

Understanding the Role of Cultural Values in the Experience of Work-Family Conflict Among  
Professional Latinas

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## ABSTRACT

### Understanding the Role of Cultural Values in the Experience of Work-Family Conflict Among Professional Latinas

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The majority of empirical work regarding the phenomenon of work-family conflict has focused on the experiences of White, middle-class, professional women. While Latinos represent the fastest growing segment of workers in the U.S. labor force, and professional employment the fastest growing segment of occupation type, the experiences of professional Latinas, for whom the dominant cultural values may not be salient, remains largely unexplored. The influence of cultural context variables on experiences of work-family conflict has yet to be understood.

The present study surveyed 203 professional Latinas with children. It was expected that Latino cultural values (i.e., collectivism, familism) and traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., *marianismo*) would have both a main effect on levels of work-family conflict and a moderating effect on the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict, such that the relationship between both kinds of stressors and the two forms of conflict (i.e. work-family conflict; family-work conflict) would be stronger for those participants who also endorsed greater levels of individualism and familism, and for those who adhered to more traditional

gender role attitudes and who experienced greater conflict in relation to their gender role attitudes.

As expected, hierarchical multiple regressions revealed significant main effects for job and family stressors and individualism on levels of work-family conflict. Contrary to the hypotheses, no main effects were found for collectivism, familism, or gender role attitudes. Also as expected, results indicated that collectivism appeared to moderate the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict and familism moderated the relationships between job and family stressors and work-family conflict. Contrary to hypothesized relationships, results did not reveal a significant moderating effect for gender role attitudes. However, as predicted, the level of conflict that participants reported experiencing in regards to their gender role attitudes did appear to significantly moderate the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict, such that these relationships were stronger for those participants who endorsed high levels of conflict about their gender role attitudes. Implications of these findings for future research, training, and practice were discussed.

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## Chapter I

### Introduction

The past several decades have been marked by dramatic changes in the nature of families and the labor force in the United States. As a result of the feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s, opportunities have opened up for women both educationally and in professions that were considered traditionally male. The workforce participation rate of women has risen steadily, with 59.2% of women reported to be in the labor force in 2010. Moreover, in 2009, women reportedly accounted for 51% of all people employed in management, professional and related occupations (U.S. Department of Labor, BLS, 2010). . Accordingly, there has been a rise in the number of dual-earner couples. Recent data indicate that in 2010, 58% of heterosexual married couples reported that both the wife and husband had earnings from work, up from 44% in 1967. Additionally, there has been a subsequent increase in mothers who work. According to the Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau for the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010), from 1975 to 2000, the labor force participation rate of mothers with children under the age of 18 rose from 47% to 73%. By 2008, 78% of mothers with children between the ages of 6-17, and 64% of mothers of children under the age of 6 were participating in the labor force. This rapid increase of mothers in the workforce, particularly of mothers with young children, has been described as one of the largest social changes in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Halpern, 2004). Additionally, higher divorce rates and the subsequent increase of single-parent households, an increase in the average age of marriage and childbirth, and a decline

in the number of children women are having have all contributed to the numbers of women entering and staying in the workforce (Mandelson, 1996).

Despite significant changes, however, women in dual-earner couples retain a disproportionate amount of household and child-care responsibilities, often putting in a “second shift” at home following their workday (Hite, 2007; Hochschild, 1989; Polasky & Holahan, 1998).

As a growing number of individuals have been faced with the task of trying to balance the demands associated with their multiple roles as partners, parents and workers, researchers within the social sciences have attempted to understand the nature of the relationship between work and family.

A major focus of this work has been the conflict that is often inherent in negotiating multiple roles (i.e., inter-role conflict). Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snock, & Rosenthal (1964) posited that inter-role conflict is experienced when the pressures associated with one role are incompatible with the pressures associated with another role. Participation in one role, they asserted, would therefore make participation in the other role more difficult. Moreover, inter-role conflict is believed to occur when the demands of simultaneous major life roles are incompatible or interfere with one another in some respect (Polasky & Holahan, 1998). Since the societal expectation remains for women to take on the majority of household and child-care responsibilities despite their employment status outside the home, there has been particular interest in the existence of inter-role conflict among women (e.g., Brennan & Rosenzweig, 1990; Love, Galinsky & Hughes, 1987; Tiedje, Wortman, Downey, Emmons, Biernat, & Lang, 1990; Wethington & Kessler, 1989).

While informative and valuable, the majority of empirical work to date regarding involvement in multiple roles, and particularly regarding inter-role conflict between work and family, in the United States has tended to focus on White, middle class, professional working women and has drawn from theories of work-family conflict which reflect the values, family structure, and particular work history of the dominant group in society. (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Grzywacz, Arcury, Marin, Carillo, Burke, Coates & Quandt, 2007; Spector, 2004). This notion is evident in the fact that within work-family scholarship, work and family are generally regarded as distinct and independent forces. Work is largely considered to be part of individual identity and work-family conflict, therefore, a result of competition between personal and family interests (Hall & Callery, 2003). This understanding of work and family relationships is reflective of Eurocentric, individualistic cultural values in which independence, self-fulfillment and categorical thinking styles (i.e., either/or) are valued (Stewart & Bennett, 1991).

Despite their long-standing presence in the labor force, little is known about the experience of holding multiple roles among women of color, for whom the dominant cultural values may not be salient. The influence of a more collectivistic, holistically-oriented (i.e., both/and), and traditionally family-oriented value system has not been evaluated within the discourse on work-family relationships (Stewart & Bennett, 1991; DelCampo & Hinrichs, 2006).

In fact, there has been a tendency to generalize in the work-family conflict literature so that studies about “men and women” are by and large talking about White women. As Malveaux and Wallace (1987) state, “many researchers have accepted the view that “all women are White” (p.268). This notion may be evident in the fact that many studies gather data and fail to report the race and/or ethnicity of their participants or code their data accordingly. In fact, there has been a tendency in empirical work to date to control for race, class and other indicators of

location within the social structure (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti & Crouter, 2000). This has been noted as a major limitation of the extant literature on the work-family interface (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Poelmans, 2005). As all women do not share that same work history, cultural values or status within American society, it should not be assumed that all women's experiences in relation to the multiple roles they assume within family and work domains are universal.

Unlike many middle and upper class White women, who left the workforce after a temporary stay during WWII and re-entered voluntarily with the rise of the feminist movement, working class and poor women, a group in which women of color are disproportionately represented, have traditionally worked outside of their homes regardless of the political and social ideology of their time (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). Several authors have stressed the importance of considering the range of women's experiences and the broad racial and ethnic diversity among women on a variety of socioeconomic indicators, such as family arrangements, educational attainment, labor force participation, occupation and income (Higginbotham, 1997; Robles, 1997).

It is important to be mindful of the fact that work and family systems operate within, influence, and are influenced by broader economic, political and social contexts (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999). Women of color's work histories and labor force participation and the resulting impact on their family structures and relationships is markedly different from that of White women, largely due to the fact that they have developed amidst a backdrop of racism and discrimination in the U.S. For instance, the fact that most men of color have not had access to the "family wage", a concept developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which insured that working men's wages were high enough to support a family, and that unemployment rates continue to be higher



among men of color, has resulted in an increase of female family headships among women of color and consequently more pressure on them to participate in the labor force (Dubeck & Borman, 1996; Malveaux & Wallace, 1987). Additionally, occupational segregation which traditionally has crowded women into typically female occupations, disadvantaging them in terms of economic growth, has been even more strongly felt among women of color who have historically been disproportionately represented in blue-collar jobs within service sectors, agriculture and manufacturing (Bean & Tienda, 1987; Nelson & Tienda, 1997). Moreover, although employment rates rose among all groups of women between the late 1970s and mid-1990s, White women earned higher wages and were more likely to find jobs when they were searching for paid employment than women of color (Browne, 1999).

Researchers have begun to consider the impact of race and ethnicity and the intersection of these variables and gender on inter-role conflict, particularly on work-family conflict (WFC), indicating that the meaning and the outcomes associated with WFC might be different for individuals from varying racial cultural backgrounds (e.g., Grywacz, Quandt, Arcury, & Marin, 2005; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rivera, Torres, & Carre, 1997, Meleis, Douglas, Eribes, Shih, & Messias, 1996; Roehling, Jarvis, & Swope, 2005). However, most of the research that has examined the phenomenon work-family conflict, from a multicultural perspective has done so by looking at international and/or cross-national samples (e.g., Aryee, Fields, & Luk, 1999; Aryee, Luk, Leung, & Lo, 1999, Poelmans, Spector, Cooper, Allen, O'Driscoll, & Sanchez, 2003; Spector et al., 2004; Yang, Chen, Choi, & Zou, 2000). With few exceptions (e.g., Grywacz et al., 2007), the ways in which race, ethnicity and cultural values impact the experiences of women of color in the United States attempting to balance multiple roles remains largely unexplored.

Despite being relatively sparse, the research that has explored the relationship of work and family among women of color in the U.S. has generated important information. Some empirical findings have indicated that women of color may not experience conflict between their work and family roles in the same way that White women have been reported to due to a more collectivistic worldview orientation and a more integrated view of work and family (Aryee, Fields, & Luk, 1999; Grahame, 2003; Gzywacz et al., 2007, Yang, Chen, Choi, & Zou, 2000). Among Black women, for example, researchers have indicated that a greater reciprocity in interpersonal relationships, more egalitarian gender role attitudes, and the existence of extended support networks tend to lessen the occurrence and degree of conflict between work and family roles (Roehling et al., 2005). Others have indicated that certain cultural values such as *familism*, which emphasizes the centrality of and value placed upon family, as well as adherence to traditional culturally prescribed notions about gender roles may significantly affect the ways in which Latinas experience managing multiple work and family demands (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Korabnick, Lero, & Ayman, 2003). In sum, existing work-family research on the experiences of women of color highlights the notion that cultural values and norms influence the way in which work and family stressors are managed and perceived.

There is a need for further inquiry in order to more fully understand the variation of between and within group differences, and the nature of work-family relationships among women of non-dominant racial and ethnic groups within the United States. Empirical work has demonstrated that cultural values appears to be an important factor in shaping the ways in which women seem to experience juggling multiple roles. As previously mentioned, most theoretical and empirical work to date has been grounded in the context of the dominant culture and reflective of the values associated with that particular context (e.g., individualism). More

research is needed to elucidate the ways in which individuals, such as women of color, for whom the dominant cultural values may not be salient, negotiate the experience of managing work and family responsibilities.

This study aims to further knowledge in the area of work-family research by exploring the ways in which cultural values and gender role attitudes may impact the experiences of one group of women of color, professional Latinas, managing the demands associated with both work and family roles.

Understanding the ways in which cultural values may impact work-family relationships seems particularly important and timely as the U.S. labor force continues to become increasingly racially and ethnically diverse. In fact, the share of White non-Hispanics in the workforce is anticipated to decrease by 20% (to 53%) between 2000 and 2050, while Latinos, African Americans and Asian Americans are all projected to rapidly increase their share in the labor force during the same time period, to 24%, 14% and 11% respectively (Toosi, 2002). According to projected data, people of color will make up almost half (47%) of the U.S. labor force within the next several decades, a rise from 28% in 2000 (Toosi, 2002), with Latinos representing the fastest growing segment of workers, and professional employment the fastest growing segment of occupation type (Grzywacz et al., 2007). It is posited that the percent of Hispanic individuals in the labor force will double to 24% by 2050 (Toosi, 2002). In fact, Hispanics have accounted for 40% of the general population growth in the U.S. in the past decade, growing at ten times the rate of non-Hispanics (Blancero & Blancero, 2001). Given these statistics, it seems imperative to understand the characteristics and experiences of this rapidly growing segment of the U.S. labor force.

Latinas<sup>1</sup> belong to a diverse cultural group comprised of various ethnicities each with distinct historical, political, economic, and racial characteristics. Despite these differences, however, Latinas are generally distinguished by common cultural values (e.g., collectivism, familism) and a greater adherence to traditional notions of gender roles (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Harris & Firestone, 1998; Kane, 2000) which may influence their perceptions of work and family in significant ways. While research on Latinas has grown in the past several decades, empirical work has been more heavily focused on their traditional roles as wives and mothers. There has been a relative lack of attention to Latinas' employment and career-related experiences. Even less is known about the over 22% of Latinas in professional and managerial occupations (Hite, 2007).

It has been suggested that work-family conflict is both an individual and organizational problem, with implications for the physical and psychological well-being of individuals and their families as well as for organizations' bottom lines. Higher levels of conflict between work and family have been suggested to increase absenteeism and turnover rates, and to decrease productivity, job satisfaction and employee morale (Higgins, Duxbury, & Irving, 1992). In addition, it has been suggested to adversely affect individual's mood, affect, and family, marital and life satisfaction (Frone, 2000; Kossek & Ozeki, 2001).

In light of the relative absence of existing research, and the anticipated changes in the labor force and employment, further inquiry is needed in order to accurately characterize and understand the phenomenon of work-family conflict among racially and ethnically diverse workers (Grzywacz, 2007; Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000; Poelmans, 2005). To that end, this study

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<sup>1</sup> The U.S. Census Bureau defines individuals of Hispanic origin as those who live in the United States and indicate their origin as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American. Latino is defined as an individual living in the U.S. whose origin is, or who has heritage relating to, Latin America (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Much debate exists as to how inclusive/exclusive these terms may be (DelCampo & Hindrichs, 2006). However, for the purpose of this document, the terms "Hispanic" and "Latina/Latino" will be used interchangeably.

aims to explore work-family conflict among professional Latinas by drawing from emerging theoretical models (e.g. Korabik et al., 2003; Joplin, Shaffer, Francesco, & Laue, 2003) that highlight the importance of considering race and ethnicity as well as cultural values (e.g. individualism/collectivism) that may influence family structures, relationships and the adaptations that are made in the face of managing the multiple demands of work and family.

In the following chapter, the existing theories and models of work-family conflict will be presented and past empirical work on work-family conflict, and its antecedents and outcomes, will be reviewed. Following, emerging cross-cultural models of work-family conflict will be discussed. Then existing data on gender and work-family conflict will be reviewed followed by a discussion of data on the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity as well as the unique experiences of women of color, particularly Latinas, in the work and family domains.

## Chapter II

### Literature Review

The influx of women, particularly women with children, into the U.S. labor force in the 1960s and 1970s has led to an interest among social science researchers in the ways in which individuals manage the multiple demands and responsibilities associated with juggling both work and family roles. Of particular interest, has been the conflict that often results from holding multiple roles (i.e. Work-Family Conflict). However, the majority of existing theoretical and empirical work is reflective of the particular cultural values, family structures and work histories associated with White, middle-class women. While women of color have participated in the American workforce longer than White women, relatively little is known about their experiences of juggling the multiple demands associated with both work and family roles or about the ways in which the cultural values and gender role attitudes that may be salient for them influence these experiences. The failure to consider the complex interactions of culture, race/ethnicity and gender negates and excludes a large proportion of the workforce. People of color, particularly Latinos, are rapidly increasing their presence in the U.S. population and labor force. Work-family conflict has been demonstrated to have important effects on well-being at an individual, family, and organizational level. As Latinas become an even more prominent fixture within the labor force, it seems imperative to gain a more complete understanding of them as workers. This study aims to further knowledge in this area by exploring the role of cultural values in their experiences of work-family conflict among professional Latinas.

This literature review will begin with an overview of the main theoretical perspectives that have emerged in work-family literature and a review of the empirical work which they have generated. Then a critique of this body of work will be presented, highlighting the culturally-bound assumptions that underlie the majority of work-family research and the paucity of research that has been conducted with people of color, followed by a discussion of emerging cross-cultural theories and models of work-family conflict that include variables which may play an important role in understanding the work-family interface among racially and ethnically diverse populations. Finally, this chapter will include a description of the research on gender and work-family conflict as well as a discussion of the work that has explored the unique experiences of women of color, particularly Latinas, in relation to juggling multiple roles within the domains of work and family.

### Theoretical Models of the Work-Family Interface

#### *Role Theory*

Role theory posits that individuals take up certain positions within various societal contexts (e.g., community, workplace, family) and groups in a way that is influenced by the expectations of the individual and others about the functions performed in a particular role. Most individuals occupy multiple roles simultaneously (e.g., daughter, mother, partner, sister, worker, student, friend etc.) each with its own set of expectations, functions and associated behaviors. With the aforementioned increase of women, particularly of women with children, in the labor force, traditional conceptualizations of gender roles, which generally allocated the provider role to men and the nurturer role to women, were challenged. This shift has spurred a growing

interest in the interaction of the work and family domains and in understanding the ways in which individuals coordinate their work and family roles.

Two leading perspectives have emerged in the sociological, organizational and psychological literature which have provided the theoretical basis for the majority of empirical work exploring the work-family interface. Some theorists have focused on the difficulties and the negative outcomes, such as work-family conflict, associated with holding multiple roles, (e.g. Allen, Herst, Brucj, & Sutton, 2000; Frone, 2000) while others have emphasized the potential benefits that can result from participation in multiple roles, such as employee, parent, spouse (e.g., Barnett, 1998, 2004; Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Kirchmeyer, 1992).

#### *The Scarcity Perspective*

Due to the often competing demands inherent in trying to perform multiple roles simultaneously, most of the extant research has focused on the conflict that individuals may experience when trying to balance the responsibilities associated with the multiple roles they occupy, particularly in regards to their roles within the domains of work and family (Aryee, Luk, Leung, & Lo, 1999).

This conflict has largely been understood from a demands perspective, drawing on the scarcity of resources hypothesis, which assumes that human energy is fixed and limited (Goode, 1960). According to this perspective, individuals have a set amount of psychological and physical resources to devote to the obligations pertaining to their social roles. Involvement in multiple roles, therefore, will exhaust these resources--ultimately impairing an individual's functioning across domains (Aryee, Tan, & Srinivas, 2005). Moreover, involvement in multiple roles can reduce the time and energy that can be devoted to effectively meeting the



demands and responsibilities associated with any singular role consequently leading to role strain, stress and conflict. In an effort to reduce role strain, individuals will prioritize and make trade-offs (Aryee et al., 2005). Underlying the conflict dimension of work-family interface is the notion that work and family domains have distinct necessities and norms, such that success or satisfaction in one domain requires sacrifice in the other (Zedeck & Mosier, 1990).

A specific form of inter-role conflict which has received attention in the social sciences literature is work-family conflict (WFC). Based on Kahn et al.'s (1964) work, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) defined work-family conflict as "a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually non-compatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role" (1985, p. 77). These authors identify three different types of work-family conflicts. *Time-based conflict* refers to the idea that time spent meeting the demands associated with one role precludes the time that is spent in the other role (e.g., missing a family celebration because of a work-related event). Time spent in a particular role may deplete energy and/or produce strain leading to the second type of conflict, *strain-based conflict*, which occurs when the strain experienced in one role affects performance in another role (e.g. acting irritable with one's children after being criticized by one's supervisor). Lastly, *behavior-based conflict* refers to the incompatibility of desirable behavior in work and family domains (e.g., inappropriately applying confrontational problem-solving style valued in the context of one's work to home or family related situations).

Work-family conflict is posited to be bidirectional, such that work can interfere with family (work-to-family conflict), and family can interfere with work (family-to-work conflict) (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992). Empirical evidence suggests that although reciprocally

related, these two forms of WFC are believed to be distinct constructs, each with its own set of unique antecedents and outcomes (Byron, 2005; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux & Brinley, 2005; Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997). Several authors (e.g., Beutell, 1985; Frone et al., 1992) have highlighted the need to explore both types of work-family conflict in order to more fully understand the work-family interface.

For instance, work-to-family conflict tends to be associated with family related outcomes such as marital satisfaction, family satisfaction, and children's well-being, whereas family-to-work conflict tends to be associated with work related outcomes such as job satisfaction, job performance and turnover rates (Allen et al., 2000; Aryee, Luk, Leung, & Lo, 1999; Frone, 2000; Grywacz & Marks, 2000, Kossek & Ozeki, 1999). Research interest in the area of work and family, particularly pertaining to the conflict-based perspective, regardless of the direction of interference, has grown as a result of the demonstrated negative physical and psychological consequences that often result from the stress of managing conflicting demands.

For example, Williams, Suls, Alliger, Learner, and Wan (1991) examined the effect of juggling multiple roles (i.e., simultaneously attending to the demands of different roles) on the daily mood states of employed mothers. Using a within subject design, these authors asked subjects to complete mood and activity questionnaires at random intervals 8 times a day for 8 days. Results of hierarchical multiple regression analysis indicated that among 20 employed mothers, 17 of whom were White (mean age = 36), subjects displayed less task enjoyment and decreased overall mood when juggling multiple roles than when not doing so, presumably due to the conflict inherent in meeting the demands of each role.

A multitude of studies have linked work-family conflict to lower levels of job, family and overall life satisfaction (e.g., Adams & Jex, 1999; Allen et al., 2000; Eby, Casper, Lockwood,

Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Parasuraman, Grennhaus, & Granrose, 1992; Perrewe, Hochwater, & Kiewitz, 1999) and higher level of stress (Kelloway et al., 1999; Parasurman & Simmers, 2001). In their comprehensive meta-analyses, Allen et al. (2000) and Eby et al. (2005) reported that work-family conflict was associated with several family, work and stress-related outcomes, including less marital and family satisfaction and emotional burnout.

In addition to the exploration of work-family conflict and different aspects of life satisfaction, numerous studies have focused on the potential physical and psychological consequences associated with it. For example, in their 4-year longitudinal study, Frone, Rusell, and Cooper (1997) found that work-family conflict was associated with adverse health related outcomes. More specifically, these authors examined longitudinal relations of work-family conflict (i.e., work interfering with family) and family-work conflict (i.e., family interfering with work) to self-report (e.g., depressive symptoms, physical health, and heavy alcohol use) and objective cardiovascular (e.g., incidence of hypertension) health outcomes. Survey data was obtained from a random community sample (n = 267) of employed parents during baseline (1989) and follow-up (1993). Respondents in the sample which was comprised of 52% women, 42.7% Whites, 51.7% African Americans, 4.8% Hispanics, 67% married individuals, with a mean age of 38.6 years old and an average of 2 children living at home, participated in structured interviews and physical measurements which were conducted in their homes. Least squares and logistic regression analyses revealed that family-work conflict was longitudinally related to elevated levels of depression, poor physical health and to the incidence of hypertension. Work-family conflict was related to increased levels of alcohol consumption. One important limitation of this research is that while the authors considered the relationship between work-family

conflict and health, they failed to consider the possible moderating influence of race or ethnicity or to explore potential differences among respondents based on racial/ethnic variables.

In an effort to extend past research on work-family conflict and health outcomes, Frone (2000) examined the relationship between work-family conflict and several types of psychiatric disorders (e.g., mood, anxiety, substance dependence and substance abuse). Survey data was obtained from a national representative sample of 2,700 employed adults from the National Comorbidity Survey (NCES, 2000; Kessler, 1994), which was designed to produce data on the prevalence, causes, and consequences of psychiatric morbidity and comorbidity in the U.S. Participants were either married and/or the parent of a child 18 years or younger who on average were employed 43 hours/week. Of the participants, 54% were male, the majority (79%) were White, 86% were married and 84% had at least one child 18 years or younger. Hierarchical regression analyses revealed that both work-to-family conflict (i.e., work interfering with family) and family-to-work conflict (i.e., family interfering with work) were positively related to having a mood, anxiety or substance dependence disorder. Further, the relation of family-to-work conflict and having an anxiety disorder was stronger among men than women. While gender served as a moderator variable in the analyses, the author did not explicitly test the differential moderating influence of race or ethnicity. Rather, the authors controlled for race (dummy coded as 0=White and 1=minority), among other sociodemographic variables (e.g., age, education, job type, number of children, family income, marital status).

