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## The Effects of Sex Role Stereotype Endorsement and Work-Family Conflict on Emerging Adult Aspirations

Andrea Fink-Armold

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THE EFFECTS OF SEX ROLE STEREOTYPE ENDORSEMENT AND WORK-FAMILY  
CONFLICT ON EMERGING ADULT ASPIRATIONS

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
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## Abstract

Workplace and household inequality remain prevalent in the United States and sex role (e.g. breadwinner and caregiver) stereotypes affect the roles that individuals seek out. This research used a mixed-methods approach to investigate the effects of sex role stereotypes and expected work-family conflict on the work and family aspirations of emerging adults. A racially diverse sample wrote freely about their future selves for ten minutes then completed measures to evaluate their sex-role stereotype endorsement, expected work-family conflict, and personal preferences for career and family roles. Results indicate that endorsement of stereotypes predicts increased expectations of work-family conflict, for both men and women, possibly because sex-role stereotypes do not allow for a harmonious unification of both roles. Multiple mediator analyses revealed complex relationships, including findings that time-based and stress-based work-family conflict partially explain the link between stereotype endorsement and value of familial and occupational roles. The narratives produced by participants demonstrate how caregiver and breadwinner stereotypes are conceptualized by individuals and integrated into their descriptions of their future lives. The narratives suggest that women who reject sex role stereotypes may also reject traditional family compositions and may not feel that assuming traditional roles and behaving in nurturing, “feminine” ways are mutually exclusive.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review**

Gender inequality in the workplace continues to be prevalent in the United States, despite the efforts of many large companies to level the playing field. Gap, Proctor & Gamble, Time Warner Inc., Goldman Sachs, and IBM have all won the Catalyst Award for initiatives leading to positive change for women working for their companies (Catalyst, 2017). Recent data indicate that in the United States, women's annual incomes are currently only about 79% the size of men's (Blau & Khan, 2017). Although this gap has been closing steadily since the 1950s, an extensive review of economic data from the past three decades has determined that the rate at which it is closing has been slowing since the 1980s (Blau & Khan, 2017). The pay gap also varies based on occupational field, with the pay gap in "male" occupations being higher than in other fields (Blau & Khan, 2017). For example, in "male" occupations like science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields, where women only represent 23% of the total workforce, men's pay increases significantly faster than women's and results in men earning 60% more than women by the time they are 45-49 years old (Carnevale, Smith, & Melton, 2011), a gap even larger than the average in the United States. A study of longitudinal employment data from 1988 to 2010 revealed that in addition to lower wages, women also receive less promotions and slower wage growth than men (Addison, Ozturk, & Wang, 2014).

The current research aims to examine factors that may perpetuate barriers to workplace equality with the primary goal of using expectations of work-family conflict to explain the pathway from sex-role attitudes to work-family behaviors. This study will examine the relationships between sex-role stereotype beliefs, expectations of conflict between work and family, and what work and family attributes individuals envision in their future selves, how much importance they place on work relative to family, and how much importance they place on family friendly workplace policies. The overarching goal for this research is to provide findings

that may support the development of programs and policies that promote workplace equality, allowing both women and men to embrace their career and family goals without fear of the consequences they currently stand to suffer.

### **Motherhood as a barrier to workplace equality**

Recent research has determined that motherhood is a major contributor to gender workplace inequality and that a majority of the difference between men and women's pay is due to parental status in combination with gender. Staff and Mortimer (2012), examining a single cohort of 20-year old women longitudinally across 11 years (from 1993 to 2004), found a nearly 6% per child hourly pay difference between mothers and nonmothers, a gap that the researchers concluded was primarily due to time spent outside of a work or school environment. Gangl and Ziefle (2009), comparing longitudinal data from two cohorts in Germany, England, and the United States, found a pay gap between mothers and nonmothers of at least 10% and as much as 18% per child. For millennials, a review of economic literature shows that the pay gap between mothers and women without children is bigger than the pay gap between men and women (Crittenden, 2001). In fact, a majority of the gender pay gap is due to mothers' wages increasing at a slower rate than non-mothers, shown by an analysis of longitudinal data (Budig & England, 2001).

Mothers do not just suffer from lower wages than men and women without children; they also face slower job advancement and prestige. In academia, for example, female PhDs who have a child under six years old are 26% more likely to be employed as adjunct professors as opposed to tenure track professors compared to women without children. Conversely, male PhDs with children under six years old are 36% less likely to be employed as adjunct professors compared to men without children (Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2009).



**Practical barriers.** It is important to note that practical barriers exist that contribute to workplace inequalities for mothers. There is a lack of affordable childcare and a lack of companies offering policies with comprehensive maternity leave. A large study examining worker-mothers in three western countries found that the challenge of securing childcare is a significant barrier worker-mothers face, with single mothers and mothers working nonstandard hours perceiving this as an even greater barrier (Moilanen, May, Räikkönen, Sevón, & Laakso, 2016). In interviews with working single mothers of two or three children, researchers found that nearly all women reported lack of time to be a significant challenge, and all worried about having to take time off of work if their children were sick. The majority of the women took lower paying jobs that offered more flexibility and even the women with master's degrees chose to work outside of their field in order to have flexibility (Quinn & Allen, 1989). Leaving one's field, even temporarily, can have serious career consequences. Among women with PhDs, those who have a young child are nearly four times as likely to exit the academic workforce and if they return to academia, they are 24% less likely than women without young children to move into tenure track jobs (Wolfinger et al., 2009).

Furthermore, the belief that women can choose to be stay at home mothers is associated with a lack of recognition of the barriers to employment that mothers face. In one study, when participants were subtly told that women choose to leave the workforce, they were less likely to believe that practical barriers and discrimination exist for women in the workplace than participants not told about the choice (Stephens & Levine, 2011).

**Bias and discrimination.** Beyond practical barriers, workplace bias and discrimination against working mothers is common. Research has shown that there is less interest in hiring, promoting, and training mothers when compared to childless women (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick,

2004). In a study of undergraduates at Princeton, Cuddy and colleagues (2004) had participants rate how likely they would be to hire, promote, and train male or female potential employees, with or without children. The participants were significantly less likely to hire, promote, and train working mothers, compared to childless women and men with or without children. A comparison of cross-sectional cohorts has revealed that penalty is not decreasing (Avellar & Smock, 2003).

The bulk of past research has examined attitudes towards employee-parents based on competency and warmth. Research participants have been more likely to choose to hire, promote, and train those with high levels of competency (Cuddy et al., 2004). However, motherhood lowers ratings of competency. When evaluating a woman, simply adding a child to her profile causes people to view her as less capable and skillful (Cuddy et al., 2004). Competency stereotypes are not based in reality, but that does not stop discrimination. Discrimination and bias against women with children persist even after mothers have proven their competency (Benard & Correll, 2010).

Bias against mothers can also be based in views that they are less available for work than women without children (Gungor & Biernat, 2009). Research has shown that among professors, superiors' perceptions of work involvement and flexibility of professor-mothers was much lower compared to professor-fathers (King, 2008). However, even when there is no doubt about the workplace success of mothers, they are viewed as lacking interpersonal skills such as likeability and warmth, and are not hired, promoted, or given raises (Benard & Correll, 2010). In addition, and more disturbing, it is often other women who hold these views (Benard & Correll, 2010).

This level of discrimination does not apply to men and women without children. That is, they are not based on parental status *or* on gender, but rather the combination of both. For

example, when participants read job applications, they recommend mothers for hire at about half the rate that they recommend women without children, but there is no difference in the rate of recommendation for men depending on whether they have children (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007). Mothers are not only viewed as less available than women without children, but also less available than men *with* children (Gungor & Biernat, 2009). Employed mothers are viewed as more selfish than unemployed mothers and as more selfish than fathers, regardless of the fathers' employment status (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005). People are less interested in hiring, training, and promoting mother-workers even when the only difference between her and another female candidate is the addition of a child (Cuddy et al., 2004). Working mothers are even viewed as less socially appealing than working fathers (Okimoto & Heilman, 2012). Additionally, women are viewed as worse mothers when they choose to work, particularly when they are successful or work in stereotypically male occupations, with the only exception being that women who must work due to financial necessity are viewed as favorably as mothers who do not work (Okimoto & Heilman, 2012).

### **Sex role stereotypes**

Discrimination and bias against working mothers may be rooted in the long-held belief in the United States that men and women hold separate, unique roles in society: women as caregivers and men as breadwinners (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998). Sex role stereotypes are prevalent in the United States and contribute to an unequal distribution of men and women in particular fields (Weisgram, Bigler, & Liben, 2010), especially the workforce and the home. The stereotype that women belong in the home acting as caregivers and men belong in the workplace acting as providers is pervasive and resistant to change (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998). Beyond being broadly stereotyped as caregivers, women are stereotyped as possessing communal characteristics:

warmth, kindness, and sensitivity. These stereotypes on their own are seemingly positive, but when coupled with the stereotypes that women are submissive, and men are agentic, powerful, decisive, competent, and dominant (Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Okimoto & Heilman, 2012; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Tyler & McCullough, 2009), they have clear implications for which sex is compatible with the workplace and which is compatible with the home.

The pervasive and persistent nature of these sex-role stereotypes preserves societal sex segregation by keeping women at home caring for children and men at work earning money (Rudman & Glick, 2001), and in turn creates visible gendered representation in particular fields that reinforces those traditional sex role beliefs (Weisgram et al., 2010). When women are over-represented in the home and men are over-represented in the workforce, this sex-typed behavior influences other women and men to develop beliefs about what they should be doing based on their sex and leads them to seek out the skills and roles typical to their sex (Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000).

This sex segregation is demonstrated through family roles and media, both of which influence the development of sex role stereotype endorsement. Children from traditional families with a working father and stay at home mother rely more heavily on sex role stereotypes (Sinno & Killen, 2009) and exposure to gendered media plays a role in strengthening sex role stereotypes (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracek, 2005). Sex role stereotypes evolve over time as society changes (Eagly et al., 2000), but both sex role stereotypes and society itself are resistant to change due to their nature of perpetuating each other. Recent research indicates that the majority of emerging adults plan to continue this breadwinner-caregiver model to some degree in the future, though far fewer women (46%) are committed to it than men (97%) (Fulcher, Dinella, & Weisgram, 2015). Additionally, half of women expect to be

in the workforce when having children whereas less than 4% of men expect to be in the home (Fulcher et al., 2015).

