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GENDER AND WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT:

THE MODERATING ROLE OF A JOB'S GENDER-TYPE

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ABSTRACT

Bradley, Kyle James M.S., Purdue University, May 2013. Gender and Work-Family Conflict: The Moderating Role of a Job's Gender-Type. Major Professor: Elizabeth Boyd

With an increased interest in work-family conflict, researchers have recently turned much of their attention to understanding what puts people at risk of experiencing higher levels of work-family conflict. The purpose of this paper is to examine how gender might influence work-family conflict (WFC) experienced. While past research has explored this topic, results have remained inconclusive. Although some research indicates that women experience more conflict, other research indicates that men experience more conflict, while still other research indicates no gender difference. It is proposed here that these mixed results indicate other factors may be present which moderate the effect of gender on work-family conflict. Drawing on the theory of work-family conflict and role congruity theory, this paper looks specifically at how the gender-type of a job moderates the relationship between gender and experienced levels of work-family conflict. Data from alumni from a large Midwestern University were analyzed using hierarchical regression. Job gender-type (i.e., femininity) was found to moderate the relationship between gender and work-family conflict such that women in jobs that were less stereotypically feminine reported higher levels of time based-conflict than women working in jobs that were more stereotypically feminine. Men reported similar levels of WFC regardless of their job type. Directions for future research on gender and WFC are discussed.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Changes in the demographics of the workforce have led to an increased desire to understand how employees balance demands from work with other important life domains. For example, there has been an increase in the percentage of women in the workforce (US Census Bureau, 2012) and in the number of dual-earner couples (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). These changes and others have led to an increase in the number of people filling responsibilities in both the work and family roles. As a result, researchers have become increasingly interested in investigating how these roles interact. Specifically, they have focused a great deal of attention on how stress from one life domain can spill over into the other life domain and affect important outcomes including job stress, turnover intentions and job satisfaction (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Anderson, Coffey & Byerly, 2002). This phenomenon is known as work-family conflict (WFC).

Because of the historically different work and family roles held by men and women, it is a commonplace assumption that gender differences should exist in work-family conflict. However, research aimed at discovering those differences has led to mixed results (Voydanoff, 2002). Most researchers searching for gender differences have not assessed potential moderators of the impact of gender on WFC and as a result it is unclear to what extent gender might interact with other variables in the work-family environment to predict conflict. The present study will focus on one such potential moderator: gender-type of one's job. Gender-type of a job is the extent to which a job possesses stereotypically feminine (e.g., caring, social aspects) or stereotypically masculine (e.g., higher in physical labor, higher in responsibility) characteristics.

This study will investigate both the direct effect that the gender-type of a job has on WFC as well as the moderating effect of the gender-type of jobs in the relationship between gender and WFC. In order to address these issues, I will first provide a brief review of the findings in the area of WFC and introduce the theory of WFC that I will use

as a base for my argument. Then, I will discuss what the literature has found with regards to gender and experienced levels of WFC and will highlight the mixed nature of the results. Next, I will discuss what research has shown concerning the gender-type of jobs and how that should affect experienced levels of WFC. Then I will present research relating job characteristics to WFC and will use role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and gender-type congruence to help explain the proposed moderation effects. Finally, I will present and test hypotheses with an archival sample collected from working adults.

This study contributes to the growing body of research on WFC by exploring whether gender differences in WFC exist when job characteristics are taken into account. It suggests that WFC is better predicted by the interplay between particular aspects of people's jobs and their gender than by their gender in isolation. It also contributes insight into how job characteristics may play a role in how employees experience WFC, an issue that has gone largely unexplored.

1.1. Brief Review of Work-Family Conflict

WFC is a type of inter-role conflict that occurs between the work and family domains that makes participation in one domain harder due to participation in the other (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Frone, Russell and Cooper (1992b) described WFC as being bidirectional in nature, so that stress in work can lead to spillover of stress into the family domain and vice versa. However, as outlined below, work-to-family conflict has been shown to be more prevalent (Eagle, Miles & Icenogle, 1997; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). Because work-to-family conflict appears to be more severe and prevalent in the lives of individuals, for the purpose of this study I will focus on work-to-family conflict rather than on family-to-work conflict.

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) presented a theory to better understand WFC and how it affects employees. They divided the conflict between roles into three separate categories: time based conflict, strain based conflict, and behavior based conflict. Time based conflict arises when time demands in one role conflict with demands in the other role. Examples of this type of conflict can be missing a child's baseball game due to

overtime work at a job or not eating dinner with the family due to meetings that run late. Strain based conflict arises when strain from one role influences the other role. An example of this could include yelling at a child because of a stressful project due at work. Behavior based conflict arises when behavior necessary in one role makes it more difficult to fulfill requirements in the other role. An example could be an employee experiencing conflict at home because he is expected to be open and warm while his work requires him to be secretive and cold. Behavior-based conflict appears to be less prevalent than the other two forms and has not received much attention in past literature (Dierdorff & Ellington, 2008). As a result, like many past researchers I will not address this type of conflict in this study.

1.1.1. Antecedents of WFC

Research has shown that there are several antecedents to WFC originating in the work domain including hours worked (Keith & Schafer, 1980; Pleck, Staines & Lang, 1980), frequency/amount of overtime (Pleck, Staines & Lang, 1980), autonomy in work and task challenge (Jones & Butler, 1980), work load and management support and recognition (Burke, 1988), role overload at work (Bacharach, Bamberger & Conley 1991), and income level (Byron, 2005). Antecedents originating from the family domain that affect WFC experienced include marital status (Herman & Gyllstrom, 1977; Byron, 2005), size and development stage of family (Keith & Schafer, 1980), family stressors (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992a), and family involvement (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992a). The antecedents of WFC, as shown by these findings, typically reflect the demands that are placed on employees from their competing life domains. When the demands from the life domains increase, WFC also tends to increase. While life domain demands tend to be associated with WFC, other characteristics of the individual also seem to relate to WFC. Research addressing these characteristics in the individual domain has found various aspects of personality to be antecedents to WFC (Allen, et al., 2000; Wayne, Musisca & Fleeson, 2002; Aryee, Srinivas & Tan, 2005; Michel, et al., 2010). For example, locus of control and neuroticism/negative affect relate positively to conflict (Aryee, Srinivas & Tan, 2005). On the other hand, positive coping style and

skills and self-esteem have been shown to buffer against WFC (Allen, et al., 2000; Byron, 2005).

1.1.2. Outcomes of WFC

WFC affects both the work and family domains in important ways. In the workplace it has been shown to lead to lower job satisfaction (Bedeian, Burke & Moffett, 1988, Kossek & Ozeki, 1998) and higher job distress (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992a). Employees who experience high levels of WFC also show higher levels of turnover intentions (Anderson, Coffey & Byerly, 2002) and actual turnover (Greenhaus, et al., 1997). WFC can also lead to higher levels of job stress and greater occurrences of absenteeism (Anderson, Coffey & Byerly, 2002).

WFC also has negative implications for the family domain. Marital satisfaction (Bedeian, Burke & Moffett, 1988), parental satisfaction (Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998) and family performance (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1997) have all been shown to decrease under higher levels of WFC, while family distress is higher for individuals experiencing high levels of WFC (Russell & Cooper, 1992).

WFC has also been shown to have adverse consequences on employees' physical and mental health. WFC has been shown to correlate with increased levels of alcoholism, higher levels of depression, poor physical health and increased levels of hypertension (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992a; Frone, Russell & Barnes, 1996; Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1997). Generally speaking, overall life satisfaction decreases under higher levels of WFC (Bedeian, Burke & Moffett, 1988; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

Because WFC has such far-reaching consequences for individuals, families and organizations, it is important to understand who is at risk of experiencing WFC. By understanding who experiences the highest levels of WFC, interventions can be implemented that target specific populations. The antecedents associated with WFC all seem to stem from the demands associated with participating in multiple life roles. Because of this, characteristics of a job, which reflect the demands placed on employees due to the nature of the work they perform, may play an important part in identifying which types of jobs are at the greatest risk of producing WFC. Given current theorizing

relating to gender-type of jobs and the gender of job incumbents, it is also possible that gender itself may interact with gender-type to influence conflict. These issues will now be introduced and discussed in detail.

1.2. Gender and WFC

Over the past 60 years, there has been a shift to more women in the workplace. Women have gone from comprising 37 percent of the total workforce in the United States in 1950 to 47 percent in 2010 (US Census Bureau, 1950, 2012). In this time, gender roles have also become more similar and egalitarian than in the past (e.g., Thornton, 1989) so that today, both men and women alike are expected to spend large amounts of time on both family and work responsibilities. Even though gender roles have changed over time, men and women still show differences in their time allocation when both work and family domains are considered. While men and women report spending the same amount of time in work activities (Gutek, Searle & Klepa, 1991), when housework is also considered women appear to have the heavier load. For instance, one study found that the time spent on housework for men in dual earner couples averages seven hours per week while the time that women spend on housework in dual earner couples averages 17 hours per week (Hersch & Stratton, 1994). It has been shown that on average, women spend more time in family tasks and work and family tasks combined than do men (Berk & Berk, 1979).

Because women are spending more time than men across both domains, the time allocation should influence resource allocation and increase experienced WFC. However, even with the gender differences experienced by men and women in time and work demands, past studies show mixed results for gender differences in WFC. While some studies show that there is no difference between genders in experienced levels of WFC, other studies indicate that men and women experience WFC at differing levels. However, the studies that currently exist investigating gender and WFC do not constitute a large body of research. The research that does exist will now be reviewed.

