

HOW THE BREADWINNING ROLE AND SEX OF EMPLOYEES INFLUENCE
BELIEFS ABOUT REFERENT CHOICE AND JOB SATISFACTION

by

Deborah Elaine Adair

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
WITH A MAJOR IN MANAGEMENT

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1997

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As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Deborah Elaine Adair

entitled How the breadwinning role and sex of employees influence beliefs about referent choice and job satisfaction.

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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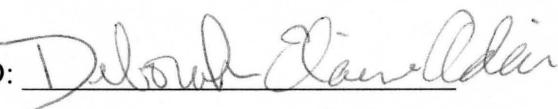
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A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Deborah Caldwell", is written over a horizontal line.

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In a project of this size, there are numerous contributors who should be acknowledged; however, space limitations and a faulty memory will likely result in some unfortunate omissions here. To these people, I apologize in advance.

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ABSTRACT

This research starts from the premise that women's entry into, and substantial representation in, the workforce has changed the nature of the relationship between family and work roles. Specifically, the purpose is to show that the roles people play in their families significantly affects their determination of job satisfaction. Equity theory and relative deprivation theory suggest that a pivotal factor in determining job satisfaction is the selection and use of a referent. In practice, however, the research on referent use in job satisfaction has not considered family role effects because job satisfaction research has focused almost exclusively on the work domain. This research seeks to expand upon this literature by hypothesizing that family role will influence the choice of the referent and will be a meaningful explanatory variable in job satisfaction models.

Analysis of the survey results reveals basic support for the inclusion of family role in models of job satisfaction in four job satisfaction contexts. The family role variable of breadwinning status is positively related to job satisfaction and emerges as a better explanatory variable for job satisfaction responses than respondent sex. The effects of family role on referent choice, however, are not consistent or strong¹. Instead, only

¹It should be noted that this lack of effect may very well be an artifact of a sample that revealed relatively fewer family obligations than would be likely for the general population.

respondent-referent similarity was found to have a robust effect on referent choice.

Other referent choice decisions were explored on a post-hoc basis.

Overall, the results of this study indicate that breadwinning status is a statistically significant factor in job satisfaction decisions. The data are supportive of a model in which beliefs about the relationship between work and family role obligations mediate the effects of breadwinning status on job satisfaction. Given the exploratory nature of this study, further research is suggested to replicate and expand the major findings.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the study.

From the time of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (1776), individuals' motivation to engage in almost any behavior has been assumed to be their pursuit of self-interest. Employees, in particular, are defined in economic terms as individuals who enter into exchange contracts with employers to trade their services for satisfactory compensation.² The antecedents and outcomes of employee satisfaction, therefore, have been long the subject of considerable interest to both employers and social science researchers. Although theories in social psychology, (e.g. equity theory (Adams, 1963, 1965) and relative deprivation theory (Taylor and Moghaddam, 1987)), have identified the use of referents as important, if not central, in the determination of job satisfaction, our knowledge about the criteria for referent choice is quite limited. Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) predicts that similarity is the key factor in referent choice, but there is very little research that applies this to job or pay satisfaction issues (Pinder, 1984; for an exception, see the work by Major and colleagues as described later in this dissertation).

²The usage of compensation here is meant in the broadest sense, to include not only wages and direct benefits but also any intangible benefits of a job, such as self-esteem, social benefits, self-fulfillment, sense of achievement, etc.

What is known on this issue can be summed up as follows: the sex and the job of the employee are predictive of the sex and job of the referent in decisions about job or pay satisfaction (Crosby, 1982; Major and Testa, 1989; Major and Forcey, 1985). The finding that sex is a significant predictor of referent choice is used by gender researchers (see Major, 1989; Crosby, 1982) to explain job and pay satisfaction anomalies between men and women, even though the explanations for this finding are based in theory and conjecture, not data.

What is not known, then, is why these variables are predictive, under what conditions they are predictive, and what other variables exist that might have more predictive significance. For example, there has been no examination of factors, other than sex, outside of the work domain; in particular, no research specifically examines independently the effects of family roles, compared to the effects of sex, in referent choice for the evaluation of work satisfaction. Yet, research into work-family linkages suggests that family roles are likely to have significant effects on job satisfaction, independent of or interactive with sex (e.g. Tenbrunsel, Brett, Maoz, Stroh, and Reilly, 1994; Martin and Hanson, 1985; Hampton and Heywood, 1993; Mirowsky, 1987; Zanna, Crosby, and Loewenstein, 1989). This dissertation attempts to fill these gaps by examining roles in the family domain, along with the sex of the employee, to see to what extent, why, and how they might be predictive of referent choice and job satisfaction.

The major hypothesis in this research is that family role (breadwinning status in the family) has a significant effect on job satisfaction. It is suggested that this effect occurs because of the hypothesized relationship between breadwinning status and beliefs about the family role and work role relationship and how these beliefs are related to job satisfaction. Because this is a cross-sectional study and causality can not be assumed, the nature of the relationships of these variables have not been formally hypothesized; however, the data will be examined to see if they better support a mediating or a moderating effect of beliefs about the family and work role relationship between breadwinning status and job satisfaction.

Furthermore, because the theories often used to study job satisfaction (e.g. equity and relative deprivation theories) suggest that the role of referents is critical, this research looks closely at referent selection decisions in job satisfaction determinations. Although sex differences in referent choice is a well-established finding in the research (see the discussion of Major & colleagues' work on entitlement), it is suggested here that much of the observed sex difference in the choice of referent could be driven by family role differences inasmuch as family role is confounded with sex in much of the literature. Family role, because it is hypothesized to directly affect beliefs about the family role and work role relationship, is also presented as the mechanism for influencing referent

selection³ (in addition to job satisfaction.) In other words, this research hypothesizes that family role is also an important determinant of referent choice in job satisfaction decisions, more so than the sex of the decision maker.

A second aim of this dissertation is to achieve a better understanding of how referents are chosen. Are referents chosen according to their perceived similarity to the decision maker, as most, if not all, of the relevant literature suggests? Is similarity judged according to demographic characteristics, work role characteristics, both, or neither? How often are specific referents used? Do these questions depend on the type of evaluation being made (e.g. satisfaction with pay versus satisfaction with career)? More specifically, do people tend to use the same referents to evaluate different aspects of their job or do they choose different referents for each aspect? To what extent do these decisions depend on characteristics of the decision-maker? These questions require an examination of the differences in referent choice (referent characteristics such as sex, pay, job type, domain, marital status, etc.) as influenced by the respondents' family role (breadwinning status) and demographic and job characteristics.

³Referents are expected to be selected not only because of demographic similarity but also because of perceived similarity in family roles and attitudes and beliefs. For example, family breadwinners may be expected to hold certain beliefs about the work role and family role relationship which cause them to root their search for referent others in the work domain; non-breadwinners may be expected to more strongly hold beliefs which cause them to root their search for referents more in the home domain.

Finally, since job satisfaction and referent choice decisions may differ according to what types of evaluations about their jobs respondents are asked to make, this research will examine the hypotheses presented for each of four types of evaluations. Respondents will be asked to provide information in their evaluations of satisfaction with: 1) their pay; 2) their career; 3) the "convenience" factors of their work; and 4) the extent of work/family conflict they experience. Although the responses to these individual evaluative contexts may differ, the general finding expected is that, regardless of sex, family role (breadwinning status) will affect job satisfaction.

The need to continue satisfaction research.

To motivate performance, employers must offer compensation that their employees believe is, at the least, satisfying their best interests. Unfortunately, the task of identifying what compensation is likely to motivate employees is becoming increasingly more difficult. The workplace, and especially the employees that populate it, is very different than it was 30 or more years ago, when most of the motivational theories in use today (e.g. need theories, expectancy and equity theories) were first used to predict employee behavior. Impacting both work and family life, the growth in women's representation in the workplace is largely responsible for the evolution in the roles that workers play in their families. In particular, the meaning of the provider role and identity of the role player has surely changed. Given these differences, our basic understanding of

employees and their motivations might now be questioned. The current and continuing changes in the workforce, as discussed below, demand that we reconsider what employees perceive as their "best interests".

The changing composition of the labor force.

The increasing diversity of new labor force entrants promises many profound changes for organizations, employers, and employees in areas such as organizational culture, employee attitudes towards work, and the way in which work is performed. The heterogeneity of the workforce is evident not only in the broadening demographic composition of the labor force, but also in the greatly varying values, attitudes, family composition, and life styles of employees (Friedman and Galinsky, 1992; Zedeck, 1992).

By the year 2000, for example, overall workforce growth in the U.S. is expected to slow (reflecting the slowdown in population growth rates) while certain demographic groups are expected to increase their participation rates. For instance, the numbers of middle-aged workers are increasing (the number of 35-47 year-olds will increase by 38% and 48-53 year olds by 67%) and immigrants will make up 22% of new entrants between 1985 and 2000 (compared to only 7% in 1985) (Workforce 2000, 1987). Compared to 1970, women will increase their representation in the labor force to 47.5% (from 38.1%) and minorities to 15.7% (from 10.9%) (Workforce 2000, 1987).

By the year 2020, when the first "baby boomers" enter their retirement years, the labor pool is expected to significantly shrink (Workforce 2020, 1997). By this time, over 50% of the workforce entrants will be minorities. In addition, the increasing skill requirements of jobs in the U.S., coupled with a dearth of adequately trained U.S. workers, will lead to increasing numbers of well-educated immigrants in the workforce (Workforce 2020, 1997).

If we look at these statistics, as they relate to women, in more detail, these demographic differences reflect broad differences between the "traditional worker" pre-1970 and contemporary workers both at work and at home. For example, women will comprise approximately three-fifths of all net new entrants to the labor force between 1985 and 2000 (Workforce 2000, 1987). By 1994, 60.2 million women in America were employed (Reich and Nussbaum, 1995). The vast majority of American women (99%) will spend some portion of their life in the workforce (Lake and Sosin, 1997). More and more of these female participants in the labor force are mothers. Married women with children totaled only 39% of the female labor force in 1960 (19% for women with children under 6) but, by 1988, increased to 73% (57% for women with children under 6) (U.S. Department of Labor, 1989).

Relevant characteristics of the white male employee group, as well, have undergone significant changes in the last twenty or thirty years and these changes have implications for both work and family life. For example, the proportion of families

supported solely by male breadwinners has declined from 42% in 1960 to 15% in 1988 (Wilkie, 1991). This trend toward sharing the breadwinning role is continuing. In a survey of managers in Fortune 500 companies, for example, 56% of the male managers were involved in dual-career marriages (Brett, Stroh, and Reilly, 1992). A Ford Foundation (1989) study reports that more than 40% of the workforce is composed of spouses in dual-career marriages; currently, as many as 60% of men have wives who work (Friedman and Galinsky, 1992). Additionally, in these dual-career relationships, 50% of the men contribute less than \$20,000 a year to the household (Ford Foundation, 1989). A study of a nationally representative sample of American working women has revealed that 55% of employed women contribute half or more of their household income (Families and Work Institute, 1995).

Men are also more likely to be employed part-time now than in the past. Part-time employment for men almost doubled (from 3.7% to 6.7%) between 1969 and 1989 while women increasingly shifted toward full-time work, although women still greatly outnumber men in part-time employment (U.S. Department of Labor, 1991). Evidence suggests that men are also shouldering more family care responsibility (child and elder-care) than in the past (Emlen & Louise, 1987; Friedman and Galinsky, 1992; Wilkie, 1988). Although some of this increase is no doubt a result of the increase in divorced and single males with responsibility for children, research suggests that this increase in family work is also the result of the increase in the number of men whose wives are employed.

Men with employed wives work more hours in family work and expend less effort towards paid labor than men with unemployed wives (Izraeli, 1994; Bielby and Bielby, 1988). Indeed, there appears to be an association between the relative earnings of the wife and the amount of household labor performed by the husband (Bird, Bird, and Scruggs, 1984; Haas, 1981; Hood, 1983; Model, 1981).

These changes reflect how the structure of households and employment has changed (see England and Farkas, 1986; for a detailed discussion). The typical worker is no longer the white male with a spouse who stays home to manage the family and household. Although the white male may still be the "average" worker (Crispell, 1990), it is much less likely that he experiences the traditional family/work structure described above. Roles, lifestyles, and values have changed to such an extent that the typical worker is difficult, if not impossible, to identify. Given this difficulty, this workforce diversity, how do we begin to develop a new understanding of employees and their motivations?

An overview of the research literature.

Of course, the very diversity that necessitates a new and more accurate understanding of employees also makes the process of obtaining this understanding much more complex. Motivations and preferences are likely to vary greatly between different groups of employees, whether we examine employees as they differ by demographic

status, family status, or even values. What categorizations might be most helpful to both researchers and business practitioners in understanding how employees evaluate work?

Anecdotal evidence and popular belief suggest that certain salient, observable demographic categories such as sex and race can predict differences in attitudes and behaviors in many situations. In addition, the extensive amount of research conducted on gender differences in the social science literature suggests that the demographic category of sex might be a useful starting place to examine differences in the expectations and evaluations of work.

Certainly, the evidence of differences in men and women's experiences at and rewards from work are clear. Women receive objectively inferior outcomes and rewards from work (e.g. Blau, 1984; Corcoran and Duncan, 1979; Olson and Frieze, 1986; Ragins and Sundstrom, 1989; Marini and Brinton, 1984; Baron, Blake and Bielby, 1986; Nieva and Gutek, 1980; Wolf and Fligstein, 1979; England, Farkas, Kilbourne, and Dou, 1988; Corcoran and Duncan, 1979; Hersch and White-Means, 1993). On the other hand, women want and objectively deserve much the same rewards and experiences men receive (Crowley, Levitin, and Quinn, 1973; Crosby, 1982; Golding, Resnick, and Crosby, 1983; Loscocco and Leicht, 1993; Shukla, Sarna, and Nigam; 1989). However, numerous studies have found women to express equal, or greater, pay and job satisfaction to men (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991; Crosby, 1982; Hodson, 1989; Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers, 1976). This one well-established finding has generated considerable

research about gender differences in reward evaluations because of the paradox it poses: If men and women equally deserve and value the rewards from work and women are receiving fewer of them, how can we explain the finding that men and women exhibit comparable attitudes toward and satisfaction with their pay and their jobs?

Casting this as a distributive justice issue, researchers have applied both relative deprivation theory and equity theory in their explanations of this paradox. Men and women, it is suggested, may use different comparison processes and/or reference points to determine the fairness of their work rewards and satisfaction with their jobs. While the broad category of comparison processes provides a theoretically meaningful way to account for the similar reactions to dissimilar outcomes, the individual theories as utilized in the literature can provide only part of the explanation. This is because they only consider the individual in the work role for the sphere of influences in comparison processes. The examination of the work environment, to the exclusions of the family sphere of influence, ignores the larger context in which satisfaction decisions operate. Our employment is only one facet, although an important one, in our multi-faceted lives.

The work role is only one of the roles employees have; family and/or home roles have been found to be of equal or greater importance to both men and women than work (Pleck, 1977; Pleck, Staines, and Lang; 1980; see Zedeck, 1992). It has been suggested that the employer (i.e. the employing organization) and family are the two most important institutional influences on a person's life (Mortimer, Lorence and Kumka, 1986; Howard,

1992). Thus, explanations of the attitudes and behaviors of employees that exclude the effect of family, that examine behaviors removed from the full context in which they operate, may provide only partial and perhaps even inaccurate results. Context, including everything in the relevant environment, "repeatedly overwhelms personality in the search for meaningful differences between men and women" (Tavris, 1992, 294-295). Perhaps the way male and female employees respond to their jobs and their job outcomes is driven more by differences in the context of their home lives than by any biological or psychological differences between men and women.

Indeed, the more recent contributions of work and family researchers emphasize the need to examine both work and family roles in understanding attitudes and behavior at work (and home) (Gutek, Searle, and Klepa, 1991; Gutek, Repetti, and Silver, 1988; England and Farkas, 1986; DiBenedetto and Tittle, 1990; Pleck, 1977; Zedeck, 1992; Howard, 1992; Brett, Stroh, and Reilly, 1992; Tenbrunsel, Brett, Maoz, Stroh, and Reilly, 1994). Therefore, the inclusion of family status and family roles in theories of comparison processes might improve our understanding of how men and women evaluate their outcomes and experiences at work.

A general model of the effect of family role on job satisfaction.

How family roles affect employees' evaluation of work outcomes is explained and developed in the following literature review. This explanation required the examination

and integration of diverse literatures in an attempt to develop a general model of how family role might affect job satisfaction. Not all links in this model are fully examined in this research; the focus here is on the general idea that perceptions and beliefs about the relationship between work and family role obligations mediate the effects of breadwinning status on job satisfaction (See Figure 1). This research does not intend to broadly examine the variety of ways referent choice may affect job satisfaction; instead, it examines the effect on job satisfaction of one particular referent characteristic related to family roles - the domain of the referent. Another caveat for this research is that although the links between family role and referent choice, and between referent choice and job satisfaction, are examined, the limited use of referents by the respondents in this research reduced, although did not eliminate, the ability to discern any family role effects on referent choice. This restriction, together with the lack of significant variation in the focal referent characteristic (the domain of referents), did make it impossible to find any effects of referent choice on satisfaction.

In summary, although sex is one demographic characteristic that has been examined for its effect on the comparison processes employees use to evaluate their jobs, it might not be the most useful. Because of the immediacy and importance of family for both men and women, family-related characteristics such as family roles (i.e. breadwinner versus homemaker) are likely to be better predictors of both referent choice and job satisfaction.

Figure 1

A Hypothesized Model of the Effects of Family Role on Job Satisfaction

Variables:

Family Roles -----> Views on the -----> Referent Choice -----> Job Satisfaction
Work/Family Relationship

Operationalized as:

Breadwinning -----> Instrumental -----> Domain of -----> Satisfaction with:
Status and Conflict Referent Pay
 Relationships Chosen Career
 Job Convenience
 Work/Family Conflict

CHAPTER 2
THEORIES OF DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE: EXPLAINING THE GENDER PARADOX
IN PAY SATISFACTION

Theories of distributive justice guide much of the research on job and, especially, pay satisfaction. As an ethical issue, distributive justice is defined in the Encyclopedia Britannica (1983) as "justice as exhibited in the distribution of rights, privileges, and other prerogatives among community members (p. 580)." As a social science construct, the concept of distributive justice focuses on the sense of injustice one perceives as a result of the distribution of rewards, benefits, costs, penalties, etc. Distribution is broadly construed to include the values, rules, implementation, decision-making procedures, or outcomes of the process (Deutsch, 1975). As such, these theories are particularly useful in explaining differences in individuals' evaluation of rewards and other outcomes from the job.

Both equity theory (Adams, 1965) and relative deprivation theory (Stouffer, Suchman, De Vinney, Star, and Williamson, 1949; Taylor and Moghaddam, 1987) suggest that it is the individual, subjective perception of the situation, rather than the objective situation per se, that causes a situation to be viewed as inequitable or unjust. Both theories focus on the causes or antecedents of feelings of inequity or deprivation, while equity theory also is concerned with the actions taken to restore equity. Both also

place as central the use of a referent "other", a comparison point necessary (but not sufficient) for perceptions of inequity.

In equity theory, the comparison is of the ratio of inputs to outcomes of the individual to the ratio of inputs to outcomes of some referent. A discrepancy in ratios will lead to perceptions of inequity and feelings of dissatisfaction (Weick, 1966), creating a level of cognitive dissonance that the individual is then compelled to resolve (Festinger, 1954). One problem with the use of this theory, however, is ambiguity of inputs and outcomes (Weick, 1966) It can be difficult empirically to distinguish inputs from outcomes, yet how an individual labels such observations can determine the level of dissatisfaction. Similarly, these factors, particularly inputs, might be difficult for even the comparing individual to observe, requiring them to rely to some extent on assumptions. This not only makes empirical predictions very difficult but also suggests that imperfect information and uncertainty might affect the choice of a referent person. Specifically, "if ambiguous work behaviors can be reinterpreted to reduce inequity, a comparison person will probably not be chosen solely because he supplies the most equitable comparison. Instead, he will be chosen on the basis of more enduring and possibly more central dimensions on which similarity exists" (Weick, 1966, p. 421). Further, potential inequities are more likely to be resolved by reinterpreting ambiguous behaviors rather than by changing the comparison person (Weick, 1966).

Relative deprivation theory also suggests a strong role for social comparisons or referents. This theory concentrates on the conditions necessary and sufficient for an individual (or group) to feel discontentment as a result of being disadvantaged (Taylor and Moghaddam, 1987). The idea that a sense of deprivation is subjective and that an objectively inferior situation does not always lead to feelings of discontentment or disadvantage comes from Stouffer's et al.,(1949) work on military personnel. Stouffer et al. (1949) observed that officers in relatively advantaged groups felt more discontentment in their chances for promotion than did those officers in units in which rates of promotion, and therefore their chances, were objectively less. What becomes important in the determination of disadvantage is the reference point for outcomes. As formulated by Crosby (1982), the general preconditions for relative deprivation are that an individual perceives a discrepancy between actual and desired outcomes and a discrepancy between actual outcomes and outcomes she feels entitled to. The comparative referent affects what an individual desires and feels entitled to.

As discussed and applied in both equity theory and relative deprivation research, referent choice is critical. These theories suggest that the referent will be chosen, primarily, according to criteria such as proximity and similarity. Secondly, the choice of referent might also be driven by the need to reduce the cognitive dissonance resulting from an inequitable comparison. In any case, differences between people in the use or

selection of referents might then lead to differences between people in the relationship between an objective outcome and satisfaction with the outcome.

Although referent choice can affect the satisfaction one feels with an outcome, the theories of distributive justice do not provide specific suggestions for determining which individual characteristics of an employee might affect who that employee chooses as a proximate and/or similar referent. The only guidelines these theories offer are that the relevant characteristics be central and salient dimensions on which similarity may exist. Yet, identifying such characteristics would be helpful to employers to better understand and predict worker satisfaction as well as to researchers to better understand significant factors in referent choice. Researchers have begun this process of exploring referent choice by identifying one employee characteristic that appears to affect referent choice: the sex of the employee.

Research on the effects of sex: Identifying the pay paradox.

Much of the research on sex differences in the way individuals evaluate jobs or pay outcomes has been inspired, ironically, by a persistent finding of no significant differences in how men and women rate their satisfaction with their pay. This becomes an interesting, and puzzling, finding only with, first, negative, then positive responses to the following two questions: 1) Do men and women receive similar, or at least equitable,

outcomes from work?; and 2) Do men and women desire the same outcomes and do they strive, to a similar extent, to achieve them?

Sex-based discrimination:

In general, women's objectively inferior status compared to men in terms of the rewards and benefits from work has been well-documented. Women historically have and continue to suffer lower pay, occupational segregation into lower status jobs with less autonomy, limited opportunities for advancement, and poorer performance evaluations (Olson and Frieze, 1986; Dreher, Dougherty, and Whitely, 1989; England, Farkas, Kilbourne, and Dou, 1988; England and Farkas, 1986; Bridges, 1982; England, 1990; Corcoran and Duncan, 1979; Wolf and Fligstein, 1979; Roos and Reskin, 1984; Ibarra, 1993; Reskin and Roos, 1990; Konrad and Gutek, 1987). For example, women earn about (70-85%, depending on which population) of what men earn, up from about 59% twenty years ago (Blau and Ferber, 1985; McCrate, 1993). Women's weekly wages have been reported to have reached 76% of men's weekly wages in 1994 ("Economic Intelligence.", 1994).⁴ The observation of such differences, particularly in wages and occupations, has led researchers to question empirically the reasons behind such differences. The views of economists, sociologists, and psychologists tend to fall into

⁴The shrinking of the pay gap, though a slow process, appears to be accounted for more by men's decreasing wages (because of downsizing, layoffs, etc) than because of increases in women's wages ("Economic Intelligence.", 1994).

one of the two camps implied in the following question - do women get what they deserve or are such outcomes inequitable and unfair?