Hammer, Cullen, Neal, Sinclair, and Shafiro (2005) conducted a longitudinal study which assessed relationships between work-family conflict and depressive symptomatology among 234 dual-earner heterosexual couples in the sandwiched generation (i.e., caring for children and parents simultaneously) over a one year period. All participants were members of the 234

couples who were working, caring for children as well as aging parents, step-parents or parents-in-law. The mean age of the wives in the sample was 41.5 years and the mean age of the husbands was 43.5 years. 94% of the wives and 95% of the husbands were White. Results indicated that work-family conflict, especially family-to-work conflict, predicted depression over time.

### *The Enhancement Perspective*

In contrast to the scarcity perspective, the enhancement perspective maintains that individuals may obtain various benefits from their involvement in multiple roles (Marks, 1997; Sieber, 1974). Rather than viewing human energy as fixed and limited, this perspective posits that human energy and psychological and physiological resources are expandable and have the potential to increase with involvement in multiple roles. Sieber (1974) asserts that involvement in multiple roles generates the opportunity to gain additional resources, privileges, status, social support, skills and knowledge, all of which can be applied within their various roles. Furthermore, he posits that engagement in multiple roles can provide a buffer against the challenges and stressors encountered in a particular role and may promote personal growth and self-esteem.

Marks (1977, 1979) suggests that the achievement of balance, or an equally positive commitment to all of an individual's typical roles, leads to physical and psychological health benefits. According to this theorist, it is the tendency towards a hierarchical organization or evaluation of activities which may actually be the source of role strain and stress not the involvement in the roles/activities itself.

More recently, researchers have introduced the term *work-family positive spillover* to describe the mechanism through which involvement in both work and family roles may prove

beneficial (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Grzywacz, 2000; Kirchmeyer, 1992, 1993; Stephens, Franks, & Atienza, 1997). The concept of positive spillover was first introduced by Staines (1980) who thought of the concept of spillover as the means by which the benefits of one role transfer to another, therefore improving the quality of the other role (e.g., salary from work allowing an individual to provide necessary resources for her child). Edwards and Rothbard (2000) expanded upon this construct, proposing that four distinct types of positive spillover, affect, values, skills and behaviors, may be transferred from the work (family) domain to the family (work) domain creating positive effect in the latter domain. Similar to the construct of work-family conflict, several researchers have differentiated two forms of work-family positive spillover (i.e., work-to-family and family-to-work positive spillover) and have found support for the distinction between these two dimensions (Grzywacz, 2000; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Hammer et al., 2005; Hanson et al., 2006; Stephens et al., 1997; Wayne et al., 2004).

Through their prominent “Expansionist Theory” Barnett & Hyde (2001) assert that holding multiple roles, such as those in the work and family domains, is beneficial for women and men’s psychological and physical health as well as relationship satisfaction. These authors posit that various processes or factors, including buffering effects (i.e., stress or failure in one role is buffered by success and satisfaction in another role), additional income, social support, increased opportunities to experience success, expanded frame of reference (i.e., more opportunities to gain perspective on one’s “ups and downs”), increased self-complexity (i.e., increase in the number of aspects of /cognitive representations of the self), similarity of experiences with one’s partner, and gender role ideology may contribute to the beneficial effects of multiple role involvement. According to these theorists, “flexibility in gender role beliefs and behaviors is the hallmark of success for men and women as they manage their work and family

demands under present and likely future conditions (p.789)". Therefore, the extent to which an individual holds traditional or non-traditional attitudes about proper social roles for men and women may moderate the relationship between multiple roles and various outcomes. For instance, a father who is heavily involved in child care and household responsibilities while his wife works may become resentful or depressed if he adheres to traditional conceptualizations of these responsibilities as "woman's work". Similarly, the potential beneficial effects of working outside the home may not result for a woman who believes it is her "duty" as a wife and mother to be home full-time and caring for her children. In other words, these authors claim that individuals with more flexible gender role ideologies may benefit from combining multiple work and family roles more than individuals with more traditional gender role ideologies. This is an important consideration, especially when one contemplates the role that race and ethnicity may play in individuals' experiences of holding multiple roles as attitudes about gender roles and appropriate behavior for men and women often vary across different racial and ethnic groups. Furthermore, as will be discussed later in this paper, gender role attitudes, particularly in regards to work in and out of the home, are also influenced by socio-political and socio-economic factors (e.g., unequal access to educational and professional opportunities, rates of unemployment) which also affect distinct racial and ethnic groups differently.

Several authors have also asserted that it is the quality of a particular role, the subjective experience of rewarding and/or problematic aspects of a role, more than the number of roles occupied that may determine negative or positive outcomes of multiple roles (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Marks & McDemid, 1996, Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000).

For example, Greenberger and O'Neil (1993) explored the relationships between five aspects of role-related experiences (e.g., commitment to a role, level of demands a role entails,

satisfaction with a role, self-evaluation of performance in a role, and social support) and well-being (i.e., anxiety, depression, role strain) among 102 employed men and 194 employed women in dual-earner marriages who were parents of preschool aged children. Of the sample in this study, 90% was White, the average respondent had 2 children, and most of the respondents had earned at least a bachelors degree and were employed in white collar positions. Participants were recruited through 68 different preschools in 4 cities in Southern California and responded to surveys that were mailed to their homes. Overall, results indicated differences in levels of well-being between the genders, with men reported higher levels of well-being than women and women reported significantly higher levels of depressive symptoms, role strain and higher levels of anxiety than men. Hierarchical regression analyses demonstrated that in general stronger commitment to roles, fewer role-related demands, more favorable self-evaluations and higher levels of social support and satisfaction were associated with greater well-being. The authors reported that satisfactory experiences in marital, work and parental roles were particularly strong predictors of psychological distress (anxiety and depression) for women. More specifically, satisfaction and positive self evaluation were significantly positively associated with women's well-being and social support was found to have an inverse association with women's experience of role strain.

Barnett and Hyde (2001) suggest that there is a point at which the demands or strain of a particular role may become excessive and may in turn diminish the quality of or satisfaction with that role thus leading to potential overload, conflict and decreased well-being. This notion once again highlights the importance of race, ethnicity and class in considering existing empirical and theoretical work on multiple roles for women. For example, the benefits that are said to pertain to engagement in a work role may not apply when the job is not satisfying or when the individual



is subject to racial discrimination or sexual harassment in the work place (Barnett & Hyde, 2001).

Empirical work has supported the notion of the beneficial effects associated with holding multiple roles, particularly pertaining to the work and family domains. In a study examining the relationship between multiple life roles and psychological well-being among women in managerial roles, Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer and King (2002) reported that overall the managerial women they studied appeared to benefit from multiple role involvement. Their study included mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology and all study participants were recruited from a leadership development program for female executives in which they were participating. In the first phase of the study, 61 female managers were interviewed. The average age of the respondents was 40, and a vast majority (92%) of the respondents were White. Furthermore, 51% held a graduate degree, 50% had children under the age of 18 and 71% were either married or involved in a committed relationship. Interview results suggest that the roles women occupy in their personal lives provided psychological benefits, practice multitasking, opportunities to enrich interpersonal skills and leadership practice that enhanced their focus, efficiency, an organization at work. Therefore, resources gained in one realm of an individual's life can benefit performance in another. In the second phase of the study, 276 women also recruited from the same leadership development program were given surveys. In this sample, 85% of the respondents were White, the average age again was 40, 81% of the women were married or in committed relationships, 47% had dependent children, and 53% held graduate degrees. Results obtained from hierarchical regression analyses indicated that multiple role commitment was related to life satisfaction, self-acceptance, self-esteem, and to interpersonal and task-related skills.

Similar results were obtained by Marshall and Barnett (1993) who investigated work-family strains and gains in their study of 300 full-time employed dual-earner couples (married or cohabiting). The couples were randomly selected from a list of adults living in two towns in the Boston area. The average age of the respondents was 35 for the men and 34 for the women. Moreover, 98% of the men and 97% of the women were White and 60% of the couples were parents. Results of multiple regression analyses indicated that participating in work and family roles was associated with benefits for the majority of men and women. In particular, participants in this study reported that involvement in both work and family roles allowed them to utilize all of their talents, and in many instances contributed to their perception of being better parents. Workload and quality of experiences at work and home were major predictors of work-family strains and quality of experiences at work and home, social support and sex role attitudes were found to be major predictors of work-family gains. In a study of the link between social roles and mental health, Sach-Ericsson and Ciarlo (2000) examined the relationship of gender and social roles (i.e., marriage, employment and parenthood) to DSM III one month prevalence rates of various psychiatric disorders (e.g., bipolar-manic disorder, major depressive disorder, dysthymia, schizophrenia, obsessive-compulsive disorder, phobias, panic disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, and alcohol and drug abuse and dependence). This study looked at gender differences in rates of the disorders as well as described the relationship of each social role and the different combinations of roles to the overall rate of any psychiatric disorder. The authors used the DIS, a highly structured interview that obtains Axis I DSM-III diagnoses through a patterned series of fully specified questions. The study considered “active disorders”, meaning that to be diagnosed as having an active disorder participants needed to meet full criteria for diagnoses within the past month. The 4,745 participants who were randomly sampled from a

community sample within the Colorado population were interviewed in their homes. Of the participants, 52% were female and 48% were male. A majority, 84.2% were White, 10% Hispanic, 3.8% African American, 1.4% Native American, 0.6% Asian American, and 0.1% Pacific Islander. The overall rate of any psychiatric disorder within the past month was 15.3% for men and 17.3% for women. Participants who met criteria for diagnosis of an active disorder were coded as 1 and participants who did not meet criteria were coded as 0. Results of hierarchical logistic regression analyses indicated that multiple roles were generally found to be associated with lower rates of psychiatric disorders for both men and women. Significant effects were found for marriage and employment such that the likelihood of having a psychiatric disorder was reduced. While no significant effect was found for parenthood alone, there was a significant interaction for marriage and parenthood such that the combination of both roles reduced the likelihood of having a psychiatric disorder.

In their reviews of the work-family literature, Barnett and Hyde (2001) and Klumb and Lampert (2004) reported that, in general, men and women who engage in multiple roles report lower levels of stress-related mental and physical health problem and higher levels of subjective well-being as opposed to those who engage in fewer roles. More recently, Ahrens and Ryff (2006) found that among a national sample greater role involvement was associated with greater psychological well-being as measured in six dimensions (autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and self-acceptance). These results also indicated a significant relationship between role involvement and increased positive self-regard and feelings of personal growth as well as decreased negative affect.

Recently, several authors have suggested that because conflict and enhancement are both inherently a part of involvement in multiple roles, a more comprehensive understanding of the

work-family interface necessitates an integration of both the scarcity and enhancement-expansion perspectives (e.g., Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Rothbard, 2001). To facilitate simplicity in measurement and in order to isolate the phenomenon of the influence of cultural values on work-family relationships, the point of interest in this investigation, only the work-family conflict (i.e. scarcity) dimension will be considered in the present study.

### Empirical Work Related to Work-Family Conflict

#### *Antecedents of Work-Family Conflict*

Increasingly, researchers have acknowledged that the number of roles one occupies is not necessarily predictive of the impact on an individual's physical and psychological well-being (Barnett, 1998, 2004; Barnett & Hyde, 2001). Rather due to the wide range of individual differences in regards to the characteristics of work and family, researchers have focused on the particular factors which may contribute to the outcomes that may occur from involvement in both work and family roles. There has been a shift towards identifying specific predictors or antecedents of work-family conflict and/or work-family enrichment, as well as a concentration on the particular mechanisms through which work and family domains influence one another (e.g., Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Rothbard, 2001).

Both work-related and family-related characteristics have been found to influence an individual's experience of juggling multiple roles pertaining to both domains. In relation to work, research has indicated that work-family conflict (WFC) is greater among individuals who report greater work demands (e.g., Yang, Chen, Choi & Zou, 2000), demonstrate a greater time commitment to work (e.g., Fenwick & Tausig, 2001; Tausig & Fenwick, 2001; Parasurman &

Simmers, 2001) and who tend to work nonstandard shifts, such as nights or weekends (Staines & Pleck, 1984). Conversely, research suggests that supportive organizational policies such as work-family benefits (Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999), a supportive mentor or supervisor, or a mentor that shares similar work-family values (Nielson, Carlson, & Lankau, 2001) can be beneficial in reducing work-family conflict (Eby et al., 2005).

Regarding the family domain, several structural and social characteristics have been demonstrated to influence the experience of trying to manage both work and family roles. Research suggests that work-family conflict is greater among individuals who have children in the home than among individuals who do not (Behson, 2002; Carlson, 1999; Grzywacz, & Marks, 2000). The number of, and the age of children, have also been suggested to be important factors (Carlson, 1999). Additionally, work-family conflict has been demonstrated to be higher among individuals who experience stress, disagreements and tension with their spouse and/or family members (Carlson & Perrewe, 1999; Fox & Dwyer, 1999; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). Moreover, Parasuraman and Simmers (2001) found that work-family conflict was significantly higher among individuals who reported greater time demands from family.

As discussed earlier, theorists and researchers have indicated that the psychological, or subjective, experience of one's role (i.e., perceived role quality) may be more influential than objective aspects of one's role (e.g., time demands, marital status, number of children) in determining the outcome of participating in multiple roles. There are several role related variables, such as flexibility and perceived control, which may impact the quality of a particular role. For example, in their study of dual-earner couples, Hammer, Allen & Grigsby (1997) found that employees who perceived their work schedules to be more flexible, experienced less

conflict with regard to their family and work roles than those who did not perceive such flexibility.

### *Gender and Work-Family Conflict*

As mentioned in an earlier section of this document, there has been particular concern with the ways in which women manage and balance the demands of work and family since there is a general expectation in most cultures that women are responsible for the majority of emotional and household work within the family (Bowes, 2005). Gender socialization plays a crucial role as this process partially determines the extent to which both men and women internalize traditional conceptualizations about gender differences and shapes behavior both directly and indirectly (e.g., through the expectation that others will penalize behavior that is in violation of gendered expectations) (Barnett, 2004). Research regarding gender differences in the experience of integrating work and family roles has provided mixed results. For example, some research finds no gender differences in reported levels of work-family conflict (e.g. Eagle, Miles, & Icenogle, 1997) while other studies found that women reported higher levels of work-family conflict than men (e.g., Behson, 2002; Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991, Frone et al., 1992). Nevertheless, the majority of studies looking at gender differences have reported that, in general, women tend to experience more conflict than men. In their study of 131 men and 109 women in managerial jobs who also had children and a spouse in a managerial position, Duxbury and Higgins (1991) found differences in the antecedents of work-family conflict among men and women. These authors reported that work involvement was a stronger predictor of work-family conflict for women whereas family involvement was a stronger predictor for men. Moreover, in terms of work and family expectations, they found that work expectations were a more significant predictor of work-family conflict for men while family expectations were a stronger

predictor of family conflict for women. In a study examining gender differences in the mental health consequences of combining spouse, parent and worker roles, Simon (1995) found that work and family roles appeared to have different meaning for men and women, and that these differences may be partially responsible for why the mental health advantages of holding multiple roles are fewer for women than men. Qualitative data obtained from interviews with 40 employed parents revealed differences in beliefs about what constitutes a “good” father or husband and mother and wife, such that there appeared to be greater perceived interdependence between work and family roles for men than for women (i.e., working outside of the home to provide economic support for the family, representative of traditional expectations of the father’s role in the family, was more ego-syntonic for men in their perception of their roles as fathers than it was for the women in their perceptions of their roles as mothers). Moreover, results indicated that gender differences in the perceptions of the interrelationship of work and family were particularly evident in regards to respondents’ feelings, such that women reported higher occurrence of guilt and were more likely to perceive employment as competing with their ability to meet family obligations, whereas men perceived employment as allowing them to fulfill part of their family obligations.

These results highlight the importance of gender role attitudes, particularly of the extent to which traditional societal expectations are internalized, in the experience of managing multiple work and family roles. It appears that greater perception of the interrelatedness rather than independence of work and family roles leads to better mental health outcomes and reduces the occurrence of negative consequences of involvement in multiple roles.

## Critique of Existing Theory and Research on Work-Family Conflict

An important critique of the research outlined in the preceding sections, is the lack of attention given to race and ethnicity in the theoretical and empirical work dealing with the work-family interface. As mentioned previously in this document, work-family theorists have tended to operate with the assumption that existing notions of work-family conflict, which are reflective of the values, work history and familial patterns of Whites are universally applicable to members of non-dominant racial and ethnic groups.

While the majority of existing research on the work-family interface has focused on variations within one dimension (i.e., gender), researchers are calling for a more inclusive understanding on the work-family interface, which would recognize dimensions such as race, ethnicity, social class, family structure and sexual orientation (Ferdman, 1999; Marks & Leslie, 2000). Ferdman (1999) asserts that:

The relationships of work, family, and other life domains which are often addressed only in terms of gender may be better illuminated to the extent that multiple cultural constructions of work, family, and other life concerns are considered. This includes variant views of the nature and permeability of the boundaries between work and home (p.32)

Exploration of such factors is important in gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the diversity of experiences and perspectives in regards to this area of individuals' lives.



## Emerging Cross-Cultural Models of the Work-Family Interface

As previously mentioned, most of the studies that have explored the work-family interface to date have employed samples composed of mostly White, middle and upper-middle class individuals in the United States, and have been based on theoretical frameworks that rely on certain underlying culture-bound assumptions (e.g., view of work and family as two distinct and separate domains, focus on the individual). A few studies have explored the issue of work-family conflict in cultures outside of the United States, such as China (Yang et al., 2000), Japan (Matsui et al., 1995), Finland (Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998), Hong Kong (Aryee et al., 1999) and Malaysia (Ahmad, 1996). Despite these notable exceptions, there is a scarcity of knowledge about the issue of work-family conflict within cultural groups which emphasize the centrality of the family, particularly in the U.S. (e.g., Latinos) (Poelmans, 2003). Furthermore, due to the paucity of research testing the generalizability of existing models of the work-family interface with racially, ethnically and culturally diverse populations, a question about the validity of such models still remains largely unanswered.

Recognizing this issue, several researchers (e.g., Korabik, Lero, & Ayman, 2003; Joplin, Shaffer, Francesco, & Lau, 2003) have presented theoretical models which include important variables, representative of cultural characteristics (e.g., cultural values, gender role ideology), believed to be absent from previous work on the integration of work and family roles in individuals' lives. A fundamental premise of these models is that shared cultural values and beliefs about work and family influence the potential for individuals to experience work-family conflict as well as the individual's interpretation of work-family conflict (Grywacz et al., 2007). For example, Korabik et al. (2003) put forth a theoretical framework which adapts one of the

most widely studied models, developed by Frone et al. (1997), of the work-family interface. According to Frone et al.'s (1997) model, work-family conflict comprises both work interference with family (WIF) and family interference with work (FIW). WIF is a function of work supports and demands and FIW is a function of family supports and demands. Korabik et al.'s (2003) adaptation of this model incorporates certain socio-contextual variables (e.g. gender role ideology, vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism) believed to be relevant when conducting work-family research from a multicultural perspective. These authors contend that variability in culture due to gender role ideology, individualism/collectivism, and the nature of societal support systems (i.e., extended kinship networks vs. institutional support) will contribute to the type and prevalence of family demands, family support, work demands and work support that individuals experience. As such, the socio-cultural context variables (e.g., gender role ideology) are conceptualized as both having a main effect that directly influences supports and demands as well as being moderators that affect the magnitude of the relationships between demands, supports and work-family conflict (Korabik et al., 2003). There is a need for empirical work that is based on emerging cross-cultural models such as Korabik et al.'s (2003) in order to more fully explore the notion that socio-cultural context variables influence the experience of the work-family interface in important ways. Given the current demographic trends indicating continued diversification of the United States population (Toossi, 2002), it seems crucial to understand this issue among various racial/ethnic groups within the U.S.

## Cultural Values and Work-Family Conflict

### *Individualism-Collectivism and Work-Family Conflict*

Individualism is reflective of a cultural value system which focuses on an independent and autonomous sense of the self. Among individualists, achievement is individually motivated, and social behavior tends to be directed by attitudes and internal processes pertaining to the individual. Individualists may have personal goals which may or may not coincide with the goals of their in-group. If there is discrepancy between the two sets of goals, their personal goals are given priority over the group's goals (Triandis, 1995). In regards to the work-family context, careers are most likely viewed as contributing to self-development separately from family life (Wang, Lawler, Walumbwa, & Shi, 2004). Collectivism is reflective of a cultural value system which focuses on an interdependent sense of the self. Collectivists define themselves as part of a group. Social behavior among collectivists tends to be directed by the expectations, norms and perceived duties and obligations of the group. Collectivists tend to have goals that overlap with those of their in-groups. If there is any discrepancy between their own personal goals and those of the group, collectivists will tend to prioritize the groups' goals over their own (Triandis, 1995). In regards the context of work-family relationships, within a collectivistically-oriented culture, work might be viewed as an individual's self-sacrifice for the group's (i.e., the family) benefit, either for economic survival or by enhancing the group's status or reputation (Yang, Chen, Choi, & Zhou, 2000).

The individualistic notion of career, reflective of the dominant Eurocentric value system on which much of the previous theoretical and empirical work is based, denotes one's personal

ambition and achievement (Schein, 1984). As previously stated, current work-family research reflects the idea that work is part of individual identity and work-family conflict is consequently the result of competition between personal and family interests (Hall & Callery, 2003). Based on this notion, which clearly views work and family as independent from one another, allowing one's work to interfere with one's family life is likely to cause negative reactions among family members and conflict for the individual involved (Yang et al., 2000). Collier, Rosaldo and Yanagisako (1982) argue that in Western culture, the family is regarded symbolically in opposition to the world or work. These authors assert that implicit in this ideology is the idea that families should be nuclear in composition, and that they should serve as havens from the struggles in the labor market. Conversely, within collectivistic cultures, work is more likely viewed as being for the welfare of the family rather than the individual (Redding & Wong, 1986). As family is the primary area of concern, work is seen as a means to further the family's interests (Grahame, 2003; Hochschild, 2003). Therefore, work and family may be viewed as being interdependent in that work that interferes with family time may be viewed as a sacrifice of the individual made on behalf of the family rather than a sacrifice of the family made for the pursuit of the individual's career (Yang et al., 2000). As such, in collectivistic cultures work is viewed as an expected and valid means of securing family well-being, which could lead to the assumption that work-family conflict might be less common or that episodes of conflicting work-family demands may not be interpreted as stressful and consequently may not lead to negative psychological and physical outcomes (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Spector, 2004). For example, among Latinos hard work and achievement are often considered ways to provide economic assistance to family as a means of reciprocating what one has received from one's family and

community (Torres, 1990). In this sense, hard work and success serve to honor an individual's family and cultural heritage (Gould, 1982).

In a study of Asian-American immigrant women in the U.S., Grahame (2003) found that the women tended to perceive work as something they were doing for the benefit of their families not as something that was taking them away from their families per se. Similarly, in a study of work-family conflict among immigrant Latinos working in poultry processing ( $n = 200$ ), Grzywacz et al. (2007) found that participants reported experiencing infrequent work-to-family conflict and that there was little evidence that work-family conflict was associated with health in this population. It is imperative to note the role that socioeconomic status may play in individuals' perceptions of work-family conflict. Further research on social class in the work-family interface is needed in order to more comprehensively understand the role that it plays (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000).

In another study exploring the role of cultural values in individuals' experience of the work-family interface, Wang, Lawler, Walumbwa and Shi (2004) examined the interactive effects of individual cultural orientation (i.e., individualistic or collectivistic) and work-family conflict on individual employees' job withdrawal intentions. The sample in this study consisted of 214 bank employees in China and 180 bank employees in the United States. The average age of participants was 33 for China and 42 for the U.S. Women composed 64% of the total sample (74% = U.S., 56% = China). Participants in both countries were well-educated, with approximately 93% of the total sample having attended college. Additional demographic information about participants racial/ethnic backgrounds was not reported by the authors. Results of moderated multiple regression analyses indicated that for all employees (U.S. and China) idiocentrism (i.e., individualism) moderated the relationship between work interfering

with family (WIF) and job withdrawal intentions. Further, results indicated that the effect of family interfering with work (FIW) on job withdrawal intentions was more positive as the level of idiocentrism decreased or as the level of allocentrism (i.e., collectivism) increased. These findings demonstrate how individual variations in cultural values may affect the ways in which individuals experience conflict between work and family domains. Furthermore, cultural value orientations may influence the ways in which individuals may appraise and/or react to such conflict which may in turn shape their behavior (e.g., intention to withdraw from a job). As previously stated, more research is needed in order to more fully comprehend the role of cultural values in individuals' experience of managing both work and family responsibilities.

