and traditional part-time schedules.

In addition, the relationship of work schedule arrangement to marital role power and global marital satisfaction will be assessed. Does part-time employment, which would typically reduce the privileges associated with full-time paid labor (economic resources), result in decreased marital role power as compared with women working in comparable full-time jobs?

Hypothesis 3: It is hypothesized that part-time employment will result in lower shared power for these women in intact relationships than comparable women working

full-time schedules.

The impact of part-time work schedules on work-related self-esteem will be explored. Previous research indicates that the male self-concept is influenced by occupational requirements and tasks and that occupational conditions which foster self-direction also foster higher self-esteem, even after education is controlled (Kohn & Schooler, 1973). According to Rosenberg (1979), "...someone who sees the visible outcome of his (sic) own decisions, would feel greater respect for himself than someone who... cannot attribute the results to himself" (p. 146). Rosenberg views self-esteem and self-competence as positively related but as conceptually distinct components of the self-concept. Other researchers have demonstrated that occupational experiences of autonomy which provide opportunities for the expression of competence or personal efficacy influence the development of the self-concept longitudinally (Mortimer & Lorence, 1979). Recent research on work and self-esteem in women indicate that multiple roles enhance self-esteem (Pietromonaco, Manis, & Frohardt-Lane, 1986). The relationship of different work schedule arrangements to work-related self-esteem is unexplored.

Hypothesis 4: It is hypothesized that individuals working in part-time work schedules will express lower

work-related self-esteem than individuals in comparable full-time positions.

Hypothesis 5: It is also hypothesized that individuals expressing higher centrality, will rate themselves higher in work-related self-esteem due to the attendant qualities of job autonomy and self-direction associated with centrality.

Hypothesis 6: It is hypothesized that individuals who work primarily due to economic need will report lower centrality and work self-esteem than individuals who work due to personal preference, lack of child care, husband's encouragement, or lack of job opportunities.

To understand the relationship of differential treatment on the job to the decision to work, respondents will be asked about the importance of economic contribution, intrinsic characteristics on the job, and extrinsic characteristics of working are to their decision to work. Respondents will also be probed as to how happy they are at work and at home, where they are happiest, and why.

Role Related Issues

The nature of the part-time work schedule would

theoretically entail more frequent "boundary" crossings, that is increased time spent going from one role to another. According to Katz and Kahn, frequent boundary crossings add to the problem of controlling role norms and require organizations to stress allegiance. The shared opinion among multiple-role theorists (Goode, 1960; Slater, 1963) is that commitment to different roles may result in role overload and role strains. This formulation, coined the scarcity hypothesis (Marks, 1977), assumes that individuals have a limited amount of energy and that organizations demand, or are greedy, for all of an individual's allegiance. The accumulation of more roles leads to the greater probability of exhausting time and energy and results in role strain. Excessive demands associated with having so many roles, and the improbability of satisfactorily performing obligations which accrue with roles, results in role overload. When the demands of two or more roles jeopardize the adequate performance of another, role conflict arises. From this point of view, part-time workers would be more likely to experience negative and stressful feelings associated with the accumulation of roles.

While numerous researchers have investigated role-strain associated with women's work and family roles, only two studies have investigated part-time status and role

issues. In a two sample study of part- and full-time working women and women working solely in the home, part-time women consistently reported more roles and lower work role satisfaction; yet this group expressed the lowest preference for a change in roles (Hall & Gordon, 1973). In the second sample, part-timers reported more home conflicts than full-time workers. While satisfaction and happiness was negatively related to conflict for the full-time group and women working in the home, there was no significant relationship between conflict and happiness for the part-time worker. Hall and Gordon concluded that while the part-time worker uses the same type and frequency of various coping techniques as full-time workers (Hall, 1972), she is spread thin and prefers multiple role involvements.

More recently, theorists have proposed that multiple roles enhance well-being due to the privileges rather than the obligations associated with role accumulation (Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974). Gove and Tudor (1973) found that multiple role involvement resulted in lower rates of psychiatric dysfunction in men committed to both home and work. Researchers have reported that multiple role involvement promotes greater life satisfaction and well-being (Barnett & Baruch, 1981), higher self-esteem (Pietromonaco, Manis, & Frohardt-Lane, 1986), and better

health (Verbrugge, 1982).

The revision to the scarcity theory, the expansion hypothesis (Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974), neglects to differentiate the effects of specific social roles (Barnett & Baruch, 1985). Both theories make competing hypotheses regarding the effect of roles on conflict and satisfaction. The expansion theorists' emphasis on the accumulation of privilege over obligation is problematic. While both men and women occupy the role of paid worker, the patterning of rewards and obligations within this role may be different due to the different jobs that men and women hold. Most researchers have not controlled for occupational attainment. Additionally, how important a role is to an individual is rarely examined, nor the time and effort that a specific role demands. Regarding privileges and obligations, part-time work may provide fewer resources but minimize obligations. Only one study (Hall & Gordon, 1973) controlled for work status in the analysis of satisfaction related to work activities. This study is unusual in its control of work status but does not relate its findings to a very unusual aspect of its sample of college-educated women. These educated women working in part-time jobs may have been primarily dissatisfied with their work roles due to underemployment and not necessarily due to work status per se. Barnett et al conclude that it is the quality of

experience within a social role which is the major independent predictor of role overload and role conflict. Unfortunately, there is no evaluation of the influence of work status within their study of highly educated middle-class women; only occupational prestige and employment vs. unemployment was controlled.

Additional Research Questions and Concerns

The proposed study is designed to avoid confounding effects of being employed, in various work schedule arrangements, with effects of being employed in high prestige occupations or being underemployed. In addition, the inclusion of women who are not middle-class and highly educated will elucidate some of the relationships typically obscured by sample restriction. The purpose of this part of the research will analyze the relationship of work schedule arrangements and perceived centrality-peripherality in the paid worker role to role conflict, satisfaction, and overload by focusing on three questions: (1) Do work schedule arrangements influence role satisfaction globally or only across some life areas? (2) Is the importance of a role influenced by the time spent within that role? (3) Does the quality of experience within the paid worker role, for example, increasing centrality to an organization, increase role conflict?

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Respondents and Design

The respondents consisted of 328 working women. Seventy-eight women reported either no children or adult children. Two-hundred and fifty women reported at least one child under the age of 16 living at home. Due to the research focus on working mothers, these respondents were considered eligible for the study. Of the 250 questionnaires, 13 were excluded due to incomplete responses across most of the major areas of study. Therefore, the final sample consisted of 237 working mothers.

The major questions of study compared results among professional full and part-time workers in traditionally feminine and masculine occupations and non-professional women working full and part-time schedules in jobs primarily occupied by women. The occupational distribution of the sample is presented in Figure 1 and the composition of the sample by profession and work status is depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 1
Occupational Distribution of the Sample

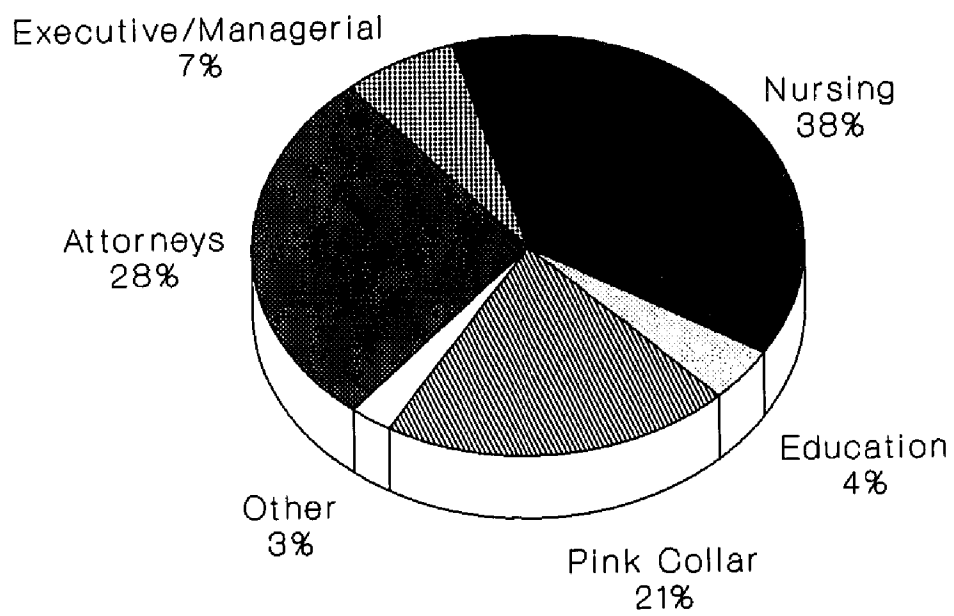
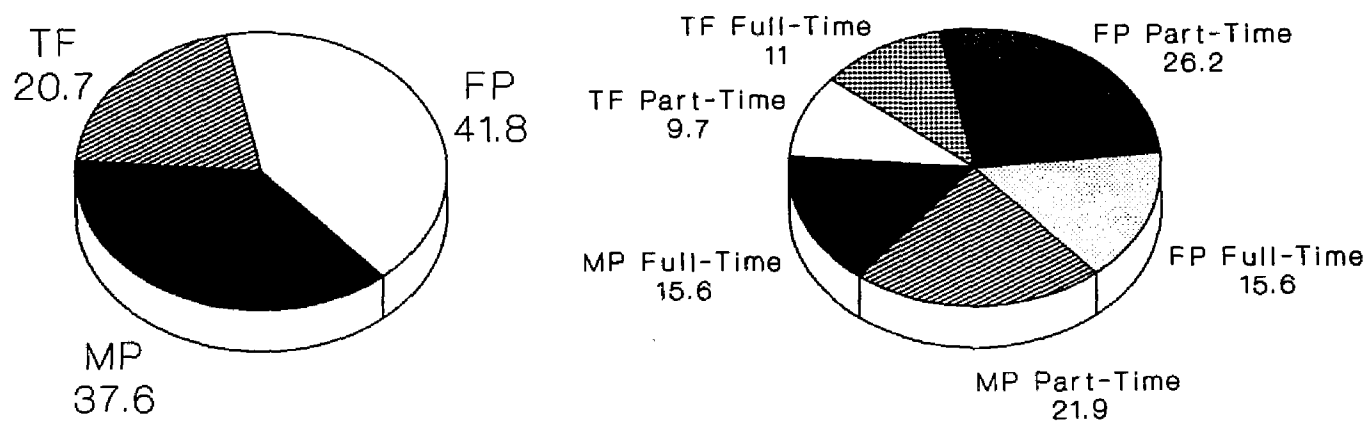


Figure 2

Composition of Sample by Employment Status and Profession



MP = Masculine Profession [> 70% male]
FP = Feminine Profession [> 70% female]
TF = Traditional Feminine [> 90% female]

The original study design was a 3 X 2 X 3 factorial with the independent variables being occupation (masculine professional, feminine professional, feminine non-professional), attachment scheme (full-time, part-time) and choice (personal preference, husband's encouragement, involuntary). Occupations listed by the United States Department of Labor (1988) as less than 30% female were classified as masculine sex-typed occupations. Occupations which were more than 70% female were classified as feminine. Table 5 presents the classification of respondents by their occupational titles for the groups which comprised the masculine, feminine, and traditional occupations.

Working women eligible for the study reported being an employee of an organization. Respondents who reported self-employment were not included in this analysis since the self-employed have been demonstrated to possess unique qualities vis-a-vis paid workers (Mannheim & Schiffrin, 1984). Similarly, respondents who reported working two part-time jobs or both a full-time and part-time job were not included due to difficulty in interpreting responses.

The factor of choice was classified as a response to the question: "What is the most influential factor affecting the choice of your current work schedule?"