For example, human capital theory (Becker, 1981; Mincer, 1974; Mincer and Polachek, 1974;) suggests legitimate, non-discriminatory reasons for women's poorer work outcomes. Human capital theory suggests that the skills, education, and experiences of employees are all compensable attributes that should be reflected in a person's wages. Differences in human capital, then, might explain differences in wages. Further, it has been suggested that workers understand this relationship between human capital and wages, and will invest in obtaining this capital to the extent that they perceive it will bring them returns (see Spence, 1974; on signaling theory). Polacheck (1979; 1980) for example, has used human capital theory to suggest that women's choices lead to occupational segregation because they are more likely to actively seek jobs that are less sensitive to human capital attributes (have higher initial wages but a flatter slope in the returns to human capital) because they plan to spend more time out of the labor market, lessening the value of their education and prior experience. Other researchers, however, have shown evidence that disputes not only Polacheck's theory about how choice behavior explains segregation (see England, 1982; Daymont and Statham, 1983; Corcoran, Duncan, and Ponza, 1984) but also demonstrates that human capital differences can not fully explain the wage gap between men and women (England, et al, 1988; Corcoran and Duncan, 1979).

Although researchers' inability to account for all of the wage gap difference with legitimate variables does not directly prove the existence of sex-based discrimination, there is a body of empirical research on other work outcomes that does directly show the existence of sex discrimination by fully controlling for alternative explanations. For example, a number of experimental studies (Dipboye, Fromkin, and Wiback, 1975; Terborg and Ilgen, 1975; Dipboye, Arvey, and Terpstra, 1977; Francesco, 1981) have found that females receive lower evaluations (e.g. lower ratings, lower initial pay, less frequently selected) than males when they apply for traditionally male jobs. In general, sex-role congruence in jobs or occupations has been identified as an important reason for biased evaluations of women (Martell, 1991; Kalen and Hodgins, 1984; Piacente, Penner, Hawkins, and Cohen, 1974; Feather, 1975; see Nieva and Gutek, 1980 for a review) Also, feminine characteristics are valued less and are less associated with power and status than masculine characteristics in jobs (Francesco and Hakel, 1981; Schein, 1973, 1975; Brenner, Tomkiewicz, and Schein; Fagenson, 1990; Kent and Moss, 1994) This direct evidence suggests that discriminatory forces are indeed a cause of poorer work outcomes for women.

If both indirect and direct evidence indicate that differences in compensable attributes cannot explain the observed differences in work outcomes, then these differences likely reflect the effect of discriminatory forces on gender. Gender theorists suggest that the fact that work outcome differences remain after controlling for alternative

explanations, such as human capital differences, means that gender can be a potent status difference in the workplace producing objectively different outcomes for men and women (Tavris, 1989; Jacobs, 1989,; England and Farkas, 1986). Poorer work outcomes for women, then, are objectively inequitable and unfair.

Sex-based differences in preferences:

Although women are not getting what they deserve, are they getting what they want? Are men and women different in their attitudes toward work and what they want from work?

Whether some or all of the unequal and inferior outcomes of women are attributable to discriminatory processes, we would expect to see substantial attitudinal and behavioral differences also based on gender. The surprising reality, however, is that there are relatively few significant gender-attributable differences between men and women in their attitudes toward and behavior at work. Men and women engage in similar processes and to similar extents to obtain the desired rewards from their work, even though women consistently receive less of these rewards. In a study of the salary negotiation behaviors of MBA students, for example, Gerhart and Rynes (1991) found that women negotiated as much as men over their salaries, but the outcomes of such negotiations were worse for women. The return to the negotiations was a salary increase of 4.3% for men, but only 2.7% for women. Similarly, researchers trying to explain salary attainment differences between men and women by examining the use of upward

influence tactics (e.g. ingratiation, exchange, or coalitions) found little difference in the use of such tactics between men and women. (Dreher, Dougherty, and White, 1989). Even for small business owners, few differences have been found between men and women in the processes that determine earnings for such business, even though women's businesses earn less than men's (Loscocco and Leicht, 1993). In Loscocco and Leicht's study, the only substantial gender differences were found in the influence of family, not work-related attitudes and behaviors.

Not only do men and women engage in similar attempts to receive the rewards from their work, they are also similar in skills and motivation to succeed. In a meta-analytic review of 17 studies, Dobbins and Platz (1986) found little evidence to support the claim of gender differences in leadership skills. Specifically, they found that men and women score similarly on leadership traits and have equally satisfied subordinates. A study of a Hungarian sample of male and female workers found that women and men are similar in the motives which further their achievement (Elizur and Beck, 1983). As further evidence of their motivation to succeed, women have also greatly increased their rates of investment in education and training; their share of advanced degrees has risen to 47% and their share of undergraduate degrees slightly exceeds that of men (McCrate, 1993).

In spite of compensation differences, researchers have also found that women exhibit similar, if not better, attitudes toward and involvement in their jobs than men.

Lorence (1987), for example, found that men and women reacted similarly to their working conditions. In particular, he found that women were more involved than men in their jobs, after controlling for differences in characteristics of the work setting, such as autonomy. Similarly, Shukla et. al, 1989, found that the work attitudes of employed, married men and women were more alike than different when controlling for occupational levels. Other researchers have also found men and women to be similar in work involvement and commitment, controlling for job differences (Quinn, Mangione, and Seashore, 1975; Quinn and Staines, 1979a, 1979b; Bielby and Bielby, 1988; Stevens, Beyer, and Trice, 1978). As a further indicator of women's equal involvement in work, researchers have found women to be as likely to mentor and have similar attitudes toward mentoring as men (Ragins and Scandura, 1994). Finally, women and men share similar views on what is important from work (Miller, 1980; Loscocco, 1989, 1990) and report similar degrees of work-family conflict, even though women exert more effort and take on more responsibilities at home (Pleck, Staines, and Lang, 1980; Wilkie, 1988; Shelton and Firestone, 1989).

In spite of these similar attitudes and perceptions, one explanation that has been advanced to explain why women receive inferior rewards is that women voluntarily choose such outcomes because women have a lower preference for pay, or value pay less, than men (e.g. Jurgensen, 1978; Nieva and Gutek, 1981; Beurell and Brenner, 1986; Nealey and Goodale, 1967). The majority of studies, however, have found no such

differences when controlling for structural or market characteristics (e.g. Golding, Resnick, and Crosby, 1983; Harris and Earle, 1986; Rynes, Schwab, and Heneman, 1983; Major, McFarlin, and Gagnon, 1984; Martin, 1989). Rynes et al. (1983) suggest that demographic differences may be the result of confounding market characteristics with gender differences. That is, the fact that female occupations are more likely to have limited variability in pay is likely to influence how women rate the importance of pay. Indeed, the bulk of the evidence on work attitudes and behaviors suggests that women value pay as highly as men, while receiving less of it.

In summary then, women want, and try to achieve, work outcomes and rewards to the same extent as men, but receive objectively inequitable outcomes. Given this context, one would expect women to be dissatisfied, or at least less satisfied than men, with their pay. The similarity between men and women in pay satisfaction therefore becomes most puzzling. Women are at least as satisfied with their pay and their jobs, even though women's pay, as well as other perquisites, is significantly lower than men's. (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991; Hodson, 1989; Crosby, 1982; Dreher, 1981; Mannheim, 1983; Deaux, 1979; Miller, Labovitz, and Fry, 1975; Weaver, 1978; for an exception, see Hampton and Heywood, 1993). This equivalence in satisfaction levels is even more surprising given the evidence suggesting that there is significant discrimination against women and no significant attitudinal or behavioral work-related differences between men and women that might account for it. Although women recognize, and are aggrieved, about the

existence of discrimination against women in the workplace, they do not appear to see discrimination as a problem in their individual work situations (Crosby, 1982; de Lamater and Fidell, 1971).

Explanations of women's satisfaction with lower pay.

The paradox of women's contentment with lower pay suggests that, while they may value pay as highly as men, they: 1) may perceive their lower pay to be a result of their individual choices, rather than a direct result of discrimination; or 2) use a different yardstick to measure their outcomes. The first explanation is supported by the socialization (e.g. Marini and Brinton, 1984) and match-to-reality (Nieva and Gutek, 1981) views. The second explanation, and the one this dissertation focuses on, relies on theories of distributive justice.

The socialization view:

Theoretical explanations of women's subordinate position and inferior treatment at work include traditional socialization perspectives (Marini and Briton, 1984; Williams, 1989; 1991) social and patriarchal control (Jacobs, 1989; Hartman, 1976; Strober, 1984), and institutional and structural constraints (Bielby and Baron, 1986; Baron, Davis-Blake, and Bielby, 1986; Kanter, 1977; Roos and Reskin, 1984). Of these, the socialization perspective most explicitly recognizes the influence of the individual choices of women in their economic subordination at work, even if these choices have been significantly

colored and value-laden by society. The traditional socialization about appropriate sex roles, it has been suggested, depress women's expectations and aspirations, and therefore their attitudes and behaviors, about what they can and might achieve at work (Marini and Britton, 1984). This would suggest that women are not dissatisfied with their work outcomes because these outcomes are a result of their own job-choice decisions and are therefore what they should receive. Additionally, the match-to-reality view (Nieva and Gutek, 1981) suggests that the daily reality of an inferior work situation, caused and perpetuated by the forces mentioned earlier, is an even stronger supply-side argument for women's depressed expectations (Marini and Britton, 1984; Major and Konar, 1986; Martin, 1989; Kanter, 1977; Major, 1989). These theories suggest that women are not dissatisfied with their work outcomes because these outcomes are a result of their own decisions and actions and/or because these outcomes meet their expectations. Thus, discrepancies in outcomes are either perceived to be equitable allocations or go unnoticed.

As useful as these theories are in explaining the very salient and well-documented fact that women's expectations for outcomes such as pay are lower than men's (Marini and Britton, 1984; Major and Konar, 1984; Kanter, 1977; McFarlin, Frome, Major, and Konar, 1989), depressed expectations resulting from socialization or past experiences are a necessary, but not sufficient explanation for women's contentment with lower pay. The Match-to-Reality view is indeed one likely cause of depressed expectations that could

lead to satisfaction with lower pay. If one always received low pay for one's work, one might not expect more and thus be satisfied. But this explanation suggests that past experience is the only reference used by women to determine their satisfaction. If this is true, why do women not yet in the labor market, without these labor force experiences, seem to have lower pay expectations about even entry-level positions (Martin, 1989) Socialization might explain this, but sex-role ideologies⁵ focus on work versus family roles and on the occupations to which men and women may appropriately aspire; they do not involve or dictate pay expectations. Martin (1989), for example, found women without labor force experience to have lower specific pay expectations, even after providing subjects with the correct salary information. Finally, if lowered expectations is the sole and direct cause of women's satisfaction with lower pay, why do women even notice the pay discrimination suffered by other women (e.g. see Crosby, 1982). These discrepancies suggest that there may be other factors which better explain the influence of expectations in women's perceptions about their work outcomes. Perhaps women use different yardsticks, or comparisons, than men to determine their level of satisfaction with work rewards.

Relative deprivation theory and personal entitlement:

⁵In addition, sex-role ideologies about appropriate occupational choices are not as pervasively held nor as broad in scope as they once were (Jacobs, 1989). This is not to say that evaluations of performance or behavior in a sex-incongruent job will not be affected by sex-role ideologies.

Major and colleagues (e.g. Major and Forcey, 1985; Major and Konar, 1984; Major, Frome, and Konar, 1984) have directly addressed this issue in research on perceptions of entitlement, an important and powerful theoretical accounting of the pay-satisfaction relationship. Major's research highlights the importance of social comparison processes in determining expectations and sense of entitlement. In a series of experiments, Major and her colleagues found that men and women exhibited different patterns of reward allocations that resulted from women allocating smaller rewards to themselves (few differences have been found in allocation decisions to others when the allocators are not corecipients) (Major and Deaux, 1982; Major and Adams, 1983; Lane and Messe', 1971; Callahan-Levy and Messe', 1979). Further, they found that differences in self-pay were exhibited only in the absence of unbiased social comparison information; both men and women believed other men had paid themselves more than other women (Major, McFarlin, and Gagnon, 1984). Both sexes' belief about what same-sex others earned significantly influenced their pay expectations (Major and Konar, 1984; McFarlin, Major, Frone, and Konar, 1984). Further, men and women preferred same-sex as opposed to opposite-sex social comparisons, although same-job comparisons were preferred over same-sex comparisons (Major and Forcey, 1985). This research shows that men and women will use social comparison information about similar others to determine their pay expectations. When explicit social comparison information was not available, the pay expectations of men and women were most strongly related to their

implicit beliefs about the pay similar others might receive. Because both men and women believe women will earn or accept less (Major, McFarlin, and Gagnon, 1984) and because pre-existing occupational segregation and lower pay will bias the pay of female social comparisons, women's sense of entitlement will generally be lower than men's.

Major's research shows the importance of comparison processes in the assessment of the fairness of reward allocations. In her research, subjects were instructed to award themselves the amount of pay they thought was fair, yet women awarded themselves less than did men, even when they performed better. Clearly, men and women were measuring fairness with different yardsticks. As Major has shown, men and women may be predisposed to use different referents against which to compare their outcomes.

Major (1989) has suggested four types of comparative referents relevant to gender differences: 1) Social comparisons are selected according to proximity and similarity considerations (Major, 1989; Major and Forcey, 1985; Major and Testa, 1989) such that men and women are likely to select different social referents because who is proximate and similar to a female worker may be different than who is proximate and similar to a male worker; 2) Normative comparisons rely on sex role stereotypes or ideologies to determine what are appropriate outcomes for women and men (Marini and Brinton, 1984); 3) Self-comparisons suggest that individuals evaluate their current outcomes against their own past history (see Pritchard, 1969, Weick, 1966) so that differences in past outcomes are the cause of differences in expectations; 4) Feasibility comparisons

suggest that evaluations of outcomes might be based also on outcomes obtainable in alternative situations (Thibaut and Kelly, 1959) such that poorer opportunities and alternative outcomes for women lead to lowered expectations.

Major (1989) hypothesizes that these gender differences in comparative referents are critical in determining gender differences in entitlement. Her model, based on distributive justice theories, hypothesizes that the inequalities in the social structure lead to sex differences in comparison standards according to the four methods of referent selection mentioned earlier. The choice of different, and inferior, referents leads women to lowered perceptions of entitlement, which has a number of social and personal consequences. One of these, it is suggested, is the tolerance of inequity. This, of course, could explain women's satisfaction with lesser pay.

The primary empirical contribution of Major's work comes in her suggestion and evidence that the observed pattern of women allocating less to themselves in shared reward situations comes not from any generosity in how they allocate to others but in what they perceive to be the worth of their own time and effort. Women, Major found, rate their work as worth (monetarily) less than men rate their work.

There are limitations to Major's model, however, both in empirical applications and in the scope of the theory. The limitation with these studies is that most were laboratory studies using student subjects. As is the point with laboratory studies, information other than what was expressly manipulated was unavailable. These studies

show how the comparison process works given the constraints of subjects with little or no job and wage experience, wage rate information as the only comparison, and comparison information available only by sex and job. The most significant limitation of her model, for the present research, is that it confines the influence of comparisons to the sphere of work.

There is little theoretical justification to limit the search for appropriate referents for comparisons to only one sphere of influence on a person's life. Both equity and relative deprivation theories suggest that the choice of referent others depends, at least in part, on proximity. But the determination of proximity may involve more than just job and sex characteristics.

If family is at least as central to an individual's life as work (e.g. Gutek, Repetti, and Silver, 1988), why could not the choice of referent depend at least as much on family-related characteristics as work-related characteristics or demographic (i.e. sex) characteristics? Major's model thus might be enriched by expanding the scope/sources of influence on perceptions of entitlement. The research on the work-family relationship suggests that family roles might be an important influence on referent choice.

CHAPTER 3

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FAMILY AND WORK DOMAINS

Family is at least as central to an individual's life as work (Bielby and Bielby, 1988; Mortimer, Lorence, and Kumka, 1986). A family can materially affect an individual's expenses and needs as well as decisions about residence, acquisitions, lifestyles, and even employment. Given the centrality of family and its importance in an individual's major life decisions, family role may be at least as important a characteristic of a comparison person, or referent, as work-related characteristics or even immutable characteristics such as sex. Indeed, family-work researchers and gender theorists in career development argue for just such a point (Nieva and Gutek, 1981; Gutek, Searle, and Klepa, 1991; DiBenedetto and Tittle, 1990; Izraeli, 1994). Research in these fields encompasses a life-role perspective that considers the importance of family in understanding work issues. For example, gender theorists in career development suggest that "career and work cannot be understood independently of their relationships to the other major adult roles of women" (DiBenedetto and Tittle, 1990, p. 41). In spite of the inclusion of family in these fields of study, however, the effects of family on referent choice in work evaluations has been largely ignored.

Originally, the work and family domains of an individual's life were considered separate and distinct spheres. Although the idea that these spheres might influence one

another had emerged as early as the 1930's (Barling, 1990), the work domain and the family domain are typically studied by different academic disciplines (Gutek, Nakamura, and Nieva, 1981) with vastly different focuses (Zedeck, 1992). This differentiation in research focus merely reflects, yet perpetuates, what may be a false dichotomy between the public (work) and private (family) lives of individuals (see Martin, 1990 for a discussion). Many characteristics of the public and of the private spheres are found in the other. Modern families, like the paid workplace, are a site of labor, contain exchange relationships (for goods, services, etc.) that are often exploitative, and contain individuals in different power positions or hierarchies (see, for example, England and Farkas, 1986; Fraser, 1988).

On the other hand, the needs and demands of the family, because they tap the time and energy of the worker, affect and are intertwined with life at work. In addition, organizations often try to mimic familial relationships by referring to employees as "family", encouraging them to have fun at work, and promoting personal, committed relationships between employees and between employees and the organization. However, much organizational research implies that the work and family spheres are distinct and separable because of the variables and methods used to examine employee behavior and attitudes. As a case in point, most of the Industrial and Organizational (I/O) research that examines issues of work and pay satisfaction and work involvement may nod at the

effects of family roles; however, they are certainly not driven by theories of work-family involvement.

Research on family effects on work outcomes.

I/O psychologists primarily focus on the "work" side of the equation and only marginally consider family influences. Those that address the issue at all try to control for effects of family responsibilities or need merely by measuring a few demographic, family status characteristics such as marital status and number of children (e.g. Loscocco and Spitze, 1991; Hodson, 1989) or number of children under six (e.g. Lorence, 1987; Hodson, 1989). These measures are presumed to capture any differences in the work variable (e.g. sex differences in job satisfaction) that may be caused by differences in family roles or need. Measured in this way, however, family status differences have been found to have little effect on job satisfaction (Hodson, 1989). Even the presence of young children in the household has been shown to have no effect on women's or men's job satisfaction (Hanson and Sloane, 1992). This result, or lack of result, may be because gender differences in the effects of family may have already been accommodated, behaviorally (Hayghe, 1984; Ericksen, 1977; see Stevenson, 1988 and Coverman, 1988) or cognitively, by the individuals. The use of demographic variables to measure family influence may not pick up self-selection into more personally satisfying (while lower

paying) jobs nor will this recognize perceptual reinterpretations of the fairness of the situation.

Self-selection or cognitive reinterpretation could explain, for instance, why employed women report no more family-work conflict than men, even though they put more hours into family, are more responsible for family aspects, and work more total hours (work-family combined) than men. To truly measure the effects of family on the evaluation of work outcomes, it is necessary to examine the process of evaluation and how family roles can affect the way in which fairness is interpreted.

Although there is important research that does look directly (albeit quite narrowly) at the issue of comparison process and referent choice in job and pay satisfaction, this research also suffers from the artificial separation of family and work. As discussed earlier, Major's work on entitlement represents a clear example of a distinct and exclusionary focus on the work sphere. In much of her work, she considers only the effects of sex and job on perceptions of the fairness of pay. In fact, every known study examining the choice of referent in determinations of job or pay satisfaction limits the choice of referent to the work domain (explicitly or implicitly). Crosby (1982), in her broad and detailed examination of relative deprivation (for employed men and women and housewives) looked very closely at the issue of referent choice. While her measures included the least restrictive conditions on referent choice (for the purpose of evaluating a job), the wording of her questions still was likely to encourage subjects to select the

referent from the work domain. She asked subjects: "In trying to decide how good your own job is, do you ever compare yourself with anyone else?" (stress added). She then asked subjects to identify the referents. The construction of "your own job" implies a comparison with "someone else's job", which firmly anchors the choice of referent in the work domain. More pointedly, if subjects indicated that they did not compare themselves to anyone else, she followed up by explicitly requesting them to identify "three people who work at the same place as you" (Crosby, 1982; p. 224). Further, she limited household comparisons to friends and neighbors. By doing this, she cognitively identified the family sphere as relevant for household questions and the work sphere, exclusively, as relevant for pay or job issues. In fact, she clearly states her belief that the spheres are separate and not closely linked: "the very separateness of work from home may afford the employed women and men a protective distance from domestic problems." (Crosby, 1982; p. 120).

Finally, there are a few studies that have examined in some detail how men and women perceive their work rewards that have also considered the effects of family. Zanna, Crosby, and Loewenstein (1989) conducted a secondary analysis on the data from the Crosby (1982) study discussed earlier. While these data suffer from the same limitations discussed above, the authors specifically tested for the effects of family status differences on the sex of the referent chosen by employed women. They found that having children made a difference for married women in the referent they selected.

Specifically, married women with children were more likely to have chosen a predominately female rather than male referent group and married, childless women more often chose a predominately male, rather than female, referent group. Single women in the study more often chose a mixed (both males and females) reference group. Thus, the authors reported an effect, among female subjects, of parental status on referent choice. Two other studies, while they do not directly examine the issue of referent choice, found significant effects for family status in the evaluation of rewards. These studies on underpayment perceptions of employed men and women found that being married raises the perceived underpayment for men, but lowers it for women (Hampton and Heywood, 1993; Mirowsky, 1987). The authors of both studies suggest that sex-role ideologies about income generation are what drives this finding.

The spouse's earnings seem to be viewed as a challenge by husbands and as a complement by wives. It appears that the husband's earnings define the adequacy of his role performance, whereas his wife's earnings may indicate the inadequacy of his performance. Closing the gap between their earnings appears to threaten the normative order (Mirowsky, 1987; p. 1431).

Mirowsky (1987) specifically measured sex-role ideology and found that traditional beliefs increased a husband's sense of underpayment and decreased a wife's. Therefore, these two studies suggest that family may have an effect on how work outcomes are evaluated.

An examination of breadwinning as a basic family role.

The research on family roles suggests that such roles are sex-typed. Before any review of the research on family roles is undertaken, it is important first to highlight two points that are central to the arguments in this research: 1) sex is correlated with family role such that more men still hold the breadwinning role and, more importantly; 2) that family role (i.e. breadwinner or homemaker) drives at least some of the sex differences in how an employee will respond to work outcomes. The difficulty in directly supporting the second point is that in many, if not most, studies of work and family, the family role is synonymous with gender role. Observed gender differences are frequently used and discussed as evidence of sex-typed family roles without any measurement of the extent to which the men and women in the studies actually held, or perceived that they held, different family roles. Thus, one of the goals of this dissertation is to sort out this difference, at least as it relates to the evaluation of work outcomes.