When women violate sex-role norms, they are negatively stereotyped (Rudman & Glick, 2001). These researchers found that when women behave in an agentic or masculine manner, they are perceived as more competent and less socially skilled than when they behave in a combined agentic-communal manner. Further, women in positions of authority are the targets of both explicit and implicit prejudice (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000). In one study, participants rated either stay at home mothers, mothers working in a female sex-typed occupation (i.e. employee assistance counselor) or mothers working in a male sex-typed occupation (i.e. financial advisor): mothers with male sex-typed occupations were viewed as worse parents, less socially appealing, and less communal (Okimoto & Heilman, 2012). In another study, male participants rated identical, agentic resumes less favorably on likeability, competency, and social skills and as having a lower likelihood of being interviewed and hired when the name on the resume was female as opposed to male (Tyler & McCullough, 2009).

This backlash occurs for men as well, though it is not as thoroughly researched as the effects on women. One study found that men who display modesty are judged as violating agentic prescribed stereotypes and experience nearly identical prejudice to women (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010). Another study found that communal men are viewed as less competent and less likely to be hired than agentic men (Rudman, 1998). Researchers have also found that when men seek the workplace flexibility needed for work-family balance, they are seen as deviating from sex-role norms and are rated as less masculine and more feminine and as being warmer, but having less leadership ability (Vandello, Hettiger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013).

## **Work-family conflict**

Although practical barriers, stereotypes, bias, and discrimination all play important roles in perpetuating the gender gap in career success and achievement, one of the largest barriers working mothers must overcome is the contradiction they feel exists between their role as a mother and their role as a worker. Work-family conflict occurs when work and family roles interfere with each other and is usually conceptualized as occurring as three distinct subtypes: time-based, stress-based, and behavior-based. For example, family and work obligations may occur at the same time, the stress of one role may be present while performing the duties of the other, and behaviors expected in one role may be contraindicated for the other role.

Work-family conflict is also bidirectional; work can interfere with family and family can interfere with work (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). A classic example of family interfering with work is when a parent must leave work early or miss a day of work to tend to a sick child. A classic example of work interfering with family is when parents miss their child's school play because they must work late. However, perceived conflict between the two roles does not necessarily equate to actual conflict. Perception of conflict can exist among non-parents or non-workers when they simply perceive the two roles to conflict without having ever experienced the actual conflict themselves. Similarly, actual conflict like the examples above can occur, but the person experiencing that conflict may perceive it as a slight inconvenience occurring between two compatible roles.

**Impact of perceived work-family conflict.** Actual work-family conflict has wide-ranging negative implications including decreased work and family satisfaction and job burn-out (Cinamon & Rich, 2002; Netemeyer, Boles, McMurrian, & Bobka, 1996). However, the perception of high levels of work-family conflict even in the absence of actual conflict also has

far-reaching negative implications. Although actual work-family conflict may exist to some degree for all people who work and have families, women in particular may interpret work-family conflict as a conflict between the roles of mother and worker.

Over half of working mothers perceive constant conflict due to work and family roles interfering with each other and this perceived conflict leads many women to leave the workforce entirely (Johnston & Swanson, 2007). Even before having children and entering the workforce, the anticipation of future work-family conflict is tied to women's plans to withdraw, partially or fully, from the workforce while their children are young (Coyle, Van Leer, Schroeder, & Fulcher, 2015). Recent data indicate that 29% of mothers do not work, a number that has been rising over the last decade (Cohn, Livingston, & Wang, 2014). Research has shown that even women with both a strong mother identity and a strong worker identity will choose to leave the workforce when they perceive work-family conflict. One study found that 28% of mothers respond to the perception of conflict by choosing to leave the workforce while *also* subjugating their existing worker identity (Johnston & Swanson, 2007). The perception of work-family conflict can also lead worker-mothers to withdraw from certain parental roles or duties. Research indicates that 17% of working mothers reject intensive mothering expectations in order to keep their mother and worker identities separate and avoid conflict (Johnston & Swanson, 2007).

However, not all working mothers perceive there to be a work-family conflict. Some women reframe their two roles in a way that assumes that a mother having employment is beneficial for her children (Johnston & Swanson, 2007). For example, some working mothers emphasize that multiple sources of caregiving allow their children to develop relationships with other competent caregivers such as fathers and childcare workers and that time away from the mother promotes social development (Johnston & Swanson, 2007). This reframing may be

successful because these women have different beliefs regarding the roles that men and women should play in society compared to women who perceive a large work-family conflict.

**Origins of perception work-family conflict.** Research has shown that the expectation of work-family conflict starts early for women. Young women do expect to be able to enter high-status careers and do place importance on having children, but they also have the expectation that they will be assuming the majority of childrearing responsibilities (Looker & Magee, 2000). Even young women engaged in advanced-level academic courses vary in their aspirations for a career-focused (53.8%), a home-centered (15.8%), or a combined career-home (30.4%) future as compared to similar young men, the majority of whom (86.1%) aspire to a career-focused future (Curry, Trew, Turner, & Hunter, 1994). Additionally, as early as college, women, but not men, begin planning to alter their career and family plans to deal with expected work-family conflict (Coyle et al., 2015).

Although some research has shown that college educated women explicitly endorse the view that both a career and a family are possible, at least among Caucasian, middle class undergraduates (Hallett & Gilbert, 1997), research has also shown that on an implicit level, the mere presence of motherhood cues result in less academic identification among women (Devos, 2007). Young women internalize expectations about their future family responsibilities (Looker & Magee, 2000) and, when considering their future selves 10-15 years ahead, women perceive there to be more of a trade-off between career and family than men do (Brown & Diekmann, 2010). In short, the expectation that there will be conflict between work and family roles can reduce motivation to engage in both roles.

**Sex role stereotypes and mother-worker conflict.** Endorsement of sex-role stereotypes may lead women to perceive higher levels of work-family conflict. Society tells women that they



are natural caregivers, that they are communal, warm, and kind (Okimoto & Heilman, 2012; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Tyler & McCullough, 2009), and when women endorse these stereotypes themselves, they may come to believe that work is contrary to their natural purpose; that work *conflicts* with their natural duty to family. When women primarily see other women in the role of caregiver, homemaker, and stay at home mother, they come to believe there is truth to the many stereotypes about a woman's role in the world (Eagly et al., 2000).

When a woman embraces or, at least, endorses these views, she has two options: (a) she can reject her worker identity and embrace her role as a caregiver, as assigned by society, or (b) she can attempt to play both roles, contrary to society's expectations of her, and grapple with the conflict produced by attempting to fulfill what she believes to be dichotomous roles. When a woman violates society's sex-role expectations, people view her as a "bad parent" (Okimoto & Heilman, 2012). Likewise, when women internalize sex-role expectations that women are meant to procreate and be the sole caregivers to their children, that any part of themselves that they give to their career is a part of themselves that they are denying their children, this can result in them feeling that they are "bad mothers" for choosing to spend time away from their children. As mentioned previously, the perception of work-family conflict has serious implications, including leaving the workforce or rejecting intensive mothering expectations (Johnston & Swanson, 2007).

Recall the finding that some women, though clearly the minority, have low perceptions of conflict and embrace the view that working and having children is complementary (Johnston & Swanson, 2007). It is possible that women who reject sex role stereotypes are among this group. A woman who does not believe that her role in society is restricted to that of caregiver should feel free to embrace the role of breadwinner herself without the feeling of conflict that would

otherwise accompany that decision if she were to endorse those stereotypes. Once free of that perceived conflict work-family conflict, women can feel free to be the breadwinner, the caregiver, or both.

The effects of sex role stereotypes on perception of work-family conflict is not restricted to women. However, the effects of sex role stereotypes on men is likely the opposite of the effect on women. Research has found that working fathers who endorse traditional sex role stereotypes spend less time on familial duties and experience less work-family conflict (Hergatt Huffman, Olson, O’Gara, & King, 2014). Men who endorse the traditional view that men are breadwinners and women are caregivers may perceive less conflict between work and family since the traditional sex-role stereotypes prescribe them a work orientation, with a wife who takes on the caregiver role. If they follow their societally prescribed role, their responsibilities lay primarily in the workplace.

However, men are becoming increasingly egalitarian and are expecting that their wives or partners will take on some of the breadwinner responsibilities and that they, as husbands and fathers, will take on more of the caregiving and domestic responsibilities. In fact, the majority of 18 to 32-year-old men would prefer an egalitarian relationship (Pedulla & Thebaud, 2015). According to recent research, 63% of men with a college education and 82.5% with a high school education choose a hypothetical egalitarian relationship over a traditional one when given the option. Despite this preference, sex role stereotypes may affect men and their willingness to adopt an egalitarian lifestyle. Men want the flexibility and work-life balance required to be more egalitarian, but they fear the career consequences of seeking it. A recent study examining undergraduate psychology students found that work flexibility and work-family balance are valued by men as well as women, but that men are less likely to seek employment that allows

this balance, specifically because they fear it may make them seem less masculine (Vandello, et al., 2013).

Sex role stereotypes about what is masculine, being the aggressive, powerful, competent breadwinner, leads some men to choose a work orientation over a family one, instead of the work-family balance many of them truly desire (Vandello et al., 2013). Sex role stereotype endorsement is creating a barrier for these men, preventing them from embracing the caregiver role. As their egalitarian views become stronger, men may reject traditional sex role stereotypes and embrace the prospect of embodying a caregiver role and assuming more parental responsibilities. However, as the dichotomy between the role society expects them to fulfill (breadwinner) and the role they want to fulfill (caregiver) becomes more salient, they may begin to perceive a higher level of work-family conflict. There is a lack of research examining the effects of stereotype endorsement on men's perceptions of work-family conflict and this study seeks to provide clarity on some of these questions.