#### *Gender Role Ideology and Work-Family Conflict*

Individualism/collectivism is one socio-cultural characteristic that is posited to shape the experience of involvement in both work and family roles among women of color. As mentioned earlier, gender role ideology is believed to be another crucial aspect in recognizing the effect of race and ethnicity on the work-family interface. In many cultures (e.g., many Latino and Asian cultures), beliefs about appropriate roles for men and women stem from traditional conceptualizations in which women are primarily responsible for childrearing and household maintenance and men for providing economic support for the family. Such gender role ideologies may conflict with realities often encountered through immigration for example, as economic necessity may promote immigrant women's entrance into the workforce. This may become an issue for immigrant families in the U.S., who may have few models for negotiating a dual-career household, as it may result in increased family tension and promote higher levels of conflict between work and family roles, particularly among women (Herrera & DelCampo, 1995; Rivera, Torres, & Carre, 1997; Roehling et al., 2005). Similarly, this may present as an issue for

2<sup>nd</sup> generation professional Latinas who may have fewer models for balancing work and family roles. Research indicates that Black women, who have been in the labor force the longest, have developed strategies and models to manage stress of work and family roles (Broman, 1991; Filardo, 1996; Hunter & Sellers, 1998; Kane, 2000; Roehling, Jarvis, & Swope, 2005). In fact, the definition of African American womanhood tends to integrate the concepts of work, achievement and independence (Giddings, 1982). However, many Latinas are newer to the U.S. workforce and may not have cultural templates and models for managing the combination of responsibilities of work and family. As Roehling et al. (2005) assert:

“Employed Hispanic women, who are often compelled to enter the workforce out of economic necessity, frequently live in a family that is still heavily influenced by the traditional values promoted by the *machismo* and *marianista* stereotypes. For these women, the traditional values dictate that they continue to be responsible for the home and family even while working outside the home. This is likely to result in role overload and an increase in work-family spillover” (p. 843).

While variations clearly exist, literature regarding cultural values among Latinos continues to emphasize the centrality of values such as *marianismo* in shaping gender role ideology and influencing the experiences of Latinas balancing work and family (e.g. Cofresi, 2002; Gil & Vazquez, 1996; Salazar, Gloria, & Kohatsu, 2010). *Marianismo*, a value which has traditionally defined the ideal notion of womanhood in Latina culture, emphasizes purity, chastity, self-sacrifice, and the moral and spiritual superiority of women to men. In their book, *The Maria Paradox*, Gil and Vazquez (1996) describe the “Ten Commandments” of *marianismo* that specify the beliefs and behaviors traditionally associated with being a “good woman”. Examples of these commandments include: “Do not be single, self-supporting, or independent-

minded”, “Do not put your needs first”, and “Do not be unhappy with your man or criticize him for infidelity, gambling, verbal and physical abuse, and alcohol and drug abuse” ( p.8). Cofresi (2002) contends that Latinas who endorse *marianista* values typically assume the burden of self-sacrifice in the family, often forgoing educational and professional opportunities to assume caretaking responsibilities within the family. In fact, “women are responsible for all homemaking duties, are charged with the care of children, the elderly, and the sick, and are expected to cater to men in their families” (p.440). As a counterpart to *marianismo*, which suggests that a woman’s place is *en la casa* (i.e., at home), *machismo*, dictates that a man’s place is *en el mundo* (i.e., in the world) (Gil & Vazquez, 1996). As such, the importance and high value that Latinas often place on maternal and domestic roles is supported by cultural norms in which *marianismo*, *machismo*, and *familismo* are intertwined. Research on Latinas and gender role ideology has indicated that *marianismo* has been found to impact self-esteem, marital satisfaction, and career choices and behaviors (e.g., Marano, 2000; Salazar et al., 2010).

Indeed, strong cultural expectations regarding marriage and motherhood can complicate choices for Hispanic women who are striving for professional success while desiring to maintain a strong cultural heritage (Hite, 2007). While significant variation exists, in general research has demonstrated that Latinos tend to espouse more traditional gender role ideology when compared with other racial/ethnic groups. Roehling et al. (2005) explored the influence of gender role ideology on negative work-family spillover (i.e., work-family conflict) by looking at variation in ideology based on race/ethnicity (e.g., White, Black, Hispanic). Data was drawn from the 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW, Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998), a randomly selected nationally representative sample of 2,877 American workers 18 years and older. The participants for Roehling et al. (2005)’s study were 1,761 Americans (White non-



Hispanic n=1,475; Black non-Hispanic n=161; Hispanic n=125) who were employed, salaried and married or living with a partner. Results of an ANOVA used to examine differences in gender role attitudes based on race/ethnicity revealed that there was a significant difference between groups such that Hispanics experienced the most traditional attitudes followed by White and then Blacks, being the least traditional. Hierarchical regression analyses indicated that women and respondents with children reported higher levels of work-family spillover. For Hispanics, the disparity between men's and women's spillover scores was two times as large when children lived in the home compared to couples with no children. However, even among couples with no children in the home, Hispanics still tended to show greater gender disparity in negative work-family spillover, indicating that this group tended to adhere to more traditional ideology about appropriate roles for men and women.

Overall, research appears to indicate that among women of color, more flexible conceptualizations of gender roles may decrease the likelihood of experiencing work-family conflict, and conversely, greater adherence to traditional gender role ideology may increase the likelihood of experiencing work-family conflict. Several authors have argued that stereotypical portraits of Latinas' roles within the family, emphasizing *machismo*-- the dominant role of the male as the head of the family and the submissive, self-sacrificing, suffering woman, dominate the social sciences literature (Andrade, 1982). In fact, *machismo* may be more of an idealized myth than a reality among Latino families. For example, Zavella (1987) suggests that among Chicano families, a group in which women have a long-standing tradition of working for wages outside of the home, there is actually a sense of flexibility and variation in terms of gender roles. She posits that research on Chicano families has suggested that women gain power and autonomy when they are employed. Ybarra (1982) echoes this notion, and indicates that couples

in which both men and women work, are more likely to have “egalitarian” values in regard to household division of labor and to act on those values. Moreover, Hawkes and Taylor (1975) and Zinn (1980) found that decision-making in Chicano families is shared more fully by working wives than by full-time homemakers. Furthermore, Vega (1990) argues that literature regarding Latino families continues to stress traditional cultural expectations while simultaneously providing evidence of female role transformations that openly challenge male dominance and the notion of a culturally-determined division of labor. Similarly, other authors argue that the traditionally negative conception of *machismo* may be too restrictive, and posit that a more comprehensive conceptualization consists of both traditional machismo as well as *caballerismo*, which emphasizes emotional connectedness and chivalry (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008).

In addition to transforming gender role attitudes and ideology, recent literature has also begun to highlight the importance of Latinas’ subjective experiences about their gender roles and values, as opposed to the values themselves, in influencing various aspects of psychological and emotional well-being. Research has indicated that Latinas’ levels of satisfaction with or conflict about the values they espouse are equally influential in shaping professional and personal experiences (e.g. Marano, 2000; Melendez, 2004).

In general, it has been suggested that gender role attitudes, and particularly the ways in which they may be shaped by cultural norms, are important in the consideration of spousal and maternal role expectations and behaviors among employed Latinas who are striving to integrate the various roles and responsibilities in their lives (Meleis, Douglas, Eribes, Shih, & Messias, 1996; Vazquez-Nuttall, Romero-Garcia, & DeLeon, 1987). As has been stressed throughout this

document, further research is needed to more fully understand the issue of work-family conflict among Latinas as well as other women of color.

### *Familism and Work-Family Conflict*

In addition to a collectivistic worldview orientation and gender role attitudes, *familismo*, a core value of Latino culture which emphasizes the centrality of the family, may play an important role in the overall experiences of work-family conflict among Latinas (Rivera, Torres, & Carre, 1997, Roehling et al., 2005).

*Familismo* (i.e., familism) entails a normative commitment to family which supersedes attention to the individual (Luna, de Ardon, Lim, Cromwell, Phillips & Russell, 1996). Furthermore, familism is defined by a strong commitment to one's nuclear and extended family and strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity among family members (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003). One of the most well-relied upon definitions of familism put forth by Burgess, Locke and Thomes (1963) highlights the "complete integration of individual activities for the achievement of family objectives" (p.35).

Some theorists have suggested that such cultural values may serve as an added burden for employed Latinas as they try to establish balance among their multiple roles as mothers, wives and workers (Rivera, Torres, & Carre, 1997). However, in their study of family and work predictors of psychological well-being among Latina professionals (n = 303), Amaro, Russo, and Johnson (1987) reported results of multiple regression analyses which revealed that employed Latinas with no child dependency and those with moderate to high child dependency reported better physical and mental health status than those with low child dependency, suggesting that among this group of women child care may be considered a source of pride and self-esteem and

therefore may lead to personal satisfaction that can counter the potential negative effects of high child dependency and work responsibilities. The centrality of extended family members (i.e., “familism”) is an important factor to consider as well. Satisfaction with childcare arrangements is generally considered to be a major concern in the lives of working parents, particularly among working mothers (Messias et al, 1996). In cultural groups in which support from extended family and community members operates this issue may be experienced differently than in groups in which this is not the case as individuals may be able to rely on the extended family as a childcare resource (Bowes, 2005; Messias et al., 1996).

### Latinas and Work-Family Conflict

In order to understand work-family conflict among Latinas it is important to gain a broader grasp of the issues faced by many Latinas in the workforce. Due to the myriad of factors that shape the experiences of Latinas in different segments of the workforce and due to the population of interest in the present study, this discussion will focus predominantly on the experiences of professional Latinas.

As women of color with professional status are increasing their presence in the labor force, they may face the complex reality of racism, sexism, few role models and mentors, isolation, competing personal and career demands and shifting social norms and expectations (Farrant & Williams, 1990; Ragins, 1999). Many women of color who are professional are caught in a conflicting web of expectations from their own communities as well as from the dominant culture. In addition, they may share the concerns of many professional men of color such as racial discrimination in hiring and advancement as well as the concerns of White women

such as sexual harassment, problems obtaining maternity leave and flexible work arrangements, and obtaining equal pay for equal work (Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994).

Comas-Diaz (1997) posits that the specific occupational stressors that affect professional Latinas include tokenism, lack of understanding for Latinos' ethnocultural occupational conflicts, absence of role models, lack of internal organizational buffers and appropriate responses against group and individual ethnic and gender discrimination, unclear feedback about performance including mixed messages about success and glass ceiling limitations. Moreover, Amaro et al. (1987) asserts that Hispanic women professionals are subject to multiple stressors associated with demanding jobs, challenges faced in majority work settings and a break from culturally-prescribed traditional gender roles.

Relatively little is known about the ways in which the aforementioned factors may produce or mitigate mental and physical health outcomes for professional Latinas. However, empirical work has indicated that in addition to the multiple stressors described, professional Latinas do experience stress associated with balancing multiple professional and personal roles. In a study of Hispanic women managers and business owners (n = 303), Amaro et al. (1987) examined the relationship between the perceived quality of women's experiences in family and work roles and the balance between them. More specifically, these authors explored the relationship of demographic characteristics, acculturation, family and work characteristics, reported levels of stress in managing multiple roles, and physical and mental health status. Results indicated that juggling multiple roles was reported to be stressful in this population. Among the women managing the roles of partner and professional, one third reported managing these roles to be stressful or very stressful. Furthermore, in order to explore contributions of gender and job-related factors to mental health outcomes, the authors conducted multiple

regression analyses. Results indicated that among the women who balanced all three roles (parent, partner and professional), psychological distress was most strongly associated with job stress, spousal support and income level. Interestingly, women who had non-Hispanic spouses and whose husbands were supportive of them working were less likely to experience stress balancing family and professional roles, implicating that being in a relationship with a Hispanic man who may be more likely to espouse traditional gender role expectations may be a source of stress in juggling work-family responsibilities. Furthermore, the quality of the work context (e.g., support of peers/coworkers, lack of racial/ethnic discrimination) was found to be a significant predictor of mental health distress in this sample.

In a study exploring work and family characteristics among Latino workers in the U.S. (n = 192 Latinos employed in wage-based/salaried work), Delgado, Canabal, and Serrano (2004) explored possible predictors of work-family conflict among Latinos. Results of correlational and regression analyses indicated that most Latinos in this sample (58%) experienced some conflict between work and personal lives. Having young children at home, higher levels of stress on the job, time spent at work, and less support in the work place were all associated with work-family conflict.

DelCampo and Hinrichs (2006) considered whether socioeconomic status (SES) would affect the experience of work-family conflict among Latinos. These authors surveyed 400 individuals employed at a major Southwestern university and 300 members of a large national Hispanic association. Results of ANOVA and regression analyses revealed that contrary to the authors' hypotheses, lower SES was not predictive of higher levels of work-family conflict in this sample. In fact, respondents of lower SES reported lower levels of work-family conflict than respondents of higher SES. Additionally, results indicated that individuals with higher

levels of Hispanic identity (i.e., lower levels of acculturation) were more prone to report lower levels of work-family conflict, highlighting the potential importance of cultural values (e.g. familism, collectivism) in the experience of work-family conflict as individuals who are more closely identified with Latino culture may be more likely to benefit from cultural norms such as extended family support networks.

In an exploratory, qualitative study focusing on the life and work experiences of Hispanic professional women, Hite (2007) explored the ways in which ethnic identity and family-instilled values influenced professional goals among a sample of Hispanic women in managerial positions (n=10). Analyses of semi-structured interviews revealed that values regarding family responsibilities came up frequently as factors that influenced career goals. In fact, the centrality of family was identified as a key value by all of the ten women interviewed in the study. Furthermore, results of Hite's work reflect the notion that professional Latinas often struggle with integrating their professional and personal roles and meeting familial expectations while also having to contend with institutional biases and institutional barriers in the workplace. Structural barriers, which ranged from discomfort about being one of a few employees of color and finding limited resources in place to assist with this issue, to more insidious practices of discrimination, proved to be a significant factor impacting the women's perceptions of their work life. Moreover, a common theme among the women in the study was often finding themselves in positions as "tokens" in the workplace, susceptible to stereotyping and isolation, and often feeling the need to "prove and re-prove" themselves (p.31).

While the empirical work reviewed above is helpful in describing the experiences of professional Latinas, there is a need for research that considers the role of specific cultural

characteristics (e.g., cultural values) in the experiences of work-family conflict among this population.

#### Purpose of the Study and Hypotheses

Drawing upon emerging models of the work-family interface (e.g., Korabik et al., 2003), this study sought to explore the influence of cultural values (e.g., individualism-collectivism, familism) and gender role attitudes (e.g. marianismo) on experiences of work-family conflict (both work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict) among professional Latinas.

Based on the review of the literature, it was hypothesized that cultural context variables (i.e., individualism/collectivism, familism, and gender role attitudes) would have both a main effect that influenced the levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict and would moderate the magnitude of the relationships between job and family stressors and the two forms of conflict. Hierarchical multiple regression, which has been suggested as an effective way of exploring moderation as it allows variables to be entered into the analysis in steps in a particular order and provides the opportunity for partitioning the variance of each variable, was used to test hypotheses (Aiken & West, 1991; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004).

Expectations regarding the main effects of stressors and cultural context variable on levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict are outlined in Hypotheses 1 through 5b below.

*Hypothesis 1:* It was expected that greater job stressors (e.g. work pressure, lack of autonomy, role ambiguity) would be significantly related to high levels of work-family conflict.

*Hypothesis 2:* It was expected that greater family stressors (e.g., parental workload, extent of children's misbehavior, lack of support and degree of tension in the familial relationships) would be significantly related to higher levels of family-work conflict.



*Hypothesis 3a:* It was hypothesized that individuals who endorsed a more individualistic cultural orientation would also report higher level of work-family conflict and family work-conflict.

*Hypothesis 3b:* Conversely, it was expected that individuals who endorsed a more collectivistic cultural orientation would report lower levels of work-family conflict and family work-conflict.

*Hypothesis 4a:* It was expected that individuals who endorsed higher levels of familism would also report higher levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict.

*Hypothesis 4b:* In contrast, it was expected that individuals who endorsed lower levels of familism would also report lower levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict.

*Hypothesis 5a:* Gender role attitudes (i.e. *marianismo*) were also expected to have a main effect on levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict. It was hypothesized that participants who espoused more traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., more *marianista*) would also report higher levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict.

*Hypothesis 5b:* In contrast, it was expected that participants who reported more non-traditional gender role attitudes (i.e. less *marianista*) would also report lower levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict.

As previously mentioned, in addition to expected main effects, it was also predicted that cultural orientation (i.e., individualism/collectivism), familism, and gender role attitudes would moderate the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict as well as the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict. The nature of these hypothesized relationships is discussed in Hypotheses 6a through 10b below.

*Hypothesis 6a:* It was expected that a collectivistic cultural orientation would moderate the magnitude of the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict such that this relationship would be weaker for those participants who endorsed higher levels of collectivism.

*Hypothesis 6b:* Similarly, it was expected that the relationships between family stressors and family-work conflict, would be weaker for those individuals who endorsed high levels of a collectivistic cultural orientation.

*Hypothesis 7a:* It was hypothesized that an individualistic cultural orientation would influence the magnitude of the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict, such that this relationship would be stronger for those participants who endorsed high levels of individualism.

*Hypothesis 7b:* Similarly, it was expected that the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict would be stronger for those participants who endorsed high levels of individualism.

*Hypothesis 8a:* It was expected that familism would moderate the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict such that the magnitude of this relationship would be greater for those participants who endorsed higher levels of familism.

*Hypothesis 8b:* In the same way, it was expected that the magnitude of the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict would be greater for those individuals who endorsed higher levels of familism.

*Hypothesis 9a:* Gender role attitudes were expected to moderate the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict such that this relationship would be stronger for individuals who espoused more traditional (i.e. more marianista) gender role attitudes.

*Hypothesis 9b:* Similarly, gender role attitudes were expected to moderate the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict, such that this relationship would be stronger for participants who endorsed more traditional (i.e. more *marianista*) gender role attitudes.

*Hypothesis 10a:* Additionally, it was hypothesized that participants' level of conflict about their gender role attitudes would also significantly magnify the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict, such that the magnitude of this relationship would be greater for Latinas who were reportedly more conflicted about their gender role attitudes.

*Hypothesis 10b:* In the same way, it was hypothesized that the magnitude of the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict would be greater for those participants who endorsed higher levels of conflict about their gender role attitudes.

In summary, the hypotheses outlined above were tested with a hierarchical multiple regression analysis. Regression coefficients were interpreted to determine the main effects of the predictor and moderator variables on the outcome variables (Hypotheses 1 - 5b). In addition, variables were created to represent the product of each of the predictor variables (i.e., job stressors and family stressors) and each of the moderators (i.e., Horizontal Individualism, Vertical Individualism, Horizontal Collectivism, Vertical Collectivism, Attitudinal Familism, Latina Values, and Conflict about Latina Values). Subsequently, the % of variance in work-family conflict (WFC) and family-work conflict (FWC) accounted for by the inclusion of these interaction terms into the model was interpreted, and it was determined whether the interaction of the predictors and moderators explained a significant amount of variance in WFC and FWC over and above the predictors or moderators alone (Hypotheses 6a – 10b).

## Chapter III

### Method

#### *Participants*

Participants were 203 employed Latina professionals with children. In the present study, “professional” status is defined by employment in a white-collar position and the achievement of at least a 4-year college degree. In order to be included in the study, participants also had to be over the age of 18, self-identify as Hispanic/Latina, had to have resided in the United States for at least 10 years, and been employed outside of the home for at least 20 hours per week. In addition, inclusion criteria for the study indicated that participants had to have at least one child under the age of 18 who lived in the home. In order to maximize homogeneity in the sample, and subsequently minimize the influence of confounding variables, only participants who self-identified as heterosexual were included in the sample. Participants were recruited through numerous listserves of Hispanic/Latino organizations (e.g., National Latino/a Psychological Association, Las Comadres Para Las Americas, Hispanic Professionals Networking Group, National Society of Hispanic Professionals, Mexican-American National Association (MANA), New York State Psychological Association’s Division of Culture, Race and Ethnicity), as well as through informal internet-based groups on the Linked In and Meetup.com websites aimed at building a sense of community, networking opportunities, and support networks among Latina working mothers (e.g. Latinas Unidas, Poder PAC by Latinas for Latinas, Wise Latinas Linked, Mujeres Latinas de Exito, Latina Moms of NY). Participants were also recruited using the snowball sampling technique, which relied on the creation of a chain of referrals based upon an extended network of relationships and contacts. Only those participants who completed all of the measures on the web-based survey were considered eligible for inclusion in the study. After

excluding participants who either did not meet inclusion criteria or were not able to complete the survey, the final sample consisted of 203 participants. Demographic information for the participants can be found in Table 1.

Of these participants, 56.4% reported being between the ages of 30-39, 27.2% reported being between the ages of 40-49, 7.9% reported being between the ages of 25-29, 6.9% reported being between the ages of 50-59, and 1.5 % reported being under the age of 25. Most of the participants stated that they had lived in the U.S. for more than 20 years (86.7%), and more than half reported that they were born in the U.S. (66.7%). Approximately 13% of participants indicated that they were born in either Central or South America, 11.3% in either the Dominican Republic or Puerto Rico, approximately 5% reported that they were born in Mexico, 3.4% reported that they were born in Cuba, and 1% stated that they were born in Europe. The majority of participants (74.5%) indicated that they were married or living with a partner, 14.2% reported being single, 10.3% reported being separated or divorced, and 1% indicated being widowed. Most of the participants reported having either 1 (38.2%) or 2 (41.7%) children, and a majority (58.3%) indicated that the youngest child living at home was under the age of 6. More than a third of the participants (43.6%) reported a Bachelors Degree as their highest level of education completed, while 40.2% reported having a Masters Degree and 16.2% indicated that they had a Doctoral Degree. The study participants represented a range of professional occupations. Participants' responses were classified into 1 of 23 major occupational categories used by the U.S. Department of Labor (U.S. Department of Labor, BLS, 2010). The largest number of participants (26%) were classified under Management Occupations, followed by 16.5% in Education, Training, and Library Occupations, and 11.5% in Office and Administrative Support Occupations. 9.5% of participants were classified under Community and Social Service

Occupations, 8% under Business and Financial Operations Occupations, 7.5% under Life, Physical and Social Science Occupations, 7% under Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations, 5% under Legal Occupations, 3.5% under Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media Occupations, 2% under Computer and Mathematical Occupations, and 1.5% under Sales and Related Occupations. More than half of the participants (56.4%) stated that they spent 40-60 hours per week at work, 39.7% stated that they spent 20-40 hours per week at work, 2% indicated that they spent more than 60 hours per week at their jobs, and 2% that they spent less than 20 hours per week at work. The majority of the participants reported their socioeconomic status as middle class (63.7%); followed by upper-middle class (17.6%), working class (16.2%), and upper class (2.5%). Approximately one third of the participants reported their annual income to be between \$40,000 - \$69,999 (30.9%), approximately one third reported their annual income to be between \$70,000 - \$99,999 (30.4%), 16.7% reported their annual income to be between \$100,000 - \$150,000, 12.3% reported their annual income to be more than \$150,000, 7.8% reported their annual income to be between \$20,000 – \$39,999, and 2% reported that their annual income was less than \$19,999. Additional demographic data for the participants can also be found in Table 1.