Table 5

Composition of Masculine, Feminine and Traditional
Occupational Groups by Job Title of Respondents

Professional Group	Job Title	N
Masculine Professions	Attorneys	66
	Executives/Operations	15
	Financial Managers	4
	University Professors	3
	Technical	1
Sub-Total:		89
Feminine Professions	Nurses	85
	Nurses/Instructors	5
	Elementary Educators	5
	Librarians	2
	Social Workers	2
Sub-Total:		99
Traditional Feminine	Secretaries	27
	Data Entry	12
	Bank Tellers	6
	Receptionists	4
Sub-Total:		49
Total Sample:		237

Respondents rank-ordered each of the following in importance to their decision regarding their current work schedule: personal preference, husband's encouragement, lack of child care, economic need, lack of alternative job opportunities. Individuals who rank-ordered personal preference first were classified as such. As suggested by Christopherson (1987), those individuals who ranked lack of child care as first, as well as those who cited economic needs or lack of alternative job opportunities, were classified as involuntary. As suggested by Applebaum (1981), subjects who rank-ordered their husband as most influential were classified accordingly. However, only two respondents listed husband's encouragement as primary; therefore, the final study design is a 3 X 2 X 2 factorial design.

Data Collection

Study participants were recruited through professional organizations, part-time professional organizations, or identified by the primary investigator. For the masculine occupation, 32 attorneys working full- and part-time schedules were identified by the Chicago Bar Association's Part-Time Lawyers Network. Lawyers for Alternative Work Schedules, an organization whose members are either working part-time or are interested in pursuing a reduced-work schedule, provided the names of 47 attorneys throughout the

United States. In addition, 56 female attorneys from the greater Chicago area, aged 28-40, were selected from the Martindale-Hubbell reference volumes to supplement the organizational lists. This reference, which provides birth date and education, lists attorneys by location and firm in the United States.

Individuals working in a professional capacity were also identified through a membership list provided by The Association for Part-Time Professionals (APTP). Of the 53 names on the greater New York Metropolitan area membership list, 51 were women and selected for mailing. According to the Association, members' occupations cover a broad spectrum of heterogeneous occupations ranging from, for example, an elementary school teacher to a bank vice-president.

Respondents for the feminine professional occupation were recruited through professional organizations and identified by the investigator. The American Nurses Association provided a list of 500 nurses in 50 states, aged 25-44, working full-time, and 278 nurses, aged 25-44, working part-time. From this list, 100 full-time and 100 part-time labels were randomly selected for mailing.

Respondents for the non-professional group were enlisted for study by placing posters in three Manhattan

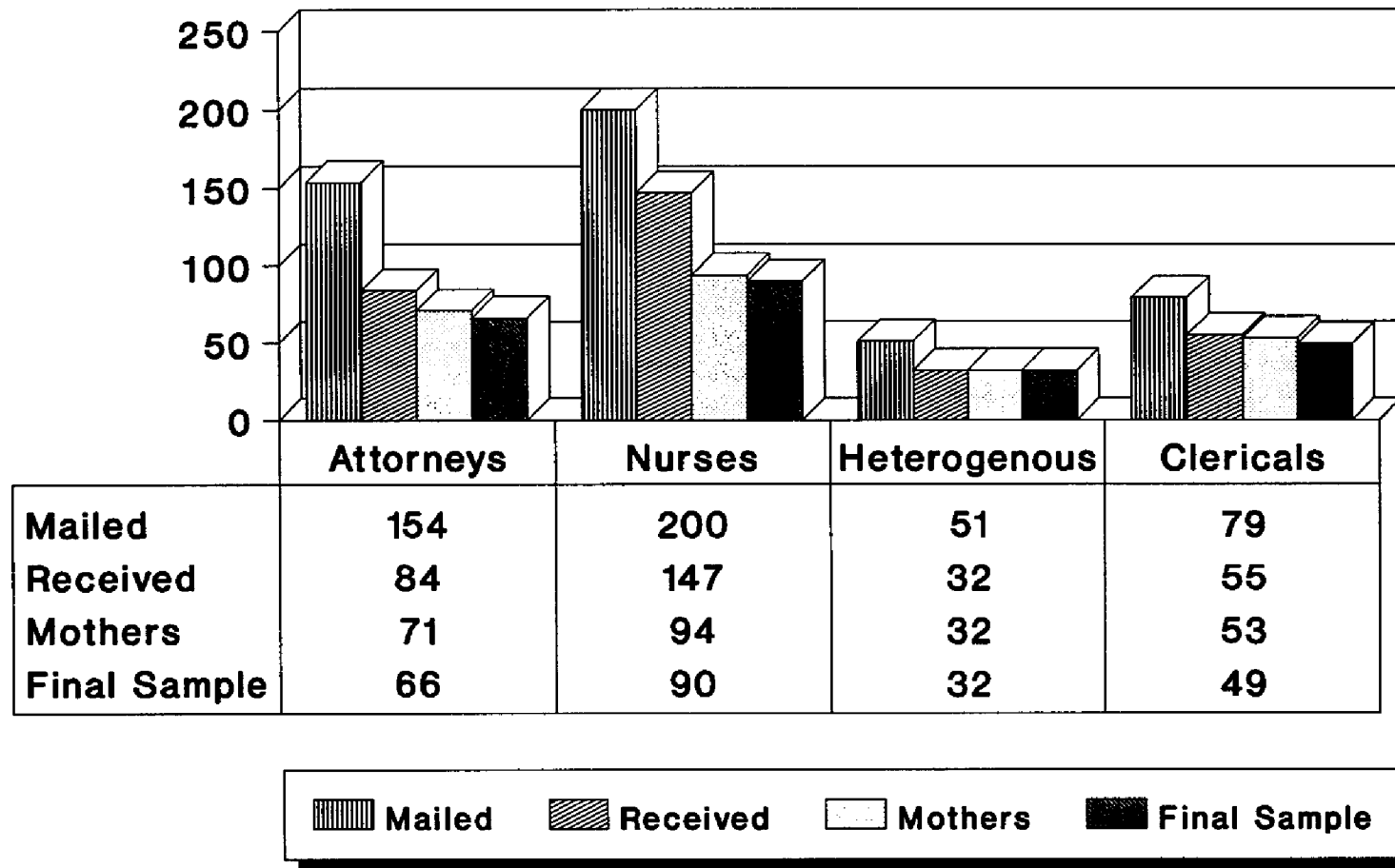
based firms (advertising, television, social agency) and identified by the primary investigator. A total of 79 women working in pink-collar jobs, data-entry or word processing, secretarial, and retail sales were enlisted or identified.

Each respondent received a packet which included a cover letter referencing the appropriate professional organization (Appendix A) or from the investigator (Appendix B) and the self-administered questionnaire (Appendix C). Return rates for each group are reported in Figure 3.

Questionnaire

Employment Background. Respondents were asked their employment status (employed full-time, part-time, two jobs, unemployed, self-employed), months and years with current employer, work schedule arrangements (full-time, part-time), months and years working in their current schedule with employer, sex of supervisor, and current organizational and department size. Respondents were also asked for a brief work history (job title, work status, and years). Based on a forced choice item used by Margolin (1981), which indicated that many individuals working part-time expected to return to full-time work within five

Figure 3
Response Rate by Occupation and Parental Status



years, individuals working part-time were asked whether they expect to return to full-time work; of those who indicate they do intend to return to full-time work, the respondent was asked to estimate the number of years until they are working full-time. An additional item inquired as to whether full-time individuals had ever worked part-time in their current occupation and reasons for not doing so any longer. Individuals who never worked part-time were asked whether they had not worked part-time due to economic reasons, lack of organizational opportunities for part-time work in their field, or personal goals and preferences.

Three items probed respondents' reasons for working. Respondents indicated, using a 5-point Likert type scale, how important each of the following areas were in their decision to work: contribution to family income, satisfaction derived from performing work-related tasks, and development of a career independent from home life. Two additional questions asked how happy they felt at home and work and a third item asked: "Overall, would you say you are happiest when at home or when at work." Respondents were provided with a follow-up open-ended question to elicit reasons for their response.

Number of Roles and Role Salience. Each respondent was assigned a score on the basis of the number of social roles she occupied (paid worker, parent, partner, student,

volunteer, caretaker for elderly). Since role salience has been hypothesized to vary with the time spent within a role (Pietromonaco et al, 1986), each respondent was also asked to rank-order each role in its importance. Respondents were classified according to the number of roles they occupy and their role salience.

Role Overload. The measure of role overload was adopted from Barnett and Baruch (1985) and defined as the respondent's response to the following question: "How often do the things you do add up to being just too much?" Response categories range from never (1) to very often (4).

Role Conflict. Role conflict was defined as the respondent's response to the question: "How often do you have to juggle different obligations that conflict with one another and give you a pulled-apart feeling?" (Barnett and Baruch (1985). Response categories range from never (1) to very often (4).

Satisfaction with Job, Marriage or Partnership and Children. Overall satisfaction with one's job was determined by respondents' answer to the question, "How do you feel about your present job?" Satisfaction with one's marriage or partnership and with one's children were items adopted from Pietromonaco, et al (1986). Satisfaction with one's marriage or partnership was determined by

respondents' answers to the question: "How do you feel about your marriage or partnership?" Satisfaction with one's children was measured by how much respondents agreed with the statement, "The rewards and satisfactions of having children are an important source of pleasure and enjoyment in my life." Responses for the three questions were made on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied.

Centrality - Peripherality. The construct of Centrality-Peripherality, as discussed by Morse (1969) and extended for this study, is defined by those areas in which individuals perceive organizational and interpersonal inclusion-exclusion and occupational advantage-disadvantage. The scale for Centrality-Peripherality is theoretically based on Katz and Kahn's (1978) definition of partial inclusion. Items were derived both from pilot interviews with two individuals from each of the six groups for a total of twelve interviews and also selected on a "rational-intuitive" basis consistent with the author's survey of research and press accounts of part-time work. Perceived organizational inclusion-exclusion is designed to measure the degree to which individuals perceive they are vital to the organization; these items include: Extrinsic Rewards, Promotion Potential, Security, Ease of Replacement, Uniqueness of Contribution, Fairness,

Feedback, Commitment and Other's Appraisal of Commitment. Respondents answered each question using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly agree, to (5) strongly disagree. Direction of questions were randomly presented and included:

When I think about the benefits package I currently have, it is unfair to people like me.

When I think about the promotion opportunities over the next year at work, I will not be considered.

Imagine for a moment that your company experienced a financial crisis. A consulting company recommended layoffs. Indicate your agreement with the following statement:
I think it is highly unlikely that I would be dismissed.

I feel as if I am "out of it" when it comes to promotions.

When I compare my work load with co-workers doing my job or a similar one, I think they expect more work from me.

In my firm, the system of evaluation is as fair to me as it is to my co-workers.

My supervisor probably thinks I am not as loyal as he or she is to the company.

In my company, whenever an important task comes along, people like me always feel welcome to help out.

On this job, I feel that people like me do not have a say in company policies.

Interpersonal inclusion-exclusion measures the quality of interpersonal relations, both job-related and non-job-related; these items include: Meeting Participation Importance (Supervisor, Co-workers, Self), Co-worker Recognition, Co-workers as Friends, Participation in Company Events, Work Group Dependency. Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale and questions included:

My participation in meetings is encouraged by my supervisor.

My co-workers probably think I am not committed as much as they are to their jobs.

Colleagues always listen to my comments in meetings.

I find I am not expected to participate as much as others in work-related social events.

Think about how many close friends you have at work, for example, someone you could telephone to discuss a personal problem. Indicate your response to the following question:
I have more acquaintances and very few friends at work.

Most co-workers, whether full-time or part-time, recognize the quality of my work.

