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The Effects of Work on Family Life: A Review and Analysis of the Literature

Martha L. Teplitzky

Personnel Utilization Technical Area
Manpower and Personnel Research Laboratory



U. S. Army

Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences

July 1988

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

1a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION Unclassified			1b. RESTRICTIVE MARKINGS		
2a. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY			3. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY OF REPORT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.		
2b. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE					
4. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)			5. MONITORING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S) ARI Technical Report 801		
6a. NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION U.S. Army Research Institute		6b. OFFICE SYMBOL (If applicable) PERI-RP	7a. NAME OF MONITORING ORGANIZATION --		
6c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) 5001 Eisenhower Avenue Alexandria, VA 22333-5600			7b. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) --		
8a. NAME OF FUNDING/SPONSORING ORGANIZATION --		8b. OFFICE SYMBOL (If applicable)	9. PROCUREMENT INSTRUMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER --		
8c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) --			10. SOURCE OF FUNDING NUMBERS		
			PROGRAM ELEMENT NO. 63731A	PROJECT NO. 202637 31 A792	TASK NO. 242
			WORK UNIT ACCESSION NO. H2		
11. TITLE (Include Security Classification) The Effects of Work on Family Life: A Review and Analysis of the Literature					
12. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S) Martha L. Teplitzky					
13a. TYPE OF REPORT Final		13b. TIME COVERED FROM 06/86 TO 12/87		14. DATE OF REPORT (Year, Month, Day) 1988, July	
15. PAGE COUNT 79					
16. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATION					
17. COSATI CODES			18. SUBJECT TERMS (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)		
FIELD	GROUP	SUB-GROUP	Work/family conflict Dual career couples		
			Spillover Work and family		
19. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number) *There are three major streams of research especially relevant to the examination of the interrelationships between work and family: research conducted within the spillover/compensation framework, literature on dual career couples, and research on the experience of work/family conflict, which is the most directly relevant and broadly applicable to the interests of the Army in this area. However, several conceptual and methodological weaknesses are apparent in this approach. Suggestions for enhancing the utility of the work/family conflict approach are presented, along with a preliminary conceptual framework for the investigation of the effects of work on family.					
20. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY OF ABSTRACT ☒ UNCLASSIFIED/UNLIMITED ☐ SAME AS RPT. ☐ DTIC USERS			21. ABSTRACT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED		
22a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL Dr. Glenda Y. Nogami			22b. TELEPHONE (Include Area Code) (202) 274-8866		22c. OFFICE SYMBOL PERI-RP

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Accession For	
NTIS GRA&I	☒
DTIC TAB	☐
Unannounced	☐
Justification	
By	
Distribution/	
Availability Codes	
Avail and/or	
Spec	Special
A-1	

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5001 Eisenhower Avenue, Alexandria, Virginia 22333-5600

Office, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel

Department of the Army

July 1988

Army Project Number
2Q263731A792

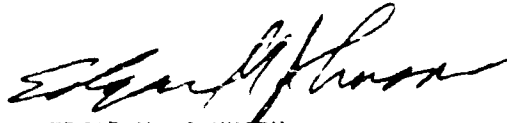
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FOREWORD

The Personnel Utilization Technical Area of the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences performs research on the interrelationships between work and family life in the Army. This perspective reflects the awareness that the work and family spheres of life in the military are inextricably intertwined. To understand how families affect the military life of the soldier, we need first to understand how the demands and constraints of a military job affect the family. It is within this larger life context that soldiers perform their duties and make decisions about their careers. This review and analysis of the literature on the effects of work on family is one of several efforts to ensure that research on the Army family builds and improves on previous civilian as well as military research in the area.

The sponsor of this research program is the Community and Family Support Center (CFSC). Key personnel in the sponsoring agency, who reviewed and approved this report, indicated that these data will be useful in the development of new avenues of research on the interface between work and family life in the Army.



EDGAR M. JOHNSON
Technical Director

THE EFFECTS OF WORK ON FAMILY LIFE: A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE LITERATURE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Requirement:

Under the sponsorship of the Community and Family Services Center (CFSC), the U.S. Army Research Institute (ARI) is undertaking a major research effort designed to further our understanding of the interrelationships between work and the family. In the military, especially, these two spheres of life are inextricably intertwined. Currently, however, there is little empirical or theoretical work on the work/family interface in the military literature. In the civilian literature, on the other hand, a growing body of literature from several disciplines addresses issues of interest to military family researchers. ARI's responsibility to identify fruitful avenues of research in the area of work and the family clearly requires that this literature be examined, analyzed, and integrated.

Procedure:

The first step in preparing this review was to conduct a major search of the literature and to obtain an extensive collection of relevant articles, monographs, and books. The second step was to identify the major streams of research relevant to the topic and organize an approach to the review and analysis of the literature. The paper was then written with an eye toward identifying strengths and weaknesses of contemporary approaches to the analysis of the different ways work can affect family life. A preliminary conceptual framework was developed, and suggestions for future research were presented.

Findings:

There are three major streams of research especially relevant to the examination of the interrelationships between work and family: work conducted within the spillover/compensation framework, literature on dual career couples, and research on work/family conflict, which is the most directly relevant and broadly applicable to the interests of the Army in this area. However, several conceptual and methodological weaknesses are apparent in this relatively new field of study. Several suggestions for enhancing the utility of the general work/family conflict approach were presented. Conflicts between work and family result from work role demands or constraints that are incompatible with family role obligations and values. Yet contemporary models of the work/family interface typically fail to take into account the major social changes of the last 10 to 15 years; changes affecting not only the demographic composition of the work force, but also the values, aspirations, and roles of men and women in the family. Some of these changes clash with traditional organizational assumptions and expectations, thereby increasing the likelihood that male as well as female employees will experience

work/family conflicts. Research on the work/family interface needs to assess the nature of the obligations individuals experience in their work and family roles and the characteristics of the work environment that mitigate or exacerbate the experience of conflict. It was argued that it would be useful to conceptualize family role demands along two separate dimensions: household maintenance obligations and obligations to maintain and support family relationships. It was also suggested that, in addition to the number of hours worked, schedule flexibility, job discretion, and level of job stress also be considered as potential work-related sources of work/family conflict. Empirical and logical arguments supporting these suggestions were presented, as were several methodological considerations.

Utilization of Findings:

This review and analysis of the literature on work and families will serve as a reference to researchers who design and implement studies in the Army Families Research Program. It suggests new avenues of study and will serve as one of several literature reviews that will provide a theoretical and empirical basis for the research the Army Research Institute will be conducting over the next several years.

THE EFFECTS OF WORK ON FAMILY LIFE: A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE LITERATURE

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
Organization and Scope of the Paper	4
Emphasis on Dual Career Couples	5
I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE FROM 3 STREAMS OF RESEARCH	6
Spillover/Compensation Research	6
Research on Dual Career Couples	13
Work/Family Conflict Literature	20
II. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES IN THE WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT LITERATURE	28
Conceptualization and Measurement of Role Demands	29
Conceptualization and Measurement of Work/Family Conflict	33
III. IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGES FOR WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT	41
Organizational Expectations and Assumptions	41
Social Changes Affecting the Work/Family Interface	43
Summary of the Analysis of Social Changes	55
IV. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	55
V. REFERENCES	60

THE EFFECTS OF WORK ON FAMILY LIFE:
A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary society there is wide-spread interest in the effects of work on family life. The "myth of separate worlds" Kanter (1977) referred to has been dispelled, and the potential for conflict between these two spheres of life is commanding increasing attention. The relatively new focus on the interrelationships between work and family life appears to stem largely from the recent influx of women into the work force.

In 1970, 50% of the women in this country between the ages of 25 and 44 were working outside the home. By 1984, 70% of the women in this age bracket were working, and the percentage is expected to exceed 80% by 1995 (Fullerton, 1985). The jump in the percentage of women in the labor force is attributable for the most part to the dramatic increase in the number of working mothers. The labor force participation rates of married women with children under the age of six increased 20% in just over a decade; from 30% in 1970 to 50% in 1983 (Waldman, 1983). Even more remarkable is the fact that the labor force participation rates of women with children under the age of one has doubled in the last 15 years, increasing from 24% in 1970 to 49% in 1985 (Hayghe, 1986).

The dramatic changes in the demographic composition of the work force have had a major impact on the needs and concerns of contemporary workers. Child care for working parents and related concerns about parental leave have become major employment issues of the 1980's. A number of research organizations and advocacy groups are devoting a great deal of energy to efforts to document the concerns of working parents and publicize the need for new, more flexible options in the work place. These organizations (e.g., Catalyst, the Conference Board, Bank Street College, National Association of Working Women, New Ways to Work) appear to be capturing the attention of employers and policy makers. A Family and Medical Leave Act was recently introduced to Congress with the enthusiastic support of a variety of groups concerned with family issues, and active opposition from associations of employers (e.g., the National Association of Manufacturers). If approved, the bill would establish a federal minimum standard for unpaid leave from work following the birth of a child or when seriously ill children or parents require home care. Federally mandated leave policies would alleviate one of the major problems of working parents. Similarly, the establishment of federally subsidized day care centers and employer sponsored child care referral systems and reimbursement plans are likely to help a number of working parents. However, many more subtle issues regarding the impact of work on family life remain to be addressed by individual employers.

The popular press is helping to define and publicize some of the issues facing individuals in dual worker, or two job families. Magazines like Working Mother and Working Woman include articles on career management, coping with stress and conflicts, evaluating employers and meeting child care needs. National news magazines have featured cover stories on the child care problems of working parents (e.g., The Number 1 Cause of Executive Guilt: Who's Taking Care of the Children and How Will They Turn Out?, Fortune, February, 1987; Who's Bringing Up Baby?, Time, June, 1987), and Fortune magazine commissioned a

large scale national survey on the work related family problems of employees with children. There are even popular cartoon strips (e.g., Cathy, Doonesbury) offering a running social commentary on the trials and tribulations of the dual career lifestyle.

The new interest in the effects of work on family life is also evidenced in the issues addressed by academic researchers. Family sociologists are addressing the impact of women's employment on family adjustment and marital happiness (e.g., Fendrich, 1984; Kessler and McRae, 1982; Locksley, 1980), clinical psychologists have written articles outlining issues relevant to the counseling of dual career couples (e.g., Johnson and Johnson, 1980; Price-Bonham and Murphy, 1980), and economists and sociologists are examining the domestic division of labor and family roles of men in light of changing patterns of employment (Juster and Stafford 1985; Miller and Garrison, 1982; Pleck, 1983). In addition, studies on the antecedents of work/family conflict (e.g., Greenhaus and Beutell, 1982, 1983; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979a, 1979b) and the problems confronting dual career couples (e.g., Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1976, 1980) have emerged as fairly well defined streams of research.

The current research interest in the experience of conflicts between work and family life is especially timely. Thirty-four percent (34%) of the married men and 37% of the married women in a large, nationally representative sample of working adults reported that work and family life interfered with each other (Pleck, Staines and Lang, 1980). The survey commissioned by Fortune indicated that 37% of the men and 41% of the women with children under the age of 12, felt that their jobs interfered with family life (Chapman, 1987). Conflicts are even more prevalent when there are preschoolers in the home. In one high tech firm, 51% of the men and 68% of the women with children under the age of 6 reported that work and family responsibilities interfered with each other "a great deal" (Love, Galinsky and Hughes, 1987).

The negative consequences of work/family conflict for overall quality of life and emotional well-being have been well documented. The experience of conflict or interference between work and family life is psychologically stressful (Pleck, 1983; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976) and has even been found to be associated with physical symptoms of stress (Cooke and Rousseau, 1984). Employees who experience high levels of work/family conflict are also less likely to be satisfied with family life (Anderson-Kulman and Paludi, 1986; Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connelly, 1983) and life in general (Cooke and Rousseau, 1984; Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981; Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connelly, 1983; Pleck, et al., 1980).

Work/family conflicts also appear to have implications for organizations in terms of the way employees respond to their jobs and evaluate their employment options. A number of studies have shown that employees who experience conflicts between work and family life are less likely to be satisfied with their jobs (Anderson-Kulman and Paludi, 1986; Cartwright, 1978; Cooke and Rousseau, 1984; Hall and Gordon, 1973; Pleck, et al., 1980; Shamir, 1983). The effects of work on family life also appear to be a factor in decisions to accept a job, promotion or transfer, or seek a new position outside the present organization. In the recent Fortune survey, for example, one fifth of the male

respondents and one quarter of the female respondents reported having sought a less demanding job in order to have more time for their families (Chapman, 1987). Furthermore, 30% of the men and 26% of the women reported that they had already refused a job, promotion, or transfer because it would have meant less time for their families.

In summary, conflicts between work and family life appear to be increasingly prevalent in contemporary society, and the experience of such conflicts has negative implications for both employees and organizations. Industrial/organizational psychologists need to take note of this phenomenon, both because of the importance of the phenomenon itself, and because of the implication of work/family conflict for organizational behavior. It appears that researchers concerned with such variables as organizational choice, job satisfaction and turnover need to update their models and expand their focus if they are to predict organizational attitudes and behavior in the contemporary work force. Employees today appear to be evaluating their jobs and making career decisions on the basis of more than just their experiences in the work environment. The relationships between work and family and the implications of work for both family life and the quality of life in general appear to be increasingly important factors.

These considerations argue for the importance in industrial/organizational psychology of research on the work related antecedents and consequences of work/family conflict. What is needed first, however, is a framework that provides a way of conceptualizing the relevant variables and points to the factors in the work environment most likely to have negative effects on family life. In order to be relevant to the current generation of employees, this framework needs to address the ways work can affect family life in a work force where the majority of employees have working spouses, and values with regard to work and family are changing rapidly. This is the primary purpose of the present literature review and analysis: to provide a framework for thinking about how work affects family life in contemporary society, and to identify the dimensions of work role obligations most likely to be relevant to the experience of conflicts between work and family.

This task is approached in two ways. First, literature from three different streams of research is reviewed with an emphasis on identifying how the relationship between work and family is currently conceptualized, and what types and sources of work/family conflict have been examined. Second, the implications of fairly recent social changes for the experience of work/family conflict are examined in light of traditional organizational assumptions concerning the family structure and motivational patterns of employees. Drawing upon both the review of the literature and the analysis of the implications of changing career values and marital relationships, a number of propositions are developed concerning the ways work can affect family life. The propositions developed throughout the paper concerning the work related antecedents of conflict, and the two dimensions of family obligations most relevant to the analysis of the effects of work on family are summarized in the final section of the paper.

Organization and Scope of the Paper

The literature reviewed in the first section of the paper comes from three relatively independent bodies of research. Each stream of research has its roots in a different research tradition or discipline. As a result, there has been little integration of conceptual frameworks or empirical results the across these lines of inquiry.

Research conducted within the spillover/compensation framework is addressed first. This framework is sociological in origin, stemming from interest in the relationship between the nature of work and experiences and attitudes in non-work life. A number of organizational behavior researchers have adopted this framework to guide their research on the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction. Bartolome and Evans (1980) have expanded the spillover/compensation framework further to provide a more relevant, theoretical basis for the examination of the spillover of emotional states from work to family.

The second body of literature reviewed is the research focusing on dual career couples. The studies most relevant to the present objective were conducted in the early 1970's, primarily by family sociologists. These early dual career studies were concerned with identifying and categorizing the major barriers (e.g., Holmstrom, 1972) and dilemmas (e.g., Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1976) dual career couples faced in their efforts to integrate work and family life. More recent dual career research tends to focus on how variations across dual career couples or variations in the experiences of husbands and wives in dual career couples are related to various personal, family and career outcomes (e.g., Bryson, Bryson and Johnson, 1978; Simpson and England, 1982).

The third body of literature reviewed consists of those studies concerned specifically with the experience and antecedents of work/family conflict. Most, but not all, are based on a role theory perspective of work/family conflict where conflict is viewed as the result of conflicting or incompatible demands from two or more roles. This orientation to the analysis of work/family conflicts guides the conceptualization of work/family conflict in the present paper. Most of the work/family studies reviewed in this section come from the organizational or vocational behavior literature, although a few studies from journals concerned with marriage and the family are also included.

The review of the work/family conflict literature is the most comprehensive, both in terms of empirical results and the discussion of conceptual and methodological issues. The analysis is fairly critical because it is the literature within this domain that appears to be providing the direction for current research on the interface between work and family in industrial/ organizational psychology. The limitations of the conceptual framework underlying most studies in this area are understandable given the recency of the interest in work/family conflict. However, it is suggested that future research may be more fruitful if more careful attention is given to the conceptualization of work and family role pressures and the measurement of different types of work/family conflicts. The critique basically suggests that current efforts to operationalize the constructs of the interrole conflict

perspective are not very helpful in terms of identifying the work related antecedent of conflict. Current approaches also fail to give adequate consideration to the special needs and conflicts likely to be experienced by individuals in nontraditional marital relationships and dual career families.

Given the limitations of current work/family conflict studies, the second section of the paper adopts a more analytical approach to the identification of different types and work related sources of conflict. The first part of this section addresses organizational and occupational expectations, with a focus on the traditional assumptions about family structure and employee motivations that appear to underlie organizational expectations. The second part of this section documents social changes of the decade and a half that appear especially relevant to the study of the work/family interface. Implications of these changes for the experience of work/family conflict are suggested, and new ways of conceptualizing individuals in terms of career orientations and marital relationships are presented.

Emphasis on Dual Career Couples

The analysis of the implications of social changes for work/family conflict focuses primarily on dual career couples. Couples are defined as being "dual career" versus "dual earner" couples when both spouses are engaged in occupational pursuits typically classified as careers. Careers are defined as jobs that are highly salient personally, have a developmental sequence, and require a high degree of commitment (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). Managers, professionals and high level technical personnel, for example, are generally viewed as having careers. In dual earner families, both spouses work, but the work of one or both does not fit the description of a career. The term "dual worker" family is used to describe any family where both spouses hold jobs outside the home.