Table 1. *Demographic Characteristics of Participants (N=203)*

	N	%
Age		
Under 25	3	1.5
25 – 29	16	7.9
30 – 39	114	56.4
40 – 49	55	27.2
50 – 59	14	6.9
Years Living in the U.S.		
Less than 10	2	1.0
10 – 20	25	12.3
More than 20	176	86.7
National Origin		
United States	136	66.7
Mexico	10	4.9
National Origin	N	%
Puerto Rico	11	5.4
Dominican Republic	12	5.9
South America	24	11.8
Central America	2	1.0
Cuba	7	3.4
Europe	2	1.0
Relationship Status		
Single	29	14.2
Living with a Partner	14	6.9
Widowed	2	2.0
Married	138	67.6
Separated/Divorced	21	10.3
Number of Children		
1	78	38.2
2	85	41.7
3	36	17.6
4 or more	5	2.5
Age of Youngest Child Living at Home		
Youngest child < 6	119	58.3
Youngest child 6 -12	58	28.4
Youngest child 13 – 18	20	9.8
Youngest child > 18	7	3.4
Highest Level of Education Completed		
Bachelors Degree	89	43.6
Masters Degree	82	40.2
Doctorate Degree	33	16.2
Occupation		
Management	52	26.0
Business and Financial Operations	16	8.0
Computer and Mathematical	4	2.0
Architecture and Engineering	1	.5
Life, Physical and Social Science	15	7.5
Community and Social Service	19	9.5
Legal	10	5.0
Education, Training and Library	33	16.5
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media	7	3.5
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical	14	7.0
Food Preparation and Serving	1	.5
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance	1	.5
Sales	3	1.5
Office and Administrative Support	23	11.5

### *Instruments*

*Individualism-Collectivism Scale (INDCOL*; Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995). The INDCOL is a 32-item self-report scale that attempts to measure components of individualism and collectivism. As previously mentioned, individualism is reflective of a cultural value system which focuses on an independent and autonomous sense of the self. Collectivism is reflective of a cultural value system which focuses on an interdependent sense of the self. Triandis (1995) put forth a vertical-horizontal, individualism-collectivism typology, arguing that simply conceptualizing individualism and collectivism as polar ends of a spectrum was too broad and omitted important distinctions. Horizontal individualism (H-I) is reflective of a cultural pattern in which an autonomous self is assumed, but the individual is more or less equal in status with others. Vertical individualism (V-I) is reflective of a cultural pattern in which an autonomous self is assumed, but individuals see themselves as different from one another and inequality is expected. Horizontal collectivism (H-C) reflects a cultural pattern in which the individual sees the self as an aspect of the in-group. In this pattern, the self is the same as others with whom it is interdependent. Finally, Vertical collectivism (V-C) is reflective of a cultural pattern in which the individual considers the self as an aspect of the in-group, but members within the in-group are viewed as different from one another, some holding greater status than others (Singelis et al., 1995). Singelis et al. (1995) argued that cultures are not pure in their orientation, and that context has a strong effect on the prevalence and emphasis of a particular orientation. Similarly, these authors postulate that individuals exhibit each of the four cultural patterns at different times or in different contexts depending on which particular orientation is tapped.



The INDCOL consists of four eight-item subscales, which are reflective of Triandis' (1995) typology discussed above: Horizontal individualism (H-I), Vertical individualism (V-I), Horizontal collectivism (H-C), and Vertical collectivism (V-C). Responses to items on the INDCOL are on a 7-point (*1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree*) Likert-type scale. High scores indicate greater endorsement of the particular cultural orientation pertaining to each subscale. In their validation study, Singelis et al. (1995) conducted a confirmatory factor analysis to determine the dimensionality of the scale items and reported good construct validity for the four-factor, or four-dimensional model. Additionally, the four subscales of the INDCOL were found to be correlated with similar measures of individualism-collectivism such as the Self-Construct Scale (SCS; Singelis, 1997) and the Sinha individualism-collectivism scale (Sinha & Verman, 1994), indicating good convergent validity for the measure. Singelis et al. (1995) reported Cronbach's alphas of .67, .74, .74, and .68 for the H-I, V-I, H-C, and V-C scales respectively in a sample of ethnically diverse university students from North America and Hawaii. In another study, Coon and Kemmelmeier (2001) reported Cronbach's alphas of .82, .68, .56, and .63 for the V-I, H-I, V-C, and H-C scales respectively in a sample of undergraduate students ( $n = 1549$ , males = 728, females = 821), of which 47 (45% female) self-identified as Latino Americans. Reliability analyses for the present study revealed alpha coefficients of .77, .81, .73, and .74 for the four subscales (Horizontal Individualism (HI), Vertical Individualism (VI), Horizontal Collectivism (HC), and Vertical Collectivism (VC), respectively).

*Attitudinal Familism Scale (Lugo, Steidel, & Contreras, 2003).* The Attitudinal Familism Scale is an 18-item measure designed to assess attitudinal familism. The developers of the Attitudinal Familism Scale, define attitudinal familism as a multidimensional construct comprised of four interrelated components: familial interconnectedness, familial support,

familial honor, and subjugation of self to family. Familial interconnectedness is defined by the belief that individuals should keep strong emotional and physical ties to family members. Familial support is defined as the belief in providing and expecting support to and from family members in times of need. Familial honor is defined as the belief that individuals have an obligation to protect, honor and defend the family name. And subjugation of the self to family is defined by putting the family's needs before one's own (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003). The Attitudinal Familism Scale is scored on a 10-point Likert-type scale (ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 10 = *strongly agree*). A total scale score is obtained by calculating the mean for the whole scale. A higher score indicated higher endorsement of familism. In their scale development study, Lugo Steidel and Contreras (2003) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .83 for the overall scale in a sample of 125 Latinos ( $\geq 18$  years old, 65.6% female, 34.4% male) living in the U.S. Additionally, all four subscales, pertaining to the four aforementioned factors, were significantly intercorrelated. Principal components analysis ( $n = 125$ ) was used to determine the conceptual clarity of the four factor structure (eigen values greater than 1.0). Analyses of validity were conducted through correlations of familism scores and mean scores on measures of acculturation (e.g., ARSMA-II; Cuellar, Arnold & Maldonado, 1995) generational status, and exposure to U.S. variables. Results indicated that a significant negative correlation was found between linear acculturation scores and overall familism. Highly acculturated participants demonstrated lower adherence to familism. Regarding correlations with the ARSMA-II subscales, a significant positive correlation between overall familism scores and scores on the LOS (Latino Orientation Scale) was found. A significant correlation between familism scores and scores on the AOS (Anglo Orientation Scale) was also found. Results indicated that higher adherence to Anglo orientation was related to less adherence to familism. In regards to

generational status and exposure to U.S. culture, results showed that 1<sup>st</sup> generation participants adhered to overall familism more than 2<sup>nd</sup> generation participants. Additionally, participants who endorsed greater exposure to U.S. culture also demonstrated lower adherence to overall familism and more specifically to familial interconnectedness.

In another study, Schwartz (2007) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .82 in a sample of 318 university students (28% men, 72% women), the majority of whom (62%) were Hispanic. The sample on which Lugo Steidel and Contreras (2003) developed and validated the measure tended to be comprised of less acculturated individuals who for the most part preferred to respond to the measure in Spanish (the measure is designed to give participants the option of completing it in either Spanish or English). Differences between validation sample and the sample in Schwartz's (2007) study, who were moderately to highly acculturated, provides evidence for the fact that the structure of familism can be consistent across variations in age, acculturation level and setting (Schwartz, 2007). Reliability analyses for the present study revealed an alpha coefficient of .89.

*Latina Values Scale-Revised (LVSR; Melendez, 2004).* Marano (2000) created the original Latina Values Scale (LVS) in an effort to empirically measure the Latino cultural value of *marianismo*, which, as aforementioned, is typically characterized by the concepts of self-sacrifice, subjugation of a woman's own needs for those of her family, and adherence to traditional perceptions of ideal womanhood such as piety, chastity and nurturance (Cofresi, 2002; Gil & Vazquez, 1996). The LVS, which was originally validated on a sample (n=63) of mostly US born, English-speaking, Latina college students, was designed to allow researchers to gather information about the traditional values a Latina may hold and her level of satisfaction with those values. Thus, it was designed to provide the opportunity for direct clinical intervention.

Melendez (2004) revised the original 40-item measure with the aim of increasing its

relevance for use with more diverse samples, and created the LVSR, a 27-item self-report measure of *marianismo* and a Latina's subjective experience of the *marianista* values she espouses. The measure is designed to be responded to on a 5 point Likert-type scale (ranging from 1=*strongly disagree* to 5=*strongly agree*). Sample items include: "I find myself putting my family's needs in front of my own" and "I believe that sacrificing for others will eventually be rewarded". Results of the author's exploratory factor analysis yielded 7 factors (1=conflict, 2=self-sacrifice, 3=assertion, 4=guilt, 5=self-blame, 6=putting others needs first, 7=responsibility) which appear to reflect the core themes associated with *marianismo* (e.g., doing for others, placing others' needs before one's own, prioritizing family).

Embedded within the measure is a Conflict subscale, (revised from the Satisfaction subscale in the LVS), which assesses a Latina's level of conflict specifically related to the issues measured on the LVSR (e.g., "Has the response to this question caused you problems or conflicts in your life?"). Total scale scores are obtained by summing a participant's responses, with higher scores indicating higher levels of *marianismo* as well as higher levels of conflict. Melendez (2004) asserts that this provides the opportunity for a subjective response regarding *marianista* values, and therefore limits the potential for biasing and pathologizing how *marianista* someone may be. Melendez (2004) normed the LVRS on a community sample of 101 Latinas, ranging in age from 18 to 82 (mean age=38.72). Approximately one third of her sample was U.S. born, but the majority of the sample was born in either the Spanish-speaking Caribbean (42.6%; e.g., Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico) or Latin America (18.8%). A majority (68.3%) of the women in this sample also described themselves as "professional". Melendez (2004) explored construct validity for the LVSR and the relationship of *marianismo*

and self-silencing behavior, education, acculturation level, socioeconomic status, and the potential effect of income on levels of conflict. Results indicated a significant positive correlation of .64 between the LVSR and measures of self-silencing (e.g. The Self-Silencing Scale; Jack & Dill, 1992). Furthermore, results from her scale development and validation study indicated that *marianismo* persists across educational, acculturative, and economic levels.

Additionally, results from her study indicated that the LVSR proved to be highly internally consistent, with a reported Cronbach's alpha of .94 (Marano (2000) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .87 for the original LVS) and a reported Cronbach's alpha of .95 for the Conflict subscale. Moreover, the author reported a statistically significant correlation of .65 between the Conflict subscale and the LVSR, reinforcing the notion that a woman who endorses more traditional gender role attitudes, will likely report higher levels of conflict about those values. In another study, Salazar, Gloria, and Kohatsu (2010) explored the influence of Latina gender roles (i.e. *marianismo*) and womanist identity on academic persistence decisions among 84 undergraduate and 15 graduate Latina students (mean age=23.8) at five diverse West Coast educational institutions. The authors reported a Cronbach's alpha of .86 for the LVSR, and found it to be significantly correlated with the subscales of the Womanist Identity Scale Revised (WIS-R; Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). Reliability analyses for the present study revealed alpha coefficients of .89 while the Conflict subscale had an alpha of .96.

*Work-Family Conflict Scale/Family-Work Conflict Scale (WFC/FWC; Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996).* The WFC and FWC are two scales which together make up a measure of inter-role conflict. The two scales, each containing 5 items responded to on a 7-point Likert-type scale (ranging from 1=*strongly disagree* to 7=*strongly agree*), were developed based on the premise taken from extant research that WFC and FWC are two distinct but related forms of

inter-role conflict. Scores on each scale are averaged to get a final WFC and a final FWC score. Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of levels of conflict. WFC is defined as a form of inter-role conflict in which the general demands of, time devoted to, and strain experienced in one's job interfere with one's performance in family related responsibilities. Conversely, FWC is defined as a form of inter-role conflict in which the demands of, time devoted to, and strain created by family interfere with one's performance in work-related responsibilities (Netemeyer et al., 1996). In their scale development and validation study, Netemeyer et al. (1996) administered the measure to three separate samples of workers in the United States. The first sample consisted of elementary and high school teachers and school administrators in a large southeastern city (total n = 182; women n = 128; men n = 54; married n = 157; children living at home n = 93). The second sample consisted of small business owners in a large southeastern city (total n = 162; women n = 66; men n = 96; married n = 130; children living at home n = 65). The third sample consisted of real estate salespeople in a large southeastern city (total n = 186; women n = 142; men n = 44; married n = 148; children living at home n = 60). All participants across studies were administered the WFC and FWC measures along with different measures of constructs that have been theorized in the literature to be related to the construct of inter-role conflict and particularly to WFC and FWC (e.g., job demands, family responsibilities, self-efficacy, physical health). Confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to specify the two factor model of the measure and to derive the final items to be included in the measure. Both the final versions of the WFC and FWC scales included items which maintained the general demands, time and strain conceptualization of the constructs. Evidence of internal consistency, as provided by coefficient alpha, was reported as .88, .89, and .88 for WFC for the three samples respectively and as .86, .83, and .89 for the FWC. Construct reliability (a LISREL-generated

estimate of internal consistency) was reported as .88, .89, and .88 for the WFC and .87, .82, and .90 for the FWC for the three samples respectively. Validity was assessed by exploring zero-order correlations between WFC and FWC and measures pertaining to other variables. Across the samples, a large majority of the predicted correlations were significant (e.g., negative correlations between organizational commitment, job satisfaction, self-efficacy, sales performance and life satisfaction and WFC and FWC; positive correlations between depression scores and physical symptomatology and WFC and FWC). In another study, Grywacz et al. (2007) looked at work-family conflict among immigrant Latinos ( $n = 200$ , approximately 50% = women). For the WFC, Grywacz et al. (2007) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .89 and for the FWC a Cronbach's alpha of .85. Furthermore, these authors reported a bivariate correlation between work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict of .58 for women and .56 for men in their sample. In the present study, reliability analyses revealed an alpha coefficient of .94 for WFC and .90 for FWC.

*Job Stressors Scale (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992).* The Job Stressor Scale is a 20-item scale developed by Frone et al. (1992) to assess three dimensions of work stressors: work pressure, lack of autonomy, and role ambiguity, each which has been linked to Work-Family Conflict and various stress-related outcomes in the literature. The work pressure subscale consists of 8 items designed to assess the frequency with which individuals perceive high job-related demands (i.e., heavy workloads and responsibilities). The lack of autonomy scale consists of 6 items designed to assess the frequency with which individuals perceive constraints on their ability to act autonomously and influence important job parameters. The role ambiguity subscale consists of 6 items designed to measure the frequency with which individuals feel unclear about daily tasks, expectations and job-related goals. Responses are made using a 4-

point frequency based response scale (ranging from 1 = *almost always* to 4 = *never*). An overall job stressor score can be calculated using an average score of all twenty responses. In their scale development and validation study, Frone et al. (1992) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .72 in a sample of 631 (56% women, 42% White, 58% People of Color, 49% blue-collar, 51% white-collar) employed, married, parents residing in Erie County, New York. In another study, Wade-Golden (2006) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .81 in a sample of 468 employed, married, parents (60% women, 55% African-American, 45% White). Reliability analyses in the present study yielded a coefficient alpha of .79.

*Family Stressor Scale (Frone et al., 1992).* The family stressor scale is an 8 item measure consisting of 4 parental stressor and 4 marital stressor items. Parental stressor items are designed to assess two dimension of parental stress: parental workload and extent of child(ren)'s misbehavior. The marital stressor items are designed to assess two dimension of marital stress: lack of spousal support and degree of tension or conflict in the relationship. Responses on the parental stressor items are provided on a 4-point frequency scale ranging from (1 = *little/none* to 4 = *a great deal*). Responses on the marital stressor items are provided on a 4 point frequency scale ranging from (1 = *Almost always* to 4 = *Almost never*). The eight items are combined and averaged to create an overall family stressor score. In their scale development and validation study (sample demographics provided in description of Job Stressor Scale) Frone et al. (1992) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .66. In another study (sample demographics provided above), Wade-Golden (2006) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .78. Reliability analyses in the present study yielded a coefficient alpha of .74.

*Personal Demographic Questionnaire.* The personal demographic questionnaire gathered personal information relevant to the present study. Participants were asked to provide



information regarding their age, marital/relationship status, number of children, age of children, number of children living in the home, annual income, socio-economic status, type of job, number of hours worked per week, highest level of education completed, ethnicity, birthplace, years living in the U.S., satisfaction with childcare, and extent of support from family.

### *Procedure*

Participants were recruited through various Latino/Hispanic professional organizations, professional networking websites, and through an extensive network of contacts. A recruitment e-mail (see Appendix A) was sent to potential participants which included information about the study, information regarding inclusion criteria for participation in the study, and a link to the web-based survey. The e-mail explicitly stated that in order to be eligible to participate in the study, potential participants must be at least 18 years old, self-identify as Latina/Hispanic, have a four-year college degree, be working outside the home at least 20 hours/week, self-identify as heterosexual, be the mother of at least one child under the age of 18 living in the home, and must have lived in the U.S. for at least 10 years. Additionally, information regarding approval by the Institutional Review Board at Teachers College, Columbia University was provided in the email. Potential participants were offered the chance to be entered into a raffle to win one of three \$50 American Express gift cards as an incentive to participate and were told that their participation in the study was completely voluntary and anonymous.

The present study was conducted as a web-based survey through Survey Monkey. Interested participants were directed to click on the web-link provided in the recruitment e-mail which allowed them to access the survey. Participants were provided with an

Informed Consent (see Appendix B) page which once again described the purpose of the study (i.e., to explore the experiences of professional Latinas with children managing multiple professional and personal roles), and provided pertinent information regarding time involvement, potential risks and benefits associated with participation in the study, information about data usage and storage, information about confidentiality and anonymity, and contact information for the principal investigator, her faculty advisor, and the Institutional Review Board at Teachers College, Columbia University. Additionally, participants were told that they could send a separate email to the principal investigator after completing the survey if they desired to be entered into a raffle for a chance to win one of three \$50 American Express gift cards. Only the three raffle winners were contacted by the principle investigator at the e-mail address they provided. Participants were notified that by clicking on the button marked “Next” at the bottom of the page, they would be providing their consent for participation in the study and would be directed to the beginning of the survey.

Unfortunately, due to the limitations of the internet survey program used, measures could not be counterbalanced to minimize order effects. All participants completed the measures included in the study in the following order: Personal Demographic Questionnaire, Individualism-Collectivism Scale (INDCOL; Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995), Attitudinal Familism Scale (Lugo, Steidel, & Contreras, 2003), Work-Family Conflict Scale (WFC; Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrin, 1996), Family-Work Conflict Scale (FWC; Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrin, 1996), Latina Values Scale-Revised (LVSR; Melendez, 2004), Job Stressors Scale (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992), Family Stressor Scale (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992). According to the data provided

by Survey Monkey, 296 participants began the survey and 203 completed it, yielding an approximate response completion rate of 67%. There are numerous reasons why participants may have chosen to exit the survey prior to completion. However, it can be proposed that the women that were targeted for participation in the present study are likely to struggle with the multiple existing demands on their time which may have led some participants who began the survey to have been interrupted in the midst or unable to provide the time necessary to complete all of the measures. In addition, it is likely that contacts of the principle investigator, who had agreed to forward information about the survey to their contacts, were interested in seeing the survey prior to forwarding information about it to potential participants. It is not possible to glean how many of the surveys that were counted as started were actually individuals who were interested in seeing the survey rather than completing it.

After participants completed the measures, they were presented with debriefing information, which briefly described the purpose of the study. Included in the debriefing form was the principal researcher's contact information which participants could refer to if they had any questions or concerns following participation as well as information about how to proceed if participants wanted to be entered into the raffle for a \$50 American Express gift card.

## Chapter IV

### Results

The present study explored the influence of specific Latino cultural values on experiences of work-family conflict and family-work conflict among professional Latinas with children. Data was collected via a web-based survey, and potential participants were recruited both through an extensive network of referrals and through an invitation email posted on numerous listserves and websites of national Latino/a organizations. Participants were 203 Latina, heterosexual, employed, professional women with children. Of these participants, over half (56.4%) reported being between the ages of 30-39. Most had lived in the United States for more than 20 years (86.7%), and more than half (66.7%) indicated that they were U.S. born. The majority of participants were married or currently living with a partner (74.5%), and most reported having 2 children (41.7%). The majority (58.3%), specified that the age of the youngest child living at home was under the age of 6. More than a third (43.6%) indicated a Bachelors degree as the highest level of education completed, and the largest number (26%) of reported professions were classified as management occupations. More than half of the participants (56.4%) stated that they spent 40-60 hours per week at work, and approximately 60% of the participants reported their annual income to be between \$40,000 and \$100,000.

Participants were asked to complete measures of job and family stressors and work-family conflict, as well as measures of Latino cultural values such as individualistic/collectivistic orientation, familism, and gender role attitudes. Additionally, participants were asked to

complete a demographic questionnaire. The data gleaned from their responses was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, version 17.0.

### *Preliminary Analyses*

Preliminary analyses were performed to obtain descriptive information about each of the variables included in the present study as well as all demographic variables. The gathered psychometric data is presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. *Preliminary Analyses (N=203)*

	M	SD	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis	Reliability ( $\alpha$ )
JSS	2.26	0.36	1 – 4	0.45	0.42	0.79
FSS	2.30	0.56	1 – 4	0.44	0.87	0.74
INDCOLHI	5.44	0.81	1 – 8	-0.36	-0.18	0.77
INDCOLVI	3.44	1.03	1 – 8	0.13	-0.08	0.81
INDCOLHC	5.77	0.66	1 – 8	-0.44	-0.29	0.73
INDCOLVC	4.30	0.98	1 – 8	0.05	-0.62	0.74
AFS	4.69	0.87	1 – 7	-0.44	0.43	0.89
LVSR	3.11	0.62	1 – 5	-0.04	-0.45	0.89
LVSR Conf	2.65	0.91	1 – 5	-0.24	-0.77	0.96
WFC	3.95	1.66	1 – 7	-0.15	-0.97	0.94
FWC	3.03	1.44	1 – 7	0.57	-0.63	0.90

Note: JSS = Job Stressors Scale, FSS = Family Stressors Scale, INDCOLHI = Horizontal Individualism (INDCOL), INDCOLVI = Vertical Individualism (INDCOL), INDCOLHC = Horizontal Collectivism (INDCOL), INDCOLVC = Vertical Collectivism (INDCOL), AFS = Attitudinal Familism Scale, LVSR = Latina Values Scale-Revised, LVSR Conf = Conflict (LVSR), WFC = Work-Family Conflict Scale, FWC = Family-Work Conflict Scale

Correlations among all of the variables included in the analyses were calculated and are illustrated in Table 3 below.

Table 3. *Variable Inter-correlations (N=203)*

Subscales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. WFC	1.00										
2. FWC	.47**	1.00									
3. JSS	.61**	.33**	1.00								
4. FSS	.29**	.28**	.22**	1.00							
5. INDCOLHI	-.19**	-.19**	-.08	-.27**	1.00						
6. INDCOLVI	.145*	.10	.05	.01	.23**	1.00					
7.INDCOLHC	-.05	-.11	-.01	-.15*	-.02	-.08	1.00				
8.INDCOLVC	.169*	.10	.18**	.11	-.17*	.17*	.23**	1.00			
9. AFS	.10	.07	.11	-.03	.02	.24**	.31**	.57**	1.00		
10. LVSR	.32**	.33**	.41**	.19**	-.20**	.24**	.10	.58**	.50**	1.00	
11. LVSRConf	.38**	.44**	.48**	.26**	-.20**	.15*	-.06	.24**	.20**	.69**	1.00

*Note:* \*indicates that the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*indicates that the correlation is significant at the 0.01 level. WFC = Work-Family Conflict Scale; FWC = Family-Work Conflict Scale; JSS = Job Stressors Scale; FSS = Family Stressors Scale; INDCOLHI = Horizontal Individualism subscale (INDCOL); INDCOLVI = Vertical Individualism subscale (INDCOL); INDCOLHC = Horizontal Collectivism subscale (INDCOL); VC = Vertical Collectivism subscale (INDCOL); AFS = Attitudinal Familism Scale; LVSR = Latina Values Scale-Revised; LVSRConf = Conflict subscale (LVSR).

