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**ANTECEDENTS OF PERCEIVED WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT:
DEMOGRAPHIC, OBJECTIVE, AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCE
VARIABLES**

by

ELLEN D. DURNIN

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

1996

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Abstract

ANTECEDENTS OF PERCEIVED WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT: DEMOGRAPHIC, OBJECTIVE, AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCE VARIABLES

by

Ellen D. Durnin

Adviser: Professor Abraham K. Korman

Research to date in the area of perceived work/family conflict has focused on situational or demographic variables and their relationship to the conflict between the two domains. It has been generally accepted that certain situational variables are associated with increased levels of work/family conflict. These variables are: marital status; parental status; dual worker status; single parent status; and gender. The present study investigates those variables and their relationship to felt work/family conflict. In addition, the present study adds the additional independent variables: income level; need for achievement and need for affiliation levels; and objectively measured role demands and resource availability. The need levels were included to offer an explanation for why individuals in comparable situations report differing levels of perceived work/family conflict. The objectively scored variables were incorporated as a means of capturing common factors that were present in the situations where higher levels of perceived work/family conflict were reported. A sample of 286 male and female employed adults was recruited to respond to the questionnaire employed in this study. Data were analyzed through correlation analysis, significance testing and hierarchical multiple regression analysis. The study found that, first, gender differences did not exist in the report of perceived work/family conflict; although men

and women invested their time in the two domains in different ways. Secondly, objectively scored role demands was found to be positively related to perceived work/family conflict, while resource availability did not share a significant relationship with the dependent variable. Third, those respondents with high scores on need for achievement and need for affiliation measures reported significantly more work/family conflict than those with low need scores did. Fourth, while objectively scored role demands and need levels captured some of the variance in the dependent variable, several of the situational variables offered additional explained variance. These variables were parental status, dual worker status, and income level. However, the relationship between income level and perceived work/family conflict is opposite of what was hypothesized; the study found a positive relationship between income level and conflict level. Those individuals who earned more reported higher levels of conflict between the two domains than others did. Limitations of the study, theoretical and practical implications, and suggestions for future research are presented.

Acknowledgments

Readers of this dissertation will understand that the conflict between work and family is a universally experienced phenomenon that each individual resolves in his/her own way. This is a topic that people have reacted to on an emotional, as well as on an intellectual, level. Respondents, as well as others, have been eager to share their own experiences and ideas with the researcher, making this project one that resonates with timeliness and relevance for individuals and organizations alike. Additionally, the author has lived the work/family conflict experience, with a doctoral program thrown in to the mix for good measure, and has survived to tell the story. Accordingly, a few acknowledgments and heartfelt thanks are in order.

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INTRODUCTION

Work and family are the two most important domains in the lives of the majority of employed adults today. Each domain has its own role demands and requirements, and these demands may be in conflict with each other to varying degrees.

This conflict becomes a more important area of research as our culture and our workforce demographics continue to evolve. Employers, to a large extent, operate under an outdated notion of who their employees really are; and managerial inflexibility and resistance to change exacerbates the conflict for employees.

What kind of changes in the American workforce and family are we talking about? As early as 1977, Kanter cautioned us against believing in the "myth of separate worlds" with respect to work and family. Since that time, the female labor force participation rate has increased dramatically, and by the year 2000 the white male is expected to be a minority of the workforce. U.S. Census data (1990) shows that 6.2 million American families with children under age six have both parents working, with 40% of the workforce identified as dual earner families. Additionally, over 1.3 million families with one or more children under age six are headed by a single mother. And, over 40% of workers over the age of forty are providing some care to an elderly parent.

These cultural changes have occurred in the United States without a corresponding change in the institutions they impact. As a result, employees have found themselves caught in the middle, attempting to perform a balancing act between work and family demands. This balance must be accomplished in an environment of

little support, role conflict, resource scarcity and individual differences in psychological characteristics.

The conflict that occurs when individuals try to satisfy demands in both the work and family areas causes problems for employers, employees, and society. Attempts to perform in both domains can result in stress on the part of the employee (Rodin & Ickovics, 1990); as well as in increased health insurance and disability claims for the employer (Hatfield, 1990).

An important area of study, therefore, would be the identification of factors which exacerbate work-family conflict, with the long-term goal of reducing it. Areas that have received much research attention to date are: employer support to the employee, spousal support, demographic variables, financial resources and time constraints (Burke, 1988; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kopelman, Greenhaus & Connolly, 1983). For example, the following factors have been found to be positively related to work/family conflict: married status; Type A behavior; presence of shiftwork; experiencing a great number of stressful non-work events or demands; role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload; work schedule inflexibility, and work-related travel. In contrast, factors found to be negatively correlated with work/family conflict are: spousal support; task variety and autonomy; scope of client contacts; and quality of leadership and supervision.

It is apparent that the research to date has focused largely on objective work-related factors and social factors, while ignoring individual differences factors. For example, how can we explain why two individuals with similar work and family situations experience differing amounts of work/family conflict (WFC)? Some areas of individual differences that may be relevant are: locus of control; hardiness; coping style; and psychological needs (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1987; Oulette, 1987;

Repetti, et al., 1989). These variables have been studied to help explain the relationship between coping style, WFC, and subjective well being.

Lobel (1991) proposed that individuals decide to invest in work and family roles based upon expected rewards and negative sanctions in each domain, as well as on each role's salience to the individual. Her position is comparable to Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) with respect to negative sanctions and role salience. Lobel writes, "Relative equality of work and family role rewards and role investment will be laden with ambivalence and, hence, will be stressful. ... The competition between roles is inevitable, and one role will gain acceptance at the expense of the other. ... The role conflict model depicts life as a perpetual struggle between antagonistic forces (e.g., love versus work, individuation versus gregariousness)", (p. 509-510). Ultimately, Lobel says that the individual will make investments in roles based upon the rewards inherent in each, provided that the rewards satisfy important needs of the individual.

The purpose of this study will be to examine the impact that need for achievement (NAch), and need for affiliation (NAff), two relatively stable dispositional factors, have on the objective experience of role demands and resource availability, and ultimately on the subjective report of work/family conflict. The theoretical basis is the belief that, in an environment of resource scarcity and multiple role demands, individuals make choices or have preferences that are representative of their psychological needs. For those individuals with high scores on need for achievement and need for affiliation, these choices or preferences will cause them to experience more conflict between their work and family domains than otherwise similar individuals will.

These two needs are likely contributors to WFC for several reasons. First, it would appear that a parallelism exists between NAch and work, and between NAff and

family. Certainly there are exceptions, but our culture tends to reward high achievers in the work place, and affiliators in the family setting. The "good provider" (work) and the "good mother" (family) are cultural icons which gave Americans gender-specific role models to emulate. Employers do not look kindly upon employees who request changes in scheduling or location of work in order to better accommodate family responsibilities. Even when such compliance is mandated by law (such as provisions which guarantee twelve weeks of unpaid, job-guaranteed leave for childbirth, adoption or illness of an employee or family member under the Family and Medical Leave Act), there is widespread evidence that employers are not doing so (Wall Street Journal, 1994). And, workaholics are considered to cause harm to their family members through their absence and neglect.

Secondly, NACH and NAFF appear to share a conflict relationship, similar to many of the work and family models (Evans & Bartolome, 1984; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). NACH and NAFF can be equated to two of the most basic human drives, and appear to be intrinsic to all cultures (McClelland, 1953). Humankind must achieve in order to avoid starvation, and most affiliate in order to procreate and continue the species. However, these two needs seem to defy simultaneous satisfaction by their definition (Heckhausen, 1967; Lindgren, 1986; McClelland & Winter, 1971).

According to McClelland and Winter, "a concern for affiliative relations with people (means) less concern for achievement" (p. 166). Lindgren writes that individuals with high NACH prefer activities which provide feedback about their competencies, while those with high NAFF scores prefer to create or strengthen bonds of affection and loyalty (p. 124). Historically, the work place has provided the location for the former, and the home for the latter.

To further compound the situation, there do not appear to be any long-standing norms, rules or role models to follow for an adult who chooses to combine both work and family domains. For example, Gutek, et al., (1991) use the Parsonian explanation of a societal tradition with biosocial and cultural origins, which delineates instrumental (male) and expressive (female) roles (Parsons & Bales, 1955). They compared the rational view versus a gender role explanation for gender differences in work-family conflict. The rational view assumes a direct correspondence between objective conditions (eg: number of hours expended in each domain) and self-reports of WFC. The gender role framework proposes that gender both directly influences WFC and moderates the relationship between hours spent in paid and family work and perceived WFC. The researchers found support for both models, and reported that women feel more comfortable spending more hours in the family domain, while men felt more comfortable spending more hours in the work domain. These gender differences in perceived WFC occur in a direction consistent with traditional sex role expectations.

Another examination of gender differences in WFC (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991) studied antecedents and consequences of work-family conflict for parents in dual-career families. The researchers state that while the traditional division of labor in work and family domains between partners was no longer appropriate, a more representative redistribution of roles has yet to occur. They found that high involvement in nontraditional roles is problematic for men and women in dual career families. "High work involvement, therefore, may increase work-family conflict in women by arousing their anxiety and guilt regarding the adequacy of their performance of traditional family roles (i.e., spouse and parent). ... Men who are highly involved with their family are likely to be perceived by their colleagues and

superiors as being less committed to their job. These perceptions may lead to greater work-family conflict." (p. 69). Significant gender differences are attributed to societal expectations and behavioral norms. Clearly, men and women who attempt to combine participation in both work and family domains find themselves in uncharted waters, with little guidance or support from employers and society.

Both of the above-cited studies point out a discrepancy between what "should be" (the traditional model), and what "is" (the modern reality). Statistics show that all Americans are working significantly more hours at their paid employment than they did a generation ago (Schor, 1992). Hochschild (1989) reports that employed wives hold down the equivalent of two full-time jobs: one at work and another at home. Doug Hall (1989) writes that men are spending more time on family responsibilities than they did only several years ago, and that men are reporting comparable amounts of work/family conflict to women's.

A third reason to look at NAch and NAff levels when examining work/family conflict is that both topics may derive from another similar theoretical basis. The concept of resource scarcity in need theory parallels many of the WFC models, where finite amounts of time, money or energy cause individuals to make choices and prioritize in areas of their lives.

Fourth, there is a body of research that discusses individual involvement in work and family domains, and the factors that would predict which domain would be dominant. Interestingly, a number of factors that are mentioned as being associated with NAch and NAff (Chandler, Shama & Wolf, 1983; Chusmir & Koberg, 1988; Lindgren, Moritsch, Thulin & Mich, 1986; Morris & Snyder, 1979; and Waller & Rothschild, 1983) are also cited as being related to work and family involvement (Burke, 1988; Hall, 1989; Lobel, 1991). Some examples are age, culture, gender and

life role or stage. This similarity gives further credence to the idea that NAch, NAff, and WFC may be related. Of course, there are also extrinsic rewards associated with involvement in each domain. The work-oriented individual may receive raises or promotions, whereas the family-oriented individual may have a full calendar of social events. Greenhaus & Parasuraman (1994) talk about negative sanctions for non-compliance in each domain. All of these factors may interact with individual differences variables to help explain variances in response to WFC.

Thus, demographic variables have been examined in previous studies as important influences on perceived work/family conflict (PWFC) (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992; Gutek, et al., 1991; Lobel, 1991; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1993). It has become generally accepted, for example, that the following groups experience more WFC than other groups do: women; parents; dual-career members; and single parents. It is proposed here that these groups experience more WFC than others do because they share the same objective conditions: multiple role demands and limited resource availability, and not due to any quality that is intrinsic to the demographic condition. Therefore, if those objective conditions were factored out of the relationship in this study (or ameliorated in real life), it is theorized here that no significant differences would exist between the above-listed groups (women, parents, dual career members, and single parents) and others. This proposition has obvious practical implications for the manager who may be making human resource decisions on the basis of his/her subordinate's gender, marital or parental status.

Accordingly, it is proposed that NAch/NAff scores should be explored as a main effect on WFC, in addition to the objective conditions of multiple role demands and resource availability; the demographic conditions of gender, marital status,

parental status, and dual career status; and the subjective report of WFC. This would be accomplished by comparing WFC scores for individuals who score highly on NACH and NAFF measures to WFC scores for those who do not, and by looking for significant differences between these two groups.

However, it is not believed that these individual differences variables are related to PWFC in a vacuum. The above-cited literature review provides evidence for the belief that the subjective experience of WFC is affected by the objective experiences of the individual, namely in the area of role demands and resource availability (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Gutek et al., 1991).

The purpose of this research then, is to demonstrate that NACH and NAFF levels may have a direct effect on PWFC, in addition to the objectively scored and the situational variables. It is predicted that those individuals who score highly on both NACH and NAFF will experience more WFC than otherwise similar individuals with different patterns of needs will.

This finding is predicted due to the reasons cited above, namely,

1) that NACH is expected to be associated with certain behavioral choices that will be found most often in the work place, while NAFF is expected to be associated with those choices that are family-appropriate, and that the work and family domains often come in conflict with each other;

2) that NACH and NAFF may share a resource scarcity relationship similar to the one between work and family; and,

3) that both "need" research and "work/family" research focus on a number of the same correlates.

A study of NACH and NAFF and their relationship to WFC has practical as well as theoretical implications. Theoretically, these needs can be added to the overall

framework of understanding WFC and its sources, and may also lead to prediction of its occurrence. For practical purposes, a better understanding of individual needs and their correlation with WFC can guide employers and employees when making decisions regarding career choices and human resource planning.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Need for Achievement

According to McClelland and associates (1953), need for achievement (NAch) has been defined as a motive which produces internal satisfaction such as pride of accomplishment. Those with high NAch would prefer involvement in areas that allow for work on self-improvement strategies and for feedback as to their competencies. McClelland says that NAch has a major impact on the success and economic growth of individuals, businesses and countries; and that NAch can be taught to them.

Murray (1938) described NAch as causing "behavior that occurs in reference to a standard of excellence and thus can be evaluated in terms of success and failure. ... Secondly the individual must in some sense be responsible for the outcome. Third, there must be some challenge". Spence and Helmreich (1983) described NAch as a "stable dispositional tendency to strive toward performance excellence." Lindgren (1986) conceptualized NAch as "a preference for activities that prompt individual accomplishment through mastering, manipulating and organizing the environment, overcoming obstacles, maintaining high standards and competing to surpass previous performance". Atkinson (1957), in an expectancy-like model, said that NAch is aroused through incentives, or specific situations which indicate that certain behaviors will lead to the desired outcome (feeling of achievement).

All of these definitions discuss NAch as a relatively stable personality trait, and say that the individual operates in a cognitive manner. The high NAch individual consciously scans the immediate environment to discover the setting or task that will

allow him/her to feel a sense of pride in meeting some pre-determined standard. The individual who scores low on NACH does not engage in such activities, or does so to a lesser degree. It seems reasonable that the work setting would be the appropriate locale for the high NACH person to satisfy his/her need.

The literature provides an interesting combination of factors that have been found to be correlated with individual need for achievement scores. An examination of these factors should provide some insight into the characteristics of those who are concerned with need for achievement. These will be compared to the characteristics of those with differing levels of NACH and NAFF. Additionally, the sociocultural origins of NACH and NAFF will be explored.

What are the characteristics of the high NACH person, and what other variables have been found to correlate with high NACH scores? Also, what is it about the high achiever that makes him or her a possible candidate for perceiving greater than average levels of work and family conflict?