## Chapter 2: Current Study and Methods

The current study sought to fill several important gaps in research examining sex-role orientation, work-family conflict, and work-family plans and preferences. First, past research provides support for the interrelatedness of sex-role stereotype endorsement, perception of work-family conflict, and preference for work relative to family among men and, when taken together, these findings appear to indicate sex-role stereotypes may affect men's focus on work relative to family through work-family conflict. However, examinations of men's attitudes tend to be auxiliary to the primary purpose of many studies. The current study hoped to recruit an adequate sample of males who reject sex-role stereotypes in order to identify differences between men who do and do not endorse traditional sex-role stereotypes, particularly how work-family conflict contributes to work and family preferences.

Second, past research has identified that endorsement of traditional sex-role stereotypes (Rudman & Glick, 2001; Weisgram et al., 2010) and perception of high work-family conflict (Johnston & Swanson, 2007) are linked to individuals personally adopting the caregiver-breadwinner model, with women taking on roles within the home and men taking on roles within the workplace as opposed to individuals adopting a balance between both roles. However, no research yet has determined if work-family conflict plays a mediating role between the endorsement of sex role stereotypes and the work and family roles individuals seek out or made the explicit connection between endorsement of sex-role stereotypes and work-family conflict.

Extrapolating from past research on sex-role stereotypes and work-family conflict, the following hypotheses were proposed:

**H1:** Traditional sex-role stereotypes prescribing women a caregiving role directly conflict with a breadwinner role. Therefore, women who endorse traditional sex-role

stereotypes will likely perceive there to be a conflict between work and family. Differing from women, traditional sex-role stereotypes prescribe men a work orientation while still allowing them to have a family. Since they are prescribed a wife who takes on the caregiver role, men with a traditional sex-role orientation can have a career and family without perceiving that the two roles will interfere with each other. Therefore, I predict a sex by stereotype endorsement interaction such that the more strongly women endorse traditional sex role stereotypes, the more work-family conflict they will expect to experience and the more strongly men endorse traditional sex role stereotypes, the less work-family conflict they will expect to experience.

Furthermore, in order to determine the role that work-family conflict plays between endorsement of sex-role stereotypes and relative preference for work or family, and to provide a link between past research findings and an explanation of how they are connected, I hypothesize that:

**H2:** The impact of the sex by stereotype endorsement interaction (hypothesis 1) on relative preference for work or family will be mediated by feelings of work-family conflict. Specifically, increased feelings of conflict will affect the importance placed on work relative to family, value of work roles relative to family roles, commitment to work roles relative to family roles, and importance placed on workplace policies facilitating work-family balance.

Additionally, this study sought to examine how work-family conflict and sex role stereotypes manifest within emerging adults' own conceptualizations of their future selves. The information gleaned from this examination could provide insights into additional factors affecting expectations of work-family conflict and endorsement of sex role stereotypes. To that end, I propose the following research question:

**RQ1:** When emerging adults describe their future selves, what themes are present and how do those themes relate to the expectation of work-family conflict and endorsement of sex role stereotypes?

In order to examine these hypotheses and this research question, this study utilized a future-self salience manipulation to induce participants to think deeply about their future lives in terms of work and family. This manipulation also served as a measure to collect narrative qualitative data on the work and family-based concepts that participants attribute to their future-selves. Following the saliency measure, participants completed a series of questionnaires to measure sex-role stereotype endorsement, three subtypes of expected work-family conflict, occupational and familial role value and commitment, relative importance of work and family, and importance of family-friendly workplace characteristics.

## **Methods**

**Participants.** According to a G\*Power analysis for a 3-predictor multiple regression, with an alpha level of .05 and power of .95, for a medium effect size of  $f^2 = 0.15$ , 119 participants were required. All participants were university undergraduate students in emerging adulthood age 18-23 ( $M = 19.39$ ,  $SD = 1.68$ ) and were required to not have children yet. Participants were recruited from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV) psychology subject pool via Sona System and were compensated for their time with course credit. Participants completed their participation entirely online.

In addition to confirming their eligibility when they signed up for the study, participants also answered potentially disqualifying questions related to these demographics in the survey. Participants were excluded from analyses if they indicated that they had children ( $n = 1$ ) or if they

were under age 18 or over age 23 ( $n = 0$ ). The total useable sample included 163 participants comprised of 125 women (76.7%) and 38 men (23.3%). The sample was racially diverse and included 47 Asian (28.8%), 12 Black (7.4%), 41 Latino/a (25.2%), 12 multiracial (7.4%), 44 White (27%), and 7 other race (4.3%) individuals. All participants indicated annual income under \$60,000, with 2 participants indicating \$40,000-\$60,000 (1.23%), 9 participants indicating \$20,000-\$40,000 (5.52%), 100 participants indicating \$1-\$20,000 (61.35%), 49 participants indicating no income (30.06%), and 3 participants declining to provide annual income (1.84%). All participants reported relationship status and 98 participants indicated that they were single (61.12%), 24 reported that they were in a relationship less than one year (14.72%), 38 reported that they were in a relationship greater than one year (23.31%), and 3 reported that they were married (1.84%). Regarding religious identification, 71 reported a Christian orientation (43.56%), 38 reported an Agnostic/Atheist orientation (23.31%), 4 reported a Jewish orientation (2.45%), 1 reported a Muslim orientation (.61%), and 49 reported Other as their religious orientation (30.06%).

## **Materials**

**Demographic survey.** Participants completed a demographic survey to capture important and possibly correlating variables: age, gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, religious identification, relationship status, major, minor, education level, class standing, current credit enrollment, parental status, current work status, past work history, annual income, mother's and father's education, and mother's and father's work statuses throughout their lives. Age and parental status were included in the demographic survey as filter items and data of any participants not responding within these parameters were deleted prior to any analyses.

### **Future-self salience intervention and qualitative measure of career and family**

**future-self attributions.** A modified version of Brown and Diekmann's (2010) distant future-self measure was used to make participants' personal futures salient and to assess work and family content of future possible selves. The measure asked "think a minute about what your future will be like about 10 or 15 years from now, and what you will be like at this time. What do you expect you will be like? Write down some ways of describing yourself that will probably be true of you in 10 to 15 years. You can write down ways you are and probably still will be, or ways that you expect to become" (Brown & Diekmann, 2010). The original version of this measure asked participants to list their top eight distant selves. However, in order to increase the saliency effects and to obtain more meaningful and extensive data, I instructed participants to write freely for ten minutes and provide additional instructions. Specifically, I added the following to the original version: "You can write about what roles you expect to have, traits or characteristics of yourself, or anything else which you think will describe you in 10 or 15 years. Please write freely for up to ten minutes (the clock above will count the time for you). You may write as much as you would like."

**Measure of sex role stereotype endorsement.** To measure sex role stereotype endorsement, participants completed the Traditional Egalitarian Sex Role Scale (TESR; Larsen & Long, 1988; see Appendix). Participants indicated their agreement with 20 items on a 6-point Likert-like scale, with higher scores indicating rejection of sex role stereotypes. Items included statements such as "the man should be more responsible for the economic support of the family than the woman" and "the belief that women cannot make as good supervisors or executives as men is a myth." The TERS has been used in conjunction with measures related to work-family conflict (Livingston & Judge, 2008). Validity and reliability of the TERS has been established



with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .84 to .95 (Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006; Katz-Wise, Priess, & Hyde, 2010; Kray, Howland, Russell, & Jackman, 2017; Livingston & Judge, 2008) and when tested on the current sample, the internal consistency reliability fell within that range: coefficient alpha = .87.

**Measure of work and family role value and commitment.** Work and family role value and commitment were measured with the Life Role Salience Scale (LRSS; Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986; see Appendix). The LRSS measures life role salience across eight dimensions, reward value and commitment in each of four roles: occupational role, parental role, marital role, and homecare role. For the purpose of this study, only the occupational and parental reward value and role measures were used, totaling 20 items. Participants indicated their agreement with these items on a 5-point scale. Items include statements such as "having work/a career that is interesting and exciting to me is my most important life goal" and "if I chose not have children, I would regret it." The validity and reliability of the LRSS has been established with Cronbach's alphas on the parenthood and occupation dimensions ranging from .80 to .91 (Franco, Sabattini, & Crosby, 2004; Friedman & Weissbrod, 2005; Graves, Ohlott, & Ruderman, 2007), although it was slightly lower in the current sample: coefficient alpha = .78.

**Measure of relative importance of career versus family.** As used in Grey and O'Brien's (2007) research, participants selected one of five statements: "career pursuits are far more important than family pursuits," "career pursuits are more important than family pursuits," "career pursuits and family pursuits are equally important," "family pursuits are more important than career pursuits," and "family pursuits are far more important than career pursuits." Support for the validity of this measure has been provided in past research (Grey & O'Brien, 2007; Richardson, 1974).

**Personal importance of workplace characteristics.** This ten-item measure was adapted from Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi (2013). Participants were asked to select how important workplace characteristics are to them when choosing an employer on a 5-point scale ranging from “extremely important” or “not important at all.” One item (“work/life balance (e.g., job allows a healthy balance between work life and home life)”) asked specifically about work/life balance, two asked about family-friendly workplace policies (flexible work hours and family support programs), and the remaining asked about characteristics not directly related to work/life balance or family (e.g., stimulating tasks, compensation, and benefits). When test on the current sample, the internal consistency reliability was acceptable: coefficient alpha = .77.

**Measure of expected future Work-Family Conflict.** The Expected Work-Family Conflict Scale (EWFC, Gaffey & Rottinghaus, 2009, see Appendix) is a modified version of Carlson’s Multidimensional Work-Family Conflict scale (Carlson, Kacmar & Williams, 2000) with items converted from present to future tense. The scale measures expected work-family conflict on three subscales: time-based, stress-based, and behavior-based. Participants indicated their agreement with 18 items on a 5-point scale, with higher scores indicating an expectation of more work-Family Conflict. Items include statements such as “I will have to miss work activities due to the amount of time I must spend on family responsibilities” and “when I get home from work, I will often be too frazzled to participate in family activities/responsibilities.” The internal consistency of these dimensions measured by coefficient alphas ranges from .78 to .87 (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000) and was slightly higher when tested on the current sample: coefficient alpha = .88.