A preliminary multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine if specific demographic variables (e.g., age, relationship status, number of children, age of youngest child living at home, level of education, occupation, hours worked/week, average annual income,

socio-economic status, satisfaction with childcare, and the extent of emotional support from family) were significant predictors of, or accounted for a significant amount of the variance in, work-family conflict (WFC) and family-work conflict (FWC). The demographic variables that were determined to have a significant relationship with either WFC or FWC were included as control variables in the main analyses. Results of the preliminary multiple regression analysis, including the demographic variables named above as the predictor variables and WFC as the criterion variable, revealed that hours worked per week ( $\beta = .194, t (2.68), p < .01$ ), satisfaction with childcare ( $\beta = -.202, t (-2.69), p < .01$ ), and extent of emotional support from family ( $\beta = -.157, t (-2.13), p < .05$ ) had a statistically significant effect on WFC. In addition, results of the multiple regression analysis in which the demographic variables were included as predictor variables and FWC as the criterion variable, specified that highest level of education completed ( $\beta = .149, t (1.97), p < .05$ ), socio-economic status ( $\beta = .181, t (2.03), p < .05$ ), and satisfaction with childcare ( $\beta = -.222, t (-2.99), p < .01$ ) had a statistically significant effect on FWC. While not a central research question, the relationships among the control variables and WFC and FWC respectively were also explored with correlational analyses. Results revealed that there was a significant positive correlation between hours worked per week and work-family conflict ( $r = .22, p < .01$ ) indicating that as hours increased, work-family conflict increased as well. Satisfaction with childcare and extent of emotional support received from family were both significantly negatively correlated with work-family conflict ( $r = -.19, p < .01$ ;  $r = -.18, p < .01$ ; respectively), indicating that as these variables decreased, work-family conflict tended to increase. This finding was also evident in terms of family-work conflict, as both satisfaction with childcare and extent of emotional support from family were also significantly negatively correlated with family-work conflict ( $r = -.22, p < .01$ ;  $r = -.17, p < .05$ , respectively). These

results are consistent with prior research which suggests that work-family conflict is greater among individuals who report greater work demands and demonstrate a greater time commitment to work (e.g., Fenwick & Tausig, 2001; Tausig & Fenwick, 2001; Parasurman & Simmers, 2001; Yang, Chen, Choim & Zou, 2000). Furthermore, work-family conflict has been demonstrated to be higher among individuals who experience stress, disagreements and tension with their spouse and/or family members, highlighting the important role that perceived emotional support from family members might have in influencing levels of conflict between work and family domains. (Carlson & Perrewe, 1999; Fox & Dwyer, 1999; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). In addition, results indicated a significant positive correlation between highest level of education completed and family work conflict ( $r = .17, p < .05$ ) and a significant negative correlation between socio-economic status and family-work conflict ( $r = -.22, p < .05$ ) suggesting that as the level of education attained increased and socio-economic status decreased, the level of conflict about family responsibilities interfering with work (i.e., family-work conflict) increased. These findings are reflective of demographic factors which contribute to the ways in which professional Latinas experience conflict between their various personal and professional roles.

### *Analyses Testing Hypotheses*

Tests of hypotheses # 1-10 were performed using hierarchical multiple regression. As previously mentioned, several authors (e.g. Aiken & West, 1991; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004) have asserted that hierarchical multiple regression, which allows variables to be entered into the analysis in multiple steps in a particular order and provides the opportunity for partitioning the variance of each variable, is an effective analysis when exploring moderation.



Prior to performing the analyses, however, all main effect variables were mean-centered. This was done in order to reduce potential multicollinearity between predictor variables and interaction terms as well as to assist in model interpretation when main effects and interactive effects are both present (Aiken & West, 1991).

In the present study, a series of two separate hierarchical regressions were performed, one with work-family conflict (WFC) as the criterion variable and one with family-work conflict (FWC) as the criterion variable. In the first step of each hierarchical regression, those demographic variables (i.e., hours worked/week, satisfaction with childcare, and extent of emotional support from family and highest level of education completed, socio-economic status, and satisfaction with childcare) which were found to have a significant effect on WFC and FWC respectively, were entered into the equation. This was done in order to control for the effects of these variables, and to aim to minimize the existence of spurious relationships between main predictor and criterion variables (Aiken & West, 1991; Wang et al., 2004). All predictor variables (i.e., job stressors, family stressors, the four subscales of the INDCOL (horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical collectivism), the Latina Values Scale-Revised and its Conflict subscale, and the Attitudinal Familism scale) were entered in the second step. Subsequently, in order to test for the moderating effects of cultural values (i.e. individualism/collectivism, familism, and Latina values), interaction terms between job and family stressors and these values were created, and entered in the third step. Assertions about main and moderating effects were made based on the results reported in step 3, in which all variables and interaction terms were statistically accounted for. Table 4 summarizes the results of the hierarchical regression analyses with WFC as the criterion variable. The results of the hierarchical regression analyses with FWC as the criterion variable are summarized in Table 5.

As is evidenced in Table 4, the control variables (e.g., Hours worked/week, Satisfaction with childcare, Extent of emotional support from family) as a whole accounted for a significant amount of variance in work-family conflict ( $R^2 = 0.11$ ,  $F(3, 199) = 8.20$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The predictor variables, which were entered in Step 2 also accounted for a significant amount of variance in work-family conflict above and beyond that which was already accounted for by the control variables alone ( $\Delta R^2 = 0.36$ ,  $F(9, 190) = 14.20$ ,  $p < .01$ ). More specifically, the predictor variables explain an additional 36% of the variance in work-family conflict than the control variables alone. To test for the moderating effects of cultural values (e.g., INDCOLHI, INDCOLVI, INDCOLHC, IDCOLVC, Familism, LVSR, and LVSR conflict) on the relationship between job (JSS) and family (FSS) stressors and work-family conflict, the interaction terms of each form of stressors (JSS and FSS, respectively) and the cultural values listed above were created and entered into the model. As Table 3 illustrates, the interactions of the stressors and cultural values variables also accounted for a significant amount of the variance in work-family conflict above and beyond the variables that had already been entered in Steps 1 and 2 ( $\Delta R^2 = .08$ ,  $F(14, 176) = 2.17$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and explained an additional 8% of this variance.

Table 4. *Hierarchical Multiple Regression: The Effects of Individualism/Collectivism, Familism, Latina Values, and Conflict about Latina Values on the Relationships between Job and Family Stressors and Work-Family Conflict. (N = 203)*

	Variable	B	SEB	$\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F
Step 1					0.11	0.11	8.20 (3, 199)**
	Hours/week	0.67	0.20	0.23 **			
	Satisfaction w/ Childcare	-0.49	0.20	-0.18**			
	Extent of emotional support from family	-0.42	0.21	-0.14*			
Step 2					0.47	0.36	14.20 (9, 190)**
	Hours/week	0.57	0.17	0.20 **			
	Satisfaction w/ Childcare	-0.12	0.16	-0.04			
	Extent of emotional support from family	-0.19	0.17	-0.06			
	JSS	2.31	0.30	0.50**			
	FSS	0.46	0.17	0.16**			
	INDCOLHI	-0.33	0.12	-0.16**			
	INDCOLVI	0.14	0.10	0.09			
	INDCOLHC	-0.03	0.15	-0.01			
	INDCOLVC	0.04	0.12	0.02			
	AFS	0.02	0.14	0.01			
	LVSR	-0.04	0.26	-0.02			
	LVSRCnf	0.06	0.15	0.03			
Step 3					0.55	0.08	2.17 (14, 176)*
	Hours/week	0.47	0.16	0.16 **			
	Satisfaction w/ Childcare	-0.18	0.16	-0.06			
	Extent of emotional support from family	-0.36	0.18	-0.12 *			
	JSS	2.54	0.30	0.55 **			
	FSS	0.35	0.18	0.12 *			
	INDCOLHI	-0.21	0.13	-0.10			
	INDCOLVI	0.20	0.10	0.12 *			
	INDCOLHC	0.03	0.15	0.01			
	INDCOLVC	0.02	0.13	0.01			
	AFS	0.13	0.14	0.07			
	LVSR	0.06	0.28	0.02			
	LVSRCnf	-0.01	0.16	-0.01			
	JSS x INDCOLHI	-0.38	0.35	-0.06			
	JSS x INDCOLVI	-0.09	0.28	-0.02			
	JSS x INDCOLHC	0.21	0.38	0.03			
	JSS x INDCOLVC	0.58	0.38	0.12			
	JSS x AFS	-1.29	0.40	-0.24**			
	JSS x LVSR	0.68	0.85	0.01			
	JSS x LVSRCnf	-1.02	0.50	-0.21*			
	FSS x INDCOLHI	0.27	0.24	0.07			
	FSS x INDCOLVI	0.09	0.18	0.03			
	FSS x INDCOLHC	-0.52	0.30	-0.12			
	FSS x INDCOLVC	0.27	0.26	0.09			
	FSS x AFS	0.87	0.28	0.25**			
	FSS x LVSR	-0.19	0.52	-0.04			
	FSS x LVSRCnf	0.03	0.26	0.01			

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; JSS = Job Stressors Scale; FSS = Family Stressors Scale; INDCOLHI = Horizontal Individualism subscale (INDCOL); INDCOLVI = Vertical Individualism subscale (INDCOL); INDCOLHC = Horizontal Collectivism subscale (INDCOL); VC = Vertical Collectivism subscale (INDCOL); AFS = Attitudinal Familism Scale; LVSR = Latina Values Scale-Revised; LVSRCnf = Conflict subscale.

The results of the hierarchical analyses performed with FWC as the criterion variable are summarized in Table 5 below. As is indicated, the control variables (e.g., Highest level of education completed, Socioeconomic status, and Satisfaction with childcare) as a whole accounted for a significant amount of variance in family-work conflict ( $R^2 = 0.09$ ,  $F(3,199) = 6.25$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The predictor variables, which were entered in Step 2 also accounted for a significant amount of variance in family-work conflict above and beyond that which was already accounted for by the control variables alone ( $\Delta R^2 = .21$ ,  $F(9, 190) = 6.21$ ,  $p < .01$ ). More specifically, the predictor variables explain an additional 21% of the variance in family-work conflict than the control variables alone. To test for the moderating effects of cultural values (e.g., INDCOLHI, INDCOLVI, INDCOLHC, IDCOLVC, Familism, LVSR, and LVSR conflict) on the relationship between job and family stressors and family-work conflict, the interaction terms of each form of stressors (JSS and FSS, respectively) and the cultural values listed above were created and entered into the model. As Table 5 illustrates, although the interactions of the stressors and cultural values variable explained an additional 8 % of the variance in family-work conflict, this model was not significant ( $\Delta R^2 = .08$ ,  $F(14, 176) = 1.49$ , *ns*).

Table 5. *Hierarchical Multiple Regression: The Effects of Individualism/Collectivism, Familism, Latina Values, and Conflict about Latina Values on the Relationships between Job and Family Stressors and Family-Work Conflict. (N = 203)*

	Variable	B	SEB	$\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F
Step 1					0.09	0.09	6.25 (3, 199)**
	Highest level of education	0.30	0.14	0.15*			
	Socioeconomic Status	0.15	0.16	0.07			
	Satisfaction w/ Childcare	-0.60	0.17	-0.25**			
Step 2					0.29	0.21	6.21 (9, 190)**
	Highest level of education	0.25	0.13	0.13			
	Socioeconomic Status	0.20	0.15	0.09			
	Satisfaction w/ Childcare	-0.31	0.16	-0.13*			
	JSS	0.46	0.29	0.12			
	FSS	0.33	0.17	0.13*			
	INDCOLHI	-0.15	0.12	-0.09			
	INDCOLVI	0.03	0.10	0.02			
	INDCOLHC	-0.08	0.15	-0.04			
	INDCOLVC	-0.10	0.12	-0.07			
	AFS	0.06	0.14	0.03			
	LVSR	0.16	0.25	0.07			
	LVSRConf	0.43	0.15	0.27**			
Step 3					0.37	0.08	1.50 (14, 176)
	Highest level of education	0.29	0.13	0.15*			
	Socioeconomic Status	0.24	0.15	0.11			
	Satisfaction w/ Childcare	-0.31	0.16	-0.13			
	JSS	0.60	0.30	0.15*			
	FSS	0.32	0.18	0.13*			
	INDCOLHI	-0.16	0.13	-0.09			
	INDCOLVI	0.04	0.10	0.03			
	INDCOLHC	-0.17	0.15	-0.08			
	INDCOLVC	-0.14	0.13	-0.10			
	AFS	0.13	0.14	0.08			
	LVSR	0.14	0.28	0.06			
	LVSRConf	0.37	0.16	0.24*			
	JSS x INDCOLHI	0.17	0.35	0.03			
	JSS x INDCOLVI	0.18	0.28	0.05			
	JSS x INDCOLHC	0.16	0.38	0.03			
	JSS x INDCOLVC	0.39	0.39	0.10			
	JSS x AFS	-0.83	0.41	-0.18*			
	JSS x LVSR	-0.15	0.86	-0.03			
	JSS x LVSRConf	-0.03	0.50	-0.01			
	FSS x INDCOLHI	0.11	0.24	0.03			
	FSS x INDCOLVI	-0.09	0.18	-0.04			
	FSS x INDCOLHC	0.72	0.30	0.20*			
	FSS x INDCOLVC	-0.36	0.26	-0.14			
	FSS x AFS	0.19	0.28	0.06			
	FSS x LVSR	-0.06	0.52	-0.01			
	FSS x LVSRConf	0.52	0.26	0.20*			

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; JSS = Job Stressors Scale; FSS = Family Stressors Scale; INDCOLHI = Horizontal Individualism subscale (INDCOL); INDCOLVI = Vertical Individualism subscale (INDCOL); INDCOLHC = Horizontal Collectivism subscale (INDCOL); VC = Vertical Collectivism subscale (INDCOL); AFS = Attitudinal Familism Scale; LVSR = Latina Values Scale-Revised; LVSRConf = Conflict subscale.

*Hypothesis 1.* Greater job stressors (e.g., work pressure, lack of autonomy, role ambiguity) will be positively related to higher levels of work-family conflict (WFC).

*Analysis .* As discussed previously, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted in order to test both main effects of predictor variables on the criterion variables work-family conflict and family-work conflict, as well as to explore the moderating effect of cultural values variables on the relationship between job and family stressors and the criterion variables. Consideration of the standardized beta coefficient for job stressors in step3 of the model revealed that, as hypothesized, job stressors (e.g., work pressure, lack of autonomy, role ambiguity) appeared to be significantly associated with work-family conflict ( $\beta = 0.55$ ,  $t = 8.37$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

Correlational analyses revealed that as job stressors increased, work-family conflict tended to increase as well ( $r = 0.61$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Interestingly, although not a hypothesized relationship, results indicated that family stressors (e.g. parental stress, parental workload, extent of emotional support, degree of tension in the family) also appeared to be associated with work-family conflict ( $\beta = 0.12$ ,  $t = 1.97$ ,  $p < .05$ ), such that as the degree of family stressors that participants experienced increased, their reported levels of work-family conflict increased as well ( $r = 0.31$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

*Hypothesis 2:* Greater family stressors (e.g., parental workload, extent of children's misbehavior, lack of emotional support and degree of tension in the family) will be positively related to higher levels of family-work conflict (FWC).

*Analysis .* Consideration of the standardized beta coefficient for family stressors revealed that, as hypothesized, family stressors (e.g., parental workload, extent of children's misbehavior, lack of emotional support and degree of tension in the family) appeared to be

significantly associated with family-work conflict ( $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $t = 1.82$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Correlational analyses revealed that as family stressors increased, family-work conflict tended to increase as well ( $r = 0.30$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

In summary, the results provide support for hypotheses 1 and 2. Consistent with extant research that indicates that job stressors are related to work-family conflict and that family stressors are related to family-work conflict (e.g., Frone et al., 1992), participants who reported higher levels of job stressors were more likely to endorse higher levels of work-family conflict and participants who reported higher levels of family stressors were more likely to experience higher levels of family-work conflict. Interestingly, results also revealed a main effect for family stressors and work-family conflict, such that participants who reported greater levels of family-related stress were also more likely to endorse higher levels of work-family conflict.

*Hypothesis 3a:* There will be a positive relationship between individualistic cultural orientation and work-family conflict, such that participants who endorse a more individualist cultural orientation will report higher levels of WFC and FWC.

*Hypothesis 3b:* I There will be a negative relationship between collectivistic cultural orientation and work-family conflict, such that participants who endorse a more collectivistic cultural orientation will report lower levels of WFC and FWC.

*Analysis.* In order to investigate the existence of a main effect for cultural orientation (i.e., individualistic or collectivistic), the beta weights for each of the four subscales of the Individualism-Collectivism Scale (INDCOL), that were provided in the results of the hierarchical regression analyses, were considered. Consistent with past research (e.g., Singelis et al., 1995), the two different forms (i.e., horizontal and vertical) of individualism and collectivism did in fact appear to be uniquely related to the criterion variables. In the present study, results indicated that

the Vertical Individualism subscale of the INDCOL was significantly related to work-family conflict ( $\beta = 0.12, t = 1.97, p < .05$ ). Further exploration of this relationship revealed that, as predicted, participants who endorsed more of an orientation reflective of Vertical Individualism (VI), a cultural pattern in which an autonomous self is assumed, but individuals see themselves as different from one another and inequality is expected, tended to endorse higher levels of work-family conflict ( $r = 0.14, p < .05$ ).

However, results also indicated that neither Horizontal or Vertical Individualism appeared to be significant predictors of family-work conflict. Moreover, the results of an analysis of beta coefficients for the two subscales reflective of a collectivistic cultural orientation, Horizontal Collectivism (HC) and Vertical Collectivism (VC), were also not significant.

In summary, the results provided partial support for Hypothesis 3a. Participants' level of individualistic cultural orientation was significantly associated with work-family conflict, such that participants with higher levels of Vertical Individualism were more likely to endorse greater levels of work-family conflict. Although the hypothesized relationship between individualism and work-family conflict and family-work conflict was only partially supported by the results, it is interesting to note that the expected relationship was found in regards to the cultural pattern closest to a traditional conceptualization of an individualistic cultural orientation (i.e., emphasis on individual autonomy *and* inequality of self to others). Contrary to the hypothesized relationship in Hypothesis 3b, a collectivistic cultural orientation was not significantly associated with levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict

*Hypothesis 4a:* It is expected that participants who endorse higher levels of familism will report higher levels of WFC and FWC.

*Hypothesis 4b:* Conversely, it is expected that individuals who endorse lower levels of familism



will reports lower levels of WFC and FWC.

*Analysis.* In order to test for a main effect for familism, a multidimensional construct characterized by familial interconnectedness, familial support, familial honor, and subjugation of self to family (Lugo et al., 2003), beta coefficients were examined. Results revealed that, contrary to the hypothesized relationships, familism did not appear to be significantly associated with either Work-Family Conflict ( $\beta = 0.07, t = 0.96, ns$ ) or Family-Work Conflict ( $\beta = 0.08, t = 0.94, ns$ ). Thus, Hypotheses 4a and 4b were not supported by the results.

*Hypothesis 5a:* It is expected that more non-traditional Latina Values (i.e. less *marianista* gender role attitudes) will be related to lower levels of WFC and FWC.

*Hypothesis 5b:* Conversely it is expected that more traditional Latina Values (i.e. more *marianista* gender role attitudes) will be related to higher levels of WFC and FWC.

*Analysis.* In order to test for a main effect for Latina Values and gender role attitudes (i.e. more traditional or non-traditional and/or *marianista*), beta coefficients were examined. Results revealed that, contrary to the hypothesized relationships, Latina values did not appear to be a significant predictor of either Work-Family Conflict ( $\beta = 0.02, t = 0.20, ns$ ) or Family-Work Conflict ( $\beta = 0.06, t = 0.49, ns$ ). Thus, Hypotheses 5a and 5b were not supported by the results. Interestingly, although not a hypothesized relationship, results indicated that there was a significant main effect for the level of conflict that participants endorsed regarding their Latina values (i.e., gender role attitudes) and levels of family-work conflict ( $\beta = 0.24, t = 2.38, p < .01$ ). Correlational analyses revealed that as conflict about gender role attitudes increased, family-work conflict tended to increase as well.

*Hypothesis 6a:* Collectivistic cultural orientation will moderate the relationship between job stressors and WFC. Specifically, it is expected that the relationship between job stressors and WFC

will be weaker for individuals with high levels of collectivistic cultural orientation.

*Hypothesis 6b:* Collectivistic cultural orientation will moderate the relationship between family stressors and FWC. Specifically it is expected that the relationship between family stressors and FWC will be weaker for individuals with higher levels of collectivistic cultural orientation.

*Hypothesis 7a:* Individualistic cultural orientation will moderate the relationship between job stressors and WFC. Specifically, it is expected that the relationship between job stressors and WFC will be stronger for individuals with high levels of individualistic cultural orientation.

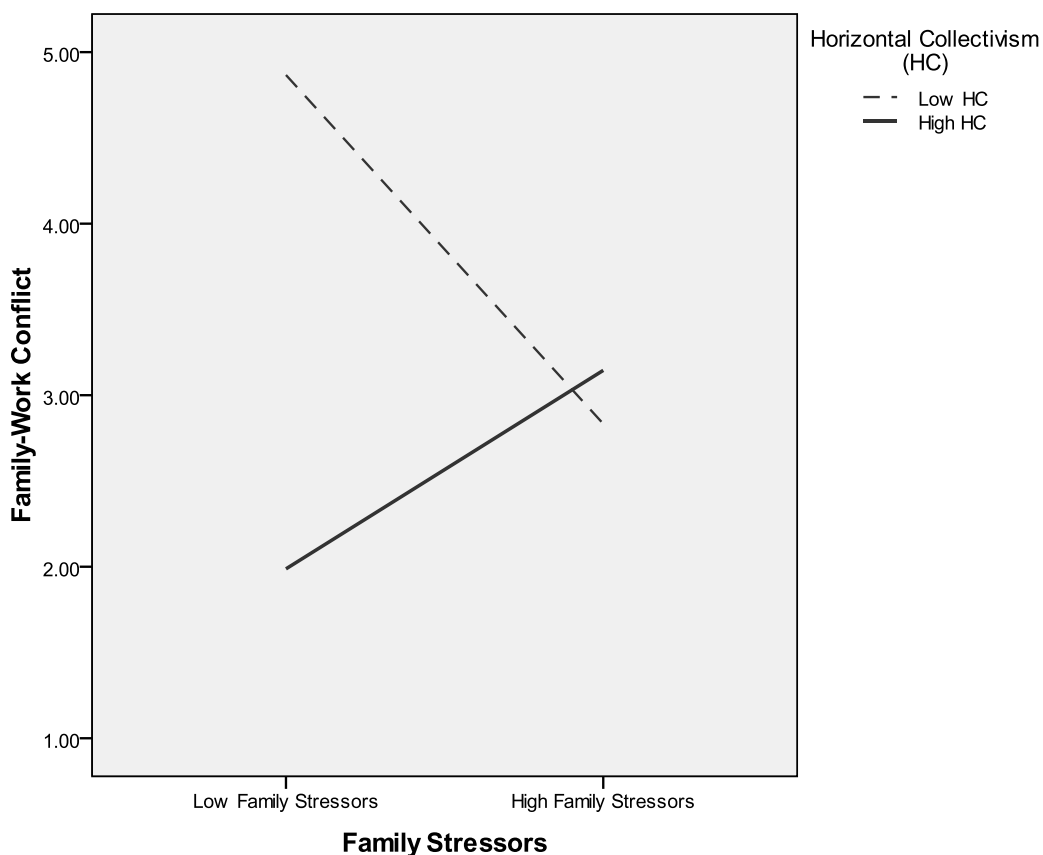
*Hypothesis 7b:* Individualistic cultural orientation will moderate the relationship between family stressors and FWC. Specifically, it is expected that the relationship between family stressors and FWC will be stronger for individuals with high levels of individualistic cultural orientation.