1.2.1. No Difference Between Genders

A portion of the research that has been conducted to test gender differences in WFC has shown that men and women do not experience any differences in reported levels of WFC. Parasuraman, Greenhaus and Granrose (1992) conducted a study to assess the outcomes of WFC based on gender differences. For the study they used participants who were members of dual-earner couples in order to assess the effects of WFC on their overall family and life satisfaction. WFC was measured using a scale developed by Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connelly (1983) that used four items to measure time-based conflict and six items to measure strain based conflict. However, because the focus of the study was on assessing overall WFC, an average of the scores was used for final interpretation and analysis. They found that while WFC had separate outcomes and antecedents for men and women, reported levels of WFC were the same for both genders. This research adds support to the argument that there are no apparent differences in the experienced levels of WFC for men and women.

A separate study examined how gender differences might influence prevalence of WFC for men and women. In the study, a sample of employees at a university reported on their experienced levels of WFC. WFC was measured using three different measures that each had a work-to-family and family-to-work portion. The scores were averaged for each direction of conflict for analysis. The sample included a variety of employees ranging from security officers to teachers and researchers. The results of the study supported the hypothesized prediction that there would be no significant difference in the reported pervasiveness of WFC, as women in the study reported experiencing WFC as frequently as men (Eagle, Miles & Icenogle, 1997).

These studies that have focused specifically on the gender differences in the reported levels of WFC indicate that there is no difference between men and women. However, not all studies support this view. Inconsistencies in the literature point to gender differences. These differences have shown both women experiencing greater levels of WFC than men and men experiencing greater levels of WFC than women, however, and as a result do little to decrease confusion. The studies showing these inconsistencies in the literature will now be discussed.

1.2.2. Women Experience Greater Levels of WFC

In a study conducted by Frone, Russell and Cooper (1992b), 631 participants were surveyed to measure prevalence rates of WFC for several different demographic groups. In this study, prevalence rate is defined as the percentage of respondents that reported experiencing WFC at least 'occasionally.' For the study, four items were developed to measure WFC: two items assessing individuals' work interference with family and two items assessing family interference with work. The items addressed time-based conflict more than strain-based conflict. Education level was split equally between three levels: less than high school graduate, high school graduate, and at least some college. It also had an equal representation of Caucasian and African American participants. After controlling for these demographic characteristics, the authors found that women (M=2.28, prevalence rate=64.3%) report experiencing WFC more frequently than men (M=2.12, prevalence rate=54.3%). This study supports the notion that women experience WFC at higher levels than men.

In a separate paper, Gutek, Searle and Klepa (1991) performed two studies looking at how men and women experience WFC. The study was also interested in how time spent in paid work activities interacted with gender to influence reported levels of WFC. In their first study, a group of psychologists completed a self-report measure of WFC while the second study used a group of senior managers. In both of the studies, the time-based conflict portion of the measure created by Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connelly (1983) was used. The results of the studies support the conclusion that women report higher levels of WFC than men. While the researchers were expecting to find interaction effects between time in paid work activities and gender, what they actually found was that regardless of the time spent in work activities, women reported higher levels of WFC than men [$M(\text{women}) = 3.39$, $M(\text{men}) = 2.93$, $t(405) = 4.72$, $p<0.01$]. This finding held true even when both men and women reported spending the same amount of time in paid work activities.

These results lead to the conclusion that women experience higher levels of WFC than men. However, not all research leads to the same finding. While the research

previously discussed shows no difference between men and women, still more research has shown that men experience higher levels of WFC than women.

1.2.3. Men experience greater levels of WFC

While most studies showing gender differences in experienced levels of WFC have women reporting higher levels of WFC, there has been one study that supports the opposite conclusion, that men experience higher levels of WFC than women. Parasuraman and Simmers (2001) addressed whether the type of employment (whether the participant was an entrepreneur or an employee of an organization) and gender of participants influenced reported levels of WFC. A ten-item scale that measured both time-based and strain-based conflict was averaged to obtain a final WFC score. The sample was split nearly evenly between men and women. In this study they found that self-employed men and self-employed women enjoy higher levels of autonomy, greater job satisfaction and higher levels of job involvement. However, they also found that regardless of the type of employment, men reported experiencing higher levels of WFC than women ($M(men)=2.86$, $M(women)=2.69$, $SD(men)=0.67$, $SD(women)=0.77$, $p<0.05$). Interestingly, this happened even though women reported greater family involvement and higher levels of life stress than men.

Voydanoff (2002) sums up the research on gender differences in WFC nicely by saying that overall, studies on gender differences in WFC are inconsistent. While there is some support that gender differences in experienced levels of WFC do not exist, research has also found support for women experiencing greater levels of WFC than men and also for men experiencing greater levels of WFC than women. This inconsistency seems to point towards possible moderating effects on gender that might explain why different studies report such different results. Rather than dismissing these results, it is important to address why these inconsistencies exist.

1.2.4. Possible Explanation of Inconsistent Results

Given the inconsistent findings in previous literature, it is clear that more research is needed to assess the role of gender in predicting WFC effectively. Generally speaking

when inconsistencies such as those in the previously described literature exist, a plausible explanation is the existence of moderators. Moderators are variables that affect the strength of relationships between variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986). In practice, unmeasured moderators may produce seemingly inconsistent results by either amplifying or hiding a relationship between two variables. While some of the past research discussed has taken into account possible moderators of the relationship between gender and WFC such as time spent in paid work activities, none of these moderators has been theoretically linked to gender. As a result, it is proposed that the moderators explored in previous research have been deficient, and that researchers should instead focus on potential moderators that relate more closely to gender itself and why gender might impact WFC. Researching these possible moderators may further shed light on the inconsistent results that past studies have found and lead to a better understanding of WFC. One such moderator is the gender-type of jobs.

1.3. Gender-type

Gender-type of a job is the extent to which a job possesses stereotypically feminine or stereotypically masculine characteristics. For the purpose of this paper, the gender-type of a job will be defined based on the definition presented by Pichler, Varma and Bruce (2010), which states that the gender-type of a job is the "extent to which a job embodies stereotypically masculine or feminine characteristics." Based on this definition, gender-type of a job reflects what is actually done on the job and the very nature of the work itself rather than whether or not the job is dominated by one gender or the other.

Jobs that are stereotypically associated with men tend to be agentic in nature, reflecting more physically strenuous (Schieman, 2006) and cognitively complex tasks (Loscocco & Spitze, 1990). Stereotypically male or agentic jobs also place an emphasis on being masterful, competent and independent and focus less on relationships and the well-being of others (Eagly & Karau, 1991). By contrast, jobs that are stereotypically associated with women tend to focus more on communal traits such as providing help and nurturance (Jacobs & Steinberg, 1990; Kilbourne, et al., 1994). These jobs also stereotypically provide supportive coworker relationships, (Schieman, 2006) because

communal jobs place a much greater emphasis on relationships and providing for others than agentic jobs do (Eagly & Karau, 1991). In addition to these relationship centered traits, women also tend to have less access to jobs that are high in authority (Smith, 2002) and less access to training (Keaveny & Inderrieden, 1999). Research has also shown that female-dominated jobs tend to have a safer, more pleasant work environment, greater contact with people and lower rates of promotion (Reed & Dahlquist, 1994).

1.4. Present Study

As a result of the differences in job demands between stereotypically masculine and stereotypically feminine jobs, it seems likely that the gender-type of a job should be related to WFC. Specifically, instead of simply reflecting the *amount* of demands an individual faces, which is what past research has largely focused on, gender-type of a job may serve to assess what *type* of demands an individual faces. To the extent that these demands are compatible or incompatible with family demands, they may relate to WFC.

1.4.1. Main Effect Hypothesis

As has been discussed, stereotypically masculine jobs contain job characteristics that are agentic in nature. As a result, the characteristics of stereotypically masculine jobs are largely incompatible with pursuing family goals. By contrast, stereotypically feminine jobs contain job characteristics congruent with managing family demands, due to their communal nature. Although almost no attention has thus far been focused on this issue, there is some research to support this notion. First, Dierdorff and Ellington (2008) used job characteristics as proxies for behavior-based conflict. The authors found that individuals in jobs that provided schedule flexibility and social support reported lower levels of WFC than those with more rigid schedules or without an environment rich in social support. For the study, they did not discuss agentic and communal characteristics. Instead they looked at three characteristics of jobs that they predicted would be related to WFC: interdependence, responsibility for others, and interpersonal conflict. In addition, McElwain, Korabik and Rosin (2005) also argued that flexibility in work may to lead to lower levels of WFC. Also, Carlson, Grzywacz and Kacmar (2008) showed that women

seem to benefit more from flexible work schedules than men. These results, although preliminary, indicate that the nature of the demands placed on an employee may predict his or her work-family conflict.

Until this point, jobs have been referred to as either male or female gender typed in line with terms used in past research. However, while there are certain jobs that can be considered very masculine or very feminine based on the characteristics associated with the job, in reality most jobs will contain both masculine and feminine characteristics. Therefore, instead of dichotomizing jobs into male and female it is probably better to instead to think of 'gender-type' of a job on a continuum from masculine to feminine. On this continuum, the most stereotypically feminine jobs would lie at one end and the most stereotypically masculine jobs would lie at the other.

Given this clarification, it is proposed that jobs that fall towards the more masculine pole of the gender-type scale should be associated with higher levels of WFC as a result of the fact that the agentic demands associated with these jobs are largely incompatible with managing family demands. On the other hand, jobs that lie closer to the more feminine pole of the scale should show lower levels of WFC. The communal job characteristics associated with "feminine" jobs are in line with the family role, and furthermore have been shown to buffer against WFC. For example, research has shown that increased levels of coworker support and support at work act as buffers to WFC (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Wadsworth & Owens, 2007).