The dual career emphasis in the analysis is chosen for two reasons. First, the number of dual career couples appears to be growing rapidly, and the values and work orientations of this group may be especially characteristic of the latest generation of employees. Second, organizational expectations and policies appear to be especially problematic when both spouses have demanding careers to coordinate. The focus on dual career couples, however, is not intended to suggest that work does not affect the family lives of single earner or dual earner couples. The impact of work on the emotional well-being and family systems of dual earner couples may, in fact, be even greater than the impact of work on dual career couples because the former are likely to have fewer employment options and financial resources (Aldous, 1982; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979; Lien, 1974; Piotrkowski, 1979). However, it is precisely because of these differences in resources and options, and the differences between "careerists" and "job holders" in terms of education, attitudes and the nature of their work demands, that work/family conflicts experienced by dual earner and dual career couples need to be addressed separately. A comprehensive treatment of the implications of various work situations and requirements for the family lives of two earner couples is greatly needed, but this analysis is beyond the scope of the present review. Except for occasional references to research based on working class families, the issues particularly relevant to dual earner couples are not specifically addressed in the present paper.

The section to follow consists of an overview and review of the literature in the three streams of research deemed most relevant to the present purpose: the spillover/compensation literature, the dual career literature, and the research on the antecedents of work/family conflict.

I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE FROM THREE STREAMS OF RESEARCH

The focus of each review in this section is on the identification of the different ways work can interfere with or conflict with family life. Each review begins with a general overview of the field, then more specific issues are addressed. Conceptual and methodological issues relevant to research conducted within the spillover/compensation and the work/family conflict frameworks are discussed. Conceptual and methodological issues are not addressed in the review of the dual career research because the focus of the relevant research in this area is on describing types of "dilemmas", rather than testing hypotheses derived from a particular conceptual framework.

Spillover/Compensation Research

Spillover, compensation and segmentation are terms that describe three possible relationships among elements of the work and the non-work domains of life. When there is a positive relationship between a work and non-work attributes or attitudes spillover effect from one domain to the other is inferred. A compensatory relationship is said to exist when there is a negative correlation between work and non-work measures, and the absence of a significant correlation is viewed as evidence supporting segmentation or independence hypotheses.

Three basic types of research have been conducted within the spillover/compensation framework. One stream of research, sociological in orientation, examines the relationship between the nature of work and the choice of leisure activities, social and political attitudes or the level of social involvement (e.g., Kornhauser, 1965; Meissner, 1971; Parker, 1981; Staines and Pagnucco, 1977). A related line of inquiry, but one that reflects the orientation of organizational psychologists, examines the relationship between the attributes of work activities, or task characteristics, and the attributes of non-work activities (e.g., Champoux, 1978, 1981; Chisholm, 1978; Rousseau, 1978).

A third type of research conducted within the spillover framework addresses the relationship between work and non-work attitudes and feelings. In most studies of this kind the focus is on the relationship between job satisfaction and some measure of life satisfaction, general happiness, or satisfaction with non-work areas of life (Bamundo and Kopelman, 1980; Iris and Barrett, 1972; Kornhauser, 1965; Orpen, 1978; Rousseau, 1978; Schmitt and Mellon, 1980; Steiner and Truxillo, 1987). This last group of studies appears to have the greatest relevance to the examination of the way work affects family life.

A review of the literature on the relationship between job and life satisfaction indicates that modest positive correlations are obtained more often than zero and negative correlations. These correlations have been interpreted as supporting the spillover hypothesis. However, given the nature

of the measures of life satisfaction typically used, one might question this interpretation. With some exceptions (e.g. Orpen, 1978; Rousseau, 1978) researchers examining the "spillover" of job satisfaction to non-work life typically use global measures of life satisfaction. For example one study asked: "In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days?" (Bamundo and Kopelman, 1980). Others have used similar measures, or adjectives describing how people feel about their present life (Chacko, 1983). Even when items measuring satisfaction with family and leisure have been included, interpretations of the spillover of job satisfaction to non-work life have been based on correlations with the global measure of life satisfaction (Bedeian and Marbert, 1979; Iris and Barrett, 1972). Global measures of life satisfaction implicitly include feelings about work (at least to the extent that work is important enough to matter to life satisfaction). Correlations between job satisfaction and life satisfaction might therefore be appropriately interpreted as indicating the contribution of job satisfaction to overall life satisfaction, rather than as evidence of spillover effects. A number of studies do, in fact, explicitly address the issue of the contribution of job satisfaction to overall life satisfaction (Benin and Nienstadt, 1985; London, Crandall & Seals, 1977; Rice, Near & Hunt, 1979; Weaver, 1978). In these studies job satisfaction is viewed as only one of many components of life satisfaction, and analyses are designed to assess the unique variance in life satisfaction associated with different components. The results of these studies generally highlight the importance of family and satisfaction with married life as the most important contributors to overall life satisfaction.

Several authors (e.g., Kabanoff, 1980; Near, Rice and Hunt, 1980) have noted the limitations of current conceptualizations of spillover, compensation and segmentation hypotheses and have proposed alternative frameworks. It appears, however, that the framework itself is useful if applied more appropriately to the analysis of work/non-work relationships. Below, the theoretical underpinnings of the three types of relationships are examined, and implications for the analysis of how work affects family life are addressed.

Theoretical origins of the spillover/compensation framework

Theoretical support for the independent or segmented relationship between work and non-work comes largely from Dubin's (1976) assertion that among individuals for whom work is not a "central life interest" work has little bearing on the way life is experienced or needs are satisfied outside of work. However, there has been little interest recently in pursuing this line of research in light of the ambiguity of Dubin's measure of the centrality of work (it asks where an individual would prefer to engage in different types of activities) and general acceptance of the notion that for most individuals experiences in the work domain are related in some fashion to experiences in the non-work domain (Kabanoff, 1980). The independence hypothesis appears to be proposed as a possibility in this body of research largely to provide a logical alternative to spillover and compensation hypotheses.

In light of the lack of attention given to the conceptualization of the compensation hypothesis, one could suspect that this relationship is also proposed primarily to provide an alternative to the spillover hypothesis.

Researchers proposing to examine the compensatory hypothesis imply that there is a theoretical basis for their analyses, yet tests of the relationship (negative correlations between a work and a non-work measure) do not appear to reflect any well thought out theoretical position. According to Kabanoff (1980), Wilensky (1960) articulated the compensatory relationship largely on the basis of Engel's observations concerning the "intemperance" of English working men in their leisure activities. This led Wilensky to describe the compensatory relationship as one where workers try to "let off steam" after work, and engage in "excessive attempts" to make up for deprivations at work (Kabanoff, 1980).

This conceptualization suggests that compensatory behavior occurs only when work is fulfilling, and it does not necessarily imply that efforts to make up for deprivations at work will be constructive, or result in a unfulfilling and satisfying non-work life. In fact, it suggests the opposite, in the characterization of compensatory behaviors as "excessive" and "letting off steam". Yet these points are seldom acknowledged in tests of the compensatory hypothesis.

Few researchers examining spillover, compensatory and independent relationships qualify their hypotheses by specifying that compensation is only expected to operate when a job is intrinsically unfulfilling (Chisholm, 1978; Schmitt and Mellon, 1980, are exceptions). This has led to analyses suggesting that workers in fulfilling, satisfying jobs may try to compensate in non-work life by being unhappy (e.g., Bamundo and Kopelman, 1980; Chacko, 1983; Iris and Barrett, 1972; Staines, 1980). Statements for example, that dissatisfied workers would have to be more happy in life than satisfied workers for the compensation hypothesis to be supported (Iris and Barrett, 1972), clearly have little basis in theoretical formulations of the construct. This is unfortunate, because it would appear to be important to the examination of work/non-work effects to learn whether or not individuals can effectively compensate for unfulfilling work in non-work life, and how, or under what conditions they do so. The research of Staines and Pagnucco (1977), for example, suggests that major life resources (e.g., education, health, income) may mitigate the tendency of job related depression to curtail involvement in leisure and family activities.

The spillover hypothesis appears to be the primary focus of interest in the research conducted within this framework, and tests of the hypothesis appear to have at least some basis in a theoretical argument. The roots of the spillover hypothesis have been traced to Marxian thinking about the relationship between the nature of man's productive endeavors and his feelings about self and society in general (Gruenberg, 1980; Kabanoff, 1980; Wilensky, 1960). Theorists within the Marxian tradition were concerned particularly with analyzing the impact of mechanical, routine, "dehumanizing" work on the larger context of an individual's life. On the basis of the assumption that there is a universal need for "expressively rewarding work", adherents of the Marxian perspective take the position that work which does not allow a person to realize his productive capacities, exert some control over his work and engage in free and creative activity, results in the experience of alienation (Gruenberg, 1980).

The term alienation connotes a general sense of estrangement from life and self (Erikson, 1986; Gruenberg, 1980). Erikson (1986) describes it as a process whereby people are "reduced in stature and diminished in spirit", as a result of losing contact with the products of their own labor. He suggests that as "this raid on their personalities is repeated every day of their working lives, [individuals] become more and more incomplete human beings, facing life with dulled moral reflexes, blurred perceptions, and an impaired ability to think matters through" (p. 2).

This is alienation and spillover from work to non-work in its most dramatic form. However, less profound and more specific feelings (e.g., physical exhaustion, emotional apathy, mental debasement and general feeling of "misery rather than well-being") are also expected to be associated with routine, mechanical work in the alienation framework (Gruenberg, 1980, p. 251). Studies of industrial workers lend support to this notion. Workers in jobs characterized by low levels of autonomy and skill utilization are more likely than individuals in more enriched jobs to experience negative emotions at work (e.g. monotony, isolation) and lower levels of general life satisfaction and mental health (Gardell, 1976; Kornhauser, 1965).

Conceptual and methodological issues

A review of the origins of the spillover, compensation, and segmentation hypotheses suggests that this framework was originally intended to describe possible relationships between work and non-work for workers in low level, unfulfilling jobs. Expanding the framework to include the assessment of work/non-work relationships for a wider variety of occupational groups is not in and of itself problematic. Bartolome and Evans (1980) have done it very successfully. However, the extension of the framework requires careful attention to the theoretical implications of differences in the nature of the work, and differences in sample characteristics across occupational groups. As noted above, logical tests of the compensatory relationship can only be conducted within samples of employees in relatively deprived work settings. Tests of the independence of work and family attitudes should specify the particular conditions under which work and family factors are expected to be unrelated. There is evidence, for example, that work/nonwork attitudes and activities are more likely to be related within more "advantaged", or career vs. noncareer populations. Correlations between work and nonwork measures tend to be positive and significant more often for individuals who are higher in socio-economic status (Bamundo and Kopelman, 1980; London, Crandall and Seals, 1977), perceived quality of the work experience (Champoux, 1978), job scope (Champoux, 1981), self-perception (Bedeian and Marbert, 1979), and occupational status (Weaver, 1978). The greater salience of work roles may be responsible for these moderating effects (consistent with Dubin's hypotheses about work role centrality); or differences in major life resources across careerists and job-holders may account for differences in the way work is related to nonwork (Staines, 1980; Staines and Pagnucco, 1977).

Tests of the spillover hypothesis also need to consider differences in the nature of the work across occupational groups in determining which emotional states are the most appropriate focus of analysis. As noted above, most studies in the organizational behavior literature that address work/nonwork

spillover effects base their conclusions on correlations between measures of work and nonwork satisfaction. It can be argued, however, that relationships between measures of job and life satisfaction are not the most appropriate way to analyze the effects of subjective work experiences on nonwork or family life.

Assessment of spillover in working class samples

Gruenberg (1980), suggested that cognitive compensatory mechanisms may affect the way individuals evaluate their jobs. He interpreted the results of his research as suggesting that individuals in intrinsically less rewarding jobs learn to place a higher value on the extrinsic aspects of their jobs because intrinsic rewards are unavailable. Satisfaction with extrinsic aspects of the job may thus be translated into reports that the job is satisfying in general. High levels of satisfaction reported by individuals in "alienating" work situations may simply reflect a realistic accommodation of expectations to the reality that intrinsic rewards are not available. This notion is consistent with the idea that job satisfaction is a result of the congruence between expected and obtained outcomes (Locke, 1969). Yet, as Gruenberg argues, a high level of reported satisfaction does not necessarily imply that individuals in low level jobs are not in need of intrinsically rewarding work, and do not suffer the negative psychological consequences of unfulfilling work.

Satisfaction measures may also fail to tap emotional reactions to the job for other reasons. Cognitive dissonance theories and Piotrkowski's (1979) clinical analysis of reactions to work suggest that it may be psychologically uncomfortable to admit that one is dissatisfied with a job situation when there are no available alternatives. Feelings of depression, hostility or powerlessness associated with undesirable work situations may still, however, be experienced by workers and affect family life. Piotrkowski (1979) made a powerful case for this effect in her intensive case study of 13 working class families. The working husbands in her sample attempted to disengage themselves from their work, and evaluate their jobs neutrally or positively, focusing on their instrumental value. Yet, despite initial reports that their jobs were satisfactory, over the course of in-depth interviews, the men in this study finally admitted to feeling frustrated, angry, "beaten down", and defeated by their work situations. Furthermore, in spite of their general beliefs that they were successful in insulating their families from their feelings about their work, extensive interviews with spouses and observations of the families indicated that their feelings did in fact have profound effects on their family lives. Often it took several hours for feelings of hostility, tension, or physical or psychological fatigue generated at work to dissipate, and during this time the men were emotionally unavailable to their families.

In summary, assessment of spillover effects in working class samples might be more fruitful and theoretically defensible if emotional states suggested in the alienation framework are the focus of study. In a nationally representative sample, a number of respondents who indicated that work interfered with family life said that fatigue, tension and irritability were major factors. The work of Piotrkowski (1979) and Staines and Pagnucco (1977) suggests that depression and hostility may also spill over from work to nonwork.

Piotrkowski (1979) suggests that the spillover of emotional states from work to nonwork affects families by reducing the extent to which the individual is "emotionally available" to family members. A useful research approach might be to try to identify which characteristics of the work environment tend to be most detrimental to family life in terms of frequency, duration or severity of negative emotional spillover. Bartolome and Evans (1980) offer a useful place to start in their identification of factors likely to cause emotional spillover in managers. Many of the work related characteristics they identify could be applied to noncareer as well as career samples.

Spillover of negative emotional states in career samples

Bartolome and Evans (1980) note that most surveys of managers show that they are more satisfied with their work lives than lower level personnel. The relatively high level of satisfaction experienced by professionals has reinforced the general assumption that, unlike lower level employees, professionals are not subject to the spillover of negative emotional states. Bartolome and Evans (1979, 1980) argue that this is not the case. Based on surveys of 532 managers, and semi-structured interviews with 44 of these managers and their wives, Bartolome and Evans concluded that the spillover of emotional states from work to private life is widespread among managers. They further state that what creates this spillover is clear; it is stress.

Any number of situations, problems and concerns at work can create stress. The consequences of these concerns are similar, however. Managers come home from work feeling tense, anxious or preoccupied. Forty percent of the wives interviewed by Bartolome and Evans (1980) identified the spillover of worry and tension as the most negative effect of work on family life. It was perceived as being more damaging to family life than long work hours or absences due to travel. Over half of the husbands in the sample also identified the spillover of emotional states from work to family as the dominant relationship they experienced between work and family.

The effects of stress on family life of the managers studied by Bartolome and Evans are almost identical to the effects described by Piotrkowski (1979) in her study of working class families. Managers who carried work related stress home at night were psychologically unavailable to their families. Wives reported that husbands were distant, unresponsive, insensitive to the needs of other family members.

These findings are consistent with the results obtained by Burke, Weir and DuWors (1980) in their examination of the effects of the occupational demands experienced by men in senior level administrative positions on the well-being of their wives. Burke et al. (1980) found that when husbands experienced high levels of stress and pressure at work, their wives reported strong negative effects on home and family, a greater incidence of negative marital behaviors (e.g., being tired, irritating habits, not showing love), and lower levels of marital satisfaction. In addition, while the number of hours worked per week also had significant negative effects on family life, the effects of work pressures (e.g., stress in communicating with others, and pressures for quality) were consistently larger. The results of this study were not

interpreted in terms of the spillover framework, yet they clearly suggest the spillover of negative emotional states from work to nonwork.

Bartolome and Evans (1980), on the basis of their observations of managers, proposed a "conceptual map" for analyzing the conditions under which different types of relationships are most likely to prevail. They suggested that the type of relationship experienced between work and nonwork is a function of three aspects of work: subjective feelings about work and career (i.e., satisfaction and success), the emotional state characterizing professional life (i.e., the general level of tension or stress experienced) and the psychological involvement in work and career. Emotional spillover is hypothesized to occur when the individual is moderately satisfied and still striving to be successful, is very involved with his or her career, and generally feels stressed at work. The primary sources of stress at work are proposed to be lack of fit between personality and the requirements of the job, adjusting to a new job, boredom with what one is doing, and environmental uncertainty.

The propositions suggested by Bartolome and Evans appear to provide a reasonable place to start in future research on the work related sources of negative emotional spillover. The considerable body of research on the sources of job stress may suggest additional variables to consider in spillover research (e.g., role conflict, work overload). Studies on the effects of work facilitation may also be helpful. When job performance is inhibited by such factors as inadequate job information or preparation; lack of time, materials or equipment; and poor support from others, individuals tend to experience frustration (Peters, O'Connor, and Rudolph, 1980). As Bartolome and Evans suggest, when the employee is involved enough in the job that performance and success are important, the frustration engendered may be great enough to spill over into family life.

Summary and recommendations

The spillover of negative emotional states from work to nonwork appears to be one important way work affects both families and employees in the context of their family lives. The spillover of negative emotional states appears to render employees less emotionally or psychologically available to meet the needs of family members or enjoy family relationships.

It was argued that these effects are not likely to be captured by studies addressing the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction. It was also suggested that possible differences between career and noncareer employees need to be addressed in research on spillover. While many of the same situational characteristics may produce frustration in both groups, basic differences in the nature of the work itself and the resources available to these two groups may be a factor in the pervasiveness or severity of spillover effects. For example, frustration or despair stemming from the feeling of being trapped in a low level, demeaning job is likely to have more profound and constant effects on employees and family life than occasional experiences of job stress in a basically rewarding career.