## **Procedure**

The study was advertised to introductory psychology students through the UNLV Psychology Sona System as a study titled “Work and Home Life Goals Survey.” The purpose of the study was described as “A study to investigate the future life goals of undergraduate students. You will be asked to write about how you expect your life to be in 10 to 15 years and to answer a series of multiple-choice questions related to your future goals.” Students were informed that if they chose to volunteer for the study, they would complete a series of questionnaires, that it would take an estimated 60 minutes to complete the study, and that the study would be conducted entirely online. Students signed an informed consent that explained the benefits and risks of participation, the cost and compensation of participation, the confidentiality procedures, and the voluntary nature of their participation.

From the Sona system, participants were linked to Qualtrics. After confirming that they read and agreed to the informed consent, participants completed the demographic survey, followed by the modified future-self salience measure (Brown & Diekmann, 2010). This measure preceded all other measures in order to make future-self salient and increase the attention paid to the remaining measures. The Traditional Egalitarian Sex Role Scale (Larsen & Long, 1988) was counter balanced with the Life Role Salience Scale (Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986), the relative importance item (Grey & O’Brien, 2007), and the personal importance of workplace characteristics measure. The Expected Work-Family Conflict Scale (Gaffey & Rottinghaus, 2009) was completed last to avoid it influencing the participants’ responses on the other measures by making work-family conflict salient. Once they completed all measures, participants were debriefed and thanked for their time and Qualtrics redirected to automatically credit the participants in the Sona System.

### Chapter 3: Quantitative Results

#### Sex based differences

Results suggest that women endorse sex role stereotypes significantly less than men, although it should be noted that the mean of the scale is 3 and scores ranged from 2.75 to 6.00, meaning that the scores for both men and women strongly lean towards rejection of sex role stereotypes. Men expected significantly more work-family conflict than women and, when broken down by subscale, men expected significantly more stress-based and time-based work-family conflict than women, but there was not a significant difference in expected behavior-based work-family conflict. Additionally, men and women did not differ significantly in how highly they value or are committed to occupational roles (all  $ps > .05$ ) or how highly they value or are committed to parental roles (all  $ps > .05$ ). See table 1 for results of all t-tests.

Table 1

#### *Descriptive Statistics for All Variables*

	$t(161)$	Women ( $N = 125$ )		Men ( $N = 38$ )	
		$M$	$SD$	$M$	$SD$
Stereotype Endorsement	3.22**	5.42	.44	4.99	.79
Work-Family Conflict	-2.46*	2.33	.57	2.60	.64
Stress-based Work Family Conflict	2.27*	2.13	.77	2.48	.84
Time-based Work Family Conflict	-3.31*	2.56	.79	3.03	.64
Behavior-based Work Family Conflict	.08	2.30	.72	2.29	.79
Occupational Role Value	1.27	4.31	.51	4.20	.40
Occupational Role Commitment	1.61	3.99	.57	3.80	.81
Parental Role Value	1.38	4.00	.95	3.75	.99
Parental Role Commitment	1.82	3.91	.95	3.59	.92

*Note.* All t-test were two-tailed. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

## Effects of sex and stereotype endorsement on work-family conflict

**Hypothesis one.** To test the hypothesis that the more strongly women endorse traditional sex role stereotypes, the more work-family conflict they will expect to experience and that the more strongly men endorse traditional sex role stereotypes, the less work-family conflict they will expect to experience (H1), I conducted two step hierarchical linear regressions for the full work-family conflict scale, as well as each subscale (stress-based, time-based, and behavior-based work family conflict; four regressions total). In the first step of each regression, work-family conflict scores were regressed on the scores for sex role stereotype endorsement and sex. In the second step, work-family conflict scores were regressed on the scores for sex role stereotype endorsement, sex, and the interaction between endorsement and sex. Entering the variables in this order allowed me to assess the contributions of sex and stereotype endorsement to the variance in expected work family conflict in the first step, and the contributions of the interaction above and beyond those individual contributions in the second step.

The interaction of sex and stereotype endorsement failed to increase the prediction of work-family conflict scores in any of the second step models (all  $\Delta R^2$ s < .02, all  $ps$  > .05; see table 2 for full results), indicating that sex and stereotype endorsement do not interact to affect expectation of work-family conflict. However, the first step models revealed that stereotype endorsement explains significant variance in expectation of all subtypes of work-family conflict ( $B$ s ranging from -0.26 to -0.35, all  $ps$  < .05), such that higher stereotype endorsement predicted higher expectation of work-family conflict. Sex only contributed significant variance to expectation of time-based work-family conflict ( $b = -.34$ ,  $t = -2.35$ ,  $p < .05$ ), such that being male predicted higher expectation of time-based work-family conflict. Additionally, all of the first step overall models were significant ( $R^2$ s ranging from .06 to .11, all  $ps$  < .01, see table 2 for full

results). These results did not support H1, which proposed an interaction between sex and stereotype endorsement in predicting expectation of work-family conflict. These findings do support the prediction that endorsement of sex role stereotypes has a significant effect on expectation of work-family conflict, but do not support sex-based differences of this effect.

Table 2

*Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for All Models Predicting Work-Family Conflict*

Dependent Variable	M	Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$
Work-Family Conflict	1	Endorse	-.30***	(2,160) = 9.66	.11***	
		Sex	-.14			
	2	Endorse	-.33**	(3,159) = 6.46	.11***	.00
		Sex	-.13			
		Endorse X sex	.07			
Stress-Based WFC	1	Endorse	-.26*	(2,160) = 5.46	.06**	
		Sex	-.24			
	2	Endorse	-.42*	(3,159) = 4.33	.08**	.01
		Sex	-.20			
		Endorse X sex	.32			
Time-Based WFC	1	Endorse	-.29**	(2,160) = 9.15	.10***	
		Sex	-.34*			
	2	Endorse	-.21	(3,159) = 6.23	.11***	.00
		Sex	-.36*			
		Endorse X sex	-.15			
Behavior-Based WFC	1	Endorse	-.35**	(2,160) = 5.5	.06**	
		Sex	.16			
	2	Endorse	-.36*	(3,159) = 3.65	.06*	.00
		Sex	.16			
		Endorse X sex	.02			

*Note.* M = model number. WFC = Work-Family Conflict. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

## Effects of work-family conflict and stereotype endorsement on relative preferences

**Hypothesis two.** Hypothesis two posited that work-family conflict mediates the effects of the sex by stereotype endorsement interaction on work-family relative preference. I did not find a

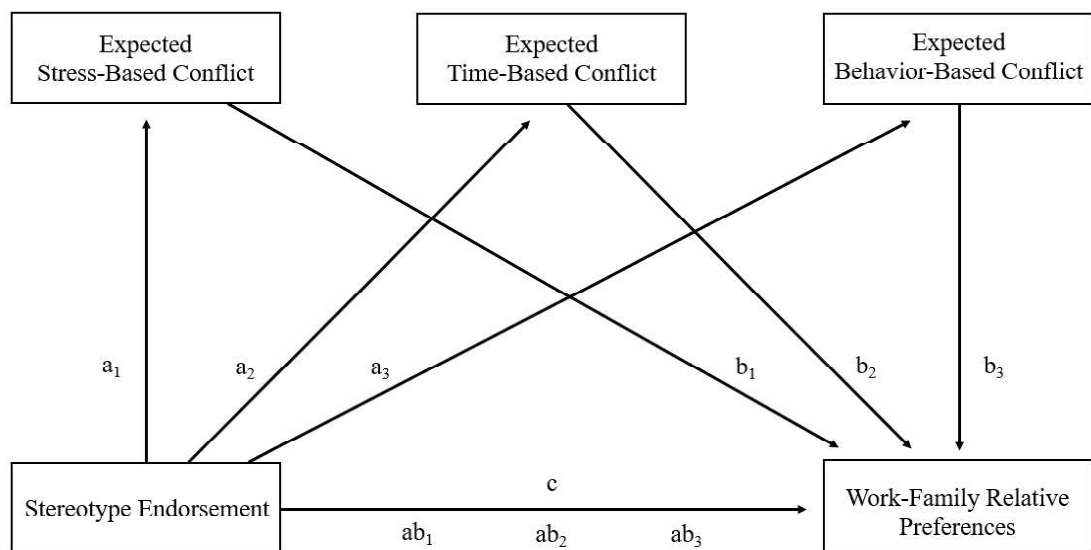
sex by stereotype endorsement interaction when examining hypotheses one and therefore I omitted sex as a moderator in the analyses for hypothesis two, although it is possible that sex moderates other paths. Additionally, the analyses conducted for hypotheses one revealed that the work-family conflict subscales appear to operate differently, which informed my decision to use each subscale as a separate mediator. I therefore chose to conduct a series of multiple mediated analyses to address hypothesis two.

Mediation models extend regression models by explicating covariate effects within the model. These models allow for the estimation of the direct effects of stereotype endorsement on the work-family relative preference outcomes when controlling for the indirect effect of each work-family conflict subscale. The multiple mediated analyses were conducted in R using the Lavaan package. Four path analysis models were fit: one for each work-family relative preference outcomes. The models included the direct effect ( $c'$ ) of stereotype endorsement ( $X$ ) and the indirect effects ( $ab_1$ ,  $ab_2$ ,  $ab_3$ ) of stereotype endorsement via each mediator (stress-based work-family conflict, time-based work-family conflict, and behavior-based work-family conflict; respectively  $M_1$ ,  $M_2$ ,  $M_3$ ). Model 1 examined the direct and indirect effects of sex role stereotype endorsement on Relative Role Value ( $Y_1$ ), model 2 examined the effects on Relative Role Commitment ( $Y_2$ ), model 3 examined the effects on Relative Career-Family Importance ( $Y_3$ ), and model 4 examined the effects on Workplace Balance Importance ( $Y_4$ ). See figure 1 for a conceptual diagram. Bootstrapping with 5,000 samples with replacement was used to estimate the sampling distribution to construct confidence intervals for the indirect effect parameters. With this method, mediation is considered significant if the confidence intervals do not include 0 (Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Additionally, full mediation is considered achieved when the direct effect of  $X$  on  $Y$  is reduced to non-significance after the

addition of the mediating variables; partial mediation is considered achieved if the direct effect remains significant, but the mediation is significant as well.