Because of the inconsistencies in the research up to this point on gender differences in WFC, it is proposed that moderators qualify the relationship between gender and WFC. Specifically, the gender-type of a job is predicted to have an effect on the experienced levels of WFC. However, because gender differences are not expected to be present without the presence of the moderator, there is no predicted main effect of gender on experienced levels of WFC.

Due to these findings, it is proposed that:

H1: The gender-type of a job will be significantly related to WFC such that the more feminine a job, the lower the WFC will be reported by the participant.

1.4.2. Gender-Type Job Incongruence

In addition to its direct effect, job gender-type may interact with gender to predict WFC. Gender-type job congruence occurs when the gender of a person filling a role fits the gender-type of the role, and gender-type incongruence occurs when the gender of a person filling a role does not fit the gender-type of that role (Holland, 1985). For example, a female in a stereotypically feminine job such as teacher would be considered to have a gender-type congruent job. Likewise, gender-type job incongruence occurs when the gender of an employee does not fit the gender-type of the job that they hold. Examples might include a male nurse or a female fire department chief.

Because male-typed jobs are often occupied by women and female-typed jobs are often occupied by men, there is a large number of people who fall into the category of gender-type job incongruence. Based on role-congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), research shows that these people may experience several adverse outcomes as a result of their gender-type incongruence because the psychological demands placed on these individuals increase. For example, women who succeed at male sex type jobs are liked less than men who succeed in the same jobs (Heilman, Wallen & Tamkins, 2004). In addition, an applicant whose gender is congruent with the gender-type of the job is seen as more favorable and more hireable than applicants whose gender is incongruent with the gender-type (Davison & Burke, 2000). Also, both men and women report higher levels of discrimination in the workplace when they are part of the minority in their work groups (Stainback, Ratliff & Roscigno, 2011). It has also been shown that there is a negative relationship between career satisfaction and spillover among those who are in the minority gender in their work group (Martins, Eddleston & Veiga, 2002). These added stresses may thus lead to higher levels of WFC. Research has shown that men and women who perform in ways contrary to societal norms in work and family roles tend to report higher levels of WFC than those that conform to societal standards (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991); however, in the reported study the population of interest was solely on individuals in dual-earner couples that had jobs in managerial and professional positions. It did not investigate the gender-type of a job, only women in less traditional roles as

workers and men in less traditional roles in the family. Based on these findings, gender-type incongruence appears to have the potential to impact men and women differently.

1.4.2.1. Women

Women are stereotypically seen to be higher in communal attributes (Conway, Pizzamiglio & Mount, 1996). In other words, women are perceived to be better suited to be nurturers at home than employees in the workplace and tend to hold jobs that are associated with communal traits (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010). As a result, women filling traditionally masculine positions are often disadvantaged compared to the men that surround them (Cotter, et al., 2001). For example, women are viewed negatively when they present themselves in a gender-incongruent manner including holding leadership positions and other levels of authority (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). These penalties result from perceived violations of gender-stereotypic prescriptions (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Women report that these penalties promote dissatisfaction with managerial positions and can result in higher levels of turnover than their male counterparts (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). All of these findings point to higher levels of strain in the workplace. As a result of this increased strain, women holding gender-incongruent jobs are likely to experience higher levels of WFC.

1.4.2.2. Men

Despite the negative impacts of gender-type incongruence for women, the situation has been shown to be markedly different for men in gender-incongruent jobs. Men in female gender-typed jobs have more social pressure to do more prestigious work than their female coworkers. However, with that social pressure, men also seem to have greater opportunity to meet those demands due to what is known as the glass escalator phenomenon. The glass escalator phenomenon describes the fact that men in female-type jobs are promoted quicker and to higher levels than women in those same jobs (Williams, 1992; Maume, 1999; Hultin, 2003). This has even been used as a tactic to try to narrow the disparity in numbers of men in female-type jobs (Kleinman, 2004). Even though men are generally considered to be the minority in female gender-type jobs, they do not seem

to experience the same negative consequences as women in incongruent jobs. In fact, they often have the opportunity to be promoted to more stereotypically congruent leadership positions within an organization. According to Role Congruity Theory, this greater opportunity for advancement into management and leadership positions by men in female-type jobs should prevent them from experiencing higher levels of WFC.

> *H2: Gender-type of a job will moderate the relationship between gender and WFC such that there will be a relationship between gender-type of a job and experienced levels of WFC for women but not for men. Women will experience greater levels of WFC as the job moves further away from the feminine pole of the gender-type scale, whereas levels of WFC will not differ for men depending on the gender-type of the job.*

CHAPTER 2. METHOD

2.1. Sample

For this study, archival data were used. Data were collected as part of larger study. The sample for the data collection was comprised of alumni of a large Midwestern university. The sample was stratified on marital status and gender such that there were an equal number of invitations sent to male vs. female and married vs. single alumni. The sample was also stratified on age such that 15% of the invitations were sent to alumni under 24 years old; 25% to 25-34 years old; 35% to 35-44 years old; 20% to 45-54 years old and 15% to those 55 and older. The original email was sent to 25,923 alumni. However, 29% of the sent surveys bounced back due to inactive or incorrect emails, and 14,263 people did not open the email (perhaps because it was filtered as junk) leaving 4,142 potential participants. Of those, 60% (2,485) accessed the survey and 46.7% (1,935) filled out the survey. To be eligible for inclusion in the final sample, the respondents had to have 30 hours or more per week of paid employment, provide a job title for their current employment and be U.S. residents. Participant responses were also discarded if they failed to complete any of the WFC items in the survey. Based on these criteria, 401 participants were discarded. The final sample consisted of 1,534 alumni.

The demographic makeup of final sample was 47.3% male and 52.7% female with a mean age of 38 years old and a standard deviation of 11.32 years. In the sample, 66.4% of the participants were married while 30.7% were single and 2.9% were living in a domestic partnership. Forty-five percent (45%) of respondents had at least one child living at home. The ethnic breakdown of the sample was 89.8% Caucasian, 3.8% African American, 3.2% Asian and 1.1% Hispanic. On average, participants worked 45.7 hours per week with a standard deviation of 8.54 hours. They held diverse job titles across a broad array of industries (e.g., registered nurses, CEO's, programmers, etc.).

2.2. Measures

2.2.1. Control Variables

Several control variables were used in this study to control for demographic, job and family variables. The demographic variables used in this study were self-reported measures of age and education level. The job demands used were self-reported levels of job flexibility and hours of work per week. The family demand variables used were self-reported variables of marital status, whether the participant's spouse worked, and if the participant had children living at home.

2.2.2. Work-Family Conflict (WFC)

A six-item measure was used to determine participants' perceived interference of work with family. The six items were drawn from a commonly used measure of work-family conflict created by Carlson, Kacmar, and Williams (2000). Three items were used to measure time-based interference and three items were used to measure strain-based interference for each domain. The response scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Alpha for the measure was $\alpha = 0.91$.

2.2.3. Gender-type of Job

Because no well-validated measure of job gender-type currently exists, a scale of gender-type was created for this study. A multi-step measure creation process was performed, followed by an analysis of the reliability and dimensionality of the scale of gender-type.

The first step in creating the measure was to obtain specific job characteristics for each participant's job. In order to do so, job titles reported by participants were recoded using SOC codes from the Occupational Information Network (O*Net). O*Net is an online database of information about occupational characteristics that was developed by the US Department of Labor (Dye & Silver, 1999). O*Net can be considered to be a relatively objective source of information about occupational characteristics because the data represented within O*Net have been collected from tens of thousands of job

incumbents within a wide variety of carefully selected job environments and types of individuals. Within the present study, O*Net data were merged with survey data by coding survey respondents' answers to an item requesting their job title. For the first 500 participants, the job titles provided by participants were entered into the search function of O*Net by two different coders. The O*Net code that best matched the job title, given the search results, was then coded as that individual's occupation. Agreement across the two coders at the end of this process was calculated at 76% exact agreement. An estimate of adjacent agreement could not be calculated due to the nature of the ratings (i.e., ratings are on a nominal scale). Disagreements were resolved by a senior researcher, and because this level of agreement was considered to be satisfactory, the senior researcher completed the rest of the coding. O*Net detailed data on 266 job characteristics was then merged with the file based on the occupational codes assigned to each individual.

After job characteristics from O*Net were merged with the data, the next step was to determine which job characteristics were particularly relevant to gender-type of an occupation. To determine this, the author reviewed the job titles present and selected those that were most reflective of stereotypically masculine or feminine characteristics. Job titles were used for this process because it has been shown that job titles provide information about the stereotypic masculinity or femininity of a job (Jessel & Beymer, 1992). Coding was re-checked by a senior researcher with experience in the area and all codes were supported.

Using the newly coded data, a t-test was conducted in order to determine any significant differences between the stereotypically masculine and feminine jobs based on the 266 characteristics included in the O*Net database. Of the 266 job characteristics, 94 job characteristics showed differences between groups. Specifically, 75 characteristics were higher for jobs coded as stereotypically masculine and 19 characteristics were higher for jobs that were stereotypically feminine. However, due to the large sample size, several of the characteristics were significantly different between groups even with relatively small absolute differences. Therefore, it was necessary to narrow down the set of characteristics to only include significant differences that also had larger absolute differences. Only characteristics with an absolute difference of one or greater were

selected. An absolute difference of one was selected because on a scale with relatively few scale points a difference of one scale point is meaningful. This left a total of 59 job characteristics that had an absolute difference of one or greater.