The family role of provider, or breadwinner, began in the early 19th century with the sexual division of labor (Bernard, 1981). This division of labor resulted in the male sex being associated with the work site and paid employment and the female sex being associated with the role of homemaker. Men, therefore, held the provider role for the family - providing an income for the family was the man's primary contribution. As Bernard (1981) explains it:

The good provider was a "family man." He set a good table, provided a decent home, paid the mortgage, bought the shoes, and kept his children warmly clothedLoving attention and emotional involvement in the family were not part of a woman's implicit bargain with the good provider.

Bernard (1981) suggests a number of defining characteristics of a breadwinner.

According to what has become the seminal work on the breadwinning role, a breadwinner: 1) would feel he had to work to support his family and that he would be a good provider only if his spouse did not have to work (p. 2); 2) would, in the event of a conflict, subordinate family demands and behaviors to his job (p. 4); 3) believes he is judged by the standard or level of living he provides for his family (p. 4); 4) feels the more his spouse makes, the more his role in the family diminishes. Failure to provide enough brings frustration (p. 4); 5) organizes his family's life around his occupation (p. 4); and 6) would be humiliated or ashamed if he lost the provider role altogether (p. 5).

Even though women are now substantially represented in the work force and the typical husband-wife family now has two wage-earners (Wilkie, 1988), some aspects of these role differences exist as sex roles are reinforced through a variety of mechanisms - most particularly, through the socialization of children via existing sex role differentiation in the household (see England and Farkas, 1986, for a discussion).

Although individuals differ in the extent to which they sex-type these roles (depending, at least, on the extent to which they hold traditional versus egalitarian ideals), family roles can still be divided into the breadwinning or Good provider role (Bernard, 1981) and the

homemaker role. Regardless of the pervasiveness and the extremes of these role ideologies in the current employed population, practical evidence that these roles still exist and are still, to some extent, sex-typed is shown by the observed sex differences in the amount of time and energy expended on home duties.

Although men have gradually increased their participation, there are still significant gender differences in the work done at home. Family and/or household roles of men and women require different investments of time and effort. Women, for example, work many more hours in the home and on home-related tasks than do men (Wilkie, 1988; Pleck, 1982; Pleck, Staines, and Lang, 1980; Shelton and Firestone, 1989) and their total time spent in home and paid work combined exceeds that of men (Shelton and Firestone, 1989; Wilkie, 1988; Hochschild, 1989; Ingrassia and Wingert, 1995). In addition to the amount of hours of work, men and women differ in the type of home labor they engage in, with women still completing the most demanding tasks and shouldering the primary responsibility for the household (Wilkie, 1988; Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983; LaRossa and LaRossa, 1981; England and Farkas, 1986). Therefore, whether the existing differences between men and women in the time, effort and responsibilities for household work is due to sex role ideologies or some other cause is largely irrelevant in a discussion of the practical significance of the homemaker role; the result is that men and women hold different roles and different responsibilities for home labor.

This is not to suggest that ideological or attitudinal aspects associated with the homemaker role do not exist. It is clear that the corollary to the fiscal role breadwinners played was the emotional, supporting, and coordinating role played by the homemakers. In the social science literature (as opposed to innumerable articles in the popular press dictating attitudes and mores for "the good homemaker"⁶), however, this role has largely been discussed according to the execution or responsibility held for home-related tasks.

Ideologies and attitudes may be more important in the differentiation of the good provider role, though behavioral differences still dominate the evidence of role differentiation. Although the sex-typing of the provider role may slowly but inexorably be changing (e.g. single women with families have been found to assume the good provider role (Loscocco and Leicht, 1993) and most employed wives will obviously bear some responsibility for monetary contribution to the household), women are still less

⁶The titles and topics of articles in current women's magazines speak eloquently to this point. A non-random sample of the only two clearly stated "women's" magazines at a local supermarket display revealed the following article titles on the front cover: Get Organized: 115 ways to find more storage; Walk off Weight; Simple Home Spruce-Ups, Easy Chicken Dinners, Delicious Sweets, All-American Crafts, Deadly Appliances, (in Woman's Day, September 17, 1996.); and Miracle Diet; Energy Boosters; Overweight? The medical problems that may be to blame; Irresistible Harvest Desserts; Step-by-Step to Gorgeous Eyes; 34 Showhouse Ideas You Can Copy (in Woman's World, September 10, 1996.). These magazines are obviously targeted more toward married women; single and younger women are more obviously the target of magazines such as Cosmopolitan with articles about fashion and "how tos" regarding relationships with men. The point here is that such popular magazines still purvey the notion that the woman's role in life should be focused on keeping a nice house, cooking good food, looking slim and attractive, and pleasing men.

likely to bear the primary responsibility for income generation (i.e. fewer women than men are employed full-time and only 29% of employed women in the U.S. (based on a nationally representative sample) contribute more than half of their family's income, (Families & Work Institute, 1995)). Although employed women, for example, work more hours in the home and work more combined hours, they work fewer hours in their paid employment than men (Shelton and Firestone, 1989; Pleck, Staines, and Lang, 1980). Married women are also more likely than married men to work part-time (Hayghe, 1984; U.S. Department of Labor, 1991). Evidence that role differentiation still exists and that it is related to pay satisfaction is shown by the findings described earlier that marriage to an employed spouse increases men's sense of underpayment while it decreases women's (Mirowsky, 1987; Hampton and Heywood, 1993). This is consistent with the idea that the institution of marriage reinforces and perhaps increases sex-roles such that married men become more concerned about the adequacy of their pay (more focused on being a good provider) and women less concerned.

The foregoing discussion suggests that family roles may be exhibited both behaviorally and attitudinally. The attitudinal evidence suggests that these roles are mutually exclusive; that is, while one can hold the attitudes of a breadwinner to a greater or lesser degree, one can not simultaneously hold both breadwinner and homemaker attitudes. (For example, one can not simultaneously believe that home demands should be subordinated to work demands and that work demands be subordinated to home

demands). On the other hand, the behavioral measures of these two roles suggests that it is indeed possible (and, in the case of a single parent, necessary) to hold both roles simultaneously. It is entirely possible for one individual to be both the primary income generator and perform the majority of the home-related tasks.

Sex roles and family roles.

Regardless of how these roles are measured, however, it is clear that the degree to which they are sex-typed will lead to differences between men and women in the way in which family influences work (or work influences family). Some of these differences may be known and even anticipated by men and women without family responsibility or labor market experience. For example, DiBenedetto and Tittle (1990) found that both male and female college students expected females to have to make a trade-off between their jobs and parental responsibilities and to have to consider how much total involvement, combining both work and home, they wanted in their lives. Neither the male nor female students saw men as having to make such choices or trade-offs. Job and home were considered independent dimensions. Similarly, Farmer (1985) found that homemaking commitment reduced long-range career motivation for young women, but these home and work dimensions were unrelated for the young men. These differences in the way family influences work suggest a reason why men and women might differentially evaluate their work experiences. In particular, this evidence of gender-

typed family roles provides one explanation for sex differences in the evaluation of the monetary worth of time and effort.

On the other hand, these studies do not allow us to see if family role might have an effect independent of gender. The few studies that examine this suggest that family role may have a significant effect that may actually drive much of the observed gender differences in the way men and women respond to their jobs. For example, a study examining the work-family links among small business owners found that: 1) family responsibility had a significant effect on business success for married men; and 2) it had an even stronger effect for single women with children (Loscocco and Leicht, 1993). These results suggest that breadwinning responsibility may have an important effect on work motivations, behaviors, and outcomes.

A second study focused on the effects of earnings ratios between husband and wives on the division of family work and sex-role attitudes (Izraeli, 1994). Izraeli found that women who earned less than their husbands (non-breadwinning) had more traditional sex-role attitudes than women who earned the same or more than their husbands. Breadwinning status also had an effect on the husbands such that the less they earned compared to their wives, the more home labor they did (i.e. the more they acquired the homemaker role). These results suggest the importance of breadwinning status, although it is difficult to determine the causality between sex-role attitudes and breadwinning status.

Although the previous two studies suggest that breadwinning status is likely to be a significant variable, neither examines the effect of family role on the perception of work outcomes. One way to examine this would be to see if breadwinning women evaluate their job outcomes more like breadwinning men or more like non-breadwinning women. One study did directly examine this point. Martin and Hanson, 1985, examined worker satisfaction for breadwinning men, breadwinning women, and non-breadwinning (but employed) women. They studied internal rewards, external rewards, and job convenience factors as the antecedents of job satisfaction and found that convenience factors were significantly more important to non-breadwinning women than to either breadwinning men or breadwinning women. In this case, it was family role (i.e. breadwinning status), not sex, that had a significant effect on satisfaction. It is important to note, however, that these researchers did not (could not) include non-breadwinning men in their sample. Thus, it is impossible to conclude from this study whether family role would have a stronger effect than sex on job satisfaction.

In summary, then, there is little research that looks closely at the effects of family role and sex in referent choice for the evaluation of work outcomes. None of the research that specifically examines referent choice in job evaluations considers independently the effects of family role and sex. Yet, research into work-family linkages suggests that family role is likely to have significant effects, either independent of, or interacting with, sex.

Beliefs about the relationship between work and family roles.

The preceding discussion suggests that there are two basic family roles (i.e. breadwinner and homemaker) and that, to some extent, these roles continue to be sex-typed. But how do these roles affect the way employees experience or perceive their labor market roles? Specifically, how might family roles affect the way in which employees value the monetary worth of their time? The answer to this requires, first, a model of how the family affects work and, second, an explanation of how these roles might influence the comparison process in perceptions of job outcomes.

Among the numerous models of the work-family interface, three seem particularly relevant to address the relationships between home and work roles. The conflict model suggests that success in one sphere (work or family) entails sacrifices in the other because the two spheres are theorized to have different norms and requirements (Evans and Bartolome, 1984; Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985, Payton-Miyazaki and Brayfield, 1976). Since time and physical effort are fixed-resources (Small and Riley, 1990), time and effort spent fulfilling family obligations is necessarily time and effort not spent in the work role. Applying the conflict model to the homemaking and breadwinning roles, the family responsibilities associated with the homemaking role would negatively affect work, and vice versa. However, the same logic would not apply to the effect of the breadwinning role on the work role. This is because the norms and requirements are no

longer mutually exclusive. Time and effort spent in the breadwinning role is congruent with the time spent at work. Additionally, the breadwinning role stipulates that positive work outcomes also benefit the family. Thus, the conflict model does not describe this relationship as the work role is both congruent with, and instrumental for, the family role of provider.⁷

The congruence model suggests that some factor with similar or congruent effects in both spheres will determine the outcomes for or the relationship between the family and work spheres (Morf, 1989). For example, the factor of work time will have largely congruent effects in both the home and work roles of the breadwinner. A breadwinner who spends time at work (within reasonable limits) is fulfilling both job requirements and familial expectations. For a homemaker, on the other hand, time at work does not in any way help to fulfill the homemaker's primary role. In fact, the time spent at work takes away from time spent in the family role. Thus, the two spheres are not congruent for homemakers. To the extent that family involvement or family role is described by the breadwinner role, family role involvement is synonymous (or congruent) with work role involvement.

⁷The conceptual argument here is that the conflict, or competing roles, view is more salient for homemakers while the synergistic instrumental view is more salient for breadwinners. In reality, both views may be, or are, held by the same person; however, breadwinning status should determine which is more dominant or has more effect on the evaluation of work outcomes.

The instrumental model is another view of the work and family relationship that takes the synergy of congruence one step further. This model suggests that one sphere will lead to or cause good outcomes in the other (Evans and Bartolome, 1984; Payton-Miyazaki & Brayfield, 1976). As this relates to work and family roles, achievements at work enable the breadwinner to better provide for her family. A good salary earned with time at work may be instrumental in achieving a good family life. With the breadwinner role, work involvement would not just be synonymous with, but would also positively affect, family life.

In summary, the division of family responsibility into two distinct roles suggests the need for different models to explain work and family role relationships. The Conflict Model best describes beliefs about the competing relationship between work and family roles for those holding the homemaker role, while, for those holding the breadwinner role, the Instrumental Model is best suited to explain beliefs about the importance of work to family and the Congruence Model best suited to explain the similarities in work and family roles. In general, however, the Instrumental Model may best depict beliefs about a synergistic relationship between work and family roles. These models, the Conflict and the Instrumental, suggest that the homemaking role is antithetical to employment while the breadwinner role is synonymous, or substantially overlapping, with employment. This has clear implications for how employees might evaluate work outcomes. Specifically, these models suggest how the dominant family role one holds

might affect how the relationship between work and family roles is viewed, affecting both attitudes and behaviors, as well as job satisfaction and the use and choice of referents.

The effect of work and family role relationship views on job satisfaction and referent choice.

Belief in the conflict view of work and family roles, because it describes competing demands and sacrifices for role fulfillment, is likely to be negatively related to job satisfaction. That is, the more one believes that work responsibilities require home sacrifices, the less satisfied one will be with one's job - all else being equal. Conversely, belief in the instrumental model would be positively related to job satisfaction to the extent that one believes that one's job is helping one to fulfill family responsibilities.

Beliefs about the work role and family role relationship, whether it is competing or synergistic, might also impact referent choice decisions. Because the conflict model is more likely to represent the work/family relationship views of employed homemakers, primary homemakers would be more likely to view work outcomes in light of reconciliation of conflicts or decisions about trade-offs. (For example, in the studies mentioned previously (DiBenedetto and Tittle, 1990; Farmer, 1985), the young women clearly were using a conflict model of the work-family relationship.) In their choice of referent, homemakers are more likely to compare themselves to someone with similar conflicts, a similar family role or, at least, a similar family status. This hypothesis is

suggested by the distributive justice research and, specifically, the research on social comparisons. Both equity theory and relative deprivation theory suggest similarity and accessibility drives referent choice. Additionally, equity theory suggests that referents could also be chosen in order to reduce the cognitive dissonance experienced from an inequitable comparison. Thus, homemakers and parents are likely to choose other homemakers and parents as referents because: 1) this is likely to be a central characteristic upon which to gauge similarity; 2) to the extent that similarity breeds association, similar others may simply be more accessible as comparisons; and/or 3) choosing someone with similar demands, constraints, or priorities would be more likely to lead to comparisons with referents who input/output ratios are perceived to be similar, thus enhancing perceptions of the equity of work outcomes (and purposely avoiding potential cognitive dissonance).

Following this logic, referent choice leads to comparisons with similar others (with similar input/output ratios) which leads to satisfaction. Referent choice, then, is being examined here as a mechanism that lowers the variability in satisfaction between individuals in objectively different situations. (Note: This is the primary argument explaining the paradoxical similarity in the reported satisfaction levels between men and women.) Specifically, the differences in job satisfaction that might stem from belief in the conflict versus the instrumental view of the work role and family role relationship

might be eliminated, or reduced, by the choice of a referent that provides a similar, and equitable, comparison.

If referent compatibility reduces the potential for differences in reported satisfaction levels, then this might explain why people with objectively different work outcomes might express equivalent satisfaction. In the case of homemakers, who are more likely to see home/family related factors as salient characteristics, the choice of referents who are similar in terms of home/family characteristics may mitigate the effect that a belief in the conflict model might have on satisfaction. On the other hand, the primary breadwinner fulfills her family role through work, so that the likely comparisons would be others known and defined through work. Family status would not be as relevant to the comparison for primary breadwinners as it would for primary homemakers. Thus, for breadwinners, the choice of referents is more likely to be influenced by work-related characteristics. This also suggests that breadwinners, who are more likely to believe in the instrumental view of synergy between work and family roles, might not express greater job satisfaction than homemakers if they choose referents who are similar on work-related characteristics.

To the extent that comparison persons with similar characteristics are difficult to identify, comparison persons (referents) are less likely to be used than other types of (internal) reference points. One question, then, is if employed homemakers, who are likely to focus on home and family characteristics in the selection of referents, are as

likely to find similar (equitable) comparisons as are breadwinners, who focus on work-related characteristics. When considering satisfaction with aspects of work, for example, it may be easier to gain knowledge about another's work-related characteristics than their home-related characteristics (or the sacrifices required by role fulfillment in both domains). If these home characteristics are more salient than work characteristics for homemakers, and home characteristics are harder to identify, these individuals may be less likely than breadwinners to use an referent. Instead, they may use an internal comparison process in which they can use past experience or future expectations, which may accommodate family situations, as their referents points. To the extent that breadwinners find work-related characteristics most salient, the relatively easy access to work characteristics of potential comparison persons may encourage breadwinners to select these referents more often than would homemakers.

CHAPTER 4

HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses are divided into two categories based on the dependent variables explored in this research; 1) Hypotheses concerning beliefs about the work role and family role relationships and about job satisfaction; and 2) Hypotheses about referent choice. The independent variables examined include breadwinning status, beliefs about the work role and family role relationships, and respondent characteristics (e.g. sex).

Since all respondents in this research are employed, the hypotheses and analyses are limited to terminology about the extent or level of identification with the breadwinning role (referred to as Breadwinning Status) rather than the dichotomy between breadwinning and homemaking roles used in the literature review. In addition, the term "referent" as used below refers to the use of another person as a comparison instead of the use of an internal referent such as one's own past experience, or one's own ideological beliefs.

Hypotheses about work role and family role relationships and job satisfaction:

To the extent that homemaking and breadwinning are not opposite ends of the same role continuum but are distinct roles that may both be held by the same individual, it is expected that the greater the salience of, or identification with, these roles, the stronger one's views about the work role and family role relationship. That is, the more

actively one is engaged in fulfilling any role, the more likely one is to notice both advantages (instrumental uses) and disadvantages (conflicts). (Although it would be expected that those who must fulfill both homemaker and breadwinner roles would be more likely to perceive the conflicts than those who have only primary breadwinning responsibility, the structure of the homemaking measure did not allow for this comparison to be tested.) The instrumental view of the family role and work role relationship, however, may be more salient and thus more strongly held by breadwinners and the conflict view more salient and more strongly held by those identifying with the homemaking role, such that breadwinning status will be more strongly related to the instrumental view than the conflict view.

1a) the higher one's breadwinning status, the stronger one's belief in the instrumental view of the work and family role relationship

and

1b) the higher one's breadwinning status, the stronger one's belief in the conflict view of the work and family role relationship

but

1c) the relationship between breadwinning status and belief in the particular family and work role relationship will be stronger between breadwinning status and the instrumental view than it will between breadwinning status and the conflict view.

The conflict model suggests that family sacrifices, as well as work inputs, are balanced against work rewards, or outputs and the instrumental model suggests that work inputs are balanced against both work rewards and family gains. Thus, the general effect, excluding referent comparisons, is that the input/output ratio for those believing in the conflict view is likely to be less favorable than the input/output ratio of those believing in the instrumental view. Thus, belief in the instrumental and conflict models will be predictive of job satisfaction such that:

- 2a) a positive relationship between the instrumental view and job satisfaction exists in which the stronger one's belief in the instrumental view of the work and family role relationship, the greater one's job satisfaction
and
- 2b) a negative relationship between the conflict view and job satisfaction exists in which the stronger one's belief in the conflict view of the work and family role relationship, the lower one's job satisfaction.

To the extent that the occupational segregation and sex discrimination in jobs and wages that exist in the general labor force are replicated in the sample for this research, we might expect women to earn less and to have less satisfying jobs than men. However, much of the literature suggests that men and women have similar attitudes towards and about their jobs, once job differences are controlled. Therefore,

3) Controlling for pay differences, the sex of the respondent will not be predictive of job satisfaction.

To the extent that hypotheses 1 and 2 are supported; that is, that the instrumental view is both positively identified with breadwinning status and that it also is positively associated with job satisfaction, it would be expected that breadwinning status might also be positively linked with job satisfaction. In other words, the more one sees one's job as important for and contributing to one's family, and the more importance one attributes to this role identity, the more likely one is to feel satisfied with one's job. (The alternative, given these preconditions, would be feelings of cognitive dissonance which would have to be resolved.) Thus,

4) Breadwinning status will affect job satisfaction such that the higher the breadwinning identification, the greater the satisfaction with the job factor.

As discussed in the literature review, breadwinning status may affect referent choice, and subsequent satisfaction, **through** people's beliefs about the work and family role relationship. This suggests that these beliefs might be mediators or moderators of the breadwinning effect. Although the mediator versus moderator role will not be formally hypothesized, the data will be examined to see if the beliefs about the work and family role relationships appear to operate in this fashion. Whether or not the data support any kind of mediating or moderating relationship, the instrumental model is predicted to be closely associated with the breadwinning measure. It follows, therefore, that the effects

predicted by the breadwinning measure would also be predicted by the instrumental measure. Thus, the relevant hypotheses about referent choice will be examined with both breadwinning status and beliefs about the relationship between family and work roles as independent variables.

Hypotheses about referent choice:

Little is known about referent choice in job satisfaction decisions. The limited empirical evidence suggests that both sex and job type of the subject are predictive of the sex and job type of the referent; that is, that these demographic and job characteristics are relevant factors upon which similarity decisions are based. To expand our knowledge about other relevant factors in referent selection, it is important to examine more of the contextual factors in referent choice as well as the effect of the family-related variables in this study.

First, an examination of similarities between respondents and their chosen referents should reinforce the theoretical importance of similarity in referent choice decisions. This can be examined with a number of similarity factors; therefore, a general hypothesis is proposed:

- 5) When asked to determine job satisfaction, respondents will choose referents perceived to be similar on demographic and work-related factors. In particular, respondents will choose referents similar in terms of sex, job-type, marital status, and pay level.

Different types of evaluations may evoke different responses. For example, one may be very satisfied with the level of pay received, but very dissatisfied with the extent of work/family conflict experienced. Because of this, it is also very likely that different referents will be chosen depending on the type of evaluation. Evaluations that focus attention on work-domain issues, such as pay satisfaction, may more likely rely on the use of referents located in the work domain than evaluations that focus attention on both home and work domains (e.g. satisfaction with the extent of work/family conflict). Work domain referents, because their salient characteristics are more visible, may be easier to identify in job satisfaction decisions than home domain referents, whose salient characteristics (such as level of work family conflict, parental responsibilities, etc.) are not so easily identified. If work domain referents (as the most visible referents) are used more often for pay and career satisfaction decisions than they are for other satisfaction decisions, then referents, in general, should be used more often in pay and career satisfaction decisions than in the other contexts.

Thus,

- 6) The referents selected by respondents will differ by domain according to the satisfaction context such that referents from the home domain are less likely to be used (and work domain referent more likely to be used) in decisions about pay and career satisfaction than they are in decisions about satisfaction with job convenience or levels of work/family conflict.

- 7) Referents, in general, are more likely to be used in decisions about pay satisfaction and career than they will in decisions about satisfaction with job convenience or levels of work/family conflict.

Although there are likely to be many more contextual variables that may affect referent choice decisions (and some of these will be examined on a post-hoc basis), the effect of the independent variables in this study will also be examined. Controlling for the expected correlation between breadwinning status and sex, there is little reason to believe that the sex of the respondent will influence the domain of the referents chosen.

- 8) The sex of the respondent will not be predictive of the domain of the referent.

Breadwinning status may also be expected to affect referent choice. Since the work and family roles of the breadwinner are congruent and defined by work, work-related characteristics provide the most relevant comparisons and the most similar and proximate referents are likely to be found in the work domain. On the other hand, homemakers are likely to focus on the home domain in their selection of referents because family demands and work/family balance issues are likely to be the most salient characteristics upon which to gauge similarity. Thus,

- 9) Breadwinning status will significantly affect referent domain such that the higher the breadwinning identification, the more likely the chosen referents will be from the work domain rather than the home domain.