*Analysis.* As previously mentioned, tests for the moderating effects of cultural values variables (i.e., individualism/collectivism, familism, and gender role attitudes) were performed following procedures outlined by Aiken & West (1991), for moderated multiple regression analyses in which interaction terms were created and entered into the model after control variables and predictors had already been entered. Results indicated a significant effect for the interaction of family stressors and Horizontal Collectivism, suggesting that Horizontal Collectivism moderated the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict (FSSxINDCOLHC;  $\beta = 0.20$ ,  $t = 2.38$ ,  $p < .05$ ). To test if the direction of this significant interaction was consistent with the hypothesized relationship, both regression lines were plotted as shown in Figure 1 at low and high levels of family stressors (low and high values are  $-1 SD$  and  $+1 SD$  around the mean, respectively). As shown in the figure, those participants who endorsed high levels of Horizontal

Collectivism were more likely to report lower overall levels of family-work conflict. This was most evident when family stressors were low. However, contrary to the hypothesized relationship, FWC tended to increase as levels of family stressors increased for individuals high in Horizontal Collectivism, while FWC actually tended to decrease as family stressors increased for those individuals who were low in Horizontal Collectivism.

Furthermore, results also indicated that the other interactions between job and family stressors and Vertical Collectivism, Horizontal Individualism, or Vertical Individualism were not significant. In summary, Hypothesis 6b was partially supported by the results, as for those participants who endorsed higher levels of Horizontal Collectivism demonstrated lower overall levels of FWC. However, Hypotheses 6a, 7a and 7b were not supported by the results.

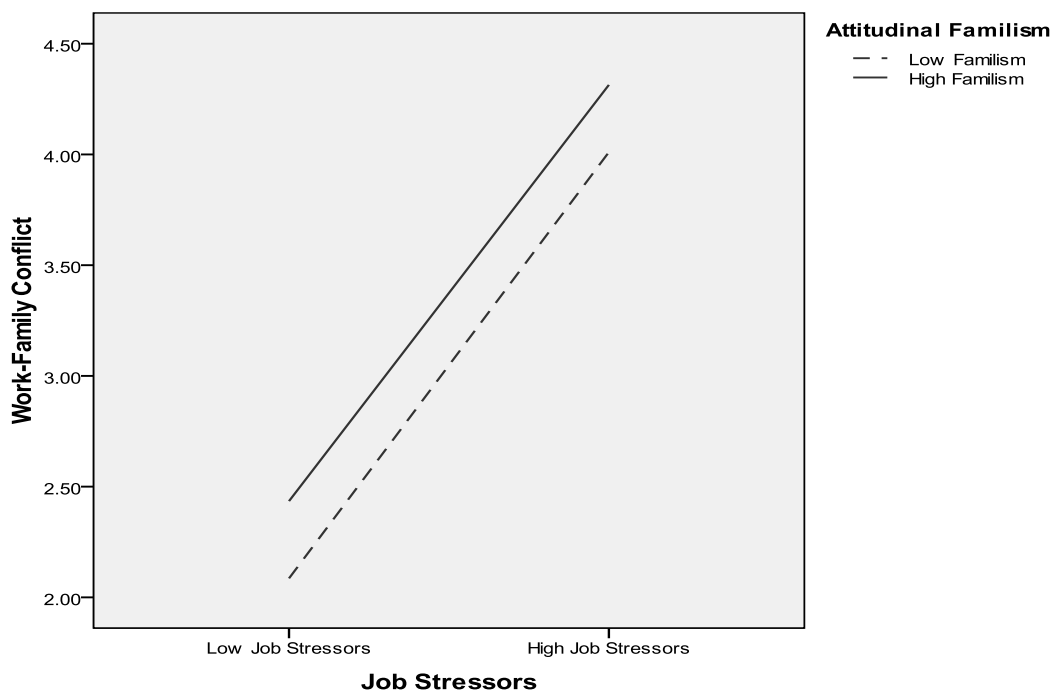
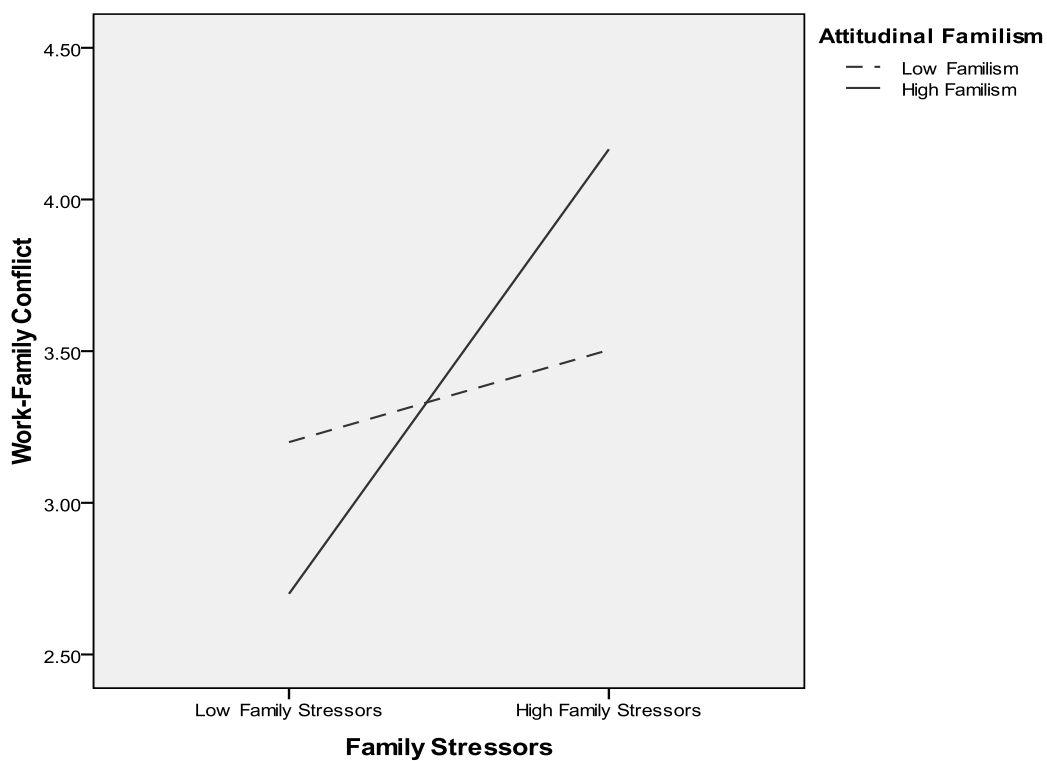
Figure 1. *Interaction of Family Stressors and Horizontal Collectivism on Family-Work Conflict*



*Hypothesis 8a:* Familism will moderate the relationship between job stressors and family stressors and WFC, such that increased levels of familism will yield a stronger relationship between job and family stressors and WFC.

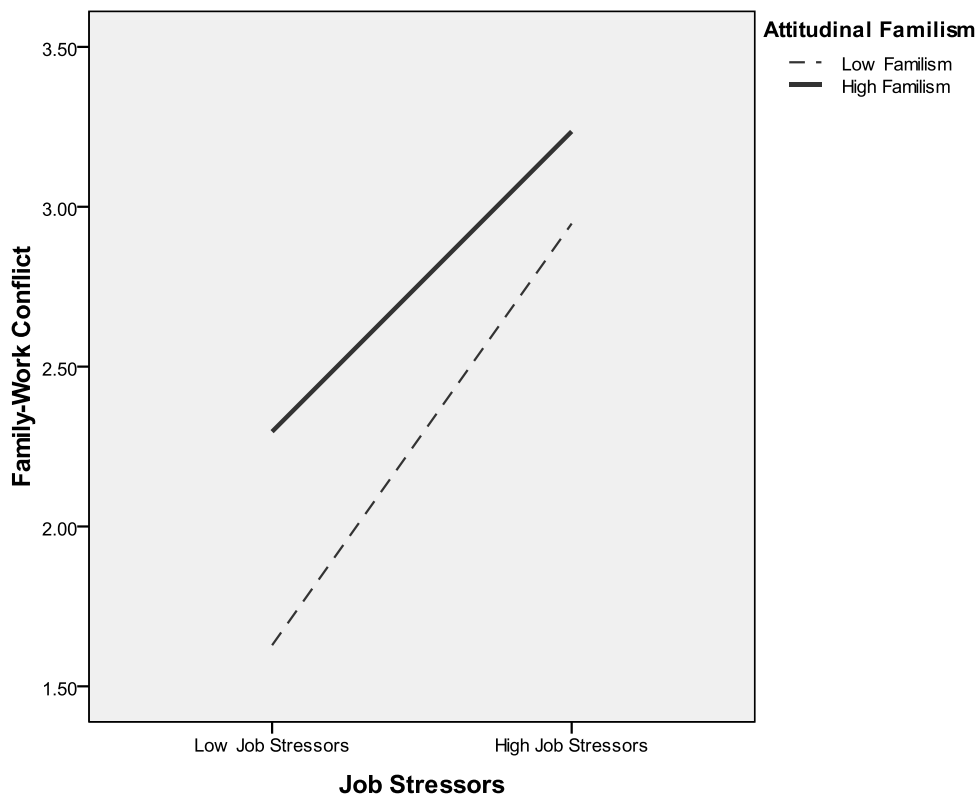
*Hypothesis 8b:* Familism will moderate the relationship between job and family stressors and FWC, such that increased levels of familism will yield a stronger relationship between job and family stressors and FWC.

*Analysis.* In order to test for the moderating effect of familism on the relationships of job and family stressors to work-family conflict and family-work conflict, interaction terms were created between the two forms of stressors and familism and entered into Step 3 of each hierarchical regression (with WFC and FWC as criterion variables, respectively). Results indicated that, as predicted, familism proved to significantly moderate the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict ( $\beta = -0.24, t = -3.22, p < .01$ ). Furthermore, the interaction between family stressors and familism also proved significant ( $\beta = 0.25, t = 3.074, p < .01$ ), indicating that familism not only moderated the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict, but the relationship of family stressors and work-family conflict as well. In order to test if the direction of these significant interactions was consistent with the hypothesized relationships, the regression lines were plotted as shown in Figure 2 (for job stressors) and Figure 3 (for family stressors) at low and high levels of job and family stressors, respectively (low and high values are  $-1 SD$  and  $+1 SD$  around the mean.). As shown in both figures, those participants who endorsed high levels of familism were more likely to report higher overall levels of work-family conflict as the levels of job and family stressors increased, providing support for Hypothesis 8a.

Figure 2. *Interaction of Job Stressors and Familism on Work-Family Conflict*Figure 3. *Interaction of Family Stressors and Familism on Work-Family Conflict*

Familism also proved to significantly moderate the relationship between job stressors and family-work conflict ( $\beta = -0.18, t = -2.0, p < .05$ ). Figure 4 demonstrates the shape of this interaction. As was true in regards to familism as a moderator of job and family stressors and work-family conflict, figure 4 indicates that those participants who endorsed high levels of familism were more likely to report overall higher levels of family-work conflict than those who endorsed low levels of familism as job stressors increased. Contrary to the hypothesized relationship, however, familism did not appear to significantly moderate the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict ( $\beta = 0.06, t = 0.65, ns$ ). As such, Hypothesis 8b was only partially supported by the results.

Figure 4. *Interaction of Job Stressors and Familism on Family-Work Conflict*



In summary, the results provided support for Hypothesis 8a. As predicted, familism influenced the magnitude of the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict, such that job and family stressors yielded higher levels of work-family conflict, and job stressors yielded higher levels of family-work conflict, in those participants who endorsed high levels of familism compared to those who endorsed low levels of familism. Furthermore, familism significantly moderated the relationship between job stressors and family-work conflict, such that job stressors resulted in higher levels of family-work conflict for those participants who endorsed high levels of familism. However, familism did not appear to significantly moderate the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict, thus only providing partial support for Hypothesis 8b.

*Hypothesis 9a:* Gender role attitudes will moderate the relationship between job stressors and WFC, such that more traditional attitudes will yield a stronger relationship between job stressors and WFC.

*Hypothesis 9b:* Gender role attitudes will moderate the relationship between family stressors and FWC, such that more traditional attitudes will yield a stronger relationship between family stressors and FWC.

*Analysis.* As discussed previously, the moderating effect of gender role attitudes on the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict and family-work conflict, was tested by the creation and inclusion of interaction terms into the hierarchical regression analyses. Consideration of the results yielded in Step 3 of the analyses (i.e., with all variables and interaction terms included) indicates that contrary to the hypothesized relationship, gender role attitudes did not appear to be a significant moderator of job stressors and work-family conflict ( $\beta = 0.10, t = 0.80, ns$ ). Furthermore, results demonstrated that gender role attitudes was also not a

significant moderator of the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict ( $\beta = -0.01, t = -0.11, ns$ ). In sum, neither Hypothesis 9a or Hypothesis 9b were supported by the results.

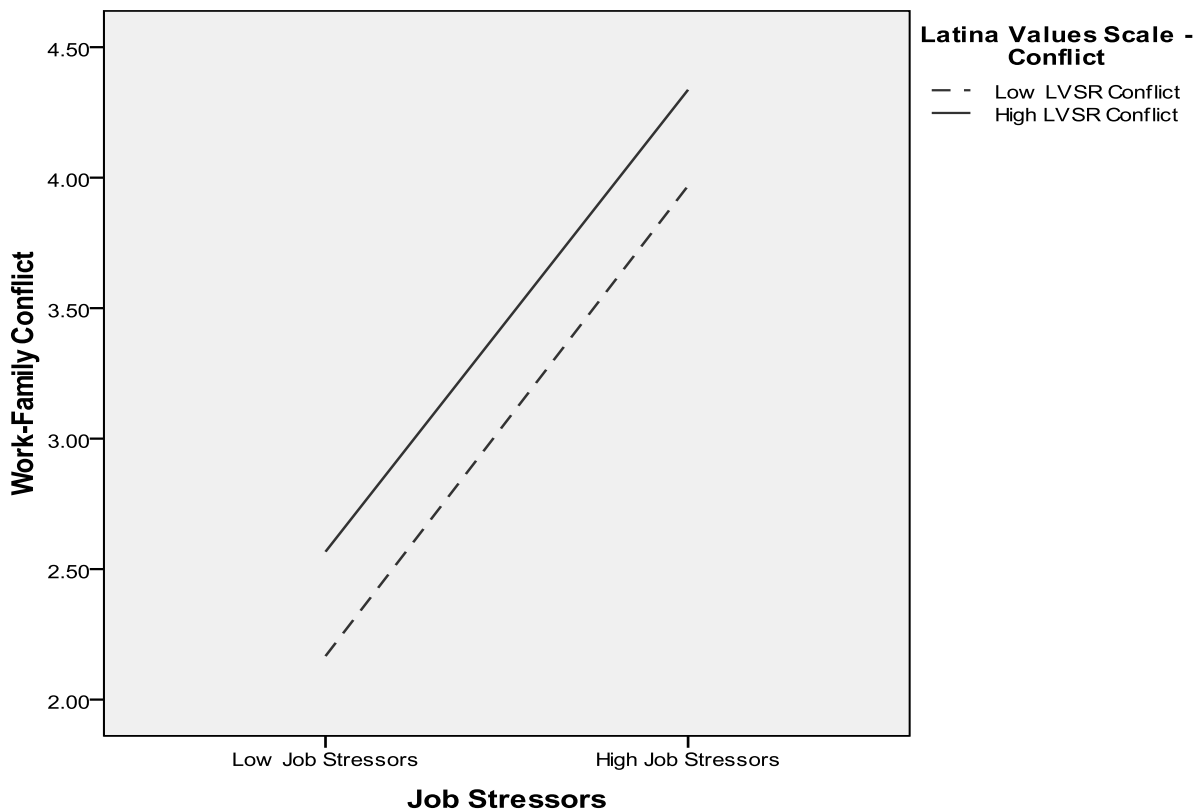
*Hypothesis 10a:* Conflict about one's gender role attitudes will magnify the relationship between job stressors and WFC, such that greater levels of conflict will yield a stronger relationship between job stressors and WFC.

*Hypothesis 10b:* Conflict about one's gender role attitudes will magnify the relationship between family stressors and FWC, such that greater levels of conflict will yield a stronger relationship between family stressors and FWC.

*Analysis.* Consideration of the beta coefficient for the interaction term of job stressors and conflict about one's gender role attitudes (e.g.,  $JSS \times LVSRC$ onf) with work-family conflict as the criterion variable, reveals that conflict about one's gender role attitudes does appear to significantly moderate the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict ( $\beta = -0.21, t = -2.03, p < .05$ ). In order to test if the direction of this significant interaction was consistent with the hypothesized relationship, the regression lines were plotted as shown in Figure 5 at low and high levels of job stressors (low and high values are  $-1 SD$  and  $+1 SD$  around the mean, respectively). As Figure 5 illustrates, the effect of job stressors on work-family conflict was more positive as the level of participants' conflict about their Latina values (i.e., conflict about one's gender role attitudes) increased, providing support for Hypothesis 10a.

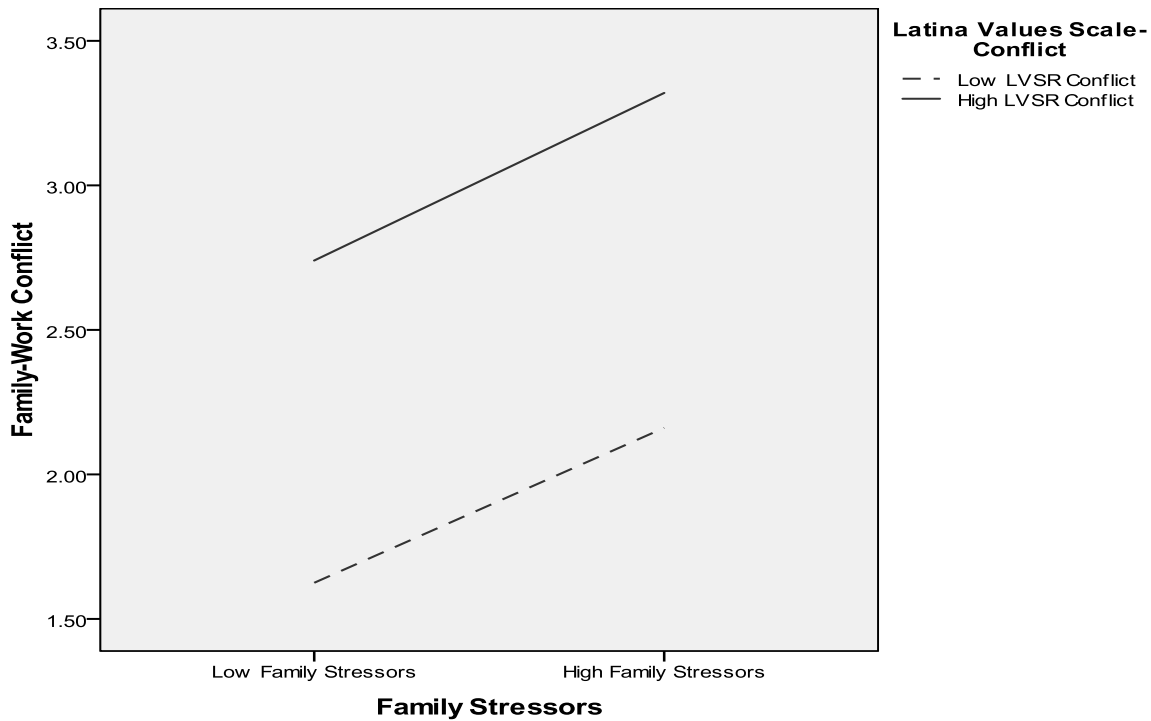


Figure 5. *Interaction of Job Stressors LVSR Conflict on Work-Family Conflict*



Similarly, the beta coefficient for the interaction of family stressors and conflict about one's Latina values (e.g., FSSxLVSRConf) when family-work conflict was included as the criterion variable was also significant ( $\beta = 0.20$ ,  $t = 1.20$ ,  $p < .05$ ). These regression lines were plotted as above and, as shown in Figure 6, the effect of family stressors on family-work conflict was significantly more positive as the level of participants' conflict about their Latina values (i.e. gender role attitudes) increased. Thus Hypothesis 10b was also supported by the results.

Figure 6. *Interaction of Family Stressors and LVSR Conflict on Family-Work Conflict*



Overall, the results provided support for Hypothesis 10a and Hypothesis 10b, indicating that participants' level of conflict about their own gender role attitudes and values moderated the magnitude of the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict and family-work conflict, respectively. More specifically, job stressors tended to have a more positive impact on levels of work-family conflict, and family stressors tended to have a more positive impact on levels of family-work conflict, for participants who endorsed greater degrees of conflict about their values related to their gender role. These findings not only lend support for the hypothesized relationships, but they echo the literature which argues that what truly impacts Latinas' psychological well-being is not the extent to which their values about their gender role are traditional (e.g., *marianista*) but the subjective experience of those values (Melendez, 2004).

In summary, the present study was conducted to investigate work-family conflict among professional Latinas with children. It was hypothesized that Latino cultural values would have a

moderating effect on the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict, such that the relationships between both kinds of stressors and two forms of conflict (i.e., work interfering with family (WFC) and family interfering with work (FWC) would be stronger for those participants who endorsed greater levels of individualism and familism, and for those who adhered to more traditionally gender role attitudes.

A hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to test both main effects of predictor variables on the criterion variables of work-family conflict and family-work conflict, as well as to explore the moderating effect of cultural values variables on the relationship between job and family stressors and the criterion variables. As expected, results revealed a significant main effect for job stressors (e.g. work pressure, lack of autonomy, role ambiguity) as well as family stressors (parental workload, extent of children's misbehavior, lack of emotional support and degree of tension in the family) on levels of work-family conflict (WFC), such that as stressors increased, WFC tended to increase as well. Similarly, a significant main effect was found for family stressors and family-work conflict (FWC) such that participants who reported greater levels of family-related stress were also more likely to endorse higher levels of family-work conflict (FWC).

Moreover, results indicated that, as predicted, participants' level of individualism was significantly associated with work-family conflict. More specifically, participants who endorsed higher levels of individualism were more likely to endorse greater levels of work-family conflict (WFC). Contrary to hypotheses, results did not reveal a significant main effect for individualism in regards to family-work conflict (FWC) or a significant main effect for collectivism on either WFC or FWC.

Furthermore, contrary to the hypotheses, no main effect was found for familism with regards to either WFC or FWC. Similarly, no main effect was found for traditional gender role attitudes with regards to either WFC or FWC.

As previously mentioned, tests for the moderating effects of cultural values variables (i.e., individualism/collectivism, familism, and gender role attitudes) were performed using hierarchical regression analyses. Interaction terms were created and entered into the model after control variables and predictors had already been entered. Results indicated that the interaction of family stressors and collectivism was significant, suggesting that collectivism moderated the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict (FWC). Moreover, results demonstrated that those participants who endorsed high levels of collectivism were more likely to report lower overall levels of FWC.

As predicted, familism also proved to significantly moderate the relationship between job stressors and WFC, as well as the relationship between family stressors and WFC. Results indicated that those participants who endorsed high levels of familism were more likely to report higher overall levels of WFC as job and family stressors increased. Furthermore familism proved to significantly moderate the relationship between job stressors and FWC such that those participants who endorsed high levels of familism were more likely to report overall higher levels of FWC.

Contrary to hypothesized relationships, results did not indicate a significant moderating effect for gender role attitudes. However, as predicted, the level of conflict that participants reported experiencing in regards to their gender role attitudes did appear to significantly moderate the relationship between job stressors and WFC (i.e., the effect of job stressors on WFC was stronger as the level of participants' conflict about their Latina values in regards to

their gender role attitudes increased). Similar results were found for the interaction of conflict about one's gender role attitudes and family stressors. Results revealed that participants' level of conflict about their gender role attitudes moderated the magnitude of the relationship between family stressors and FWC. The implications of these findings for future research and practice will be discussed in the following chapter.