Attempts to assess the effects of work on families in terms of negative

emotional spillover might focus on the frequency of effects (e.g., how many nights a week one is too irritable or depressed to want to play with the children), as well as the intensity (e.g., being slightly vs. extremely tired) and duration (e.g., it usually takes no time at all, 20 minutes, an hour, two hours or more to unwind from work).

In short, the effects of the spillover of negative emotional states from work to nonwork appears to be an important phenomenon to consider when assessing the effects of work on family life. In the next section, research from the dual career literature is reviewed.

Research on Dual Career Couples

The orientation of much of the research on dual career couples reflects the influence of Rhona and Robert Rapoport, the pioneers of dual career research. They coined the term "dual career family" in 1969, to refer to families with at least one child, where both the husband and wife pursue careers. Careers were defined as "jobs which are highly salient personally, have a developmental sequence, and require a high degree of commitment" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969, p. 3).

Within the dual career literature, both spouses in a dual career marriage are usually assumed to be highly involved and invested in both their careers and their families. Consequently, conflicts between the career needs of the two spouses and conflicts between work and family demands are presumed to be inherent in the dual career lifestyle.

Early dual career researchers, and those following the tradition established by Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) were interested primarily in identifying the specific types of conflicts or "dilemmas" dual career couples faced in their attempts to meet both family and their career goals (Bebbington, 1973; Epstein, 1971; Heckman, Bryson and Bryson, 1978; Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971, 1976; St. John Parsons, 1978). Typically, a family case study methodology was employed in these studies. This involved interviewing both spouses in a small number (ranging from 12 to 53) of dual career couples and analyzing the results qualitatively.

Later dual career studies tended to be more focused, testing specific hypotheses rather than documenting concerns and variations across dual career couples. Issues addressed in these later studies include the career achievements of women in dual career marriages (Bryson, Bryson, Licht and Licht, 1976; Bryson, Bryson and Johnson, 1978; Butler and Paisley, 1977), joint job-seeking (Berger, Foster and Wallston, 1978) factors related to marital and family adjustment (Hardesty and Betz, 1980; Simpson and England, 1982), and correlates of career salience (Sekeran, 1982). Other researchers (e.g., Handy, 1978; Heckman, Bryson and Bryson, 1977; St. John Parsons, 1978) continued to document the problems of dual career couples, but focused on particular occupational groups (e.g., psychologists, managers, military officers). Marital types and patterns of involvement in work and family have also been a focus of research in the dual career literature (Atkinson and Boles, 1984; Bailyn, 1970, 1978; Garland, 1972; Smith and Reid, 1986; Weingarten, 1978; Ygey and Brett, 1985).

The earlier, qualitative research documenting the problems of dual career couples is most relevant to the present focus on the ways work affects family life. The work of Rapoport and Rapoport (1971, 1976) is especially relevant, and their classification of the types of dilemmas faced by dual career couples has provided an analytical framework for several subsequent studies (e.g., Bebbington, 1973; St John Parsons, 1978). In light of the comprehensiveness of their approach and the importance of their work in defining directions for subsequent research on dual career couples, the review of the dual career literature will focus on the contribution of the Rapoports.

Rapoport and Rapoport's initial interest in dual career couples began with a larger study in the late 1960's on the factors related to the participation of college educated women in the labor force (Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971). This survey data confirmed that there were few women who were willing and/or able to combine fulfilling, career-oriented work outside the home with the responsibilities of raising a family. Men and women were found to have similar work and career orientations prior to marriage, however, with the onset of marriage and children, men elevated their career aspirations and work commitments while women reduced theirs (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). In the national sample of married women college graduates (surveyed in 1968, 8 years after graduation) only 17% of those with children were seriously career oriented, and only 2/3 of this small group had worked continuously since marriage (Fogarty et al., 1971).

It was this small minority of women who had successfully combined both careers and families who were of interest to the Rapoports. These couples were seen as "pioneering a breakaway from the pattern of male-breadwinner/female-housewife stereotypes" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976, p.23). They saw in this group a variant pattern, both in terms of family structure and values, which they believed would become more prevalent given the direction of social and technological changes in the post-industrial era (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1972). The Rapoport's (1971, 1976) analyses of dual career couples were based on both survey results (a subsample of 200 dual career couples from the original Fogarty et al. (1971) study) and intensive case studies of 16 families.

Rapoport and Rapoport (1971, 1976) focused on three themes in their qualitative analysis of the data: variations in the lifestyle patterns of dual career couples, personal motivations of the individuals in successful dual career marriages, and the stresses and benefits inherent in the dual career lifestyle.

Lifestyle variations. One of the most important lifestyle variations across couples concerned the amount of flexibility individuals had to structure their work lives, and concomitantly the level and security of income afforded by the work situation. In terms of the flexibility dimension, one extreme was represented by the highly flexible but financially risky work style of the entrepreneur. At the other extreme was the bureaucratic work environment, where rules and organizational norms limited flexibility, but financial risks were minimal. Flexibility in the work setting was an important determinant of the ease with which partners could accommodate both family needs and the work schedules of their spouses. The importance of flexibility in the work role is corroborated in all the reported case study analyses of dual career couples and

professional women (Epstein, 1971; Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma, 1972; Yohalem, 1979).

Income was also an important factor for lifestyle options. A high, secure income on the part of one spouse (although often associated with less flexibility) could afford the other spouse the opportunity to take greater risks in his or own career. The combined income of the couple was also a determinant of the amount of outside help the couple could afford. The ability to hire household and child care help was observed to be an important factor in reducing the time related stresses of the dual career lifestyle.

Personal motivations. In terms of the personal motivations of the people in their sample, Rapoport and Rapoport found that husbands in successful dual career marriages were uniformly supportive of their wife's careers and seemed to derive satisfaction from their spouses' accomplishments. Other dual career researchers have also observed that husbands of career oriented women tend to be supportive; and higher levels of support on the part of husbands are consistently associated with reports of greater marital happiness and fewer work/family conflicts for wives (Bailyn, 1970; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979a; Holmstrom, 1972).

Rapoport and Rapoport suggested that the emotional investment each spouse had in the other's career development contributed to the ability of the couples they interviewed to take a joint perspective on the dual career situation, and at least attempt to resolve conflicts in the best interests of the family as a whole. The value of optimizing the opportunities of both partners was not always acted upon because of constraints in job situations and internal conflicts associated with violating social norms. However, the couples in this sample at least tried not to fall into the more typical pattern of always resolving conflicts in favor of the husband's career.

Strains and gains. The third theme in the Rapoports's analysis of dual career couples focused on what they broadly termed the "strains and gains" of the dual career lifestyle. Their account of strains and gains was an effort to document the ways "occupational and family life may be reciprocally affected by decisions in either sphere" (p. 299). They conceptualized the issues confronting dual career couples as "dilemmas", or "stress nodes" requiring resolution. These issues were also characterized as "socially structured sources of strain" because their roots were perceived to be the prevailing societal norms and organizational requirements. Other dual career researchers have also conceptualized the problems facing dual career in terms of institutional or social barriers (Holmstrom, 1972, Poloma, 1972).

The Rapoports emphasized, however, that the stress involved in these dilemmas is not all negative. Dilemmas "embody positive as well as negative potentials for the individuals and relationships concerned", and yield a "feeling of accomplishment and creativity when resolved, as well as relief from an irritant" (1976, p.299). Consistent with this notion, Epstein (1971) observed that the professional married women in her sample seemed proud of their ability to manage the stresses of their lives rather than resentful that they existed. Bebbington (1973) made a similar point in his analysis of stress in the dual career family. He distinguished between two types of stress dual

career couples might experience. One type of stress stems from inconsistencies between ideals and behavior; for example, dropping a career even though it is highly valued, or not being the type of parent one wants to be. The second type of stress stems from the intrinsic properties of the dual career lifestyle (e.g., inherent work/family and career/career conflicts). Bebbington noted that most dual career couples appear to be willing to accept a high level of the second type of stress in order to avoid the more deeply felt stress associated with conflicts between behavior and ideals.

The types of strains or dilemmas the Rapoport and others (e.g. Bebbington, 1973; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Sekeran, 1986; St. Johns Parsons, 1978) have observed in dual career couples include: overload, and normative, identity, social network, and role-cycling dilemmas. Overload and role-cycling dilemmas will be discussed in the greatest detail because these types of strains are the most directly related to organizational and occupational expectations.

Overload dilemmas. A key issue for dual career couples is how to meet domestic obligations without sacrificing the career potential of either spouse. When both partners have full-time, demanding work roles outside the home, the routine, time-consuming domestic work (e.g. shopping, cooking, cleaning, laundry) tends to get left undone or becomes "overtime" work. This creates the sense of overload and time pressure experienced to some degree by nearly all dual career families (Bryson et al., 1978; Epstein, 1971; Heckman, Bryson and Bryson, 1977; Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Yohalem, 1979).

Rapoport and Rapoport identified four factors which appeared to affect the extent of the overload and time related stress experienced by dual career couples. First, was the degree to which having children and a family life (as distinct from simply being married) was salient. All of the families in the Rapoport's interview sample included at least one child, and with one exception, both family life and children in particular were highly salient to the couples in the study. When the commitment to family interaction is high, family time is especially valuable and there is a limit to the amount of child care one is willing to delegate to outside help (even assuming the availability of very high quality child care providers). These factors increase the potential for the experience of overload.

A second factor proposed to be related to overload is the degree to which the couple aspires to a high standard of domestic living. Among most of the couples studied, clean, pleasant homes, good meals, and interesting vacations were highly valued. Having two careers in the family contributes to both the financial ability to achieve these goals and to the time pressures that make the accomplishment of these standards more difficult. In some cases, couples accepted a lower standard of domestic living in order to reduce the overload generated by higher standards. Lowering standards has also been identified by other researchers as a common coping response to the experience of overload (Gilbert and Holahan, 1982; Gray, 1983).

A third factor affecting overload is the degree to which there is a satisfactory reapportionment of household tasks. Most couples employed some type of domestic help, but the extent to which the remaining household tasks were shared, as opposed to being relegated to the wife, was a determinant of

the overload experienced by women. Despite the relatively egalitarian ideals expressed by most dual career couples, women still tended to bear the bulk of the domestic responsibilities in early dual career couples. Early patterns of sex-role socialization and the "institutionalized role of women in the family" (Poloma, 1972) tend to reinforce traditional, gender-based patterns of division of labor in the home. Women may also be more skilled or efficient in the performance of household tasks as a result of early training. To the extent that decisions about the division of labor in the home are based on the relative skill or efficiency levels of the marital partners in this domain (as suggested by Juster and Stafford, 1985) women are likely to have greater household maintenance obligations than their husbands. However, Rapoport and Rapoport observed that there did appear to be adjustments in the division of household work based on family stages and the external constraints of the spouses. Any adjustments that reduced the work load of women tended to reduce their experience of overload. However, fuller participation in domestic activities on the part of husbands tended to increase the overload they then experienced. As Pleck (1973) noted, redistribution of the traditionally female household responsibilities to men, without a corresponding decrease in occupational expectations, is simply likely to shift the burden of stress, not alleviate it.

The fourth factor related to overload was the extent to which internal conflicts or emotional distress were experienced as a result of having to lower standards, neglect certain obligations or delegate symbolically important family tasks to outsiders. This is the type of stress Bebbington (1973) suggested that most dual career couples try very hard to avoid, the discrepancy between behaviors and ideals. Rapoport and Rapoport suggested that these secondary tensions could exacerbate the experience of physical overload, especially when, as is often the case, leisure time activities and vacations are sacrificed due to time pressures.

Normative dilemmas. Normative dilemmas are defined as "discrepancies between one's personal norms and the norms considered to prevail in one's social group about right and proper behavior" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976, p. 307). Employers or work colleagues may be a source of normative dilemmas if they imply that a strong career orientation on the part of a woman or a strong family orientation on the part of a man is inappropriate sex-role behavior. Bailyn (1984), for example, observed that male employees are often reluctant to admit that they sometimes take time off for family matters because this is still socially unacceptable in most organizations.

For women in dual career families, normative dilemmas are likely to center around their inability to live up to expectations concerning the role women should play in the family. The Rapoports note that the ability to negotiate work arrangements conducive to maintaining a strong family life may become an increasingly important, and hopefully increasingly possible solution to normative dilemmas of women. At the same time, employer acceptance of the fact that men also have important family obligations will help to resolve the normative dilemmas experienced by men.

Identity dilemmas. Identity dilemmas are similar to normative dilemmas except that they stem from conflicts internal to the individual. These

dilemmas may include internal conflicts over sex-role identification, occupational identity, and questions of status and achievement. The Rapoport's have coined the term "identity tension line" to suggest the point at which individuals reach the limit of the changes they can make to accommodate a dual career lifestyle without jeopardizing their own self-image. For the men in the Rapoport's study, the main areas of sensitivity concerned how much responsibility they could comfortably assume in the home, and the level of achievement, income or authority they could tolerate in their wives' careers relative to their own. For women, identity tension lines were related to their conceptions of themselves as good wives and mothers. The sensitivity of each spouse to the other's tension lines, and conscious or unconscious efforts to avoid threatening the other's self-image appeared to be important elements in the successful resolution of identity dilemmas.

In the case of both normative and identity dilemmas, the social changes resulting from the women's movement and the "normalization" of the dual career lifestyle make it less likely that these issues are as important in the 1980's as they were in the early stages of dual career research (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1980). Yet the effects of early sex-role socialization patterns are likely to be felt to some degree, at least for some time to come.

Social network dilemmas. The social networks of primary importance to this type of dilemma involve relatives and friends. These dilemmas appear to be basically a result of the lack of time and energy to maintain the type of relationships relatives, friends or the marital partners, themselves, would like to have. Coping with this dilemma typically involved limiting social contacts to the most important ones, and trying to get friends and relatives to understand the time constraints experienced by dual career couples.

Role cycling dilemmas. Role cycling dilemmas concern the meshing of the different demands or activities associated with different stages in the natural cycles of family and career roles. Dual career couples are likely to be subject to two different types of role cycling conflict, conflicts between careers and family, and conflicts between the careers of the two spouses.

The first type of conflict, the career-family role cycling dilemma, was felt primarily by women and was related to decisions concerning the timing of children. The Rapoport's analysis suggested that couples try to avoid overlapping the demanding early stages of parenthood with the early "establishment" phase of the wife's career. One strategy (the most common in the families studied) was to delay having children until both spouses were established in their careers and could benefit from the higher income and flexibility associated with higher level jobs. The second strategy was to have children first, deferring high career involvement until the family was complete. Both strategies generally involved trade-offs of either personal preferences about timing or the maximization of family or career opportunities. In either scenario, the effects of delays, interruptions and family demands on the woman's career were likely to be negative.

The second type of role-cycling dilemma, conflict between the demands of the two careers, had been experienced at some point by most of the couples in the study. Examples of this type of conflict included situations where one

spouse was offered a desirable job in another location but there were no comparable opportunities for the other spouse; and a situation where one spouse gave up a promising but financially risky business opportunity to enable his spouse to develop an entrepreneurial career of her own. A number of other types of dual career conflict could also be included in this category (e.g. conflicting travel schedules, simultaneous requirements for extensive overtime). In terms of resolution strategies, the couples sampled expressed the desire to resolve conflicts in a way that maximized family satisfaction and the career potential of both spouses. In actual practice, however, this was difficult to do, and career conflicts were typically resolved in favor of the husband's career. This was also the case in all the other studies of dual career couples and professional women reviewed here.

Gains of the dual career lifestyle. According to the Rapoport's analyses, the primary benefit of the dual career lifestyle appears to be the wife's ability to self-actualize. All of the women in the sample felt that they would feel frustrated and unhappy if they were unable to pursue their careers. Their careers fostered a sense of fulfillment in the women, and at the same time afforded their husbands a degree of pride and a sense of vicarious satisfaction. Other researchers, however, have suggested that the shared understanding of career goals and constraints is also an important benefit of the lifestyle (Beutell and Greenhaus, 1982; St. John Parsons, 1978).

The financial gains of having both spouses working were not seen as a major benefit because the additional income was offset by the additional expenses associated with a second career (e.g. transportation, child care, clothing). The ability to earn a good living and command an equitable salary often had a symbolic significance for the dual career women, however, especially since in the years prior to equal opportunity legislation women were seldom paid salaries comparable to those of their male counterparts.

In terms of family life, the dual career parents generally concurred that their lifestyle was advantageous for their children. Couples generally felt that a working mother provided a second career role model and that having both parents working encouraged greater independence and resourcefulness in their children. A second benefit to the family stemmed from the satisfaction the mothers derived from their careers, and the fact that in most cases, neither partner pursued his or her single mindedly to the exclusion of family life. Without the constraints of families and working spouses, individuals might well have reached higher levels of achievement and income in their careers, but most felt that happier relationships resulted from balancing career aspirations with family life.

In summary, while the dual career lifestyle appears to be inherently stressful, the rewards of this arrangement are typically perceived to more than balance the negative aspects of the lifestyle. Bebbington (1973) made the point that rather than striving to minimize stress in their lives, dual career wives seem to implicitly accept a principle of 'stress-optimization'. Yet, as Rapoport and Rapoport (1976) note: "Attention is now gradually shifting to the possibility that new forms of work organization may be able to change the nature of demands on men and women and accommodate the wish for greater equity in the home" (p. 357). In other words, dual career couples may increasingly

expect that organizations will also compromise to facilitate the efforts of families to work out the kinds of lifestyle they desire. The implications of changing values and expectations will be more fully addressed following the review of the work/family conflict literature.