Referents from the work domain are likely to be easier to identify and to have less ambiguous inputs and outputs with which to compare. Referents from the home domain, on the other hand, may be harder to identify because knowledge of inputs and outputs will be less public than in the work domain. Thus, the more one identifies with the breadwinning role, the more likely one is to look to the work domain for a referent. Since referents from this domain are generally easier to identify, they would be selected more frequently. Thus, a breadwinner is more likely to use a referent in job satisfaction decisions than a non-breadwinner.

- 10) Breadwinning status will affect the use of referents such that the higher the breadwinning identification, the more likely a referent will be used in evaluations of job satisfaction.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

Purpose.

This research, using random-sample survey methodology, attempts to achieve two main goals. The primary goal is to make a case for the inclusion of family factors in discussions and research on motivation theories and job satisfaction. The major hypothesis in this research is that family role (breadwinning status in the family) has a significant effect on job satisfaction. Because the theories often used to study job satisfaction (e.g. equity and relative deprivation theories) suggest that the role of referents is critical, this research hypothesizes that family role is also an important determinant of referent choice in job satisfaction decisions, more so than the sex of the decision maker. A second aim of this dissertation is to achieve a better understanding of when and how referents are chosen. These questions require an examination of the differences in referent choice (referent characteristics such as sex, pay, job type, domain, marital status, etc.) as influenced by the respondents' family role (breadwinning status) and demographic and job characteristics.

Finally, since job satisfaction and referent choice decisions may differ according to what types of evaluations about their jobs respondents are asked to make, this research will examine the hypotheses presented for each of four types of job factor evaluations.

Although the responses to these individual valuative contexts may differ, the general finding expected is that, regardless of sex, family role (breadwinning status) will affect job satisfaction.

Analysis Plan.

The analyses (primarily using linear regression and correlational analysis) is presented in four sections. The first set of analyses is descriptive and consists of data description and correlational tests. Since the literature review suggested that sex and breadwinning status is likely to be correlated, and that sex and pay is correlated, it was important to describe the data both as a complete sample and split by sex of respondent. In addition, correlational analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between sex, pay, and all of the major variables in the study.

The second set of analyses focuses on the relationship between breadwinning status, belief in work and family role relationship views (instrumental versus conflict), and job satisfaction. These relationships, first identified through correlational analyses, were further examined in this research with a series of regression analyses. For example, regression analyses were conducted to see if breadwinning status is predictive of the strength of belief in the instrumental and conflict views of the work and family role relationship. Similar analyses were conducted with sex and pay as predictor variables to

determine which (i.e. breadwinning status, pay, or sex) appeared to be the stronger predictor.

A regression analysis also was conducted to see if the strength of belief in these role relationships is predictive (and whether the direction of effect is positive or negative) of job satisfaction. As there was some indication that strength of belief in these role relationships might differ by sex, separate regressions for men and women were also conducted. In addition, a test of mediation was conducted to see if the effects of breadwinning status on job satisfaction is mediated by the inclusion of work and family role relationship views in the regression model.

Following this examination of the nature of the relationship between breadwinning status, work and family role relationship views, and job satisfaction, the third set of analyses focus on referent selection. Chi-square analyses were conducted to test the relationship between respondent characteristics and referent characteristics. Additional post-hoc analyses and frequency analyses were conducted to support and further explore the similarity hypothesis. T-tests and frequency analyses were then conducted to better understand how referents are chosen and used in job satisfaction decisions. Finally, the effects of breadwinning status (and the strength of belief in the work and family role relationship views) on referent choice and the effects of referent choice on job satisfaction were examined with logistic and linear regression analyses. These analyses were conducted to better understand what role, if any, referents play in the

relationship between family role (i.e. breadwinning status) and job satisfaction. Finally, in section four, post-hoc analyses are described that further explore the breadwinning measure and its antecedents and consequences.

The Sample.

The source of respondents for this study was the alumni database for a large, public, Southwestern University. This large, computerized database of 162,261 graduates was refined to a list of 134,790 people with verifiable mailing addresses. From this group, the database manager eliminated all graduates not identified as married, leaving a useable pool of 60,328 people. From this, the sample was further narrowed down by selecting only those married alumni who were coded as employed. It was from this group of married, employed alumni with verifiable addresses, a total of 20,635 graduates, that the computerized random sample of 2000 graduates was drawn for the study.

Unfortunately, the alumni database from which the sample was drawn was found to be somewhat out-of-date. For example, a post-hoc examination revealed that the database contained individuals as old as 95 still coded as married and employed. In addition, it was skewed by gender such that the population of alumni coded as both married and employed contained twice as many males (13,563) as females (6,714). This skew is likely to have resulted, in part, from the age range of the database population. In spite of selecting only the graduates coded as both married and currently employed, the age distribution was roughly normally distributed between the ages of 23 and 70,

including a small, but noticeable tail of people up to 95. It should be noted that the *relatively* small numbers of alumni under 30 (and especially under 25) is likely a result of the marriage selection requirement and the *relatively* small numbers of alumni over 65 is because of the employment criteria. The majority of alumni over 65 (or thereabouts) selected by the computer for the target population are likely to be coding errors; that is, they are unlikely to be currently employed. But they are also more likely to be men than women as far fewer women than men graduated from college prior to the 60's and are less like to work full-time now. Thus, the errors in applying the selection criteria for this study to the database used resulted in a gender-skewed pool of college graduates with a mean age of 45.5 (median = 46, mode = 48) from which the sample was drawn. Unfortunately, the flaws in the data source were only discovered after the survey results were obtained and a serious age skew was noted.

The process used to survey the randomly-selected (albeit from a biased population) alumni was standard. Each of the 2000 alumni in the sample was first sent a letter of introduction which explained the survey to follow in a few days, identified the researcher, and requested their assistance in responding to the survey. The survey⁸ was sent in a follow-up mailing with a return, addressed envelope.

Excluding the surveys returned for bad addresses, the sample was reduced to 1,984 alumni. From this number, a total of 605 responses were received, for an initial

⁸ A copy of the survey is available from the author upon request.

return rate of approximately 30%. A total of 174 responses were received from previously employed but retired (or no longer employed full-time) individuals and had to be eliminated from the study. Thus, the useable, returned surveys were reduced to 426 (out of a revised sample of 1,810), for a useable response rate of 24%.

Even given the initial age and sex bias in the target population, there was even more serious response bias in the useable completed surveys. Approximately 99% of survey respondents were age 50 or older (see Table 1 for a list of respondent characteristics). Any speculation about the reasons for such a response bias are purely post hoc; however, the nature and length of the survey may provide some insight into the skewed responses. This survey was 18 pages long (9 pages front and back). While a majority of the questions were repeated in four different contexts, allowing for fairly easy completion of the survey (estimated time was 20 minutes), the survey may have appeared to be quite time consuming. This may have indeed influenced the fact the respondents were those who were in their later stages of career and family responsibility and for whom, it is plausible to deduce, time considerations were less critical.

The sex distribution of respondents was also more skewed than the distribution in the sample. Possibly because of the ages responding (fewer women than men in this age range have graduated from college) and the criteria that they be married and employed, only 19% of useable respondents were female.

Table 1

Respondent Characteristics

(Marital and Parental Status Summary: 96.5% of respondents are married and 94% have no children under 18 at home.)

Variables	Whole Sample	Males	Females
Sex:	(425)	81% (346)	19% (79)
Race: Hispanic	6.4% (27)	(24)	(3)
African American	.5% (2)	(1)	(1)
Asian	1.2% (5)	(4)	(1)
American Indian	.2% (1)	(1)	(0)
Caucasian	90.8% (385)	(312)	(73)
Age: 49 or younger	1.2%	(4)	(1)
50-64	60.2%	(203)	(53)
65 or older	38.6%	(139)	(25)
Education: 4-year college	47%	(164)	(37)
M.A.	26%	(78)	(32)
Ph.D.	26%	(102)	(10)
Pay: < \$35,000	17%	(31)	(38)
\$35,000-\$79,999	44%	(149)	(32)
\$80,000 or more	39%	(150)	(7)
Family's Income:			
< \$50,000	12.8%	(28)	(16)
\$50,000-\$99,999	49.2%	(137)	(33)
\$100,000 or more	38.0%	(113)	(17)

Table 1
- continued -

Variables	Whole Sample	Males	Females
Job Type: hourly	8.0%	(16)	(17)
salaried	61.0%	(202)	(49)
self-employed	31.0%	(118)	(12)
Organizational Tenure:			
<= 10 years	28.5%	(95)	(26)
11-30 years	44.1%	(144)	(43)
more than 30 years	27.4%	(105)	(10)
Job/Profession Tenure:			
<= 10 years	11.0%	(33)	(14)
11-30 years	29.0%	(79)	(45)
more than 30 years	60.0%	(234)	(20)
Industry Type:			
Service	27.4%	(92)	(23)
Govmnt/Nonprofit	20.5%	(68)	(18)
Wholesale/Retail	8.6%	(32)	(4)
Industrial	13.3%	(52)	(4)
Other	30.2%	(98)	(29)
Spouse Employment:			
hourly	9.1%	(31)	(5)
salaried	21.3%	(60)	(24)
self-employed	17.3%	(45)	(23)
not employed	52.3%	(189)	(17)

Note: 75% of employed spouses worked at least 32 hours per week.

Regardless of the cause, the age distribution of this sample, along with other descriptive characteristics, seriously limits the generalizability of results. Because of the source of the sample, the respondents for this study tend to be well educated, with over half of the respondents holding either M.A.s or Ph.D.s. The respondents also hold primarily salaried or self-employed positions and have relatively higher personal income than the general population. Forty-eight percent of respondents have spouses who are employed for pay, three-fourths of whom worked full-time. Approximately 91% of the sample was Caucasian (see Table 1 for a summary of respondent characteristics).

Measurement: Scales and descriptive statistics.

Family roles:

Since the breadwinner construct has not been well-defined in the sparse research that examines it, this study should be considered exploratory in regard to the operationalization of this measure. Historically, the wife's employment status and the husband/wife wage ratio have been used as proxies for the breadwinning role (see Hood, 1986). Hood (1986) found only seven studies that attempted to operationalize the construct and found that each tried to measure breadwinning in a different manner, from wives' rankings of the importance of the husbands' roles, to global values measures, to

descriptive and prescriptive statements about income provision. These discrepancies and inconsistencies continue to plague the research on family roles.

In the more recent literature, breadwinning status, or provider role, when measured at all, is done so in one of three ways. The first is according to actual income contributed by each spouse. For example, Izraeli (1994) calculated the earnings ratio between husband and wives by asking about the proportion of family income contributed. This resulted in three categories; conventional (husband earns more than wife), modern (equivalent earnings), and innovative (wife earns more than husband). The second way is by self-identification (according to either one or both spouses) (e.g. Vogler and Pahl, 1994; Martin and Hanson, 1985; Scanzoni, 1978). Vogler and Pahl (1994), for example, asked couples to identify the main breadwinner. Martin and Hanson (1985) used data from the QES 1972-1973 sample in their study of breadwinning status. In this sample, breadwinners were respondents who indicated that their income was the primary means of support for the family unit while non-breadwinners were those who indicated that they worked simply to supplement the income of the primary breadwinner.

The third way to measure breadwinning status has been simply to assume that the male is the breadwinner. Until 1980, the U.S. Census automatically designated the male as the head of the household (or breadwinner) (Bernard, 1981). In his study about the underpayment perceptions of husbands and wives, Mirowsky (1987) presents an argument to support his assumption that husbands hold the breadwinning role. (In his

data collection, he does identify the breadwinner by asking about the head of household, but does not use this designation in his analysis of the data.) In addition to these three ways of operationalizing the breadwinning construct, researchers have also measured sex-role ideologies as a separate, yet related construct (Izraeli, 1994; Mirowsky, 1987). Sex-role ideologies are examined in conjunction with measures of relative earnings for their effects on such things as sense of underpayment and division of household labor.

Because of the limited and inconsistent measurement of breadwinning status in the existing literature, this research will explore alternative ways of measuring this construct. In addition to the standard proxies of breadwinning, such as employment status of spouse and earnings ratios, this research also includes a number of measures suggested by Hood (1986) that would replicate and revise past measures. First, there is a measure of role salience, used by Lopata (1971) with the revision suggested by Hood (1986). This is measured by asking respondents to rank order five roles (parent, spouse/companion, worker/professional, provider for family, maintainer of household) in order of the roles' importance to them (1=most important and 5=least important). Second, similar to Haas (1981), there are questions about who has the responsibility to support the family (reflecting the breadwinner role) and to manage the household (reflecting the homemaker). In addition to these measures, this research will also explore personal perceptions about responsibility for income generation and beliefs and intentions related to such responsibility through the construction of an attitudinal scale.

The attitudinal breadwinning measure (labeled "Breadwinning" in tables) was a scale constructed from the concept elucidated by Bernard (1981) as discussed earlier in this paper. In an attempt to separate conceptually the roles of breadwinner versus homemaker, the homemaking role (labeled "homemaking" in tables) is measured attitudinally through the construction of a scale based largely on corollaries of the concepts drawn from Bernard's (1981) description of breadwinning. (It should be noted that the construction of the homemaking scale in this manner made it impossible to consider homemaking as a construct separate and distinct from breadwinning; that is, it presumed, and indeed constructed, an inverse relationship between the two scales such that a respondent could not logically score equally (highly or lowly) on both scales. This construction yielded a measure that was conceptually weak and reduced its potential for meaningful explanation.)

Breadwinning and Homemaking Scales.

Respondents responded to the following questions on a 1-5 scale (where 1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).

Breadwinning Scale:

1. I feel it is my responsibility to provide an adequate income for our family.
2. In the event of a time conflict between my job and my family, my job has to take priority.
3. Other people will judge me according to the standard of living I provide for my family.
4. It is my fault if my family's income is too low.
5. My family's schedules and activities are largely planned around my job.
6. I would feel frustrated if I couldn't provide my family with a high-enough standard of living.
7. My job is the primary determinant of where (city/state) my family lives.
8. I would feel humiliated if I lost my job and was unable to find work for at least six months.
9. If we could afford it, I would rather that I work and that my spouse stays at home.
10. I feel it is my responsibility to provide the care and maintenance of my family.

Homemaking Scale:

1. If my spouse had to accept an out-of-state transfer or lose his/her job, I would quit my job so that he/she could take the transfer.
2. Ultimately, it is my fault if the house is disorderly or dirty.
3. When there is a scheduling conflict, I have to accommodate my family's needs.
4. Arranging for childcare is primarily my responsibility.
5. I plan my job and work demands so that I can accommodate my family's schedules.

A factor analysis using a Generalized Least Squares extraction method with a varimax rotation revealed that these items loaded on two separate factors (see Table 2).

Reliability tests (Cronbach's Alpha) suggest that breadwinning status is a reliable measure; however, the relatively lower reliability of the homemaking measure makes the

use of this measure more dubious (especially for a set of respondents who no longer find salient the childcare aspects of homemaking). As the reliability of the homemaking measure could not be improved by the elimination of items, and the scale itself was biased in its construction as a corollary of breadwinning, a decision was made to use the breadwinning measure, alone, to test hypotheses about breadwinning status for the sample in this research. (See Table 3 for means and standard deviations for each scale item and scale reliabilities for both measures. Means and standard deviations for both measures are presented in Table 4). The separate factor loadings, however, suggests that the homemaking measure might be meaningfully used in a different sample (e.g. a sample not limited to employed adults with no children living at home).

Ancillary Breadwinning Measures (Breadwinning Proxies).

Other breadwinning measures were also included, following Hood (1986) and the breadwinning proxies used in other research as discussed previously. These included measures of responsibility for family support and maintenance, pay level, respondent/spouse pay ratios, and role rankings (means and standard deviations for the entire sample and split by sex are presented for all ancillary breadwinning measures in Table 4).

These five measures are as follows:

The first two measures consisted of one question each where the response categories were on a 1-5 scale such that 1 = I have total responsibility; 2= I have the most responsibility; 3= My spouse and I have equal responsibility; 4=My spouse has the most responsibility; and 5= My spouse has total responsibility. However, these items were reverse scored so that the higher the score, the more the respondents assumed the responsibility.

1) **Family Support Measure:** "In your household, who has the responsibility to support the family?"

2) **Family Manager Measure:** "In your household, who has the responsibility for managing the household (including the children, housework, running errands, planning for the household, maintaining ties with friends and extended family, etc.)?"

Table 2

Factor Analysis Results for Items Used in Breadwinning and Homemaking Measures

Item #	Breadwinning		Homemaking	
	Unrotated	Rotated	Unrotated	Rotated
1.	<u>.73</u>	<u>.67</u>	-.07	-.25
2.	<u>.42</u>	<u>.31</u>	-.42	-.51
3.	<u>.50</u>	<u>.53</u>	.18	.05
4.	<u>.68</u>	<u>.70</u>	.15	-.03
5.	<u>.38</u>	<u>.35</u>	-.05	-.14
6.	<u>.67</u>	<u>.71</u>	.26	.09
7.	<u>.53</u>	<u>.45</u>	-.26	-.38
8.	<u>.40</u>	<u>.41</u>	.10	.00
9.	<u>.52</u>	<u>.50</u>	-.01	-.14
10.	<u>.65</u>	<u>.70</u>	.26	.09
11.	-.38	-.30	<u>.31</u>	<u>.39</u>
12.	-.05	.11	<u>.63</u>	<u>.63</u>
13.	-.15	.01	<u>.50</u>	<u>.67</u>
14.	-.18	-.05	<u>.50</u>	<u>.53</u>
15.	-.06	.09	<u>.60</u>	<u>.60</u>
Eigen values	3.51		2.27	
% Total variance	21.9		14.2	

Note: N=326. Highest loadings for each item are underlined.

Table 3
Reliability Coefficients and Scale Item
Characteristics for Breadwinning and Homemaking Measures

Breadwinning Scale

$\alpha=.77$

Item # Correlation	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total
1	4.53	.81	335	.60
2	3.19	.99	335	.33
3	3.07	.97	335	.39
4	3.23	1.24	335	.53
5	3.29	1.06	335	.31
6	3.87	.98	335	.55
7	3.49	1.28	335	.42
8	3.42	1.17	335	.37
9	3.33	1.30	335	.39
10	4.18	.87	335	.50

Homemaking Scale

$\alpha=.56$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	2.50	1.13	326	.27
2	2.36	1.03	326	.38
3	3.15	.85	326	.32
4	2.24	.97	326	.39
5	3.41	.86	326	.26

3) **Pay Measure:** "Please indicate your current annual pay by choosing the appropriate range below."

The response categories for this measure were on a 1-12 scale, beginning with 1= below \$10,000, increasing at \$5000 increments until 6= \$30,000-\$39,999, and continuing to increase at \$10,000 increments until capped at 12=\$80,000 or more.

4) **% of Family's Income Measure:** "What percentage of your family's income is provided by your income from this job?"

The response categories for this measure were on a 1-10 scale, with 1= below 10% and 10= 90-100%.

5) The fifth measure was a rank ordering of family and work roles in order of importance (1=most important, 5=least important). This measure, however, was coded such that each role was taken as a distinct measure with the numerical rank assigned as the response variable and was reverse scored so that the higher the score, the more important the role. The roles included the following:

Parent Role (Parent);

Worker Role (Worker/Professional);

House Role (Maintainer of household and/or home);

Spouse Role (Spouse/Companion);

Provider Role (Provider for family).

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations for Breadwinning, Homemaking, Ancillary Breadwinning & Behavioral Homemaking (Chores) Measures

Variables	Means: Whole Sample* (N)	Standard Deviations: Whole Sample	Means: Men (N)	Standard Deviations: Men	Means: Women (N)	Standard Deviations: Women
1. Breadwinning	3.56 (381)	.61	3.69 (313)	.49	2.70 (68)	.56
2. Homemaking	2.73 (325)	.59	2.67 (273)	.51	3.25 (52)	.60
3. Family Support	4.02 (401)	.97	4.31 (326)	.74	2.8 (75)	.92
4. Family Manager	2.58 (401)	.82	2.35 (327)	.63	3.65 (74)	.75
5. Pay	9.45 \cong \$55,000 (N=407)	2.89 \cong \$14,000	10.12 \cong \$61,000 (330)	2.36 \cong \$11,000	6.52 \cong \$32,000 (77)	3.16 \cong \$16,000
6. % of Family Income	\cong 70%	\cong 20%	\cong 73% (313)	\cong 10%	\cong 38% (74)	\cong 13%
7. Parent Role	3.12 (368)	1.36	3.09 (303)	1.35	3.29 (65)	1.37
8. Worker Role	3.03 (387)	1.27	3.0 (315)	1.31	3.17 (72)	1.08
9. House Role	1.91 (384)	1.16	1.78 (312)	1.13	2.47 (72)	1.15
10. Spouse Role	4.24 (389)	1.0	4.2 (317)	1.0	4.39 (72)	1.0
11. Provider Role	3.21 (388)	1.31	3.49 (316)	1.18	2.0 (72)	1.18
12. Males Chores	3.71 (377)	1.21	3.69 (306)	.69	2.79 (71)	.75
13. Female Chores	2.28 (390)	1.06	1.9 (317)	.65	3.97 (73)	.81

Behavioral Homemaking Measure:

Additionally, a behavioral measure of homemaking (versus the attitudinal measure described earlier) is used in this study which involves self-reported behaviors such as frequency of execution of, and numbers of hours spent in, family-related work. Such tasks include laundry, general cleaning, cooking, yard work, managing personal finances, etc. Tasks pertaining to children were excluded because of lack of relevancy (respondents had virtually no children living at home.) A factor analysis using a Generalized Least Squares extraction method revealed that home chores break down along traditional lines. Specifying a two-factor solution, factor analysis reveals that tasks traditionally associated with women load on one factor while those traditionally associated with men load on the other factor. However, two of the "traditionally male" items (family finances and decisions about major purchases) had lower communality and thus were left out in order to form a more reliable measure. (See Table 5 for the factor analysis results).

These findings are similar to previous research (e.g. Mederer, 1993; Hiller and Philliber, 1986). Hiller et. al., for example, found that managing money was a chore believed by the majority of respondents to be done by both husband and wife or just by the husband and major purchases were perceived to be done by both husband and wife. Other tasks, on the other hand, were seen as less "mutual". For example, yard work and

Table 5

Factor Analysis Results for Items Used in Behavioral Homemaking (Chores) Measures

Item	Female Chores	Male Chores
1. Housework	<u>.80</u>	.10
2. Laundry	<u>.86</u>	.04
3. Cooking	<u>.88</u>	.08
4. Meal planning	<u>.90</u>	.08
5. Grocery shopping	<u>.74</u>	.22
6. Shopping errands	<u>.83</u>	.07
7. Family ties	<u>.68</u>	.02
8. Yard work	-.41	<u>.54</u>
9. Vehicle Maintenance	-.58	<u>.60</u>
10. Family Finances*	.21	<u>.58</u>
11. Deciding about purchases*	-.05	<u>.66</u>
Eigen values	5.23	1.52
% Total variance	47.50	13.80

Note: N=378. Highest loading for each item is underlined.

* Items omitted from final scale because of lower communality.

household repairs were perceived as being done by the husbands while the other more regular household tasks were seen as done by the wives. Since the results of this research replicate the previous findings, a more accurate description of the factors identified through factor analysis would be: 1) tasks primarily done by women(wives); and 2) tasks done by both men and women (husbands and wives) or just men (husbands). However, since the latter factor items did not make a reliable scale, the measures used in this study are dichotomized as tasks done primarily by women (Female Chores) and tasks done primarily by men (Male Chores).