Sometimes I am concerned that I very rarely receive appreciation and positive feedback from those supervising my work.

I feel part of a team that accepts me.

Because the literature on contingent work indicates that organizations rarely provide training (Granrose & Applebaum, 1986) or career advancement opportunities for part-time workers (Barrett, 1979; 1983), Centrality-Peripherality is hypothesized to also include an occupational advantage-disadvantage component. The theoretical basis of this component is provided by Braverman's (1974) account of deskilling and extended by Machung (1985, unpublished). In these views, the work setting is a network of social relations which partially determines the development of new skills or the deskilling or loss of skills. It is hypothesized that different work schedule arrangements will effect the occupational advantages or disadvantages individuals perceive. Occupational advantage-disadvantage is designed to measure opportunities for training, career advancement, job autonomy, and routinization of tasks. Since the scale was administered to individuals of widely varying jobs, socioeconomic statuses, and educational attainment, some items in each of the sub-scales have been constructed to effectively capture occupational characteristics

appropriate to the respondents without eliminating the possibility that job characteristics may vary among other workers within the same or different occupational type. Although the skills involved for an attorney differ from those involved for a secretary, due to education, training, stratification within an organization, and differences in the feminization of the occupation (Machung, 1985). It is hypothesized that a trend for occupational disadvantage among part-time workers within the "masculine" occupations will entail an emphasis on skills associated with feminine labor: social and emotional skills, and loss of promotion opportunities and job autonomy. In line with the hypotheses stated in Chapter II, lower job autonomy and training opportunities and higher task routinization for part-time professionals as compared with full-time professionals was hypothesized to be the result of partial inclusion within the organizational setting. Occupational advantage-disadvantage for the part-time workers in "feminine" non-professional workers is informed by Machung's work with secretaries and is hypothesized to entail an emphasis on mechanization, suppression of affect, work derived pleasure only through participation in a supervisor's success, and emphasis on one or two tasks. Thus, a peripheral status within the firm is hypothesized to result in perceived loss of skills. Partial support for this hypothesis is also provided by Applebaum (1981) who

reported lower incomes for full-time female workers who had a history of part-time work. Items were structured with the same response range and categories as items for organizational and interpersonal inclusion-exclusion. Job autonomy items used by Mortimer and Lorence (1979) were modified:

I have complete autonomy in making important decisions about what I do at work and how I do it.

My job requires a tremendous amount of innovative thinking (new ways of doing things, solving problems, presenting ideas, etc.).

I consider my present job very challenging.

Career advancement, networking, training opportunities, emphasis on social and emotional skills, mechanization, and skills growth were measured by the following items:

I have few opportunities to meet others in my field.

If I found another job, a replacement could be found quickly and doing everything I currently do within one month.

On this job, training or workshops have never been offered.

Sometimes I feel like a robot at work.

It is more important that I get along with others than do a good job.

When I feel displeased with something my supervisor has said or done about my work, I feel it is part of my job to never express any negative reactions.

In the coming year, I expect to learn many new skills in my current job.

I have more authority in this job than in any other job I have ever held.

Generally, the tasks I am assigned are less complex than the tasks full-time workers are assigned (part-time respondents).

Generally, the tasks I am assigned are less complex than the tasks co-workers are assigned (full-time workers).

It has been suggested that part-time workers may use a different frame of reference when responding to questionnaires regarding work, and therefore their social comparison process may be different from full-time workers (Miller & Terborg, 1979). To control for respondents use of within-group comparisons on some items and across group comparisons on other items, scale instructions emphasized that respondents should use a specific reference group, for example, their full-time co-workers, where appropriate (e.g. when making comparisons to others within their

organization or responding to questions regarding interpersonal relations).

It may be argued that the three sub-scales do not assess actual Centrality-Peripherality, but rather the individual's subjective appraisal of her work situation. Previous research in the job satisfaction literature does suggest that the individual's perception of job attributes is more critical to their psychological response to work than the "objective" conditions of the job situation (Seashore & Taber, 1975).

Work Self-Esteem. On the basis of the work of Rosenberg (1979) and Mortimer and Lorence (1979), four items were chosen to represent a personal efficacy dimension of the self-concept: strong-weak, active-quiet, confident-anxious, and competent-not too competent. One additional item was added, intelligent-not too intelligent. Respondents described themselves with reference to each adjective bipolar characteristic on a 7-point Likert scale with a rating of 1 signifying a strong association and a rating of 7 signifying a weak association.

Marital Role Power. Although measures of marital role power have been subject to criticism (Gray-Little & Burks, 1983), a decision was made to utilize an existing scale rather than develop a new scale. Previous research

indicated that scales which include decision-making realms appropriate to both males and females provide the most meaningful results. Marital role power, defined here as the tendency to share in major decisions concerning family matters, was measured using Centers, Raven, and Rodrigues' (1971) 14-item scale. This scale was designed to improve upon the Blood and Wolfe (1960) scale in which items were skewed toward decisions made by males. Response categories for each questions were: husband only, husband more than wife, husband and wife exactly the same, wife more than husband, and wife always.

The decisions in their order of presentation are as follows: (1) what people you will invite to the house or go out with; (2) how to decorate or furnish the house; (3) which TV, video, or movie to see; (4) what the family will have for dinner; (5) what clothes you will buy; (6) what type of clothes your husband will buy; (7) what car to get; (8) whether or not to buy life insurance; (9) what house, co-op, or apartment to take; (10) what job you take; (11) whether or not you should quit a job; (12) how much money the family can afford to spend per week on food; (13) what doctor to see when someone is sick; and (14) where to go on vacation.

To compute power scores, a weight of 1 was assigned to husband only and a weight of 5 to wife only. Marital role

power was computed by summing responses across the 14 items and dividing by 14 to calculate the wives mean marital role power score.

Additional Control Variables. The effect of work schedule arrangements was assessed while controlling for age, education, personal income, husband's occupation and income, and family background, including parents' occupations.

Statistical Procedures

Centrality-Peripherality. The primary goal of this research was to investigate whether work-status variation resulted in differentiation in thoughts and feelings regarding being more or less central-peripheral in work place activities: organizational, interpersonal, and skill-related. For the Centrality-Peripherality (CP) scale, items in the negative direction were recoded so that for all items high scores represented higher centrality. Each respondent's final Centrality-Peripherality score was the additive combination of all item scores averaged over the number of items.

Frequency distributions for each item were computed and inspected. The corrected item-total scale correlations (Nunnally, 1978), Cronbach's alpha (Cronbach, 1951), and alpha if an item was deleted were computed. As suggested

by Kline (1986), items which did not pass an item analytic criterion (item-total correlation > 0.2) were closely examined. Of the 29 Likert items, one item pertaining to Work Load Expectations and an item exploring Co-Workers as Friends had low corrected item-total correlations in both the overall sample and working mothers sub-sample. The same items had low item-total correlations within each of their respective sub-scales as well. Therefore, two items were eliminated for the final analyses of Centrality-Peripherality. Successive omission of the next four lowest item-total correlations hardly affected interscale correlations and it was decided to retain the remaining items because they covered the widest range of experiences. The final CP scale yielded an internal consistency of .87.

Work Self-Esteem (WSE). Internal consistency for the five-item scale yielded a satisfactory .84.

Marital Role Power. The Marital Role Power (MRP) scale developed by Center et al yielded a fair internal consistency of .66 and a mean inter-item correlation of .1388. for a sample of 195 women with partners working full and part-time. Reliability was substantially improved with the removal of one item exploring the decision regarding

the purchase of husband's clothes. The final scale yielded a reliability of .71.¹

¹ In their 1977 study, Centers and Craven did not report the reliability of their scale for either their female or male sample. Although it was considered important to retain the original scale, the improvement in internal consistency and reduction of measurement error was evaluated to be considerable with the elimination of one item.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Before proceeding to the results of hypothesis testing, some general findings will be presented, including the overall results for each scale, reasons women gave for working their current work schedule, and husbands income. Many women commented on the nature of their jobs or the employment setting in general, as well as the childcare issues they think are important. It is hoped that these remarks supplement the statistical analyses and provide a context for the discussion of results.

Some General Findings: Respondents' Scores and Responses to Employment and Childcare

Table 6 presents the means, standard deviations, and internal consistency for Work Self-Esteem, Marital Role Power, and Centrality-Peripherality (including the latter three subscales pertaining to organizational, interpersonal, and skill/occupational centrality peripherality) for the entire sample of respondents. The average working mother in this sample reported moderate inclusion within

Table 6
Means, Standard Deviations, and Cronbach's Alpha: Centrality-
Peripherality and its three subscales, Marital Role Power,
and Work Self-Esteem

Scale	M	SD	N	α
Centrality-Peripherality	3.57	.6066	230	.88
Subscales:				
Organizational	3.40	.7822	232	.73
Interpersonal	3.66	.6724	232	.66
Skill-Occupational	3.63	.6900	233	.79
Work Self-Esteem	5.71	.3590	229	.84
Marital Role Power	3.50	.66	196	.71

their firms or institutions. Although the differences among scores on the three subscales was not great, there was greater variability in how organizationally included or excluded women felt. In addition, the women in this sample reported very high work self-esteem and slightly more power in their marital relationships than their spouses.

Table 7 presents the intercorrelation of the three subscales of Centrality-Peripherality (CP), Work Self-Esteem, and Marital Role Power for the entire sample of working mothers. All of the subscales of Centrality-Peripherality were highly correlated with work self-esteem.

Table 7

Intercorrelation of three subscales of Centrality-Peripherality,
Marital Role Power and Work Self-Esteem for Overall Sample (N=187)

	CP	CPORG	CPIP	CPSKILL	MRP	WSE
CP	1.0000	.8323**	.8372**	.8773**	.1422	.3352**
CPORG		1.0000	.6391**	.5259**	.1309	.3195**
CPIP			1.0000	.6080**	.0563	.2665**
CPSKILL				1.0000	.1510	.2708**
MRP					1.0000	.1702
WSE						1.0000

** $p > .001$

Table 8

Group Means and Standard Deviations on Overall Centrality-
Peripherality Scale According to Reasons Given for Working Current
Work Schedule by Employment Status and Profession

		Personal Preference ($N = 121$)		Involuntary ($N = 106$)	
		<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Employment Status	Profession				
Full-Time					
	Masculine	3.98	.32	3.98	.52
	Feminine	3.69	.43	3.78	.43
	Traditional	3.02	.04	3.26	.69
Part-Time					
	Masculine	3.57	.62	3.33	.52
	Feminine	3.69	.58	3.40	.42
	Traditional	3.01	.77	2.98	.52

Table 8 presents the overall combined Centrality-Peripherality mean scores and standard deviations; for this table, respondents were classified according to the primary reason given for working their current schedule, their employment status, and profession. Table 9 presents Centrality-Peripherality subscale mean scores and standard deviations for the same groups. Prior to analyses, Bartlett's F was computed across the three major scales of inquiry, Centrality-Peripherality, Work Self-Esteem, and Marital Role Power controlling for employment status and profession. By comparing error variances, Bartlett's F assesses whether prediction is equally accurate when the same predictors and same criteria are used in different groups. For all tests, assumptions regarding homogeneity of variance were met.