The high NACH person has been studied repeatedly and the following descriptive characteristics have emerged:

- * like to take moderate risks and to work under conditions of moderate uncertainty (Atkinson, 1961);
- * want to take personal responsibility for their actions and to attribute their success to their own talent or effort (Atkinson, 1961);
- * actively seek feedback on how well they are doing (Chusmir, 1989);
- * are innovative (McClelland, 1985);
- * respond to jobs enriched with built-in meaningfulness and challenge (Steers Porter, 1983);
- * tend to be entrepreneurial (McClelland, 1961);

* prefer work to leisure activities (Veroff, 1982).

Maehr (1974) writes that creating a dichotomy between high and low NACH scores is a "convenient fiction" (p. 53) that allows us to talk about two parts of a continuous variable as if they were separate and discrete. The process began when McClelland and associates (1961) devised the Thematic Apperception Test, or TAT, a measure to assess individual motives. They based their measure on Freud's ideas about the unconscious, and proposed that our true motives emerge during fantasy, when our thoughts are unrestrained.

The researchers stated that subjects would project their own motives onto neutral stimuli (pictures), and that test conditions would be varied to include need-aroused and control situations. Differences in stories were believed to be a function of the individual's need level. This research has been replicated many times, and the construct validity of this methodology has been well documented (especially in the NACH area), showing that high NACH scores do in fact lead to achievement behavior (Heckhausen, 1967).

Therefore, this somewhat arbitrary dichotomy will be used here, utilizing a median split-half of the sample, and labeling the top half "hi NACH", and the bottom half "lo NACH".

Correlates of Need for Achievement

The literature yields a number of correlates of NACH, upon which there appears to be some consensus. The most widely studied variable is **gender**, and the results have been mixed, depending upon the sample chosen. For example, in a five-nation, cross-cultural study, Chandler, Shama & Wolf (1983) examined achievement and

affiliation attributions and locus of control to assess whether gender differences would occur. The effect varied according to gender among the 684 university students polled, in the area of achievement attribution to task, where women were found to be more internal in achievement attribution than men were. In a study of 62 male and 62 female managers, Chusmir (1985) found female managers to have higher NACH than male managers. He theorizes that this may be a result of the sample chosen, however, and may not be representative of the working (or general) population at large. Male managers are still theorized to have fewer role conflicts between work and family, and fewer obstacles to overcome in achievement settings than women, despite changing social values.

Chusmir and Koberg (1988) looked for gender differences in the areas of NACH, NAFF, NPOW (need for power) and religious conviction, and their effect on job-related attitudes. An examination of 222 working adults from a major U.S. city revealed that women and non-managerial men had a negative relationship between religious conviction and the three needs studied, while managerial men showed positive relationships. Differences in work-related attitudes were found due to a combination of gender, managerial level, and Protestant Work Ethic. Implications mentioned were that "women may bring their religious values to the work place more frequently than men, who appear to be able to separate their work and family values more easily" (p. 145). Explanations of the difference between managerial and non-managerial men revolve around personality traits and characteristics, and socioeconomic status. While the findings are intriguing for research on need levels and PWFC, the sampling practices employed were not particularly rigorous.

Pollak and Gilligan (1982) have been engaged in an ongoing debate with Benton, Hernandez, Schmidt, Schmitz, Stone and Weiner (1983) over gender

differences in NAch and NAff as measured by the TAT. Pollak and Gilligan base their work on Horner's findings (1972) that women perceive conflict between achievement and feminine identity. The researchers say that women will perceive danger in situations that are achievement-oriented, while men will perceive danger in situations that are affiliation-oriented, which they may see as threatening to their masculinity. Benton et al. argue that Pollak and Gilligan had misclassified TAT pictures into achievement and affiliation categories, miscoded some of the stories written, and supported stereotypes about men and women. However, Helgeson & Sharpsteen (1987) replicated the studies using 111 college students, with results that support the gender differences found by Pollak & Gilligan. Helgeson & Sharpsteen theorize that this information leads to a greater awareness of the constraints placed upon the sexes in different settings, and may prove helpful to women in achievement (work) settings, where they may fear their competitive achievement; and to men in affiliative (relationship) settings, where their fear may be an obstacle to intimacy (p. 733).

Gender differences were also reported by Lindgren, Moritsch, Thulin & Mich (1986) when using the NAch/NAff scale to measure NAch and NAff. Correlations between NAch and birth order, academic performance and occupational choice were found to be stronger for women than for men. Women who scored "high" on NAch were more likely to be firstborns, to perform well at school (the sample was 325 university students), and to choose challenging careers (eg: engineering vs. business education as defined by the researchers). The effect was not as pronounced for males. This supports Chusmir's (1985) contention that high NAch women may "self-select" more demanding work opportunities, even though they know that societal expectations will make it more difficult for them to succeed than for males.

A study by Schroth (1985) surveyed 90 university students (45 males, 45 females) using the TAT and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS) to assess the interdependence of NACH and NAFF, and to compare the two measures cited above. The two measures consistently showed gender differences, with women demonstrating a strong correlation between NACH and NAFF, where men did not. This finding of the interdependence of the two needs contradicts earlier research by Atkinson (1958) and others; however, those researchers excluded women from their sample. Additionally, in Schroth's study, men were found to have higher NACH scores, and women to have higher NAFF scores using both instruments. Schroth proposes social learning as an explanation for these gender differences, and says they are consistent with sex roles in American society. This corroborates findings by Spence and Helmreich (1983) which see NAFF as being related to "feminine" traits and NACH as being related to "masculine" ones. An interesting question that is left unanswered by Schroth is how women, who reportedly have more interdependent needs, and may score high on both NACH and NAFF, deal with the conflicting characteristics of each need. The present study will look for gender differences in interdependence of needs and in PWFC.

Finally, some studies report very small or no gender differences in NACH (Waller & Rothschild, 1983; Yamauchi, 1986). It appears as if gender differences are a function of the sample chosen, the cultural norms in existence and the historical setting of the study. Older studies report that males score highly on NACH, and females score highly on NAFF (that is, if women are included in the study at all). More contemporary studies show small or no gender differences, or if they do exist, they are reported as a result of other moderating variables as well. Also, in contrast to earlier studies, modern female respondents may believe that it is more socially desirable to

respond in an achievement-oriented manner, and modern male respondents may believe that it is more socially desirable to respond in an affiliation-oriented manner. This probably was not the case a generation ago.

Based upon all of the above, one might be prompted to say that gender differences are not important, or have been inconsistently found in NAch, and decide to exclude them from analysis. Eagly (1990) reminds us that this would be a mistake. She cites the purpose of the "scientific scrutiny of sex differences" (p. 560) as political and scientific liberation for women, where:

- * stereotypes may be weakened
- * women may be portrayed favorably
- * women may be empowered through the revelation of male dominance
- * gender-sensitive training may result
- * the integrity of the scientific community can be preserved (p. 561).

More relevant to this study, however, it appears as if there have been enough conflicting results on gender differences in the needs literature to warrant their inclusion. Therefore, NAch, NAff and PWFC will be examined for gender differences and for interaction effects among the variables.

Another correlate of NAch that has received some attention in the literature is age (Chusmir & Koberg, 1988; Mellinger & Erdwins, 1985; and Veroff, Reuman & Feld, 1984). All of these studies reported a negative correlation between age and NAch; that is, NAch decreased as subjects' age increased. Mellinger and Erdwins propose that age differences may be a result of a shift in values or a shift in temporal focus (from future to present) as an individual ages. However, Chusmir and Koberg and Mellinger and Erdwins employed cross-sectional designs, so it is possible that the

so-called age effects that they report may be confounded by the differing values and socialization experienced by the younger vs. the older subjects.

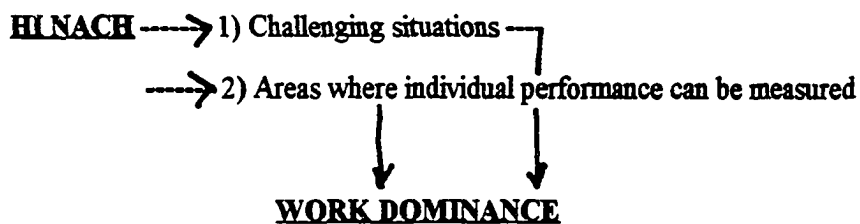
In contrast, Veroff et al. examined two samples (1363 subjects in 1957 and 1208 subjects in 1976). The researchers found that both NACH and NAFF declined with age, especially for women. However, they report differences between the 1957 and the 1976 age cohorts, and propose a historical explanation for the variance. The researchers state that perhaps social context during adulthood, rather than early socialization, is paramount in inducing lower or higher levels of social motives in adults (p. 1155). For example, the 1957 group showed lower NAFF scores than the 1976 group did, which may be a function of the more rigid norms in operation in the 1950s for American women. An alternative explanation would be that the women in the earlier cohort lived through World War II and had to suppress their affiliative needs in order to survive. The PWFC literature will be examined for similar explanations of age differences.

Perhaps what is more relevant to need levels and PWFC then, are not the demographic variables that are so often studied, but the objective conditions that the respondent finds himself/herself in. For example, it may be more appropriate to examine the number of role demands experienced, or the amount of resource availability present, to help explain the relationship between demographic variables, objective conditions and perceptual reports.

Finally, other correlates of NACH that have received some support are: GPA (Sid & Lindgren 1982, Lindgren, Thulin & Mich 1986); feeding schedules, toilet training severity and social class (McClelland & Pilon 1983); skill and achievement values (McClelland 1985); career role (Mellinger & Erdwins, 1985); reward distribution (O'Malley & Schubarth, 1984); and conflict-handling behavior

(Schneer & Chanin, 1987). These correlates are outside the parameters of this study. The correlates that are associated with the PWFC literature, and therefore considered relevant to this study are: **demographic variables, objective conditions and individual needs or motives** (Lobel, 1991). These will be discussed more fully in the appropriate section.

The previously cited literature shows that the high NACH person, by definition, chooses challenging tasks and situations that allow for concrete feedback about his/her performance. The term **challenging** will describe those situations which require greater than average amounts of time, energy, training, skill or responsibility. These choices, when combined with the choices that the individual's NACH level dictates, will affect the individual's PWFC level. The path is believed to be as follows:



The characteristics, correlates and path chosen by the high NACH person should be compared to the description of the high NACH person, which follows.

Need For Affiliation

The organizational behavior literature looks at need for affiliation as a "peripheral motive" (Spence, 1983), and hence, much less has been written about it than about the NACH. It has been defined as a need for approval, support, friendship, and a means of self-evaluation (Schachter, 1959). Friis and Knox (1972) defined the variable as the desire to be with other people even if they are strangers; or the desire to share common opinions with others. Chusmir (1985) says that NAff can be thought of as a concern for establishing, maintaining or restoring positive friendships with another person. French (1956) examined NACH and NAff simultaneously, through the choice of a work partner. He found that individuals who scored high on NACH chose a partner for a task in a very different manner than those who scored high on NAff did.

Characteristics of the high NAff person are:

- * prefer working on tasks with incompetent friends more than with competent strangers (French, 1956);
- * dislike working alone (Chusmir, 1989);
- * believe that good will is more important than reason in solving problems (McClelland, 1961);
- * avoid conflict and competition (Chandler, Shama & Wolf, 1983);
- * experience a lower rate of promotion and lack of managerial success, and have strong fear of rejection (McClelland, 1985).

Correlates of Need for Affiliation

A review of the literature reveals somewhat conflicting results regarding the correlates of NAff. In contrast to the negative relationship found between NACH and

age, Chandler, Sharma & Wolf (1983) and Mellinger and Erdwins (1985) report a positive relationship between NAff and age; that is, the older subjects reported higher levels of NAff than younger subjects did. Chandler et al. employed a coed, five-nation sample of 684, while Mellinger & Erdwins studied 220 American women. Caution must be exercised when accepting these results since the studies were cross-sectional in nature, and the age result may be confounded by other variables mentioned earlier. In the study conducted by Veroff, Reuman & Feld (1984) cited earlier, a negative relationship was found for women between NAff and age. Interestingly, men in low-prestige jobs also reported a decline in NAff among older subjects, while women in high-prestige jobs responded "like men", and showed no decline. Again, age and gender differences are confounded by job level. The researchers report some implications from their findings that are relevant to the work and family areas:

- * The decline in NAff for women occurs as their family responsibilities decrease;
- * The decline in NAch in older women is attributable to a reduction in career concerns for elderly women;
- * Age effects could be altered when certain social conditions shift (eg: if women become more job-committed over the life span, and if women and men begin to share family roles more equitably) (p. 1156).

Gender differences are also reported in a somewhat conflicting manner when examining the NAff literature. In many instances, small or no gender differences were found (Chusmir, 1984; Chusmir & Koberg, 1988; Hall, 1990; Hyland & Mancini, 1985; Lefcourt et al., 1985; Schneider & Coutts, 1985; and Waller & Rothschild, 1983). Other studies did uncover gender differences in NAff (Schroth, 1985; Sid &

Lindgren, 1982; Spence & Helmreich, 1983), while still others examined either males or females, making such a comparison impossible (Gama, 1985; Lysonski & Andrews, 1990; and Mellinger & Erdwins, 1985).

It also has been proposed that NAff and NAch may be more complex and interdependent for women than for men (Horner, 1968, 1972; Parsons & Goff, 1980; Spence & Helmreich, 1983). Horner's work (1968) on fear of success has been re-examined by other researchers who believe that she may have in fact, been measuring NAff in an achievement setting (Farmer & Fyans, 1980; Parsons & Goff, 1980). Admittedly, the two needs are difficult to separate in each domain. Spence and Helmreich (1983) propose that inconsistent gender results in fear of success and NAff studies may instead be reflective of "respondents' perceptions of society's current sex-role attitudes and their expectations about the consequences of role conformity or violation ... With greater acceptance of women's educational and vocational aspirations, sex differences appear to be evaporating" (p. 37).

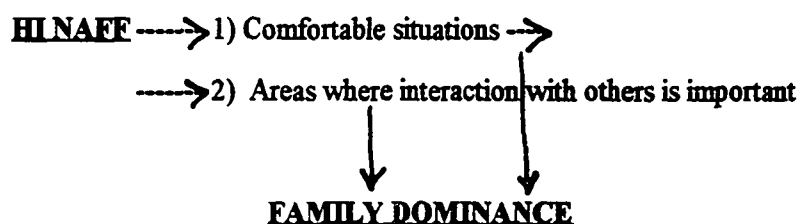
In earlier research with the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), Spence and Helmreich (1978) report gender differences that show men to be more instrumental, while women are reported to be more expressive. However, a great overlap occurs in the distribution of the sexes. The researchers continued in this area with the development of the Work and Family Orientation Questionnaire (WOFO), an objective self-report instrument which identifies three relatively independent motives: mastery, work and competitiveness. Contrary to earlier theories of gender differences in NAch and NAff, Spence & Helmreich found men and women's results to be remarkably similar, with women scoring slightly higher on work, and men scoring slightly higher on the other two motives. Implications for performance in work and family domains were discussed.

Lysonski and Andrews (1990) looked at NAff as a moderating variable between **role ambiguity, role conflict and perceived performance** (on the job). Their sample was made up of 166 product managers in the consumer packaged goods industries listed in the Fortune 500. The respondents had a mean age of 31, 95% were male, all had college degrees, and 66% had graduate degrees.

The researchers found that subjects with high NAff experienced more tension when role ambiguity was high. However, those with high NAff reported higher scores on the job performance measure than others did. Their research offers additional support for the inclusion of individual needs into an explanatory model for role conflict between work and family domains, since they examined one of the needs and one of the domains as well as role conflict; yet they did not address the two supposed conflicting needs, and the two domains where role conflict would be most evident.