Work/Family Conflict Literature

The majority of work/family conflict studies are based on a role theory perspective of interrole conflict (Barnett, 1982; Baruch and Barnett, 1986; Beutell and Greenhaus, 1982, 1983; Frone and Rice, 1987; Gilbert and Holahan, 1982; Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981; Hall, 1972, 1975; Hall and Gordon, 1973; Herman and Gyllstrom, 1977; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979a, 1979b; Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connolly, 1983; Shamir, 1983). According to role theory (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, and Rosenthal, 1964), individuals simultaneously occupy a number of different roles in their lives. Each role (e.g., employee, spouse, parent) has associated with it a set of more or less formally defined expectations concerning performance and behavior appropriate to that role. Expectations with regard to appropriate role behaviors stem from societal norms, individual "role senders" (i.e., individuals who have authority or a stake in the performance of the role, like employers and spouses) and the internalized standards and values of the individual role incumbents themselves. Interrole conflict is experienced when the demands or role sender expectations from two or more roles are incompatible in some respect. Work/family conflict is viewed as a specific instance of interrole conflict. It is experienced when compliance with demands from one domain makes it difficult or impossible to comply with the demands of another role. The research on work/family conflict generally focuses on identifying the antecedents of conflict. Work and family related variables are typically conceptualized as sources of role demands or indicators of role pressures, and correlations between these variables and various measures of work/family conflict are examined.

In addition to the research derived specifically from the interrole conflict perspective, a number of work/family conflict studies have also been generated from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (Kingston and Nock, 1985; Nock and Kingston, 1984; Pleck, 1979; Pleck and Staines, 1982; Pleck, Staines and Lang, 1980; Staines and O'Connor, 1980; Staines and Pleck, 1986; Quinn and Staines, 1979). For the Quality of Employment Survey (QES), interviews were conducted with a nationally representative sample of 1,515 working adults who were over the age of 17 and worked more than 20 hours a week. Reports based on the QES data generally focus on identifying the demographic, family structure and work schedule variables associated with the experience of job/family interference. Although the assessment of work/family conflict in the QES (the job/family interference item) does not appear to be based specifically on the role theory approach, results of these studies are often interpreted from the interrole conflict perspective.

The family related variables most often addressed as antecedents of conflict in these studies include: parental status, or the number and ages of children (Beutell and Greenhaus, 1982; Cartwright, 1978; Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981; Keith and Schafer, 1980; Kingston and Nock, 1985; Pleck et al., 1980; Shamir, 1983); employment status of the spouse (Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981; Pleck and Staines, 1982; Pleck et al., 1980;) and the number of roles a

woman occupies (Barnett, 1982; Baruch and Barnett, 1986; Cooke and Rousseau, 1984; Hall, 1975; Herman and Gyllstrom, 1977; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979b). Studies focusing on the number or types of roles occupied typically look for differences in the experience of work/family conflict as a function of being single, married with no children, or married with children.

The work related variables addressed in these studies are generally limited to the number of hours worked (Beutell and Greenhaus, 1983; Burke et al., 1980; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979a; Keith and Schafer, 1980; Kingston and Nock, 1985; Pleck et al., 1980; Staines and O'Connor, 1980; Shamir, 1983) or the nature of the employee's work schedule (Pleck and Staines, 1982; Shamir, 1983; Staines and Pleck, 1986). Control over one's schedule or hours was assessed in two studies (Pleck, et al., 1980; Staines and Pleck, 1986) and work role expectations with regard to working after hours have been addressed in only one study (Cooke and Rousseau, 1984). The studies most likely to address work role characteristics are those based on the QES data. The more role oriented studies tend to focus on family structure variables as antecedents of conflict. Several researchers have also explored the effects of role salience or career commitment, and sex-role attitudes on the experience of conflict (Beutell and Greenhaus, 1982, 1983; Frone and Rice, 1987; Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979b).

Measures of work/family conflict

The definition of work/family conflict as a situation where role demands in two or more domains are incompatible (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985) does not provide much specific guidance for researchers attempting to operationalize the construct. As a consequence, a variety of quite diverse measures of work/family conflict have emerged in the literature. The most commonly used measures are described below.

Beutell and Greenhaus (1982, 1983) adopted a strategy first used by Hall (1972, 1975; Hall and Gordon, 1973) in his studies on how employed women coped with conflicts between work and family. The procedure involved first presenting the respondents (all married women) with a list of eight roles a woman might hold: daughter, employee, homemaker, mother, wife, student, volunteer, and self (i.e., personal interests). Participants were then instructed to describe as many as three situations that reflected conflict among the roles they held, specify the particular roles that were in conflict, and rate the intensity of the conflict on a 5-point scale.

In the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (Quinn and Staines, 1979) an open ended item was used in conjunction with a global measure of interference. The primary measure of work/family conflict was a single item asking: "How much do your job and your family life interfere with each other? A lot, somewhat, not too much, or not at all?" A parallel item also assessed the extent to which the job interfered with free-time activities. Individuals who responded "a lot" or "somewhat" to the interference items were asked to indicate how the two roles interfered with each other. The most frequent responses to this question for both the family and free-time interference items were "excessive work time", "schedule conflicts", and "fatigue and irritability" (Pleck, et al., 1980; Staines and O'Connor, 1980).

In the series of reports generated from the QES, the interference and open-ended items have been combined in several ways to provide measures of work/family and work/nonwork conflict. The job/free time activities interference item has been used as both a measure of work/leisure conflict (Staines and O'Connor, 1980), and in combination with the family interference item to assess work/nonwork conflict (Cooke and Rousseau, 1984). In Staines and Pleck (1984) indices of the severity of excessive work hours and schedule conflicts were derived from a combination of the work/family interference item and the open-ended responses.

Herman and Gyllstrom (1977) also included an interference item ("feeling that your job tends to interfere with your family life and responsibilities", from the Kahn et al. (1964) job related tension scale) as a measure of interrole conflict. However, in addition, they also asked how much conflict respondents felt with regard to simultaneous demands on their time from job or career and: a) maintenance of the home, b) personal activities, and c) family responsibilities associated with being a spouse or parent. In their assessment of the determinants of interrole conflict among male and female university professionals, all four measures of conflict (the interference item and the three separate work/other role conflict measures) were used as dependent variables. Correlations between the conflict measures were not reported.

Holahan and Gilbert (1979a, 1979b; Gilbert and Holahan, 1982) also focused on conflict between specific pairs of roles. Six separate scales consisting of three or four items each were developed to measure the conflict associated with all combinations of four major life roles: Professional, Spouse, Parent, and Self as Self-Actualized Person. A sample item from the Professional vs. Spouse scale reads "Wanting to be a 'good' spouse vs. being unwilling to risk taking the time from your professional work". An example of an item in the Professional vs. Parent scale is "Spending most evenings on work-related activities vs. spending most evenings with your family" (Holahan and Gilbert, 1979b). Participants were asked to respond to the items using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (causes no internal conflict) through 3 (causes some internal conflict) to 5 (causes high internal conflict). The reliabilities of the six scales were quite high (.75 to .88) and correlations among the scales ranged from .22 to .64 with a median intercorrelation of .44. The higher intercorrelations were found between areas with overlapping roles. Frone and Rice (1987) also used a work/family conflict scale based on Holahan and Gilbert's, excluding the "self" role.

Shamir (1983) developed an additive multi-item scale designed to yield a global index of work/nonwork conflict. Three of the six items in his scale referred to the time constraints of the job (i.e., the job not leaving the individual enough free time or time for family). Two other items addressed scheduling type problems (having to be at work when I'm needed at home, and not being able to participate in leisure activities that take place at the same time as work). The sixth item is the only one in any of the studies reviewed to assess the effect of family on work: "I am often worried at work by problems that I have with my family". The items in the scale exhibited an acceptably high level of internal consistency ($\alpha=.78$). Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connelly (1983) also developed and validated a multi-item scale measuring the

general experience of work/family conflict, however, it appears that this scale has not yet been used in an assessment of the antecedents of conflict.

Measures used in other studies addressed in this review are often not called "work/family conflict" measures, but the constructs tapped by the items are very similar. Cartwright (1978), for example, used a single item measure of "role harmony" in her study, and Keith and Schafer (1980) constructed a four item measure of "work/family role strain" tapping interference between work and family.

The differences in the work/family conflict measures are readily apparent. There are also similarities, however, in that nearly all assessments of conflict are based on having respondents indicate the extent to which they have experienced the specific instances or general feelings of conflict described in the scale items. Conflicts described in the items typically focus on time problems or the more general perception that one cannot adequately perform certain family roles because of work demands. The extent to which the multi-item measures tap all the salient dimensions of work/family conflict cannot be determined empirically because global assessments of conflict and multi-item scale scores are either not available in the same study or they are not reported. It is also nearly impossible to determine the effects of the different types of measures on the results obtained because studies using different measures of conflict generally differ also in the nature of the sample and/or the antecedents of conflict examined.

Results of work/family conflict studies

Family related antecedents of conflict. The results of research on the relationship of family variables to conflict generally confirm the expected relationships. Having children at home, especially pre-schoolers, is generally found to increase the likelihood of work/family conflict for both men and women (Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981; Keith and Schafer, 1980; Pleck et al., 1980). The effects appear to be stronger or more consistent for women than men, however. In a study of 196 dual career couples, increases in the number of children decreased satisfaction with time available for domestic activities for women, but had no affect for men (Bryson, Bryson and Johnson, 1978). Women who are employed, married, and parents also generally experience more conflict than women who are single or married but without children (Cooke and Rousseau, 1984; Hall, 1975; Hall and Gordon, 1973; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979b; Pleck et al., 1980).

Others, however, have obtained results inconsistent with those reported above. Shamir (1983), using a mixed sex sample of Israeli hotel employees, found no relationship between parenthood and conflict, and Yogeve (1982) found that married professional women with children reported feeling overloaded or overworked less frequently than unmarried women with no children. In a different type of analysis, Beutell and Greenhaus (1982) found that the work role salience of the spouse moderated the relationship between parenthood and conflict; children increased work/family conflict only for women whose husbands were very involved in their careers.

Taken together, these results suggest that having children increases the potential for work/family conflict, especially among women. Yet the actual effects of parenthood on the experience of conflict for men and women appear to depend on other variables (e.g., the way responsibilities for family matters are allocated within the household).

Work related antecedents of conflict. Results of studies examining the effects of work-related variables on conflict are most consistent with regard to schedule conflicts. This is not surprising given that with one exception (Shamir, 1983), all the results are based on the QES. The majority of workers in both the total QES sample (Pleck et al., 1980) and a subsample of dual earner couples (Kingston and Nock, 1985) indicated that their current work schedules generally suited them. Schedule problems which did arise were most likely to be experienced by women, especially those with children. In fact, in a dual earner subsample of couples with children under the age of 12, almost one fourth of the women reported that problems with child care arrangements caused them to be late for work, miss work, or experience other schedule problems (Pleck and Staines, 1982). Individuals working nonstandard shifts (afternoon shifts and weekends) also experienced greater work/family conflict, especially when they were dissatisfied with their jobs (Shamir, 1983) or had little control over their schedules (Staines and Pleck, 1986).

The effects of number of hours worked on the experience of conflict are less clear. Data based on the entire sample of the QES suggest that excessive work hours are more of a problem for men than women. Men tended to work longer hours than women, and among the individuals who reported that work and family interfered with each other, more men (50%) than women (39%) attributed the cause to excessive work hours (Pleck, 1983; Pleck et al., 1980). The relationship between work hours and the experience of work/family conflict in general, however, is more problematic.

Within the dual earner subsample of the QES, the total number of hours worked was associated with reports that work interfered with family life and free time activities only for women (Kingston and Nock, 1985). In another fairly large sample of dual earner couples, hours per week spent at work was positively related to work/family conflict for both men and women, however the effect was much stronger for men (Keith and Schafer, 1980). Yet, in another study, results from a small sample of dual career couples found no differences in the relationship between work hours and conflict as a function of gender, but did find a difference as a function of parental status (Holahan and Gilbert, 1979b). Longer hours at work were associated with greater conflict only for parents. Beutell and Greenhaus (1983), obtained results inconsistent with all of the studies above. In their sample of married women with at least one child, there was no relationship between the number of hours worked and either the number or intensity of the work/family conflicts experienced.

The mixed results from this set of studies suggest that there is no simple linear relationship between the number of hours worked and the experience of work/family conflict for male and female employees. Even for employees who are parents the results are not consistent. Shamir's (1983) results suggest that this may be due to a threshold effect. In his sample of hotel employees, increases in the number of hours worked had no effect on the experience of

work/family conflict until the average work day exceeded nine hours. Individuals who worked more than nine hours a week experienced a great deal more conflict than those who worked fewer hours.

Other studies suggest that the effects of work hours on the experience of conflict may depend on family or work related factors that are not typically assessed. For example, in a sample of married women enrolled in college, Beutell and Greenhaus (1982) found that the relationship between the time demands of being a student and the experience of interrole conflict was moderated by the sex-role attitudes of the husband. Greater time demands produced more conflict only for women whose husbands expressed traditional sex-role orientations. In a large sample of male and university employees, Herman and Gyllstrom (1977) found that teaching faculty, who worked the greatest number of hours per week, experienced less work/family conflict than a group of academic professionals who worked fewer hours. The authors suggested that the greater schedule flexibility of the faculty group offset the potential conflict producing effects of long hours. Similarly, Holahan and Gilbert (1979a) found that women who defined their work as career worked an average of two and a half hours per week more than women who did not define their work as a career, yet the career women reported fewer work/family conflicts. The authors suggested that these unexpected findings might be explained in terms of the greater satisfaction the career women derived from their work.

The limited number of studies addressing the effects of other work related characteristics on the experience of conflict suggest that work hours represent only one of several potentially important determinants of work/family conflict. Cooke and Rousseau (1984) found that feeling overloaded at work and being expected to work after hours whenever necessary were both related to reports that the job interfered with family life. The two studies examining level of conflict experienced within the work role also found that intrarole conflicts at work were related to work/family conflict (Kopelman et al., 1983; Shamir, 1983). In addition, analyses of the QES indicated that physically or psychologically demanding work was related to the experience of work/family conflict. To a significant but lesser extent, little control over overtime work and the lack of flexibility to alter one's schedule or take time off were also related to work/family conflict (Pleck et al., 1980).

In summary, although the focus of most studies addressing work related antecedents of conflict has been on the number of hours worked, this variable does not show a consistent relationship to work/family conflict. The results reported here suggest that the effects of long work hours on conflict may vary as a function of schedule flexibility, reward value of the work, sex role attitudes of the spouse, and reaching a certain threshold in terms of number of hours. Analyses based on other characteristics of the job (e.g., overload, expectations to work after hours, role conflict, psychologically demanding work) further confirm the importance of job characteristics other than work hours for the experience of conflict. Although not specifically addressed in most studies, the extent and nature of family demands is likely to interact with work hours in determining the level of conflict experienced.

Effects of role salience on conflict. Role salience or level of involvement in work and family roles has been conceptualized as an important

variable in the work/family interface by a number of researchers. The hypothesized importance of this variable to the impact of work on family is based on two lines of reasoning. First, it is proposed that the psychological consequences of not complying with role demands will be greater when roles are salient than when they are not (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). Second, it is typically assumed that a higher level of identification with a role is associated with a greater commitment of time and energy to that role (Ladewig and McGee, 1986). Both the direct and moderating effects of role salience or involvement on the experience of conflict and family adjustment have been examined.

Role salience or involvement has been shown to affect the level of conflict experienced by an individual (Beutell and Greenhaus, 1982; Frone and Rice, 1987; Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979a, 1979b), attitudes and behavior in work and family roles (Yogev and Brett, 1985), and marital happiness or adjustment (Bailyn, 1970; Hardesty and Betz, 1980; Ladewig and McGee, 1986). Results concerning the direction and nature of these effects have been mixed, however.

Greenhaus and Kopelman (1981), for example, found that the work/family conflict experienced by a sample of married, college educated men increased with the salience of their work roles. Holahan and Gilbert (1979b), on the other hand, found the opposite effect in a small sample of dual career husbands; work/family conflict decreased with higher levels of role salience.

Conflicting results have also been obtained in female samples. In Holahan and Gilbert's (1979a) comparison of career and job oriented women, the women who classified their work as "careers", and accordingly displayed higher levels of work commitment and career aspirations, experienced lower levels of conflict. Barnett (1982) found a similar effect. In her sample of employed women with pre-schoolers, higher levels of work commitment and occupational prestige were associated with greater role pattern satisfaction. Yet, within a dual career sample, higher levels of career commitment were associated with higher levels of work/family conflict for women (Holahan and Gilbert, 1979b).

This pattern of results suggests that the range of occupations included in a sample may affect the relationship between role salience and the experience of work/family conflict. In the two studies where higher work role salience was associated with lower levels of conflict, the women surveyed held a broad range of jobs. Those reporting that their work roles were more salient were also in higher level, higher prestige positions. Differences between higher and lower level jobs in terms of intrinsic rewards, flexibility, wages, or some other factor may be responsible for the effects attributed to role salience. Because of some combination of these or other factors, women in career positions may be less likely to experience conflict in general than women in lower level positions. However, among women who have careers, those who are very committed to their careers may be more likely to experience conflicts than those for whom careers are only moderately salient.

Frone and Rice (1987) are among the few researchers who examined the joint or interactive effects of work and family related variables. They suggested that the effects of job involvement on different work/family role conflict

measures would depend on the level of involvement in the family role. They found the hypothesized effect for the experience of work/spouse conflict; high levels of job involvement were associated with greater job/spouse conflict only when individuals also were highly involved in the spouse role. There was no moderating effect for level of parental involvement, however. Higher levels of job involvement resulted in more job/parent conflict across all levels of involvement in the parent role.

In summary, the effects of role salience or job involvement on the experience of work/family conflict are inconsistent. Research based on female samples suggests that the career vs. job distinction is important in the analysis of role salience effects. There was also partial support for the hypothesis that a high level of involvement in both work and family roles is necessary for the experience of conflict.

Cross spouse effects. Several studies have also looked at cross spouse effects, or the effects of variables related to the work role of one spouse on the outcomes experienced by the other. Kingston and Nock (1985) examined the effects of the husbands's work hours on the wife's experience of conflict. Results suggested that women whose husbands worked longer hours experienced more conflicts between their own work and family lives, largely because they had to take on more responsibility for family work.