For the overall group, the primary reason women cited for working their current work schedule was examined. Fifty-seven percent reported personal preference as their primary reason; 24.1% reported economic need and 7.6% reported lack of child care as primary reasons. Of the women working part-time, 74.5% selected their schedules due to personal preference, compared with 35% of those working full-time. Women working full-time were more likely to cite economic need, 42%, as their primary reason, and none reported inadequate child care as a reason. However, 13%

Table 9

Group Means and Standard Deviations by employment status and profession: Organizational, Interpersonal and Skill/Occupational Subscales of Centrality-Peripherality

A. Organizational Centrality-Peripherality

Employment Status	Profession	Personal Preference		Involuntary	
		<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Full-Time	Masculine	4.05	.48	3.91	.64
	Feminine	3.28	.67	3.49	.66
	Traditional	2.75	.43	3.26	.80
Part-Time	Masculine	3.23	.85	2.50	.38
	Feminine	3.47	.83	3.43	.81
	Traditional	3.00	.56	3.08	.42

B. Interpersonal Centrality-Peripherality

Employment Status	Profession	Personal Preference		Involuntary	
		<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Full-Time	Masculine	3.87	.55	4.01	.58
	Feminine	3.71	.59	3.95	.47
	Traditional	3.52	.41	3.28	.58
Part-Time	Masculine	3.63	.63	3.00	.20
	Feminine	3.85	.71	3.56	.58
	Traditional	3.26	.96	3.28	.58

C. Skill/Occupational Centrality-Peripherality

Employment Status	Profession	Personal Preference		Involuntary	
		<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Full-Time	Masculine	4.0	.37	4.0	.53
	Feminine	3.94	.42	3.88	.64
	Traditional	2.91	.14	3.30	.72
Part-Time	Masculine	3.75	.64	3.96	.88
	Feminine	3.76	.60	3.28	.52
	Traditional	2.88	.73	2.75	.65

of the women working part-time cited lack of adequate child care as the primary reason for their schedule. A small percentage (9%) of women working full-time in masculine and feminine professions cited occupational demands as their primary reason.

The above percentages indicate that women working part-time report greater freedom in opportunities to select their current work schedule than women working full-time. Was the primary reason women gave for working their current schedule related to husbands' income? Results suggest that husband's income may be a factor. Women working part-time in masculine professions and in traditional feminine jobs did not report significantly higher income for husbands than colleagues working full-time, although the direction of effects indicated that husbands of these women working part-time earned more than husbands of full-time colleagues. Women working part-time in feminine professions reported marginally significant higher income for husbands than colleagues working full-time, $\chi^2 = 3.29$, $p < .069$. Women working part-time in masculine occupations earned more than women working full-time in feminine professions, $\chi^2 = 43.36$, $p < .00001$.

This factor, freedom of choice, appears to underlie one part-time attorney's rebuke to the researcher that:

...questions did not really reflect the fact that a growing number of professional women choose to work part-time simply as a way to spend more time with their children, even tho (sic) the women are very happy with their nannies...

Other attorneys appeared to recognize the co-mingling of income and choice, and the resultant risks. One part-time attorney reported:

I was very satisfied with after school child care, but I wanted to be home after school and have more time for the family on weekends. I realize this is a luxury few women have open to them, but there was a trade-off on the job.

And a nurse appeared to recognize her own freedom of choice when she commented:

I feel fortunate that I have the choice to stay home the majority of the time and can return to my field in 5-10 years. It is easier to work than to stay home with three young boys!

There were no differences in husbands' income for women working in traditional part-time and full-time positions. However, one part-time clerical phrases her dilemma in terms of the cost of child care and her own desire to leave the peripheral work force if possible:

As soon as my husband finishes school I will be able to take a full-time position. One thing that was never mentioned as a restricting factor was cost of child care. I would work full-time if we could afford it!

A full-time clerical worker considered those not as lucky as herself:

My biggest concern is for the quality of care provided the children of working moms. I have been blessed with a neighbor who watches my sons in her home, and treats them as her own. But what about the others?

And a nurse offered her own concerns:

Even if a company offers child care, what kind of maternity benefits are available, how understanding are supervisors regarding sick children, how helpful are spouses in child care responsibilities? ...these issues ..have always been unimportant and under-valued by employers.

Hypothesis 1: Part-Time Workers and Centrality-Peripherality

The first hypothesis that part-time workers would report less centrality than full-time workers was confirmed. Table 10 summarizes results for the overall scale and each of the three subscales. Examination of the table reveals that part-time workers were significantly more likely to report lower centrality than full-time workers. Although the score differences between the two groups were not dramatic, the direction of results was consistent across the three subscales. Only two out of the three subscales were significantly different between full

Table 10
T-test results for the Centrality-Peripherality Scale and Subscales
for Women Working Full and Part-Time

	Full-Time (M)	Part-Time (M)	df	t	p
Centrality-Peripherality	3.69	3.48	228	2.47	.014
Organizational CP	3.54	3.28	230	2.41	.017
Interpersonal CP	3.71	3.62	230	1.06	ns
Skill/Occupational CP	3.77	3.53	231	2.66	.008

and part-time workers. Full-time workers reported greater organizational and skill/occupational centrality than part-time workers. Part-time work did not appear to influence women's estimation of their inclusion or exclusion in relational terms. In commenting on the skill dimensions of working part-time, one full-time nurse offered this comment:

I believe it would be very difficult to keep up with what is done in my job on a part-time basis.

One item on the centrality-peripherality scale examined whether individuals believed they were perceived by co-workers as less committed. Part-time workers reported being perceived by co-workers as significantly less committed to their job, $t(232) = 3.78$, $p < .0001$. However, work status was not the only factor in this

perception. Simply being a woman, or a mother may influence others' perceptions, although this may be mediated by a particular organizational environment as well as a specific home situation. A full-time attorney commented:

My answers would have been different a year ago when I worked in another firm where I was made to feel as if I could never do enough -- no matter how much I really did -- because of the perception that, as a mother, I was simply not committed to work. Also, my husband's job demands at that time were such that he could not be as helpful and flexible as he wanted to be. I was under incredible stress. Now, through sheer luck, I've landed in a work environment where my supervisors are reasonable and flexible, and my husband's work has changed so that he, more often than not, deals with taking the kid to the doctor, school, etc. The result is a big drop in the stress of my life.

A female full-time attorney commented: "Law is extremely inhospitable to women, in general." Another attorney indicated that exclusion from organizational activities derive, in part, from occupation-specific barriers.

...hurdles to surmount are old attitudes from 50-65 year-old male partners who are used to a wife at home, the lack of opportunity to make partner as a part-timer, and the corresponding authority. These are the barriers that will not fall in our generation or our children's.

Hypothesis 2: Masculine Occupations and Centrality-Peripherality

The original design called for assessing the interaction of reasons given for working with employment status and occupational type. However, two cells contained a very small number of respondents. Very few women working full-time in traditional occupations reported working due to personal preference ($N = 3$); alternatively, very few women working part-time in masculine occupations reported working for involuntary reasons ($N = 2$). For this reason, a two-way analysis of variance, Employment Status X Occupation, was employed to determine their effects on Centrality-Peripherality.

Hypothesis two stated that women working part-time in masculine occupational settings would report higher peripherality than women working part-time in either feminine or traditional occupations. Significant main effects for occupational group, $F(2, 215) = 21.59, p < .0001$, and work schedule, $F(1, 215) = 12.20, p < .001$, were found. However, inspection of means in Table 11 provides little support for the second hypothesis. Overall, women working part-time reported more peripherality than occupationally similar colleagues in full-time jobs and this effect usually increased with a

Table 11: Centrality-Peripherality Group Means:
Scores for Full and Part-Time Workers in Masculine,
Feminine and Traditional Occupations

	Full-Time	Part-Time
Masculine Professions	3.98	3.56
Feminine Professions	3.73	3.60
Traditional Feminine	3.23	2.99

decrease in occupational status. Although women working in masculine professions reported slightly less centrality than women working in part-time feminine professions, Scheffé contrasts revealed that women working in part-time traditional positions reported the least centrality compared with women working part-time in either masculine or feminine professions ($p < .05$ for both contrasts). One part-time clerical worker's alienation, and fantasy, appears in the following description:

One comment -- this is the first few minutes I have had in two months to actually sit down and do this questionnaire. It is July 4th and I took the day off from work. Not a paid holiday for me...if I had a choice, I'd be a student for a few years!!

A substantial difference in occupational attributes contributed to the disconfirmation of hypothesis two. Three items (Numbers 72, 73, 74) from the Centrality-Peripherality scale which measured autonomy were selected

for analysis between groups. Women working in masculine ($M = 8.79$) and feminine professions ($M = 8.66$) were significantly more likely to report higher autonomy than women working in traditional feminine positions ($M = 6.59$), $F(2, 234) = 21.33, p < .0001$.

Hypothesis 3: Marital Role Power

This hypothesis stated that women with children working in part-time jobs would report lower marital role power than women working full-time. It was not supported. Women working part-time did not report lower marital role power than women working full-time, $t(194) = .82, p \text{ ns}$. Results were similar for occupational groups, with no main effect for occupation in a one-way analysis of variance, $F(2, 193) = 1.62, p \text{ ns}$. Regardless of employment status or profession, women with children reported similar decision-making responsibilities.

Satisfaction variables were next analyzed in order to determine if there was a relationship between marital satisfaction, role power and employment status. Women working part-time reported significantly higher marriage satisfaction ($t(213) = 2.59, p < .01$), and satisfaction with children ($t(234) = 3.16, p < .002$) than women working full-time. Consistent with previous studies, higher marital role power was negatively associated with marital

satisfaction $r(194) = -.2693$, $p < .001$, but was unrelated to satisfaction with children, $r(194) = -.0773$, p ns. To eliminate the influence of marriage satisfaction on marital role power so that any observed differences in marital role power means would be attributable to employment status, an analysis of covariance was conducted. Using marital satisfaction as a covariate, the analysis of Marital Role Power X Employment status was not significant, $F(1, 193) = .130$.

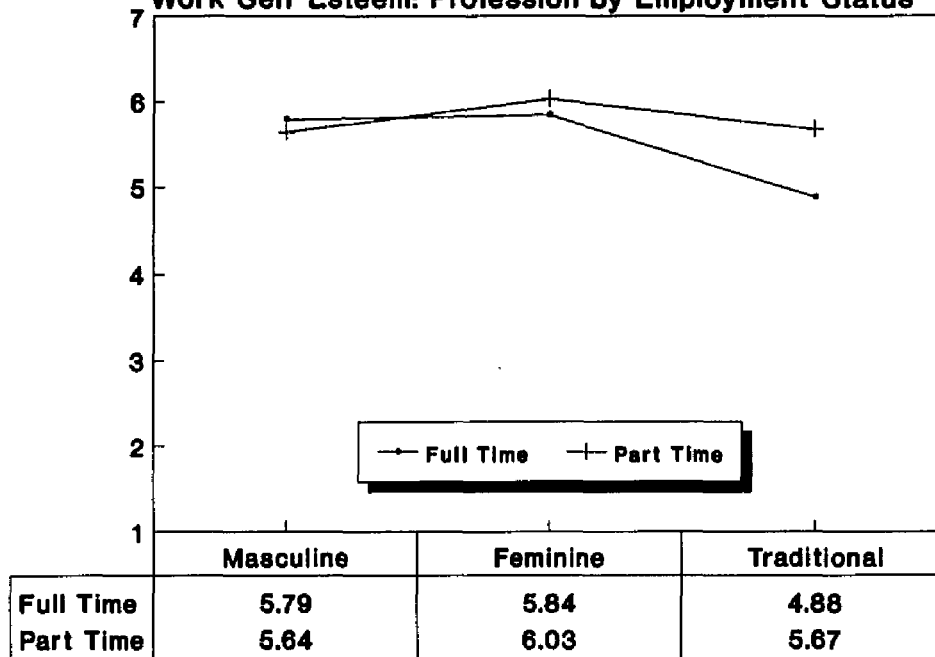
Hypothesis 4: Work Self-Esteem

This hypothesis stated that women working in part-time positions would express lower work-related self-esteem than women in full-time positions. A two-way analysis of variance, Occupation X Employment Status, indicated a significant main effect for occupation, $F(2, 223) = 9.31$, $p < .0001$, and a significant two way interaction between occupation and employment status, $F(2, 223) = 4.50$, $p < .012$. The interaction is diagrammed in Figure 4 which presents mean scores for each group. Professional women working full and part-time reported comparable work self-esteem.