Home Chores:

Respondents indicated who (they or their spouse) engaged in the following tasks according to a 1-5 scale where 1 = almost always or always me; 2 = more often me; 3 = as often me as my spouse; 4 = more often my spouse; and 5 = almost always or always my spouse. These measures were reverse scored so that the higher the score, the more often the respondent, rather than the spouse, performed the tasks.

Female-traditional tasks (FEMALE CHORES): ($\alpha = .92$)

1. Housework - cleaning.
2. Laundry.
3. Cooking.

4. Meal planning.
5. Grocery shopping.
6. Family shopping errands (e.g. for clothes, gifts, etc.).
7. Maintaining family ties (e.g. correspondence, remembering birthdays, etc.).

Male-traditional tasks (MALE CHORES):
($\alpha = .71$)

1. Yard work (e.g. landscaping, lawn maintenance, etc.).
2. Vehicle and appliance maintenance.

(See Table 4 for a presentation of the means and standard deviations for these measures (for all respondents and for male and female respondents, independently). Table 6 presents Coefficient Alphas and scale item characteristics. Both scales were internally reliable for all respondents combined.)

Views of the work role and family role relationship:

Strength of belief in two different views of the work role and family role relationship - the conflict view and the instrumental view - were also measured. Although it is expected that most employed people have struck some level of balance between home and work (otherwise they would have an incentive to leave the workforce or find a new job)⁹, they may hold different beliefs about the amount of accommodation

⁹This self-selection may be why studies of both work/family conflict and dissatisfaction with work report that a minority of workers experience conflict or dissatisfaction. (For

or juggling required to uphold one's obligations in both spheres. Views of the work role and family role relationship were represented by three scales; one for the instrumental view and two (work-interferes-with-family (WIF) and family-interferes-with-work (FIW) for the conflict view.

The instrumental scale was designed to include the conceptual components of both the instrumental (Evans and Bartolome, 1984; Payton-Miyazaki and Brayfield, 1976) and congruence (Morf, 1989) models of work-family linkages; basically, it was designed to capture positive spillover (Staines, 1980) between the domains. These items were not taken from any existing scales but were constructed specifically for this study under the general conceptual guidelines of the aforementioned research (see earlier discussion in the review of the literature).

The conflict models were intended to capture negative spillover and use three of the four items for work-interferes-with-family and three of the four items for family-interferes-with-work as formulated by Gutek, Searle, and Klepa (1991) with the specific items developed by Kopelman, Greenhaus, and Connolly (1983) and Burley (1989). The fourth item from each of these internally reliable scales were omitted in the process of editing the survey because these items tapped relevant others' reactions (as perceived by the respondent) to the respondents' work/family interactions. The present research is

examples of such studies, see Pleck et al. 1980; Crosby, 1982; Hodson, 1989; Loscocco and Spitze, 1991).

Table 6

Reliability Coefficients & Scale Item Characteristics for
the Behavioral Homemaking (Chores) Measures

Female Chore Scale

$\alpha = .92$

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Item Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Item-Total Correlation</u>
1	2.16	1.19	391	.73
2	2.02	1.35	391	.79
3	2.16	1.29	391	.85
4	2.10	1.34	391	.86
5	2.49	1.32	391	.71
6	2.41	1.24	391	.78
7	2.64	1.21	391	.60

Male Chore Scale

$\alpha = .71$

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Item Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Item-Total Correlation</u>
1	3.52	1.37	381	.55
2	3.9	1.37	381	.55

concerned strictly with the respondents' perceptions of their work/family relationship.

Given this substantive difference in these items, together with the fact that they appeared to resonate the least with the respondents (i.e. lowest means for agreement) as reported in the study (i.e. Gutek, et al., 1991), the severe space limitations in the survey necessitated the omission of these items. This omission did appear to come at a cost; the internal reliability of the two conflict scales (see below) was lower than that reported in the earlier study (Gutek, et al., 1991). The specific items used in each scale appear below.

Instrumental model scale:

Respondents responded to the following questions on a 1-5 scale (where 1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).

1. My achievements at work directly benefit my family.
2. I feel that my job helps me to fulfill my obligations to my family.
3. I feel that the harder I work on my job, the more my family benefits.
4. The time and effort I spend at work helps make things easier for my family.
5. When I'm at work, I feel like I'm where my family expects me to be.

Conflict scale: work influences family:

Respondents responded to the following questions on a 1-5 scale (where 1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).

6. After work, I come home too tired to do some of the things I'd like to do.
7. I have so much work to do for my job that it takes away from my personal life.
8. My work takes up time that I'd like to spend with my family/friends.

Conflict scale: family interferes with work:

Respondents responded to the following questions on a 1-5 scale (where 1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree).

9. My personal demands are so great that it takes away from my work.
10. My personal life takes up time that I'd like to spend on work.
11. I'm often too tired at work because of the things I have to do at home.

A factor analysis using the Generalized Least Squares extraction method with a varimax rotation revealed that these eleven items loaded on three distinct factors (see Table 7). In general, the Instrumental scale and the WIF scale were reliable; however, the internal reliability of the FIW scale is questionable ($\alpha = .62$). Table 8 presents the scale item characteristics for these measures. The means and standard deviation for men, women, and the entire sample appear in Table 9.

Satisfaction and importance measures:

All satisfaction and importance scales were reliable and adapted from established scales (see Tables 10-13 for coefficient alphas and other scale item information; the means and standard deviations for these measures for men, women, and the whole sample can be found in Table 14). The questions for pay and benefit satisfaction and importance were taken from the Pay Satisfaction Questionnaire (Heneman, 1985; Heneman and Schwab; 1985). The questions for convenience satisfaction and importance were modeled after items on the 1972-1973 QES (as discussed by Martin and Hanson, 1985) that form the job convenience scale and include a global job convenience item. The items for career satisfaction and importance and work/family conflict satisfaction and importance follow formats similar to the questions for the previous two measures.

Table 7

Factor Analysis Results for Items used in Instrumental, WIF, and FIW Scales

Item#	Instrumental	WIF	FIW
1	<u>.63</u>	.05	-.11
2	<u>.63</u>	.06	-.13
3	<u>.61</u>	-.01	.22
4	<u>.71</u>	.02	-.08
5	<u>.53</u>	.02	-.09
6	-.03	<u>.56</u>	.01
7	.12	<u>.84</u>	.18
8	.06	<u>.63</u>	.31
9	-.15	.12	<u>.52</u>
10	.05	.07	<u>.70</u>
11	-.12	.21	<u>.55</u>
Eigen values	2.69	2.47	1.29
% Total variance	22.40	20.50	10.80

Note: N=403 Highest loadings for each item are underlined.

Table 8

Reliability Coefficients and Scale Item Characteristics
for Instrumental, WIF, and FIW Measures

Instrumental Scale

$\alpha = .75$

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Item Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Item-Total Correlation</u>
1	3.96	.74	404	.53
2	3.97	.70	404	.54
3	3.23	.88	404	.46
4	3.82	.75	404	.59
5	3.79	.77	404	.45

WIF Scale

$\alpha = .71$

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Item Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Item-Total Correlation</u>
6	3.01	1.02	407	.44
7	2.84	.96	407	.64
8	2.98	.92	407	.51

FIW Scale

$\alpha = .62$

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Item Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Item-Total Correlation</u>
9	2.16	.74	404	.40
10	2.09	.67	404	.46
11	1.99	.68	404	.44

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations for Instrumental, WIF, and FIW Measures

Variables	Whole Sample* Mean Std. Deviation (N)	Men Mean Std. Deviation (N)	Women Mean Std. Deviation (N)
1. Instrumental	3.75 .54 (403)	3.82 .53 (330)	3.47 .53 (73)
2. WIF	2.94 .77 (406)	2.92 .76 (332)	3.06 .82 (74)
3. FIW	2.08 .53 (403)	2.09 .51 (330)	2.05 .60 (73)

Table 10

Reliability Coefficients and Scale Item Characteristics
for Pay Satisfaction and Pay Importance Scales

Pay Satisfaction

$\alpha = .79$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	3.76	.89	411	.66
2	3.83	.92	411	.66
3	4.05	.81	411	.24
4	3.79	.92	411	.66
5	3.65	.93	411	.65

Pay Importance

$\alpha = .85$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	4.20	.67	408	.64
2	4.09	.90	408	.67
3	4.20	.63	408	.68
4	4.00	.92	408	.66
5	4.10	.72	408	.70

Table 11
 Reliability Coefficients and Scale Item Characteristics
 for Career Satisfaction and Career Importance Scales

Career Satisfaction

$\alpha = .77$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	4.01	.75	417	.56
2	4.05	.90	417	.43
3	3.91	.88	417	.46
4	3.77	.81	417	.64
5	3.89	.76	417	.61
6	3.62	.92	417	.47

Career Importance

$\alpha = .79$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	3.77	.85	415	.53
2	3.71	.93	415	.58
3	3.90	.83	415	.51
4	3.38	.92	415	.57
5	3.50	.93	415	.61
6	3.80	.83	415	.43

Table 12

Reliability Coefficients and Scale Item Characteristics
for Job Convenience Satisfaction and Importance Scales

Job Convenience Satisfaction

$\alpha = .88$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	4.02	.86	406	.76
2	3.86	.95	406	.75
3	3.55	1.00	406	.68
4	3.96	.90	406	.75
5	3.72	.87	406	.65

Job Convenience Importance

$\alpha = .78$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	4.28	.74	406	.62
2	4.06	.80	406	.62
3	3.27	1.19	406	.50
4	4.10	.83	406	.63
5	3.70	.84	406	.46

Table 13

Reliability Coefficients and Scale Item Characteristics
for Work/Family Conflict Satisfaction and Importance Scales

Work/Family Conflict Satisfaction

$\alpha = .92$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	3.63	.80	418	.83
2	3.61	.84	418	.86
3	3.53	.82	418	.85
4	3.48	.90	418	.70

Work/Family Conflict Importance

$\alpha = .87$

Item #	Item Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Item-Total Correlation
1	3.85	.92	418	.79
2	3.93	.87	418	.81
3	3.85	.92	418	.76
4	3.64	.99	418	.56

Table 14

Means and Standard Deviations for Satisfaction and Importance Scales

Variables	Whole Sample* Mean Std. Deviation (N)	Men Mean Std. Deviation (N)	Women Mean Std. Deviation (N)
1. Pay Satisfaction	3.82 .66 (410)	3.87 .64 (335)	3.57 .71 (75)
2. Career Satisfaction	3.82 .76 (405)	3.85 .75 (329)	3.71 .76 (76)
3. Job Convenience Satisfaction	3.88 .58 (416)	3.87 .58 (338)	3.91 .55 (78)
4. Work/Family Conflict Satisfaction	3.56 .75 (417)	3.57 .76 (340)	3.54 .73 (77)
5. Pay Importance	4.12 .61 (407)	4.14 .59 (334)	4.04 .69 (73)
6. Career Importance	3.88 .65 (405)	3.90 .65 (330)	3.83 .66 (75)
7. Job Convenience Importance	3.88 .65 (414)	3.62 .62 (337)	3.91 .54 (77)
8. Work/Family Conflict Importance	3.82 .79 (417)	3.79 .78 (338)	3.96 .81 (79)

Work/family conflict: importance ($\alpha = .87$)
 satisfaction ($\alpha = .92$)

Respondents were given the same response categories as above.

1. The amount of effort it takes to balance work and family.
2. How my time is divided between my work and my family.
3. The extent to which my work demands and my family demands conflict.
4. The amount of stress I feel in trying to manage and balance my life.

Referent Data:

The use/non-use of referents in job satisfaction judgments is measured by asking respondents if they do or don't compare themselves with someone else in the determination of their satisfaction. The domain of the referents selected was measured by asking why the respondent selected a particular referent with the response categories of: 1) relative; 2) friend; 3) coworker; 4) supervisor; 5) subordinate; or 6) colleague. This measure was dichotomized by collapsing responses 1 and 2 into a measure reflecting the home domain and responses 3-6 into a measure reflecting the work domain.

Additionally, an open-ended question asking for the reason for the selection of the specific referent was an alternative method to measure referent domain. The open-ended question was intended to allow for a much richer response about referent choice and was coded (0,1) based on whether or not the respondent made specific mention of any of a variety of factors (work, sex, age family, other) about the referent.

Unfortunately, the responses to the open-ended questions were either blank or quite terse

and thus this measure provided no significant results upon analysis. Therefore, only the multiple choice measure is reported in the analyses.

Other information about the referents is collected primarily through multiple choice questions tapping work and family-related characteristics. These were intended to gather both demographic and work-related characteristics of the referents and included questions about sex, race, parental status, marital status, employment status of referent's spouse, referent employment (same/different (compared to respondent) job or employer), job type (hourly, salaried, or self-employed), and income from job (more, equal, or less relative to respondent).

Types of evaluations:

These questions about referents will be duplicated in four different contexts. Respondents are asked to respond to the questions about the referents used in determining satisfaction levels for each of four work outcomes: 1) pay; 2) career progression; 3) convenience factors like hours, schedules, and location, etc. of employment; and 4) level of work/family conflict. All referent analyses were duplicated within each context. Main effects of evaluative contexts were hypothesized only for referent choice decisions, although other differences between contexts are discussed.

Sex:

The sex of respondents is coded as 1=male, 2=female.

Controls and demographic characteristics:

The survey also collects information about the respondent's work experience, the respondent's household, and demographical information about the respondent.

The objective data about the respondent's job and experience includes:

- 1) General job type (i.e. 1=hourly, 2=salaried, 3=self-employed);
- 2) Pay (annual pay, measured as explained in Breadwinning Proxies section);
- 3) Job tenure (measured as years in job):
 - 1 = less than 1; 2 = 1-3; 3 = 4-5; 4 = 6-10; 5 = 11-15;
 - 6 = 16-20; 7 = 21-25; 8 = 26-30; 9 = more than 30;
- 4) Organizational tenure, measured with the same scale as job tenure;
- 5) Number of hours a week worked for pay:
 - 1 = less than 30 (these respondents were excluded from the analyses);
 - 2 = 30-39; 3=40-45; 4 = 46-50; 5 = 51-60; 6 = more than 60;
- 6) Industry:
 - 1 = service; 2 = government/non-profit; 3 = wholesale/retail trade;
 - 4 = industrial; 5 = other.

The household data collected includes:

- 1) Employment status of spouse (hourly, salaried, self-employed, or not employed for pay);
- 2) Number of hours worked by spouse (less than 32, 32-36, 37-40, more than 40); and
- 3) Household income (12-point scale with 1 = below \$15,000 and 12 = \$100,000 or more).

The demographic information collected, other than sex, includes:

- 1) Ethnicity;
- 2) Marital status;
- 3) Parental status;
- 4) Education; and

5) Age.

(See Table I for a description of respondent characteristics.)

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

The results of the analyses are reported below and organized into four sections: 1) descriptive results for the measures used in this research; 2) results for the analyses of job satisfaction and the work and family role relationship variables; 3) results for the referent choice analyses; and 4) additional descriptive results of post-hoc analyses on the breadwinning measure.

SECTION I: Descriptive results of measures.

Breadwinning:

Overall, respondents appeared to have a significantly stronger breadwinning orientation than a homemaker orientation (see Table 15 for t-test results). However, an examination of the means by sex group revealed that this was only true for male respondents (see Table 15). Female respondents indicated a significantly stronger orientation to the homemaking role than the breadwinning role. Further supporting this sex role segregation, the mean responses from the men indicated that they were significantly more responsible for providing for their family (Family Support) than for

managing the family home needs (Family Management) while the mean responses from the women indicated that they bore significantly more responsibility for family management than family support (see Table 15). In further support of this finding, there were significant differences between men and women in the relative importance they assigned to the provider role and the maintainer of the home (House) role (See Table 16). The mean responses from the rankings indicated that the men assigned higher importance to the provider role than the women did and the women assigned higher importance to the maintenance (House) role than did the men.

A correlational analysis revealed that all of the ancillary breadwinning measures, except for the parent and worker role rankings, were correlated with the primary breadwinning scale (see Table 17). Because of the differences between men and women found in the means tests, above, these correlation analyses were also performed separately for male and female respondents (see Tables 18 and 19). In general the results from the correlational analyses for men and women were similar. For both men and women, the breadwinning measure was significantly positively correlated with responsibility for supporting the family, the ratio of the respondent's pay to the family's income, and the provider role. Breadwinning status was significantly negatively correlated with the spousal role and female chore performance for both men and women. Although pay and responsibility for family management was significantly correlated (positively and

negatively, respectively) with breadwinning status for men only, the women's correlation results were in the same directions even though they did not reach levels of significance.

The primary difference in these results between men and women lies in the relationship between homemaking status and breadwinning status. For men, homemaking status was significantly inversely correlated with breadwinning status, but for women the correlation between these measures was zero. One final difference was that the worker role was positively correlated (although only marginally significant) with breadwinning status for women but was not correlated for men.

The correlations between breadwinning status and the other major variables in this study will be discussed as part of the descriptive analysis results for each of these measures. These measures - homemaking (attitudinal and behavioral) measures, satisfaction and importance measures, and demographic variables - are discussed below.

Homemaking measures: Attitudinal and behavioral (Chores):

Because respondents were asked about chore division between themselves and their spouse, the sex distribution of the respondents will influence the overall mean responses about chore performance (not surprisingly, the female chores measure was significantly correlated with respondent sex ($r=.76$) such that females were more likely to report performance of female chores (See Table 20 for correlation matrix for whole sample on major variables); therefore, means must be examined separately by sex group.

Table 15

Mean Differences Scores Between Measures for Whole Sample, Men and Women

<u>Measures</u>	<u>WHOLE SAMPLE</u>		<u>MEN</u>		<u>WOMEN</u>	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>t-Score</u> (N)	<u>Mean</u>	<u>t-Score</u> (N)	<u>Mean</u>	<u>t-Score</u> (N)
		(321)		(270)		(50)
Breadwinning	3.56	15.09***	3.70	22.07***	2.78	4.07***
Homemaking	2.75		2.66		3.25	
		(403)		(329)		(73)
WIF	2.94	18.00***	2.92	18.46***	3.06	3.87***
Instrumental	3.75		3.82		3.47	
		(403)		(329)		(73)
FIW	2.08	42.26***	2.09	40.28***	2.05	14.64***
Instrumental	3.75		3.82		3.47	
		(372)		(300)		(71)
Female Chores	2.30	16.04***	1.91	35.01***	3.97	10.30***
Male Chores	3.52		3.70		2.79	
		(401)		(326)		(74)
Family Support	4.03	18.15***	4.31	31.97***	2.80	5.34***
Family Management	2.58		2.34		3.65	

Note: *** $p \leq .001$

Table 16
 Mean Difference Scores Between Men and Women for Breadwinning,
 Homemaking, Ancillary Breadwinning & Behavioral Homemaking (Chores) Measures

Variables	Means for Men (N)	Means for Women (N)	t - Score
1. Breadwinning	3.69 (313)	2.70 (68)	13.62***
2. Homemaking	2.67 (273)	3.25 (52)	6.60***
3. Family Support	4.31 (326)	2.8 (75)	13.29***
4. Family Manager	2.35 (327)	3.65 (74)	13.92***
5. Pay	10.12 ≈ 61,000 (330)	6.52 ≈ 32,000 (77)	9.41***
6. % of Family Income	≈ 73% (313)	≈ 38% (74)	11.63***
7. Parent Role	3.09 (303)	3.29 (65)	1.11
8. Worker Role	3.0 (305)	3.17 (72)	1.02
9. House Role	1.78 (312)	2.47 (72)	4.64***
10. Spouse Role	4.2 (317)	4.39 (72)	1.45
11. Provider Role	3.49 (316)	2.0 (72)	9.68***
12. Male Chores	3.69 (306)	2.79 (71)	9.29***
13. Female Chores	1.9 (317)	3.97 (73)	20.26***

Note: *** p ≤ .001 ** p ≤ .01 *p ≤ .05

Table 17

Correlation Matrix for Breadwinning, Homemaking, and Ancillary Breadwinning Measures: Whole Sample

MEASURE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Breadwinning	1.0	-.33***	.60***	-.50***	.45***	.53***	0.00	.01	-.16**	-.23***	.40***
2. Homemaking		1.0	-.37***	.42***	-.34	-.31***	.04	-.19**	.20***	.18**	-.22***
3. Family Support+			1.0	-.57***	.53***	.68***	-.05	.06	-.22***	.16**	.39***
4. Family Manager+				1.0	-.44***	-.50***	-.03	-.03	.31***	.10*	-.27***
5. Pay					1.0	.54***	-.07	.08	-.23***	-.05	.31***
6. % of Family Income						1.0	-.04	-.04	-.13***	-.12*	.36***
7. Parent Role+							1.0	-.28***	-.14**	.00	-.20***
8. Worker Role+								1.0	.03	-.23***	-.08
9. House Role+									1.0	-.04	-.08
10. Spouse Role+										1.0	-.24***
11. Provider Role+											1.0

Note: +Items have been reverse scored

*** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$ * $p \leq .05$

Table 18

Correlation Matrix for Breadwinning, Homemaking, and Ancilliary Breadwinning Measures: Men Only

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Breadwinning	1.0	-.20***	.38***	-.23***	.24***	.28***	-.07	.01	.04	-.20***	.17**	.05	-.29***
2. Homemaking		1.0	-.16**	.23***	-.15*	-.05	.04	-.22***	.11	.19**	-.06	.05	.17**
3. Family Support			1.0	-.31***	.32***	.47***	-.01	.06	.00	-.10	.10	.11	-.25***
4. Family Manager				1.0	-.15**	-.23***	-.08	-.04	.12*	.08	.04	.14*	.57***
5. Pay					1.0	.35***	-.07	.04	.01	.00	.08	-.01	-.12*
6. % of Family Income						1.0	-.01	-.07	.12*	-.05	.10	.04	-.25***
7. Parent Role							1.0	-.27**	-.13*	.01	-.16**	-.03	-.01
8. Worker Role								1.0	.08	-.22***	-.10	-.02	-.03
9. House Role									1.0	-.07	.08	.05	.01
10. Spouse Role										1.0	-.19***	-.06	-.07
11. Provider Role											1.0	.09	-.05
12. Male Chores												1.0	.12*
13. Female Chores													1.0

Note: N ranges from 255 - 317 *** p ≤ .001 ** p ≤ .01 * p ≤ .05

Table 19

Correlation Matrix for Breadwinning, Homemaking, and Ancillary Breadwinning Measures: Women Only

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Breadwinning	1.0	.00	.35***	-.17	.24***	.28***	-.07	.01	.04	-.20***	.17**	.05	-.29***
2. Homemaking		1.0	-.37**	.39**	-.39**	-.46***	.03	-.35**	.26	.12	-.15	-.02	.47***
3. Family Support			1.0	-.34***	.35**	.66***	-.03	.36**	-.41***	-.31**	.48***	-.10	-.32**
4. Family Manager				1.0	-.29**	-.30**	-.09	-.24*	.55***	.04	-.22	.49***	.62***
5. Pay					1.0	.45***	.00	.47***	-.53***	-.11	.20	-.07	-.24*
6. % of Family Income						1.0	-.01	.30**	-.42***	-.26*	.42***	-.11	-.25*
7. Parent Role							1.0	-.40***	-.25*	-.08	-.41***	-.30*	.07
8. Worker Role								1.0	-.26*	-.35**	.17	.05	-.38***
9. House Role									1.0	-.05	-.22	.26*	.45***
10. Spouse Role										1.0	-.46***	-.08	.12
11. Provider Role											1.0	.08	-.20
12. Male Chores												1.0	.24*
13. Female Chores													1.0

Note: N ranges from 48-74 *** p ≤ .001 ** p ≤ .01 * p ≤ .05

Table 20

Correlation Matrix for Major Scales: Breadwinning, Homemaking, Work/Family Relationship, Satisfaction, Sex, Pay, and Behavioral Homemaking (Chores) Measures: Whole Sample

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Breadwinning	1.0	-.33***	.54***	.18***	.00	.16**	.10	-.03	-.03	-.62***	.45***	.30***	-.61***
2. Homemaking		1.0	-.17***	-.07	.18***	-.17**	-.03	.06	.11	.38***	-.34***	.12	-.41***
3. Instrumental			1.0	.08	-.11*	.23***	.22**	.08	.12*	-.25***	.22**	.13*	-.32***
4. Conflict (WIF)				1.0	.31***	-.13**	-.22***	-.29***	-.38***	.07	.00	-.02	.01
5. Conflict (FIW)					1.0	-.16***	-.13**	-.11*	-.19***	-.03	-.04	.03	.01
6. Pay Satisfaction						1.0	.57***	.29***	.26***	-.18**	.37***	-.02	-.17***
7. Career Satisfaction							1.0	.49***	.49***	-.07	.29***	-.03	-.06
8. Convenience Satisfaction								1.0	.57***	.03	.09	-.07	.01
9. Work/Family Conflict Satisfaction									1.0	-.01	.05	-.06	-.02
10. Subject Sex										1.0	-.49***	.45***	-.76***
11. Pay											1.0	-.20***	.47***
12. Male Chores												1.0	-.27**
13. Female Chores													1.0

Note: N ranges from 326-411

*** $p \leq .001$

** $p \leq .01$

* $p \leq .05$

Analysis of these means reveals that male respondents tended to see a more equal split in chore performance, as they responded that they always or usually performed the male chores (see Table 16 for t-test results) and their spouses always or usually performed the female chores. Female respondent responses indicated that they believed they always or usually performed the female chores but that the performance of the male chores was more likely to be shared.¹⁰

Except as noted in the preceding discussion about the breadwinning measure, men and women appear to respond similarly concerning the relationships between the breadwinning and homemaking measures with the primary difference being that the correlations for women do not reach statistical significance on as many measures as the men (see tables 18 and 19). This may be primarily a result of the greatly skewed numbers of men and women in the study. For both men and women, the attitudinal homemaking measure is significantly negatively correlated with the worker role and significantly positively correlated with performance of female chores. In addition, the attitudinal homemaking measure for men is significantly negatively correlated with responsibility for supporting the household, and with pay (marginally) and significantly positively correlated with responsibility for maintaining the household and the spousal role.