Figure 1

*Multiple Mediation Model Conceptual Diagram*



**Model 1: relative role value.** Model 1 evaluated whether stress-based, time-based, and behavior-based work-family conflict mediate the effects of stereotype endorsement on Relative Role Value. Occupational role value scores were subtracted from family role value scores to create a composite score in which positive scores indicated higher value of family roles, negative values indicated higher value of occupational roles, and zero values indicated equal role value. This was an appropriate construction of Relative Role Value because both scales had the same number of items (5) with the same response scale.

Results indicated that the total effect ( $c = -1.96$ , 95% CI  $[-3.25, -0.80]$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and the direct effect ( $c' = -1.84$ , 95% CI  $[-3.13, -0.60]$ ,  $p < .01$ ) of stereotype endorsement on Relative



Role Value were both significant, excluding the possibility of full mediation. However, stress-based ( $ab_1=0.40$ , 95% CI [0.02, 0.91]) and time-based ( $ab_2=-0.70$ , 95% CI [-1.37, -0.24]) work-family conflict partially mediated the relationship, such that participants who reject sex role stereotypes were less likely to expect high levels of work-family conflict. Through low levels of expected *stress-based* work-family conflict, participants were more likely to indicate value of familial roles relative to occupational roles, and, inversely, through low levels of expected *time-based* work-family conflict, they were more likely to indicate value of occupational roles relative to familial roles. However, the indirect effects of behavior-based work-family conflict ( $ab_3=0.18$ , 95% CI [-.24, .63]) did not play a role in mediating the effects of stereotype endorsement on Relative Role Value.

Although stereotype endorsement accounted for 4% of the unique variance in Relative Role Value ( $R^2 = .04$ ,  $F(1, 161) = 6.77$ ,  $p < .05$ ), the addition of the expected work-family conflict subscales contributed an additional 11% of variance accounted for, which was a significant increase ( $\Delta R^2 = .07$ ,  $F(3, 158) = 4.39$ ,  $p < .01$ ). See table 3 for the full results of the multiple mediated analysis performed on model 1.

**Model 2: relative role commitment.** Model 2 evaluated whether stress-based, time-based, and behavior-based work-family conflict mediate the effects of stereotype endorsement on Relative Role Commitment. Occupational role commitment scores were subtracted from family role commitment scores to create a composite score in which higher scores indicated higher commitment to family roles, lower values indicated higher commitment to occupational roles, and zero values indicated equal role commitment. This was an appropriate construction of Relative Role Commitment because both scales had the same number of items (5) with the same response scale.

Results indicated that the total effect of stereotype endorsement on Relative Role Commitment was significant ( $c=-1.60$ , 95% CI  $[-2.92, -0.29]$ ,  $p < .01$ ), although the direct effect was not ( $c'=-1.45$ , 95% CI  $[-2.82, 0.05]$ ). Additionally, none of the direct effects nor indirect effects of the work-family conflict subscales were significant (i.e. all CIs crossed 0). These results indicate that work-family conflict does not play a role in mediating the relationship between stereotype endorsement and Relative Role Commitment. Stereotype endorsement only accounted for 2% of the unique variance in Relative Role Commitment ( $R^2 = .02$ ,  $F(1, 161) = 3.78$ ,  $p = .05$ ), and the addition of the work-family conflict subscale did not contribute additional variance accounted for ( $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ,  $F(3, 158) = 0.29$ ,  $p = .83$ ).

**Model 3: relative family-career importance.** Model 3 evaluated whether stress-based, time-based, and behavior-based work-family conflict mediate the effects of stereotype endorsement on Relative Family-Career Importance, which was measured via a single item that explicitly asked participants whether career or family was more important on a 5-point scale. Results indicated that neither the total effect ( $c=-0.02$ , 95% CI  $[-0.32, 0.24]$ ) nor the direct effect ( $c'=-0.04$ , 95% CI  $[-0.33, 0.23]$ ) of stereotype endorsement on Relative Family-Career Importance were significant. However, time-based work-family conflict had both a direct ( $b_2=0.21$ , 95% CI  $[0.03, 0.41]$ ) and an indirect ( $ab_2=-0.08$ , 95% CI  $[-0.17, -0.01]$ ) effect on importance placed on Relative Family-Career Importance such that participants who expect lower levels of time-based work-family conflict indicated higher importance placed on career, echoing the effects of time-based work-family conflict on Relative Role Value found in model 1. Stereotype endorsement did not account for any of the unique variance in Relative Family-Career Importance ( $R^2 = .00$ ,  $F(1, 161) = 0.04$ ,  $p = .84$ ), but the addition of the work-family

conflict subscales contributed an additional 6% of variance accounted for ( $\Delta R^2 = .06$ ,  $F(3, 158) = 3.40$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

**Model 4: work-family balance importance.** Model 4 evaluated whether stress-based, time-based, and behavior-based work-family conflict mediate the effects of stereotype endorsement on Work-Family Balance Importance, a single item which asked participants how important work-family balance is when choosing an employer. Results indicated no significant effects, direct or indirect, for stereotype endorsement or any of the work-family conflict subtypes. Stereotype endorsement accounted for 4% of the unique variance in Work-Family Balance Importance ( $R^2 = .04$ ,  $F(1, 161) = 6.12$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and the addition of the work-family conflict subscales did not contribute a significant amount of additional variance ( $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ,  $F(3, 158) = 1.68$ ,  $p = .17$ ).

Table 3

*Hypothesis 2: Path Coefficients, Indirect Effects, and 95% Confidence Intervals*

	<b>Path</b>	<b>Effect</b>	<b>BootLLCI</b>	<b>BootULCI</b>	<b>SE</b>
Model 1: Role Value	Total effect ( <i>c</i> )	-1.96*	-3.25	-0.80	0.63
	Direct effect ( <i>c'</i> )	-1.84*	-3.13	-0.60	0.66
	<i>a</i> <sub>1</sub> (stress-based)	-0.31*	-0.52	-0.06	0.12
	<i>a</i> <sub>2</sub> (time-based)	-0.37*	-0.56	-0.19	0.09
	<i>a</i> <sub>3</sub> (behavior-based)	-0.31*	-0.47	-0.12	0.09
	<i>b</i> <sub>1</sub> (stress-based)	-1.29*	-2.48	-0.19	0.60
	<i>b</i> <sub>2</sub> (time-based)	1.92*	0.85	3.07	0.57
	<i>b</i> <sub>3</sub> (behavior-based)	-0.59	-1.95	0.78	0.69
	Indirect effects				
	Total indirect effect	-0.12	-0.74	0.51	0.32
	<i>ab</i> <sub>1</sub> (stress-based)	0.40*	0.02	0.91	0.23
	<i>ab</i> <sub>2</sub> (time-based)	-0.70*	-1.37	-0.24	0.29
	<i>ab</i> <sub>3</sub> (behavior-based)	0.18	-0.24	0.63	0.22
Model 2: Role Commitment	Total effect ( <i>c</i> )	-1.60*	-2.92	-0.29	0.67
	Direct effect ( <i>c'</i> )	-1.45	-2.82	0.05	0.72
	<i>b</i> <sub>1</sub> (stress-based)	-0.35	-1.65	0.80	0.62
	<i>b</i> <sub>2</sub> (time-based)	0.60	-0.57	1.90	0.63
	<i>b</i> <sub>3</sub> (behavior-based)	0.14	-1.50	1.66	0.80
	Indirect effects				
	Total indirect effect	-0.15	-0.81	0.37	0.30
	<i>ab</i> <sub>1</sub> (stress-based)	0.11	-0.28	0.56	0.21
	<i>ab</i> <sub>2</sub> (time-based)	-0.29	-0.77	0.21	0.25
	<i>ab</i> <sub>3</sub> (behavior-based)	-0.04	-0.57	0.46	0.25
Model 3: Family-Career Importance	Total effect ( <i>c</i> )	-0.02	-0.32	0.24	0.14
	Direct effect ( <i>c'</i> )	-0.04	-0.33	0.23	0.14
	<i>b</i> <sub>1</sub> (stress-based)	-0.17	-0.39	0.06	0.11
	<i>b</i> <sub>2</sub> (time-based)	0.21*	0.03	0.41	0.10
	<i>b</i> <sub>3</sub> (behavior-based)	-0.14	-0.39	0.11	0.13
	Indirect effects				
	Total indirect effect	0.02	-0.09	0.11	0.05
	<i>ab</i> <sub>1</sub> (stress-based)	0.05	-0.02	0.14	0.04
	<i>ab</i> <sub>2</sub> (time-based)	-0.08*	-0.17	-0.01	0.04
	<i>ab</i> <sub>3</sub> (behavior-based)	0.04	-0.04	0.13	0.04

*Note:* \* indicates significance at the  $p < .05$  level. a paths are unchanged between models and therefore are only reported for Model 1.

## **Quantitative results discussion**

The hierarchical linear regressions conducted to examine H1 found that higher stereotype endorsement predicts higher expectation of work-family conflict, that there is no interaction between stereotype endorsement and sex, and that sex contributes significant variance to expectation of time-based, but not stress-based or behavior-based, work-family conflict, such that being male predicts higher expectation of time-based work-family conflict.

The multiple mediated analyses conducted to examine hypothesis two found that stress-based and time-based work-family conflict partially mediate the relationship between sex role stereotype endorsement and Relative Role Value such that rejection of stereotypes predicts expectations of less work-family conflict, and through low levels of stress-based work-family conflict participants indicated higher value of familial relative to occupational roles and through low levels of time-based work-family conflict, they indicated higher value of occupational relative to familial roles. Furthermore, work-family conflict contributed a significant amount of additional account for variance in Relative Role Value over stereotype endorsement.

Additionally, the multiple mediator model had a significant direct effect on Relative Role Commitment, although stereotype endorsement and work-family conflict had no indirect effects and did not contribute significant variance to Relative Role Commitment. Time-based work-family conflict had both a direct and indirect effect on Relative Career-Family Importance such that participants who expect lower levels of time-based work-family conflict indicated higher importance placed on career relative to family, echoing the effects of time-based work-family conflict on Relative Role Value found in model 1.