To interpret the significant interaction further, a test of simple main effects was employed to examine the influence of occupation for both part-time and full-time

Figure 4

Work Self-Esteem: Profession by Employment Status *



* Higher mean scores indicate greater Work Self-Esteem

workers. Obtained F 's, were significant only for women working full-time, $F = (1, 223) = 21.46, p < .001$. The effect of profession on work self-esteem appears to impact mostly on those women in full-time positions. An examination of the means supports this analysis. The largest difference within occupational groups is between the women working part-time and full-time in traditional occupations; women working in full-time traditional jobs report the lowest mean score of all groups.

One part-time clerical, after returning to work, wrote:

I recently returned to work and I realized how much more I was appreciated at work than at home. It (working) boosted my self-esteem greatly...when I finally am with my children, they appreciate me more and I appreciate them more.

To understand why profession influenced work self-esteem for women working full-time but not part-time, respondents' income was examined next. Work self-esteem was significantly correlated with income for full-time workers, $r(99) = .432, p < .001$; for part-time workers, however, income and work self-esteem were not associated, $r(129) = -.029$. Using Fisher's (1921) z transformation for effect size estimation, the difference between the two r scores was tested and found to be significant, $z_{\text{obt}} = 3.22$,

$p < .001$. Unlike women working full-time, women working part-time do not associate income rewards with their self-regard in the work place.

To investigate whether women working part-time were using a different frame of reference than women working full-time, role salience was examined next. Role salience was measured by the order in which women ranked their primary roles. Time spent within a role has been hypothesized to influence role salience. This hypothesis would be confirmed if larger proportions of part-time workers ranked the parent role as primary and larger proportions of full-time workers ranked the paid worker role as primary. This pattern was observed in the data of 217 women who responded to this question. 94.4% ($N = 119$) of the women working part-time cited the parent role as primary compared with 63.6% ($N = 56$) of women working full-time. Alternatively, 36.4% ($N = 32$) of the women working full-time cited the paid-worker role as primary compared with 5.6% ($N = 7$) of the part-time sample. A chi-square test indicated that women working part-time showed a significantly greater than chance selection of the parent role as primarily salient and women working full-time reported significantly greater than chance paid worker role salience, $\chi^2 (214) = 30.96$, $p < .00001$.

To summarize these findings, women working part-time enjoy greater work self-esteem than full-time colleagues except for women working in masculine occupations. Women in full-time clerical jobs report the greatest deficit in self-esteem. Supplementing this analysis, part-time and full-time working women may have distinct frames of reference. Part-time workers are most aware of their parent role and do not associate income with work self-esteem. Full-time workers were far more likely to report the paid-worker role as most salient; income was highly correlated with their self-esteem.

Hypothesis 5: Centrality and Work Self-Esteem

It was hypothesized that individuals who reported higher scores on the Centrality-Peripherality scale would rate themselves higher in work self-esteem. Stepwise regression analysis indicates that work self-esteem was significantly predicted by both the occupational/skill subscale and organizational subscale. However, as can be seen in Table 12, less than 10% of the variance of work self-esteem is explained by the two subscales. Therefore, an alternative model for regression was specified, examining the variables happiness at work, marriage satisfaction, job satisfaction, economic need, education, years in current position, total number of years

Table 12
Regression Analysis: Centrality-Peripherality Subscales on Work Self-Esteem

Variables in Equation	Beta	F	Cumulative R ²	Increase in R ²
Variables introduced stepwise:				
Skill/Occupational CP	.19	5.896*	.080	
Organizational CP	.17	5.086*	.101	.019
Variables not in the equation:				
Interpersonal CP				
Overall F (2,220)		12.385****		
Constant		4.107		
Adjusted R ²		.093		

**** p < .00001

* p < .05

Table 13
Regression Analysis: Prediction of Work Self-Esteem

Variables in Equation	Beta	F	Cumulative R ²	Increase in R ²
Variables introduced stepwise:				
Happiness at Work	.247	11.17**	.169	
Organizational CP	.299	17.3***	.233	.064
Marriage Satisfaction	.211	9.42*	.275	.041
Variables not in the equation:				
Economic Need	-.034			
Education	.124			
Interpersonal CP	-.004			
Job Satisfaction	-.101			
Skill/Occupational CP	.025			
Total Years Experience	-.074			
Years Current Position	-.057			
Overall F (3, 165)		20.86****		
Constant		3.02		
Adjusted R ²		.262		

Note: The Beta's listed are the standard regression coefficients.

**** p < .00001

*** p < .0001

** p < .001

* p < .01

experience, and the three subscales of centrality-peripherality.

The results of the stepwise analysis are presented in Table 13. Respondent' work self-esteem was significantly predicted by both work and home spheres: happiness at work, feeling organizationally central within their firms or institutions, and greater marriage satisfaction accounted for 26% of the variance.

Hypothesis 6: Economic Need, Centrality, and Work Self-Esteem

It was hypothesized that individuals who report economic need as the primary factor in their decision to work would report lower centrality and work self-esteem than women who cite non-economic needs as primary in their decision to work. This hypothesis was only partially supported and results are presented in Table 14. Means did

Table 14			
Mean Ratings of Centrality-Peripherality Subscales and Work Self-Esteem: Women Working Due to Economic Need and Non-Economic Need			
Scale	Economic Need (<u>N</u>)	Non-Economic Need (<u>N</u>)	<u>t</u>
Organizational CP	3.47 (56)	3.37 (174)	.86
Interpersonal CP	3.61 (56)	3.68 (176)	.61
Skill/Occupational CP	3.50 (57)	3.68 (176)	1.67
CP (total)	3.52 (56)	3.69 (174)	.72
Work Self-Esteem	5.36 (55)	5.82 (174)	3.26***

*** $p < .001$

not significantly differ between the two groups for the three subscales of centrality-peripherality. However, women who worked primarily due to economic need reported lower work self-esteem than working for other reasons.

Other Research Issues

As evidenced earlier, women working part-time expressed higher work self-esteem and marriage satisfaction. This trend continues across a number of additional variables (Table 15). In addition, women working part-time expressed greater satisfaction with children than women working full-time. The women working part-time also reported greater happiness at home than women working full-time.

Table 15					
Mean scores for women working part-time and full-time: Satisfaction with children, happiness at home, and number of social roles					
	Part-time (<i>M</i>)	Full-time (<i>M</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Satisfaction with Children	4.69	4.39	3.16	234	.002
Happiness at Home	4.22	3.85	3.69	231	.0001
Number of Social Roles	3.53	3.19	3.50	233	.001

One item asked women to choose where they were happiest -- work or home. Of all 237 women with children, 184 (77.6%) chose home as where they were happiest and 32

(13.5) chose work as their happiest site; 21 (8.9%) women could not decide between work and home. Although most women, regardless of employment status and professional status selected home as where they were happiest, a split was observed in the distribution of responses based on employment status. Of the women choosing home, 40.8% were full-time and 59.2% were part-time workers. Of those selecting work, 62.5% were in the full-time group, and 37.5% of the women were in the part-time group. Of the women who could not decide between home and work, 76.2% were part-time. An examination of response by profession revealed that of the women who chose work, 56.3% held jobs in the feminine professions and 25% worked in traditional jobs. Women in masculine occupations were the least likely to select work as where they were happiest; these women were more likely to select home (82%) over work (6.7%). In addition, these professionals reported the most difficulty in choosing between home and work -- 11.2%.

Due to greater satisfaction across a number of life spheres, do women working part-time experience less role stress and conflict than women working full-time? While the number of social roles held by women did not differ by occupation, women working part-time reported a greater number of social roles than women working full-time. Since role overload, $F(3,229) = 4.88$, $p < .003$, and role

conflict, $F(3, 230) = 2.52, p < .06$ were found to significantly increase with an increase in social roles, two-way analyses of covariance were conducted to examine the role of employment status and profession on the variables of role overload and role conflict using number of social roles as a covariate. The analysis of role overload indicated a main effect for occupation, $F(2, 227) = 4.83, p < .009$, and no effect for employment status. Examination of group means (Table 16) demonstrates that women working part-time in traditional feminine occupations reported the greatest role overload.

The analysis of role conflict resulted in a significant main effect for employment status, $F(1, 228) = 6.80, p < .01$. Inspection of Table 16 indicates a tendency

Table 16		
Role Overload and Role Conflict: Means Scores for Working Mothers, Profession by Employment Status Adjusted for Multiple Social Roles		
Occupation	Role Overload ($\bar{M}$)	Role Conflict ($\bar{M}$)
Masculine Professions		
Full-Time	3.27	3.38
Part-Time	3.06	3.10
Feminine Professions		
Full-Time	3.06	3.11
Part-Time	3.06	3.05
Traditional Feminine		
Full-Time	3.20	3.20
Part-Time	3.43	3.17

for women in full-time positions to report higher conflict than colleagues in part-time positions, with women in full-time masculine professions reporting the greatest amount of conflict and women working part-time in feminine professions reporting the least.

One nurse-teacher characterized the role conflict as more complex than a simple conflict between home and work roles:

Full-time work with an institution inevitably leads to an expectation of loyalty to the institution over the profession. When these loyalties clash (which happens with increasing frequency), I tolerate the conflict poorly...part-time work is wonderful...it minimizes the stresses.

Would women who reported higher centrality also report, respectively, more or less role stress? Partial correlations computed for role conflict with each of the subscales of Centrality-Peripherality, controlling for profession and employment status, were not significant.

To conclude, the part-time working mother reported less centrality on the job and greater happiness across a number of life spheres. In addition, she reported comparable work self-esteem and marital role power when compared with full-time workers. However, the results were not consistent when considering the intersection of

profession, or class, and these issues will be addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Is part-time work without difficulty for women except when considering on-the-job differential treatment or earnings? Given that there may be differential outcomes for part-time workers beyond the issues probed in this study, part-time work may not only strengthen the perception of women as secondary earners, but also, and especially for professionals, legitimize subordinate career tracks. The pursuit of flexible work scheduling may be a response to balancing personal preferences, child care responsibilities, or excessive employer demands. However, the cumulative effect of these choices has yet to be understood in a society with slowly changing traditions regarding work schedules and associated norms.

This study has seized a moment or a "window" in social history: a time when women have entered the work force in progressive numbers and have achieved increasing equity, while child care is either not generally available, not easily affordable or perceived as undesirable. It is those choices women made in this study, the related issues and nuances, that will be discussed in this chapter.

Differential Treatment, Different Perspectives

The results of this study confirm that for this sample of working mothers, full-time and part-time schedules result in differential perceptions of centrality in the work place. Women working part-time reported they were organizationally excluded and disadvantaged in skill opportunities. This effect was relative to occupational setting with greater peripherality associated with lower occupational status. The feelings of exclusion were greatest for clerical occupations in which the job-holder is important to production but the least central to office power-relations (Kanter, 1977).