An exploratory factor analysis was performed on these 59 job characteristics. The analysis revealed that the characteristics did not seem to reflect any underlying pattern or meaningful structure. Ten (10) factors were extracted based on eigenvalues, but the scree plot had multiple breaks and it was unclear as to how many underlying factors were present. In addition, the factor matrix contained negative factor loadings and numerous cross-loadings.

Another exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the male and female characteristics separately to see if either masculine characteristics or feminine characteristics appeared to reflect an underlying pattern. For the male characteristics, the analysis revealed that the 48 masculine characteristics did not seem to reflect any underlying pattern. Nine (9) factors were extracted based on eigenvalues, but the screeplot showed multiple breaks, making it hard to determine exactly how many underlying factors existed. Because the number of characteristics that were included in this analysis remained large, it is not surprising that the results remained inconclusive.

The focus was then shifted to look at the 11 characteristics that were considered feminine and that had an absolute difference of one or greater. An exploratory factor analysis was run using these 11 feminine characteristics. The analysis revealed that there were two underlying factors based on the eigenvalues; however, the screeplot appeared to indicate only one factor. In addition, two of the characteristics had strong cross-loadings and as a result were removed from future analyses.

Another exploratory analysis was run using the nine characteristics. Both the eigenvalues and the screeplot indicated a strong one-factor solution. The one factor explained 67% of the variance. Additionally, all factor loadings were very high. As a result the nine items reflecting femininity were retained to be used as the scale of gender-type. The nine characteristics included in the final gender-type scale were psychology, sociology and anthropology, social perceptiveness, speaking, social, concern for others,

cooperation, relationships, and social service. These characteristics were averaged for each job title presented to arrive at a final gender-type score.

Because the effects of gender-incongruence are predicted to have a more negative effect on women than on men, by creating a scale that looks only at communal characteristics, the effects of gender-type incongruence for women can be addressed.

2.3. Analyses

Hierarchical regression was used to test the proposed hypotheses. By using hierarchical regression, the main effect of gender-type of a job on WFC as well as the interaction between the gender-type of a job and the gender of the participant on WFC were evaluated. Because the hypotheses consist of one main effect and one interaction, they were tested using the same analysis. Before performing the hierarchical regression, all predictors were centered except gender. Because gender is a categorical variable, no linear transformation of the data was required before adding it to the regression model. To test the hypotheses, the control variables were entered in Step 1, the centered gender-type variable in Step 2, gender in Step 3, and the interaction between gender-type and gender in Step 4.

CHAPTER 3. RESULTS

3.1. Preliminary Analyses

The goal of the current study was to examine the relationship between the gender-type of a job and gender on the experienced levels of WFC. Both of the hypotheses were tested using hierarchical regression. Descriptive statistics and correlations for variables of interest are found in Table 1. Additionally, Figure 1 shows the distribution of scores on the gender-type scale, which captures the full spectrum of possible scores well.

In addition to the descriptive statistics mentioned here, additional tests were run to examine the gender differences that might exist in the control variables included in the study. In this sample, there were significant differences between men and women for hours worked ($t(1387)=7.41$, $p<0.01$), number of children at home ($t(1493)=5.81$, $p<0.01$), and self-reported job flexibility ($t(1500)=8.28$, $p<0.01$). Based on these analyses, men are reporting a greater number of hours spent at work (mean(men)=47.45, mean(women)=44.12), more children at home (mean(men)=1.96, mean(women)=1.65), and greater job flexibility (mean(men)=2.78, mean(women)=2.42)than women. All other controls contained no gender differences. There was no gender difference in time- or strain-based WFC.

3.2. Hypothesis Tests

3.2.1. Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 predicted that there would be a main effect of the gender-type of a job on the experienced levels of WFC such that the more feminine a job is, the lower the reported WFC would be. A hierarchical regression was run to test the main effect of the gender-type for both time-based and strain-based conflict. For time-based conflict,

control variables of age, education level, job flexibility, hours of work per week, marital status, whether the participant's spouse worked, and if the participant had children living at home were entered in Step 1. The gender-type variable was then entered at Step 2. This process was repeated with strain-based conflict as the variable of interest. Results of these analyses are shown in Tables 2 and 3 respectively.

As shown in Table 2 when gender-type of a job was entered in at Step 2, there was not a significant increase in the variance explained in time-based conflict (ΔR^2=0.00, p=0.31). Similarly, Table 3 shows the regression results for strain-based conflict. When gender-type of a job was entered in at Step 2, there was not a significant increase in the variance explained (ΔR^2=0.00, p=0.64). The results of these analyses do not support Hypothesis 1. That is, there was not a main effect of the gender-type of a job on the experienced levels of WFC in participants.

3.2.2. Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the gender-type of a job would moderate the relationship between gender and WFC such that there would be a relationship between the gender-type of a job and experienced levels of WFC for women but not for men. It was hypothesized that women would experience greater levels of WFC as the job moved further away from the feminine pole of the gender-type scale, whereas levels of WFC would not differ for men depending on the gender-type of the job. A hierarchical regression was run that included the control variables mentioned previously entered at Step 1, gender-type of a job entered at Step 2, the participant's gender entered at Step 3 and the interaction term between gender and gender-type of a job entered at Step 4. This analysis was run for both time-based and strain-based conflict. The results of these analyses are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

As shown in Table 2, when the interaction term was entered at Step 4, the change in amount of variance explained was significant for time-based conflict (ΔR^2=0.01, p<0.01). In addition, the regression coefficient for the interaction term was significant (β=0.76, p<0.01). Figure 2 shows the graphical representation of the interaction. Additionally, a simple slopes test was used to see if men experience different levels of

time-based conflict depending on the gender-type of the job. For men, the results of the simple slopes test was non-significant ($t(1047)=-1.63$, $p=0.10$), so the slope is not significantly different from zero. For women, the slope was significantly different from zero ($t(1047)=-2.93$, $p<0.01$). These results provide support for Hypothesis 2.

Table 3 shows the results of the analyses for strain-based conflict. For strain-based conflict, the change in variance explained when the interaction term was added was non-significant ($\Delta R^2=0.00$, $p=0.17$). The interaction term regression coefficient was also non-significant ($\beta=0.31$, $p=0.17$). The results for strain-based conflict did not support Hypothesis 2.

Overall, Hypothesis 2 received partial support. Gender-type of a job moderated the relationship between gender and WFC for time-based conflict as predicted but not for strain-based conflict.

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

4.1. General Discussion

The results of this study were partially supportive of the proposed hypotheses. First, gender-type of a job was not shown to be a significant predictor of WFC. Second, although gender-type did not moderate the relationship between gender and strain-based WFC, it did moderate the relationship between gender and time-based WFC. More specifically, as the gender-type of a job moved away from the stereotypically feminine pole of the gender-type scale, time-based WFC increased for women, but not for men. I will first provide a discussion of the potential meaning of these results. Then, I will discuss possible contributions that these findings have in practice. Finally, I will provide a discussion on the limitations present in this study and suggest ideas for future research before presenting a final conclusion.

The fact that gender-type moderated the relationship between gender and time-based, but not strain-based, conflict is interesting. Although it was initially proposed that gender incongruence would relate to higher levels of strain, this finding does not appear to support that argument. However, it is interesting that gender incongruence did significantly relate to time-based conflict. A possible explanation for the current findings is that gender incongruent jobs are affecting the amount of time that women have to balance work and family demands. As research has shown, work expectations for men and women are different, whereby women who work in gender-incongruent roles typically have to produce higher quality work than men in order to be assessed similarly to men (Heilman, 1995). Thus, it is possible that women are having to spend more time at work in order to achieve the same outcomes as the men with whom they work. In order to better understand these results, the job titles were examined of the women that fall in the gender-type incongruence category. The majority of the job titles for incongruent women

were research or engineering oriented. Because these occupations tend to focus on completion of large, more ambiguous projects rather than on production of more specific outputs, they tend to be more time intensive. The more ambiguous time requirements in these careers are probably what is leading to increased levels of time-based conflict for women. The additional time spent dealing with work may thus be interfering with time spent in the family. A complementary explanation for this finding is that as discussed earlier, women are spending more time in both work and family responsibilities combined (Hersch & Stratton, 1994). As such, any additional time that is required of them at work would threaten to increase the time-based conflict that they are experiencing.

While the results were significant for time-based conflict, the results for strain-based conflict were not. Men and women showed similar levels of WFC regardless of the gender-type of the job they performed. This could be due to several factors. First, research has shown that women who view their work in terms of a career and not just a job show less signs of role conflict and greater work satisfaction (Baruch, Biener & Barnett, 1987). Because the sample that was used for this study also contained alumni from a university, most of the job titles provided may be considered as careers rather than just jobs. Regardless of whether the work was masculine or feminine, because this sample consisted of a large number of careers rather than jobs, the benefits associated with a more positive view of work may have led to lower levels of reported WFC for women in incongruent positions.

Second, research has shown that work may actually act as a buffer against some life stresses for employed women (Baruch, Biener & Barnett, 1987). Because work provides an opportunity to participate in a sphere away from the home, having a job may actually help to cope with the strain associated with WFC. Therefore, regardless of what the characteristics of a job are, work may actually help buffer against negative strains that are placed on a woman.