¹⁰This difference in perceptions of chore performance between men and women has generally been identified in numerous studies (e.g. Mederer, 1993; Hiller and Philliber, 1986).

For the behavioral homemaking measures, female chore performance is significantly negatively correlated with breadwinning status, responsibility for supporting the family, pay, and ratio of pay to family income and it is significantly positively correlated with homemaking status, responsibility for maintaining the household and performance of male chores for both men and women. Performance of male chores was significantly positively correlated with responsibility for family maintenance for both men and women, and was positively correlated with the home maintenance role and negatively correlated with the parent role for women (see table 18 and 19). Thus, in spite of the fact that women and men differ in the types of chores they perform, the relationships between chore performance and most variables are similar for men and women.

Views of the work role and family role relationship:

In general, the respondents in this study believed more strongly in the instrumental view ($M=3.75$) than the conflict view of the work and family role relationship. Also, they agreed with the WIF conflict view ($M=2.94$) more strongly than the FIW conflict view ($M=2.08$) as previous research has found (see table 15). This pattern held true for both men and women in the sample; for both men and women, agreement with the instrumental view of the work/family role relationship was significantly greater than agreement with either the WIF view or the FIW view (see Table

15 for means differences tests). Men and women, in fact, only differed in the strength of agreement with the instrumental view such that the mean for agreement with the instrumental view for men ($M=3.82$) was significantly higher than that for women ($M=3.47$) (see Table 21 for means, standard deviations and t-tests).

Belief in the instrumental view of the work role and family role relationship was positively (and significantly) correlated with breadwinning status and career satisfaction for both men and women (see Tables 20 (whole sample), and tables 22-23). For men only, it was also significantly positively correlated with pay satisfaction and significantly negatively correlated with the FIW conflict view and female chore performance (see Table 22). For women only, the instrumental view was also significantly positively correlated with job convenience satisfaction and work/family conflict satisfaction (see Table 23).

Belief in the WIF conflict view of the work/family role relationships was positively (and significantly) correlated with the FIW conflict view and breadwinning status for both men and women (see Tables 22 and 23), although the strength of these correlations was much greater for women than it was for men. It was also significantly negatively correlated with all four satisfaction contexts for men and with career satisfaction and work/family conflict satisfaction for women (see Tables 22 and 23).

Table 21

Mean Differences Scores Between Men and Women for Instrumental, WIF, and FIW Measures

Variables	Means		t-Score
	Men (N)	Women (N)	
1. Instrumental	3.82 (330)	3.47 (73)	5.06***
2. WIF	2.92 (332)	3.06 (74)	-1.38
3. FIW	2.09 (330)	2.05 (73)	.55

*** $P \leq .001$ ** $P \leq .01$ * $P \leq .05$

Table 22

Correlation Matrix for Major Scales: Breadwinning, Work/Family Relationship, Satisfaction,
Sex, Pay, and Female Chore Measures: **Men Only**

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Breadwinning	1.0	.50***	.21***	-.09	.12*	.09	.00	-.02	.24***	-.29***
2. Instrumental		1.0	.09	-.13*	.20***	.19***	.06	.09	.10	-.20***
3. Conflict (WIF)			1.0	.26***	-.11*	-.21**	-.34***	-.41***	.07	-.07
4. Conflict (FIW)				1.0	-.14**	-.09	-.12*	-.17**	-.04	.05
5. Pay Satisfaction					1.0	.56***	.30***	.23***	.31***	.02
6. Career Satisfaction						1.0	.50***	.48***	.27***	-.02
7. Convenience Satisfaction							1.0	.59***	.11*	-.03
8. Work/Family Conflict Satisfaction								1.0	.05	.02
9. Pay									1.0	-.12*
10. Female Chores										1.0

Note: N ranges from 297-338 *** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$ * $p \leq .05$

Table 23

Correlation Matrix for Major Scales: Breadwinning, Work/Family Relationship, Satisfaction,
Sex, Pay, and Female Chore Measures: Women Only

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Breadwinning	1.0	.47***	.44***	.19	.01	-.04	-.08	-.07	.20	-.35***
2. Instrumental		1.0	.16	-.08	.19	.31***	.26*	.27*	.18	-.13
3. Conflict (WIF)			1.0	.47***	-.15	-.24*	-.12	-.23*	-.01	-.08
4. Conflict (FIW)				1.0	-.24*	-.28*	-.05	-.31**	-.09	.00
5. Pay Satisfaction					1.0	.57***	.29*	.39***	.39***	-.22
6. Career Satisfaction						1.0	.42***	.53***	.34**	-.04
7. Convenience Satisfaction							1.0	.46***	.19	-.09
8. Work/Family Conflict Satisfaction								1.0	.07	.04
9. Pay									1.0	-.24*
10. Female Chores										1.0

Note: N ranges from 65-76 *** p ≤ .001 ** p ≤ .01 * p ≤ .05

Satisfaction:

The respondents in this research found the four job aspects (i.e. pay, career, job convenience, and work/family conflict satisfaction) to be relatively important and appear to be relatively satisfied. On a 1 (low) to five scale, the means for importance range from a low of $M=3.67$ for job convenience importance to a high of $M=4.12$ for pay importance. The range for satisfaction went from a low of $M=3.56$ for work/family conflict satisfaction to a high of $M=3.88$ for job convenience satisfaction (see Table 14 for means and standard deviations). Thus, all means are in the satisfied and important range (with the neutral point at 3.0 (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied)).

Men and women in this sample responded similarly to these satisfaction and importance measures. The only significant differences observed were that men were significantly more satisfied with their pay than were women and that women found job convenience satisfaction to be significantly more important than did men (see Table 24). In the correlational analysis, pay was significantly positively correlated with pay satisfaction and career satisfaction for both men and women and significantly positively correlated with job convenience satisfaction for men (Tables 22 and 23).

All of the satisfaction variables are strongly, positively correlated with each other for both men and women (see Tables 22 and 23). For the whole sample, the importance measures are also correlated with each other. Pay satisfaction, career satisfaction, and

job convenience satisfaction are all positively correlated with the corresponding importance variable; however, work/family conflict satisfaction is not correlated with work/family conflict importance (see Table 25). Because the importance means are all relatively high and importance, in all but one case, is correlated with satisfaction, the analyses in this research will focus only on the satisfaction measures. As indicated previously, job satisfaction is the primary dependent variable in this research.

Controls and other demographic characteristics:

The two primary control and/or demographic variables used in this study were sex and pay. The sample was homogenous in terms of race, age, marital status and parental status (see Table 1). The large number of write-in responses and other coding issues with the variable "industry type" led to its exclusion from the study. Variables such as job type, tenure, education, and spouse's pay were entered, along with sex and pay, into a regression equation for breadwinning status and all failed to enter into the model as a significant predictor. (Further discussion of the antecedents of breadwinning status can be found later in this chapter.) Because only job pay and respondent sex had significant impact as variables and because effects of respondent sex were hypothesized, the correlations results described earlier were presented for only these two characteristics.

In addition to the tests described earlier, a descriptive analysis of sex and pay reveals that, as mentioned before, this sample is 81% men and only 19% female. The

Table 24

Mean Differences Scores Between Men and Women for Satisfaction and Importance Scales

Variables	Means		t-Score
	Men (N)	Women (N)	
1. Pay Satisfaction	3.87 (335)	3.57 (75)	3.37***
2. Career Satisfaction	3.85 (329)	3.71 (76)	1.40
3. Convenience Satisfaction	3.87 (338)	3.91 (78)	.61
4. Work/Family Conflict Satisfaction	3.57 (340)	3.54 (77)	.30
5. Pay Importance	4.14 (334)	4.04 (73)	1.11
6. Career Importance	3.90 (330)	3.83 (75)	.85
7. Convenience Importance	3.62 (337)	3.91 (77)	4.01***
8. Work/Family Conflict Importance	3.79 (338)	3.96 (79)	1.66

*** p ≤ .001 ** p ≤ .01 * p ≤ .05

Table 25
Correlation Matrix for Satisfaction and Importance Scales: Whole Sample

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Pay Satisfaction	1.0	.57***	.29***	.26***	.26**	.36***	.04	.02
2. Career Satisfaction		1.0	.49***	.49*	.05	.33**	-.03	.03*
3. Convenience Satisfaction			1.0	.57***	.00**	.16***	-.15***	-.06***
4. Work\Family Conflict				1.0	-.02***	.07**	.09	.07
5. Pay Importance					1.0	.34***	.21***	.20***
6. Career Importance						1.0	.27***	.32***
7. Convenience Importance							1.0	.44***
8. Work/Family Conflict Importance								1.0

Note: N ranges from 406-418 *** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$ * $p \leq .05$

average annual pay for respondents in this sample was approximately \$60,000; however, strong sex-based differences were found. For men, the mean pay was around \$65,000, the median was \$75,000, and the mode was over \$80,000. For women, the mean pay was \$35,000, the median was \$37,500 and the mode was \$32,500. The mean differences test between men and women was significant ($t=11.27$, $d.f.=405$, $p < .001$).

SECTION II: Results of job satisfaction and work/family model analyses: The effects of breadwinning status, work/family models and sex.

The first hypothesis predicts a positive relationship between the work/family models and breadwinning status. Although this hypothesis was clearly supported by the correlational analyses reported previously, further analysis was conducted. A linear regression analysis revealed that breadwinning status is a statistically significant predictor of a belief in the instrumental view of the work and family role relationship (see Table 26). This finding, along with the previously discussed correlational analyses, supports Hypothesis 1a such that the higher a respondent's breadwinning status, the greater his agreement with the instrumental view. Breadwinning status was also a significant predictor of the work-interferes-with-family (WIF) conflict view such that the greater the identification with breadwinning, the more work is seen as conflicting with the respondent's family responsibilities. This result supports Hypothesis 1b. Although breadwinning status was predictive of and positively related to belief in both the instrumental and conflict views, it was a better predictor of belief in the instrumental view, explaining more variance in agreement with this view than it explained in agreement with the conflict view ($r^2=.29$ and $r^2=.03$, respectively; see Table 26). This result clearly supports Hypothesis 1c.

Table 26

Individual Regressions of Work & Family Role Relationship Scales on Breadwinning Status

Scales (N)	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	F-ratio
<u>Instrumental Scale</u> (N=380)	.463	.538	154.489***
Constant	2.127		
Standard error	.459		
r-square	.288		
<u>Conflict (WIF) Scale</u> (N=381)	.223	.183	13.156***
Constant	2.154		
Standard error	.758		
r-square	.031		
<u>Conflict (FIW) Scale</u> (N=379)	.004	.004	.007
Constant	2.072		
Standard error	.532		
r-square	.000		

Note: *** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$ * $p \leq .05$

Hypotheses 2a and 2b suggested positive relationships between the instrumental view of the work role and family role relationship and job satisfaction and negative relationships between the conflict view and job satisfaction. These relationships were largely supported by the correlational analyses reported in the descriptive section, although sex differences were noted. These analyses indicated a significant positive relationship between the instrumental view and career satisfaction for all respondents, with pay satisfaction for male respondents, and with job convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction for female respondents. The WIF conflict view was significantly negatively correlated with career and work/family conflict satisfaction for all respondents as well as significantly negatively correlated with pay satisfaction and job convenience satisfaction for men alone.

These hypothesized relationships were further tested with stepwise multiple regression techniques to determine the predictive potential of these work and family role relationship views for the four job satisfaction contexts (see Table 27 for results). These views generally proved to be predictive of job satisfaction, although their explanatory power was quite low. A description of these results follows. (Note that " r^2 " is used to express the variance in a one-factor model and " R^2 " is used to express the variance when more than one factor is in the model).

For career satisfaction, the results show that belief in the instrumental view entered on the first step as a significant predictor of career satisfaction although it did not

explain much variance ($r^2=.05$). This finding demonstrated that the greater the belief in the instrumental view the higher the career satisfaction. However, the conflict (WIF) view, entering on step two, was also a significant predictor of career satisfaction accounting for about as much variance as the instrumental view, thus doubling the variance explained in this two-factor model ($R^2=.10$). The sign of this effect was negative, such that the greater the belief in the conflict view, the lower the level of satisfaction. The family-interferes-with-work view (FIW) was not a significant predictor of career satisfaction in this stepwise regression.

For pay satisfaction, a stepwise regression analysis revealed that all three work-family views were significant, with the instrumental view entering first ($r^2=.05$), the WIF view entering second and marginally increasing the amount of variance explained ($R^2=.07$), and the FIW view entering the regression model last with an even smaller contribution to explained variance in the final regression model ($R^2=.08$). The sign of the effect for both conflict views was negative, suggesting that the more respondents believed in the conflict views, the lower their levels of pay satisfaction.

For convenience satisfaction, the conflict (WIF) view entered first ($r^2=.08$) followed by the instrumental view with a marginal contribution to variance ($R^2=.09$). In a similar fashion, the stepwise regression on work/family conflict satisfaction revealed that the WIF view entered first ($r^2=.14$) followed by the instrumental view with a marginal contribution to variance ($R^2=.16$). For both these analyses, the effect of belief in the

conflict (WIF) view on job convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction was negative. In summary, these analyses for the different satisfaction contexts supported hypotheses 2a and 2b.

Hypothesis 3 suggests that sex will not be predictive of job satisfaction, controlling for job differences such as pay. The t-test results discussed early clearly show that men and women did not significantly differ in their responses about career satisfaction, job convenience satisfaction, and work/family conflict satisfaction (see Table 24). The only observable sex difference in satisfaction was for pay satisfaction. The fact that pay is correlated with pay satisfaction and that men in this sample earned significantly more money than the women suggests that pay differences may be driving this sex difference. In fact, while a regression analysis of pay satisfaction revealed a significant effect of sex, although explaining little variance (see Table 28), once the effect of pay was controlled in the regression, sex failed to enter the model as a significant predictor ($t=.179$, $p < .86$, partial correlation of .009). Hypothesis 3 is therefore supported by these results.

According to Hypothesis 4, breadwinning status will be positively associated with job satisfaction. This failed, in general, to be supported by the correlational analyses (presented in Tables 20 and 22-23). The only significant correlation was between breadwinning status and pay satisfaction and this correlation was marginal and limited to men only. Linear regression analyses revealed that breadwinning status was a weak but

Table 27

Stepwise Regressions of Job Satisfaction on the Work & Family Role Relationship Scales

<u>Dependent Variable</u> (N)	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	R square added	F-value
<u>Pay Satisfaction:</u> (N=391)				12.435***
Instrumental	.281***	.229	.05	
WIF Conflict	-.104*	-.121	.02	
FIW Conflict	-.140*	-.110	.01	
Constant	3.367			
Standard Error	.636			
R square	.081***			
<u>Career Satisfaction:</u> (N=369)				18.804***
Instrumental	.339***	.250	.05	
WIF Conflict	-.229***	-.237	.05	
Constant	3.220			
Standard Error	.701			
R square	.103			
<u>Convenience Satisfaction:</u> (N=394)				37.080***
WIF Conflict	-.223***	-.301	.08	
Instrumental	.110*	.105	.01	
Constant	4.117			
Standard Error	.544			
R Square	.093			
<u>W/F Conflict Satisfaction</u> (N=395)				63.427***
WIF Conflict	-.368***	-.383	.14	
Instrumental	.202**	.148	.02	
Constant	3.898			
Standard Error	.679			
R square	.156			

Note: *** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$ * $p \leq .05$

Table 28

Regression of Pay Satisfaction on Sex (without controlling for pay).

<u>Dependent Variable</u> (N)	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	F-value
<u>Pay Satisfaction:</u> (N=409)			13.006***
Sex	-.300***	-.176	
Constant	.171		
Standard Error	.65		
R square	.03		

Note: *** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$ * $p \leq .05$

statistically significant predictor of pay satisfaction ($F=9.84$, $p < .002$; $r^2=.02$ ($N=373$)) and of career satisfaction ($F=3.65$, $p < .05$; $r^2=.01$ ($N=373$)). It did not significantly affect convenience satisfaction and work/family conflict satisfaction. In general, the effects of breadwinning status on job satisfaction are consistently weak and explain almost no variance. Thus, Hypothesis 4 is generally not supported.

Finally, the relationship between breadwinning status, the cognitive views of the work and family role relationships, and job satisfaction was examined even though the nature of this relationship was not specifically hypothesized. A stepwise regression analysis was used to test possible mediator/moderator effects of the cognitive views.

In stepwise regressions on pay and career satisfaction, breadwinning status fails to enter the regression model as an independent variable when the instrumental view is also included as an independent variable. The partial correlation of breadwinning status, after controlling for the effects of the instrumental view, is close to zero ($r=.05$). For job convenience satisfaction and work/family conflict satisfaction, breadwinning status fails to enter the regression model with the instrumental and conflict views as independent variables; breadwinning status has a near zero partial correlation when the effects of the cognitive views are controlled. These findings are supportive of the idea that the cognitive views work as mediators, rather than as moderators, of the effects breadwinning status on satisfaction.

SECTION III: Results of referent choice analyses: Tests of hypotheses and descriptive and post-hoc analyses.

Referent choice decisions were analyzed by examining the effects of breadwinning status and sex on referent characteristics and the domain represented by the referent. To the extent that this research represents an exploratory study of the use of referents in determinations of job satisfaction, it was also informative to conduct a series of post hoc tests and descriptive analyses, following the tests of referent choice hypotheses, to provide a clearer picture about when and how people use referents within and across different comparison contexts. The comparison contexts examined in the research included satisfaction with pay, career, convenience of the job, and work/family conflict.

To test the similarity hypothesis (Hypothesis 5), it is appropriate to start with replications of previous research which determined sex and job type to be important in referent selection. Hypothesis 5 was, in part, an attempt to replicate previous research which found respondent sex to be predictive of referent sex. A series of Pearson's Chi-Square tests replicated this finding in each satisfaction context (see Table 29). Male respondents were more likely to choose male referents and female respondents were more likely to choose female referents for pay satisfaction, for career satisfaction, for job convenience satisfaction, and for work/family conflict satisfaction. Also replicating

previous research, this study found that the respondents tended to select referents with similar job types for pay satisfaction, career satisfaction, convenience satisfaction, and work/family conflict satisfaction (Table 30). The importance of similarity can also be substantiated by observing the response frequencies on referent characteristics. The respondents in this (married) sample responding to this question chose other married people as referents approximately 86%-90% of the time, depending on satisfaction context. Eighty-one percent of respondents chose referents with the same job and/or employer to determine pay satisfaction, 70% for career satisfaction, 60% for convenience satisfaction, and 56.6% for work/family conflict satisfaction.

In opposition to the similarity hypothesis, however, respondents were less likely to choose referents with the same pay level (see Table 31 for a frequency analysis of respondent/referent pay comparisons for each of the four satisfaction decisions). For pay and career satisfaction, at least 50% of the respondents chose a referent who made more money and only around 18% chose referents who made the same amount of money. For convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction, only 16% chose referents who made the same income, although they were more equally split between choosing a higher-paid or lower-paid referent.

In summary, then, the theoretical supposition in Hypothesis 5 that perceived similarity guides referent choice decisions has been robustly supported in this research

through the examination of similarity in sex, job type, and marital status; however, it was not supported in the case of pay.

The second question to be explored is the general likelihood of using referents and whether people are more likely to use referents in some contexts than others. Hypothesis 6 predicts that referents from the home domain are less likely to be used (and referents from the work domain are more likely to be used) in decisions about pay and career satisfaction than they will in decisions about job convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction. Work domain referents may be seen as easier to find and more appropriate for satisfaction decisions focused more specifically on work and home domain referents may be more appropriate for satisfaction decisions more focused on the intersection of work and family.

A test of this hypothesis through paired differences t-tests revealed significant differences, as reported in Table 32. The respondents in this study were more likely to use work referents (or less likely to use home referents) for pay comparisons ($M = .78$) than they were for career comparisons ($M = .70$), convenience comparisons ($M = .54$), and work/family conflict comparisons ($M = .50$). They were also more likely to select work referents for career comparisons than they were for convenience comparisons or work/family conflict comparisons. These results are generally supportive of Hypothesis 6, although it should be noted that work domain referents were favored in most

satisfaction contexts. There were not any significant differences in the domain of referents between convenience and work/family conflict comparisons.

Hypothesis 7 suggests that referents are more likely to be used in decisions about pay and career satisfaction (because appropriate referents are easier to identify for these contexts) than they are in decisions about job convenience and work/family conflict decisions. This question was examined through frequency comparisons (whether the respondent uses a referent in a particular context) and through paired t-tests to determine significant differences between the use-of-referent means between contexts. The data, presented in Table 33, show that approximately 58% (242) of those responding indicate that they use referents in determining pay satisfaction, 53% (214) use referents in the career satisfaction context, 33% (132) use referents in the convenience satisfaction context, and 31% (118) use referents in the work/family conflict context. Respondents were significantly (two-tailed significance at $p < .001$) more likely to use referents for either pay satisfaction or career satisfaction determinations than they are for either job convenience or work/family (conflict) satisfaction. There were no significant differences in the use of referents between pay and career contexts, nor between convenience and work/family conflict contexts.