However, the largest range of differences within groups was between the full-time and part-time women workers in masculine professions. The feelings of exclusion for women working part-time in masculine professions was particularly strongest for organizational activities. Is this due to the salience of power relations in this primarily attorney sample, the "greedy" institution of law (Epstein, 1981), resentment from colleagues who cannot arrange flexible schedules and must "pick up the slack", or from simply being identified as a "mother"? Although not the major focus of this study, comparable data from women without children in masculine professions (and

others) was available and may provide some insight regarding the interpersonal or organizational climate women respond to:

It is the nature of the profession to work full-time. Part-time work = no status, no money, and no benefits.
(University Professor)

Part-time work does not work in my kind of environment...it is not what I would want, ever! (Executive)

I am a professional, not just an employee and a "part-time" lawyer will always be an employee... if I suddenly became a "noted" expert and taught, then maybe I could come back as "of counsel." (Attorney)

I would never consider a part-time job unless I had children, and even then, my professional investment would be at risk. (Attorney)

The organization or its individual personnel may contest alternative schedules for a number of reasons: occupational demands, career investment and identification, lack of status, etc. Prior to conducting this survey, conversations with women in this group had led the writer to believe that organizational size was instrumental in how an individual was regarded when working part-time. Smaller firms were reputedly "friendlier" to women wanting reduced schedules. However, controlling for

organizational size did not account for any differences in centrality-peripherality between and within employment status and profession. Instead of controlling for organizational size, future studies should ask respondents to describe the organization's climate of discrimination which may moderate a woman's role at a particular work site. An interesting question would be whether women without children and women with children perceive discrimination differentially.

If management and co-workers question the work life commitment of women once they have become mothers, working part-time may serve to confirm those doubts and negative evaluations. Of note, however, is that none of the women reported leaving a part-time job because of differential treatment. For women in masculine professions, it may be extremely difficult to arrange a part-time position. One full-time executive with a five year-old child responded to the question as to whether she would ever consider part-time work:

After my son was born, I suggested a part-time or time-share role, but upper management was extremely negative to the concept.

Some women in the masculine professional group commented that if they had been canvassed a few months to a

year earlier, their responses would have been different. These women described their prior jobs as highly demanding in terms of weekly hours and their bosses responses to child rearing demands as "inflexible." They typically described their current part-time job as a "relief" rather than a career risk. However, some women felt they were forced to work full-time due to occupational demands. Many full-time women reported that the costs associated with a part-time track would have been too high, such as the frequently reported inability to "make partner" in law firms or failure to be considered for promotion to positions with greater responsibility. However, not all women face the same set of risks. With shorter career ladders in nursing and clerical work, the costs appear to be lessened, except when considering earnings. In addition, considering the shortage of nurses in this country and abroad, these healthcare workers enjoy a special advantage in their ability to select both employer and work schedule.

A fairly large proportion of women, 7.6%, were working part-time due to day care problems. Some women were not able to work full-time because of day care costs. In contrast, many women preferred to stay at home part-time and work part-time. Socioeconomic status appeared to play a role in the freedom to choose or find flexible work

schedules. Husbands of part-time women in feminine professions earned more on average compared with husbands of their full-time colleagues. Women in masculine professions, whether full-time or part-time, tended to earn more than women in any other occupational category and these individuals may feel less dependent on husband's income in the decision to work either full or part-time. In addition, class aspirations and expectations may influence a respondent's preference to work full or part-time. As opposed to women working in lower-paying occupations, these women may be working to maintain a life style as opposed to earning a living. A life style may be focused on materialism or quality of life. Upper middle-class women may choose to work due to their preference to support and maintain an upwardly mobile household; alternatively, some women may work because it means that their husbands do not have to work as hard and can spend more time with their families.

Previous investigations sought to account for differences between full-time and part-time workers in terms of personal characteristics or attitude differences. The observed differences were then attributed to persisting individual traits (Gannon & Northern, 1971; Gannon, 1975; Moore, 1965). In fact, Vecchio (1984) admonished researchers that part or full-time status "is not a

permanent condition...and argues against expectations of attitudinal differences" (p. 217). Instead of viewing part-time workers as possessing certain attitudes and attributes they bring to the job, differential treatment of workers on the job may account for any observed variation in job attitudes or personal attributes. Vecchio's comments steered the current study toward exploring differential treatment on the job. This study has demonstrated that employment status is a significant determinant of how central or peripheral individuals believe they are, both organizationally and in terms of occupational advantages. Yet there is a codicil to this observation. A different perspective or frame of reference may be employed by women working part-time. While income for full-time workers was associated with work self-esteem, part-time workers' self-esteem was unrelated to earnings. Perhaps being "off-track" removes income as an indicator of work self-esteem. Part-time working women, except for those working in masculine professions, tended to rate themselves higher in work self-esteem than full-time working women and this may be related to the lower significance of work in their lives. With less time on the job, feedback both positive and negative, may be minimized in relation to feedback received in other life spheres, for example, as a parent. For respondents in general, work

self-esteem ratings were related to both work (organizational centrality) and home spheres (happiness at home and marital satisfaction). Part-time working women reported more satisfaction with their marriages and children, as well as happiness at home. For women working in masculine professions, work self-esteem scores were comparable for full-time and part-time workers. Women working in these professions may experience an ambivalent management that values their contributions but excludes them organizationally. However, findings regarding where women feel happiest tempers this observation and is discussed below.

Marital Role Power or Marital Task Delegation?

The findings regarding marital role power are puzzling. Although not significant, the direction of results suggested that women working part-time tended to have more role power than those working full-time. Previous studies have found that women working part-time tend to be more traditional in their attitudes toward child rearing (Rodgon & Gralewski, 1979) and sex roles (Low-Beer, 1988) than women working full-time. Although these attitudes were not assessed in the current study, one would have expected that if part-time women were more traditional they would have reported lower marital role power in

keeping with traditional views of spousal roles and household responsibilities. However, some problems with the scale hinder a conclusive interpretation of the data. While one individual may make a decision, another individual may actually carry out the essential tasks associated with the decision. It is one thing to decide whether or not to buy life insurance, another to make all the inquiry calls, assemble data, and arrange appointments with salespersons. Subsequent research should include both a decision scale and an activity scale to ferret out who is the "executive" on a task, and who is the "secretary." The individual performing the task may have more effective power and feelings of influence.

This potential for a division of roles in family-related decision-making may lead one to view marital role power as a subset of a broader class of household-related responsibilities. When examining household responsibility, there are two theories which make competing predictions. One theory, the resource theory (Blood & Wolfe, 1960), stated that the contribution of individuals to family work was a function of the time spent in employment. Resource theory would entail examining the household economy of time: who has the more time to perform household related tasks? If one person is time-impooverished, due to paid-work responsibilities, that person may be "budgeted" for

less household related responsibilities. This theory would predict that the least time-impooverished member of the household unit would perform more home-related activities. An alternative theory is that home responsibilities, specifically housework, are not rationally divided and are a form of exploitation that women experience daily (Mainardi, 1971; see also Polatnick, 1973-74; Walker & Woods, 1976). In a study of couples in which both partners were employed full-time or attended school full-time, women reported spending nearly twice as much time on housework than men (Denmark, Shaw & Ciali, 1985). Role exploitation theory would predict that regardless of employment status, women would spend equivalent amounts of time on household responsibilities. Therefore, similar marital role power scores between full- and part-time working women may indicate the substantial overload of women working full-time, a finding which would confirm role exploitation theory. However, the problem with scale discussed above prevents a clear test of the theories. A better test would be to include both a decision-making scale with supporting activities measures. This would assure that decision-making role power is not confounded with role implementing activities.

In addition, the marital role power scale as enhanced by Center and Cravens (1971) may not address the broad

issue of power within a relationship. Future research would be enhanced through the use of multiple items which explore power more directly. Gray-Little and Burks (1983) suggested that a prospective approach be incorporated into studies exploring marital decision-making and power. Gathering data over time regarding the decision areas and outcomes would improve the scope and reliability of findings.

Finally, in support of prior research, part-time women workers reported a greater number of social roles, but unlike the findings of Hall and Gordon (1973), these women consistently reported less role conflict than women working full-time. Women working full-time in masculine professions reported the greatest role conflict. Occupational norms in masculine professions, in which women may be working 60, 70, or 80 hours per week, place particular value on full-time work-role commitments. In addition, a part-timer in these professions may be working "reduced hours" which require her presence four or five days a week from 9 to 5, as opposed to her full-time colleagues schedule of 8 to 11, plus weekends.

Role conflict was lowest for the feminine professions, such as nurses and elementary school teachers, with a history of highly structured part-time jobs. Women who

were the most economically disadvantaged and perceived themselves as the most peripheral, part-time clericals, reported the most role overload. These women earned less than any other group and reported the lowest centrality in the work place. Without the privileges available to women in other occupational groups, such as the ability to pay for household help or baby-sitters and inflexible work place hours, working part-time may increase conflict, not assuage it. As Barnett and Baruch have discussed, "for any particular role, proportions of privileges to obligations differ across role occupants" (p. 135).

Another Hall and Gordon (1973) finding was that women working part-time were less satisfied than full-time women workers. Again, this finding was not replicated in the current study. Part-time women workers were more satisfied with their marriages and children, and reported greater happiness at home than the full-time sample.

What would account for the discrepancy between the current study and the Hall and Gordon study? First, there is a span of nearly 20 years of social history between studies and unparalleled changes in the employment opportunities for women. The trend toward women's increasing attachment to the labor market began during the late 1960's and early 1970's (J. Smith, 1984; Vickery,

1979). Not only were there barriers to women attaining prestigious full-time positions, there were few, if any, comparable part-time jobs. Second, Hall and Gordon's sample was college educated, but occupation was never reported. How much happiness would a woman with a degree in journalism express if she could only find part-time work typing letters or driving a school bus? Third, and related to the last point, husband's income was not sampled. Alternatively, the journalism major could have been a very traditional woman who would have worked at home full-time if economic constraints did not force her to work outside the home.

Limits and Consequences of the Mommy Track

Are women who work part-time simply more traditional in attitudes toward female and male roles? For women working part-time, the parent role is most salient. Is this due to working part-time or due to a set of attitudes regarding who has the primary responsibility for child rearing? The writer acknowledges that it is speculative to conclude that time spent within a role may influence role salience. One alternative explanation is that high achieving, traditional women have unrealistic expectations regarding the development of their career as they consider motherhood. Perhaps some women do bring expectations

regarding the flexibility of the work place (Schwartz, 1989) that result in preferences for flexible work schedules. Alternatively, without a national day care program that provides prescriptions regarding adequate child care, the lack of choice may manifest as a "preference" for flexible scheduling. Subsequent research should control for traditional attitudes toward male and female roles regarding work and child rearing responsibility.

For women in part-time, non-professional occupations, the home may mean a reprieve from oppressive work conditions. In addition, these women do not have the resources to pay for child care or household luxuries that more affluent women enjoy. Full-time clerical women reported the lowest work self-esteem and role stress.

For women working part-time in masculine occupations, obtaining a reduced hours work schedule is more problematic than for women in long-standing feminine professions. Compared with colleagues working full-time, these women reported lower work self-esteem and increased peripherality to the organization. Working part-time in law may reinforce pre-existing exclusionary practices. Epstein (1981) has noted:

Stereotyped views have helped to rationalize women's exclusion from this

mighty profession as they have helped to justify men's hold on it.... resistance to women may also be seen as one aspect of the process by which the privileged in society maintain their hold on important resources and by which groups maintain their boundaries, limiting membership to people of "like kind" and excluding those who are considered outsiders (p. 383).

Both full-time and part-time women workers in masculine professions, the group with the largest career investment and earnings potential, were the most likely to answer "home" as where they were happiest. Why would this group, with the most prestigious and well-paying jobs be more likely than any other group to select home?

In answering questions on a survey, individuals may have responded a certain way due to their occupational milieu. As noted above, attorneys were highly negative in their comments concerning the work place. Their social environment may encourage criticism. Alternatively, the high market demand for nurses, and the concomitant benefits and "perks" offered by employers to attract employees, may result in better than average feelings about one's occupation and work place.