## Chapter V

### Discussion

The present study aimed to contribute to the emerging knowledge about the impact of cultural context variables on the work-family interface. In particular, this study was concerned with the ways in which cultural values shape the experiences of work-family conflict among professional Latinas with children. Specifically, the present study examined the influence of cultural values (i.e., individualistic/collectivistic cultural orientation, familism, and gender role attitudes) on levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict as well as the ways in which these cultural variables moderate the relationships between job and family stressors and the two forms of conflict.

Recent changes in the nature of families and the labor force in the United States in the past several decades have led to the increase in the workforce participation of women, subsequently resulting in a growing number of individuals faced with the task of trying to manage the demands pertaining to both professional and personal roles. Social science researchers have examined the conflict (i.e., interrole conflict) that is often inherent in negotiating multiple roles. Because the societal expectation remains for women to take on the majority of household and childcare responsibilities despite their employment outside the home, there has been particular interest in the existence of interrole conflict among women. However, the majority of empirical work to date regarding involvement in multiple roles, and particularly regarding interrole conflict between work and family, in the United States has tended to focus primarily on White, middle-class, professional women and has drawn from theories of work-

family conflict that reflect the values, family structures, and work history of the dominant group in society.

Despite their long-standing presence in the labor force, relatively little is known about the experience of holding multiple roles among women of color, for whom the dominant cultural values may not be salient. The influence of a more collectivistic and family-oriented value system has not been adequately evaluated within the discourse on work-family relationships. This has been noted as a major limitation of the existing literature on the work-family interface, as cultural values and norms have been proven to influence the way in which work and family stressors are managed and perceived (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Poelmans et al., 2005).

Simultaneously, the U.S. labor force continues to become increasingly racially and ethnically diverse, with Latinos representing the fastest growing segment of workers, and professional employment the fastest growing segment of occupation type (Grzywacz et al., 2007). In light of the relative absence of existing research, and the anticipated trends in the workforce, it seems particularly important to understand and more accurately characterize the phenomenon of work-family conflict among racially and ethnically diverse workers.

The present study was conducted to explore work-family conflict among a sub-group of a growing segment of workers, professional Latinas with children. The study's primary objective was to increase the understanding of the impact of Latino cultural values (i.e., collectivism, familism) and traditional Latino gender role attitudes (i.e., *marianismo*) on experiences of work-family conflict among this population.

Two hundred and three professional Latinas with children participated in this study. Participants completed a questionnaire through an internet survey program, including a personal

demographic information sheet as well as measures of job and family stressors, work-family conflict, and measures of cultural values such as individualistic/collectivistic cultural orientation, familism, and gender role attitudes. Specifically, it was hypothesized that Latino cultural values would have both a main effect on levels of work-family conflict as well as a moderating effect on the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict, such that the relationships between both kinds of stressors and two forms of conflict (i.e., work interfering with family (WFC), and family interfering with work (FWC)) would be stronger for those participants who endorsed greater levels of individualism and familism, and for those who adhered to more traditional gender role attitudes and/or experienced greater conflict about those attitudes. Preliminary analyses were conducted to explore the relationships among the variables included in the study as well as to determine if any of the demographic variables included in the study were associated with the criterion variables. Those demographic variables that demonstrated such relationships, were included as controls in the hierarchical multiple regression analyses which were conducted in order to test the study's hypotheses. In the following sections, the present study's findings will be summarized, the limitations of the study will be reviewed, and the potential implications of these findings for future research, training, and clinical practice will be discussed.

### Summary of the Findings

#### *Job and Family Stressors*

It was hypothesized that, consistent with previous research, job stressors (i.e., role ambiguity, work pressure, and lack of autonomy) would be positively associated with work-family conflict, and that family stressors (i.e., parental workload, extent of children's misbehavior, lack of emotional support from family members, degree of conflict in familial



relationships) would be positively associated with family-work conflict. In particular, it was hypothesized that greater job stressors would be significantly related to higher levels of work-family conflict and that greater family stressors would be significantly related to higher levels of family-work conflict.

Results of two separate hierarchical regression analyses (each with work-family conflict and family-work conflict as criterion variables, respectively) indicated that there was a significant main effect for both forms of stressors. As expected, participants who reported higher levels of family stressors were also more likely to endorse greater levels of family-work conflict. Thus, among the study's participants, those women who reported experiencing a high level of stress associated with their roles as mothers and/or partners, who felt less emotionally supported, and who tended to experience higher degrees of conflict and tension with their family members, also seemed to report greater levels of conflict about the ways in which they felt their family interfered with their work. Also as expected, participants who reported higher levels of job stressors also endorsed greater levels of work-family conflict. Essentially, for the women in this study, those who reported feeling greater work-related stress and who felt that they lacked a clear sense of their professional role and what was expected of them, also tended to experience greater conflict about the ways in which they felt work interfered with family. Interestingly, in this sample, findings also revealed a main effect for family stressors on work-family conflict, such that the women who reported greater family-related stress also tended to endorse greater levels of conflict about work interfering with family. This finding highlights the importance of family for the participants in this study, as family-related stress is significant enough to impact both forms of conflict and not family-work conflict alone, and echoes existing notions about the centrality of family as a key cultural value among Latinas.

In sum, the analyses conducted provided support for the hypotheses, as main effects were found for both job and family stressors and the two forms of conflict, respectively. These findings confirm previous research which asserts that job stressors are positively associated with work-family conflict and family stressors are positively associated with family-work conflict. As mentioned above, the findings also indicate that, in this sample, family stressors were also positively associated with levels of work-family conflict; lending support for the importance of understanding the ways in which cultural values may influence the manner in which work and family demands, roles and responsibilities are both managed and perceived.

#### *Individualism and Collectivism*

As stated above, it is believed that cultural context variables are influential in their impact on the ways in which multiple professional and personal roles and demands are experienced and managed. As has been stated earlier in this document, it was hypothesized that cultural context variables would have both a main effect on levels of work-family and family-work conflict and would also moderate the relationship between job and family stressors and the two forms of conflict. Previous research has indicated that cultural orientation (i.e., individualism, collectivism) is one cultural context variable which can impact the work-family interface in significant ways (Grahame, 2003; Wang et al., 2004; Yang et al., 2000). Consistent with previous findings, it was hypothesized that participants' levels of individualism, a cultural value system which is focused on an independent and autonomous sense of self, and collectivism, a cultural value system which emphasizes an interdependent sense of self and the group as a whole, would be associated with reported levels of work-family and family-work conflict. Specifically, it was expected that those participants who reported feeling more individualistic would also endorse greater levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict, whereas

individuals who reported feeling more collectivistic would endorse lower levels of the two forms of conflict. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that individualistic cultural orientation would moderate the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict, and family stressors and family-work conflict such that these relationships would be stronger for those participants who reported higher levels of individualism. Conversely, it was expected that these relationships would be weaker for participants who endorsed higher levels of collectivism.

As expected, results of the hierarchical analyses revealed that when all other variables were accounted for, there was a significant main effect for vertical individualism, such that participants who reported higher levels of vertical individualism also tended to endorse greater levels of work-family conflict. This finding is consistent with past research which indicates that within an individualistic culture, work and family are considered separate entities, and work is more likely to be viewed as an aspect of one's individual identity (i.e., for one's own achievement and fulfillment) (Hall & Callery, 2003; Wang et al., 2004; Yang et al., 2000). Within this cultural context, work and family are more likely to be experienced in competition with one another, and subsequently, work-family conflict is more likely to occur. While a main effect was evident for vertical individualism in regards to work-family conflict, there was no main effect found for this cultural orientation and family-work conflict. This may be explained by the fact that for a professional Latina who scored relatively high in vertical individualism, work and family are experienced as such separate aspects of her identity, and work largely for the purpose of her sense of individual achievement and fulfillment, that family would not be "allowed" to interfere with work. In other words, an individual for whom this cultural orientation is most salient, would be most likely to prioritize individual needs over those of the

family, and may as a result experience less conflict about her family demands interfering with her work responsibilities and professional goals.

Contrary to hypotheses, the results of the present study did not reveal a main effect for horizontal individualism in relation to work-family conflict or family-work conflict or a main effect for collectivism in regards to either form of conflict. These results warrant further discussion as the hypotheses regarding main effects of individualism/collectivism were only partially supported.

It is significant that a main effect was found for vertical individualism, the cultural orientation most reflective of the traditional conceptualization of individualism (i.e. an emphasis on individual autonomy *and* inequality of self to others). It may be that, as the authors of the INDCOL scale assert, the four forms of individualism and collectivism (i.e., vertical individualism, horizontal individualism, vertical collectivism, horizontal individualism) can be uniquely characterized and therefore be distinctly related to other variables (Singelis et al., 1995). As such, it may be that no main effect was evident for horizontal individualism (i.e., a cultural pattern in which an autonomous self is assumed, but the individual is more or less equal in status with others) because there is something inherently less individualistic about this cultural orientation as equality in status is assumed, and participants for whom this orientation was most salient may have experienced the management of their multiple roles differently than a participant for whom vertical individualism was most salient. For instance, although she may have perceived work as an aspect of her individual identity and fulfillment, a Latina with a more egalitarian view of self may possess certain attitudes which may buffer conflict between work and family (e.g., thoughts such as “everyone struggles with this” or “balancing work and family is a challenge for most women, not just for me”).

In addition, contrary to hypotheses, there was no significant main effect found for horizontal or vertical collectivism and either form of conflict. It is unclear why there may have been a main effect for individualism but not for collectivism. It may be that the utilization of the four-way typology for the measurement of individualism and collectivism (i.e. horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical individualism) restricted the possibility of demonstrating an effect related to participants' overall levels of individualistic or collectivistic cultural orientation, as participants were spread out over four categories instead of two. Moreover, another potential explanation for this result may be the lack of variability in participants' level of education, professional status, and assumed level of acculturation. Although acculturation was not measured outright, the fact that the majority of the participants were U.S. born and/or had lived in the United States for more than ten years indicates that participants were likely to be highly acculturated, and therefore, may be more likely to reflect values associated with an individualistic cultural orientation. Furthermore, the fact that the Latinas in this sample were highly educated and held professional occupations suggests that they have had to operate and achieve within educational and work settings that are likely to reflect the dominant individualistic nature of U.S. culture. Research has demonstrated that bicultural individuals may manage their participation in various cultural contexts by calling upon a shifting sense of self that adapts to the particular context in which an individual is currently (e.g. Markus and Kitayama, 1991). It may be that since the present study asked participants to think about their experiences of balancing work and family, participants were likely to mentally "call upon" the aspects of themselves that have had to operate within largely individualistic work contexts as mentioned above.

While results did not demonstrate that a collectivistic cultural orientation was associated with lower levels of reported work-family conflict as predicted, collectivism did appear to have a significant effect in moderating the relationship between stressors and levels of conflict. As hypothesized, horizontal collectivism, a cultural pattern in which the individual sees herself as interdependent and equal in status to other members of the group, was shown to significantly moderate the relationship between family stressors and family-work conflict, such that those participants who endorsed greater levels of horizontal collectivism also reported lower overall levels of conflict about the ways in which family interfered with work, in the presence of family related stress. This finding echoes earlier research, indicating that the extent of conflict about family interfering with work may be lower for those women who are more collectivistic perhaps because they have less tendency to experience work and family as such separate aspects of their lives. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, a woman who is most closely aligned with a collectivistic orientation may be more likely to focus on the ways in which her work positively benefits the well-being of her family in addition to enhancing her sense of individual achievement.

It is important to note, however, that this moderating effect was only evident when family stressors were reportedly low. For participants who reported high levels of family stress, the moderating impact of collectivism was no longer evident, and levels of reported family-work conflict were similar for those women who were classified as high in horizontal collectivism and those women who endorsed low levels of this cultural orientation. A potential explanation for this finding is that while a collectivistic cultural orientation may moderate the relationship between family stress and family-work conflict, high levels of stress supersede this effect.

Contrary to hypotheses, the results did not indicate that individualism had a moderating effect on the relationship between stressors and work-family conflict. Again, this may be explained by the measurement of cultural orientation used in the current study, as discussed earlier, which spread participants' scores over four categories instead of two. Additionally, it is possible that for this sample of professional Latinas, cultural orientation is not as salient as other cultural context variables in influencing their experiences of managing work and family responsibilities. This might be explained by the lack of variability in the study's sample in terms of the aforementioned demographic variables (e.g., education).

### *Familism*

It was hypothesized that familism would be associated with levels of work-family conflict, such that for those participants who endorsed high levels of familism, a cultural value emphasizing the importance and centrality of family in one's life, reported levels of conflict about the ways in which work and family interfered with each other would be greater. In addition, it was also hypothesized that familism would have a moderating effect in the relationships between job and family stressors and levels of the two forms of work-family conflict, such that these relationships would be stronger for those participants who reported high levels of familism than for the women with reportedly low levels of familism. Contrary to hypotheses, no significant main effect was demonstrated for familism with respect to work-family conflict or family-work conflict. However, as expected, familism appeared to significantly moderate the relationships between job and family stressors and work-family conflict as well as the relationship between job stressors and family-work conflict. Thus in the present study, familism proved to be an important factor in determining the ways in which stressors influence levels of the two forms of work-family conflict. Specifically, results

indicated that the participants who endorsed high levels of familism were more likely to report higher overall levels of work-family conflict as job and family stressors increased. Furthermore, results also implied that familism significantly moderated the relationship between job stressors and family-work conflict such that participants who endorsed high levels of familism also tended to report higher overall levels of conflict about the ways in which family-interfered with work in the context of job related stress.

Thus, as predicted, the centrality of and commitment to family unity and reciprocity among family members affected the magnitude of the relationships between stressors and levels of conflict. These findings lend support to previous research which asserts that familism is a core Latino cultural value which plays an important role in the ways in which employed Latinas manage their multiple roles as mothers, partners, and professionals (Bowes, 2005; Rivera et al., 1997). As familism is intrinsically linked to ethnic identity, professional Latinas are likely to be faced with the task of dealing with strong cultural expectations regarding their familial roles while they are also trying to attain professional goals and achieve success within work contexts which are more likely to be influenced by individualistic and dualistic perceptions of work and family (Hite, 2007). Additionally, the results of the present study support the notion that, among Latinos, the culturally mandated expectation of loyalty to family is likely to persist across socio-economic, educational, and acculturative levels as familism proved to be a significant factor for this sample, which was comprised of highly educated, highly acculturated, professional women.

Moreover, these results suggest that although cultural values may not necessarily influence levels of work-family conflict directly, they may have a significant effect on experiences of conflict within the context of stressors. In addition, the results of the present study suggest that the relationships between types of stressors (i.e., work-related; family-related)



and the two forms of work-family conflict may be more complex and not as easily compartmentalized as current conceptualizations suggest, in the sense that both job and family stressors may be associated with work-family conflict, and as indicated by the results just reported, job stressors may be associated with family-work conflict as well.

Overall, the findings from the present study which lent partial support for the hypothesized moderating effect of familism on the relationships between stressors and work-family conflict, indicate that familism is a cultural value which can have an important effect on the ways in which stressors are perceived as well as their associated outcomes (i.e., levels of work-family conflict). For example, job-related stress and the resulting ways in which work may interfere with one's family is likely to be experienced differently by a Latina with a strong devotion to family and one who places a high value on time spent with her family members (e.g., having to miss a family celebration because of a work conference). Similarly, family related stress (e.g., a child's poor behavior in school) may be more likely to have an impact on job performance for a Latina for whom familism is a salient value.

Additionally, it is important to note that for the participants in this study, familism had a moderating effect on the relationship between job stressors and both forms of conflict (i.e., work-family and family-work conflict) while there was a moderating effect for family stressors only in regards to conflict about work interfering with family. It is possible that, particularly for Latinas for whom familism is a salient cultural value, family stressors are not perceived in the same way as job stressors because the family-related stressors may be experienced as more strongly aligned with fixed aspects of one's sense of self (e.g. the role of mother, partner, sister) than job stressors which can change with a different job setting, position, or supervisor.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the moderating effect of familism in the relationship between family stressors and conflict about work interfering with family was apparent when family stress was high, as participants who endorsed high levels of familism also tended to report greater levels of work-family conflict in the context of high levels of family-related stress. However, participants who endorsed high levels of familism actually tended to report lower levels of work-family conflict than those participants who endorsed low levels of familism, within the context of low family-related stress. These findings support the idea that several authors have proposed, that while familism may lead to increased conflict for employed Latinas, there may also be aspects of familism which serve to buffer or mitigate the conflict they may experience as a result of the demands and responsibilities associated with their multiple roles (Amaro et al., 1987; Bowes, 2005; Meleis, 1996). For instance, an emphasis on family unity and close relationships with an extended network of relatives, may result in greater availability of individuals who can share in childcare responsibilities. Satisfaction with childcare has been shown to be an important factor in employed Latinas' experience of conflict between work and family (Meleis, 1996).

#### *Gender Role Attitudes*

It was hypothesized that there would be a significant main effect for gender role attitudes on levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict such that participants who espoused more traditional (i.e., more *marianista*) gender role attitudes would also report higher levels of the two forms of conflict. Conversely, it was expected that participants who endorsed more non-traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., less *marianista*) would also report lower levels of conflict. While there was a significant positive correlation between gender role attitudes and the two forms of conflict, such that more traditional attitudes were correlated with higher levels of

conflict, results of the hierarchical analyses did not support the hypotheses regarding a main effect for gender role attitudes. A potential explanation is the fact that the data collected about gender role attitudes in this study was limited due to the lack of variability in the study's sample. As previously mentioned, this study's sample was comprised of highly educated professional Latinas who are likely to be highly acculturated as well. These factors may have affected the range of responses to measures of gender role attitudes. As a result, the restricted variability may have limited the potential for finding a significant main effect for gender role attitudes and levels of work-family and family-work conflict. Furthermore, it is also plausible that the participants' responses to the measure of gender role attitudes were influenced by participants' desire to portray themselves in a positive way. Past research has indicated that social desirability has the potential to influence the manner in which individuals respond to items on self-report measures (Constantine and Ladany, 2000). It is possible that, given the participants' level of education and professional status, their responses to items such as "I often feel inferior to men" or "I find myself accepting maltreatment from a partner" were influenced by social desirability.

It was also hypothesized that gender role attitudes would have a moderating effect on the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict, and family stressors and family-work conflict such that the magnitude of this relationship would be greater for those women who endorsed more traditional (i.e., more *marianista*) gender role attitudes. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that participants' level of conflict about their gender role attitudes would also significantly moderate the relationships between job stressors and work-family conflict and family-stressors and family-work conflict such that these relationships would be stronger for those women who experienced greater conflict about their gender role attitudes. Contrary to the

expected results, gender role attitudes did not significantly moderate the relationships between stressors and work-family conflict.

However, as hypothesized, and consistent with previous research (e.g., Melendez, 2004), there was a significant moderating effect found for participants' levels of conflict about their gender role attitudes. More specifically, results indicated that conflict about one's gender role attitudes strengthened the magnitude of the relationships between job stressors and work-family conflict and family stressors and family-work conflict as those participants who reported feeling highly conflicted about their gender role attitudes also endorsed greater levels of the two forms of work-family conflict. That is to say, that for the women who participated in this study, feeling conflicted about a particular value associated with their role as a Latina (e.g., trying to make family members happy above all else) was associated with greater levels of conflict about work and family interfering with one another.

This supports the notion that several authors have made that it is not the gender role attitudes but the individual's subjective experience regarding those attitudes that is most important to consider (Marano, 2000; Melendez, 2004; Salazar et al., 2010). The findings in the present study highlight the importance of understanding the ways in which cultural values are experienced and the role that they have in influencing how various aspects of a Latina's life are managed.

#### Limitations of the Present Study

The following section will address the limitations of the present study. Issues related to both internal and external validity will be reviewed. Subsequently, the following section will

discuss the implications of the study's findings for research, education and training, and clinical practice.

The present study aimed to explore the influence of cultural values (i.e., individualism/collectivism, and gender role attitudes on experiences of work-family conflict among professional Latinas with children. In particular, this study was concerned with the association between different cultural values and levels of conflict between work and family as well as with the moderating effect that cultural values may have in the relationships between different forms of stressors and work-family conflict. Hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to help determine the nature of the relationships among the variables included in the study. Because these analyses are correlational in nature, they are limited in the ability to assert that one variable "predicts" another and, consequently, inferences about causality cannot be made. Due to the relative lack of empirical work that includes cultural context variables in the consideration of the experience of work-family conflict, the relationships explored in this study were also mainly exploratory in nature, and largely based on theoretical knowledge rather than previous empirical studies including similar variables. Further research is needed to more comprehensively understand the important influence that cultural context variables may have in the ways in which multiple roles are experienced among Latinas.

Another limitation of the present study is related to the fact that the study was conducted as an internet-based survey, and comprised of self-report questionnaires. While an internet-based survey allows for anonymity and, as a result, potentially limits the impact of participants' social desirability, it also limited the ability for the measures included in this study to be counterbalanced, and therefore, increased the potential for the presence of order effects. Moreover, because the present study did not include a measure of social desirability, it remains

difficult to ascertain the ways in which social desirability, or participants' desire to portray themselves in a favorable light, may have influenced their responses. In fact, past research has indicated that Latinas may be inclined to respond to survey questionnaires in a socially desirable way (Vega, 1990). This may have potentially affected the extent to which the Latinas in the present study endorsed beliefs or values that they may feel would reflect negatively upon them. Furthermore, this may have resulted in a tendency to underreport levels of stress or conflict, in an effort to appear more competent in the management of multiple roles and personal and professional responsibilities.

An additional limitation is the fact that the scope of inquiry of the present study was limited by the measures that were included. Because of the dearth of empirical work including cultural values variables, the extant measures of work-family conflict are inherently based on a dualistic understanding of work and family relationships that is largely informed by an individualistic worldview. Several authors have argued that culturally competent psychological assessment of Latinos in the United States requires both the selection of instruments that have been validated on this population as well as the consideration of cultural factors which may influence the assessment process and related findings (Acevedo-Polakovich, Reynaga-Abiko, Garriott, Derefinko, Wimsatt, Gudonis, & Brown, 2007). Additional research is necessary in order to more adequately address this issue and better understand how these variables may be more accurately measured among Latinas.

Another limitation of the current study, related to external validity, and the extent to which the study's findings cannot be generalized to other populations of professional Latinas, lies in the fact that the study did not include a random sample. The fact that the participants volunteered to participate in the study increases the potential for response bias as there may be

underlying similarities in the characteristics of the women who agreed to participate, and/or were interested in the topic of concern in the present study. Similarly, the lack of diversity among the study's participants in terms of age, educational level, socio-economic status, relationship status, and professional status restricts the range of responses and likely reduced the potential for certain relationships to emerge in the study's findings. Furthermore, the fact that only self-report measures were utilized in this study increased the potential for common method variance. Another limitation lies in the fact that U.S. born participants' ethnicities as well as the current geographic regions of all of the participants were not assessed in the personal demographic questionnaire. As a result of these factors, the findings of the current study cannot be generalized to other populations and should be interpreted with caution.

### Implications

In this section, the implications of the present study will be discussed, and ideas regarding future research, training, and clinical practice will be offered.

#### *Research*

This study attempted to contribute to existing literature on the work-family interface by drawing attention to the important influence of cultural context variables; an area that has been largely overlooked in past research. The present study's findings provide important information about the significance of these variables as well as gender role attitudes in influencing the ways in which work and family relationships are experienced. The current study focused on a specific subset of workers; professional Latinas. Future research should continue to explore the phenomenon of work-family conflict and the influence of cultural variables within other racial

and ethnic groups, as well as employees with non-professional status. In addition, it would be interesting to explore these relationships within different types of professions and work-setting (i.e., to examine the potential impact of more individualistic or competitive versus more collectivistically-oriented or team-based settings).