Finally, other correlates of NAff that have been studied in the literature are: locus of control, social sensitivity and social skill (Lefcourt et al., 1985), social skill and affiliative values (McClelland, 1985), life role (Mellinger & Erdwins, 1985), and vocational preference (Sid & Lindgren, 1982). The present study will focus on those NAff correlates which are also found in the PWFC literature, that is, **gender, career and life or role choices, and marital and parental status** (Burke, 1988; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Lobel, 1991; and Spence & Helmreich, 1983). Career choices can be measured by examining hours spent on work and perceived quality of work, while family choices can be examined by studying degree of participation in family activities and quality of role performance (Lobel, p. 508). Cultural influences, such as individualism vs. collectivism, will affect the individual's ability to resolve conflicting sides of the self (Schein, 1984).

It would appear, then, that in contrast to the high NACH person, the high NAFF person chooses situations where he/she will feel comfortable, secure, be able to behave in a non-confrontational manner and be motivated to maintain the status quo. Additionally, the person who scores high on NAFF prefers settings that allow for interaction with others. This is in distinct contrast to the high NACH person, who prefers challenging situations that allow for individual feedback on performance. Therefore, the path is believed to be as follows for the high NAFF person:



Need for Achievement and Need for Affiliation

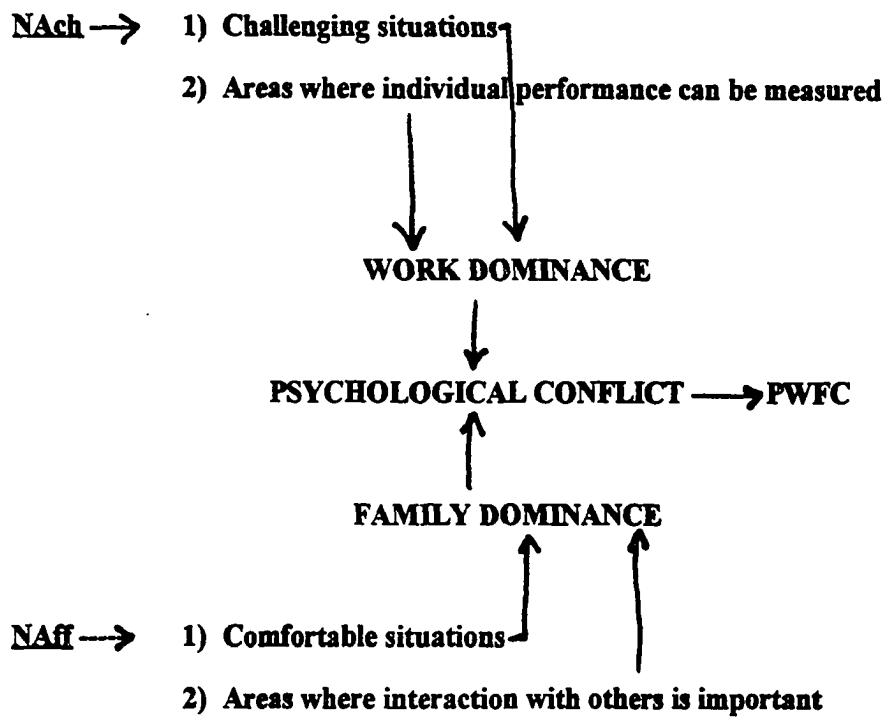
Are NACH and NAFF conflicting and incompatible needs? Bardswell and Braaksma (1982) believe that motivation is a multi-factor trait, composed of these two needs, plus other factors. Gama (1985) writes that NACH and NAFF may not necessarily be antagonistic. Other researchers believe differently. Lindgren et al. (1982) write that NACH and NAFF are negatively correlated, and "the reasons are obvious" (p. 124). They cite McClelland (1961) saying "a concern for affiliative relations with people means less concern for achievement". The researchers conclude that the two needs are "mutually exclusive and incompatible". Schroth (1985) reported a strong correlation between NACH and NAFF for women, demonstrating an interdependence between the two. Whatever the relationship between the two needs, it appears as if it is more complex for women than for men, and that current instruments may not accurately measure women's motives. Women's NACH and NAFF scores may be clouded by fear of success issues and subliminal (or blatant) societal messages; and dependence upon measures that were developed for and administered to male-only samples may not yield accurate results for women.

A review of the characteristics and correlates of the high NACH and the high NAFF persons shows them to be relatively separate and discrete in their pure types or forms. What happens when an individual finds himself/herself to be strongly motivated by both need levels, and representative of a combination or hybrid of these two forms? It will be argued here that such persons experience a psychological conflict, which will become manifested as a conflict between the work and family domains. While in fact the conflict may be between the secure vs. the unknown, or the individual vs. the

group orientation, it is posited here that individuals will translate the psychological conflict they are feeling into one between work and family roles.

These two central institutions in working adults' lives provide a framework and a reason for being. It will be easier conceptually for subjects to think that they are experiencing time-based role conflict, which has been defined as time pressure associated with membership in one role which makes it physically impossible to comply with expectations from another role; or strain-based role conflict, which exists when strain in one role affects one's performance in another role (Greenhaus et al., 1989). In reality the problem may be a psychologically based conflict between achievement vs. affiliative needs (see Figure 1).

FIG. 1: INDIVIDUAL NEEDS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE BEHAVIORS



Therefore, it is proposed that the perceived conflict between work and family is not solely a result of task characteristics or time pressure as has been suggested in the past, but also of the inability of some individuals to resolve the incompatible nature of their needs. It should be remembered that this conflict will be greatest for those subjects who score "high" on both NAch and NAff. Additionally, based upon a review of the NAch, NAff and PWFC literatures, it is proposed that gender differences will exist in PWFC.

If an individual does not experience a conflict between these two needs, it is proposed that they will contribute to PWFC to a lesser degree. Previous studies of work/family conflict have focused almost exclusively on work-related and society-related characteristics, and have excluded this important variable. This research focuses on explaining that part of PWFC that has not been accounted for by work and social factors. A review of the work/family conflict literature that is relevant to this paper will follow.

Perceived Work and Family Conflict

According to Zedeck and Mosier (1990), five main models of work and family life exist in the literature. They are:

1. **The spillover model**, which proposes that there are no boundaries between work and family, and that each domain influences the other, especially in the work to family direction (Payton-Miyazki & Brayfield, 1976; Staines, 1980). Spillover can be seen as positive or negative. Most of the work and family research has been done in this area.
2. **The compensation model**, which says that an individual makes up for what is lacking in one domain in the other domain (Evans & Bartolome, 1984).
3. **The segmentation model**, which states that work and family are separate and distinct. An individual can function in one domain without being affected by the other one (Evans & Bartolome, 1984; Payton-Miyazki & Brayfield, 1976).
4. **The instrumental model**, which proposes that work is used to "purchase" family life, while family is used to justify work (Evans & Bartolome, 1984; Payton-Miyazki & Brayfield, 1976).
5. **The conflict model**, which shows that work and family are incompatible due to the conflicting norms and requirements of each domain (Evans & Bartolome, 1984; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus et al., 1989; Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connelly, 1983; Payton-Miyazki & Brayfield, 1976; Zedeck & Mosier, 1990).

Success in one domain is achieved through sacrifices in the other one, and these sacrifices are necessary due to limited time and energy.

The present study focuses on the literature in the work/family conflict area. It is believed that more than one of these models may make sense at the same time for an individual (for example, spillover, compensation and conflict models). However, it is proposed that the conflict model may best explain the relationship that currently exists between these two domains for most people. It appears to be logical that if the two foremost institutions in an individual's life require different situational and behavioral choices, the individual will experience conflict proportional to the importance of both domains to him/her. A review of the literature will show the conflict to be based on **individual characteristics, social characteristics and job setting characteristics.**

Work and family conflict is a relatively new area of research in the organizational behavior field. Greenhaus & Beutell (1985) define the conflict as "a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" (p. 77). Kopelman, Greenhaus & Connelly (1983) describe the conflict according to the extent to which a person perceives that pressures within one role are incompatible with pressures from another role.

Greenhaus et al. (1989) discuss different types of work/family conflict: time based, strain based and behavior based. Their study focused on work pressures which have an effect on an individual's time involvement or strain level. The researchers studied 119 dual career couples and found that work role stressors, such as **role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload**, were strongly positively related to self-reported work/family conflict, with role overload being the most consistent predictor.

This study shows some similarity to Lysonski & Andrews' (1990), where NAff was considered a moderating variable between role conflict, role ambiguity and perceived performance. Gender differences emerged in the Greenhaus study, but were considered insubstantial. This may be due to the fact that their sample was made up of well-educated, employed professionals, and the majority of them did not have children. It is likely that women may report greater work/family conflict in a more representative sample, and when their family life becomes more complex (ie: includes the presence of children). This is believed to be true since resources may be more limited and demands will be greater in that situation. This proposal has received some support in the literature (Bohen & Viveros-Long, 1981; Greenhaus & Kopelman, 1981).

In an earlier paper, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) surveyed the work and family conflict (WFC) literature and found support for their contention that WFC falls into the categories of time-based, strain-based or behavior-based. However, a few problems emerge from their review. While Greenhaus & Beutell mention that some individual characteristics had been studied also (eg: Type A behavior), and that "an employee's personal orientation may affect WFC" (p. 78), they did not include these variables in their model.

Additionally, their variable "strain-based conflict" seems redundant and unnecessary. The researchers say that strain-based conflict exists when "strain in one role affects one's performance in another role" (p. 80). It is difficult to differentiate this strain from the ensuing conflict. Finally, as recently as 1989, Greenhaus et al. had not been able to garner empirical support for the concept of behavior-based conflict. Greenhaus & Beutell suggest that future research should focus on role salience, negative sanctions, self-perceptions of role requirements, internal disposition, career

stage and career success, support from significant others, and their relationship to WFC.

One of the areas of WFC research that has received the most attention is **gender differences** (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Evans & Bartolome, 1984; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus et al., 1989; Hall, 1990; Gutek, et al., 1991; Kopelman, Greenhaus & Connelly, 1983; Lobel, 1991; Zedeck & Mosier, 1990). Zedeck & Mosier (1990) raise a construct validity problem when they find fault with a number of the variables that have been used to analyze the work and family domains. They state that the variables "ignore processes or the quality of the experience; they do not capture the relationship of the individual to the environment" (p. 242). For example, when examining gender differences, differentiations are not always made between "dual-career", "dual-worker" and "dual-earner" families. The above validity issues have clouded the research on gender issues in the WFC area.

Hall (1990), in an article provoked by the reactions to Schwartz's (1989) "mommy track" piece, responds that men and women are actually more alike than different in the area of PWFC. He reports on several studies where the following results were found:

- * In a sample of 1200 employees at a large Minneapolis, firm, seventy percent of the fathers under age 35 reported serious concerns about WFC (Wall Street Journal, 1989);
- * A 1988 study of DuPont employees found a comparable number of men and women to be concerned about work and family issues (DuPont, undated);
- * Research by Goldsmith (1989) and Voyandoff (1988) reports that mothers and fathers are more similar than different in WFC.

Hall writes that the general public may not be aware that men share work and family concerns with women because men hide their concerns and contributions in an attempt to appear more career-oriented. However, one could argue that gender differences do exist because: a) women also hide their family concerns from employers; and b) men may be over-reporting their family concerns in an attempt to appear "socially correct". The facts show that women still bear the overwhelming responsibility for family tasks (Hochschild, 1989).

In a recent article on investment in work and family roles, Lobel (1991) writes: "Most studies to date have not treated individuals who have equally salient career identities as a separate category, so it remains to be shown how these individuals fare in terms of relative role investment, work-family conflict, work-family balance and performance when compared to those who have primary role orientations" (p. 517). She proposes two different approaches for studying work and family role investment; the utilitarian process, whereby the individual invests in roles based upon a rewards-greater-than-costs calculation; and a social identity process, where each person identifies him/herself as a member of a particular group, and remains a member even when rewards are less than costs.

Using the utilitarian approach, Lobel writes that the highest degree of WFC is expected when an individual is equally pressured to participate in both domains. The author states that competition between and sacrifices among roles are inevitable. She cites Maddi's 1989 conflict model where life is described as a constant struggle between antagonistic forces. The utilitarian perspective is supportive of the ideas behind this paper, which link NAch, NAff and PWFC. Again, the individual's need levels will lead them to make choices, which necessarily cause the exclusion of other

choices. When the individual invests in work and family roles, their choice to concentrate in one domain comes at the expense of the other domain (p. 510).

Lobel also describes the social identity model of investment in work and family roles. She proposes that the individual chooses a salient role (ie: work or family) based upon the role's accessibility and fit. The individual then looks at the characteristics of the role in a positive light, even when others do not, and even when the rewards of the role are less than its costs.

Some problems exist with the second model of role investment. First, Lobel states that the social identity model is more explanatory for women than for men; there is no support for this belief. Secondly, according to Lobel's interpretation of social identity theory, WFC will be avoided if the individual can: a) ensure that conflicting identities (ie: work and family) are physically, temporally or psychologically separate; or b) apply consistent personal values across both identities (p. 512). It is naive to assume that the individual has the ability and/or the control to accomplish these recommendations. For example, an employee may not be able to avoid a supervisor calling at home, or a child calling at work; and an individual cannot always carry over his/her personal values into the work place without repercussions.

Lobel recommends that the variables **gender, life stage and culture** be examined to predict work and family conflict. For example, she proposes that the utilitarian approach is a more rational one and may be more explanatory for men, while the social identity approach is less rational, and may be more appropriate for women. However, citing Levinson's 1978 work on men and Gilligan's 1982 work on women, Lobel writes that these relationships may change with age and life role, since at mid-life men become more **affiliative** and women become more **autonomous**. Finally, Lobel suggests that those employees who live in individualistic **cultures** such as the

U.S. are more likely to segregate work and family roles, and thus to experience conflict between the two. Therefore the author proposed a model of work and family conflict which includes **gender differences, age and life role differences and cultural differences**. This supports the earlier mentioned work on needs, life role or age, culture, and WFC, and lends further support for the idea of examining NACH, NAFF, and PWFC together.

Izraeli (1989) polled 126 couples where both the husband and wife were practicing Israeli physicians. She hypothesized that women have to suppress their NACH in order to avoid WFC, and that women with **high NACH** scores would be more likely to experience **WFC**. The results of the study did not support this hypothesis, but Izraeli proposes that this may be a result of the self-selected, non-traditional women used in the sample.

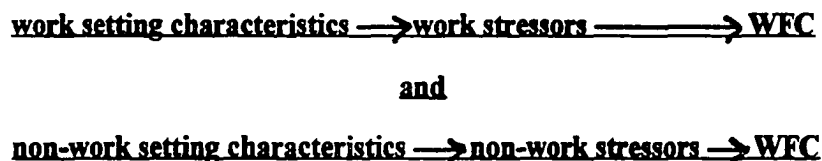
Greenhaus (1989) also discusses the importance of addressing individual variables when examining WFC. He stresses that two types of conflict arise, **psychological conflict and objective conflict**, and that research to date has either avoided measuring both, or combined them in an instrument that confuses the two and gets at neither. He supports Lobel's assertion that role salience and negative sanctions warrant further study, and states that the individual will experience the greatest amount of **WFC** when **both forces are strong and nearly equal**. Greenhaus argues for the importance of understanding the "**social, interpersonal and personal determinants of the strength of different role pressures**" (p. 27).

Burke (1988) provides a model that includes the work and non-work antecedents of WFC. He discusses the importance of a model which would include "individual, family and work setting characteristics, work and family demands and rewards, work-family conflict, and a variety of work-family outcomes" (p. 289), but

suggests that the complexity and comprehensiveness of such a model would make it impossible to test empirically.

Burke surveyed 828 police officers (92% of the sample was male) to assess the effect of **work setting characteristics** (eg: autonomy, leadership, social isolation) and **non-work setting characteristics** (eg: social support) on work stressors, non-work stressors, **PWFC**, and several outcome variables. The only individual characteristics he included were: marital status, age, sex, rank, education level, and Type A behavior score. The author found that married, Type A police officers reported more WFC than others did.