Related to this possible explanation, is the observation that some of these women are working in an ambivalent work place atmosphere (Epstein, 1981). This

ambivalence may also be accompanied by overt or covert discrimination and high work hours commitment. Such an atmosphere may contribute to the finding that women working in masculine occupations were less likely than any other group to report they were happiest at work. While these women enjoy significantly greater amounts of autonomy and earn higher incomes than other professional groups, their work self-esteem scores were comparable to women working in the feminine professions and part-time clericals. Marital satisfaction was not significantly different between professional groups and could not account for their preference for home over work. Is it "traditional attitudes" which led some women in this group to pursue part-time work and spend more time at home? Part-time work for this group generally meant 40 hours per week. Or is it a rejection of a model of work in which every worker is a "good provider" or on the "Daddy Track"? To be included in the mainstream of the organization, the male model of work specified that the employee comply with organizational norms. One of these norms is the number of hours spent at work. Partial inclusion, or segmental involvement (Katz & Kahn, 1978), specifies that organizations define the behaviors required as well as those that are to be suspended. If exclusion is viewed as a penalty for non-compliance with organizational or occupational norms,

organizations appear to effectively deliver their message to the part-time women in this sample. Exclusion is the result of not "rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's."

"Arrangements" with management which codify a lower standing vis-a-vis full-time workers is a trade-off many women are willing to accept. But this arrangement may backfire in the future for a number of reasons. First, at the individual level, the opportunity to get "back-on-track" in some professions may be problematic, potentially due to the stereotype or "corporate image" that accompanies part-time work. The trend toward converting full-time jobs back into part-time jobs in professions long dominated by men is a recent development. Studies conducted five to ten years from now would provide information concerning any problems women experienced when reconverting the part-time job back into a full-time one. For a woman in an occupation which is in high demand (one in which the employer finds it difficult to replace employees due to market competition), it may be easier to resume a full-time job if she has not been passed over when re-training opportunities occur.

A second issue is germane to women in general. If most women marry, and if most of these women have children, the consequences of coupling marital status and

childbearing with professional attainment may impact on all women if secondary, subordinate, or "mommy tracks" are structured. Is this "having it all"? Indeed, are "daddy tracks" or the good provider role appealing, to either men or women (Bernard, 1981)?

The writer believes that there is a disturbing quality to recommendations institutionalizing different career tracks for women based on childbearing (Schwartz, 1989). First, such arrangements resurrect images of women working for "pin" money: considerably lower earnings than men working in comparable jobs. Second, this argument rationalizes the inflexible demands of employers for weekly hours which, in many male dominated occupations, can amount to 60, 70, 80 or more hours per week. A more important issue is whether excessive employer demands on individuals are congruent with a balanced approach to work and home for either men or women. Pleck and Lang (1978) concluded that "men's family role is far more psychologically significant to them than is their work role" (p. 29). Like the men in previous studies, women in the current study overwhelmingly favored the site of the home over work as the place where they are happiest.

Many respondents reported being perceived as not committed to the organization. One may speculate that this

is due to an organizational or occupational climate which refuses to concede that situations unrelated to employee childbearing (male parenting, re-training for retirement, course work, caretaking for a sick parent, etc.) are natural desires and/or needs of individuals at different stages of life. Instead of viewing professional women's demands in terms of "wanting it all," it could be viewed as a threat to the authority of patriarchal organizations to order the work and home spheres of employees. Employers have utilized the good-provider role to extract profits by rewarding their competitive employees and punishing those who are family oriented (Bernard, 1981). Instead of exclusively focusing on traditional attitudes to explain responses to the work place, we should also examine if employer demands are deemed appropriate by workers and what their reactions are.

Limitations of the Study

Finally, some comments regarding the limitations of the study are in order. A priori to the study, social desirability was not expected to differentially vary by group. However, due to some of the norms and expectations which vary by class, women may have felt constrained to present their thoughts and feelings in a particular light. This response set is strengthened by an individual's need

for social conformity and social approval (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964; Frederiksen, 1965). The inclusion of a social desirability scale would have enabled confirmation or disconfirmation of the a priori assumptions regarding social desirability.

Although women in masculine professions disdained the use of the term "supervisor" on the questionnaire, answering that they had "no supervisor," everyone in the work place in fact answers to a higher authority, eventually, even if it is the client. The fact that law and banking have for so long been dominated by males, and that "supervisors" are more frequently male, may account for some of the defensiveness observed in survey responses. In addition, only attorneys expressed a problem with items which phrased experience in terms of "people like me...". At least 15 attorneys said there were no other people like them. This may be true, but the projective nature of the question is perhaps more revealing. No other professional or non-professional group vocalized any problem with the wording of items. It appears that, for attorneys, items should be contractual language which is devoid of generalizability. This may be suitable for law, but less than optimal for social research. Utilizing customized questions when the occupation of a sample is known would prevent this problem in the future. However, not all

occupational groups experience a uniformity in their experience of supervision. For example, tenured university faculty may not experience direct supervision; but adjunct faculty may experience more scrutiny and evaluation procedures. The Centrality-Peripherality Scale requires additional testing of items across occupational groups.

Another limitation of the study is evident through the use of satisfaction and role measures which were single items. Using single items is rarely satisfactory because it leads to wanting to know more than the information they provide. The length of a questionnaire, however, is also important and is one of the most important factors contributing to response rate. Although role conflict and overload were not the focus of study, additional questions regarding the quality of experience within a role could have illuminated issues central to the study, for example the quality of experience within the paid worker role.

Another recommendation for future studies is that a measure of "occupational grievance" as a social environment variable be controlled for. The norms regarding whether it is appropriate, or rewarding, to complain would be an interesting variable in the analysis of perceptions regarding the work place. It would also help to answer questions regarding the self-selection of a sample. If

most people report that they engage in frequent "critiques," perhaps the sample is skewed toward those who are unusually unhappy.

The limitations of this research are apparent in its occupational reliance on attorneys for masculine professions and nurses for feminine professions. While this reassured that differences due to organizational size was controlled for, future research should attempt to include a wider diversity of occupations within each type and control for organization size. The latter issue has been cited many times as contributing to a resistant view toward part-time employment schemes for professional workers, but that has not been verified by this study.

Finally, casual or irregular part-time employment has not been addressed in this study. The emergence of homeless shelters which "contract out" the homeless for day labor, or the labor process consequences of highly educated professionals working part-time as adjuncts in universities, needs to be addressed in future research.

Conclusions

At the close of the twentieth century, there are many challenges associated with an international economy; less clear is the role of the contingent work force in meeting

the forecasted need for a less expensive core work force. In a rapidly changing society, the part-time worker may indeed help "share the work" due to the intractability of institutions in permitting families to influence organizational policies and actions. Whether part-time workers will be able to easily resume full-time work when child care responsibilities have concluded is unknown. It is, perhaps, highly dependent upon the economic health of a society, the attitudes of part-time workers themselves towards full-time employment after a period of working part-time, as well as the society's attitudes toward female workers and part-time employment.

The status and experiences of working women, and the appeal of marginal employment in a society due to day care inadequacies and gender-restricted child care responsibilities, remains a matter of paramount concern.

APPENDIX A

(Graduate School Stationary)

date

Dear :

My name is Kathleen Barker and I am a Ph.D. student in social psychology at the Graduate Center in New York. Your name has been provided to me by the Association with the hope that you will agree to participate in my doctoral dissertation research on working mothers.

The research focuses on characteristics of mothers' work schedules, family life, marriage, and thoughts about work. The enclosed questionnaire asks a number of questions regarding these areas plus some background questions. It takes approximately 20-30 minutes to complete the questionnaire and a stamped, addressed envelope is enclosed for returning the completed form to me.

Please feel free to respond in depth to questions which you feel needs additional explanation.

The survey is totally anonymous. All responses are confidential. You should not put your name on the questionnaire unless you are willing to participate in possible follow-up interviews. If you choose to remain anonymous, yet wish to learn the results of the study, please contact me in June of 1989 at the address below.

The status and experiences of working mothers in contemporary America is a matter of great social concern that merits careful investigation. I would greatly appreciate your participation in this study.

Sincerely,

Kathleen M. Barker
309 West 107 Street/4R
New York, N.Y. 10025

enc.

APPENDIX B

(Graduate School Stationary)

date

Dear :

My name is Kathleen Barker and I am a Ph.D. student in social psychology at the Graduate Center in New York. Your participation in the study is being sought in my doctoral dissertation research on working mothers.

This research focuses on timely issues for women working today: characteristics of mothers' work schedules, family life, marriage, and thoughts about work. The enclosed questionnaire asks a number of questions regarding these areas plus some background questions. It takes approximately 40 minutes or less to complete the questionnaire. A stamped addressed envelope is enclosed for returning the completed form to me.

Please feel free to respond in depth to questions which you feel needs additional explanation.

All responses are confidential. You should not put your name on the questionnaire unless you are willing to participate in possible follow-up interviews. If you choose to remain anonymous, yet wish to learn the results of the study, please contact me in June of 1989 at the address below.

The status and experiences of working mothers in contemporary America is a matter of significant social concern that merits careful investigation. I greatly appreciate your participation in this study.

Sincerely,

Kathleen M. Barker
Principal Researcher

309 West 107 Street/4R
New York, N.Y. 10025

enc.

APPENDIX C*Working Women's Survey*

The survey instrument, pages 131 through 136, is presented in a reduced format.

WORKING WOMEN'S SURVEY

A questionnaire exploring your thoughts and feelings regarding work and home.

DIRECTIONS: Please use a check mark, number, or written response as indicated. Please answer every question appropriate to your present work schedule, marital status, and family situation. Questionnaires with incomplete answers or skipped responses are difficult to include. Thank you.

SECTION 1: QUESTIONS CONCERNED WITH YOUR CURRENT WORK SITUATION

1. For how many years have you held your current position: ____ years ____ months
Your previous position? ____ years ____ months

2. My current occupation or job title is (specify):

Total number of years of experience: _____

3. Briefly, describe your job as stated in Question 2

4. On average, how many hours each week do you work:

____ 0-5 hours ____ 21-25 hours
____ 6-10 hours ____ 26-30 hours
____ 11-15 hours ____ 30-35 hours
____ 16-20 hours ____ 36-40 hours
____ More than 40 hours: ____ hrs.

5. Which one of the following work arrangements would you most prefer?

____ Full-time with overtime
____ Full-time with no overtime
____ Part-time but more hours
____ Satisfied with current schedule
____ Part-time but fewer hours
____ Not working at all
____ Summer off ____ Other: _____

6. Taking all things into account, including such things as economic needs, personal goals and preferences, and the nature of your work, what number of hours per week would you choose to work? (Assume that the job was available, that you would be paid at your current hourly rate, and that benefits would be proportional to the hours worked.)

____ 0-5 hours ____ 21-25 hours
____ 6-10 hours ____ 26-30 hours
____ 11-15 hours ____ 30-35 hours
____ 16-20 hours ____ 36-40 hours
____ More than 40 hours: ____ hrs.

7. My current employment status is: (check one)

____ full-time
____ part-time
____ 2 jobs: one full-time and 1 part-time
____ 2 jobs: two part-time
____ self-employed
____ unemployed - PLEASE GO TO SECTIONS 4, 5, 6, and 8

8. What is the most influential factor affecting your choice of your current work schedule? Please rank each reason below using the following coding scheme:

1 = Most important reason
2 = Second most important reason
3 = Third most important reason
____ personal preference
____ husband's encouragement
____ lack of childcare
____ economic need
____ only job available at the time
____ other (specify) _____

9. Size of your organization:

____ less than 10 ____ 100-500
____ 11-25 ____ 500-1,000
____ 26-100 ____ over 1,000

10. Size of your department:

____ less than 5 ____ 6-10
____ 11-25 ____ over 25

11. Sex of Supervisor: ____ female ____ male

If you checked "part-time" in Question 7, please GO TO SECTION 2 and answer questions 12 - 16.