Finally, within the full model, no significant effects, direct or indirect, occurred for stereotype endorsement or any of the work-family conflict subtypes on Work-Family Balance

Importance, although stereotype endorsement contributed significant variance such that participants who reject stereotypes place more importance on work-family balance.

## **Chapter 4: Qualitative Results**

Qualitative data were collected by asking participants to write freely for ten minutes about how they envision their future lives (see Appendix B for full instructions). Participants wrote an average of 136.51 words (range: 30 to 359). Using iterative thematic analysis, I identified prevalent themes relevant to this study and termed these themes “work,” “family,” and combined “work-family.” Within these themes, multiple subthemes emerged. Once this process was completed and individual statements were organized into major and minor themes, a concept count (Berg, 2001) was conducted.

Triangulation was used to establish convergent validity and credibility (Bryman, 2004). Specifically, investigator triangulation (Denzin, 1970) was utilized by me and an expert in qualitative research who serves on the committee for this thesis both interpreting the data and confirming agreement on the identified themes. Convergent validity was established through the use of methodological triangulation (Bryman, 2004). Specifically, the quantitative results were linked to the statements to determine if patterns of participant sex role stereotype endorsement and expectations of work-family conflict scores existed between the themes. This technique provides a more complete perspective of the data.

Participants were categorized as “high” or “low” on each measure based on their scores compared in the mean for their sex and I found that particular themes were present exclusively for participants with high or low expected work-family conflict scores or for participants who rejected or endorsed sex role stereotypes or for specific combinations of the two scores. Additionally, some themes were present only for men and others were present only for women. Furthermore, some themes appeared to transcend stereotype endorsement, expected work-family conflict, and sex, suggesting that these themes are present for a wide range of people and are possibly unrelated to sex role stereotype endorsement and expectation of work-family conflict.

Table 4 provides details on the themes and subthemes discovered within the participant narratives. Within this table, I have provided quantitative links to the themes and subthemes discovered by noting for each whether it is common among male or female participants, participants who endorse or reject stereotypes, participants who expect high or low levels of work-family conflict, or if no pattern existed in the scores of the participants who included that theme within their narrative. Figure 2 visualizes how the themes intersect with the relationships between sex role stereotype endorsement and expectations of work-family conflict.

### **Family themes**

Of the 162 participants who provided useable narratives, 83.95% ( $n = 136$ ) wrote about aspects of their future lives relating to family. Among those who wrote about family the majority referred explicitly or indirectly to having children (83.82%,  $n = 114$ ). Additionally, the majority referred to being in a committed relationship (70.59%,  $n = 96$ ). A notable number of participants also wrote about their family of origin (25.74%,  $n = 35$ ) and pets (16.18%,  $n = 22$ ). Within each of these four categories, I present the themes I discovered within the narratives.

#### **Theme 1: Committed relationships**

**Committed relationships subtheme 1: Rejection of traditional marriage.** Although many participants referred to traditional husband and wife marriages, a number of female participants whose scores indicated that they reject sex role stereotypes and expect low work-family conflict, rejected the institution of marriage (e.g. “I don't really believe in marriage as it's really just a piece of paper, but I would be in a "marriage" like relationship!”) or the idea that a partner is necessary to have children (“I would likely have children, but would remain unmarried for a while, if not married at all.”). Additionally, the use of variations of the term “partner,” as



opposed to spouse, husband, or wife, was common among participants who reject sex role stereotypes.

This is a theme that may be intuitively expected. Traditional, heterosexual marriages with children are the stereotypical adult families in U.S. culture and although the stereotype measure did not specifically ask about beliefs regarding the “Atomic family” composition, it stands to reason that women who would reject stereotyped female roles would reject other stereotypes family roles and compositions as well. It is also interesting that these participants expect less work-family conflict than female participant mean, which indicates that when women do not expect their work and family roles to conflict, they may not feel that a traditional, legally committed husband is necessary for their security and ability to reproduce. Inversely, women who expect high levels of conflict may feel, either implicitly or explicitly, that the duties of working and raising a child require the contributions of two people and that a husband will provide the assistance necessary to facilitate financial security and a family.

**Committed relationships subtheme 2: Hope for the future of their current relationships.** A large number of participants referred to hopes or plans to be still be in their current relationship in 10-15 years. This theme primarily was seen in the narratives of female participants who reject sex role stereotypes but expect high levels of work-family conflict. For example, one participant with that profile wrote “I plan to be married to the person that I am currently in a relationship with” while another wrote that, “I hope that I am still in the relationship I am now and engaged or even married.” Expectations of high work-family conflict may relate to the hope for the continuation of a current relationship. These women who expect high work-family conflict may also believe that the length of their relationships will translate to

increased stability and security, and thus less relationship-based conflict, which may in turn alleviate some of the work-based and family-based conflict they expect to encounter.

**Committed relationships subtheme 3: Traditional roles.** As may be expected, traditional roles were a common theme among both men and women who endorsed traditional sex role stereotypes. As the quantitative data indicated, these participants also expect to encounter high levels of conflict between work and family. Once female participant wrote, “I plan to be the all around stay at home mother. The mother that cooks dinner every night, keeps the house in order, and is actively a part of my childrens [*sic*] life. I hope to be an amazing wife as well,” and a male participant with similar scores wrote, “I also expect to be a responsible husband and I am willing to uphold traditional family values.” These narratives provide an illustration of how beliefs about traditional sex roles manifest in the way that emerging adults describe their futures. These narratives demonstrate that the traditional caregiver and breadwinner roles are still salient stereotypes that persist in the minds of emerging adults.

## **Theme 2: Children**

**Children subtheme 1: Becoming a role model.** The theme of being a role model to one’s children was a common theme for both men and women, particularly among participants whose quantitative scores indicated that they reject sex role stereotypes and also expect low work-family conflict. For example, one male participant wrote “I would hope to become a father that shares good morals to my future kids” and one female participant wrote “I hope that at the end of the 15 years I ... am a good role model to my children in terms of being successful, not only in terms of money but also with my relationships with others around me.” The relationship between low expected work-family conflict scores and the hope that one will become a good role model may indicate that in the absence of work-family conflict, participants feel free to envision

more complex dynamics with their children. It is possible that these participants believe that since the everyday duties of parenting and working do not result in conflict, they will have more time and energy to pursue loftier parental goals.

**Children subtheme 2: Animals as alternative to children.** Pet ownership as a general theme transcended all other measures; no observable differences were seen in plans for pet ownership based on any quantifiable measure. However, an interesting theme that emerged within the narratives related to pet ownership was the concept of having pets *instead* of children, particularly among participants who reject sex role stereotypes, although no noticeable patterns occurred based on expectation of work-family conflict or sex. Participants whose narrative I include within this theme often included children and pets within a single sentence. For example, two female participants explained “In 10 to 15 years I plan to have a career, be married, and possibly have children (or puppies to raise)” and “I don’t want to have any kids, but I do want several pets, including some dogs, snakes, ferrets.” A male participant wrote that he expects to be “married to my husband, maybe a child, for sure 2 Pomeranians.”

It should be noted that although the vast majority of participants stated that they “expect,” “hope,” “see [themselves],” or “will” have children, some exceptions occurred. A small number of participants that were particularly career oriented stated that they do not plan to have children, and some were adamant about not having children (e.g. “I might get married, but no children. A child is the worst thing that can happen in my life.”

### **Theme 3: Family of origin**

#### **Family of origin subtheme 1: Traditions.**

Within the narratives of the participants who wrote about their families of origin (e.g. their own mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters), the theme of family traditions emerged. This theme

was particularly common among the female participants who expect high levels of work-family conflict, but no patterns of stereotype endorsement emerged. One female participant whose scores indicated she rejects sex role stereotypes wrote, “I am very traditioal [*sic*] and love practicing my culture I also love spending time with my family and will continue to due [*sic*] so for the rest of my life,” and another whose scores indicate she endorses stereotypes wrote, “What is important is that I am going to be continuing my family's traditions.”

**Family of origin subtheme 2: Financial support.** Another theme that emerged exclusively in the narratives of women, but transcended all other measures, was the concept of financial supporting one’s family of origin. Two women who reject sex role stereotypes and expect high work-family conflict wrote, “In that time period, I want to be able to help my family pay off the loan to our house” and “I really want to spoil my sister... to make sure she doesn't go through a lot of the struggles that I went through like having to buy my own car, pay for my college tuition all myself, etc.” Two women who endorse sex role stereotypes and expect low work-family conflict wrote, “I expect to have surprised my parents with something big, for helping me get to where I am. For example, this could be a house, a nice car, a vacation to somewhere, etc.” and “I would like to have a big house and somewhere I can give my family and my mom everything, she deserves the world.” The pattern of financially supporting one’s family of origin being exclusive to female participants, but not being related to sex role stereotype endorsement, indicates that women may manifest the communal, caregiver traits even if they do not embrace traditional sex roles. That is, regardless of whether or not a woman believes that women generally must fulfill the traditional wife/mother role, she may still embrace the stereotypically feminine quality of caring for others.

**Family of origin subtheme 3: Geographic and emotional proximity.** Among participants with expectations of work-family conflict, a theme emerged relating to maintaining geographic or emotional closeness with one's family. This was a theme present for both men and women and for participants who both endorsed and rejected stereotypes. For example, a female participant whose scores indicated strong rejection of stereotypes, but high expectation of conflict wrote, "I hope to move closer to family so that my children will be able to grow up close to them.... I think that I will be able to rely on my family for support and motivation during hard time," and one male participant with similar scores wrote, "I hope to still be very family oriented and have time for my parents especially since they're aging just like I am," and another said, "I would also like to be close to my parents as they age and possibly take care of them as they become docile [*sic*]."

## **Work themes**

Of the 162 participants who provided useable narratives, 98.15% ( $n = 159$ ) wrote about aspects of their future lives relating to work. Among those who wrote about work generally, the majority referred to specific occupations (62.58%,  $n = 103$ ). A notable number of participants also wrote about financial topics (33.33%,  $n = 54$ ) and work ethic (8.64%,  $n = 14$ ). Within each of these categories, a number of interesting themes emerged, which I present below.