Burke's model reports that:



These relationships have been adequately discussed in the WFC literature and have received ample support (Evans & Bartolome 1984, Greenhaus & Beutell 1985, Kopelman, Greenhaus & Connolly 1983, Lobel 1991, Zedeck & Mosier 1990). However, many studies called for the inclusion of **individual variables** into an explanatory model, and based upon the characteristics of the NACH and NAFF literature, it appears as if these individual motives would be a worthwhile addition to the PWFC literature. It is proposed here that need for achievement and need for affiliation cause individuals to make behavioral choices that lead them to be "work dominant" or "family dominant". Some individuals will experience a psychological conflict when the demands of these two domains collide. It is hypothesized that

individuals will report this psychological conflict between two needs as a more tangible conflict between their work and family roles. See Figure 1.

In the following section, the model to be tested will be presented, along with its inherent assumptions and limitations (see Fig. 2). It should be remembered that, if the hypotheses in this study are supported, this model should be integrated into a larger one which also includes other work-related and social antecedents of PWFC.

CHAPTER 3

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In this section a comprehensive model of work/family conflict is proposed which includes the demographic and objective conditions that have been shown to impact WFC in prior studies, as well as the new individual differences variables, NACH and NAFF. The variables, along with their corresponding hypotheses, are presented below. Additionally, the central research question is stated.

A. Research Question

"Do those individuals with high scores on need for achievement and need for affiliation measures experience more work/family conflict than others do, controlling for other important sources of variance?" And, "how do an individual's need scores moderate the relationship between objective and demographic conditions and perceived WFC?"

B. Hypotheses

Role Demands

A recent article by Williams and Alliger (1994) coins the phrase role juggling as "the interruption of one role by the demands of another" (p. 841). An earlier study by Williams et al. (1991) found that "multiple role juggling, or simultaneously attending the demands of two or more tasks from different roles, is a daily stressor". The concept of role juggling is operationalized to include job and family task demands, perceived control, perceived goal progress, job and family involvement, and perceived intrusions from one domain into the other.

Other studies have described multiple role demands as a precursor for the concepts of role ambiguity, role conflict, role overload, and role salience (Burke, 1988; Evans & Bartolome, 1984; and Greenhaus et al., 1989).

A third approach, and the one that will be employed here, is modeled after the studies of Gutek, et al. (1991), and Greenhaus and Parasuraman (working paper, 1994), and operationalizes the concept of role demands in an objective manner. Other researchers who have followed a similar methodology are Kossek (1990) who measured presence and number of children, marital status and employment level; and Price and Mueller (1986), who developed a "kinship responsibility scale".

It is important to differentiate between the objective conditions an individual experiences, such as role demands and resource availability, and the subjectively reported level of work/family conflict. Role demands can be thought of as the demands from each separate sphere that contribute to the conflict, whereas PWFC is that conflict that is felt inside the person. It is possible to objectively measure, or quantify, role demands and resource availability, whereas WFC will be a subjective, or perceptual report. Role demands and resource availability will not perfectly correlate with WFC due to the effect of individual differences, such as NAch and NAff. Greenhaus (1988) writes "Models of work/family conflict should recognize the differences between objective and psychological conflict in order to examine the possibility that each type of conflict has somewhat different antecedents and consequences. ... Scales should be explicitly designed to assess each aspect of work/family conflict (objective and psychological) so that a more complete and balanced assessment of work/family conflict is possible" (p. 25-26).

Accordingly, the following hypothesis is proposed to examine the relationship

between objectively measured role demands and subjectively reported work/family conflict:

Hypothesis 1: The number of objective role demands a person reports will be positively related to perceived work/family conflict.

Resource Availability

"A resource is defined as a commodity that enables achievement of an objective. Resources include physical assets (raw materials, capital, equipment, supplies, and information) and human resources (knowledge, skill, and ability). Resources vary by quantity, type, and liquidity of or access to physical assets; they also vary regarding opportunity, or discretion and time" (Klein, 1990).

Resource availability (or its opposite, resource scarcity) has been studied as both an objective and a subjective antecedent to PWFC. Burke (1988), for example, describes work setting characteristics such as lack of autonomy, work load, and supervision; and life setting characteristics such as lack of social support, as having an effect on work/family conflict. Greenhaus et al. (1989), in a study of 119 dual-career couples, found that work role stressors, task variety, autonomy and complexity, and work schedule inflexibility and travel were related to work/family conflict.

Those individuals who have the resources necessary to cope with the multiple role demands of the work and family domains are expected to report less perceived work/family conflict, since these resources will assist in coping with the stressors listed above. The types of assistance that have been reported to be most helpful in dealing with the conflict are resources or support from the employer, and resources or support from the spouse/significant other (Greenhaus & Callanan, 1994).

House (1981) identified four types of social support: emotional (eg: empathy, caring, trust, love); instrumental (eg: behavior that directly helps the person in need); informational (eg: information to be used by the person to cope with problem); and appraisal (eg: information that provides feedback to the person).

While social support is crucial to an individual who is attempting to combine participation in work and family roles, it may be more explanatory to use the broader concept of resource availability. This enables the researcher to include other important variables such as quality child and elder care, high income, and flexibility of schedules (McBride, 1990). Accordingly, the following hypothesis is proposed, which examines the relationship between objectively measured resource availability and perceived work/family conflict:

Hypothesis 2 : The amount of objective resource availability a person reports will be negatively related to subjective work/family conflict.

Need for Achievement and Need for Affiliation

As was discussed in the introduction, it is believed that those individuals who score highly on both NACH and NAFF experience a psychological conflict. Since NACH and NAFF are analogous to work and family domains, they will perceive this psychological conflict to be, in fact, a conflict between their behavioral involvement in each domain. It is proposed that a positive relationship exists between NACH and NAFF and perceived WFC. Additionally, as proposed in earlier studies, it is believed that the two needs are more interdependent, and the relationship more complex, for women than it is for men.

Therefore, the following hypotheses are presented:

Hypothesis 3a : An individual's need for achievement and need for affiliation scores will be positively related to their subjective work/family conflict, such that those with high scores on NACH and NAFF will experience more subjective work/family conflict than others with similar demographic and objective conditions will.

Hypothesis 3b : Women's NACH and NAFF scores will be more highly correlated (more interdependent) than men's will.

Gender

Studies report varying findings on gender differences in work/family conflict (Lobel, 1991, Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1993; Pleck, Staines & Lang, 1980; and Schwartz, 1992). For example, Gutek, Searle & Klepa (1991) cite a "lack of major sex differences in some studies of work-family conflict, despite the substantial differences in men's and women's situations" (p. 560). Duxbury and Higgins (1991), on the other hand, found significant differences in eleven of seventeen gender comparisons of work-family conflict.

This is a complex area, with individual needs, societal expectations, resource availability, and job flexibility all contributing to WFC. However, it will be expected that women will experience more perceived WFC than men will, due to the unspoken norm that they "can have it all", but that it is their responsibility to work out the logistics. This unwritten rule, coupled with the very real burden of more hours spent on housework and child care by women than men, will contribute to women's WFC being greater than men's. It is proposed that women will report more PWFC precisely because of the greater role demands and less resource availability they experience, and that when these objective conditions are partialled out of the relationship, gender differences will be reduced.

Therefore, it will be hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 4a : Female respondents will experience more perceived WFC than male respondents will.

Hypothesis 4b : When the objective conditions of role demands and resource availability are partialled out, the correlation between gender differences and PWFC will be closer to zero.

Number and Presence of Children

Greenhaus & Callanan (1994) write that "employees who experience the most extensive work/family conflict tend to be married, have young children, have large families, and have spouses who hold responsible jobs" (p. 247). Williams & Alliger (1994) report that for many employed parents, work and family goals must compete for limited psychological, physical and temporal resources. Having preschoolers, or numerous children was associated with health problems. Barnett & Baruch (1985) found that the role of mother was related to overload and anxiety, regardless of employment status. Voyandoff (1988) writes that members of dual-earner families, single parent families, and families with young children are likely to experience the most work/family conflict.

It is logical to assume that the presence of children in a family will increase the amount of time and responsibility that an individual will expend in the family domain. It will be proposed then, that parents will report more WFC than non-parents will, as a result of the greater role demands and lesser resource availability that they experience.

Hypothesis 5a : Parents will experience more subjective work/family conflict than

non-parents will.

Hypothesis 5b : When the objective conditions of role demands and resource availability are partialled out of the relationship, the differences between parents and non-parents in PWFC scores will be closer to zero.

Marital Status - Dual Career and Single Parenthood

"The nature of families in the United States has changed dramatically in the last two decades as the number of people living in dual career and single-parent households has risen" (Hayghe, 1990, in Milliken, Martins & Morgan, 1994: 3).

Greenhaus and Callanan (1994) cite increased work/family conflict as one of the sources of stress among dual-career couples. The literature has moved towards a definition of dual-career couple that is based on one developed by Hall & Hall (1979), and describes two people that share a lifestyle that includes an ongoing love relationship, cohabitation, and a work role for each partner. This is the definition that will be employed in this study, and it is believed that this representation is a more accurate portrayal of the entire work force. Earlier studies defined career as continuous participation in a professional occupation over the course of one's adult life. This rather elitist definition excluded and denied the existence of WFC for a significant portion of the work force.

Due to the multiple role demands and limited resource availability experienced by partners in a dual-career relationship, the following is proposed:

Hypothesis 6a : Those respondents in dual-career families will experience more subjective work/family conflict than those in single-career families will.

Hypothesis 6b : When the objective conditions of multiple role demands and limited resource availability are partialled out of the relationship, the differences in PWFC for dual-career and single-career families will be closer to zero.

The literature on work/family conflict has very little to say about how single parents may experience it. Voyandoff (1988) writes that gaps exist in knowledge about the work/family interface, particularly in the areas of single-parent families and eldercare. She states that most research on single-parent families has focused on their increasing numbers in the last two decades, and on the question of whether welfare benefits encourage their development. The experiences of the employed single parent, his/her labor force participation, and its effect on family life appear to have been ignored. It would seem logical to assume, however, that single parents will experience more WFC than those parents with a partner will. While it is true that single parents do not have to spend time and energy on nurturing a relationship with a partner, the awesome responsibility of providing for the emotional and financial well-being of a child(ren) on one's own should more than cancel the other out.

The single parent does not have the luxury of relying upon another adult to help sort out concerns about jobs, children or money. The pressure upon a single parent (usually a mother) to perform well in both domains must be catastrophic at times. Any small performance gap in either domain (eg: calling in sick at work, or missing a child's school performance) may be experienced as a serious threat to the delicate balance that the single parent strives so hard to maintain. It will be proposed that single parents will report more PWFC than other respondents will, due to the multiple role demands and limited resource availability they experience.

Hypothesis 7a : Single parents will report more subjective work/family conflict

than other respondents will.

Hypothesis 7b: When the objective conditions of multiple role demands and limited resource availability are factored out, the differences between single parents and other respondents will be closer to zero.

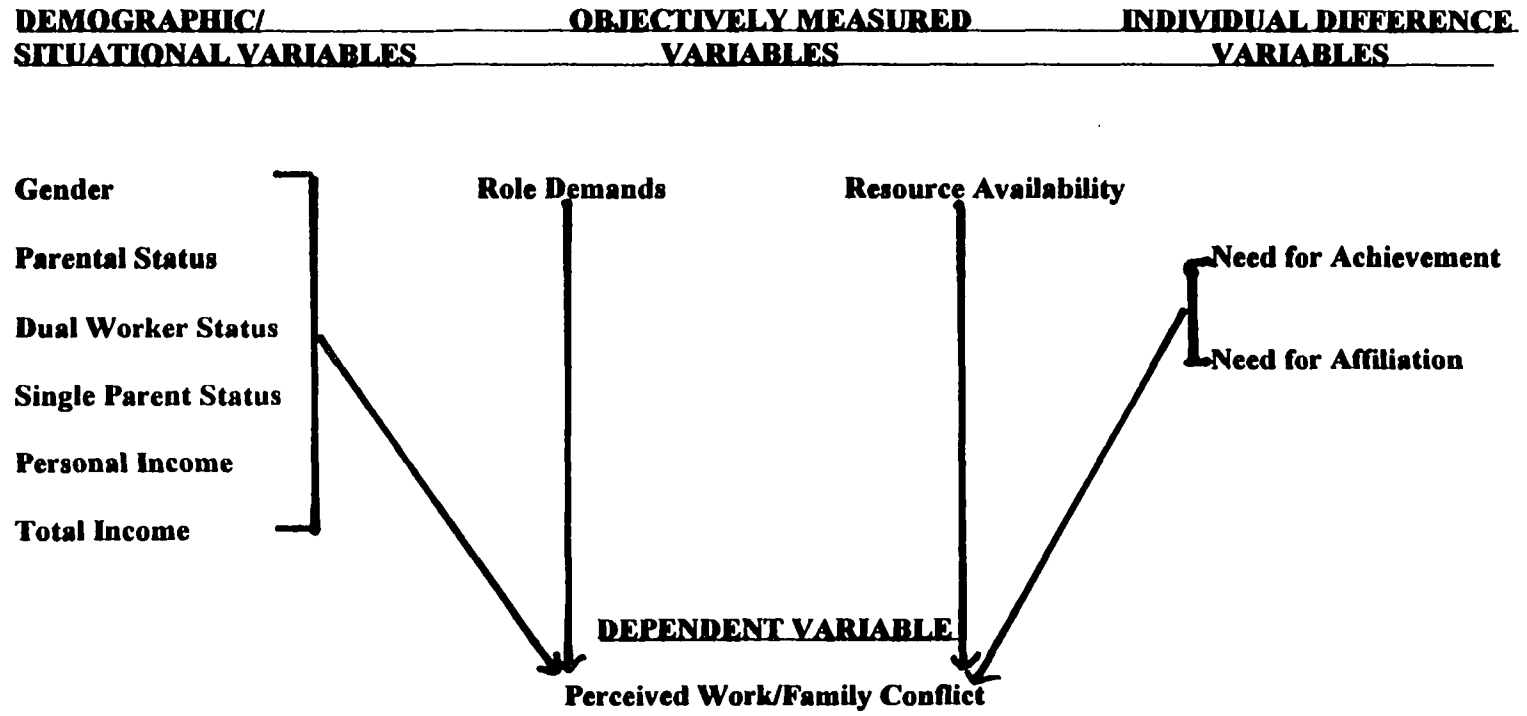
Income

Studies have reported a negative relationship between income level and PWFC (most recently, Gutek, et al., 1991). However, the relationship may be more complex, since those with higher income typically have more resource availability, but also have more objective role demands than others have. When these objective conditions are factored out of the relationship, it is believed that income level and PWFC will be negatively related.

Hypothesis 8: Income level will be negatively related to PWFC.

See Figure 2 for a comprehensive model of the relationship among individual difference variables, objectively scored variables, demographic or situational variables, and the subjective report of work/family conflict.

FIGURE 2: A COMPREHENSIVE MODEL OF PERCEIVED WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT



MEASURES TO BE USED

| <u>VARIABLE</u> | <u>MEASURE</u> |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Role Demands | Objectively scored measure based upon Gutek et al (1991), and Family Demands Questionnaire, Kossek (1990) |
| Resource Availability | Objectively scored measure based upon Family Friendly Index, Galinsky et al. (1991), and House (1981) |
| Need for Achievement | Personality Research Form-E, Jackson (1974) |
| Need for Affiliation | PRF-E |
| Demographic Info | Single item measures |
| Perceived Work/ Family Conflict | Inventory of Work/Family Conflict, Greenhaus & Callanan (1994), based on Kopelman, Greenhaus & Connolly (1983) |

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

DESIGN

The study utilized a cross-sectional survey design to assess the relationship between objective, demographic, and individual differences variables, and perceived work/family conflict.