If you checked "full-time" in question 7, please GO TO SECTION 3 and answer questions 17 - 19.

SECTION 2: PART-TIME WORK

12. When you accepted your current job, was it for:

____ a part-time job — GO TO QUESTION 14
____ a full-time job which you negotiated to a part-time job
____ a full-time job which your employer created into a part-time job

13. Did your employer specify a return to full-time employment at a later date?

____ No ____ Yes - When? month and year _____

14. Do you expect to return to a full-time schedule?
☐ No ☐ Yes - When? month and year _____
 If you answered either NO or YES to Question 14,
 please explain the reasons for your answer:

15. When you think about your reasons for working
 part-time, which one of the following is the most
 important? (choose one)
☐ experienced dissatisfaction with childcare
☐ lack of adequate childcare
☐ dissatisfaction with occupation
☐ dissatisfaction with current job
☐ household chores (e.g. shopping,
 appointments, services, home management)
☐ education ☐ leisure
☐ volunteer activities

16. Do you have any special problems on the job
 related to your work schedule?
☐ No
☐ Yes - Please specify _____

GO TO SECTION 4

SECTION 3: FULL TIME WORK

17. Following your education, did you ever work in
 your current occupation in a part-time capacity?
☐ No
☐ Yes - Do you have any thoughts on that
 experience?

18. Would you ever consider a part-time job in your
 field?
☐ Yes ☐ No
 Please explain: _____

19. Why are you working full-time currently?
☐ Need additional income
☐ No part-time jobs in my field
☐ Personal goals/preference (specify) _____
☐ Other (specify) _____

SECTION 4: QUALITY OF LIFE

This section asks questions regarding your current
 roles. Please answer each question by using checks,
 coding your responses, or circling one number on
 the provided scales.

20. Do you have children? ☐ No ☐ Yes
 If yes, please specify how many:
☐ male; age(s): _____
☐ female; age(s): _____

21. How do you feel about your present job?
 1 2 3 4 5
 Very Moderately Never
 Satisfied Satisfied Satisfied

22. Which of the following roles apply to you?
 (Check each one that applies.)
☐ paid worker ☐ wife or partner
☐ parent ☐ volunteer
☐ student ☐ caretaker for elderly

23. Which of these roles are you most aware of on a
 day-to-day basis? Please rank your response using the
 following codes for each of your roles:

1 = Role Most Aware Of
 2 = Role Next Most Aware Of
 3 = Third Most Aware of Role
 4 = etc.
☐ paid worker ☐ wife or partner
☐ parent ☐ volunteer
☐ student ☐ caretaker for elderly

24. How often do the things you do add up to being
 just too much? (circle one)
 1 2 3 4
 Never Rarely Sometimes Always

25. How often do you have to juggle different
 obligations that conflict with one another and give
 you a pulled-apart feeling? (circle one)
 1 2 3 4
 Never Rarely Sometimes Always

26. Marital Status: currently, are you:
☐ single, with children
☐ married _____ years
☐ separated ☐ divorced
☐ living with a partner
☐ single, no partner - GO TO SECTION 6

27. How do you feel about your marriage or
 partnership?
 1 2 3 4 5
 Very Moderately Never
 Satisfied Satisfied Satisfied

28. The rewards and satisfactions of having children
 are an important source of pleasure and enjoyment
 in my life. (circle one)
 1 2 3 4 5
 Very Moderately Never
 Satisfied Satisfied Satisfied

29. Are you currently living with a spouse or partner?
☐ Yes - GO TO SECTION 5: DECISIONS AT HOME
☐ No - GO TO SECTION 6: THOUGHTS ABOUT
 MYSELF AT WORK

SECTION 5: THOUGHTS ABOUT DECISIONS AT HOME

In every home someone has to decide such things as where to live and so on. Many couples talk things over first, but the final decision has to be made by the husband (partner) or the wife (self). For each of the following questions, please indicate who makes each decision by checking the appropriate cell next to each question.

- 1 = husband only
 2 = husband more than wife
 3 = husband and wife exactly the same
 4 = wife more than husband
 5 = wife only

	1	2	3	4	5
30. What people you will invite to the house or go out with?					
31. How to decorate or furnish the house?					
32. Which TV, video, or movie to see?					
33. What the family will have for dinner?					
34. What clothes you will buy?					
35. What type of clothes your husband will buy?					
36. What car to get?					
37. Whether or not to buy life insurance?					
38. What house, co-op, or apartment to take?					
39. What job you take?					
40. Whether or not you should quit a job?					
41. How much money the family can afford to spend per week on food?					
42. What doctor to see when someone is sick?					
43. Where to go on vacation?					

SECTION 6: THOUGHTS ABOUT MYSELF AT WORK

For the following five scales, please indicate by circling one number (1 through 7) on each scale how strongly you think the adjective applies to yourself.

44. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 active quiet

45. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 confident anxious

46. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 competent not too competent

47. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 strong weak

48. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 intelligent not too intelligent

For questions 49 through 53, please indicate below how important each item is to you in your decision to work:

49. Economic Need:
 1 2 3 4 5
 Very Important Never Important

50. Personal Career Goals:

1 2 3 4 5
 Very Important Never Important

51. Work is Personally Satisfying to Me:

1 2 3 4 5
 Very Important Never Important

How happy or unhappy are you at work and home?

52. Home:
 1 2 3 4 5
 Very Happy Never Happy

53. Work:
 1 2 3 4 5
 Very Happy Never Happy

54. If you had to choose where you are happiest, would it be (check one):

_____ home _____ work

Regardless of your answer to question 54, please use the space here to explain the reasons for your choice of work or home.

SECTION 7: THOUGHTS ABOUT MY JOB

This section will ask you questions regarding your job: rewards, conditions, colleagues, etc. Please indicate how strongly you agree to disagree about each statement as it applies to yourself by circling one number on the provided scale. When you are asked to compare yourself with "others" or "co-workers," please compare yourself only with full-time workers.

55. When I think about the benefits package I currently have, it is unfair to people like me.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

56. When I think about the promotion opportunities over the next year at work, I will not be considered.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

57. Imagine for a moment that your company experienced a financial crisis. A consulting company recommended layoffs. Indicate your agreement with the following statement:

I think it is highly unlikely that I would be dismissed.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

58. I feel as if I am "out of it" when it comes to promotions.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

59. When I compare my work load with co-workers doing my job or a similar one, I think they expect more work from me.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

60. In my firm, the system of evaluation is as fair to me as it is to my co-workers.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

61. My supervisor probably thinks I am not as loyal as he or she is to the company.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

62. In my company, whenever an important task comes along, people like me always feel welcome to help out.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

63. On this job, I feel that people like me do not have a say in company policies.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

64. My participation in meetings is encouraged by my supervisor.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

65. My co-workers probably think I am not committed as much as they are to their jobs.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

66. Colleagues always listen to my comments in meetings.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

67. I find I am not expected to participate as much as others in work-related social events.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

68. Think about how many close friends you have at work, for example, someone with whom could telephone to discuss a personal problem. Indicate your response to the following question:

I have more acquaintances and very few friends at work.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

69. Most co-workers, whether full-time or part-time, recognize the quality of my work.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

70. Sometimes I am concerned that I very rarely receive appreciation and positive feedback from those supervising my work.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

71. I feel part of a team that accepts me.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

72. I have complete autonomy in making important decisions about what I do at work and how I do it.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

73. My job requires a tremendous amount of innovative thinking (new ways of doing things, solving problems, presenting ideas, etc.).

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

74. I consider my present job very challenging."

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

75. I have few opportunities to meet others in my field.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

76. If I found another job, it would be highly likely that a replacement could be quickly found and doing everything I currently do within one month.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

77. On this job, training or workshops have never been offered.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

78. Sometimes I feel like a robot at work.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

79. It is more important that I get along with others than do a good job.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

80. When I feel displeased with something my supervisor has said or done about my work, I feel it is part of my job to never openly express any negative reactions.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

81. In the coming year, I expect to learn many new skills in my current job.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

82. I have more authority in this job than in any other job I have ever held.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

If working part-time, skip question 83A and go to question 83B.

83 A. Generally, the tasks I am assigned are less complex than the tasks co-workers are assigned.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

83 B. Generally, the tasks I am assigned are less complex than the tasks full-time workers are assigned.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Strongly
Agree Disagree

SECTION 8: BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

The following questions are as important as the questions you have answered above. Please take the time to complete all questions. All information is confidential.

84. Date of Birth: ____/____/____

85. Race:

____ Asian ____ Black
____ Hispanic ____ Native American
____ White ____ Other: _____

86. Highest Education:

- ☐ did not complete high school
☐ H.S. degree
☐ some college ☐ 2 year degree
☐ BA or BS degree ☐ RN degree
☐ graduate school, no degree
☐ Master's degree
☐ JD ☐ MD ☐ Ph.D.

87. Do you belong to any of the following groups or organizations:

	NO	YES	(if yes, specify)
feminist			
political			
professional			
religious			
unions			
volunteer			
other types			

88. Please indicate your annual income within the ranges given below:

- ☐ less than \$10,000 ☐ \$35,000 - \$40,000
☐ \$10,000 - \$15,000 ☐ \$40,000 - \$45,000
☐ \$15,000 - \$20,000 ☐ \$45,000 - \$50,000
☐ \$20,000 - \$25,000 ☐ \$50,000 - \$75,000
☐ \$25,000 - \$30,000 ☐ \$75,000 - \$100,000
☐ \$30,000 - \$35,000 ☐ over \$100,000

89. Husband's education:

- ☐ did not complete high school
☐ H.S. degree
☐ some college ☐ 2 year degree
☐ BA or BS degree ☐ RN degree
☐ graduate school, no degree
☐ Master's degree
☐ JD ☐ MD ☐ Ph.D.

90. Husband's Occupation:

- ☐ less than \$10,000 ☐ \$35,000 - \$40,000
☐ \$10,000 - \$15,000 ☐ \$40,000 - \$45,000
☐ \$15,000 - \$20,000 ☐ \$45,000 - \$50,000
☐ \$20,000 - \$25,000 ☐ \$50,000 - \$75,000
☐ \$25,000 - \$30,000 ☐ \$75,000 - \$100,000
☐ \$30,000 - \$35,000 ☐ over \$100,000

Parents' Background:

92. Mother's Occupation:

93. Mother's Education:

- ☐ did not complete high school
☐ H.S. degree
☐ some college ☐ 2 year degree
☐ BA or BS degree ☐ RN degree
☐ graduate school, no degree
☐ Master's degree
☐ JD ☐ MD ☐ Ph.D.

94. Father's Occupation:

95. Father's Education:

- ☐ did not complete high school
☐ H.S. degree
☐ some college ☐ 2 year degree
☐ BA or BS degree ☐ RN degree
☐ graduate school, no degree
☐ Master's degree
☐ JD ☐ MD ☐ Ph.D.

If you would like to add any comments regarding the topics of this questionnaire, please use the space provided here (attach additional paper as desired).

If you are willing to participate in follow-up questions and/or receive the results of this study, please provide your name, address, and phone number below. Indicate whether you are available for a possible telephone interview.

☐ I would like to discuss these matters further and receive the results of the study when available.

☐ I am not available for an interview, but would like to receive the results of the study when available.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/ST/zip: _____

Phone: () _____

☐ I select to remain totally anonymous and have the option of writing for study results.

THANK YOU FOR RESPONDING TO THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

WE HOPE THE STUDY RESULTS WILL HELP WOMEN IN COMBINING WORK AND FAMILY LIFE AND RESOLVE PROBLEMS ON THE JOB ASSOCIATED WITH VARIOUS WORK SCHEDULES.

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