Beutell and Greenhaus (1982) focused on cross spouse effects of career salience on the experience of interrole conflicts of married women. Their results suggested that dissimilarity in the work-role salience of husbands and wives was a better predictor of work/family conflict in women than the actual career salience reported by either spouse. Women in marriages where both spouses regarded their careers as highly salient experienced no more conflict than women in marriages where both spouses reported low levels of career salience; higher conflict levels were reported only when husbands and wives had different levels of psychological involvement in their careers.

The effects of the wife's employment status on conflicts experienced by men have also been addressed. In both the QES (Pleck and Staines, 1982) and a study of over 200 male college alumni (Greenhaus and Kopelman, 1981), the wife's employment status had no effect on the level of work/family conflict experienced by husbands. However, in Greenhaus and Kopelman's (1981) study, the level of the job held by wives had an effect. Men whose wives were in managerial or professional positions experienced more intense conflicts than men whose wives were in lower level jobs.

Ladewig and McGee (1986) obtained complementary results in an examination of the effects of occupational commitment on marital adjustment. Higher levels of occupational commitment in the wives of dual career couples were associated with lower levels of marital satisfaction for the husbands. Hardesty and Betz (1980) found the opposite effect, however, in their sample of dual career couples. Their results showed that the career salience of wives was positively related to the marital adjustment of their husbands. In both studies, the career salience or commitment of husbands was unrelated to the wives' assessment of marital quality. In short, the results of the cross spouse studies support the notion suggested earlier that the experience of work/family

conflict by one spouse may be at least partly a function of some work related or personal characteristic of the other spouse.

Summary of results

The mixed results obtained by researchers looking at the work, family and personal characteristics related to work/family conflict make it nearly impossible to draw any firm conclusions about simple bivariate relationships. The most one can say about the effects of the variables examined in this literature is that "it depends". Unfortunately, what the effects depend on have not been explored in any systematic manner.

Taken together, the results of the studies reviewed here suggest that the variables typically examined in this research as antecedents of work/family conflict studies are not in fact direct determinants of the experience of conflict. The effects of such variables as parental status, number of hours worked and role salience on work/family conflict appear to depend on other work, family and attitudinal variables.

Some of the inconsistencies in findings regarding work hours and career commitment appear to be a function of differences between career and noncareer level employees. Given the differences across career and noncareer employees in a number of variables that may be related to the experience of conflict (e.g., education, income, sex-role attitudes, work orientations and intrinsic rewards of the job), analyses should probably be conducted separately for these two groups.

The larger problem with this literature, however, stems from the failure to adequately address conceptual issues. There appear to be problems with the conceptualization and measurement of both role demands and work/family conflict itself. In the following section conceptual and measurement issues are discussed and recommendations for alternative ways to conceptualize role pressures and work/family conflict are suggested.

II. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES IN THE WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT LITERATURE

In conceptualizing the interface between work and family in terms of interrole conflict, work/family conflict researchers have provided a much needed underlying framework for the analysis of how work affects family life. However, efforts to apply this framework to the analysis of the determinants of conflict have not produced results that are consistent or can be meaningfully integrated. The cumulative results contribute little to our understanding of how and why work often has negative effects on families.

One basic problem appears to stem from the failure to distinguish between the subjective experience of work/family conflict in a very general sense and the factors that combine to produce this feeling. The single item general measures of the perception that work and family interfere with each other (e.g., the QES conflict measure) represent global indices of the extent to which work and family demands are perceived to be incompatible. Similarly, role oriented items addressing conflict in terms of having to choose between

work and being a "good" spouse (Frone and Rice, 1987; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979a, 1979b), or not being able to be the kind of parent one wants to be because of work (Kopelman et al., 1983) are assessments of the experience of conflict at a general, subjective level. Yet, typically scales assessing the global experience of conflict also include items referring to specific sources of conflict (e.g., time demands of the job or schedule conflicts).

The failure to distinguish between general feelings of work/family conflict or interference (defined as the inability to meet the demands of one role given the demands of the other) and the specific factors or demands that produce these feelings appears to have inhibited theoretical development in two ways. First, little attention has been focused on identifying the different types of conflicts employees may experience. Second, role pressures have not been adequately conceptualized or measured in terms of the actual demands or obligations individuals experience. These limitations in the way the interrole conflict framework is currently applied suggest that new approaches are needed if we are to identify the particular characteristics of work associated with different types of work/family conflict.

The remainder of this section is devoted to a discussion of some of the conceptual and measurement issues relevant to contemporary research on work/family conflict. Several recommendations relevant to the issues raised are also presented. The final recommendation in this section is that we take a fresh, analytical approach to identifying the types of work/family conflicts contemporary employees are likely to experience. In the section following this, such an analysis is undertaken, based on the identification of inconsistencies between traditional organizational assumptions and new social realities.

Conceptualization and Measurement of Role Demands

According to the role theory approach underlying much of the research in this area, work/family conflict is experienced because the demands of two or more roles are incompatible. Yet, the nature and extent of work and family role demands are seldom addressed in the literature on work/family conflict. In most research, family structure variables are used as measures of family role demands. Such variables may tap the potential for work/family conflict, yet they do not reflect the nature or level of demands individuals actually experience in their home lives. Typical measures like the number of roles a woman occupies or the presence of children in a household, are only likely to be good surrogate measures of the extent of family obligations for women in very traditional households where wives are solely responsible for children and domestic tasks. These measures are not likely to reflect the level of obligations of men or women in marriages where domestic responsibilities are shared. The failure to find consistent effects of family structure variables on the experience of conflict is likely to be due, in part at least, to variations across families in the way they divide up home and family responsibilities.

The number of hours worked is also not a good measure of the time obligations inherent in the work role. Some individuals work more than the required number of hours because they enjoy the work and they have limited

family obligations. In such cases, more hours worked may be a reflection of the absence of work/family conflict. On the other hand, there are also individuals in demanding jobs who work fewer than the expected number of hours. Employees who work only 40 hours a week when 50 or more hours a week are expected may have chosen to resolve time conflicts in favor of the family. Such individuals are likely to experience much greater stress and conflict than individuals who work 50 or 60 hours a week because their family obligations allow them the time to do so.

There are two points to these examples. The first point is that it is the demands individuals experience in their work and family lives, rather than the presence of children or the number of hours worked that need to be addressed in work/family conflict studies. The second point is that it is the presence of simultaneous conflicting demands in both domains that produces conflict. Heavy demands in one role when demands are minimal in the other are not likely to produce work/family conflicts.

The need to assess the joint or interactive effects of work and family role demands (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985) points to the desirability of developing parallel frameworks for thinking about work and family role demands. Conceptualizing role pressures in both domains in terms of semi-contractual obligations satisfies the need for parallel frameworks, and at the same time highlights several characteristics of family role demands relevant to the study of the effects of work on families.

Role demands as semi-contractual obligations

Employment relationships are obviously contractual at one level, in that they usually entail the acceptance of a formal employment contract spelling out the basic conditions of employment and compensation. Similarly, marriages are contractual arrangements from a legal standpoint. The parties to these "semi-contractual arrangements" (Juster and Stafford, 1985), however, typically expect much more from each other than what is specified in the terms of any legal or formal agreement. These broader, often implicit expectations are what are conceptualized here as "semi-contractual obligations".

The idea that work relationships involve semi-contractual obligations has been accepted for some time in the organizational behavior literature (Schein, 1978). According to Schein, the work role obligations of employees are determined by a set of mutual expectations implicit in a "psychological contract" between the employer and the employee. The psychological contract defines "what the employee will give in the way of effort and contribution in exchange for challenging or rewarding work, acceptable working conditions, organizational rewards in the form of pay and benefits, and an organizational future in the form of a promise of a promotion or other forms of career advancement" (Schein, 1978, p. 112). Although the mutual expectations inherent in psychological employment contracts are implicit, rather than explicit, they function like a contract "in that if either party fails to meet the expectations, serious consequences will follow - demotivation, turnover, lack of advancement, or termination" (Schein, 1978, p. 112).

Gowler and Legge (1978) have proposed a similar framework for examining the obligations of partners in marital relationships. They suggest that marital relationships are governed by hidden or implicit contracts between spouses which define the types and levels of support they expect from each other (Gowler and Legge, 1978). Just as there are sanctions associated with the failure to live up to the terms of psychological employment contracts, there are consequences associated with the failure to comply with hidden marital contracts. When one spouse fails to live up to the expectations of the marital contract, or one spouse imposes additional demands on the other, "a vicious cycle of mutual disappointment and alienation may ensue", threatening the harmony and stability of the marriage (Gowler and Legge, 1978, p. 53)

The existence of these semi-contractual marital obligations is supported by data indicating that couples do, in fact, share a common understanding of their mutual obligations (although awareness of the terms does not always mean that both partners are happy with current arrangements). Garland (1972), for example, reported that among the 53 dual career couples he interviewed, the spouses in all couples (even the minority who had not talked about accommodating two careers before marriage) appeared to share a common understanding of their obligations with regard to career support, domestic tasks and child care.

The nature of the implicit contract governing the marital relationship is likely to be a function of both the values of the two spouses and situational constraints (Gowler and Legge, 1978). Sex-role attitudes, values about the types and levels of support appropriate in a marital relationship, and the career and family orientations of the two spouses will contribute to the development of a particular pattern of marital obligations. At the same time, situational constraints in the form of children's schedules and the career requirements of the two spouses will affect the arrangements the couple makes for meeting their mutual obligations. Therefore, at any one point in time the obligations inherent in the implicit marital contract are likely to be relatively fixed. They will typically be based on the best efforts of the marital partners to accommodate the current priorities of both spouses and the constraints of their current family and work situations.

The fact that it may be difficult at any one point in time to modify patterns of family obligations, does not, however, imply that these patterns remain constant over the course of the life cycle. As individuals progress through the various stages of their individual, career and family life cycles, their values, priorities and constraints change (Bailyn, 1984; Juster and Stafford, 1985; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1980; Schein, 1978). New patterns of marital obligations are likely to emerge in response to both specific transitions and gradual changes in values and constraints. A transition like the birth of the first child, for example, entails a whole new set of family responsibilities, as well as the likelihood that new priorities and preferences with regard to the allocation of time will emerge. These changes may result in a new patterns of marital obligations within the family, and require corresponding changes in the nature of work role obligations if the desired balance of commitments is to be maintained.

Patterns of marital obligations may also change as a result of a major transition in the career of one of the marital partners (e.g., a new job, a promotion, or going back to school). Career transitions may involve changes in the salience of the work role and/or new work role obligations and constraints. The family obligations of both spouses are likely to change as a result, especially if there is little slack in the system (i.e., the time and energy of both spouses is fully committed).

In short, for any one employee, a change in the family situation resulting from either a family life cycle transition or a life stage or career transition on the part of the spouse may precipitate the need or desire to change obligations at work. If existing work role constraints and obligations are not amenable to change, work/family conflict is likely to result.

Four characteristics of family obligations which have implications for the experience, and consequently the analysis of work/family conflicts were suggested above. First, the extent and nature of family obligations is likely to vary across individuals in similar family situations because obligations are a function of a much more complicated set of variables than simply gender or the number of children in the house.

Second, because the pattern of family obligations in a household is a reflection of both deep-seated values and situational constraints, employees may have difficulty changing their family obligations to accommodate unexpected changes in work role obligations. Organizations or supervisors who suddenly make the attainment of career goals contingent on relocating; accepting an unexpected, especially demanding new assignment; or being available to travel, may be imposing requirements on employees which they cannot accommodate given their current family obligations. Work/family conflicts may thus be precipitated in a previously satisfactory situation if employers unilaterally change the terms of the psychological employment contract.

Third, natural transitions over the course of the life cycle may change patterns of family obligations and give rise to the need or desire to negotiate new psychological contracts at work. When rigid organizational policies or occupational requirements prevent employees from negotiating new psychological contracts in response to changing needs and desires, work/family conflict is likely to result.

Fourth, there are serious consequences associated with the repeated failure to live up to one's marital obligations. Employers who presume that "your wife will understand" when they schedule the third unexpected business trip of the month are likely to be wrong, especially if the wife is also working.

The concepts suggested above, that work and family obligations vary across individuals, are interdependent, may change over time, and involve sanctions for noncompliance do not appear to have been applied to the analysis of work/family conflict. Work/family conflicts are not a constant feature of life. They may exist at a certain point in time because present obligations in the two domains are inherently incompatible. However, they may also arise quite suddenly as a function of life cycle transitions or changes in employer expectations. It is likely that many employees who are not currently

experiencing work/family conflict have experienced conflicts in the past, or will in the future. In some cases these conflicts may be resolved by dropping the work role, or finding a new position more compatible with family obligations. The Fortune (1987) survey referred to earlier indicated that about one fourth of the employees surveyed had turned down an employment offer or sought a different position because of experienced or potential work/family conflicts. Research on the percentage of employees who accepted, or are staying in their current positions primarily because their work role obligations do not conflict with family obligations would also be enlightening for organizations.

It is proposed that conceptualizing work and family related antecedents of conflict in terms of semi-contractual obligations may result in more relevant, theoretically meaningful research in the future. This way of conceptualizing role demands encourages thinking about the types of conflicts most likely to be experienced by employees. The next section more fully addresses the issue of the types of conflicts individuals may experience.

Conceptualization and Measurement of Work/Family Conflict

Work/family conflict is typically conceptualized in terms of either a single dimension, where it is measured by a single item or a multi-item additive scale, or in terms of conflict between work and specific family roles. There appear to be some problems associated with each type of measure. These problems and possible alternatives are discussed below.

Role oriented measures of conflict

Holahan and Gilbert (1979a, 1979b; Gilbert and Holahan, 1983) argue that a conceptual framework which allows for a direct focus on relevant life roles is most consistent with the definition of interrole conflict and is especially appropriate to the study of dual career marriages. Accordingly, they and others (e.g., Beutell and Greenhaus, 1982, 1983; Frone and Rice, 1987) have conceptualized and measured work/family conflict in terms of the effects of work on the individual's ability to perform the spouse, parent and "self" roles. It is suggested here, however, that the role oriented approach to the measurement of work/family conflict is somewhat limited. An alternative approach is proposed based on the analysis of two different types of family obligations, differentiated in terms of the types of activities associated with each. This alternative conceptualization of work/family conflict is outlined following the discussion of current role oriented measures.

Inclusion of the self as a source of role demands. The inclusion of the "self" as a role, or a source of role demands seems inappropriate in work/family conflict measures. Individuals are not subject to "role demands" from themselves in the same sense that they are subject to demands and sanctions from their work and family environments. Internal pressures to meet certain standards or pursue a particular course of action certainly exist, but these pressures reflect personal values and needs, rather than obligations.

When the self is construed as a source of role demands in terms of personal interests (e.g., Beutell and Greenhaus, 1982, 1983) the effects of conflicts

between work and self (i.e., interests) may pale in comparison to the effects of conflicts between roles where there are important external sanctions for noncompliance (e.g., a spouse gets angry or a supervisor gives a poor performance evaluation). If, on the other hand, conflicts between the self and demands of work are conceptualized in terms of the individual's ability to self-actualize (Holahan and Gilbert, 1979a, 1979b) the implications of this type of conflict are much more profound.

Bebbington's (1973) distinction between the two types or levels of stress individuals experience in life is related to the distinction between the experience of specific instances of work/family conflict and the inability to self-actualize in life. Bebbington suggests that one type of stress dual career couples experience is associated with the day-to-day conflicts and tensions inherent in the lifestyle. A different, higher level of stress is experienced when basic values and ideals are compromised or sacrificed. When obligations in work and family roles make it impossible, as opposed to merely difficult, to meet the demands of both roles, the second types of stress is likely to result. One could view this stress as being a consequence of the inability to self-actualize.

Conceptualizing the conflict between work and "self as a self-actualizing person" as simply another type of interrole conflict fails to capture the larger significance to life of the discrepancy between behavior and ideals. The ability to self-actualize might be more appropriately construed as an ultimate criterion of the satisfactoriness of one's total lifestyle. The severity of the work/family conflicts an individual experiences, for example, might be assessed by reference to their effects on the individual's ability to self-actualize, or realize goals and potential in both work and family.

Self and parent roles. There also appear to be problems associated with the use of spouse and parent roles as the relevant domains of nonwork life. First, spouse and parent roles are imbued with different social meanings and associated with different sets of normative expectations for men and women. Responsibilities associated with the "mother" and "wife" roles are different than the responsibilities traditionally associated with being a good father or husband. In responding to items concerning the extent to which work interferes with the ability to be a "good spouse" or "the kind of parent one would like to be", men and women may use different criteria in evaluating the effects of work on family. There are also likely to be variations within samples of men and women in terms of the most salient aspects of their roles. Among traditional men, for example, the role of breadwinner for the family may be most salient, resulting in reports that work does not affect his ability to be a good spouse, even when he is unable to fulfill socio-emotional obligations within the family. Women also may emphasize different aspects of their roles in responding to work/family conflict items. For example, if the effect of work on family life is felt primarily in terms of a woman's ability to cook hot meals every night and get the laundry done on time, some women may report conflicts with the parent role, others may view these responsibilities as being associated with the spouse role, and other women may not consider this type of conflict especially relevant to either role.

Because the aspects of the parent and spouse roles which are most salient are likely to vary as a function of gender, measures of conflict between work and these two nonwork roles will not be comparable across men and women. Similarly, differences across individuals of either sex in the way they interpret their obligations may result in different reports of conflict, in situations where the actual effects of work on family life are identical. These problems with the conceptualization of conflict in terms of performance in parent and spouse roles make it difficult to draw conclusions about the effects of different work role constraints on family life. It is proposed below that two aspects of family obligations, differentiated in terms of the types of activities involved, rather than roles, may be more conceptually fruitful.