Hypothesis 8 considers the effect of respondent sex on referent domain. In spite of the effect of respondent sex on referent sex, respondent sex was generally not predictive of the domain of the referent, in support of Hypothesis 8. A series of Chi-

square tests revealed only a marginal effect ($\chi^2=3.62$, d.f.=1, $p < .06$, $N=344$) of respondent sex on referent domain in the pay satisfaction context. Examination of this effect revealed that women were somewhat more likely to choose a referent from the home domain to determine pay satisfaction and men were somewhat more likely to choose a referent from the work domain for their pay referent. Both male and female respondents, however, were more than twice as likely to choose referents from the work domain than the home domain in the determination of pay satisfaction (i.e. 80% of men and 69% of women who used referents in determining their pay satisfaction chose work referents).

In addition to the hypotheses about the effects of sex on referent choice, the effect of breadwinning status on referent choice was also examined. Breadwinning status did not appear to have a significant effect on referent choice decisions. Hypothesis 9 (breadwinning status will be predictive of referent domain) was first tested using the multiple choice response categories for referent domain. Logistic regression procedures were performed for each satisfaction context (i.e. pay, career, convenience, and work/family conflict) and failed to find any significant effect of breadwinning status on the domain of the referents chosen in three of the four contexts. For work/family conflict satisfaction, however, breadwinning status was a significant ($p < .05$) predictor of referent domain, though it explained almost no variance ($r^2 = .005$). This effect, however, ran

counter to the one predicted such that the higher the breadwinning status, the more likely the respondent was to choose a referent from the home domain.

Because of the high correlation between the use of the instrumental work/family view and breadwinning status and because of the positive mediation test run earlier, a similar analysis was run using the instrumental measure to predict referent domain. The results of this analysis were in the same direction and with a higher significance level ($r^2=.01$; $p < .01$) for work/family conflict satisfaction only. The other work/family views had no significant effects on referent domain. This hypothesis was also tested with a logistic regression analysis on the coded responses to the free response question about the reasons why the referent was selected. This analysis also failed to support the hypothesis.

The marginal evidence of a sex difference in referent domain (described previously), together with the highly skewed sex ratio (in favor of males) of the respondents in this study suggests that the effects of breadwinning status on referent domain should be examined separately for male and female respondents. Independent logistic regressions for male and female respondents revealed that there were distinct differences in the pay and work/family conflict satisfaction contexts (see Table 34). Although there was no effect of breadwinning status on referent domain for male respondents in the pay satisfaction context, there was a significant effect for females such that the higher the breadwinning status, the more likely the women were to choose referents from the home domain. In the work/family conflict satisfaction context, the

Table 29

Chi-square Results for Respondent Sex by Referent Sex Within Satisfaction Contexts

PAY SATISFACTION				
Respondent Sex	Referent Sex			
	Male	Female		
Male	266 (95%)	15 (5%)	281	(100%)
Female	24 (35%)	45 (65%)	69	(100%)
	290	60		
$\chi^2 = 139.84^{***}$ $df = 1$ $N = 350$				
CAREER SATISFACTION				
Respondent Sex	Referent Sex			
	Male	Female		
Male	253 (97%)	9 (3%)	262	(100%)
Female	9 (14%)	57 (86%)	66	(100%)
	262	66		
$\chi^2 = 225.57^{***}$ $df = 1$ $N = 328$				
JOB CONVENIENCE SATISFACTION				
Respondent Sex	Referent Sex			
	Male	Female		
Male	204 (91%)	20 (9%)	224	(100%)
Female	12 (21%)	46 (79%)	58	(100%)
	216	66		
$\chi^2 = 127.31^{***}$ $df = 1$ $N = 282$				
WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT SATISFACTION				
Respondent Sex	Referent Sex			
	Male	Female		
Male	185 (88%)	25 (12%)	210	(100%)
Female	8 (15%)	47 (85%)	55	(100%)
	193	72		
$\chi^2 = 119.15^{***}$ $df = 1$ $N = 265$				

Note: *** $p \leq .001$

Table 30

Chi-square Results for Respondent Job Type by
Referent Job Type Within Satisfaction Contexts

PAY SATISFACTION				
Respond. Job Type	Referent Job Type			100%
	Hourly	Salaried	Self-Employed	
Hourly	14 (52%)	12 (44%)	1 (4%)	27
Salaried	4 (2%)	205 (94%)	9 (4%)	218
Self-Employed	2 (2%)	34 (33%)	68 (65%)	104
	20	251	78	
X ² = 271.304***			N = 349	
df = 4				

CAREER SATISFACTION				
Respond. Job Type	Referent Job Type			100%
	Hourly	Salaried	Self-Employed	
Hourly	13 (50%)	12 (46%)	1 (4%)	26
Salaried	2 (1%)	192 (94%)	10 (5%)	204
Self-Employed	2 (2%)	28 (29%)	66 (69%)	96
	17	232	77	
X ² = 267.348***			N = 326	
df = 4				

JOB CONVENIENCE SATISFACTION				
Respond. Job Type	Referent Job Type			100%
	Hourly	Salaried	Self-Employed	
Hourly	10 (48%)	9 (43%)	2 (9%)	21
Salaried	4 (3%)	144 (86%)	19 (11%)	167
Self-Employed	3 (3%)	28 (32%)	58 (65%)	89
	17	181	79	
X ² = 153.987***			N = 277	
df = 4				

WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT SATISFACTION				
Respond. Job Type	Referent Job Type			100%
	Hourly	Salaried	Self-Employed	
Hourly	11 (52%)	8 (38%)	2 (10%)	21
Salaried	9 (6%)	128 (83%)	18 (11%)	155
Self-Employed	4 (5%)	30 (37%)	46 (58%)	80
	24	166	66	
X ² = 109.670***			N = 256	
df = 4				

Note: *** p ≤ .001

Table 31

Relative Pay of Referent Selected in
Job Satisfaction Decisions

PAY SATISFACTION			
<u>Referent Pay</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Valid %</u>
Makes More	202	47.4	57.2
Makes Same	69	16.2	19.5
Makes Less	40	9.4	11.3
Don't Know	42	9.9	11.9
Missing	73	17.2	
	426	100	100

CAREER SATISFACTION			
<u>Referent Pay</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Valid %</u>
Makes More	166	39.0	49.8
Makes Same	56	13.1	16.8
Makes Less	49	11.5	14.7
Don't Know	62	14.6	18.6
Missing	93	17.2	
	426	100	100

JOB CONVENIENCE SATISFACTION			
<u>Referent Pay</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Valid %</u>
Makes More	103	24.2	36.3
Makes Same	46	10.8	16.2
Makes Less	75	17.6	26.4
Don't Know	60	14.1	21.1
Missing	142	33.4	
	426	100	100

WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT SATISFACTION			
<u>Referent Pay</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Valid %</u>
Makes More	86	20.2	32.7
Makes Same	42	9.9	16.0
Makes Less	87	20.4	33.1
Don't Know	48	11.3	18.3
Missing	163	38.2	
	426	100	100

Table 32

Mean Differences for Domain of Referents Between Satisfaction Contexts: Significant Differences Only

<u>Measures of Referent Domain for Satisfaction Contexts</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>t-Score</u>	<u>d.f.</u>
Pay Satisfaction	.78	3.05**	343
Career Satisfaction	.70		
Pay Satisfaction	.78	6.74***	277
Convenience Satisfaction	.54		
Pay Satisfaction	.78	7.32***	256
Work/Family Conflict Sat.	.50		
Career Satisfaction	.70	4.40***	280
Convenience Satisfaction	.54		
Career Satisfaction	.70	5.67***	259
Work/Family Conflict Sat.	.50		

Note: *** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$

Home referents were coded 0, work referents were coded 1

Table 33

Differences in Frequency of Use of Referents Between Satisfaction Contexts:
Significant Differences Only

<u>Frequency of Referent Usage for Satisfaction Contexts</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>t-Score</u>	<u>d.f.</u>
Pay Satisfaction	242	8.59***	394
Convenience Satisfaction	132		
Pay Satisfaction	242	9.36***	377
Work/Family Conflict Sat.	118		
Career Satisfaction	214	7.42***	387
Convenience Satisfaction	132		
Career Satisfaction	214	8.19***	370
Work/Family Conflict Sat.	118		

Note: *** $p \leq .001$

Use of referents was coded 1 if referent selected, 0 if no referent was selected. Frequencies refer to the number of subjects selecting a referent for each category.

Table 34

Eight Logistic Regressions: Breadwinning Status on Referent Domain
by Sex of Subject Within Satisfaction Contexts

<u>Satisfaction Context:</u> Sex of Subject	Domain Mean	Standard Deviations	Coefficient B	Chi-Square
<u>Pay Satisfaction:</u>				
Men (N=257)	.80	.40	-.008	.001
Women (N=61)	.69	.47	-1.541*	7.353**
<u>Career Satisfaction:</u>				
Men (N=263)	.70	.46	-.198	.475
Women (N=62)	.68	.47	-.479	.873
<u>Convenience Satisfaction:</u>				
Men (N=211)	.54	.50	-.381	1.721
Women (N=53)	.52	.50	-.470	.825
<u>W/F Conflict Satisfaction</u>				
Men (N=194)	.50	.50	-.596*	3.929*
Women (N=50)	.55	.50	-.155	.080

Note: ** $p \leq .01$ * $p \leq .05$

higher the breadwinning status of the male respondents, the more likely they were to select a referent from the home domain. There was no significant effect of breadwinning status for female respondents in the work/family conflict satisfaction context. Although male and female respondents were more likely to choose home domain referents in some contexts rather than in others, the general tendency was to choose more work domain referents than home domain referents particularly for pay and career satisfaction (see Table 32 for referent domain means).

Hypothesis 10 suggests that the greater one's identification with the breadwinner role, the more likely one is to use referents. A logistic regression analysis revealed no significant effects of breadwinning status on the selection of a referent. Thus, Hypothesis 10 was not supported. Using the instrumental measure of the work/family view to predict referent use, however, revealed a significant effect ($p < .03$) for the use of referents in determining career satisfaction. The effect was in the predicted direction, such that the greater the belief in the instrumental view, the more likely a respondent was to select a referent to determine career satisfaction. There were no significant effects in the other contexts.

Finally, other questions, discussed but not specifically hypothesized about, concerning the context of the referent choice decisions, were examined on a post-hoc basis. One question is whether people tend to be consistent, across contexts, in their use (non-use) of referents. This was explored through a logistic regression analysis which

revealed that responses (either use or don't use referent) in one context were predictive of responses in the other contexts (every comparison significant at the .001 level). A closer look at these results reveals that the failure to use a referent for pay and/or career is most predictive of the non-use of referents across contexts. Of those respondents who don't use referents for either pay or career satisfaction decisions, the majority (86% and 87%, respectively) also do not use referents for job convenience or work/family conflict comparisons.

Additionally, it would be helpful to know if people use the same person as a referent across different comparison contexts. This was examined with a simple within-respondent frequency analysis of how often the same referent was used across contexts. The results revealed that respondents tended to use different referents for different contexts. Only 8% of respondents used the same referent in all four contexts; only 9% used the same referent in three out of four contexts. The most frequently used referent was that chosen for pay comparison purposes; 25% of respondents used the same referent for pay and for career satisfaction determination, 14.6% of respondents used the same referent for pay and convenience satisfaction determinations, and 13% used the same referent for pay and work/family conflict satisfaction determinations.

SECTION IV: Descriptive and Post-Hoc analysis of the Breadwinning Measure.

The attitudinal breadwinning scale constructed for this research is an important contribution to the literature because it moves away from the ad-hoc, easily measured proxies of breadwinning towards a more theory-based operationalization of the construct.

At the same time, however, this research builds on the previous research using the breadwinning proxies because this scale and the previously used breadwinning proxies are related. As noted in the preceding description of the measures, the primary breadwinning scale used to make predictions about referent choice and job satisfaction is highly correlated with the proxy measures used in the literature (see Table 20 for correlations). For example, breadwinning status is significantly positively correlated with stated responsibility for supporting the family and pay and inversely correlated with responsibility for managing the household. The ranking of the provider role is also highly correlated with breadwinning status such that the higher the ranking of the provider role, the higher the breadwinning status. In addition, performance of female housework, conceptualized as a behavioral construct of homemaking status, is negatively associated with breadwinning status and the instrumental view and performance of male housework is positively associated with breadwinning status (see previous discussions).

Going beyond this correlational analysis, it would be interesting and useful to use regression analysis to examine potential predictors of the breadwinning measure. As

discussed in the literature review and shown in earlier analyses, there is ample evidence to suggest that sex and breadwinning status are linked. The correlational analysis also suggested that pay level might also be a significant predictor. As reported in the analysis of the first hypothesis, both these factors are predictors of breadwinning status scores. In a post-hoc analysis, a stepwise regression including sex, household chore performance, and all breadwinning proxy variables reveals that female chore performance ($p < .001$, $r^2=.35$), reported responsibility for supporting the family ($p < .001$, incremental addition to r^2 of .09), and respondent sex ($p < .01$) provide the best explanatory model of breadwinning status ($F= 85.3$, $p < .001$; ($R^2=.45$). Given their effects on breadwinning status, it would be useful to examine the above variables, in addition to the other breadwinning proxies which are highly correlated with breadwinning status, to see how well they might predict the major variables in this research. Thus, post-hoc analyses were conducted to compare the breadwinning measure used in this research with the other breadwinning proxies in their relationship to the dependent variables of belief in the instrumental and conflict views of the work and family role relationship. Their effect on job satisfaction is compared to the effect of the beliefs in the instrumental and conflict views because these have been found previously to mediate the effect of breadwinning status on job satisfaction.

The results of the analyses indicated that none of the breadwinning proxy variables nor the behavioral homemaking measure (performance of female chores),

although independently significant predictors, were as useful a predictor of belief in the instrumental view as breadwinning status; in stepwise regressions, only breadwinning status emerged as a significant predictor. Breadwinning status effectively controls the effects of job pay, pay ratio, provider ranking, responsibility for support, performance of female chores (in addition to respondent sex) on belief in the instrumental view.

In terms of explaining the conflict view, none of the breadwinning proxies were significant predictors. Additionally, neither the primary behavioral homemaking measures (female chores) nor the alternative measures considered (i.e. hours spent in home work, the difference between respondent and spouse in hours spent in home chores) were predictive either. Only breadwinning status was a significant predictor and even this factor did not explain much of the variance ($F=13.16$, $p < .001$; $r^2=.03$).

In what areas are the proxies for breadwinning, as used in previous research and shown to be correlated with breadwinning status in this research, better predictors of job satisfaction? Although it was used as a control variable in the previously reported analyses, respondent pay was a better predictor¹¹ of pay satisfaction than breadwinning status or the instrumental view (although also significant). Given the specific focus on pay, this is to be expected. Excluding respondent pay from the stepwise regression, the

¹¹As this is a cross-sectional study, the variables examined do not truly predict subsequent job satisfaction because all of the responses are collected at one point in time. Causation is impossible to determine scientifically, so technically job satisfaction could just as easily be predictive of breadwinning status.

results replicate those found earlier. Belief in the instrumental view of the work and family role relationship works as a mediator of breadwinning status and eclipses any effects of the breadwinning proxies or the behavioral homemaking measure.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this research clearly demonstrate that the role that individuals identify with, and play, in the family has consequences for how they determine their satisfaction with their job. The nature of these consequences, however, are examined only in the most preliminary fashion. It should be remembered throughout the following discussion that the variance explained in most of the dependent variables in this study is quite small. As an exploratory study, the intention of this research was to provide support for the inclusion of particular variables in job satisfaction models - not to build a full-scale explanatory model of job satisfaction.

Furthermore, any discussion of the results of this study must begin and end within the limitations posed by the sample. The extreme age bias in the sample means that the results discussed here can only be generalized to a narrow range of people in the general population; that is, well-educated and employed men and women fifty years old or older. Specifically, the findings in this study of work and family roles and job satisfaction may be heavily influenced by the fact that the respondents were in their later career and family stages (i.e. virtually no dependent children at home). Broader generalizations may be made only when these results are replicated with a more representative sample of the general population.

The results will be discussed by first commenting on the observed relationships between breadwinning status, models of the work and family role relationship, and job satisfaction. The interplay of role perceptions, sex, and pay will also be considered. Next, findings about the use and similarity of referents will be considered. Based on the primary results in this exploratory study, a model will be proposed. This paper then concludes with a discussion of the most interesting and valuable contributions of the study, the limitations of the research and suggestions for future research in this area.

The effects of breadwinning status.

An overview of the results:

Breadwinning status was found to be positively related to, and predictive of, beliefs in the instrumental and conflict views of the work/family relationship. In addition, breadwinning status and the instrumental view of the work/family relationship were found to be positively related to job satisfaction while the conflict view of the work/family relationship was found to be negatively related to job satisfaction.

Breadwinning status and beliefs in the work/family views were found to be better predictors of satisfaction than sex, although men and women did differ somewhat within satisfaction contexts in the extent to which their pay and their beliefs about the work/family relationship were related to their expressed satisfaction levels.

The data support the view, as suggested in the literature review, that the effects of breadwinning status operate through the beliefs and attitudes (cognitive views) people hold of the work role and family role relationship. Beliefs and attitudes about the work role and family role relationship held by a particular individual were logically construed as an outcome, or outgrowth, of the particular role played in the family and/or the particular type of job or work situation a person experiences. It was the perception of the work role and family role relationship, however, that was thought to affect job satisfaction. Thus, beliefs about the work role and family role relationship, such as the instrumental view and the conflict view, were thought to act as mediating variables between breadwinning status and the dependent variables of referent choice and job satisfaction. Although the specific nature of this relationship was not hypothesized, the data are generally supportive of the proposition that the instrumental and conflict views of the work/family relationship mediate the effect of breadwinning status on job satisfaction.

The data in this research, however, are not inconsistent with the idea that one's view of the work role and family role relationship may affect or even be an antecedent to the actual work and family roles. It is possible that socialization factors have influenced a person's cognitive views of the work role and family role relationship prior to employment and that whether or not a person becomes a breadwinner is determined by such views. While this is possible, and provides an interesting and important avenue for

further research in identifying what role cognitive views play, a person's breadwinning status surely will be affected as much by realities of the marketplace and major family changes, which would, in turn affect the model one uses to think about one's own work/family relationship. Thus, the results of this research can be discussed with some confidence as one bit of evidence about the importance of family roles for job satisfaction.

These results, although summarized above, will be discussed in more detail below in order to better understand and integrate the findings. Although the results reported earlier suggested that breadwinning status affected job satisfaction through the instrumental and conflict views of the work/family relationship, variables such as sex and pay, in some cases, influence the nature of these relationships. The data that support this finding are discussed below.

The links between the breadwinning role, cognitive views, and job satisfaction:

The link between breadwinning status and the cognitive views of the work and family role relationship was demonstrated by the data. The findings that breadwinning status is predictive of and positively related to both the instrumental and conflict views suggests that the different sets of beliefs about the work/family relationship are not only distinct from one another but also independent dimensions. No relationship, positive or negative, was apparent. Indeed, the conflict (WIF) model is not significantly correlated

with the instrumental model ($r=.08$). This is a significant finding that reflects the complex, though realistic, benefits and costs perceived in the breadwinning role.

In spite of this reflection of reality, further research was conducted to test if the observed relationships were spurious. As was noted in the descriptive analyses, sex and pay are correlated with breadwinning status and with each other. Specifically, in this study men earn more than women and also agree more strongly with items measuring the breadwinning variable than women. Pay is positively correlated with breadwinning status for men, but is not so for women. In this context of sex and pay differences, it is not immediately obvious if sex and pay differences might account for the observed effects of breadwinning status on the work and family role relationship views. Linear regression analysis reveals, however, that neither respondent sex nor pay are better predictors than breadwinning status of the work/family models. Respondent sex does account for a relatively small but significant amount ($r^2=.06$) of the variance in belief in the instrumental model but has no significant effect on belief in the conflict (WIF) view. The latter is not surprising since men and women (as discussed earlier and shown in Table 21) showed no significant differences in their responses to the WIF variable, although men agreed more strongly than women with the instrumental view of the work and family role relationship. Job pay also had a statistically significant effect on the strength with which the instrumental model was held, but only accounted for 7% of the variance. Job pay was not a significant predictor of belief in the conflict model. Indeed, when pay and sex were

entered along with breadwinning status as predictors of the work/family role relationship views, both sex and pay failed to enter the model as significant predictors. These results are only generally discussed here, and not specifically presented, because they merely support the results discussed earlier that pay is **not** significantly correlated with the instrumental view or with the WIF view for men or women.

The link between respondents' views of the work and family role relationships and their job satisfaction decisions was also supported by the data. For all job satisfaction contexts, the instrumental and conflict views were significant predictors of satisfaction; the more strongly a respondent believed in the instrumental view the greater that respondent's satisfaction and the more strongly a respondent believed in the conflict view, the lesser that respondent's satisfaction. For convenience and work family satisfaction, the conflict view was a better predictor than the instrumental view and for pay satisfaction, the instrumental view was the better predictor. For career satisfaction, the conflict and instrumental views contributed equally to explained variance.

There were, however, a number of respondent and job characteristic variables that could have accounted for the effects noted above. Thus, these analyses were re-run to include the following control variables in the analyses: 1) respondent pay; 2) respondent job type; 3) respondent educational level; 4) job and organizational tenure; 5) referent sex; and 6) referent pay (more, the same, or less than respondent). The results of these analyses indicated that while respondent pay (the only statistically meaningful variable)

was a significant and meaningful predictor of both pay satisfaction and career satisfaction, beliefs in both the instrumental view and conflict (WIF) view were still significant predictors of satisfaction, even if they added minimally to variance explained (added $r^2 = .03$ in both cases). No control variables were significant predictors of job convenience satisfaction and work/family conflict satisfaction.

Thus, pay should be, and typically is, included in any explanatory model of pay or career satisfaction. Given the sex differences noted in the correlational analysis, however, these analyses also might be more meaningful run separately for men and women (see Table 35 for results).

These stepwise analyses revealed that, even after including job pay in the model, male respondents' belief in the conflict view was significantly predictive of job satisfaction responses in all contexts while their belief in the instrumental view was significantly predictive of job satisfaction responses in all but the job convenience context. For women, their current pay was the only significant predictor of their pay satisfaction, while their belief in the instrumental view was significantly predictive of their job satisfaction responses in the other three contexts. Their belief in the conflict (WIF) view was predictive of their job satisfaction responses in only the career and work/family conflict contexts.

Although the influence of the conflict and instrumental views in job satisfaction decisions, other than for pay satisfaction, were fairly similar for men and women, the

Table 35
 Regressions of Satisfaction on Pay and the Work & Family Role Relationship Scales: Males and Females

Dependent Variable: (N)	Males		Females	
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients
Pay Satisfaction:				
	(N=307)		(N=68)	
Pay	.089***	.317	.090***	.396
WIF Conflict	-.122**	-.142		-.098
Instrumental	.238	-.195		.109
Constant	2.400***		2.992***	
Standard Error	.595		.661	
R square	.152***		.144***	
Career Satisfaction:				
	(N=300)		(N=67)	
Pay	.087***	.273		.251
WIF Conflict	-.215***	-.216		-.276
Instrumental	.253***	.181		.310
Constant	2.614***		2.568***	
Standard Error	.694		.693	
R square	.390***		.486***	
Convenience Satisfaction:				
	(N=309)		(N=69)	
Pay	.027*	.108		.122
WIF Conflict	-.257***	-.334		-.173
Instrumental		.072	.265*	.268
Constant	4.341***		3.009***	
Standard Error	.549		.513	
R Square	.346***		.268*	
W/F Conflict Satisfaction				
	(N=319)		(N=69)	
Pay		.050		-.029
WIF Conflict	-.396***	-.404	-.255**	-.299
Instrumental	.175*	.126	.437***	.336
Constant	4.059***		2.854***	
Standard Error	.678		.650	
R square	.414***		.409**	

Note: *** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$ * $p \leq .05$

conflict view seemed to have more explanatory power for men and the instrumental view for women in their determination of job convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction. One interpretation, clearly post-hoc and speculative, of these differences between the men and women in the sample is that while employment may lead both men and women to identify with the breadwinning role, the conflict view is more salient to men's satisfaction with job convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction than the instrumental view. This may indicate that men see the sacrifices required by their employment, even if these sacrifices are willingly made.