SAMPLE

Power Analysis

A power analysis was conducted to determine the appropriate number of subjects required to reach a power of .80 with $\alpha = .05$, two tails, and a small to medium effect size (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). A small to medium effect size is consistent with findings in previous studies of work/family conflict, and the researcher was not interested in effect size that would be smaller than that. The present study examined those individuals who scored high on both NACH and NAFF, and compared them to all others; therefore the sample was a one-quarter/three quarter split. These unequal sample sized affected the power, since a simple average was not appropriate for this study. The power analysis determined that 282 subjects would be necessary in order to detect any effects due to the independent variables; given desired effect size, type of tests and level of significance of the study.

The sample consisted of male and female evening students at a large, urban, state university in New England. Respondents were recruited through their classes and asked for their participation in the study if they held a paying job. All participants were given a questionnaire and a manila envelope and were asked to return the survey to their instructor. The researcher then picked up the surveys.

Respondents' Backgrounds

Participants came from a wide variety of fields of study, including business, education, social work, arts and sciences, and nursing. Additionally, they exhibited a wide degree of variance in socioeconomic status, race, age, and occupation. The only limiting condition of this sample is that all respondents are college students; however, this is a group with much more variance than others that have been studied with respect to work/family conflict. Examples include: psychologists and managers (Guttek, et al., 1991); managers and professionals with a managerial or professional spouse, and children (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991); human resource managers (Milliken, Martins and Morgan, 1994); university faculty (Schultz, Chung & Henderson, 1988); night shift workers (Weiss & Liss, 1988); police officers (Burke, 1988); dual career physicians in Israel (Izraeli, 1988); and Mexican-American professional women (Zambrana & Frith, 1988).

MEASURES

Pre-Test of Measures

Measures were initially pre-tested on a sample of 27 respondents. The instrument was administered to ten respondents individually, and to seventeen subjects in a group setting. All respondents were given the opportunity to comment on the clarity and user-friendliness of the instrument.

Respondents asked for clarification on several questions with respect to wording. In general, instructions were perceived as being clear, and the respondents did not report that the instrument was too long, despite the fact that it took seventeen

minutes on average to complete it. Minor changes were made to the wording of the questions in line with the respondents' suggestions.

Work/Family Conflict

The dependent variable, work/family conflict was measured by a 19-item scale developed by Greenhaus and Parasuraman (working paper). This scale was based on the Kopelman, Greenhaus & Connolly (1983) measure, and has been used most recently by its authors on a sample of Drexel alumni. In the present study, a reliability analysis yielded a coefficient alpha of .91. As this is a new measure, no other reliability information is available at this time. The five-point Likert-type scales gave response choices ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and included statements about the respondent's work and family lives. Strong agreement with an item reflects a relatively high level of work/family conflict. Two items were reverse-scored, yielding a high total score representative of high conflict. Total scores could range from a low of zero to a high of 95. The mean work/family conflict score for respondents in this study was 38.2, with a SD of 15.22.

Need for Achievement and Need for Affiliation

Need for achievement and need for affiliation were measured by two 16-item scales from the Personality Research Form, 3rd edition, Form E (PRF-E), 1974-87, by Douglas N. Jackson. The format is true-false, with eight items in each scale scored in a positive direction, and eight items reverse scored. Total scores can range from zero to sixteen on each scale.

In earlier studies, KR20 reliabilities for the standard scales varied between .78 and .94, parallel form reliabilities varied between .60 and .85, odd-even reliabilities

varied between .50 and .91; in all cases the median reliability coefficients were in the high .80 range. Validity data is provided by substantial correlations between scale scores and peer ratings, as well as tables of correlations between the PRF and other well-established inventories of need for achievement and need for affiliation.

Reliability analyses for the two scales in the present study yielded alphas of .76 and .82 respectively. Mean scores for need for achievement and need for affiliation were 10.3, SD = 3.48, and 8.9, SD = 4.06.

Based upon their scores on these two need measures, subjects were placed into groups with "low" and "high" NAch and NAff scores. Those who scored at or above the mean were considered "high", while all others were considered "low". The subgroup of respondents which was identified as "high/high" on NAch and NAff had their work/family conflict scores compared to those of the rest of the sample.

Need for achievement and need for affiliation scores for the respondents of this study were compared to norms for the PRF-E compiled by Jackson. Normative data has been compiled for college populations, adolescents, juvenile offenders and adults, and military samples. Keeping in mind that the mean scores for this study were 10.33, sd = 3.48 for NAch, and 8.86, sd = 4.06 for NAff, the following comparisons can be made:

1. **college students**, male : mean = 10.98, sd = 3.12, female: mean = 10.00, sd = 3.41 for NAch; male: mean = 8.33, sd = 3.7, female: mean = 8.93, sd = 4.03 for NAff;
2. **adults**: male: mean = 10.4, sd = 2.66, female: mean = 9.97, sd = 3.02 for NAch; male: mean = 9.15, sd = 3.14, female: mean = 9.82, sd = 2.89 for NAff

It appears as if the scores for need for achievement and need for affiliation from the respondents of this study are well within the range of those from other relevant populations.

Objectively Scored Role Demands

The amount of objective role demands experienced was computed by asking respondents how many hours they spent each week on typical tasks, such as at work, on leisure activities, and on household chores. This methodology is similar to that used in the Gutek, Searle and Klepa 1991 study of work/family conflict.

In addition, respondents were asked who in their household had the primary responsibility in each of seven areas. Choices for response were "done by me" or "done by others", where each "by me" response was coded with a one, and each "by others" was coded zero. Thus, higher scores indicated a higher degree of role demands.

Objectively Scored Resource Availability

Objective resource availability was computed in two ways: through measures of social support and organizational support. The first instrument, a 5-point measure of social support developed by Greenhaus, asks respondents to state their level of agreement with a series of nine statements. Response scores ranged from zero ('not applicable') to five ('strongly agree'), yielding total scores ranging from zero to forty-five.

The second instrument is a measure of organizational support provided by the employer to the respondent, which the author of this study adapted from Galinsky et al., 1991. Their Family Friendly Index asks respondents to check off how many of the

twenty-three perks described are provided by his/her employer. Since the Index was developed to collect data at the organizational level of analysis, the response pattern was modified for this study to reflect the individual level of analysis. In addition to the original, "Does your organization provide ...?", respondents were also asked in the present study, "Have you used it?", and "Was it helpful?" Responses were scored with a "1" each time the subject answered "yes" to one of the three questions listed above, and with a "0" each time they answered "no". Therefore each item score ranged from zero to three, with higher scores indicating higher degrees of organizational support. The seven organizational benefits that have been found to reduce WFC in other studies were chosen from the Family Friendly Index list of twenty-three benefits for the purposes of this study. Those seven benefits that were examined in the current study were: flextime; part-time work; job-sharing; working at home; family leaves; flexible benefits; and childcare assistance. Thus, total scores on this measure could range from zero to twenty-one.

Demographic Variables

Finally, demographic information was requested. Respondents were asked for their: age; gender; marital status; parental status; dual worker status; ethnic group; total household income; personal income; job category; and whether or not their spouse or partner was employed for pay. Situational data was requested since earlier studies used these variables to predict levels of PWFC. The present study examined whether or not these variables in fact uniquely explain variance above and beyond that provided by the objectively measured and dispositional variables. See Appendix A for a copy of all instruments used in this study, as well as coding scheme.

CHAPTER V: RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to examine the antecedents of perceived work/family conflict, with the goal of moving the level of analysis from predictive to explanatory. Accordingly, three groups of independent variables were studied to assess their impact upon the dependent variable, work/family conflict (WFC). The first group of variables, the demographic set, included gender, marital status, parental status, dual career status, single parent status, and income. These predictors are the ones that have been most often linked with WFC in earlier studies, and offer only predictive information. The present study also included two other sets of variables as possible inputs to the conflict: objectively scored role demands and resource availability; and the psychological variables need for achievement and need for affiliation. It was hypothesized herein that once the objective and psychological variables were entered in to the equation, that the addition of the demographic variables would contribute little additional explained variance.

The hypotheses were tested using t-tests, zero-order and partial correlation analyses, and multiple regression analysis. Means and standard deviations for continuous variables can be found in Table 1, and frequencies for demographic variables are presented in Table 2. An intercorrelation matrix is shown in Table 4. All data analysis was performed using SPSS for MS Windows, Release 6.1.

Out of 540 surveys that were distributed, 286 usable ones were returned (a response rate of 53%). The sample comprised 170 women (59.6%), and 115 men (40.2%). (One respondent declined to identify his/her gender.) Almost half of the

**TABLE 1: MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS
FOR CONTINUOUS VARIABLES**

| VARIABLE | MEAN | S.D. | MINIMUM | MAXIMUM |
|--|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| Age | 35.96 | 9.97 | 20 | 61 |
| Need for Achievement | 10.33 | 3.48 | 0 | 16 |
| Need for Affiliation | 8.86 | 4.06 | 0 | 16 |
| Objective Resource Availability | 33.2 | 16.4 | 0 | 60 |
| Objective Role Demands | 111.22 | 40.45 | 12 | 280 |
| Work/Family Conflict | 38.18 | 15.22 | 0 | 75 |

N = 286

TABLE 2: FREQUENCIES - DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

| VARIABLE | FREQUENCY | % |
|-----------------------------|------------------|----------|
| GENDER | | |
| Male | 115 | 40.2 |
| Female | 170 | 59.6 |
| No response | 1 | .3 |
| DUAL WORKER | | |
| Yes | 110 | 38.5 |
| No | 171 | 59.8 |
| No response | 5 | 1.7 |
| MARITAL STATUS | | |
| Never married | 81 | 28.3 |
| Separated | 2 | .7 |
| Married | 155 | 54.2 |
| Divorced | 23 | 8.0 |
| Live with partner | 21 | 7.3 |
| Widower | 4 | 1.4 |
| PARENTAL STATUS | | |
| Parents | 159 | 55.6 |
| Non-parents | 127 | 44.4 |
| SINGLE PARENT STATUS | | |
| Single parent | 32 | 11.2 |
| Others | 248 | 86.7 |
| No response | | |
| N = 286 | | |
| continued ... | | |

TABLE 2 CONTINUED : FREQUENCIES - DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

| VARIABLE | FREQUENCY | % |
|------------------------|------------------|----------|
| JOB CATEGORY | | |
| Technical | 25 | 8.7 |
| Professional | 140 | 49.0 |
| Clerical | 23 | 8.0 |
| Managerial | 43 | 15.0 |
| Manual | 4 | 1.4 |
| Skilled | 21 | 7.3 |
| Other | 30 | 8.0 |
| PERSONAL INCOME | | |
| < \$10,000 | 18 | 6.3 |
| \$10,001-20,000 | 34 | 11.9 |
| \$20,001-30,000 | 60 | 21.0 |
| \$30,001-40,000 | 49 | 17.1 |
| \$40,001-50,000 | 44 | 15.4 |
| \$50,001-60,000 | 31 | 10.8 |
| \$60,001-80,000 | 14 | 4.9 |
| \$80,001-100,000 | 3 | 1.0 |
| >\$100,000 | 9 | 3.1 |
| No response | 24 | 8.4 |
| TOTAL INCOME | | |
| <\$10,000 | 6 | 2.1 |
| \$10,001-20,000 | 4 | 1.4 |
| \$20,001-30,000 | 32 | 11.2 |
| \$30,001-40,000 | 18 | 6.3 |
| \$40,001-50,000 | 29 | 10.1 |
| \$50,001-60,000 | 38 | 13.3 |
| \$60,001-80,000 | 50 | 17.5 |
| \$80,001-100,000 | 32 | 11.2 |
| >\$100,000 | 46 | 16.1 |
| No response | 31 | 10.8 |

N = 286

respondents (49%) described their job type as "professional", while others were listed as "managerial" (15%), "technical" (8.7%), "skilled" (8%), and "other" (8%). The average age in the sample was 36, with a SD of 9.97.

The following section reports on gender differences found in number of hours spent on work and family activities.

Gender Differences for Objectively Scored Variables

Respondents were asked, "How many hours per week do you spend on paid (i.e.: job-related) work activities?" The average number of hours spent on paid, on-the-job activities per week was 39.42 for the entire sample (SD = 16.45), with women reporting 37.46 hours (SD = 15.94), and men reporting 42.31 hours (SD = 16.91). A t-test showed this difference to be significant ($t = 2.43, p = .02$) When asked how many hours per week they spend on household chores, all respondents reported spending 9.7 hours per week on household chores (SD = 9.0), with women working 12.09 hours on chores (SD = 9.3), and men reporting 6.1 hours on same (SD = 7.24). The difference between men and women was significant ($t = 6.03, p < .001$).

Gender differences continued to occur in the areas of: **household maintenance** [2.61 hours per week for total sample (SD = 3.57), 1.48 hours for women (SD = 1.97), and 4.29 hours for men (SD = 4.65)], ($t = 6.09, p < .001$); **shopping** [2.71 hours per week overall (SD = 2.67), 3.14 hours for women (SD = 2.51), 2.07 hours for men (SD = 2.79)], ($t = 3.27, p = .001$); **hours per week of overtime worked** [4.66 for entire sample (SD = 7.84), 3.86 hours for women (SD = 6.78), and 5.88 hours for men (SD = 9.08)], ($t = 2.03, p = .04$); **playing with children** [5.2 hours per week overall (SD = 9.07), 5.49 hours for women (SD = 9.66), and 4.8 hours for men (SD = 8.15)], ($t = .63, p = .53$); **childcare** [6.02 hours for

entire sample (SD = 11.82), 6.6 hours for women (SD = 13.08), and 5.2 hours for men (SD = 9.64)], ($t = 1.03$, $p = .30$); leisure activities [16.89 hours overall per week (SD = 14.62), 15.68 hours for women (SD = 11.96), and 18.77 hours for men (SD = 17.69)], ($t = 1.63$, $p = .10$); and number of hours spouse/partner works [29.42 hours per week overall (SD = 22.08), 34.7 hours for women (SD = 22.22), and 21.69 hours for men (SD = 19.54)], ($t = 4.78$, $p = .01$).

Gender differences did occur in each area examined, and they occurred along traditional sex-role lines; that is, men spent more time on paid work activities and household repair than women did, while women spent more time on shopping, chores and childcare than men did. Significant gender differences occurred in number of hours spent in paid work, household chores, household maintenance, shopping, hours of overtime worked, and number of hours spouse works. Gender differences were non-significant in the areas of hours spent playing with children, childcare, and leisure activities.

This finding is in agreement with that of Gutek, et.al (1991). Some of the item results in the 1991 study are very similar to ones herein (e.g.: on the question about household chores the 1991 study reported results of women spending 10.6 hours per week and men spending 7.0 hours per week; while the present study reported 12.09 and 6.1 respectively). However, all of the respondents in the 1991 study worked more hours per week than the respondents to this study did, and the standard deviations were larger in the present study than those found by Gutek et.al. When one examines the relatively small size of the gender differences overall in the current study, as well as the large standard deviations within items, it appears as if gender differences in objectively measured role demands may not be a critical area for study with respect to work/family conflict. See Table 3 for a summary of the above.