Finally, the results of this study did not support the hypothesis that there would be a main effect of a job's gender-type on WFC. However, this may be reflective of the measurement used here more so than the fact that a relationship does not exist. More

specifically, the scale used to assess the gender-type of the job in this study focused only on communal characteristics rather than on both agentic and communal characteristics. If agentic characteristics were also taken into account, there may have been a more pronounced difference in reported levels of WFC based on job type. In addition, the use of O*Net data to assess job characteristics likely impacted this relationship. More specifically, although an individual's job title may have indicated a given O*Net classification, it is quite possible that the job characteristics reported by O*Net were not accurate for any given individual. The way that individuals differentiate their jobs is based on a more intimate knowledge of the work that is actually performed on the job. Because the O*Net job characteristics were used as a broader method of defining the work performed for categories of jobs rather than the individually provided job titles, the finer differences between jobs might have been lost.

This results of this study show that a moderator exists that is affecting the relationship between gender and WFC. This moderator helps to explain some of the inconsistencies that have existed in the literature up to this point. With this knowledge, future research in the area of gender differences in WFC may be more fruitful if meaningful moderators are taken under consideration. Gender-type of a job is only one of many possible moderators that may be impacting the relationship and masking true differences that exist in how the sexes experience WFC, and future researchers should further examine what factors might play a role in differential experiences of WFC between men and women. Additionally, it provides support for the theory of WFC presented by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) in that time-based and strain-based conflict should be considered as two separate source of conflict that contribute to overall WFC. Because of this, future research should consider these sources of strain separately rather than combining them together. The mechanisms behind time-based and strain-based conflict remain unclear and future research should focus on better understanding how strain-based and time-based conflict work.

4.1.1. Practical Contributions

While the results of this study provide insights into the theory of gender and WFC, they also provide knowledge for practitioners and organizations to use in a more applied setting. As noted by Felstead, et al. (2002), the idea of work-life balance is important in lives of employees. By gaining a better understanding of who is at risk to experience higher levels of WFC, organizations can target interventions to address the needs of individual employees.

As shown in the results of this study, women in less communal type jobs are reporting higher levels of WFC than men in the same jobs. By offering programs and incentives that focus on work-life balance in jobs that are less communal, organizations may help to meet the needs of individual employees and reduce their level of WFC. Especially because the results show a difference in time-based conflict, by introducing programs that help with time management and family care could be especially important.

Additionally, the results of this study found no gender differences in reported levels of WFC. This is important because organizations and managers should not just assume that women have a harder time with WFC than men. Only when women were in less communal jobs did those differences occur. For the majority of work that contains both agentic and communal traits, men and women should be treated as equals in their experience of WFC.

4.2. Limitations and Future Research

This study is not without limitations. First, because this study used an archival dataset, there was no chance to craft individual questions to address the specific purposes of this research. The gender-type of a job might be better obtained through an individual survey rather than on the basis of using archival data. By doing this, researchers would have the ability to look at the gender-type of a job based on individual job titles, rather than grouping similar job titles together to fit in to the data that was already provided. However, even with this limitation, a scale was created that measured the communal characteristics of a job. Additionally, because archival data was used, a large sample size

containing a variety of occupations was available that would not have been as easy to come by in another way.

Another limitation that existed in this study was in the coding process of the data. Each of the job titles provided was coded to match the O*Net database. Because of this, in order to create a scale of gender-type, data available from the O*Net provided job characteristics was used. While this was a helpful way of coding the data, it clumped similar job titles provided by participants together into broader O*Net provided jobs. This makes it harder to pick out the fine-grained differences that exist between individualized jobs as they were provided by participants. Future research should include a measure of gender-type in an original survey. This would help to maintain those finer distinctions that exist in individualized jobs. For example, the job of a nurse can de further differentiated into more specific job titles such as intensive care unit (ICU) nurse or geriatric nurse. The stresses that are placed on an ICU nurse are very different than the ones placed on a geriatric nurse and the men and women that deal with those strains may also experience WFC differently. By using the O*Net classification, both types of nurses were both considered at the higher level of nurse and the differences that exist between different types of nurses were missed. By using a different measure to assess the characteristics of a job might do a better job of capturing those differences. However, even with this limitation, the use of O*Net data could be considered a strength because the data from O*Net is not self-reported. This helps provide a more objective view of job characteristics than what might have been obtained using a self-report measure.

A second limitation present in the current study was that the scale used for gender-type focused on the communal aspects of jobs. While this approach worked for looking at jobs that are communal in nature, it does not capture the agentic characteristics that are present. As a result, the scale of gender-type of a job only reflected the stereotypically feminine characteristics of jobs. However, because most jobs contain characteristics that would be considered both agentic and communal, a scale that captures both types of job characteristics would provide more insight into how jobs fit on the continuum of gender-type. Future research should focus on creating a scale that captures

agentic characteristics to supplement the scale created that looks at communal characteristics.

A final limitation was the composition of the sample that was used in the study. In collecting the data for research, invitations to participate were sent out to alumni of a large Midwestern university. Because of the collection technique, the final sample could be fairly homogeneous in terms of education level. A large population of workers has not graduated from a college or university and this particular sample may not capture a representative sample of the entire workforce. There are also several jobs that do not require a college education that may have also been missed due to the makeup of the final sample. However, the range of jobs present in the current study did span a wide selection of job titles from cashier to CEO. Future research could benefit from gathering a sample that includes more jobs that do not require a college education. By expanding the demographics of the sample used, a more complete picture of how men and women experience WFC based on the work they do could be reached.

Future research could also address the possibility of additional moderators that may be present. While the current study focused on the gender-type of a job based on job characteristics, future studies could also address other aspects that may have an impact on experienced levels of WFC. Specific KSAOs or job competencies required for jobs may be present in masculine and feminine jobs that contribute to experienced levels of WFC. Also, the percentage of the workforce that is male or female in a job could impact how men and women experience WFC. Future research should address these other moderators that may be present.

Additionally, blue-collar jobs, or jobs that typically require manual labor and are paid on an hourly basis, and pink-collar jobs, or jobs that are considered to be stereotypically feminine in the service industry, could have a different relationship with gender and WFC. It would be important to address how individuals working in these types of jobs also experience WFC different from people working in white-collar jobs.

4.3. Conclusion

Work-family conflict is an issue that is receiving increased attention in the present world in both the research and applied spheres. As people are increasingly searching for employment that fits with the needs of their personal lives, the idea of work-life balance has become popular for both employers and employees (Felstead, et al., 2002). Understanding who is experiencing WFC and under what circumstances they are experiencing it is important in order to help individuals achieve balance in their lives. As discussed previously, past research has focused on whether or not gender affects experienced levels of WFC, but that research has been inconclusive (Voydanoff, 2002). While some research points to possible gender differences in WFC (Gutek Searle & Klepa, 1991; Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992b; Parasuraman & Simmers, 2001), a separate body of research has shown that there is no difference (Parasuraman, Greenhaus and Granrose , 1992; Eagle, Miles & Icenogle, 1997). The purpose of this study was to present a possible explanation for the inconsistencies associated with the study of WFC and gender. Although results were only partially supportive of the hypotheses, the study provided some evidence that considering moderators that relate to gender may be a fruitful area for future research.

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TABLES

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics, Intercorrelations and Alpha Reliabilities

		Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Age	38.04	11.32	-										
2	Education level[a]	4.51	0.51	.30*	-									
3	Spouse work[b]	2.15	1.29	-.14*	-.16*	-								
4	Marital status[c]	1.37	0.54	-.25*	-.22*	.61*	-							
5	Children at home	1.80	1.02	.23*	.16*	-.26*	-.44*	-						
6	Hours of work/week	45.72	8.54	.07*	.10*	.05	-.05	.01	-					
7	Flexibility[d]	2.60	0.90	.19*	.10*	-.08*	-.11*	.13*	.08*	-				
8	Gender[e]	1.53	0.50	-.05	.00	-.02	.11*	-.15*	-.20*	-.21*	-			
9	Gender-type[f]	3.53	0.56	.10*	.22*	-.06*	-.03	.02	.01	-.07*	.23*	(.91)		
10	Strain-based WFC[g]	3.29	1.05	.08*	.09*	-.10*	-.16*	.27*	.23*	-12*	.01	.06*	(.91)	
11	Time-based WFC[g]	2.75	1.00	.05	.06*	-.03	-.03	.15*	.18*	-.16*	.03	.05	.54*	(.94)

Note: Alpha reliabilities are shown on the diagonal in parentheses

[a] Education level was coded as1 for "less than high school diploma," 2 for "High school diploma or GED," 3 for "Technical degree," 4 for "College degree" and 5 for "Graduate degree"

[b] Spouse work was coded as1 for "yes, full-time," 2 for "yes, part-time," 3 for "No," and 4 for "N/A"

[c] Marital Status was coded as 1 for single, 2 for married and 3 for domestic partnership

[d] Flexibility was scored on a scale from 1 to 5 with 1 representing low flexibility and 5 representing high flexibility

[e] Gender was coded as 1 for male and 2 for female

[f] Gender-type was scored on a scale from 1 to 5 with 1 representing low communal and 5 representing high communal

[g] WFC was scored on a scale from 1 to 5 with 1 indicating low conflict and 5 indicating high conflict

* $p < 0.05$

Table 2

Regression Analysis for Time-Based Conflict

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Predictor	*B*	*β*	*B*	*β*	*B*	*β*	*B*	*β*
Intercept								
Flexibility	-.22	-.20*	-.22	-.19*	-.20	-.18*	-.20	-.18*
Hours work/week	.02	.19*	.02	.19*	.02	.20*	.02	.20*
Spouse work	-.04	-.06	-.04	-.05	-.04	-.05	-.03	-.04
Children	.19	.20*	.19	.20*	.20	.21*	.19	.20*
Education level	.06	.03	.04	.02	.04	.02	.05	.03
Age	.00	.05	.00	.05	.00	.05	.00	.04
Marital status	.22	.12*	.22	.11*	.21	.11*	.20	.11*
Gender-type			.05	.03	.03	.02	-.53	-.30
Gender					.13	.06	-1.10	-.55*
Gender-type X Gender							.35	.76*
R^2		.10		.10		.10		.11
ΔR^2		.10*		.00		.00*		.01*
F Change		15.75*		1.02		4.07*		10.50*

Note: Unstandardized coefficients represent change in peer rating score for every unit increase on the predictor.