An alternative conceptualization of work/family conflict

Household maintenance and relationship obligations. The spouse and parent roles both involve two types of activities; those associated with the maintenance of the home and family, and those associated with building and maintaining warm, close relationships with family members. Household and family maintenance activities include such things as cooking, cleaning, shopping, doing laundry, and fixing up the home, as well as such child care tasks as getting the children ready for school in the morning, making sure they are clean and well fed, and driving children to and from activities. Activities associated with building and maintaining warm, nurturing family relationships include talking with spouse and children, providing emotional support, playing and relaxing with children, doing things with the family (e.g., recreation and vacations), and being present on important occasions (e.g., birthdays, anniversaries, school plays and sporting events, award ceremonies).

The proposed distinction between these two aspects of family life is based on three arguments. First, individuals may experience different levels of conflict between work and household maintenance obligations and work and family relationship obligations in a given work situation. Second, as the first proposition implies, there are likely to be different work and family related antecedents of conflict in these two areas. Third, there may be different consequences, in terms of personal, family and work related outcomes, associated with the experience of these two types of work/family conflict.

Several personal and family related characteristics are likely to differentially affect the experience of work/household maintenance conflicts and work/family relationship conflicts. First, in the population at large, women are more likely than men to experience work/household maintenance obligations. Women in general are likely to have the primary responsibility for these obligations, and early socialization is likely to make performance in these areas more salient for women. Both factors, the extent of the obligations experienced, and the personal salience of these obligations increase the likelihood that women will experience this type of work/family conflict. The extent and salience of relationship obligations, on the other hand, are less likely to vary as a function of gender, but more likely to vary as a function of the number of children in a household.

These propositions are supported by the results of a work/family conflict study where a somewhat similar distinction was made between these two types of family life obligations. Herman and Gyllstrom (1977) assessed conflicts between work and both "taking care of the home" and "family responsibilities such as parent and spouse". This distinction in the survey may have oriented respondents to consider primarily the relationship aspects of the parent and spouse roles. Results of the analyses indicated that women in a large sample of university employees were more likely than men to experience conflict between work and home maintenance responsibilities (Herman and Gyllstrom, 1977). There were no differences across men and women, however, in the experience of conflicts between work and family responsibilities. The presence of children, on the other hand, was related to higher levels of work/family responsibilities conflict for both sexes, but had no effect on work/home maintenance conflicts. It must be noted in the consideration of gender effects, that these effects are likely to be a function of the traditional division of labor within the home. The traditional pattern appears to be predominant in society at large, however, evidence is presented in the next section that suggests that new patterns of marital relationships are emerging, especially among dual career couples. In nontraditional families where husbands have more household maintenance functions, husbands and wives may be equally susceptible to conflicts in this area.

In terms of the work related characteristics which may have differential effects on the experience of the two types of conflict, both work schedules and income are proposed as possibilities. A nonstandard work schedule, for example, may have no effect on household maintenance obligations, but the ability to meet relationship needs may be seriously impaired if an individual is only home when other family members are sleeping. The relationship between nonstandard work schedules and the experience of work/family conflict (Shamir, 1983; Staines and Pleck, 1986) may be primarily due to the inability to meet family relationship needs and obligations.

Income may affect the two types of conflict differently because of an important difference in the nature of these obligations. Household maintenance and relationship obligations differ in the extent to which they can be delegated (Juster and Stafford, 1985). Given adequate financial resources, demands from home maintenance obligations can be reduced to a minimum through the purchase of services (e.g., maids and nannies) and goods (e.g., convenience foods and products). Dual career studies suggest that hiring outside help is an effective way to reduce overload resulting from conflicts between the time obligations of career and domestic tasks (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). Relationship obligations, on the other hand, cannot be delegated; they are "person-specific" (Juster and Stafford, 1985). Individuals need to be both physically and emotionally available to their families if they are to satisfy both their own needs and the expectations of their families with regard to family relationships.

The difference between the two types of obligations in terms of the extent to which they can be delegated also has implications for how individuals respond to these conflicts in terms of career decisions. An individual who has too little time to fulfill household maintenance obligations may accept an even more demanding job if the increase in pay will allow the family to hire outside

help. However, individuals who feel that their relationships are being jeopardized due to lack of time are more likely to want to reduce the number of hours they work.

Another difference in the nature of household maintenance and family relationship obligations centers on the level of intrinsic rewards associated with the activities of each dimension. Individuals may value the outcomes associated with cooking and cleaning (e.g., good meals; a neat, orderly house), but few men or women find the actual performance of these tasks as rewarding as either their paid work activities or activities involving interpersonal interactions (Juster, 1985). This suggests that the personal consequences of conflicts in the two areas may be different. If work demands cause one to neglect household obligations, only the outcomes of the tasks are likely to be missed (e.g., the house may be a shambles). However, when conflicting role demands force individuals to neglect careers or family relationships, not only are desired outcomes jeopardized (e.g., income, career advancement, a close-knit family), but opportunities to derive enjoyment from the activity itself are reduced. The overall quality of life experienced by an individual is thus more likely to be affected by the inability to meet relationship or work obligations than housework obligations.

In summary, it is argued that viewing family role demands in terms of household maintenance and relationship obligations has several advantages over distinctions between parent, spouse and self roles in the assessment of work/family conflict. First, while men and women may have different levels of obligations with respect to these two roles, the constructs themselves are likely to have similar meanings to men and women, allowing comparisons across sexes. Second, it appears that differences in the nature of these two types of obligations may cause them to be differentially related to certain personal, family and work related variables. Third, the consequences of the two different types of conflict may be different in terms of both personal outcomes and career decisions. Efforts to understand how work/family conflicts impact on the career decisions of employees may be furthered if empirical results support the hypothesis that home maintenance and relationship conflicts result in different personal outcomes and coping strategies. In short, it is proposed that analyses based on these two dimensions of work/family conflict are more likely to produce theoretically meaningful results than analyses based on measures of conflict between work and parent, self, and spouse roles.

Additive, multi-item indices of work/family conflict

When work/family conflict is not measured in terms of conflicts between work and specific family roles, it is usually measured using multi-item, additive scales. These scales measure conflict by having respondents indicate the extent to which they have experienced the specific and general types of conflicts described by the items in the scale. Scale scores are proposed to represent a global index of the extent to which work/family conflict is experienced by an individual.

It is proposed here that there are two basic problems with such scales. First, they include items reflecting both time related conflicts and spillover effects. It is argued that the spillover of negative emotional states from

work to family is a conceptually different phenomenon from the experience of conflicts related to time constraints. The time related and spillover effects of work on family are different in both process and antecedents. Second, conceptualizing these additive measures as global indices of work/family conflict presumes that all the relevant dimensions of conflict are included in the scale. It is argued that this is not the case, however. Multi-item indices of conflict typically assess only the effects of time obligations on the ability to meet family role demands. The effects of other relevant dimensions of work role obligations on the ability to accommodate family demands are not addressed. These specific problems and recommendations are discussed below.

Time related conflicts versus spillover effects. Multi-item scales like those developed by Shamir (1983) and Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connolly (1983) incorporate both time related conflicts and spillover effects in their measures of work/family conflict. In the Kopelman et al. (1983) scale, for example, half of the items deal with the spillover of emotional states from work to family life (being tired, irritable, tense and preoccupied at home because of work). Two other items reflect work/family time problems (e.g., "my schedule often conflicts with my family life" and "my work takes up time that I'd like to spend with my family"); and the last two items assess how difficult the job makes it to pursue personal interests, and be the kind of spouse or parent the individual would like to be. Shamir (1983) also includes a spillover item, although the direction is reversed (worrying about family problems at work). Kopelman et al. (1983) indicated that their inclusion of items concerning fatigue and irritability was based on the fact that in the QES these factors were identified by respondents as ways work interfered with family life (Pleck et al., 1980).

Under the very broad definition of interrole conflict used by most researchers, the inclusion of both time conflicts and spillover effects in a single work/family conflict measure is defensible because both interfere with one's ability to perform as expected in a role. The acceptably high internal consistency reliabilities of the scales mixing these two types of effects (Kopelman, Greenhaus and Connolly, 1983; Shamir, 1983) also argues for the validity of this approach. However, the differences between the two effects in terms of process, sources, and directionality suggest it is more appropriate to conceptualize and measure time conflicts and spillover effects as separate phenomena.

The experience of work/family time conflicts results from simultaneous demands for time or availability from two or more roles. When individuals are faced with conflicting demands, they are forced to choose between roles, allocating time to one role at the expense of the other, or they compromise, devoting less than the required amount of time to both roles. Extensive time demands at work may affect the ability to meet both household maintenance and relationship obligations.

The processes and antecedents underlying spillover effects are clearly different. Spillover effects occur when an individual carries the emotional states experienced in one domain across the physical and temporal boundaries of the other domain. The antecedents of this type of "conflict" are the

conditions at work which create the stress in the first place. The consequences of spillover are likely to be felt primarily in terms of the individual's ability to fulfill relationship obligations. As noted in the earlier discussion of spillover effects, the spillover of work related irritability, exhaustion or stress into the home tends to render the individual emotionally unavailable to the family (Bartolome and Evans, 1979, 1980; Piotrkowski, 1979).

Another difference between time conflicts and spillover centers on the direction of these effects. Directionality is implicit in the definition of spillover and specified in items measuring it. Either work related feelings affect the family or family related feelings intrude into work. There is no intrinsic direction to the effects of time conflicts, however. When conflicting time demands are experienced, performance in either or both roles may be affected, depending on the way the individual decides to allocate his or her time.

Because the antecedents of spillover effects and time conflicts are different, it is not surprising that the work related and demographic correlates of the two types of effects are different. In the QES, time conflicts were primarily associated with variables like the number of hours worked, frequency of overtime, and shift work (Pleck et al., 1980). Time conflicts were also most likely to be reported by men, who tended to work longer hours than the women in this sample. Reports that fatigue, irritability and tension interfered with family life, on the other hand, were associated with holding a job that was physically or psychologically demanding. Spillover effects were also most frequently reported by women and individuals in marriages where both spouses worked.

In summary, there are differences in the processes underlying spillover and time related conflicts, and there is evidence that there are different demographic and work related correlates of these two effects. In light of these differences, it is proposed that separate conceptual and measurement frameworks should be developed for the assessment of the prevalence and antecedents of these two phenomena.

Different types of work/family conflicts. The items in multi-item scales that do not address spillover or the general, subjective experience of conflict between two roles, nearly always focus on conflicting time demands. Time related conflicts are typically conceptualized in terms of overload, and assessed by measuring the extent to which individuals feel that the time demands of their work leave them enough time to take care of family role demands. A different type of time related conflict can arise, however, when individuals cannot be where they are needed when they are needed. This is a problem stemming from schedule inflexibility, or the inability to take time off when needed to attend to family matters. In the QES, having little control over overtime requirements, and having little flexibility to change one's work schedule or take time off from work for personal or family matters were all related to the measure of work/family interference (Pleck et al., 1980).

Herman and Gyllstrom (1977) suggested that flexibility in one's work schedule might also mitigate the effects of working long hours. They found

that university faculty members worked longer hours than other occupational groups, but experienced less work/family conflict. The ability of faculty members to adjust their work schedules to accommodate personal and family needs may have lessened the potential negative effects of long work hours.

The identification of schedule flexibility as a factor in the experience of work/family conflict suggests that this variable should be assessed in studies on work family conflict. The emphasis on the importance of flexibility at work in the dual career literature also supports this contention. In the dual career literature, however, flexibility was used in a somewhat broader sense. One of the issues most salient to dual career couples concerned the ability to coordinate the demands of two careers, and to respond to, or manage, family, career and life cycle transitions (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). A different type or level of flexibility is required in the work role if individuals are to effectively manage two careers and periodic changes in family constraints and priorities. The effects of this dimension of the work role on family life, as well as the effects of schedule flexibility on the ability to meet family obligations are not addressed in current indices of work/family conflict.

At a general level, the limitations in the way work/family conflict has been conceptualized and measured appear to stem from a failure to analyze how the implications of work for family life have changed as a result of recent social changes. Investigators using role oriented measures of conflict are typically interested in examining the effects of multiple roles on the work/family conflicts experienced by women. This focus appears to stem, in part at least, from the assumption that traditional orientations to work and family roles prevail in society. Husbands are presumed to be preoccupied with their careers while women struggle to meet the demands of their work and family obligations. The analysis of family structure variables as antecedents of conflict for women also appears to reflect an assumption that families all allocate domestic responsibilities along traditional sex-role lines. However there are clearly variations across couples in both their values and the way they allocate household responsibilities, and these variations need to be addressed in work/family conflict research. Furthermore, although most studies focus on married women, and married women nearly always have working spouses, work/family conflict research fails to address the coordination and flexibility issues that dual career studies suggest are important.

The research on dual career couples is very helpful in highlighting the variations across working couples and the dilemmas or strains they experience. This literature does not, however, offer much guidance concerning the specific dimensions of the work role that tend to have negative effects on families. Furthermore, most of the literature describing the problems experienced by dual career couples is quite dated. A number of important social changes have occurred over the past decade which have implications for the problems dual career couples face and the way they are likely to try to resolve them.

In light of the limitations of the two most relevant streams of research with regard to the conceptualization of work/family conflict and the identification of work related sources of family problems, it appears that a different approach to the analysis of these issues is called for. In order to better conceptualize how work affects the family life of contemporary workers,

it appears useful to analyze what organizations, in general, expect of employees, and how compatible these expectations are with changing values. This is the approach adopted in the next section of the paper.

III. IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGES FOR WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT

This section begins with an analysis of what organizations typically expect of employees. The analysis of organizational assumptions and expectations focuses on expectations with regard to white collar, career or professional employees. The assumptions organizations make about blue collar workers appear to be quite different, especially in terms of the work motivations attributed to them. These assumptions are not addressed.

Following the description of organizational and occupational expectations of career level employees, recent social changes that appear to be relevant to the work/family interface are addressed. These social changes are documented, and their implications for the types of work/family conflicts dual worker, and dual career employees in particular, experience are analyzed. Emerging patterns of career orientations and marital relationships are also discussed in light of the apparent need to re-examine traditional assumptions. These analyses, combined with the empirical literature reviewed thus far, are the basis for the propositions concerning work/family conflict presented in the final section of the paper.

Organizational Expectations and Assumptions

In his discussion of the work-family role system, Pleck (1975) observed that "as the paid work role has evolved in modern society, it has come to call for full time, continuous work from the end of one's education to retirement, a desire to actualize one's potential to the fullest, and subordination of other roles to work" (p. 425).

Holmstrom (1972) arrived at a similar conclusion with regard to the occupational expectations confronting professionals. She suggested that individuals in professions were expected to be single-minded in their devotion to their careers, to pursue their careers full-time and without interruption, and to subordinate all other interests (both their own and those of their families) to their work. Professionals were further assumed to have spouses who would be willing and able to accommodate any occupational demands affecting the family (e.g., long work hours, travel, relocation, entertaining clients). Holmstrom (1972) argued that these expectations had essentially become conditions of employment, "elaborated to the point of rigidity", without consideration of the appropriateness, effectiveness or consequences of the requirements they entailed (p. 3). The "rigid structure of professions" was identified as one of the primary barriers dual career couples encountered in their efforts to accommodate two full-time careers in one family (Holmstrom, 1972).

Pleck (1975), Holmstrom (1972) and others (e.g., Poloma, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971) suggested that it was nearly impossible for both spouses in a family to meet the occupational and organizational expectations prevailing in

the late 1960's and early 1970's. Pleck argued that the dominant conceptualization of work reflected an essentially "male model of the work role". He noted that men have typically been able to meet the expectations of this model (albeit not without some strain), largely because of the role women have traditionally played within the family. Wives of working men have traditionally accepted primary responsibility for the home and family, provided emotional and practical support for their husbands, and subordinated their own potential work roles to family needs (Pleck, 1975).

In couples where both spouses have potentially demanding careers, however, rigid occupational and organizational expectations force couples to assign one career a higher priority than the other (Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma, 1972). Early studies of dual career couples suggested that when choices between the career needs of the two spouses had to be made, it was generally the wife's career that suffered (Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969; Yohalem, 1979). Women often attempted to accommodate family needs and the career demands of their husbands by limiting their own career involvement (e.g., not working overtime, not attending obligatory social functions, opting for part-time work). Women who made such compromises in their careers were likely to find themselves at odds with professional norms and at a severe disadvantage in terms of career advancement (Bryson, Bryson and Johnson, 1978; Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma, 1972). Similarly, women who interrupted their careers for childbearing or to relocate with their husbands, often found that employers questioned their career commitment, and they had difficulty regaining their career momentum (Yohalem, 1978). Holmstrom (1972) argued that the consequences for women of these forced choices served to reinforce patterns of male supremacy both at home and in the professional world, making it even more difficult to fashion innovative compromises.

All of the authors cited above have called attention to the need for new models of the work role and corresponding innovations in the work place in order to accommodate the needs of dual career couples. Furthermore, the importance to employees of flexibility in organizational policies and requirements has been emphasized in nearly every study of dual career couples of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Yet, according to Bailyn's (1984) more recent assessment of organizational expectations, few meaningful changes have occurred over the past decade.

Bailyn (1984) argues that while increasing attention has been focused on the implications of work for family life in research, theory and the popular press, responses in terms of personnel management practices have been generally "superficial and inadequate" (p.77). She attributes this lack of progress to the traditional assumptions that still underlie most organizational policies and practices. Despite the dramatic changes in the nature of the work force, organizations still operate on the assumption that family patterns are traditional; one employed spouse and a partner at home to take care of household and family responsibilities. Organizations also still expect employees to be totally work-involved, and assume that they are willing and able to sacrifice family and other interests in order to move up the organizational hierarchy.

The implicit assumptions organizations hold about family structure, the division of labor within the home, and the all-consuming work motivation of employees may have had some basis in fact as recently as one or two decades ago. In the early 1970's dual career couples were characterized as "creative variants" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1980) and social and attitudinal changes resulting from the women's movement had not yet permeated society. The failure of organizations to question their assumptions and address the family needs of the minority of "nontraditional" couples is understandable a decade ago, given the social climate and work place demographics prevailing at the time. Today, however, organizational researchers, as well as the family sociologists cited above, are exhorting organizations to evaluate their personnel policies and procedures in terms of their impact on families and dual career workers (Gilmore and Fanin, 1982; Hall and Hall, 1978; Maynard and Zawacki, 1979).