### **Theme 1: Finances**

**Finances subtheme 1: Stability.** The most common theme within the finance category was that of stability. Participants wrote about wanting to be able to provide for their families and to have good jobs, savings accounts, and homes. Both men and women wrote about financial stability with no patterns of stereotype endorsement or expected work-family conflict. One female participant wrote, "I'll be financially stable to where I won't have to worry about money"

and another wrote, “In 10-15 years, I plan on living in a nice home in another state.” This theme does not directly relate the subject of this research, but it does indicate that financial stability is salient in the minds of emerging adults. When considering areas of research pertinent to this population, researchers may want to consider the importance of addressing issues of financial stability.

**Finances subtheme 2: Affluence.** A theme that was more common to men, relative to their representation in the study, as well participants high in work-family conflict and who endorse sex role stereotypes, was the concept of becoming wealthy. For example, one male participant wrote, “In the future, i also hope to get the things i want now to a reality. Like having a nice beautiful modern house, having the dream car i always wanted (audi R8 or a bugatti) and another wrote, “have a lot of money to be able to go on several vacations to like china or Europe.” It is expected that men who endorse sex role stereotypes will embrace the breadwinner role and we see the manifestation of that embrace within these narratives. The traditional breadwinner is expected to financially support his family and being wealthy exemplifies success within that domain.

## **Theme 2: Work ethic**

**Work ethic subtheme 1: Transformation.** A number of participants wrote about work ethic. Mentions of work ethic were common among participants who both reject and who endorse sex role stereotypes as well as participants who expect low and high levels of work-family conflict. However, men generally wrote about evolving into a person with a strong work ethic. For example, one man wrote “I see myself being more disciplined and responsible and caring for my workers” and another wrote, “I would develop really good work ethic, organization, and responsibility.”

**Work ethic subtheme 2: Maintenance.** Differing from men, women wrote about maintaining their work ethic, saying, “I believe I will be someone who has the same work ethic and morals as I do now,” and “I think I will still be focused and hardworking.” The differences between how men and women describe their future work-ethic may reflect differences in perceived maturation, with women believing that they are more fully matured at this stage compared to men. This may also reflect sex-based differences in beliefs about the stability of traits over time. It is possible that men expect to have more growth and flexibility in their traits over time. This may have some ties to sex role stereotypes in that women are expected to mature more quickly because by emerging adulthood they are fertile, and the caregiving role may be particularly salient. Future research may want to examine sex role attitudes over time, perhaps longitudinally, to determine how the development and evolution of these beliefs over time differs between men and women.

### **Theme 3: Specific jobs**

Of the participants who referred to specific careers, over half ( $n = 58$ ) referred to healthcare professions. Many referred to becoming a doctor or a nurse, but other healthcare occupations were common as well (e.g. occupational and physical therapist, physician’s assistant, nurse practitioner, midwife). The references ranged from vague (e.g. “In ten to fifteen years I hope to have a steady job in the medical field”) to very specific (e.g. “I am currently getting my degree in nursing to become a neonatal nurse and I hope this career will be it but in 10 years I might have switch to something related clother [*sic*]. I am planning on getting my master to become nurse practitioner. I imagine that in 10 years, I would be fulfilled in that career path or have explored other path related health care and find the one I want to pursue.”) No observable patterns were discerned based on sex or any of the quantitative measures.

## **Work-family themes**

Although the majority of themes discovered within the narratives could be categorized as either work or family related, two themes emerged that combined both work and family. These themes are particularly pertinent to this research because they explore the intersection of these two domains and how participants perceive that intersection. Interestingly, these themes were both more common among participants who reject sex role stereotypes and expect high levels of work-family conflict. Although the quantitative results indicated that rejection of sex role stereotypes correlated with expectation of less work-family conflict, these participants represent a subset of the sample that does not fit within that effect.

### **Theme 1: Work-family balance**

A theme that was specific to women who reject sex role stereotypes, but also expect high levels of work-family conflict, was work-family balance. One female participant wrote “I think that having a full-time job will cause me to find a better balance between work and family time. However, I believe that I will continue to make my family a priority.” Another wrote, “with whatever career I pursue I hope I remain happy and know how to balance work and my personal life.” These women appeared to expect that conflict will arise from embracing both caregiver and breadwinner roles, but they also believe that balance is possible. An awareness that conflict can arise between work and family roles may give these women an advantage in navigating that conflict. By acknowledging the potential for conflict, these women may be able to plan accordingly. The absence of this theme among men suggests that men, even these fairly progressive men, do not consider the need for balance due to the caregiver and breadwinner roles being so deeply ingrained. Perhaps these men believe that balance is unnecessary so long as they remain in their domain and their partner assume the caregiving duties.



## **Theme 2: Shared duties**

Another theme which was common among participants who reject sex role stereotypes and expect high levels of work-family conflict was the concept of sharing household and family duties with their partner. However, unlike work-family balance, this theme was common among both women *and* men. One female participant wrote, “I want my household roles to not follow that of my childhood, but one where both my partner and I can follow our dreams” and a male participant wrote, “I will share the workload of taking care of my family with my significant other.” The fact that this concept of sharing familial duties with one’s partner is common among both men and women who reject sex role stereotypes is not surprising. Rather, it is exactly what we would expect: they do not believe that family and household roles should be assigned based on sex, or to one individual in a two-partner household. Further, both men and women acknowledged that an unequal division of household labor exists in our society and they are planning *not* to follow the societally prescribed roles.

However, another possibility should be considered. Perhaps an expectation of high work-family conflict serves to motivate emerging adults to share familial duties. This mirrors the finding that some women who expect low work-family conflict reject the idea of needing a partner. It is possible that expectation of conflict between work and family roles serves to moderate this relationship, such that people who reject sex role stereotypes, but expect high work-family conflict, embrace traditional marriages, but those who reject sex role stereotypes and expect low work-family conflict embrace alternative family compositions.

## **Qualitative results discussion**

The narratives provided by participants demonstrated how sex role stereotypes and work-family conflict manifest within emerging adults’ descriptions of their own future lives. Within

these narratives, I found that women who expect high work-family conflict often show a desire to maintain their current relationships. This may indicate that women who expect high work-family conflict perceive long term relationships as necessary to navigate that future conflict, or that long term relationships will provide a protective buffer against future conflict. Research exploring the effects of work-family conflict on relationship dynamics may want to consider this potential link.

Among both men and women who expect low work-family conflict, narratives included descriptions of becoming a role model for their children. This finding may serve to inform future research investigating effective parenting techniques and parent-child relationships. Having the ability to perceive conflict between work and family as simply minor inconveniences may allow parents to assume more responsibilities and strive to fulfill more than just the basic needs of their children. Interventions could potentially help parents learn how to reframe set-backs or conflict as simple inconvenience and build the self-confidence necessary to parent more effectively.

Within the narratives was evidence that emerging adults who embrace sex role stereotypes integrate traditional caregiver and breadwinner roles into descriptions of their future lives, giving us insight into how these participants personally conceptualize these roles. Within the themes “rejection of traditional marriage” as well as “animals as alternatives to pets” we saw demonstrations of women who reject traditional sex role stereotypes also rejecting traditional family composition stereotypes, suggesting that future research may want to further examine beliefs about family composition and dynamics of interpersonal relationships within families.

A particularly compelling finding within the narratives was that women do not appear to feel that playing traditional sex roles and behaving in nurturing, “feminine” ways are mutually exclusive. Specifically, women described caring for their family of origin regardless of whether

they embraced or rejected sex role stereotypes. This indicates that the relationship between sex role stereotype beliefs and willingness to personally behave in “feminine” ways may not be particularly strong. Future research should seek to tease apart the relationships between beliefs about sex-based roles and characteristics, as well as the relationships between beliefs about what stereotypes apply to societal “others” and personal “selves.”

Finally, the intersecting work-family themes of “work-family balance” and “shared duties” brought to light an interesting pattern among a subset of participants who reject sex role stereotypes, but also expect high levels of work-family conflict. These narratives demonstrated an acknowledgement of the challenges that can be encountered by rejecting traditional sex role stereotypes and a willingness to confront those challenges. Additionally, examination of the patterns within this theme brought up the possibility that expected work-family conflict plays a role in explaining the endorsement or rejection of traditional marital roles. Future research should consider exploring how these variables interact to affect other family dynamics.

Table 4

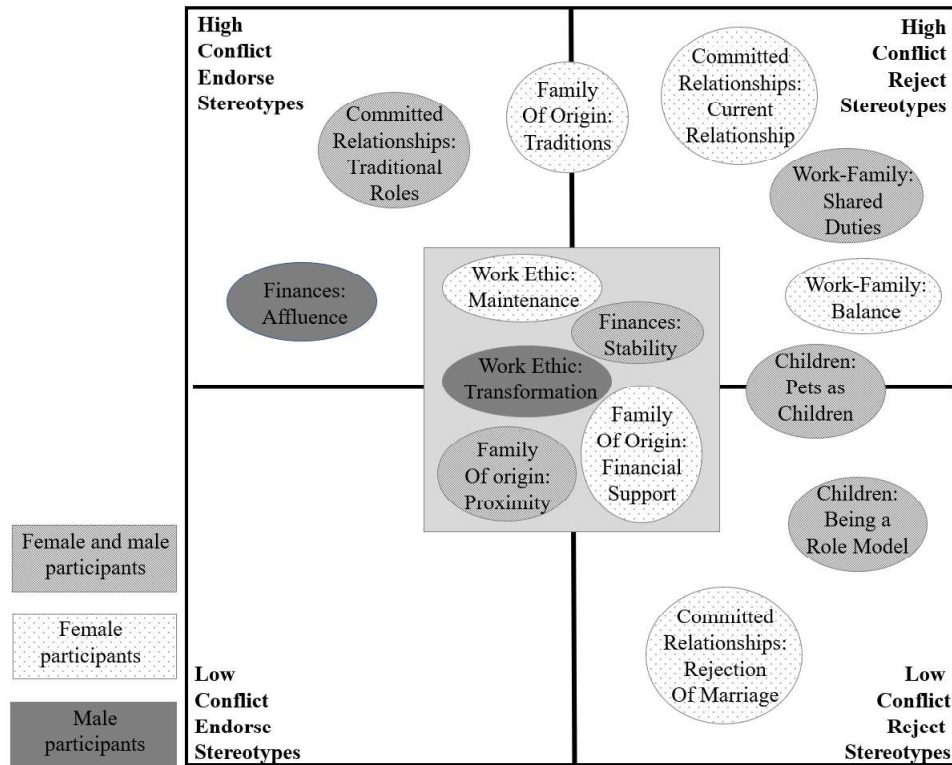
*Qualitative themes*

Theme (Subtheme)	Groups most common among		
	Men or Women	Reject or Endorse	High or Low Conflict
<b>FAMILY</b>			
<b>Committed Relationships</b>			
Rejection of marriage	Women	Reject	Low
Current relationship	Women	Reject	High
Traditional roles	Both	Endorse	High
<b>Children</b>			
Being a role model	Both	Reject	Low
Pets as children	Both	Reject	No pattern
<b>Family of Origin</b>			
Traditions	Women	No pattern	High
Financial Support	Women	No pattern	No pattern
Proximity	Both	No pattern	No pattern
<b>WORK</b>			
<b>Finances</b>			
Stability	Both	No pattern	No pattern
Affluence	Men	Endorse	High
<b>Work ethic</b>			
Transformation	Men	No pattern	No pattern
Maintenance	Women	No pattern	No pattern
<b>Specific jobs</b>			
Field	No pattern	No pattern	No pattern
<b>WORK-FAMILY</b>			
<b>Work-Family Balance</b>	Women	Reject	High
<b>Shared Duties</b>	Both	Reject	High