* $p < 0.05$

Table 3

Regression analysis for Strain-Based Conflict

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Predictor	*B*	*β*	*B*	*β*	*B*	*β*	*B*	*β*
Intercept								
Flexibility	-.24	-.20*	-.23	-.20*	-.21	-.18*	-.21	-.17*
Hours work/week	.03	.26*	.03	.26*	.03	.28*	.03	.28*
Spouse work	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.03
Children	.28	.27*	.28	.27*	.29	.28*	.29	.28*
Education level	.07	.03	.06	.03	.06	.03	.06	.03
Age	.00	.03	.00	.03	.00	.03	.00	.03
Marital status	.01	.01	.01	.01	.00	.00	-.01	.00
Gender-type			.03	.01	-.01	-.01	-.26	-.14
Gender					.21	.10	-.32	-.15
Gender-type X Gender							.15	.31
R^2		.17		.17		.18		.18
ΔR^2		.17*		.00		.01*		.00
F Change		30.21*		.22		11.26*		1.90

Note Unstandardized coefficients represent change in peer rating score for every unit increase on the predictor.

* $p < 0.05$

FIGURES

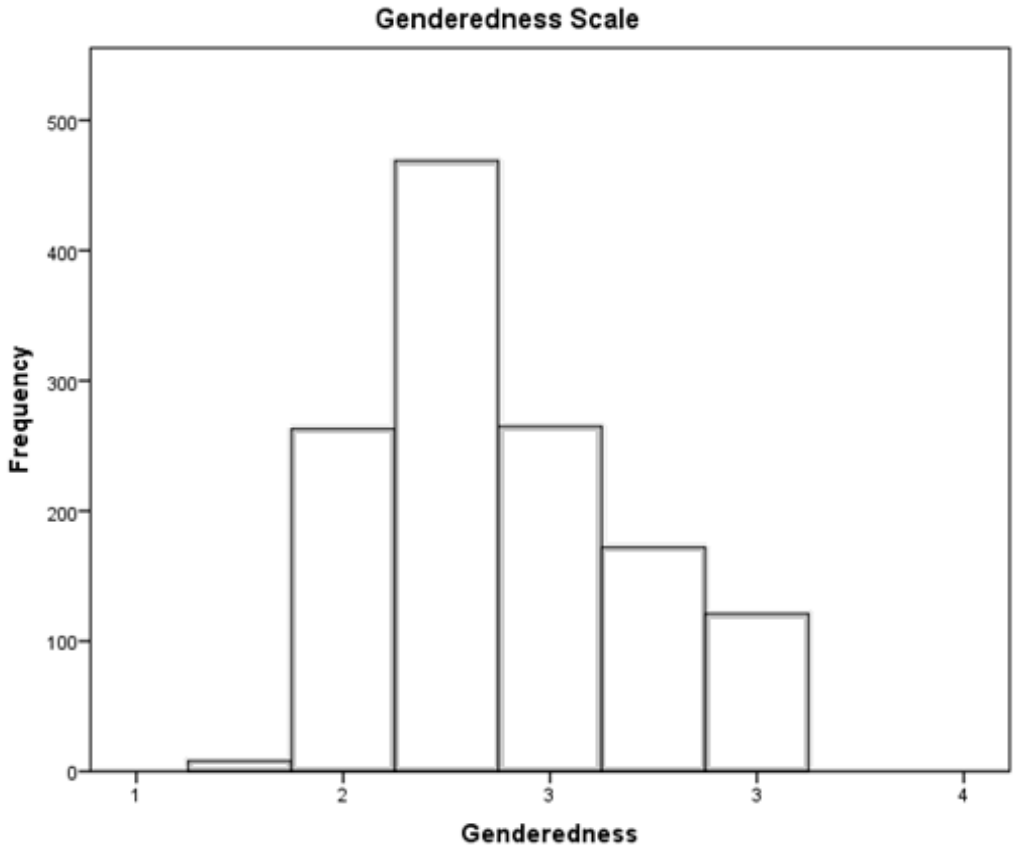

Figure 1 Distribution of Scores on the Gender-type Scale

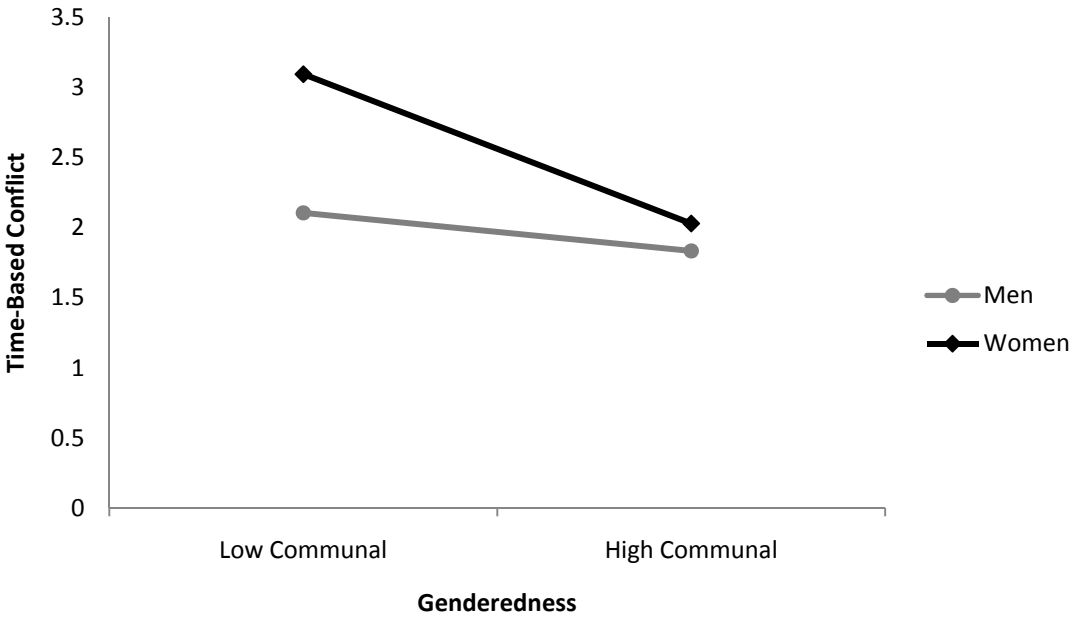

Figure 2. Interaction Between Gender and Gender-type in Relation to Time-Based Conflict

APPENDICES

Appendix A

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

Time-based work interference with family

1. My work keeps me from my family activities more than I would like.
2. The time I must devote to my job keeps me from participating equally in household responsibilities and activities.
3. I have to miss family activities due to the amount of time I must spend on work responsibilities.

Strain-based work interference with family

1. When I get home from work I am often too frazzled to participate in family activities/responsibilities.
2. I am often so emotionally drained when I get home from work that it prevents me from contributing to my family.
3. Due to all the pressures at work, sometimes when I come home I am too stressed to do the things I enjoy.

Appendix B

Changes in the demographics of the workforce have led to an increased desire to understand how employees balance demands from work with other important life domains. For example, there has been an increase in the percentage of women in the workforce (US Census Bureau, 2012) and in the number of dual-earner couples (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). These changes and others have led to an increase in the number of people filling responsibilities in both the work and family roles. As a result, researchers have become increasingly interested in investigating how these roles interact. Specifically, they have focused a great deal of attention on how stress from one life domain can spill over into the other life domain and affect important outcomes including job stress, turnover intentions and job satisfaction (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Anderson, Coffey & Byerly, 2002). This phenomenon is known as work-family conflict (WFC).

Because of the historically different work and family roles held by men and women, it is a commonplace assumption that gender differences should exist in work-family conflict. However, research aimed at discovering those differences has led to mixed results (Voydanoff, 2002). Most researchers searching for gender differences have not assessed potential moderators of the impact of gender on WFC, however, and as a result it is unclear to what extent gender might interact with other variables in the work-family environment to impact conflict. The present study will focus on one such potential moderator: gender-type of one's job. Gender-type of a job is the extent to which a job possesses stereotypically feminine (e.g., caring, social aspects) or stereotypically masculine (e.g., physical labor, higher responsibility) characteristics.

This study will investigate both the direct and moderating effect of the gender-type of jobs in the relationship between gender and WFC. In order to address these issues, I will first provide a brief review of the findings in the area of WFC and introduce the theory of WFC that I will use as a base for my argument. Then, I will discuss what the literature has found with regards to gender and experienced levels of WFC and will highlight the mixed nature of the results. Next, I will discuss what research has shown concerning the gender-type of jobs and how that should affect experienced levels of WFC. Then I will present research relating job characteristics to WFC and will use role

congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and gender-type congruence to help explain the proposed moderation effects. Finally, I will present hypotheses and propose a study to test them with an archival sample collected from working adults.