Recruitment and retention are bottom-line issues, and there are indications that a number of organizations are trying to be more responsive to the needs of their employees in terms of child care support and more flexible relocation policies. Yet, the more subtle issues underlying work/family conflict also need to be addressed. The basis for much of the work/family conflict experienced by employees appears to stem from the basic incompatibility of organizational expectations and employee values. Solutions to the less tangible problems of contemporary workers require an awareness of the nature and extent of recent social changes relevant to the work/family interface. In light of this need, the following section is devoted to documenting fairly recent changes in the patterns of family relationships and work and career orientations of working men and women.

Social Changes Affecting the Work/Family Interface

The influx of women into the work force

The tremendous influx of women into the labor force was noted in the introduction. The statistics cited earlier indicate that the assumption that most employees have nonworking spouses is clearly outdated. Married men, as well as married women are now likely to have an employed spouse, and an increasing number of working couples are likely to have small children at home as well. The potential for work/family time conflicts has increased substantially as a result of these changes. The tasks involved in maintaining a household have constituted a full time job for women in the past. Now all these household maintenance chores, cooking, cleaning, shopping, laundry, etc., need to be accomplished during nonworking hours.

The role overload or time conflicts experienced when both spouses work has been the primary focus of work/family conflict literature to date. The importance of overload has also been addressed in the dual career literature (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). Results indicate that the lack of time to meet the obligations of both home and family roles is clearly an important issue. Time use studies indicate that one of the consequences of overload for women is that their discretionary personal time is drastically reduced. Leisure and community activities are usually the first to be sacrificed when women accept paid employment, and employed women often have to cut back on the number of hours they sleep at night as well (Berheide, 1984; Hill, 1985; Pleck, 1983).

When individuals experience heavy demands on their time from household maintenance and relationship obligations, the number of hours they are required or expected to work is likely to be a significant source of work/family time conflicts.

A second type of conflict working women with young children, especially, are likely to experience stems from the intrusion of family demands into the working day. Children and babysitters get sick, doctor and dental appointments have to be met, schools schedule important activities for children during the middle of the afternoon, and schools and child care providers have holidays or snow days all during the time most employees are expected to be at work.

The prevalence of these "out-of-schedule" demands, or family intrusions into the work day, is underscored by results from several different types of studies. Schedule problems in the QES were reported more often by women than men (Pleck et al., 1980), and the types of problems reported pointed to problems with child care arrangements as being a major contributor to the experience of work/family interference. In a QES subsample of dual worker families with children under the age of 12, almost one fourth of the women reported that problems with child care arrangements caused them to be late for work, miss work or experience other schedule problems (Pleck and Staines, 1982). Anderson-Kulman and Paludi's (1986) survey of working mothers of preschool children indicated that children's illnesses were a significant source of role strain (feeling torn between work and family) for over half of the sample. Furthermore, in the Fortune (1987) survey of employees with children under the age of 12, 59% of the women reported having missed at least one work day in the past three months due to family obligations.

Schedule flexibility is likely to be a critical determinant of the experience of work/family conflict for dual worker couples with children. Accommodating these out-of-schedule family demands is likely to be problematic for employees in organizations where there are rigid policies concerning attendance, time off, lateness, and scheduled hours. The needs of children, or a sick spouse or parent for that matter, represent family relationship obligations, and these cannot easily be ignored. When the need to attend to important family matters arises during the work day, and taking time off for family needs conflicts with policies or norms of the organization, considerable internal stress may be generated (Pleck, 1975). As Holmstrom (1972) noted, work schedules need to be coordinated with children's schedules, and unexpected requirements or emergencies can render carefully planned and orchestrated arrangements useless. She observed that the ability to make even minor modifications in work schedules (like coming into work a half an hour late and making it up in vacation time) can make a big difference in how well women feel they can manage their dual obligations.

The flexibility afforded employees to easily, and without repercussions, attend to out-of-schedule family obligations appears to be an important determinant of conflict among individuals for whom these needs arise fairly frequently. Women in dual earner families with young children appear to be especially likely to be subject to these demands at present. However, there are indications that men are increasingly likely to be called upon to respond to these demands as well. Over one third of the men in the Fortune (1987) survey

reported having missed at least one day of work in the past three months due to family obligations.

Domestic participation of men

The time pressures experienced by working women, as well as changing social values concerning sex-role obligations appear to be putting pressure on men to contribute more to domestic tasks and child care. Based on a comprehensive review of the literature on family roles and relationships, Szinovacz (1984) recently concluded that the participation of men in household and child care tasks is becoming increasingly acceptable in society at large. Changes in patterns of behavior of men within the home have lagged behind ideological changes (Miller and Garrison, 1982; Szinovacz, 1984), however, there is recent evidence that a shift toward greater domestic task sharing in dual earner couples is finally occurring (Juster, 1985; Maret and Finlay, 1984; Pleck, 1979; Robinson, 1985). Pleck's (1983) analysis of data from the 1975/76 Study of Time Use indicated that husbands perform about 32% of the couples' total family work if the wife is employed, compared to 21% if the wife is not employed. Much of this increase is due to the increase the time husbands devote to child care when their wives are employed and there are young children in the household (Pleck, 1983; Szinovacz, 1984).

Attitudinal and behavioral changes with regard to the division of labor within the home appear to be especially pronounced among the younger and more highly educated segments of the population (Juster, 1985; Szinovacz, 1984). Lopata, Barnewolt and Norr (1980), for example, found that college educated husbands were four times as likely as the least educated husbands in their national sample to do at least some housework if the wife was working. Level of education is also correlated with liberal sex-role attitudes (Perruci, Potter, and Rhoads, 1978), which are, in turn, associated with greater participation in child care and family work on the part of husbands (Bird, Bird, and Scruggs, 1984; Pleck, 1983).

The professional success of the wife, measured in terms of income, has also been identified as a factor contributing to greater sharing of domestic tasks (although this causal interpretation could easily be reversed - women whose husbands share domestic work may be freer to further their careers). Two multivariate studies have documented that as the wife's income level increases, especially relative to her husband's income, husbands take greater responsibility for household and child care tasks (Bird et al., 1984; Maret and Finlay, 1984). A related finding from a study of 32 professional couples indicated that in couples where the wife had worked full-time and continuously since receiving her professional degree, family work was distributed more equitably than in couples where the wife had interrupted her career or worked part-time (Weingarten, 1978). It is significant, and not surprising, that in couples where both spouses work, marital satisfaction is higher when husbands participate more in housework and child care (Bailyn, 1970) and are perceived by their wives to be doing "their share" of the domestic work (Yogev and Brett, 1983).

The implications of these studies are that men can no longer be assumed to be free of significant obligations within the home. The traditional focus on

women in work/family conflict and dual career studies needs to be expanded to include the possibility that men, also, may be subject to conflicts stemming incompatible work and family time obligations. The likelihood that men will be subject to work/household maintenance conflicts appears to be especially high among men whose wives are pursuing a career.

Family orientations of men

Pleck (1983) has argued that families are considerably more important to the lives of working men than organizations typically assume. Evidence that men are participating more in the work of the household appears to support this proposition. In addition, research on the contribution of marital satisfaction to happiness, and studies examining the amount of satisfaction men derive from their jobs, both support this contention.

In two large, multivariate studies, satisfaction with the marital relationship emerged as the factor most strongly and consistently related to overall happiness across a variety of occupational and socioeconomic groups (Benin and Neinstedt, 1985; Weaver, 1978). London, Crandall and Seal (1977) also found that "satisfaction with things done with family" contributed the most unique variance to a measure of overall life satisfaction. Job satisfaction in this study was independently associated with life satisfaction only for college educated and career level employees, and even within these groups, the proportion of variance accounted for was only slightly over 10%.

Results from studies where respondents are asked to rate the relative importance of work and family also confirm the importance of families in the lives of married men. As early as 1970, Bailyn's (1970) work on career and family orientations indicated that 58% of the husbands of a sample of university educated women derived more satisfaction from their families than their careers. The majority of dual career husbands in a later study also ranked family as a more important source of life satisfaction than career or occupation (Hardesty and Betz, 1980). Even in a sample of unmarried male college seniors, a group for whom career issues are likely to be especially salient, almost half indicated that they expected to derive more satisfaction in life from their families than their careers (Regan and Roland, 1985).

Results of another study on work and family indicate that men are also likely to devote a considerable amount of emotional energy to their family relationships. In a large cross-sectional national sample of voluntary respondents, Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) found that only 27% of the 3,596 married male respondents were work-centered (on the basis of self-reported investments of emotional energy), while 39% were predominantly relationship centered. The remaining 34% were equally work and relationship centered.

In all of the studies cited above, the family orientations of men were strong, but the family orientations of women were even stronger. However, in two studies of employed college graduates conducted in the 1980's, the levels of family involvement reported by men and women were equal (Frone and Rice, 1987; Yogeve and Brett 1985).

Evidence that many employed men place a high value on their family lives suggests two considerations relevant to the examination of work/family conflict. First, men who place a high value on their families and marital relationships are less likely to be willing to ask their families to make sacrifices for the sake of their own careers or to meet the needs of the organizations they work for. Second, having time to devote to families, both to enjoy the company of wives and children and to maintain close family relationships, will be important to family oriented men. Therefore, even in couples where women continue to do most of the housework, there is the potential for men to experience conflicts between work demands and their family relationship obligations and needs. Kingston and Nock (1987) found that the more time the dual earner couples spent together in activities such as eating, playing and conversing, the higher the level of marital quality reported. Of course this correlation could reflect the fact that happily married people are more likely to want to spend time together, yet, there is likely to be some level at which the lack of time together begins to impair the quality of a relationship.

Career aspirations of women

Research from the late 1960's and early 1970's suggested that although some women were engaged in career pursuits, their careers typically did not have the same significance in their lives as the careers of men. Male college students, for example, were much more likely than female college students in the late 1960's to see their careers as being central to their lives (Greenhaus, 1971; Masih, 1967). Similarly, early research on dual career couples suggested that even professionally trained women tended to subordinate their careers to family obligations and the career needs of their husbands (Epstein, 1972; Heckman, Bryson and Bryson, 1977; Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Yohalem, 1979).

More recent data, however, suggest that differences between men and women in both career aspirations and career salience are disappearing. First, there has been a dramatic shift in the number of women planning on having careers. In a study comparing the vocational aspirations of over 1400 female university seniors from graduating classes in 1970 and 1980, the percentage of women aspiring to professional careers increased from 16% to 44% in the span of 10 years (Regan and Roland, 1985). The proportion is probably even higher today; Bem (1987) notes that female enrollment in the historically male professional schools is currently approaching 40%.

There is also a convergence in what men and women want out of their careers (Bartol and Manhardt, 1979; Regan and Roland, 1985). Between 1970 and 1980, the percentage of women in Regan and Roland's (1985) study espousing traditionally masculine career values (e.g., aspiring to high incomes, recognition, and leadership positions) increased from 18% to 45%, narrowing the gap between men and women considerably (44% and 52% of the male students endorsed a comparable number of career values in 1970 and 1980, respectively). The percentage of women indicating that they expected to get more personal satisfaction out of their careers than their families also doubled (from 12% to 24%) between 1970 and 1980.

Studies of currently employed women yield results consistent with the trends noted in the research on college students. Results of a work motivation survey administered to 136 matched pairs of male and female managers indicated that compared to men, female managers were more concerned with opportunities for growth, autonomy and challenge, and less concerned with work environment, pay and strain avoidance (Donnell and Hall, 1980). The authors provided an interesting interpretation of their results, suggesting that females "exhibit what we know to be a more mature and higher-achieving motivational pattern than do males" (Donnell and Hall, 1980, p. 71). Rynes and Rosen (1983) obtained complementary results in their assessment of gender differences in attitudes toward advancement opportunities among 84 managerial, professional and technical employees enrolled in an evening MBA program. They concluded that men and women "hold almost identical attitudes toward the importance of accepting the risks associated with relocations, employer changes and changes of functional area in order to further their professional careers" (Rynes and Rosen, 1983, p. 114).

In contrast to earlier studies, more recent research on dual career couples also suggests that husbands and wives are virtually identical in terms of the extent to which their careers are viewed as important sources of personal satisfaction (Hardesty and Betz, 1980; Sekeran, 1982). Frone and Rice (1987) also found no evidence of gender differences in reported levels of job involvement in a sample of 141 nonteaching professionals employed at a major university.

Gray (1983) more directly addressed the willingness of professional women to subordinate their careers to home and family obligations. She surveyed 300 married professional women who were very similar in terms of both occupation and age to the sample of professional women interviewed by Poloma in 1970. Gray found that relative to the women in Poloma's (1972) sample, the women she questioned in 1978 worked longer hours (46 vs. 38 hours per week) and were less willing to limit their professional involvements because of family obligations.

The increasing salience of careers to women suggests that more and more employees in families where both spouses work are likely to be subject to conflicts between the career needs of the two spouses. Role cycling problems (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976) stemming from the simultaneous experience of peak career demands may arise. Both spouses may have to occasionally alter their own work schedules or responsibilities in order to accommodate critical times in the careers of their spouses.

Transitions in the family life cycle (e.g., birth of a child, children becoming involved in after school activities, taking an ailing parent into the home) are also likely to affect the extent and nature of the family obligations of both spouses when neither is willing to sacrifice career aspirations. In dual career marriages, men, as well as women, may have to decline an assignment involving extensive overtime or travel, turn down a promotion requiring a transfer, or leave work early to pick up the children in order to accommodate family needs and career demands of a spouse.

The type of flexibility required in the work role if employees are to be able to accommodate two valued and demanding careers in the same family is

somewhat broader than simple schedule flexibility. Individuals are likely to be able to satisfactorily manage the work/family and career/career conflicts that are inevitable in this situation only if they have considerable autonomy or discretion in their job situations. Individuals who are afforded the discretion in their work roles to postpone a deadline when they can't work late because their spouse is out of town, and can reschedule "after hours" meetings or business trips when the timing is bad, or decline an especially demanding assignment following the birth of a child, for example, are likely to feel able to effectively manage their dual obligations. On the other hand, if an employee feels that career goals will be jeopardized if he or she occasionally puts family before work, or even makes family needs known, that individual is likely to experience a serious level of work/family conflict. The ability to adjust work role obligations to accommodate occasional, unexpected family needs as well as longer term changes in the nature or extent of family obligations is likely to be a critical determinant of the level of work/family conflict experienced by dual career couples.

Summary of career aspirations and family involvement literature

In summary, the research reviewed above suggests that differences in the way men and women view their work and family roles are disappearing. Women are no longer concerned only with home and families. They are increasingly likely to be in the work force and to have careers they value. At the same time, while careers are still likely to be very important to men, men appear to be more involved with their families, both emotionally and in terms of participation in domestic tasks than is traditionally assumed. There are still important differences across individuals in the importance they ascribe to work and family, however, these differences are much less likely than in the past to be primarily a function of gender.

Several implications of these important social changes for the experience of work/family conflict were suggested. At a general level it was argued that men are increasingly likely to be subject to the same kinds of work/family conflicts working women have experienced. It was also suggested that in addition to expectations concerning the number of hours individuals work, flexibility to accommodate out-of-schedule family demands and discretion to alter work role obligations are also important work related sources of work/family conflict.

The pattern of the social changes documented in this review supports Pleck's (1975) observation that "a new option to integrate roles in both work and the family is now emerging" (p. 417). These new patterns of integration require new ways of conceptualizing and categorizing individuals in terms of their role orientations. Recent work on variations in career orientations and the typologies of marital relationships suggested by family sociologists offer a way to describe emerging patterns of values and relationships. This literature is briefly reviewed below. Following the analysis of new types of career orientations and marital relationships is the final section of the paper where the major propositions relating to work/family conflict are summarized. The emergence of balanced orientations to work and family

Willmott noted in 1971 that social scientists typically assume that individuals are either "work-centered" or "family-centered". Much later, Amatea, Cross, Clark and Bobby (1986) made a similar observation, stating that measures developed to tap the salience of work and family roles usually "conceptualize work and family role involvements as mutually exclusive attitudes, which are structured as bipolar opposites along one continuum" (p. 832). This orientation is apparent in several of the studies cited in the section on men's family orientations, where the psychological importance of work and family is measured by having respondents rank order or choose between roles (Bailey, 1970; Gray, 1983; Greenhaus, 1971; Regan and Roland, 1985).

It is apparent, however, that individuals can rank high or low on both measures of work and family involvement when the two dimensions are assessed separately (Bailey, 1976; Bartolome and Evans, 1979; Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983; Willmott, 1971; Yoge and Brett, 1985). There is also evidence that individuals are reluctant to designate one or the other role as being the most important area of life. Bartolome and Evans (1979) reported that the male managers they interviewed resisted saying which role was more satisfying because they considered both to be important. Similarly, when Gray (1983) asked the professional women in her sample to indicate which role was most important to them (work or family), 46% said that it was impossible to rate one as being more important than the other.

Based on a large survey and interviews with hundreds of managers, Bartolome and Evans (1979) suggest that families are the most important aspects of life in an absolute sense, but careers are more important in terms of satisfying achievement and mastery needs. They conclude that the general sentiment of managers appears to be that "both career and family are equally important and satisfying, but in different ways" (Bartolome and Evans, 1979, p. 5).

The "getting balanced" career orientation described by Derr (1986) appears to capture the feelings of the managers and professionals in the studies cited above. Careerists with a "getting balanced" orientation to work "strive to achieve a meaningful balance among work, relationships and self-development, so that work does not become either too absorptive or too uninteresting" (p. 2). When the desired level of balance is achieved; work, relationships, and self-development have the same value and receive comparable amounts of time. Work is important, but it does not take precedence over important relationships with friends, lovers, and family members.