A significant limitation of this study was that it only explored the influence of cultural values among a population of Latinas who self-identified as heterosexual. It is important to also explore these relationships among Latinas who identify as lesbian and bisexual. Furthermore, future research should also explore the unique experiences of single parents who are simultaneously participating in multiple professional and personal roles.

Another important area that warrants further exploration is the understanding of the various antecedents of work-family conflict among this population as well as the organizational and societal factors (e.g., institutionalized racism and discrimination) which can exacerbate experiences of conflict.

Further exploration of other demographic variables which appear to significantly influence experiences of work-family conflict, such as satisfaction with childcare, and extent of emotional support from family, is also important and would likely be quite informative. The ways in which individual differences in relation to these variables are also influenced by cultural values such as familism need to be more comprehensively explored. For example, as mentioned earlier in this document, while familism appears to be significantly associated with work-family conflict, there also appear to be potential buffering effects of this cultural value (e.g., greater satisfaction with childcare based on a broader network of relatives available to assist with childcare responsibilities and lend emotional and/or financial support). Similarly, both the influence and subjective experience of gender role attitudes needs to be more completely



understood. For example, the exploration of the ways in which professional Latinas may perceive their partners' gender role attitudes (i.e. *machismo*, *caballerismo*) to influence their experiences of work-family conflict may provide elucidating information.

In addition, as discussed in regards to the limitations of the present study, the exploration of the relationships between stressors, cultural values, gender role attitudes and work-family conflict was constricted by the fact that inherent in the measures utilized to understand work-family conflict is the dualistic understanding of these as separate entities in opposition to one another. Future research would be behooved to focus on developing alternative measures of work-family relationships that were grounded in a more holistic and collectivistic understanding of these areas in individuals' lives. The incorporation of qualitative research methodology would likely be helpful in this process. Moreover, it would be helpful to also explore the ways in which family and work may actually serve to enhance each other and the ways in which cultural context variables may play a role in this process in the experiences of professional Latinas.

While this study contributed to the knowledge about the ways in which cultural values may be associated with work-family conflict, and/or contribute to the relationships between stressors and work-family conflict, future research should attempt to further understand the ways in which the influence of different cultural values may also be interconnected, and influence one another in the larger contexts of work and family. For example while a professional Latina may espouse more non-traditional values with regards to her gender role, and within her self-concept, she may also esteem familism and this value may significantly influence the ways in which she perceives her role within her family, which could lead her to feel conflicted about juggling multiple roles in a way that her gender role attitudes do not. As will be discussed in relation to

practice, it seems important not to make assumptions about work-family conflict based on one aspect alone, but to consider the potential influence of various cultural context variables together.

### *Training*

In addition to highlighting areas for future research, the findings of the current study also provide important implications for training.

Various authors have stressed the priority of training existing and emerging mental health practitioners in multicultural competencies that enable them to more appropriately and effectively work with Latino populations. A major aspect of such competencies is the recognition and integration of Latino cultural values into clinical practice (Andrés-Hyman, Ortiz, Añez, Paris, & Davidson, 2006; Añez, Silva, Paris Jr., & Bedregal, 2008). It is imperative that graduate level programs incorporate both didactic and experiential components into their training in order to enhance multicultural competence and self-awareness among their trainees.

This training should also be extended to personnel within organizational settings such as HR professionals and managers, as well as career counselors, recruiting personnel, and professional development specialists. Increased awareness of cultural context variables which may be salient in the experiences of professional Latinas who are also managing personal responsibilities, may limit the potential danger of those who are working with a professional Latina to misinterpret the influence of a culture value such as familism as a Latina's lack of commitment to her professional role. Rather, it is essential for individuals working with professional Latinas to understand the importance of family as being culturally normative as well as intrinsically linked to ethnic and cultural identity. Furthermore, training to raise awareness regarding these issues may also enhance the understanding that for professional Latinas, work

and family may actually not be perceived as opposed to one another, but may actually be experienced as enhancing each other.

Training to increase cultural competence and awareness of salient cultural values which influence work-family relationships should not be limited to practitioners and other personnel working with current professional Latinas. These issues can also become integrated into training school counselors or those professionals who are working with Latina high school or undergraduate college students, as cultural values are an essential component to include in discussions and workshops related to career development and educational goals.

### *Practice*

A further understanding of empirically-based assertions regarding the influence of cultural values within the context of work-family conflict may provide important information for organizations as well as mental health professionals working with professional Latinas. It is critical to apply what can be gleaned from research findings to the development of programs within organizational settings and the delivery of services with this population.

In addition to the need for practitioners to become aware of cultural values and the ways in which they may impact the experiences of professional Latinas, there is also an equally essential need for those practitioners working with Latinas both within and outside of their organizations to become increasingly aware of and knowledgeable about both the internal and external (e.g., racial/ethnic discrimination, sexism, tokenism) factors which can significantly impact a professional Latina's experience as she works to manage multiple roles and responsibilities.

Furthermore, the findings from the present study indicate that cultural values appear to influence the ways in which work and family relationships are experienced in different ways based on levels of stress. As such, it would be helpful to organizational personnel such as HR professionals, managers and supervisors to think about the benefits of providing workshops, seminars, and opportunities for mentorship to professional Latinas which may help in reducing levels of job-related stress.

The results of this study also suggest that in terms of gender role attitudes, it is the Latina's subjective experience in relation to those attitudes ( i.e., her level of conflict about her gender role attitudes) that truly seems to affect her experience of work-family conflict and as well as the relationships between stressors and conflict. In other words, what appears to be most significant is the extent to which a Latina may experience her gender role attitudes as ego dystonic, or not in accordance with her ideal self-concept or sense of herself. As such, clinical interventions should be made with this knowledge in mind and mental health practitioners working with professional Latinas should be mindful to inquire about a Latina's subjective experience rather than making potentially stereotypical or sweeping generalizations based on her gender role attitudes alone.

In essence, it is essential that clinicians continue to strive to enhance their awareness of their own attitudes, beliefs, and biases when working with diverse client populations. Multicultural competence is an ongoing process, and clinicians can benefit from opportunities such as their own treatment, supervision, and additional training in order to assist the process of enhancing their self-awareness. Cultural sensitivity and multicultural competence are crucial when working with Latinas and understanding the cultural context variables which may be influential for them. Empirical findings such as those gained from the present study can be

helpful to individuals working with Latina professionals and may aid them in better understanding the cultural issues that can shape the ways in which the work-family interface is experienced and managed.

### General Summary and Conclusions

The present study examined the influence of cultural values on experiences of work-family conflict among professional Latinas with children. While social science research has explored the phenomenon of interrole conflict between work and family among women who are negotiating multiple personal and professional roles, the majority of this work has been focused on White, middle-class, professional women and is largely reflective of theories of work-family conflict that are based on the values, family structures, and work history of the dominant group in U.S. society. There is a need for more research to explore the experiences of professional women of color, for whom the dominant cultural values may not be salient. This study aimed to contribute to emerging theories about work-family conflict which incorporate cultural context variables, by examining the influence of cultural values on experiences of work-family conflict among professional Latinas with children. As Latinos currently represent the fastest growing segment of workers in the U.S. labor force, and professional employment the fastest growing segment of occupation type, a more comprehensive understanding of the ways in which professional Latinas experience the work-family interface seems particularly important.

This study was conducted to investigate work-family conflict among professional Latinas with children. Specifically, the study aimed to increase the understanding of the implications of Latino cultural values (i.e., collectivism, familism) and traditional gender role attitudes (i.e., *marianismo*) on experiences of work-family conflict among this population.

In the present study, it was hypothesized that Latino cultural values would have both a main effect on levels of work-family conflict and a moderating effect on the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict, such that the relationship between both kinds of stressors and the two forms of conflict (i.e. work-family conflict; family-work conflict) would be stronger for those participants who also endorse greater levels of individualism and familism, and for those who adhered to more traditional gender role attitudes and who experience greater conflict in relation to their gender role attitudes.

Hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to test both main effects of predictor variables on the two forms of work-family conflict as well as to explore the moderating effect of cultural values on the relationships between job and family stressors and the criterion variables. Results indicated that there were significant main effects for job stressors as well as family stressors on levels of work-family conflict, and for family stressors and family-work conflict, such that as stressors increased work-family conflict tended to increase as well. Similarly, results indicated that there was a significant main effect for participants' level of individualism, such that higher levels of vertical individualism were associated with greater levels of work-family conflict. Results did not reveal a significant main effect for individualism with regards to family-work conflict or a significant main effect for collectivism and either form of work-family conflict. The measurement of individualism/collectivism in this study, which used a four-way typology, as well as the lack of diversity in this study's sample were offered as a possible explanations for these findings. Furthermore, no main effects were found for familism or gender role attitudes with respect to either work-family conflict or family-work conflict.

In terms of the moderating effects of cultural values variables, results indicated that horizontal collectivism appeared to moderate the relationship between family stressors and

family-work conflict such that those participants who endorsed high levels of collectivism were more likely to report lower overall levels of family-work conflict. Again the measurement of individualism/collectivism along a four-way typology as well as the homogeneity of the sample in terms of certain demographic variables were offered as potential explanations for this finding.

Moderating effects were also indicated for familism, in the relationship between job and family stressors and work-family conflict as well as the relationship between job stressors and family-work conflict, such that familism tended to affect the magnitude of the relationship between stressors and the two forms of conflict.

Contrary to hypothesized relationships, results did not reveal a significant moderating effect for gender role attitudes. However, as predicted, the level of conflict that participants reported experiencing in regards to their gender role attitudes did appear to significantly moderate the relationship between job stressors and work-family conflict and family stressors and family-work conflict, such that these relationships were stronger for those participants who endorsed high levels of conflict about their gender role attitudes. These findings lend support to the growing literature which asserts that it is a Latina's subjective experience regarding her gender role attitudes that is truly significant in shaping her experiences and not the gender role attitudes in and of themselves.

Overall, the present study serves as a step in contributing to the emerging research that asserts that cultural context variables have an important influence and need to be considered when exploring experiences of work-family conflict among a diverse population of workers. Moreover, these results emphasize the importance of multicultural competence in order to effectively support Latina professionals managing multiple professional and personal roles. The

present study serves as a foundation for future research, training, and practice in an effort to increase the voice of Latinas in the dialogue on work and family.



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## Appendix A

### Recruitment E-mail

Hello,

My name is Karen Gelder and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling Psychology program at Teachers College, Columbia University. I would like to invite you to participate in a research study examining the influence of Latino cultural values on the experience of managing multiple roles (both professional and personal) among professional Latinas with children. This study aims to improve the understanding of the unique experiences of Latina professionals, a group that has traditionally been overlooked in the research.

In order to participate in this study, you must: be at least 18 years of age, self-identify as Latina/Hispanic, self-identify as heterosexual, have a four-year college degree, be working outside the home at least 20 hours/week, be the mother of at least one child under the age of 18 living in your home, and have lived in the U.S. for at least 10 years.

If you are not eligible to participate, please consider forwarding this e-mail to friends, relatives, colleagues or other potential participants. Participation in this study is completely confidential and your responses will be anonymous. If you choose to participate in this web-based survey, it will take about 15-20 minutes of your time. As a participant in this study, you are eligible to enter a raffle to win one of three \$50 American Express gift cards.

To start the survey, please click on the following link below or cut and paste it into the url address:

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/karengelderdissertation>

Thank you very much in advance for your help!

Karen M. Gelder, M.A., Ed.M.  
Doctoral Candidate  
Department of Counseling & Clinical Psychology  
Teachers College, Columbia University  
IRB # 11-088

Appendix B  
**Informed Consent Form**

Teacher College, Columbia University  
Informed Consent

Dear Participant,

I am a Latina doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology Program at Teachers College, Columbia University and I would like to invite you to participate in a research study examining attitudes and perceptions about balancing work and family among professional Latinas. Your participation in this study can help researchers, clinicians and educators to improve their understanding of the unique issues that affect Latinas as they manage both professional and personal responsibilities.

**DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH:** If you agree to participate, you will be asked to share some basic information about yourself and answer a series of questions. The questions in the survey will ask you about your thoughts on being a part of a family unit as well as a part of the Latino culture and your feelings regarding managing both professional and personal responsibilities. You will be asked to participate in this study once and you will not be contacted for future related research. You also have the right to withdraw at any time.

**RISKS AND BENEFITS:** Your participation in this study may possibly benefit you in that it may help you to think about the role of your Latina background in your perceptions of managing multiple roles and responsibilities in your life. There are no anticipated physical or psychological risks involved in participating in this study. You are simply asked to express your views. While it is possible that you could experience discomfort during or after completing the survey, it is expected that any discomfort that is experienced should be the same as to what is commonly experienced in everyday interactions.

**INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION:** At the end of the survey, you will have the opportunity to enter in a raffle to win one of three \$50 American Express gift cards (1% chance of winning each prize). To enter the raffle, you will be asked to email me from a separate web page. Thus, there is no way of connecting your email address to your survey answers. The raffle drawing will take place at the conclusion of the study. Only the raffle winners will be contacted through the provided email address.

**DATA STORAGE TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY:** All of the study data will be kept in an electronic data file available only to me and my research supervisor, Dr. George V. Gushue, Associate Professor of Psychology and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. The data on the electronic file can only be opened with the use of my password. It may be possible that your answers can be viewed by an outside party if you do not close your internet browser after completing the survey.

**TIME INVOLVEMENT:** This survey will take approximately 20-25 minutes to complete and your responses will be kept confidential.

**HOW WILL RESULTS BE USED:** The results of this study may be published and/or presented at professional conferences. Because this research is anonymous, all of your answers will be kept confidential. Your answers will be combined with the data from other respondents and reported as grouped data.

If you are interested in receiving information about the results of this study, please contact me at [kmp2001@columbia.edu](mailto:kmp2001@columbia.edu). Please print a copy of this page for your records.

Respectfully,

Karen M. Gelder, M.A., Ed.M.  
Doctoral Candidate  
Department of Counseling and Clinical Psychology  
Teachers College, Columbia University  
IRB # 11-088



## Appendix C

**Individualism-Collectivism Scale**

Instructions: Please use the scale below to respond to the following items. Circle the number that indicates the extent to which each statement is characteristic or uncharacteristic of you or your views. Please try to respond to every item

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1.	I often do “my own thing”						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2.	One should live one’s life independently of others						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3.	I like my privacy						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4.	I prefer to be direct and forthright when discussing with people						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5.	I am a unique individual						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6.	What happens to me is my own doing						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7.	When I succeed, it is usually because of my abilities						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8.	I enjoy being unique and different from others in many ways						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9.	It annoys me when other people perform better than I do						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10.	Competition is the law of nature						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11.	When another person does better than I do I get tense and aroused						

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 12. Without competition it is not possible to have a good society                           |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 13. Winning is everything   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 14. It is important that I do my job better than others                                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 15. I enjoy working in situations involving competition with others                         |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 16. Some people emphasize winning; I'm not one of them                                      |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 17. The well-being of my co-workers is important to me                                      |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 18. If a co-worker gets a prize I would feel proud  |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 19. If a relative were in financial difficulty I would help within my means                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 20. It is important to maintain harmony within my group                                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 21. I like sharing little things with my neighbors  |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 22. I feel good when I cooperate with others  |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 23. My happiness depends very much on the happiness of those around me                      |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 24. To me, pleasure is spending time with others  |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 25. I would sacrifice an activity that I enjoy very much if my family did not approve of it |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 26. I would do what would please my family even if I detested that activity                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |

- | 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27. Before taking a major trip I consult with most members of my family and many friends |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 28. I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 29. Children should be taught to place duty before pleasure                              |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 30. I hate to disagree with others in my group   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 31. We should keep our aging parents with us at home                                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 32. Children should feel honored if their parents receive a distinguished award          |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

## Appendix D

**Attitudinal Familism Scale**

Instructions: Please use the scale below to respond to the following items. Circle the number that indicates the extent to which each statement is characteristic or uncharacteristic of you or your views. Please try to respond to every item

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. Children should always help their parents with the support of younger brothers and sisters, for example, help them with homework, help the parents take care of the children and so forth.

1            2            3            4            5            6            7

2. The family should control the behavior of children younger than 18.

1            2            3            4            5            6            7

3. A person should cherish the time spent with his or her relatives.

1            2            3            4            5            6            7

4. A person should live near his or his parents and spend time with them on a regular basis.

1            2            3            4            5            6            7

5. A person should always support members of the extended family, for example, aunts, uncles and in-laws if they are in need even if it is a big sacrifice.

1            2            3            4            5            6            7

6. A person should rely on his or her family if the need arises.

1            2            3            4            5            6            7

7. A person should feel ashamed if something he or she does dishonors the family name.

1            2            3            4            5            6            7

8. Children should help out around the house without expecting an allowance.

1            2            3            4            5            6            7

9. Parents and grandparents should be treated with great respect regardless of their differences in views.

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
10. A person should often do activities with his or her immediate and extended families, for example, eat meals, play games, or go somewhere together.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
11. Aging parents should live with their relatives.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
12. A person should always be expected to defend his/her family's honor no matter what the cost.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
13. Children younger than 18 should give almost all their earnings to their parents.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
14. Children should live with their parents until they are married.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
15. Children should obey their parents without question even if they believe they are wrong.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
16. A person should help his or her elderly parents in times of need, for example, helping financially or sharing a house.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
17. A person should be a good person for the sake of his or her family.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
18. A person should respect his or her older brothers and sisters regardless of their differences in views.
- |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

## Appendix E

**Work-Family Conflict Scale**

Instructions: Please use the scale below to respond to the following items. Circle the number that indicates the extent to which each statement is characteristic or uncharacteristic of you or your views. Please try to respond to every item

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. The demands of my work interfere with my home and family life.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

2. The amount of time my job takes up makes it difficult to fulfill family responsibilities.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

3. Things I want to do at home do not get done because of the demands my job puts on me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

4. My job produces strain that makes it difficult to fulfill my family duties.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

5. Due to work-related duties, I have to make changes to my plans for family activities.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

## Appendix F

**Family-Work Conflict Scale**

Instructions: Please use the scale below to respond to the following items. Circle the number that indicates the extent to which each statement is characteristic or uncharacteristic of you or your views. Please try to respond to every item

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- The demands of my family or spouse/partner interfere with work-related activities.  
1            2            3            4            5            6            7
- I have to put of doing things at work because of demands of my family or spouse/partner.  
1            2            3            4            5            6            7
- Things I want to do at work don't get done because of the demands of my family or spouse/partner.  
1            2            3            4            5            6            7
- My home life interferes with my responsibilities at work such as getting to work on time, accomplishing daily tasks and working overtime.  
1            2            3            4            5            6            7
- Family-related strain interferes with my ability to perform job-related duties.  
1            2            3            4            5            6            7

Appendix G  
**Latina Values Scale – Revised**

Instructions: Please circle the number that best describes how you feel. Please note that each statement has **two (2)** parts.

Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Do Not Agree or Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. I find myself doing things for others I prefer not to do.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

1b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

2. I feel guilty when I ask others to do things for me.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

2b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

3. I feel proud when others praise me for the sacrifices I have made.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

3b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

4. I often take on responsibilities having to do with my family.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

4b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

5. I often find myself doing things that will make my family happy even when I know it's not what I want to do.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5



5b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

6. I have difficulty expressing my anger.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

6b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

7. I often take on responsibilities with my family that I'd rather not take because it makes me feel like a better person.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

7b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

8. I often feel inferior in comparison to men.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

8b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

9. I consider my family a great source of support.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

9b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

10. I find it difficult to say "no" to people even when it is clear that "no" is what I should be saying.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

10b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

11. Family is very important to me.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

11b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

12. I feel guilty when I go against my parents' wishes.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

12b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

13. I have difficulty asserting myself to figures of authority.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

13b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

14. I often put myself down in relation to figures of authority.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

14b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

15. I try to make others happy at all costs.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

15b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

16. I try to make my family happy at all costs.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

16b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

17. I believe sacrificing yourself for others makes you a better person.



23b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

24. I feel like a terrible person when I know someone is upset or disappointed with me.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

24b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

25. I find myself accepting maltreatment from a partner (i.e. cheating, physical abuse, emotional abuse etc.)

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

25b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

26. I can express my needs to my partner.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

26b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

27. I have allowed partners to take sexual liberties with me even when I did not want to.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

27b. Has the response to this question caused problems or conflicts in your life?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

28. I have allowed partners to take sexual liberties with me because: (check all that apply)

- a. They will leave me?
- b. I will hurt their feelings?
- c. I will be seen in a negative light?
- d. I will be hurt physically?
- e. They will cheat on me
- f. Other

Appendix H  
**Job Stressors Scale**

Instructions: Please use the scale below to respond to the following items. Circle the number that indicates the extent to which each statement is characteristic or uncharacteristic of you or your views. Please try to respond to every item

<b>Almost Always</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
1	2	3	4

On your job, how often:

1. Do you have too much work to do?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
2. Do you feel that you have a lot of responsibility for the work of others?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
3. Are you under pressure to keep up with old ways of doing things?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
4. Are you under pressure to keep up with new ways of doing things?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
5. Do you have to decide things where mistakes could be quite costly?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
6. Do you work too many hours?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
7. Do you have too little help or equipment to get the job done well?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
8. Do you have important responsibilities?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
9. Do you feel that you are unable to influence your supervisor's decisions even when they affect you?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
10. Can you use your own initiative to do things?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
  
11. Does your supervisor keep a close watch on you?

1                    2                    3                    4

12. Are you given a lot of freedom to decide how to do your work?

1                    2                    3                    4

13. Do you have freedom to do as you like on your job?

1                    2                    3                    4

14. Are you encouraged to make your own decisions?

1                    2                    3                    4

15. Are you unsure about what people expect of you?

1                    2                    3                    4

16. Are you confused about exactly what you are supposed to do?

1                    2                    3                    4

17. Do clear, planned goals and objectives exist for your job?

1                    2                    3                    4

18. Are you clear about what needs to be done on your job?

1                    2                    3                    4

19. Do you know exactly what is expected of you?

1                    2                    3                    4

20. Do you feel certain about how much or how little authority you have?

1                    2                    3                    4

Appendix I  
**Family Stressors Scale**

Instructions: Please use the scale below to respond to the following items. Circle the number that indicates the extent to which each statement is characteristic or uncharacteristic of you or your views. Please try to respond to every item

<b>Almost Always</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
1	2	3	4

In your family life, how often:

1. Do you feel that you have too little time to spend by yourself because of your child(ren)?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
2. Do you feel that your child(ren) is/are making too many demands on you?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
3. Do/does your child(ren) disobey or do things you don't approve of?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
4. Do/does your child(ren) do things that cause you problems or hassles?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

In your relationship, how often:

5. Can you depend on your husband/partner to be there when you really need him?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
6. How much concern does he show for your feelings and problems?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
7. How much tension is there between you and your husband/partner?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
8. How often would you say you and your husband/partner have an unpleasant argument?  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

## Appendix J

**PERSONAL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. Age:
 

under 25     25-29     30 – 39     40 – 49     50 - 59
2. Relationship Status:
 

Single                       Living with a Partner                       Widowed  
 Married                       Separated/Divorced
3. Number of Children: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Age of Children: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Number and Age of Children Living in the Home: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Occupation or Job: \_\_\_\_\_
7. How many hours per weeks do you spend working in your occupation/job
 

less than 20     20 – 40     40 – 60     more than 60
8. Highest level of education completed:
 

Bachelors degree     Masters degree     Doctorate degree
9. Socioeconomic status:
 

Working class                       Upper-Middle class  
 Middle class                       Upper class
10. Annual Income:
 

Less than \$19,999                       \$20,000 – 39,999                       \$40,000 – 69,999  
 \$70,000 – 99,999                       \$100,000 – 150,000                       more than \$150,000
11. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
12. Number of years residing in U.S.? \_\_\_\_\_



## 13. Satisfaction with Childcare:

- \_\_\_\_\_ Not at all satisfied
- \_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat satisfied
- \_\_\_\_\_ Very satisfied

## 14. Extent of emotional support you receive from family members?

- \_\_\_\_\_ not supportive at all
- \_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat supportive
- \_\_\_\_\_ Very supportive