This study contributes to the growing body of research on WFC by exploring whether gender differences in WFC exist when job characteristics are taken into account. It suggests that WFC is better predicted by the interplay between particular aspects of people's jobs and their genders than by their gender in isolation. It also contributes insight into how job characteristics may play a role in how employees experience WFC, an issue which has gone largely unexplored.

Brief Review of Work-Family Conflict

WFC is a type of inter-role conflict that occurs between the work and family domains that makes participation in one domain harder due to participation in the other (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Frone, Russell and Cooper (1992b) described WFC as being bidirectional in nature, so that stress in work can lead to spillover of stress into the family domain and vice versa. However, work-to-family conflict has been shown to be more harmful than family-to-work conflict. Also, family-to-work conflict appears to be much less prevalent than work-to-family conflict (Eagle, Miles & Icenogle, 1997; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). Because work-to-family conflict appears to be more severe and also more prevalent in the lives of individuals, for the purpose of this study I will focus on work-to-family conflict rather than on family-to-work conflict.

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) presented a theory to better understand WFC and how it affects employees. They divided the conflict between roles into three separate categories: time based conflict, strain based conflict, and behavior based conflict. Time based conflict arises when time demands in one role conflict with demands in the other role. Examples of this type of conflict can be missing a child's baseball game due to overtime work at a job or not eating dinner with the family due to meetings that run late. Strain based conflict arises when strain from one role influences the outcomes of the other role. An example of this could include yelling at a child because of a stressful project due at work. Behavior based conflict arises when behavior in one role makes it more difficult to fulfill requirements in the other role. An example of this kind of conflict

can be an employee experiencing strain at home because he is expected to be open and warm while his work requires him to be secretive and cold. Behavior-based conflict appears to be less prevalent than the other two forms and has not received much attention in past literature (Dierdorff & Ellington, 2008). As a result, like many past researchers I will not address this type of conflict in this study.

Antecedents of WFC Research has shown that there are several antecedents to WFC originating in the work domain including hours worked (Keith & Schafer, 1980; Pleck, Staines & Lang, 1980), frequency/amount of overtime (Pleck, Staines & Lang, 1980), autonomy in work and task challenge (Jones & Butler, 1980), work load and management support and recognition (Burke, 1988), role overload at work (Bacharach, Bamberger & Conley 1991), and income level (Byron, 2005). Antecedents originating from the family domain that affect WFC experienced include marital status (Herman & Gyllstrom, 1977; Byron, 2005), size and development stage of family (Keith & Schafer, 1980), family stressors (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992a), and family involvement (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992a). The antecedents of WFC, as shown by these findings, typically reflect the demands that are placed on employees from their competing life domains. When the demands from the life domains increase, WFC also tends to increase. While life domain demands tend to be associated with WFC, other characteristics of the individual also seem to relate to WFC. Research addressing these characteristics in the individual domain has found various aspects of personality to be antecedents to WFC (Allen, et al., 2000; Wayne, Musisca & Fleeson, 2002; Aryee, Srinivas & Tan, 2005; Michel, et al., 2010). For example, locus of control and neuroticism/negative affect relate positively to conflict (Aryee, Srinivas & Tan, 2005). On the other hand, positive coping style and skills and self-esteem have been shown to buffer against WFC (Allen, et al., 2000; Byron, 2005).

Outcomes WFC affects both the work and family domains in important ways. In the workplace it has been shown to lead to lower job satisfaction (Bedeian, Burke & Moffett, 1988, Kossek & Ozeki, 1998) and higher job distress (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992a). Employees who experience high levels of WFC also show higher levels of turnover intentions (Anderson, Coffey & Byerly, 2002) and actual turnover (Greenhaus,

et al., 1997). WFC can also lead to higher levels of job stress and greater occurrences of absenteeism (Anderson, Coffey & Byerly, 2002).

WFC also has negative implications for the family domain. Marital satisfaction (Bedeian, Burke & Moffett, 1988), parental satisfaction (Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998) and family performance (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1997) have all been shown to decrease under higher levels of WFC, while family distress is higher for individuals experiencing high levels of WFC (Russell & Cooper, 1992).

WFC has also been shown to have adverse consequences on employees' physical and mental health. WFC has been shown to correlate with increased levels of alcoholism, higher levels of depression, poor physical health and increased levels of hypertension (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992a; Frone, Russell & Barnes, 1996; Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1997). Generally speaking, overall life satisfaction decreases under higher levels of WFC (Bedeian, Burke & Moffett, 1988; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

Because WFC has such far-reaching consequences for individuals, families and organizations, it is important to understand who is at risk of experiencing WFC. By understanding who experiences the highest levels of WFC, interventions can be implemented that target specific populations. The antecedents associated with WFC all seem to stem from the demands associated with participating in multiple life roles. Because of this, characteristics of a job, which reflect the demands placed on employees due to the nature of the work they perform, may play an important part in showing what types of jobs are at the greatest risk of producing WFC. Given current theorizing relating to gender-type of jobs and the gender of job incumbents, it is also possible that gender itself may interact with gender-type to influence conflict. These issues will now be introduced and discussed in detail.

Gender and WFC

Over the past 60 years, there has been a shift to more women in the workplace. Women have gone from comprising 37 percent of the total workforce in the United States in 1950 to 47 percent in 2010 (U. S. Census Bureau, 1950, 2012). In this time, gender roles have also become more similar and egalitarian than in the past (e.g., Thornton, 1989) so that today, both men and women alike are expected to spend large amounts of

time on both family and work responsibilities. Even though gender roles have changed over time, men and women still show differences in their time allocation when both work and family domains are considered. While men and women report spending the same amount of time in work activities (Gutek, Searle & Klepa, 1991), when housework is also considered women appear to have the heavier load. For example, one study found that the time spent on housework for men in dual earner couples averages seven hours per week while the time that women spend on housework in dual earner couples averages 17 hours per week (Hersch & Stratton, 1994). It has been shown that on average, women spend more time in family tasks and work and family tasks combined than men (Berk & Berk, 1979).

Because women are spending more time than men across both domains, the time allocation should influence resource allocation and increase experienced WFC. However, even with the gender differences experienced by men and women in time and work demands, past studies show mixed results for gender differences in WFC. While some studies show that there is no difference between genders in experienced levels of WFC, other studies indicate that men and women experience WFC at differing levels. This research will now be reviewed.

No difference between genders A portion of the research that has been conducted to test gender differences in WFC has shown that men and women do not experience any differences in reported levels of WFC. Parasuraman, Greenhaus and Granrose (1992) conducted a study to assess the outcomes of WFC based on gender differences. For the study they used participants that were members of dual-earner couples in order to address the effects of WFC on the overall family and life satisfaction of the participants. They found that while WFC had separate outcomes and antecedents for men and women, reported levels of WFC were the same for both genders. This research adds support to the argument that there are no apparent differences in the experienced levels of WFC for men and women.

A separate study addressed how gender differences might influence prevalence of WFC for men and women. In the study, a sample of employees at a university reported on their experienced levels of WFC. The sample included a variety of employees ranging

from security officers to teachers and researchers. The results of the study supported the hypothesized prediction that there would be no significant difference in the reported pervasiveness of WFC, as women in the study reported experiencing WFC as frequently as men (Eagle, Miles & Icenogle, 1997).

These studies that have focused specifically on the gender differences in the reported levels of WFC indicate that there is no difference between men and women. However, not all studies support this view. Inconsistencies in the literature point to gender differences existing between men and women. These differences have shown both women experiencing greater levels of WFC than men and men experiencing greater levels of WFC than women, however, and as a result do little to decrease confusion. The studies showing these inconsistencies in the literature will now be discussed.

Women experience greater levels of WFC In a study conducted by Frone, Russell and Cooper (1992b), 1,933 participants were surveyed to measure prevalence rates of WFC for several different demographic groups. In the study there was an equal representation of race split between blacks and whites. Also, education level was split equally between three levels; less than high school graduate, high school graduate, and at least some college. After controlling for these demographic characteristics, they found that women (M= 2.28, prevalence rate=64.3%) report experiencing WFC more frequently than men (M=2.12, prevalence rate=54.3%). This study supports the notion that women experience WFC at higher levels than men.

In a separate paper, Gutek, Searle and Klepa (1991) performed two studies looking at how men and women experience WFC. The study was also interested in how time spent in paid work activities interacted with gender to influence reported levels of WFC. In their first study, a group of psychologists completed a self-report measure of WFC while the second study used a group of senior managers. The results of the studies support the conclusion that women report higher levels of WFC than men. While the researchers were expecting to find interaction effects between time in paid work activities and gender, what they actually found was that regardless of the time spent in work activities, women reported higher levels of WFC than men (M(women) = 3.39, M(men) =

2.93, $t(405) = 4.72$, $p<0.01$), even when both men and women reported spending the same amount of time in paid work activities.

These results lead to the conclusion that women experience higher levels of WFC than men. However, not all research leads to the same finding. While the research previously discussed shows no difference between men and women, still more research has shown that men experience higher levels of WFC than women.

Men experience greater levels of WFC While most studies showing gender differences in experienced levels of WFC have women reporting higher levels of WFC, there has been one study that supports the opposite conclusion, that men experience higher levels of WFC than women. In the study conducted by Parasuraman and Simmers (2001), they addressed whether the type of employment (whether the participant was an entrepreneur or an employee of an organization) and gender of participants influenced reported levels of WFC. The sample was split nearly evenly between men and women. In this study they found that self-employed men and self-employed women enjoy higher levels of autonomy, greater job satisfaction and higher levels of job involvement. However, they also found that regardless of the type of employment, men reported experiencing higher levels of WFC than women ($M(men) = 2.86$, $M(women) = 2.69$, $SD(men) = 0.67$, $SD(women) = 0.77$, $p<0.05$). This happened even though women reported greater family involvement and higher levels of life stress than men.