TABLE 3: Summary of Gender Differences in Daily Activities

| Variable (in hours per week) | Total Sample (N = 285) | Women (n = 170) | Men (n = 115) |
|---|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Mean (SD) | Mean (SD) | Mean (SD) |
| Paid, on the job activities * | 39.42 (16.45) | 37.46 (15.94) | 42.31 (16.91) |
| Household chores ** | 9.7 (9.0) | 12.09 (9.3) | 6.1 (7.24) |
| Household maintenance ** | 2.61 (3.57) | 1.48 (1.97) | 4.29 (4.65) |
| Shopping ** | 2.71 (2.67) | 3.14 (2.51) | 2.07 (2.79) |
| Overtime worked * | 4.66 (7.84) | 3.86 (6.78) | 5.88 (9.08) |
| Playing with children | 5.2 (9.07) | 5.49 (9.66) | 4.8 (8.15) |
| Childcare | 6.02 (11.82) | 6.6 (13.08) | 5.2 (9.64) |
| Leisure activities | 16.89 (14.62) | 15.68 (11.96) | 18.77 (17.69) |
| Spouse works ** | 29.42 (22.08) | 34.7 (22.22) | 21.69 (19.54) |
| N = 285 | * = < .05 | ** = < .01 | Two tailed |

TABLE 4: CORRELATIONS

| Variable | DUALWORK | GENDER | MARITAL | NEEDACH | NEEDAFF | NOKIDS | ORA | ORD | SINGLEP | TINCOME | PINCOME | WORKFAMC |
|----------|----------|--------|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| DUALWORK | . | .08 | .33** | .01 | -.05 | -.17** | .57** | .07 | -.28** | .39** | .06 | .19** |
| GENDER | | . | .11 | .07 | .11 | .00 | .01 | -.02 | .05 | -.03 | -.17** | -.01 |
| MARITAL | | | . | -.09 | -.07 | -.38** | .27** | .01 | .22** | .08 | .12* | .11 |
| NEEDACH | | | | . | .24** | .05 | .00 | .02 | -.06 | .10 | .19** | .12* |
| NEEDAFF | | | | | . | .09 | .03 | -.02 | -.10 | -.00 | -.04 | -.14* |
| NOKIDS | | | | | | . | -.17** | -.32** | -.28** | -.17** | -.23** | -.26** |
| ORA | | | | | | | . | -.17** | -.32** | .31** | .17** | .09 |
| ORD | | | | | | | | . | .12* | .04 | .10 | .30** |
| SINGLEP | | | | | | | | | . | -.29** | -.07 | .11 |
| TINCOME | | | | | | | | | | . | .62** | .22** |
| PINCOME | | | | | | | | | | | . | .20** |
| WORKFAMC | | | | | | | | | | | | . |

N=286 *p<.05 ** p<.01 Two-tailed

DUALWORK = dual worker status, MARITAL = marital status, NEEDACH = need for achievement, NEEDAFF = need for affiliation, NOKIDS = parental status, ORA = objective resource availability, ORD = objective role demands, SINGLEP = single parent status, TINCOME = total income, PINCOME = personal income, WORKFAMC = work/family conflict.

The following section reports findings for the objectively scored variables, multiple role demands and resource availability.

Objective Role Demands

Hypothesis 1, which stated that the number of objective role demands that a person reports will be positively related to their perceived level of work/family conflict, was supported. The hypothesis was tested by examining zero-order correlations, and the resulting correlation between objective role demands and PWFC was .2989 ($p < .001$, $N = 274$). Those respondents who reported higher levels of objectively measured role demands also reported higher levels of perceived work/family conflict. Table 5 summarizes this result along with those from the following hypothesis.

Objective Resource Availability

Hypothesis 2 proposed that those respondents who have higher levels of objectively measured resource availability would report lower levels of perceived work/family conflict, or that a negative correlation would exist between the two variables. This hypothesis was not supported, since the zero-order correlation between ORA and PWFC was a weak, positive one (.0872, $p = .159$, $N = 262$). The interpretation is that resource availability, in the form of organizational and social support, did not serve to lessen the perceived conflict. See Table 5 for a summary of the results of the two objectively scored variables.

Need for Achievement and Need for Affiliation

TABLE 5: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN OBJECTIVELY SCORED VARIABLES AND PERCEIVED WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT (PWFC)

| Variable | Correlation with PWFC |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Multiple Role Demands | .2989** |
| Resource Availability | .0872 |

N = 286 ** p < .01

Hypothesis 3a stated that an individual's need for achievement and need for affiliation scores will be positively related to their subjective work/family conflict score, such that those with high scores on NACH and NAFF will experience more subjective work/family conflict than others with similar demographic and objective conditions will.

Those who scored "high/high" on NACH and NAFF ($n=75$) had a perceived work/family conflict mean score of 39.64 ($SD = 13.94$), as compared to a perceived WFC mean score of 37.03 ($SD = 14.12$) for the rest of the sample. T tests showed these differences to be non-significant, however, with a $t=.87$, $p = .28$. Subjects who reported high/high need scores also reported higher than average WFC scores, but the differences between the two groups was not found to be significant. This hypothesis was not supported.

A post hoc analysis contrasted the scores of the "high/high" respondents with those of the "low/low" respondents (mean score = 36.44, $SD = 12.21$, $n = 81$). The results showed a $t = 26.86$, $p < .001$. Clearly, significant differences exist in PWFC scores between the respondents who scored "high/high" on NACH and NAFF and those who scored "low/low" on the same measures. However, this analysis has excluded approximately half of the respondents, and care must be taken in interpreting the results. See Table 6 for a summary comparison of those with low/low and high/high need scores with respect to all others and their corresponding PWFC scores.

Hypothesis 3b: This hypothesis proposed that women's NACH and NAFF scores will be more highly correlated with each other (more interdependent) than men's will. The zero order correlation between women's NACH and NAFF scores was .2647, while the correlation between men's need scores was .1785. Hotelling's $t(d)f = 2.56$; a significant difference exists between the two groups. This hypothesis was supported.

TABLE 6: WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT (WFC) SCORES FOR THOSE WITH HIGH SCORES ON NEED FOR ACHIEVEMENT (NACH) AND NEED FOR AFFILIATION (NAFF), THOSE WITH LOW NEED SCORES, AND ALL OTHERS

(Significance test compares High/High with all others (n.s.), and High/High with Low/Low (**))

| Variable | WFC Score | | n | t |
|------------|-----------|-------|----|---------|
| | Mean | sd | | |
| High/High | 39.64 | 13.94 | 75 | .87 |
| Low/Low | 36.44 | 12.21 | 81 | 26.86** |
| All Others | 37.03 | 14.12 | | |

N = 286 ** p < .01

Gender

Hypothesis 4a predicted that women would experience more perceived work/family conflict than men would. Results did not support this hypothesis; men reported WFC scores of 38.34 (SD =14.47, n = 115) and women reported WFC scores of 38.10 (SD = 15.80, n = 168). These mean WFC scores were virtually identical with no significant difference between them. Therefore, this hypothesis of gender differences in WFC scores was not supported; men and women reported equivalent levels of work/family conflict.

Hypothesis 4b was predicated upon finding significant gender differences in PWFC scores in hypothesis 4a; and proposed that when the objective conditions of role demands and resource availability are partialled out of the correlation between gender and PWFC, the correlation would be closer to zero. That is, it was predicted that when the objective conditions were accounted for, gender differences in PWFC scores would become smaller. A very small negative correlation was found between gender and work/family conflict (-.0077). This hypothesis was not tested further, given the test results from 4a, where men's and women's PWFC scores were nearly identical.

Parental Status

Hypothesis 5a: Parents will experience more subjective WFC than non-parents will. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the subjective WFC scores of parents with those of non-parents.

Differences between parents' and non-parents' WFC scores did occur in the predicted direction, with parents reporting WFC scores of 41.76 (SD = 15.29, n =

159), while non-parents reported scores of 33.74 (SD = 13.99, n = 125). A t-test revealed significant differences between the two groups [$t(282) = 4.50, p < .001$], lending strong support to the hypothesis that parents experience more conflict between work and family domains than non-parents do.

Hypothesis 5b stated that when the objective conditions of role demands and resource availability were partialled out of the relationship, the correlation between parental status and PWFC scores would be closer to zero. A negative zero-order correlation (-.2590) was found between WFC and "no kids" (coding for parental status); that is, higher WFC scores are associated with the presence of children. When ORA and ORD are controlled for, the correlation is reduced to -.1981. Therefore, this hypothesis received weak support, since the correlations were small to begin with. The interpretation is that objective role demands and resource availability capture some of the variance ascribed to parental status.

Dual Worker Status

Hypothesis 6a: Those respondents in dual worker families will experience more subjective WFC than those in other situations will.

This hypothesis was tested by comparing the subjective WFC scores of dual worker members with those of other respondents. Those respondents who were members of a dual worker household had a mean WFC score of 40.61, (SD = 14.23, n = 170), and those who were not members of a dual worker relationship had mean WFC scores of 34.67 (SD = 16.05, n = 109). A test for the significance of the difference between the means yielded $t(277) = -3.24, p = .001$. Those respondents

who were members of dual worker households reported significantly more work/family conflict than others did; therefore, this hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 6b proposed that when the objective conditions of resource availability and multiple role demands were partialled out, the correlation between dual worker status and PWFC scores would be closer to zero. The correlation between work/family conflict and dual worker status was .1908, and decreased to .1708 when the objectively measured variables multiple role demands and resource availability were controlled for. A test for the significance of the difference between the correlations resulted in a $t(d)r = .3853$, which was non-significant at the .05 level. This hypothesis was not supported.

Single Parent Status

Hypothesis 7a predicted that single parents would report higher levels of subjective work/family conflict than other respondents would. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the subjective WFC scores of single parents with those of other respondents.

Single parents had average WFC scores of 42.66 (SD = 13.44, n = 32), and those who were not single parents had average WFC score of 37.59 (SD = 15.44, n = 246). A t-test revealed a score of -1.77 (276), $p = .078$. The difference between the means for the two groups was non-significant, therefore this hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 7b proposed that when the objective conditions of multiple role demands and limited resource availability are controlled for, the differences in WFC scores

between single parents and other respondents will be closer to zero. The correlation between work/family conflict and single parent status is .1060, $p = .078$. When the objective conditions of ORA and ORD are partialled out, the correlation decreases to .0593. Any differences that would result from comparing two such small correlations would be insignificant. Therefore, although the differences occur in the proposed direction, this hypothesis received only weak support.

Income

Hypothesis 8 stated that income level would be negatively related to PWFC, that is, those with higher levels of income would report lower levels of work/family conflict. This hypothesis was tested by correlating both personal income and total household income levels with PWFC.

Personal income and PWFC had a correlation score of .1982 ($n = 260$, $p = .001$); and total household income and PWFC correlated at .2175 ($n = 254$, $p < .001$). Counter to the hypothesis, both income measures correlated positively with WFC; that is, those with higher incomes reported higher levels of work/family conflict than others did. Therefore, this hypothesis was not supported.

Multiple Regression Analysis

A multiple regression analysis was performed to determine how the demographic, objective, and psychological variables would act in concert upon the dependent variable, perceived work/family conflict. The intention was to examine the relative contribution of the two need levels, the two objectively scored variables, and the situational variables to the subjective report of work/family conflict.

The model was developed, entering the variables of interest into the equation via the hierarchical method (see Table 7). The first block contained those variables relevant to the current study, namely the individual difference variables of need for achievement (NAch) and need for affiliation (NAff), and the objectively scored variables of objective role demands (ORD) and objective resource availability (ORA). These independent variables were regressed on the dependent variable work/family conflict (WFC).

The resulting R^2 at this point was .11 ($F = 13.91^{**}$, $df = 4$). This result would indicate that the need levels and objectively scored variables collectively account for approximately 11% of the variance in respondents' perceived work/family conflict scores.

The second block of variables contained the situational variables marital status, parental status, single parent status, dual worker status, gender and total income levels. The cumulative R^2 increased to .18 ($F = 5.81^{**}$, $df = 10$) with the addition of the demographic variables. Thus, the addition of the variables in the second set did increase the explained variance of PWFC to approximately 18%, therefore offering unique additional explained variance above and beyond that supplied by the need level

and objectively scored variables. See Table 7 for a summary of the multiple regression results.

The next chapter includes a discussion of the results, the limitations of the study, and the theoretical and practical implications for future research.

**TABLE 7: RESULTS OF HIERARCHICAL MULTIPLE REGRESSION
ANALYSIS: DEPENDENT VARIABLE - PERCEIVED WORK/FAMILY
CONFLICT**

| SET | VARIABLES ADDED | R² | CUM. R² | F | df |
|------------|---|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------|
| 1 | NAch, NAff, ORD, ORA | .11 | .11 | 13.91** | 4 |
| 2 | TIncome, Marital Gender, NoKids, SingleP, DualWork | .07 | .18 | 5.81 | 10 |

N = 286 ** p < .01 Two-tailed

NAch = need for achievement, NAff = need for affiliation, ORD = objectively scored role demands, ORA = objectively scored resource availability, TIncome = total household income, Marital = marital status, NoKids = parental status, SingleP = single parent status, and DualWork = dual worker status.

Summary of Findings

The results of the multiple regression analysis indicate that both the variables of interest to this study (need for achievement, need for affiliation, objectively scored resource availability, and objective role demands) and the situational variables (gender, marital status, parental status, single parent status, dual worker status and income level) contribute significant levels of explained variance in respondents' perceived work/family conflict. Together the two blocks account for approximately 18% of explained variance in respondents' PWFC scores.

Correlations were also presented for the dependent variable and individual predictor variables. PWFC was found to be significantly correlated with objective role demands ($r = .2989^{**}$), parental status ($.2590^{**}$), personal income ($.1982^{**}$), total income ($.2175^{**}$), dual worker status ($.1908^{**}$), need for achievement ($.1239^*$), and need for affiliation ($-.1363^*$). Non-significant correlations were reported for the dependent variable and objective resource availability ($.0872$).

T-tests were computed to assess the significance of mean differences. Significant results were found for differences in PWFC scores between those with "high/high" and "low/low" scores on need for achievement and need for affiliation ($t = 26.86^{**}$); while a comparison of just the "high/high" respondents with all others yielded a non-significant result. Significant gender differences also existed between the interdependence of men's and women's NAch and NAff scores ($t(d)r = 2.56^*$). However, non-significant gender differences were reported between men's and women's PWFC scores (they were virtually identical : 38.34 vs. 38.10).

Additionally, significant results also occurred in the area of parental status ($t = 4.50^{**}$), and dual worker status ($t = 3.24^{**}$). The traditional symbols of *, where $p <$

.05, and **, where $p < .01$, have been employed here.

Overall, the results would indicate support for the inclusion of individual difference and objectively scored variables into a predictive model of perceived work/family conflict, along with some of the more traditionally used situational variables, such as parental status and dual worker status. Additionally, the inclusion of income level offered some unexpected results.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine situational variables, objectively measured conditions and individual difference variables, and their effect on perceived work/family conflict. The intent was to move from a predictive level, where only demographic or situational variables had been studied, to an explanatory level of analysis with the above-mentioned variables included in the model.

In this chapter, the major findings of the study are discussed, based upon the hypotheses which were proposed earlier. Additionally, theoretical and practical implications are presented, as well as limitations of the study.

Overall Fit of Hypothesized Model

It was hypothesized in the present study that the situational variables (i.e.: gender, parental status, dual worker status, single parent status and income) would be completely mediated by the need and objectively scored variables of interest. However, this was not the case, since the situational variables did add additional explained variance to the multiple regression model above and beyond what the need and objectively scored variables provided. Most notably, the addition of the variables parental status, income level, dual worker status, and single parent status increased the explained variance from 14% to 21% in a post hoc analysis.

Obviously, there are other factors present in the situational variables which had an effect on WFC and that were not accounted for through the variables of interest. While objectively scored role demands did share a positive correlation with WFC, objective resource availability did not. Parents, members of dual worker relationships, and those

who earn more money all reported higher WFC levels than others did. These situations share a common factor(s) that was not fully accounted for by measuring role demands and resource availability. These findings will be explored more fully in the discussion of theoretical implications of the present study.