For women, however, the bigger influence on job convenience and conflict satisfaction is the instrumental view. This may mean that for work to be considered by women to be instrumental to family, it must be convenient and minimize work/family conflict. Thus, if women truly engage in this kind of self-selection into accommodating jobs, it may mean that the relationship between their view of the work and family role relationship and job satisfaction is really bi-causal, rather than uni-directional in causality.

It should be noted here that this interpretation may be reasonable only for the particular population sampled in this study. It is possible that these sex differences might disappear with a younger respondent group with more obvious sources of work/family conflict. Given the rather dramatic increase in concern, and media interest in, work and

family issues within the last ten years, younger men may be as concerned as women with the instrumentality of work in terms of impact on the family.

Finally, the results of the hypothesis tests provided some clues as to the nature of the relationship between breadwinning status, the cognitive views, and job satisfaction. The fact that the data supported Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b but failed to support Hypothesis 4 may suggest that the work/family views, particularly the instrumental view, are proxies for breadwinning status; however, this relationship is far from clear. The relationship between breadwinning status, the work/family relationship views, and job satisfaction demanded further analysis for the following reasons: 1) Because of the expectation, discussed in the literature review, that the effects of the breadwinning role would work through these cognitive views; 2) because breadwinning status is correlated with and predictive of the instrumental view; and 3) because the effects of the instrumental view were in the same direction but stronger than the effects of breadwinning status.

These findings, together with a priori expectations, suggested that a mediation test was appropriate to examine if the cognitive views worked as mediators of breadwinning status. Though not specifically hypothesized, a stepwise regression examining the effects and partial correlations of breadwinning status and of the cognitive views on major dependent variables, such as satisfaction with different job aspects, was thought to be an instructive test of mediation.

If the cognitive views worked as pure mediators, breadwinning status would be expected to have no independent, or main, effect on a dependent variable when the mediator was included in the regression model. Thus, if the cognitive views were controlled for, the partial correlation of the breadwinning effect should be near zero. However, if the cognitive views worked more as moderators, they may reveal both main and interaction effects on the dependent variables. Thus, the partial correlations would be non-zero and breadwinning status would remain a significant predictor even after controlling for the effects of the cognitive views. A stepwise regression analysis permitted examination of these criteria and the results indicated a mediating, rather than a moderating, effect of the cognitive views.

The use and meaning of roles: Sex differences and similarities.

As breadwinning status explains much more of one's belief in the instrumental view than of one's belief in the conflict view, breadwinning status more clearly affects job satisfaction in a positive direction. Other factors may be important in explaining the strength of belief in the conflict view. Although being a breadwinner may increase the salience of work as critical for one's family and thus increase one's recognition of conflict in fulfilling responsibilities, there are clearly other factors that more strongly affect the extent to which one feels conflict between work and family demands. Although intuition might suggest sex as a salient factor in this perception of conflict, the results of this

research show no relationship between respondent sex and belief in the conflict view of the work role and family role relationship.

One reason this research may have failed to find a good predictor of belief in the conflict view is that the homemaking measure in this study was not as well constructed as it might have been and was not strongly reliable. Initially conceptualized as the opposing family role to breadwinning, an attitudinal measure of homemaking was constructed as corollary to breadwinning. However, the scale had fairly low internal reliability even after the elimination of questions that were not relevant for the sample (e.g. questions pertaining to child care). This was perhaps because many of the questionnaire items in the measures of homemaking and breadwinning were constructed to be inversely related - as opposite ends of the same continuum. This simply may not be true. For some (e.g. single, employed parents), at least, an individual may be both the primary breadwinner and the primary homemaker. Even in dual parent households, one parent might earn most of the money and hold primary responsibility for the home. The relationship between breadwinning and homemaking might parallel the relationship between the instrumental and conflict views of the work role and family role relationship; that is, they are likely to be not only distinct, but independent, role dimensions. There is some evidence that this is indeed the case for women because the correlation between homemaking status and breadwinning status was zero; however, there was a significant inverse correlation for men. Perhaps men and women see the relationship between homemaking and

breadwinning differently such that women may see these two family roles as distinct and independent roles that can be held simultaneously while men may see them as distinct but mutually exclusive. The fact that the women in this study identified more strongly with the homemaking role than the breadwinning role, even though employed for pay, and the men identified more strongly with the breadwinning role suggests that any belief in the mutual exclusivity of these roles might be negated by the experience of holding both roles simultaneously. This is also likely to be influenced by the sex role ideologies of the almost exclusively middle-aged, largely professional sample for this study. This sex difference may very well disappear in a younger sample in which both men and women have experience holding both roles.

As just described, homemaking is strongly correlated with sex. Further evidence of this can be found in the behavioral homemaking measure of chore performance used in this study. The behavioral homemaking measure demonstrated that men and women reported performance of different types of chores, as discussed in the earlier analysis of the chores scale. In terms of the hours spent in home work, women respondents reported spending approximately 8 more hours per week than did men ($F=49.898$, $p < .001$; $r^2=.11$). This is unlikely to be a result exclusive to this sample as the body of research in this area generally supports the finding that women work longer hours and perform different (and more) home tasks than men.

Other kinds of roles were also measured. Interestingly, both men and women rated the spousal role as the most important role to them. Since the spousal role is negatively correlated with both the provider role and the breadwinner role, one might conclude that the respondents to this survey were at the stage in their lives and careers where career growth is de-emphasized and spousal relationships emphasized. Considering the age range of the respondents to this survey, this finding is consistent with the literature on aging and careers. Older employees in their later career stages are less inclined to work towards career development; instead, they stabilize their work efforts and re-focus on family. It should also be noted that the parental role ranking, and therefore the other role rankings, was influenced, presumably, by the fact that most respondents have no children living at home with them.

Sex and pay.

As mentioned earlier, sex and breadwinning status were highly correlated, but the results of this study indicate that any independent effects of sex (other than predicting referent sex) was controlled for by breadwinning status or the instrumental view. Job pay was also highly correlated with both respondent sex and breadwinning status and emerged as the most significant predictor of pay and career satisfaction. However, pay did not control for all of the effect of the instrumental view on pay and career satisfaction.

This study did not replicate previous research which found women to have equal or higher pay satisfaction than men, in spite of having lower pay. Only after controlling for pay differences was women's pay satisfaction equal to or greater than men's. However, most of the previous research compared men and women at similar occupational levels or job types. In contrast, the sample for this study was broadly based and job type varied across respondents. It is likely that the occupational segregation in the workforce is well-represented in this sample, such that women were in lower-level, lesser paying jobs than men. This conclusion is supported by the finding that sex was a significant predictor ($F=26.77$, $p < .001$) of job type such that women were less likely to have salaried jobs or be self-employed and more likely to hold hourly jobs than were men. Furthermore, as discussed below, the sex and job type of the respondent was predictive of the sex and job type of the referent. Taken together, these findings suggest that the lower pay of the women in this study makes them less satisfied than the men (with the higher pay), in spite of the fact the respondents compared themselves to similar referents in similar jobs. This runs counter to the proposition put forth in Major and colleagues' work (e.g. see Major, 1987) that women, because they choose other women in similar jobs as referents, will not experience deprivation and will report similar levels of pay satisfaction as men, even though they objectively earn less. The women in this study, at least, must have noticed that their pay was low (perhaps on some absolute scale rather

than as a relative measure) because they reported lower levels of pay satisfaction and pay was the only significant predictor of their pay satisfaction.

Referent usage.

The effect of breadwinning status:

This research also contributes some interesting observations on the use of referents in job satisfaction decisions. Little support was found for the specific hypotheses about the effects of breadwinning status on referent choice. Only when mediated by the instrumental view of the work and family role relationship did breadwinning status influence the likelihood of using a referent, and this positive effect was significant in only the career satisfaction context.

The overall effect of breadwinning status on referent choice was not only quite weak, but also appeared to interact with the sex of the respondent such that, for men, breadwinning status influenced the domain of referents for work/family conflict satisfaction and, for women, breadwinning status influenced the domain of referents for pay satisfaction. Specifically, the more strongly men identified with the breadwinning role, (and the more strongly men held the instrumental view), the more likely they were to choose a referent from the home domain for work/family conflict satisfaction. For women, the higher their breadwinning status, the more likely they were to choose a home

referent for pay satisfaction. It should be noted, however, that these effects were also quite weak.

These effects suggest that where breadwinning status has an effect on referent choice, the effect may be different for men and women. The home domain became more salient for male breadwinners, compared to males lower on breadwinning status, in judging their work/family conflict satisfaction. The home domain was also more salient for female breadwinners, compared to females lower on breadwinning status, in judging pay satisfaction. The selection of home referents may indicate that breadwinning status, in general, may heighten the perceptions of work/family tradeoffs (this is also supported by the positive correlation between breadwinning status and belief in the conflict view). But, for men, breadwinning status only has this effect when they are asked to make an explicit decision about satisfaction with these tradeoffs. For women, breadwinning status triggers the focus on the home referents (and thus work/family tradeoffs) when asked to make decisions about satisfaction with their pay.

An examination of referent domain:

These effects of breadwinning status and sex on referent domain, however, are clearly not consistent or strong. More valid conclusions to draw about referent domain may be found by looking at referent domain in the general context of referent use. For example, work referents were selected more often than home referents, particularly for

pay and career satisfaction decisions. Respondents chose referents from the home domain about as often as they chose from the work domain in decisions about convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction.

Within the general work and home categories of referent domain, there are the specific categories such as relative or friend within the home context, or colleague, supervisor, coworker, or subordinate within the work context. The frequency of responses in these specific categories can also provide some interesting detail information lost in the more generic coding of home versus work referent. Therefore, a simple table of frequencies for the specific categories of referents by comparison (satisfaction) context is presented in Table 36.

Observation of this table reveals that colleagues are the referents most frequently selected in determinations of pay and career satisfaction. Following colleagues, the next most frequently selected referents were coworkers for pay satisfaction purposes and both coworkers and friends for career satisfaction purposes. For job convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction, friends were the most frequently selected category of referent. Evidently, the information required to compare work/family conflict and job convenience satisfaction is of a more personal nature than that for pay and career satisfaction decisions.

The context of referent use:

This examination of referent domain should be put into the general context of referent use. The first point to be made is that, supporting the theories which involve referent choice decisions, similarity of referent was found to be an important factor in the selection of the referent. For example, respondent sex was shown to be predictive in some decisions about referent selection, replicating prior research. That is, respondent sex predicted the sex of the referent selected such that men, more often than women, chose male referents and women, more often than men, chose female referents. Both sexes, however, chose male referents more often than female referents. This result may be driven by the fact that appropriate female referents for this sample of respondents were likely to be considerably fewer in number than appropriate male referents.

Also replicating prior research, the general job type of the respondent was found to be predictive of the job type of the referent chosen. In addition, respondents most often chose referents with the same job and/or employer as themselves, though the strength of the similarity effect here varied according to the job satisfaction context (e.g. similarity in job/employer was most often found in pay satisfaction decisions).

Obviously, there is very likely to be an interaction between the selection of a referent of the same sex and of the same job type with the distribution of sex and job type in the work and home domains. For example, sex segregation in employment may mean that a woman in a "male" job may find it more difficult than a man to identify an

appropriate same-sex coworker (by definition from the work domain) for a referent and may have to choose a less-similar referent. Without a controlled study that is able to capture and distinguish all of this information, the relative effects and interactions can not be determined. Thus, the fact that data in this study seemed to support the prediction of no sex effect on referent domain should be considered as an inadequacy of the data, rather than as support for a particular hypotheses.

Another important similarity variable was marital status. Respondents most often chose referents with the same marital status. In addition to finding that the married respondents overwhelmingly chose married referents, the sex of the respondent also appeared to have an effect on the marital status of the referent. Although both male and female respondents were much more likely to choose married versus single referents, a post-hoc chi-square analysis revealed that, for all satisfaction contexts, women were more likely than men to choose single (i.e. not married) referents. However, since female referents were more likely to be single than male referents (see Table 37) this apparent difference between male and female respondents is most likely driven by the sex similarity preferences in referent selection noted previously.

Similarity in pay was not supported in this research. Respondents tended to choose referents who earned more than them. In addition, the fact that a substantial number of people did not even know the pay level of their referent (the least was 12% in the pay satisfaction context, the most was 21% in the convenience context) suggests that

Table 36

Referent Category Percentages Within Job Satisfaction Context Categories

	<u>PAY</u>	<u>CAREER</u>	<u>CONVENIENCE</u>	<u>WORK\</u> <u>FAMILY</u>
RELATIVE	7.3	5.5	15.8	18.5
FRIEND	15.1	24.6	30.5	30.7
COWORKER	26.1	22.8	19.6	18.1
SUPERVISOR	13.4	8.2	6.0	7.3
COLLEAGUE	37.8	38.9	26.7	22.7
SUBORDINATE	0.3	0	1.4	2.7
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 37

Chi-square Results for Referent Sex by Referent Marital Status Within Satisfaction Contexts

PAY SATISFACTION				
Referent Sex	Referent Marital Status			
	Married	Single		
Male	258	21	279	57
Female	37	20		
	295	41		
$X^2 = 33.56^{***}$ $df = 1$ $N = 336$				
CAREER SATISFACTION				
Referent Sex	Referent Marital Status			
	Married	Single		
Male	229	21	250	65
Female	51	14		
	280	35		
$X^2 = 9.02^{**}$ $df = 1$ $N = 315$				
JOB CONVENIENCE SATISFACTION				
Referent Sex	Referent Marital Status			
	Married	Single		
Male	198	15	213	63
Female	50	13		
	248	28		
$X^2 = 9.85^{**}$ $df = 1$ $N = 276$				
WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT SATISFACTION				
Referent Sex	Referent Marital Status			
	Married	Single		
Male	180	9	189	69
Female	53	16		
	233	25		
$X^2 = 19.61^{***}$ $df = 1$ $N = 258$				

Note: *** $p \leq .001$ ** $p \leq .01$

pay, itself, may not be a good predictor characteristic in the selection of referents, although it was quite predictive of pay and career satisfaction decisions.

In addition to similarity effects, this research also contributes general information about referent use in job satisfaction decisions. First, respondents were found to be consistent in their use of referents such that they tended to either use referents in all their satisfaction decisions or in none. Although referents were used in satisfaction decisions, they were used more often for pay and career satisfaction decisions than for job convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction.

The marginal gender difference in the domain of pay satisfaction referents and the gender differences in the effects of breadwinning status on referent domain, together with the strong gender difference in referent sex, suggested the need for further, post-hoc analyses of gender differences in referent choice decisions. Although the general pattern of referent use decisions (use or do not use) described earlier was the same for men and women (that is, referents were used more in pay and career satisfaction decisions than for convenience and work/family conflict satisfaction decisions), there were some differences between male and female respondents. Women were more likely than men ($X^2 = 6.534$, d.f. =1, $p < .01$, $N=378$) to use referents in decisions about work/family conflict satisfaction. Furthermore, women were marginally more likely than men ($X^2 = 3.263$, d.f. =1, $p < .07$, $n=396$) to use referents in decisions of job convenience satisfaction. This may indicate that the women in this study were more likely than the

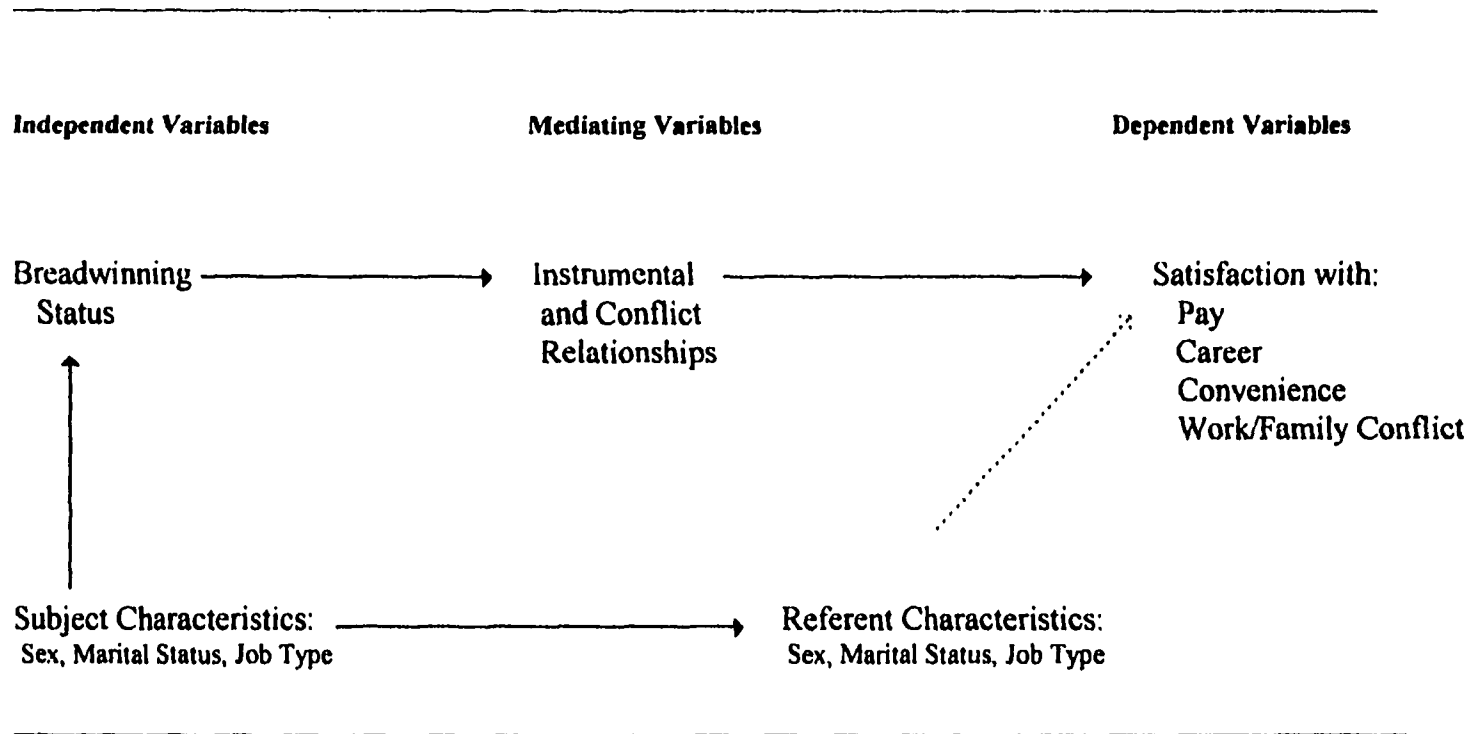
men to feel that job convenience and work/family conflict were legitimate issues, or at least, issues for which one could compare with others).

A model proposed for study.

Although this research was primarily exploratory, the results suggest a testable model (Figure 2) of the effects of family role and sex on referent usage and job satisfaction. The links (solid line) which have received clear support are between sex and breadwinning status, between breadwinning status and belief in the cognitive views, between the cognitive views and job satisfaction, and between respondent and referent characteristics. One area for future research might be in testing this proposed model to replicate and extend the findings reported here.

Figure 2

A Proposed Model of the Effects of Family Role on Job Satisfaction



Study limitations and suggestions for future research.

Most importantly, however, any replication of the research should be conducted on different samples. The demographic profile of this sample represents the single biggest limitation to this research, severely compromising the generalizability of the results. Future samples should include a broader age range and a more equal representation of men and women. Samples of working parents, for example, might reveal significantly different results. One might expect, for instance, that sex and breadwinning status might show much lower levels of correlation in a sample of young, dual career couples inasmuch as women's contributions to household income may be larger and traditionally female household duties may be increasingly shared in this selected population. Parental status may well be an important factor to consider as an independent variable, in addition to breadwinning status, in the proposed model.

In addition, further refinement and testing of the breadwinning and homemaking measures should be conducted. As conceptualized here, the breadwinning measure falls somewhere between a global measure of permanent ideologies and a purely adaptive response to the demands and constraints of one's immediate work/family situation. Comparisons between sex-role ideologies, job characteristics, breadwinning proxies and the breadwinning scale would be informative. The homemaking scale was not strongly reliable in this research, but might be worthwhile to redefine as a concept distinct and

independent from the breadwinning measure. For both the homemaking and breadwinning measures, a composite of both the attitudinal and behavioral measures might produce a reliable and more predictive construct.

Finally, future research should attempt to replicate and extend the findings about use of referents in job satisfaction. For example, researchers could examine the use of referents by different respondent groups and in different satisfaction contexts. Further, it would be helpful to know to what extent different people use specific referents when other types of comparison information (e.g. industry averages) are available.

Contributions to the field.

In addition to producing some evidence on the role of breadwinning status in job satisfaction decisions as well as on referent selection in such decisions, the use of an attitudinal scale to operationalize the breadwinning construct is a major contribution of this research. The scale used here was constructed from the historical and conceptual description of the breadwinning role (see Bernard, 1981). This scale stands in contrast to the numerous breadwinning proxy measures used in past research. The tests of this scale show it is internally reliable and significantly correlated with the breadwinning proxies used in previous research. Most importantly, the breadwinning scale was found to be a better predictor of job satisfaction (through its effect on the beliefs held about the work and family role relationship) than any of the proxy measures (except job pay).

It is important to reiterate, however, that the intent of this study is not to provide a thorough explanation of the factors in job satisfaction decisions; rather, it is to expand our thinking about what factors should be considered. Thus, one of the most important contributions of this study is to show that family role is important and that attitudes about this role and its relationship to the work role should be examined in any model of job satisfaction. Research in this area must move beyond the proxy variables for the influence of family.

Furthermore, this study clearly suggests that job satisfaction and its determinations are contextual. The effects of family role, views of the work/family role relationship, and the use of referents differed according to which satisfaction context was being examined. Additionally, there were gender differences within these contexts. Given these differences, and the fact that all four types of job satisfaction were deemed important by the respondents to this study, future studies of job satisfaction should continue to dimensionalize the job satisfaction measure. Thus, the results of this study, though individually weak in explanatory value, clearly argue for a richer and more comprehensive conceptualization of job satisfaction. Finally, the hypotheses tests and post-hoc examination of referents suggest that the selection of referents is more complex than the focus (in the literature) on sex and job-type suggest. The study of why, when, and how referents are used in various types of job satisfaction decisions is likely to be a rich vein for future research.

In conclusion, this exploratory research on family role and sex effects on job satisfaction suggests that family role, as mediated by beliefs about the work role and family role relationship, is a significant predictor of job satisfaction decisions. This finding suggests that the family should not be excluded from models about job satisfaction as it is in the majority of job satisfaction research. The role one plays in the family has important implications for satisfaction at work. The workplace and home life have changed, and are continuing to change, concomitantly as more women have entered the workforce. Changes in home life, particularly in family roles, will be reflected in changes in experiences at and attitudes toward work. This reciprocity is a reality that both managers and researchers must no longer overlook.

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