Voydanoff (2002) sums up the research on gender differences in WFC nicely by saying that overall, studies on gender differences in WFC are inconsistent. While there is some support that gender differences in experienced levels of WFC do not exist, research has found also found support for women experiencing greater levels of WFC than men and also for men experiencing greater levels of WFC than women. This inconsistency seems to point towards possible moderating effects on gender that might explain why different studies report such different results. Rather than dismissing these results, it is important to address why these inconsistencies exist.

Possible explanation of inconsistent results Given the inconsistent findings in previous literature, it is clear that more research is needed to effectively assess the role of gender in predicting WFC. Generally speaking when inconsistencies such as those in the

previously described literature exist, a plausible explanation is the existence of moderators. Moderators are variables that affect the strength of relationships between variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986). In practice, unmeasured moderators may produce seemingly inconsistent results by either amplifying or hiding a relationship between two variables. While some of the past research discussed has taken into account possible moderators of the relationship between gender and WFC such as time spent in paid work activities, none of these moderators has been theoretically linked to gender. As a result, it is proposed that the moderators explored in previous research have been deficient, and that researchers should instead focus on potential moderators that relate more closely to gender itself and why gender might impact WFC. Researching these possible moderators may further shed light on the inconsistent results that past studies have found and lead to a better understanding of WFC. One such moderator is gender-type of jobs.

Gender-type

Gender-type of a job is the extent to which a job possesses stereotypically feminine or stereotypically masculine characteristics. Importantly, gender-type of a job could be defined as whichever gender holds a majority in that job. If a job is dominated by women, it could be considered a female-type job while a job dominated by men could be considered a male-type job. However, Pichler, Varma and Bruce (2010) define the gender-type of a job as the "extent to which a job embodies stereotypically masculine or feminine characteristics." Based on this definition, gender-type of a job reflects what is actually done on the job and the very nature of the work itself rather than whether or not the job is dominated by one gender or the other.

Jobs that are stereotypically associated with men tend to be agentic in nature, reflecting more physically strenuous (Schieman, 2006) and cognitively complex tasks (Loscocco & Spitze, 1990). Stereotypically male or agentic jobs also place an emphasis on being masterful, competent and independent and focus less on relationships and the well-being of others (Eagly & Karau, 1991). By contrast, jobs that are stereotypically associated with women tend to focus more on communal traits such as providing help and nurturance (Jacobs & Steinberg, 1990; Kilbourne, et al., 1994). These jobs also stereotypically provide supportive coworker relationships, (Schieman, 2006) because

communal jobs place a much greater emphasis on relationships and providing for others than agentic jobs do (Eagly & Karau, 1991). In addition to these relationship centered traits, women also tend to have less access to jobs that are high in authority (Smith, 2002) and less access to training (Keaveny & Inderrieden, 1999). Research has also shown that female-dominated jobs tend to have a safer, more pleasant work environment, greater contact with people and lower rates of promotion (Reed & Dahlquist, 1994).

The Current Study

As a result of the differences in job demands between stereotypically masculine and stereotypically feminine jobs, it seems likely that gender-type should be related to WFC. Specifically, instead of simply reflecting the *amount* of demands an individual faces, which is what past research has largely focused on, gender-type of a job may serve to assess what *type* of demands an individual faces. To the extent that these demands are compatible or incompatible with family demands, they may relate to WFC.

Differences in job demands

As has been discussed, stereotypically masculine jobs contain job characteristics which are agentic in nature. As a result, the characteristics of stereotypically masculine jobs are largely incompatible with pursuing family goals. By contrast, stereotypically feminine jobs contain job characteristics congruent with managing family demands, due to their communal nature. Although almost no attention has thus far been focused on this issue, there is some research to support this notion. First, Dierdorff and Ellington (2008) used job characteristics as proxies for behavior-based conflict. The authors found that individuals in jobs that provided schedule flexibility and social support reported lower levels of WFC than those with more rigid schedules or without an environment rich in social support. In addition, McElwain, Korabik and Rosin (2005) showed that women seem to benefit more from flexible work schedules than men (Carlson, Grzywacz & Kacmar, 2008). These results, although preliminary, indicate that the nature of the demands placed on an employee may impact his or her work-family conflict.

Until this point, jobs have been referred to as either male or female gender typed in line with terms used in past research. However, while there are certain jobs that can be considered very masculine or very feminine based on the characteristics associated with

the job, in reality most jobs will contain both masculine and feminine characteristics. Therefore, instead of dichotomizing jobs into male and female it is probably better to instead to think of 'genderedness' of a job on a continuum from masculine to feminine. On this continuum, the most stereotypically feminine jobs would lie at one end of the spectrum and the most stereotypically masculine jobs would lie at the other.

Given this clarification, it is proposed that jobs that fall towards the more masculine pole of the genderedness scale should be associated with higher levels of WFC as a result of the fact that the agentic demands associated with these jobs are largely incompatible with managing family demands. On the other hand, jobs that lie closer to the more feminine pole of the scale should show lower levels of WFC. The communal job characteristics associated with "feminine" jobs are in line with the family role, and furthermore have been shown to buffer against WFC. For example, research has shown that increased levels of coworker support and support at work act as buffers to WFC (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Wadsworth & Owens, 2007).

As a result, it is proposed that:

H1: The gender-type of a job will be significantly related to WFC such that the more feminine a job, the lower the WFC will be reported by the participant.

Gender-Type Job Incongruence

In addition to impacting WFC directly, gender-type may interact with gender to influence WFC as well. Gender-type job congruence occurs when the gender of a person filling a role fits the gender-type of the role, and gender-type incongruence occurs when the gender of a person filling a role does not fit the gender-type of that role (Holland, 1985). For example, a female in a stereotypically feminine job such as teacher would be considered to have a gender-type congruent job. Likewise, gender-type job incongruence occurs when the gender of an employee does not fit the gender-type of the job that they hold. Examples might include a male nurse or a female fire department chief.

Because male-typed jobs are often occupied by women and female-gender typed jobs are often occupied by men, there are a large number of people who fall into the category of gender-type job incongruence. Based on role-congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), research shows that these people may experience several adverse outcomes

as a result of their gender-type incongruence because the psychological demands placed on these individuals increase. For example, Triana, García and Colella (2010) have shown that women who hold untraditional roles, such as those who are seen as primary breadwinners in their family, are rated worse than women who hold more traditional roles. Furthermore, women who succeed at male sex type jobs are liked less than men who succeed in the same jobs (Heilman, Wallen & Tamkins, 2004). In addition, an applicant whose gender is congruent with the gender-type of the job is seen as more favorable and more hireable than applicants whose gender is incongruent with the gender-type (Davison & Burke, 2000). Also, both men and women report higher levels of discrimination in the workplace when they are part of the minority in their work groups (Stainback, Ratliff & Roscigno, 2011). It has also been shown that there is a negative relationship between career satisfaction and spillover among those who are in the minority gender in their work group (Martins, Eddleston & Veiga, 2002). These added stresses may thus lead to higher levels of WFC. Research has shown that men and women who perform in ways contrary to societal norms in work and family roles tend to report higher levels of WFC than those that conform to societal standards (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991). Despite these commonalities, however, gender-type incongruence does appear to have the potential to impact men and women differently.

Women Women are ideally seen to be higher in communal attributes (Conway, Pizzamiglio & Mount, 1996). In other words, women are perceived to be better suited to be nurturers at home than employees in the workplace and tend to hold jobs that are associated with communal traits (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010). As a result, women filling traditionally masculine positions are often disadvantaged compared to the men that surround them (Cotter, et al., 2001). For example, women are viewed negatively when they present themselves in a gender-incongruent manner including holding leadership positions and other levels of authority (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). These penalties result from perceived violations of gender-stereotypic prescriptions (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Women report that these penalties promote dissatisfaction with managerial positions and can result in higher levels of turnover than their male counterparts (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). All of these findings point to higher levels of strain in the workplace.

As a result of this increased strain, women holding gender-incongruent jobs are likely to experience higher levels of WFC.

Men Despite the negative impacts of gender-type incongruence for women, the situation has been shown to be markedly different for men in gender-incongruent jobs. Men in female gender-typed jobs have more social pressure to do more prestigious work than their female coworkers. However, with that social pressure, men also seem to have greater opportunity to meet those demands due to what is known as the glass escalator phenomenon. The glass escalator phenomenon describes the fact that men in female-type jobs are promoted quicker and to higher levels than women in those same jobs (Williams, 1992; Maume, 1999; Hultin, 2003). This has even been used as a tactic to try to narrow the disparity in numbers of men in female-type jobs (Kleinman, 2004). Even though men are generally considered to be the minority in female gender-type jobs, they do not seem to experience the same negative consequences as women in incongruent jobs. In fact, they have the opportunity readily available to them to be promoted to more stereotypically congruent leadership positions within an organization. According to Role Congruity Theory, this greater opportunity for advancement into management and leadership positions by men in female-type jobs should prevent them from experiencing higher levels of WFC.

> *H2: Gender-type of a job will moderate the relationship between gender and WFC such that there will be a relationship between gender-type of a job and experienced levels of WFC for women but not for men. Women will experience greater levels of WFC as the job moves further away from the feminine pole of the gender-type scale, whereas levels of WFC will not differ for men depending on the gender-type of the job.*