The need variables, need for achievement and need for affiliation, shared modest correlations with the dependent variable (significant at the .05 level). It was hypothesized that those individuals with high scores on both NAch and NAff would report higher WFC scores than others would. This hypothesis was not supported. However, when those respondents with high/high need scores were compared to those respondents with low/low need scores, significant differences (at the .01 level) in WFC scores were found. Clearly, those who have a high need for achievement and a high need for affiliation experience much greater levels of WFC than those with low need levels do. This finding is compelling enough to warrant the inclusion of individual differences in general, and need differences specifically, in future research on WFC.

With respect to the situational variables, it was hypothesized that gender differences would exist in WFC scores. This hypothesis was not supported, since men's and women's conflict scores were almost identical. Other situational variables (i.e.: parental status, dual worker status, and income level) were found to contribute to the conflict, however. Single parent status was found to be share a non-significant correlation with WFC at the .08 level, however its inclusion in the multiple regression model did marginally increase the explained variance in the dependent variable (by 1%).

A discussion of the hypotheses, their results, and the implications of each follows.

Discussion of Hypotheses

The hypotheses can be divided into three groups: the situational/demographic ones that were included primarily for comparison to earlier studies; the individual difference hypotheses, need for achievement and need for affiliation; and those which examined the objectively scored variables, role demands and resource availability. The findings will be discussed in this manner.

Situational/Demographic Variables

Earlier studies have proposed that situational variables should be utilized as predictors of an individual's perceived level of work/family conflict. The areas that have been examined and that have yielded some empirical support in previous studies are discussed below, and are compared to findings in this study.

Gender

Gender is an area where differences in perceived work/family conflict might be expected, and it was proposed here that women would report more conflict than men would. In fact, gender differences in the dependent variable were virtually non-existent in the present study. Gutek, Searle & Kiepa (1991) cited "a lack of major sex differences in some studies of work/family conflict, despite the substantial differences in men's and women's situations" (p.560). It would appear as if the results of this study confirm that statement

While men and women reported experiencing comparable levels of WFC, an examination of their role investment through the objective measure of hours spent in each

domain reveals gender differences therein. Following traditional gender roles, women spent significantly more hours in family activities (e.g.: household chores, shopping), while men reported spending more time on work-related functions (e.g.: paid, on-the-job activities, overtime worked). This finding is similar to the concept of social identity that Lobel puts forward. Lobel states that "an individual's investment in a role will increase as his or her identification with that role increases" (p. 514). This role investment is identity-based, therefore, and is not affected by perceived rewards or costs associated with the role(s).

It appears as if the men and women in the study are experiencing fairly high levels of WFC as both groups continue to be increasingly involved in work and family domains. This is a universal phenomenon experienced by all working individuals, and the solution may need to come at the individual level, rather than from the organization or society. The respondents in the present study have made differing time investments in each role, possibly in line with what they perceive to be as their primary social identity.

Parental Status

Recent studies found that paid work and parenting cause the individual to make decisions regarding the allocation of his/her time, and these decisions often cause conflict to the individual (Greenhaus & Callanan, 1994; Williams & Alliger, 1994).

The present study supports these findings, reporting a significant correlation between the presence of children and the reported level of work/family conflict, and significant differences between the conflict scores of parents and non-parents.

The presence of children adds both temporal and emotional aspects to the work/family conflict arena. Respondents in the present study spent an average of 11.22 hours per week playing with children or engaged in child care. It must be assumed that

this time comes at a cost to other areas (i.e.: job or home responsibilities or leisure activities).

Additionally, respondents with children will experience an emotional conflict when these additional demands force behavioral choices at work and at home. The employee with a sick child and a deadline at work must deal with pressures above and beyond those that respondents without children typically face. Therefore, in this instance, there is agreement in the findings between the objective measure of number of hours spent (+11.22 for parents) and their subjective report of more work/family conflict than others.

Single Parent Status

The present study shows non-significant differences in work/family conflict scores between single parents and others. Single parents did report more conflict between the two domains than others did, and the differences between the two groups' scores approached but did not achieve significance ($p = .078$). It is possible that for single parents an instrumental, rather than a conflict model, may be more appropriate. Instrumental models (Evans & Bartolome, 1984; Payton-Miyazke & Brayfield, 1976) propose that work is used to "purchase" family life, while family is used to justify work. Single parents with economic constraints may not have the luxury of ruminating upon how work interferes with family life and vice versa. Rather, they may see the necessity for their participation in each domain more clearly than others do.

Dual Career Status

As hypothesized, members of dual work households did report more conflict than other respondents did, however. Relationships which accommodate two jobs must deal with multiple schedules, job pressures, and less flexibility at home. While there may be

additional resources available (including income) this does not translate into less work/family conflict. In fact, the multiple role demands of both individuals act together in an additive fashion to increase the conflict.

Income Level

It was hypothesized in the present study that income would reduce or ameliorate the felt conflict between work and family domains; that is, those who earn more money would report lower levels of the conflict. While it was expected that WFC and income would share a negative relationship (that is, those with higher incomes would report less WFC), in fact a positive relationship resulted. Additionally, when income was entered into the multiple regression model, total income level emerged as one of the few individual variables which accounted for explained variance in the dependent variable.

The interpretation of these findings is that income does not help to alleviate WFC, in fact those respondents who made more money reported higher levels of conflict than others did. This finding runs counter to the argument that having additional resources allows individuals to purchase assistance in fulfilling their multiple roles, thus reducing the conflict caused by multiple role demands. What other variables are intervening to complicate the relationship?

A number of studies have focused on the "career success/personal failure" issue (Korman & Korman, 1980; Korman, et.al., 1992). It appears as if individuals who are successful in their careers often report being unhappy and alienated from themselves and from others. Additional income does not seem to bring the ability to buy happiness or freedom from the feeling that work and family roles are somewhat incompatible.

Level of aspiration theory may offer another possible explanation for the positive relationship between WFC and income. According to Lewin, et.al. (1944), the standard by which a person evaluates his/her performance is determined partly by what the person would like to achieve and partly by realistic inference from his/her own past performance, or other information. The process of raising goals after successes can lead to an upward spiraling of aspirations.

Those respondents with high income levels may find themselves in the situation of striving toward increasingly difficult-to-achieve ends, based upon past successes they have had. In addition, the activities themselves that one must engage in to produce additional income (e.g.: travel, overtime, behavior of questionable ethics) may serve to increase the conflict.

In Wachtel's The Poverty of Affluence (1983), the author states, "It is ironic that the very kind of thinking which produces our riches also renders them unable to satisfy us. Our restless desire for more and more has been a major impetus for economic growth, but it has made the achievement of that growth a hollow victory" (p. 17). Wachtel adds that Americans have engaged in activities such as working more hours in general, and having women enter the work force in record numbers, in order to continue to increase our earning levels. It is precisely these types of activities that may contribute to increased conflict between work and family domains.

Conversely, in a recent study of income and alienation, Brender (1995) found that higher income levels are related to lower levels of personal and social alienation. Both the perceived value of money and the time interval since change in income were found to moderate the relationship between income and alienation. Control over income also was found to be related to higher pay satisfaction and lower levels of alienation.

Why was income associated with lower alienation levels but higher work/family conflict levels? While alienation may be considered a psychological phenomenon, WFC may be more grounded in role conflict and role expectation theories. This may prove to be an area for further research.

Objectively Measured Variables

Resource Availability

It was proposed that greater access to resources would reduce levels of perceived WFC, since they would enable achievement of the individual's objectives. Earlier studies (Burke, 1988; Greenhaus, et.al., 1989; Greenhaus & Callanan, 1994) have cited work setting sources of support and social support from spouse/significant other as factors in reducing WFC.

However, in the present study, organizational support and social support from a significant other did not appear to be associated with lower levels of WFC. While it was expected that objective resource availability measures would correlate negatively with perceived WFC, in fact a weak, positive correlation resulted.

This finding seems to corroborate the results on income discussed above; namely having more (i.e.: money, understanding employers, helpful spouses) does not translate in to less conflict between work and family. Individuals who receive more social and organizational support did not report experiencing lower levels of WFC.

Multiple Role Demands

The hypothesis stated that the number of objective role demands a person reports will be positively related to their perceived level of WFC; that is, those who have more to do will feel more conflict. This hypothesis was supported; objective role demands shared

a .30 correlation with WFC, and role demands was seen as explaining a significant amount of the variance in the multiple regression equation.

Why was this variable more explanatory of the variance in the dependent variable than any others were? This finding would support the use of an objectively scored measure - in this case, asking respondents how many hours per week they spent in a variety of activities, and who in their household has the primary responsibility for certain common tasks - as a means of tapping into individuals' perceived levels of conflict. There is a strong connection between time spent and responsibilities held and reported levels of WFC.

However, the variable objective role demands did not capture all of the explained variance in WFC, as was hypothesized. The situational variables parental status, dual worker status and income level increased the cumulative R^2 by 50% (from .14 to .21) in the post-hoc multiple regression analysis. Clearly, while the concept of multiple role demands is relevant to the conflict between the two domains, there are other factors involved.

Individual Difference Variables

Need for Achievement and Need for Affiliation

Two relationships were proposed with respect to these variables. First, it was hypothesized that women would report more interdependence between these two needs than men would, since the relationship would be more complex for women. This hypothesis was supported, since women reported a correlation between the two that was significantly higher than the correlation for men was.

A number of earlier studies also reported higher levels of interdependence between the two needs for women (Chusmir & Koberg, 1988; Helgeson & Sharpsteen, 1987; Lindgren, et.al., 1986; and Schroth, 1985). It would seem likely that the psychological

conflict that women experience between the two needs would translate into role conflict between work and family, but this was not the case in this study, since men's and women's WFC scores were almost identical.

Women may be doing a better job of resolving the psychological conflict, or perhaps the analogy between affiliation and family, and achievement and work is not as clear as it was believed to be. Conversely, women may be setting lower standards for themselves in one or both domains; and therefore would not be as affected by the upwardly spiraling expectations that level of aspiration theory proposes. Additionally, it is possible that other variables not included in the present study are serving to differentially moderate the relationship between needs and conflict levels for men and women.

A second hypothesis proposed that those individuals who scored "high" on both NACH and NAFF measures would report higher WFC scores than others would. This hypothesis was not supported, since a non-significant difference in the proposed direction was found between the two groups. This result may be method-dependent, however, since the split-median half compares respondents above and below the cut-off point, and their WFC scores are very close to each other's, despite the fact that they are placed in "high WFC" or "low WFC" groups. Thus, a comparison using this method looks for differences in respondents who may, in fact, be more alike than different.

A post-hoc analysis compared only those respondents with high NACH and high NAFF scores ($n = 75$) to those with low need scores ($n = 81$), and excluded those respondents whose need scores fell somewhere in the middle ($n = 130$). When the WFC scores of the high/high and low/low need groups were compared, significant differences (at the .001 level) were found. While caution must be exercised when interpreting any result that excludes almost half of the sample, it is reasonable to conclude that those respondents with high/high need scores report significantly higher WFC scores than those

with low/low need scores do. This finding would merit the inclusion of need scores in future research on WFC.

In summary, it appears that perceived work/family conflict levels are associated with: objective measures of multiple role demands; parental status; and dual worker households. Also, it was found that income levels are positively correlated with perceived WFC, that is, those who earn more reported higher levels of the conflict. Thirdly, it was found that those respondents with high achievement and affiliative scores report significantly more WFC than those with low need scores do. Finally, gender differences did not exist in the subjective report of WFC, although men and women differentially invested time in work and family domains.

Conclusions

Earlier studies of work/family conflict have demonstrated a relationship between several situational variables and the dependent variable, perceived work/family conflict. The purpose of the present study was to incorporate additional independent variables for the purposes of developing a more comprehensive model of work/family conflict. The variables of interest were the dispositional variables, need for achievement and need for affiliation, and the objectively measured variables, role demands and resource availability. The addition of these important variables moves the level of analysis from predictive to explanatory. The goal of this study was to come to a more complete understanding of the factors that contribute to an individual's perceived level of work/family conflict.

The comprehensive model that was tested herein included variables that were intended to capture the situational, dispositional, and objective predictors that impinge upon the individual's reported conflict level.

The major findings of the present study are listed below:

1. **Men and women experience equivalent levels of perceived work/family conflict, however, they invest in work and family domains along traditional sex role lines, according to objective measures of hours spent in each area;**

2. **Income level does not serve to reduce perceptions of work/family conflict; in fact, those who have higher income levels also report higher levels of conflict between the two domains;**

3. **Objective measures of multiple role demands are a good predictor of perceptual measures of work/family conflict, however certain situational variables offer additional explained variance above and beyond that accounted for by role demands;**

4. **Those who have high need for achievement and need for affiliation levels report more work/family conflict than those who have low scores on both need levels; and,**

5. **Parental status and dual worker status remain significant situational predictors of the conflict.**

Limitations of the Study

The present study does share some limitations that are common to a number of other studies employing similar methodology. First, all data was collected using

questionnaires, which may result in some common method variance. A future study might include open-ended interviews as a method of obtaining additional information.

Secondly, the present study was obviously cross-sectional in nature, and provides us with a snapshot of how a certain group of respondents felt at a particular point in time. It is somewhat presumptuous to assume that this method captures how respondents would answer all of the time, or even most of the time. Also, causal assumptions cannot be made from the results of this study. Future research should include longitudinal data which allow for an examination of the relationships proposed in the model.

Thirdly, it is impossible to include all of the variables of interest in a single study. Other individual difference and objectively measured variables could be included in future studies.

Fourth, a word about the sample employed. While the respondents demonstrated a good deal of variance on the factors of interest, they did share a common characteristic - they were evening students at a large, comprehensive state university. It is possible that some self-selection occurred along some variables unknown to the researcher, which may have yielded a sample that differs from the population at large on some important dimension. However, an examination of the demographic variables shows a sample that appears to offer the opportunity to make meaningful comparisons.

Finally, it is possible that overlapping grouping of respondents may reduce the significance of some findings. Future researchers may want to categorize their subjects according to the methodology employed by Schneer and Reitman (1993), where each respondent is placed in one separate and discrete category.

Theoretical Implications

The present study has attempted to move the focus from situational variables associated with WFC to others that may have some explanatory value. It would seem that a partial step has been made in that direction with the results cited above.

First, the objectively scored dimension of role demands captured some of the variance in the dependent variable, work/family conflict. Additional variance was provided by the situational variables dual worker status, parental status and income level, although income level and WFC share a positive relationship, rather than the negative one that was hypothesized.

Secondly, gender differences in the subjective report of WFC were found to be virtually non-existent in the present study. It appears as if the conflict between the two domains may be a more universally experienced phenomenon than was previously thought. Although both men and women experience the conflict at equivalent levels, they arrive at that point by participating in the two domains very differently, that is, in traditional, "gender-appropriate" ways. Therefore, it may be more appropriate to examine factors other than gender when studying perceived work/family conflict.

Individual, or dispositional, differences should be included in any theoretical model of perceived WFC. These variables allow us to understand why individuals in similar situations may experience varying levels of conflict between domains. Need for achievement and need for affiliation have been shown to be significantly associated with differences in WFC scores, at least at the extreme levels. Other individual differences that may add to the richness of a theoretical model of perceived work/family conflict are level of aspiration and the importance of income to the individual. The inclusion of these two

latter dimensions may help to unravel the positive relationship that was found between income and WFC.

Other additional sources of work/family conflict should be examined with the goal of providing a comprehensive understanding of the factors that impact on the phenomenon. As individuals continue to engage in both domains at an increasing rate, additional theoretical development may lead to practical considerations, discussed below.