The getting balanced career orientation is one of five patterns Derr has identified in his work on careers (1986). The other orientations or motivational patterns Derr describes include: a) getting ahead - making it to the top of the hierarchy and status system, b) getting secure - achieving recognition, job security, respect, and "insider" status, c) getting free - obtaining maximum control over work processes, and d) getting high - getting excitement, challenge, adventure, and "cutting edge" opportunities. Of these five patterns, only one, the getting ahead orientation, fits the motivational pattern assumed in the traditional male work model.

Other career theorists have also identified patterns of nontraditional career orientations. Bailey (1982), for example, makes a distinction between

"accommodative" and "nonaccommodative" orientations toward work. Nonaccommodators have the values traditionally attributed to career oriented men. They have high career aspirations, derive most of their satisfaction in life from their work and devote little time to their families. Accommodators, on the other hand, feel that family time and family relationships are very important, and they are not strongly oriented toward success in the traditional sense of the term. In between the two extremes are the majority of careerists for whom careers and families appear to be equally important (either both very high or both moderate). Not surprisingly, Bailyn's (1970) earlier research suggests that among dual career couples, the marriages of more family oriented men are much happier than marriages in which the husband is strongly and exclusively career oriented.

The extent to which the contemporary work force can be characterized as having a balanced vs. a more traditional "get ahead" (Derr, 1986) orientation is unclear. There appear to be differences across occupational groups in the patterns of work and family involvement they display (Bailyn, 1978; Willmott, 1971). Willmott (1971) found that the executive level employees of two firms were more likely than technicians and skilled workers to be highly involved in all three major spheres of life: work, family and leisure. The senior level staff also appeared to experience more work/family interference as a result. Bailyn (1982) found clear differences in levels of job involvement and accommodation as a function of both profession, and the nature of ones job within a particular occupational group. Yet, about half of the individuals in all the different groups she examined displayed intermediate, or what might be interpreted as balanced orientations. Bartolome and Evans (1979) also found individuals who were extremely work or family oriented, however, these individuals comprised only a small minority of the sample. Within their large sample of mid-level managers attending a European executive development program, the great majority (79%) exhibited a strong attachment to both work and family. These findings are consistent with Derr's (1986) report that the "getting balanced" group is always the largest in career workshops where participants are asked to diagnose themselves in terms of five different career orientations.

In the absence of more conclusive data on occupational differences and the prevalence of different types of career orientations in general, organizations might do well to assume that the majority of career level employees have balanced orientations to work and life. Research on work/family conflict might also profit from the assumption that balanced orientations are likely to characterize a great number of dual career couples. Many measures of role salience and work and family involvement tend to exclude this possibility in their emphasis on determining which role is the most salient. Emerging nontraditional patterns of marital relationships

Studies concerned with identifying the antecedents of work/family conflict typically either focus on women, or appear to be guided by the assumption that women bear the sole responsibility for child care and family responsibilities. As noted in the discussion of social changes, however, there are clearly variations across couples in the way they allocate family responsibilities and assign career priorities. These variations across couples have been the subject of numerous studies conducted by family sociologists and dual career

researchers (Bird et al., 1984; Garland, 1972; Gowler and Legge, 1978; Hawkes, Nicola and Fish, 1980; Smith and Reid, 1986; Yogeve, 1981; Yogeve and Brett, 1985).

Marital Typologies

Three researchers have proposed typologies of marital patterns which appear especially relevant to the study of the work/family interface in dual career couples (Garland, 1972; Gowler and Legge, 1978; Smith and Reid, 1986). These typologies are remarkable in the similarity of the types they describe, and lend themselves to the description of different types and levels of family obligations. These typologies of marital patterns offer one way of ordering individuals in terms of the general extent and nature of their marital obligations. Researchers concerned with the effects of work on family life might find marital types to be a better way of capturing the extent and nature of family obligations than traditional family structure variables.

Garland (1972) identified four different marital patterns based on extensive interviews with 54 dual career couples. In his classificatory schema, couples were placed in a category largely on the basis of the relative status or priority of the careers of the two spouses. His research then addressed the levels of emotional and active career support (e.g., participation in family work) the men in each category gave to their wives. Smith and Reid's (1986) classification of marital types described essentially the same four types, however, their categories were based on patterns of allocation of domestic chores and child care as well as the relative status of careers. Their research on marital types focused largely on the issues that arise as couples try to implement egalitarian or "role-sharing" marriages. The typology suggested by Gowler and Legge (1978) included categories similar to those described by the others, yet the focus of their theoretical analysis was the description of the conditions of the "implicit marital contracts" underlying each type of marriage. The table below indicates the names the different authors used to describe the marital patterns they identified.

Garland (1972)	Smith and Reid (1986)	Gowler and Legge (1978)
Traditional	Traditional	Conventional
Neotraditional	Quasi-traditional	Working couple
Egalitarian	Role-sharing	Dual career
Matriarchal	Reversed traditional	

A brief analysis of these patterns in terms of the obligations imposed on the marital partners suggests that different types of marital relationships have markedly different implications for the experience of work/family conflict.

In all three conceptualizations of the traditional or conventional type of marriage, "the male acts as the primary breadwinner, while the female regards the home and children as her first concern" (Garland, 1972, p. 202). A traditional husband may be supportive of his wife's working, but the support is conditional on her not allowing her job to interfere with either his career or her domestic obligations (Garland, 1972). Implicit in a traditional

marriage is the understanding that the wife will "provide the sort of back-up services that are often not just desirable, but necessary if he (the husband) is to meet the physical, intellectual and emotional demands of the job" (Gowler and Legge, 1978).

A husband in a traditional marriage will experience few demands on his time from his family role, either in the form of expectations that he help with domestic tasks or in the level of emotional availability and psychological involvement he is expected to display. As a result, he is likely to be able to pursue his career single mindedly and conform to traditional organizational expectations. Career oriented men in traditional families are unlikely to experience work/family conflict to any significant degree.

A working wife in this type of marriage, on the other hand, will be severely constrained in the level of work role commitments she can accommodate. To the extent that her orientation to work and family is traditional and consonant with her marital obligations, however, work/family conflicts may not be a serious problem. Potential work/family conflicts are likely to be resolved in favor of the family, and the greater salience of the family relative to work is likely to enable traditional women to compromise their work roles without creating any undue psychological distress.

Poloma (1972), for example, found that many of the women in her professional female sample managed to reduce internalized conflicts between work and family roles by "creating a role for themselves with the family demands salient in the hierarchy and career demands assuming less importance" (p. 197). Women who clearly identified their family roles as the most salient, were not unhappy about having to compromise their careers. The few women in the sample who did not identify their home roles as being clearly their first priority, however, were much more likely to experience role conflicts and tension.

Women in traditional marriages may or may not be employed, however, in all three typologies, wives in the neotraditional or quasi-traditional marital arrangement work outside the home. The most important distinction between the traditional and neotraditional families is that in the latter, "the wife's professional involvement is viewed by both members of the pair as a significant factor to take into account whenever decisions are to be made which would affect the career of either spouse" (Garland, 1972, p. 202). However, in the case of career/career or work/family conflicts that are not easily resolved, it is generally the husband's work role that is given the higher priority. The husband also participates to some extent in the domestic work of the household, but the responsibility for seeing that things get done rests primarily with the wife. Women in neotraditional marriages are also more likely than their husbands to be the ones to have to adjust their work schedules or take time off from work to meet any unexpected home and family demands.

Because the neotraditional or quasi-traditional pattern is a bridge between the traditional and the more egalitarian marital types, there is room for a great deal of variability in neotraditional marriages in the level of support spouses expect from each other. Nevertheless, the home and family time obligations of husbands in neotraditional marriages are greater than in tradi-

tional marriages, suggesting an increased potential for work/family conflict. Similarly, women in neotraditional marriages are more likely than women in traditional marriages to be subject to work/family conflicts because they are less likely to be willing to always put families first.

The dual career literature suggests that the neotraditional pattern was characteristic of most dual career couples of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Garland, 1972; Holmstrom, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969; Yohalem, 1979 - using a sample of women who had completed graduate school between 1945 and 1951). Both men and women in the early dual career samples tended to express fairly egalitarian ideals. However, institutional barriers in the form of traditional organizational expectations, and early patterns of sex-role socialization (or the "institutionalized role of women in the family" as Poloma (1972) expressed it) inhibited the establishment of more egalitarian patterns (Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma, 1972).

Egalitarian or role-sharing marriages are most clearly differentiated from the two marital patterns discussed above by the absence of any traditional sex-related division of labor. Individuals in role-sharing marriages allocate responsibilities within the home on the basis of personal preferences and the constraints of the work role obligations of each spouse. Both spouses also tend to be equally involved in their careers, and both are expected to consider the work role commitments and career aspirations of the other in making career decisions. Agreements about the responsibilities of each spouse are likely to be explicit in this type of marriage, because traditional role allocation patterns are rejected rather than simply modified (Gowler and Legge, 1978).

Although both partners in role-sharing marriages are constrained by the needs of their spouses, successful role-sharing marriages are also characterized by high levels of flexibility, cooperation and mutual support (Smith and Reid, 1986). If a wife is going through a particularly demanding time at work, for example, the husband is likely to try to free her from demanding family obligations.

Support from one's spouse and flexibility in terms of family and household obligations are essentially the same factors other dual career researchers have identified as being most critical to happiness and adjustment in dual career marriages (Gray, 1983; Holahan and Gilbert, 1979; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). However, for an equitable balance between work and family obligations to be maintained, flexibility in the work role obligations of both spouses is likely to be essential.

The matriarchal or reversed traditional marital pattern is basically characterized by the dominance of the wife's career in the family. Decisions affecting the careers of both spouses tend to be resolved in favor of the wife's career, and domestic responsibilities are allocated on the basis of her work-role constraints. In Garland's (1972) study, this pattern was exhibited by five of the 54 couples in the dual career sample. This pattern was somewhat different from the others in that it seemed to emerge as a function of the wife's higher career status and earning power, rather than as a reflection of the values of the marital partners.

Three of the five husbands in the matriarchal families Garland identified were classified as being "resigned" to their wives' career involvements rather than as exhibiting positive support. However, a more recent study suggests that such marital arrangements may also be experienced positively by both partners. Atkinson and Boles (1984) suggest that marriages in which wives are viewed as the senior partner in terms of career priorities (WASP marriages they call them) is a pattern that is "currently being chosen by some couples and is increasingly likely to be considered by others" (p. 861). The primary source of work/role conflict in matriarchal marriages is likely to be normative social expectations concerning the appropriate role of men.

In summary, there are many alternatives to traditional patterns of marital relationships. These alternatives impose different types of obligations on marital partners; obligations which reflect attempts to integrate the work and family roles of both spouses in a marriage. In future research on work/family conflicts, the typologies discussed here may provide a useful framework for classifying couples in terms of the extent and nature of the family role obligations they are likely to experience.

Summary of the Analysis of Social Changes

The literature reviewed in the first part of this section outlined prevailing organizational assumptions about the family patterns and motivations of employees. Bailyn's (1984) assessment of current of organizational assumptions suggests that few meaningful changes have occurred over the past decade and a half, despite evidence of increased heterogeneity in the work force. Organizations still tend to operate according to the traditional male model of the work role, where employees are expected to have nonworking, accommodating spouses, and career level employees, in particular, are assumed to be willing and able to subordinate all other interests to their careers.

The next section documented the major social changes of the last 10 to 20 years in terms of the influx of women into the work force, the increasing prevalence of women with career aspirations, and the increased participation and involvement of men in their families. It was suggested that, given these changes, Derr's (1985) concept of a balanced orientation to work and family life may describe increasing numbers of employees. At the same time, it appears that new ways of conceptualizing marital relationships are called for. The pattern described variously as "interdependent", "role-sharing" or "egalitarian" appears to be increasingly prevalent. Implications of these new patterns of work and family orientations for the experience of work/family conflict were also suggested.

IV. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Several assumptions organizations make about career level employees were identified in the previous section. The basic assumptions identified were that: a) employees have a nonworking spouse at home to free them from any significant domestic obligations, b) employees are willing to subordinate all other interests to the demands of their careers, and c) the families of employees are willing to accommodate any and all demands the organization makes

of an employee. Recent data suggest that while there certainly still exist employees who fit the traditional male work model, increasing numbers of employees today do not. Individuals in contemporary dual career marriages are likely to: a) have significant domestic obligations, b) be unwilling to sacrifice family relationships to the demands of their careers, and c) have spouses whose own career needs impose constraints on the types of work role commitments and requirements the employee can accommodate.

The analysis of the incompatibility between work expectations and family values and needs suggested that there are several ways work can affect family life which have not previously been addressed in the work/family conflict literature. A different approach to the conceptualization of the dimensions of family obligations was also suggested in the discussion of conceptual and measurement issues in work/family conflict. The suggestions regarding the ways work affects family life and how family obligations should be conceptualized are summarized below.

Recommendations for Future Research

The effects of work on family life

It is proposed that there are four ways work can cause problems for families or employees in the context of their family lives:

- 1) The total or average number of hours the employee is expected to work may not leave enough time to meet family obligations.
- 2) The lack of flexibility to take time off or temporarily modify the basic work schedule can make it difficult to respond to family demands which arise during work hours.
- 3) The lack of discretion or latitude to adjust work obligations and commitments can make it difficult to accommodate changes in the level or nature of family role obligations.
- 4) The spillover of negative emotional states generated at work can render the individual emotionally or psychologically unavailable to respond to family members.

Types of family conflicts experienced

It is further proposed that it is useful to conceptualize family obligations in terms of two dimensions: household maintenance obligations and family relationship obligations. A measure of an individual's ability to meet household maintenance obligations might ask:

Given the constraints and obligations of your current work role, to what extent are you able to:

- a) do your share of the housework
- b) meet the expectations of your spouse with regard
what you are to do around the house
- c) fulfill your responsibilities with regard to
doing errands and chauffeuring tasks

A measure of the individual's ability to meet family relationship obligations might include items like the following:

Given the constraints and obligations of your current work role, to what extent are you able to:

- a) spend time talking to and relaxing with family
- b) have fun and play with family members
- c) give your spouse the support he/she needs in order
to meet important work goals
- d) give your spouse the support he/she needs in order
to meet important family goals
- e) give your family members the time and attention
they expect
- f) be present for important family occasions and
special events.

Suggested analyses

The basic hypothesis tested in this framework would be that the measures of work role time obligations, schedule flexibility, discretion to modify work commitments, and frequency of negative emotional spillover would be related to measures of the ability to meet household maintenance and family obligations. However, more specific hypotheses about the differential effects of the job dimensions on experience of conflicts in the two types of family obligations could also be formulated and tested. For example, schedule flexibility and negative emotional spillover are likely to be more strongly related to relationship than household maintenance conflicts.

In addition, variations across individuals in the extent of their family obligations and the salience of work and family roles are likely to have an effect on the extent to which variations in work role dimensions affect the experience of conflict. Low correlations between the job dimensions and the inability to meet household and relationship obligations would suggest the importance of these moderator effects.

Variations in the type of marital relationship were suggested previously as being important determinants of the extent and nature of family obligations. Similarly, differences in career orientations (e.g., balanced vs. "getting ahead") are likely to be good indicators of differences in the salience of work and family obligations. These typologies might be a good place to start in the search for moderator variables.

Several hypotheses about the possible moderating effects of variations in marital types and career orientations were suggested in the text. For example, family obligations are more likely to be salient for men with more balanced orientations to work, increasing the likelihood that work role constraints will be associated with family relationship conflicts. With regard to marital types, it was suggested that the effects of long work hours on the ability of women to meet household maintenance obligations are likely to be stronger for women in traditional marriages than nontraditional marriages. Similarly, men in nontraditional marriages are more likely to experience problems associated with inflexible work schedules than men in traditional marriages since they are more likely to be called upon to respond to out-of-schedule family demands. Additional hypotheses about moderating effects can be derived from an analysis of the different level and types of obligations spouses experience in different types of marriages.

Additional variables to include in work/family conflict research

Although the variables and effects discussed above comprise the heart of the proposed approach to work/family conflict research, it is suggested that there are several other variables that need to be included if researchers are to fully explore this phenomenon. First, it is important to recognize that work/family conflicts may be resolved in favor of the family. When this is the case, the ability to meet family obligations may not be compromised, but the individual's ability to meet work role expectations and attain career goals may be impaired. For this reason it is suggested that research on the work/family interface include scales designed to measure the extent to which individuals feel that they are able to: a) meet the expectations of the organization and their supervisor with regard to performance and work hours, and b) accomplish their own objectives and career goals, given the extent and nature of their family obligations.

It is also proposed that research on the work/family interface include a global, subjective measure of the extent to which individuals are able to realize their basic values and objectives with regard to the integration of work and family life. Such a measure might include items relating to:

- a) the level of stress or tension associated with the coordination of work and family life
- b) the degree to which the desired level of commitment or involvement in both domains of life can be maintained
- c) satisfaction with the balance of work and family obligations.

The regression of measures of the ability to meet work and family needs on such a global assessment of work/family conflict would indicate the relative importance of the inability to meet household maintenance, family relationship and work role obligations and needs. In addition, the failure of these measures to account for a substantial proportion of the variance in this measure would indicate the need to reconceptualize or better measure the types or sources of specific conflicts between work and family.

In light of research cited in the introduction on the effects of work/family conflict on job satisfaction and career decisions, any investigation of work/family conflict should also include measures of job satisfaction, satisfaction with the organization, and intentions to seek a position more compatible with family demands. It would be useful to explore both the direct and indirect effects (through the ability to meet family and work role obligations) of the four relevant job dimensions on job attitudes and turnover intentions. Such analyses could greatly facilitate efforts to update and expand current models of job satisfaction and turnover.

In summary, a conceptual framework for the analysis of the effects of work on family life has been proposed. This framework represents an attempt to incorporate the contributions of three different streams of research, while avoiding some of the conceptual and methodological weaknesses identified in previous research. The framework is clearly preliminary and will require modification based on empirical results. However, in identifying a variety of conceptual and methodological issues relevant to the examination of the effects of work on family life this framework may provide some direction for more fruitful, integrated research efforts in this area.

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