Practical Implications

The practical implications of the findings in the current study are obvious. First, it appears as if the individual is the person most able to successfully control his/her level of WFC through thoughtful investment of time and effort in each domain, according to his/her primary role identity. The findings of the present study showed that both organizational support and social support from a significant other did not serve to reduce the conflict. Therefore, at least for the present, the responsibility for reducing the conflict rests squarely with the individual.

Secondly, some individuals will have to work harder at doing this than others will, as a result of their own individual or situational characteristics. Specifically, those who have a high need for achievement and need for affiliation, those with multiple role demands, and those who are parents, dual worker members, or who earn more money will experience more conflict between the domains than others will. Again, according to the results of this study, it will be up to the individual to create a balance between domains that is comfortable for him/her.

Thirdly, the finding about the relationship between income level and WFC has similar practical implications. Individuals should be aware that if they choose to work harder and earn more, this choice will come at a price. The cost will be the increasing difficulty of balancing their home and work lives. It is ironic that the very reason that is

often given for earning more (i.e.: "I'm doing it for my family") may be the cause of additional conflict in the individual's life.

Finally, a more troubling implication for organizations emerges from the findings on income and conflict between work and family. If it is true that working hard, getting ahead, and achieving in one's chosen field actually increases the conflict between the two domains, employers may find it difficult to motivate their employees to move up the ladder and accept more demanding jobs. The national trend of organizational downsizing may be accompanied by a similar trend where individuals voluntarily simplify their lives through lowering their standard of living, and accepting less lucrative jobs as a means of diminishing the conflict. It remains to be seen how organizations and individuals will handle these new challenges.

Work/family conflict, and its antecedents and consequences, is a timely topic that offers much to the researcher, the practitioner, and the individual interested in making decisions about balancing the two domains. Research in this area will continue to offer a better understanding of how the individual, the organization, and society may work together to the mutual benefit of all.

Appendix A

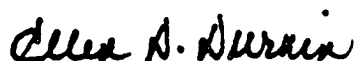
The attached questionnaire asks for your opinion on a variety of topics relating to the areas of work and family life. This study is being carried out in conjunction with the Management department at Baruch College, City University of New York.

Your participation in the study is voluntary, and all information reported here will be kept anonymous and confidential. If you are interested in receiving the results of this study, you may fill out your name and address on the last page of this package. This last page will be separated from the rest of your questionnaire, preserving your anonymity. Results will be sent to you when available.

This survey will take approximately twenty minutes to complete. Please answer all questions, and where appropriate, choose the answer which best describes your opinions or beliefs. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to any of the questions in this survey.

Thank you for your participation in this research project. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated. If you have any questions about the study, I can be reached at (203) 392-5853.

Sincerely,



Ellen D. Durmin

Household Tasks

92

Please use the following scale to answer the question:

In your household, who is primarily responsible for each of the tasks listed below?

NA= Not applicable

1 = I am totally responsible

2 = I am mostly, but my spouse/partner/other helps

3 = Spouse/partner/other and I are equally responsible

4 = Spouse/partner/other mostly, but I help

5 = Spouse/partner/other is totally responsible

CIRCLE THE BEST RESPONSE:

a. Domestic chores (cleaning, shopping, laundry, preparing meals)

NA 1 2 3 4 5

b. Paying bills, home finances, or major decisions

NA 1 2 3 4 5

c. Home and property maintenance

NA 1 2 3 4 5

d. Auto care and maintenance

NA 1 2 3 4 5

e. Caring for, rearing, and transporting children

NA 1 2 3 4 5

f. Attending school events and parent-teacher conferences

NA 1 2 3 4 5

g. Caring for, attending, and transporting other dependents (for example: elderly or handicapped dependents)

NA 1 2 3 4 5

Home and Work Responsibilities

93

The following questions ask for information about who is responsible for completing tasks around your home, and the amount of time it takes to get them done. Please think about each of these tasks in terms of number of hours involved in a typical week. If the question is not applicable, please use a response of zero.

1. How many hours per week are spent on household chores (for example: cooking, cleaning) in your home?

_____ by me _____ by spouse/partner _____ by others

2. How many hours per week are spent on household maintenance (for example: yard work, mechanical/household repairs)?

_____ by me _____ by spouse/partner _____ by others

3. How many hours per week are spent on basic childcare activities in your home?

_____ by me _____ by spouse/partner _____ by others

4. How many hours per week are spent playing with or doing things with the children in your home?

_____ by me _____ by spouse/partner _____ by others

5. How many hours per week are spent on shopping (for food, clothing, household supplies, etc.) in your home?

_____ by me _____ by spouse/partner _____ by others

The following questions ask about your feelings regarding the involvement of your spouse/partner around the house. Please answer each question using the following key:

- 1 = more time**
- 2 = same amount of time**
- 3 = less time**
- NA = not applicable**

6. How much time do you wish your spouse/partner would spend on household chores?

7. How much time do you wish your spouse/partner would spend on household maintenance? _____

8. How much time do you wish your spouse/partner would spend on basic childcare activities? _____

9. How much time do you wish your spouse/partner would spend on playing or doing things with the children? _____

10. How much time do you wish your spouse/partner would spend on shopping? _____

11. How much time do you wish that your spouse/partner would spend with you?

FOR THE NEXT QUESTION, PLEASE PUT A CHECK NEXT TO THE MOST APPROPRIATE RESPONSE FOR YOU.

12. How much of the above just doesn't get done?

_____ a lot _____ a little _____ all gets done

Please answer the following questions using number of hours in a typical week as the appropriate response.

13. How many hours per week do you spend on paid (i.e., job-related) work activities ?

_____ hours per week

14. How many hours per week do you spend on non-paid work activities (i.e., volunteer or community service, class work, etc.)?

_____ hours per week

15. How many hours per week do you spend on non-work activities (i.e., family, leisure)?

_____ hours per week

16. How many hours per week does your spouse/partner spend on paid work activities?

_____ hours per week _____ no spouse/significant other

17. How many hours per week of overtime do you typically work?

_____ hours per week

18. How many overnights per week are you away from home due to work-related travel?

_____ overnights per week

19. How many hours per week of job-related work do you do at home?

_____ hours per week

Organizational Support

36

The following questions relate to employee benefits offered by some employers. For each question in the section below, please put a check mark in the appropriate space if:

- your organization provides the described benefit for you;
- you have used the described benefit; and/or
- you have found the described benefit to be helpful.

Therefore, each question could have from zero to three check marks, depending upon your response.

1. Does your organization offer flextime (a work schedule that permits flexible starting and quitting times, but requires a standard number of hours within a given period)?

_____ provides it for me _____ have used it _____ found it helpful

2. Does your organization offer part-time work (permanent employees can work a specified number of hours below the standard work week on a regular basis)?

_____ provides it for me _____ have used it _____ found it helpful

3. Does your organization allow job-sharing (two or more workers voluntarily share responsibilities of one full-time job with salary pro-rated)?

_____ provides it for me _____ have used it _____ found it helpful

4. Does your organization allow employees to work at home or at a satellite work site during regular hours)?

_____ provides it for me _____ have used it _____ found it helpful

5. Does your organization offer leaves for family reasons?

_____ provides it for me _____ have used it _____ found it helpful

6. Does your organization offer flexible benefits (employees can choose from a menu of benefits that suit their individual needs)?

_____ provides it for me _____ have used it _____ found it helpful

7. Does your organization offer childcare assistance (information, vouchers, subsidies, or centers)?

_____ provides it for me _____ have used it _____ found it helpful

Social Support

97

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by using the following key:

- 1 = strongly disagree**
- 2 = disagree**
- 3 = neutral**
- 4 = agree**
- 5 = strongly agree**
- NA = not applicable**

MY PARTNER..

- ...listens to me talk about my personal or family problems.** _____
- ...is concerned about my welfare.** _____
- ...gives me advice when I have a family or personal problem.** _____
- ...praises me for my personal or family accomplishments.** _____
- ...respects my professional accomplishments.** _____
- ...plays an active role in my career.** _____

- ...listens to me talk about my job-related problems.** _____
- ...gives me advice when I have a work-related problem.** _____
- ...praises me for my job-related accomplishments.** _____

Attitudes Towards Work

98

The following statements describe feelings about work and leisure time. Please circle "T" if you generally agree with the statement, and "F" if you generally disagree with the statement.

1. People should be more involved in their work. T F
2. I enjoy difficult work. T F
3. I will not be satisfied until I am the best in my work. T F
4. I would work just as hard whether or not I had to earn a living. T F
5. My goal is to do at least a little bit more than anyone else has done before. T F
6. I often set goals that are very difficult to reach. T F
7. As a child I worked a long time for some of the things I earned. T F
8. I don't mind working while other people are having fun. T F
9. I seldom set standards which are difficult to reach. T F
10. I have rarely done extra studying in connection with my work. T F
11. I try to work just hard enough to get by. T F
12. I do not let my work get in the way of what I really want to do. T F
13. In my work I seldom do more work than necessary. T F
14. People seldom think of me as a hard worker. T F
15. It doesn't really matter to me whether or not I become one of the best in my field. T F
16. I am not really certain what I want to do or how to go about doing it. T F

Attitudes Toward Non-Work Activities

99

Please continue to circle "T" if you generally agree with the statement, and "F" if you generally disagree with the statement.

1. I am quite independent of the people I know. T F
2. I seldom put out extra effort to make friends. T F
3. I don't really have fun at large parties. T F
4. I would not be very good at a job which required me to meet people all day long. T F
5. When I see someone I know from a distance, I don't go out of my way to say hello. T F
6. Sometimes I have to make a real effort to be sociable. T F
7. I don't spend much of my time talking with people I see every day. T F
8. Often I would rather be alone than with a group of friends. T F
9. I choose hobbies that I can share with other people. T F
10. I go out of my way to meet people. T F
11. People consider me to be quite friendly. T F
12. I truly enjoy myself at social functions. T F
13. I spend a lot of time visiting friends. T F
14. My friendships are many. T F
15. I trust my friends completely. T F
16. I try to be in the company of friends as much as possible. T F

Career-Family Relationships

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the following statements by placing the appropriate number in front of each statement, or by using "NA" if the statement does not apply to you.

- 1 = strongly disagree**
- 2 = disagree**
- 3 = uncertain**
- 4 = agree**
- 5 = strongly agree**

_____ 1. When I spend time with my family, I am bothered by all of the things on my job that I should be doing.

_____ 2. Because of my family responsibilities, I have to turn down job activities or opportunities that I should take on.

_____ 3. Because of my family responsibilities, the time I spend on my job is less enjoyable and more pressured.

_____ 4. When I spend time on my job, I am bothered by all the things I should be doing with my family.

_____ 5. Because of my job responsibilities, I have to miss out on home or family activities in which I should participate.

.....

_____ 6. Because of my job responsibilities, the time I spend with my family is less enjoyable and more pressured.

_____ 7. Because of my family responsibilities, I am not able to spend as much time as I would like relaxing.

_____ 8. When I spend time relaxing, I'm often bothered by feelings that I really should be spending time with my family.

_____ 9. When I spend time relaxing, I'm often bothered by all the things at my job I should be doing.

_____ 10. Because of my job responsibilities, any time I spend relaxing is less enjoyable and more pressured.

.....

- _____ 11. The demands of family life interfere with achieving success in my career.
- _____ 12. Being a parent limits my career success..
- _____ 13. Pursuing a demanding career makes it difficult for me to be an attentive spouse/partner..
- _____ 14. I can "have it all" (a rewarding career, satisfying family relationships, and a fulfilling personal life).
- _____ 15. I can achieve greater success in my career if I make sacrifices in my family and personal life.
.....
- _____ 16. I can have a successful career and find enough time for leisure activities.
- _____ 17. The conflicting demands of career and family require that I decide which is more important.
- _____ 18. My partner complains that I treat family members as if they are work associates or subordinates.
- _____ 19. I find it difficult making the transition from my job to home life.

Demographic Information

Please complete the following information about aspects of your personal life. All information provided here will be kept confidential, and will be used for research purposes only.

1. Age _____
2. Gender _____
3. Current Marital Status:
____ Never married ____ Married ____ Living with a partner
____ Separated ____ Divorced ____ Widowed
4. Parental Status: How many children do you have in each of the following age groups?
____ Have no children ____ 0-5 years ____ 6-12 years ____ 13-18 years
____ 19+ years
5. Are you a member of a dual-worker relationship? A dual-worker relationship is one where both partners are engaged in work for pay.
____ yes ____ no
6. Are you a single parent?
____ yes ____ no
7. In which ethnic group would you place yourself? Response to this question is voluntary.
____ Asian ____ Black ____ Hispanic ____ Native American Indian
____ White ____ Other
8. What level of education are you currently pursuing?
____ undergraduate ____ graduate ____ not applicable
9. How many credits of school work are you currently carrying? _____
10. What is the **total income of your household**?
____ less than \$10,000 ____ \$10,001-20,000 ____ \$20,001-30,000
____ \$30,001-40,000 ____ \$40,001-50,000 ____ \$50,001-60,000
____ \$60,001-80,000 ____ \$80,001-100,000 ____ over \$100,000
11. What is **your personal income**?
____ less than \$10,000 ____ \$10,001-20,000 ____ \$20,001-30,000
____ \$30,001-40,000 ____ \$40,001-50,000 ____ \$50,001-60,000
____ \$60,001-80,000 ____ \$80,001-100,000 ____ over \$100,000

12. Please check the one category which best describes your current job.

Technical Clerical Manual Skilled
 Professional Managerial Other

13. Is your spouse/partner employed for pay?

Don't have a spouse/partner
 Spouse/partner is employed for pay part-time
 Spouse/partner is employed for pay full-time

I am interested in receiving a copy of the results of this study. I understand that this page will be separated from my questionnaire to preserve my anonymity.

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Please send the results to me at:

Name: _____
Address: _____

The coding schemes utilized for each instrument are listed below.

Household Tasks

Seven point scale where each item uses a zero to five point scale

- 0 = not applicable**
- 1 = I am totally responsible**
- 2 = I am mostly responsible, but my spouse/partner/other helps**
- 3 = Spouse/partner/other and I are equally responsible**
- 4 = Spouse/partner/other mostly responsible, but I help**
- 5 = Spouse/partner/other is totally responsible**

Home and Work Responsibilities

Twelve items ask the respondent to give the number of hours per week spent in typical tasks by: themselves; spouse/partner; and others.

Organizational Support

For each of seven items, the respondent is asked: does your organization provide the benefit for you; have you used it, have you found it helpful. Each check mark is scored with a one, and each blank with a zero.

Social Support

The respondent is asked to indicate their level of agreement to each of nine statements, using a scale from zero to five (see above).

Attitudes Towards Work

For each of sixteen items, the respondent is asked to select true or false. For the first eight items, true responses are scored with a one and false responses with a zero. The second eight items are reverse scored.

Attitudes Towards Non-Work Activities

Scored like the above-listed measure, except the first section is reverse-scored, and the second eight items are scored in a positive direction.

Career-Family Relationships

Respondents are asked to indicate level of agreement with nineteen items, using a five point scale (1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree).

Demographic Information

Gender (Male = 1, Female = 2)

Marital (Never married = 1, Separated = 2, Married = 3, Divorced = 4, Living with a partner = 5, Widowed = 6)

Parental Status (How many children in each of the following age groups? List number)

Dual Worker Status (Yes = 1, No = 0)

Single Parent Status (Yes = 1, No = 0)

Total Income (\$10,000 increments from < \$10,000 to 100,000+ were coded from 1 to 9).

Personal Income (same as above)

Job Category (Technical = 1, Professional = 2, Clerical = 3, Managerial = 4, Manual = 5, Skilled = 6, Other = 7).

Spouse/partner employed for pay (Don't have spouse/partner = 1, S/P is employed for pay part-time, S/P is employed for pay full-time).

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