*Note:* Reject or endorse stereotypes and high or low expected conflict designations were assigned based on the mean for each sex for each measure.

Figure 2

*Visualization of the occurrence of themes in relation to quantitative measures*



*Note:* Reject or endorse stereotypes and high or low expected conflict designations were assigned based on the mean for each sex for each measure. The grey box indicates no patterns of stereotype endorsement or expectations of work-family conflict.

## Chapter 5: General discussion

This study proposed that endorsement of sex role stereotypes would affect the levels of work-family conflict that emerging adults expect to encounter, and that sex would moderate this effect. Further, this study proposed that expected work-family conflict would mediate the relationship between stereotype endorsement and relative preferences for work and family. In line with past research, this study found that women are significantly less likely to endorse sex-role stereotypes than men. However, men expected higher levels of stress-based and time-based work-family conflict than women, although no sex-based difference occurred in the levels of behavior-based work-family conflict expected, a novel and interesting finding. Despite significant differences in their endorsement of stereotypes and expectations of work-family conflict, the men and women in this sample did not differ in their value of, or commitment to, occupational or parental roles.

Perhaps the most interesting finding, and the one that most strongly begs for future exploration, is the one that runs counter to my predictions. No sex-based effects were found in the regression results: men and women were affected nearly identically by endorsement of sex role stereotypes and expectations of work-family conflict. Hypothesis one, which proposed that women would expect more work-family conflict the more strongly they endorsed stereotypes and men would expect less was not supported. It appears, based on these results, that stereotype endorsement predicts expectation of higher work-family conflict regardless of sex.

I expected that for men, endorsement of sex role stereotypes would predict less expected work-family conflict because if they endorse their role as a breadwinner, they should not expect to experience work-family conflict due to staying in their workplace domain and having a partner who would stay in the caregiver domain. However, perhaps it is *because* men expect to encounter a lot of conflict that they choose to embrace traditional sex role stereotypes and stay

within the workplace domain. It is possible that men can only reject sex role stereotypes after they reject that expectation of conflict. However, the causal variable in this relationship is still, and perhaps always will be, unknown and the question remains: does expected work-family conflict cause sex role stereotype endorsement or does endorsement cause an expectation of conflict?

It is important to acknowledge how these findings diverge from a past study that found that working fathers who endorse traditional sex role stereotypes experience less work-family conflict (Hergatt Huffman, Olson, O’Gara, & King, 2014). It is likely that the difference in results is due to the difference in samples (i.e. working fathers compared to male students without children) and the difference between *experienced* and *expected* work-family conflict. It is possible that men’s perceptions of what constitutes work-family conflict changes once they actually enter the workforce and become fathers. An additional possibility is cohort effects: research shows that men are becoming increasingly egalitarian and the men in the present study are significantly younger than the men in the previous study.

The finding that endorsement of sex role stereotypes predicts increased expectation of work-family conflict in both men and women underlines the importance of this research and makes an important link that will serve to inform future sex role stereotype research. One of the primary aims of this study was to identify “the explicit connection between endorsement of sex-role stereotypes and work-family conflict,” and these results serve to do this. This relationship provides a foundation on which to study the perceived dichotomy between the breadwinner and caregiver roles.

Using a series of multiple mediator analyses, I found that it is through this expectation of work-family conflict that stereotype endorsement affects the familial and occupational

preferences of emerging adults. This is, expectation of work-family conflict partially explains the relationship between sex role stereotype endorsement and preferences for work and family roles. Specifically, through low levels of time-based work-family conflict, participants place higher value on occupational roles relative to familial roles and higher importance on career relative to family. Inversely, through low levels of stress-based work-family conflict, participants placed higher value on familial role relative to occupational roles. This indicates that the specific type of work-family conflict expected affects commitment to and value of parental and occupational roles differently.

These findings highlight the complexity of the relationship between work-family conflict and work-family behaviors. Two subtypes of work-family conflict, each of which is expected at higher levels by both men and women who endorse sex role stereotypes, affected the value and importance of work and family in opposite ways. Keeping in mind that the majority of participants indicated that family is more important than career, the finding that an increased expectation of time-based work-family conflict predicts higher importance placed on family and higher value of familial roles relative to occupational roles may indicate that when people expect high levels of time-based work-family conflict they feel as if they only have time for either work *or* family and, when push comes to shove, they choose family. Whereas when they expect low levels of conflict, they feel free to choose career instead, because they will still have plenty of time for family.

However, this leads to the interesting contradiction between this finding and the finding that an increased expectation of stress-based work-family conflict predicts more value on occupational relative to familial roles (the opposite effect of time-based work-family conflict). Perhaps these differences are due to the emotional nature of familial relationship coupled with



the emotional nature of stress. Whereas time is a practical, measurable source of conflict (e.g. 24 hours in one day) and careers are also more contained and controllable, stress is more variable and subjective and family relationships can be unpredictable and capricious. When interpreted this way, the results indicate that increases in the practical type of conflict (time-based) predicts increased value of the emotional target (familial roles) and increases in the emotional type of conflict (stress-based) predicts increased value of the practical target (occupational roles). Perhaps participants were subconsciously negotiating this balance between the practical and the emotional within their own future lives.

This wide range of possible explanations for these two findings emphasizes the need for a more expansive consideration of how different types of work-family conflict affect value of and importance placed on work and family roles. Future research may want to consider developing a more comprehensive and fine-tuned measure of work-family conflict that considers not just these three subtypes and a bidirectional nature, but potentially more subtypes with a more complex structure, possibly with consideration of the practical and emotional natures of the constructs measured.

## **Implications**

These findings have implications in many areas. Notably, these findings provide an important connection between past research that examines related, but not yet explicitly connected, concepts. Specifically, this research identifies the role that the expectation of work-family conflict plays in explaining the relationship between sex-role stereotype endorsement and work-family preferences.

These findings also provide insight into how the expectation of conflict may affects the balance between work and family in men's future plans and preferences. The vast majority of

research in this area has focused on working mothers and this study extends those findings to increase understanding of how sex-role orientation and perception of conflict affect men. Additionally, the majority of past research in this area has focused on individuals who are currently working or raising children or both. This research focused on individuals in emerging adulthood, a phase during which a majority of identity exploration (Arnett, 2000) and significant changes in identity (Whitbourne & Tesch, 1985) occur. During this critical phase, sex differences in social roles become more pronounced (Echull, Liss, Axelson, Staebell, & Askari, 2010) and this research provides insight into how the endorsement of traditional sex-role stereotypes affects men and women's future work and family plans.

These findings also have real-world implications. Specifically, the finding that men expect even higher levels of work-family conflict than women supports the implementation of family-friendly workplace policies that benefit both women and men. At the moment, policies such as parental leave, on-site childcare, and flexible work schedules are thought to be "women's" policies, but organizations that want to attract and retain both qualified, egalitarian women *and* men may want to consider making these policies more widespread. Additionally, these findings have implications for increasing family engagement among men. Specifically, the finding that men expect more stress-based and time-based work-family conflict indicates that to increase familial engagement, strategies to reduce this expectation or perception of conflict may increase their willingness to become more involved in caregiving duties.

## **Limitations**

Although aligning with the norms within this field, the cross-sectional design of this study did not allow causality to be determined. Although I theorize that sex-role stereotype endorsement leads to an expectation of work-family conflict, it is also possible that the

perception of work-family conflict leads to the endorsement of sex-role stereotypes. For example, individuals may start out life in the absence of any beliefs about sex roles and then through personal experiences or exposure to media begin to perceive that work and family responsibilities conflict. They then may embrace the traditional sex-role stereotypes as a way to avoid that conflict by remaining within a single domain. Similarly, with regard to work and family preferences, a person may prefer either family or work far more strongly and embrace the idea of conflict between work-family as a way to justify their aspirations; embracing sex-role stereotypes could help to bolster that justification.

It is possible that the ordering of the measures affected the results. In particular, it is possible that completing the Traditional Egalitarian Sex Role Scale may have influenced the participants' responses on the Life Role Salience Scale and relative importance item and vice versa. Once a participant is exposed to certain items, they may carry over their responses and general sentiment to the subsequent measure. To minimize this, the measures were counter-balanced, and the effects of the ordering were examined after data collection. It was determined that there were no significant differences in the results based on the order the participants completed the measures.

Although this study aimed to examine emerging adults, some limitations apply to using only undergraduate students as participants. Undergraduate students are currently engaged in higher education which indicates they may be more career-oriented than emerging adults who do not go to college. Additionally, college students may tend to be more progressive than traditional in their sex-role views than both emerging adults who do not attend college as well as individuals of different developmental age groups. As such, the results of this study are specific to college students and not generalizable to the entire emerging adult population.

## **Future directions**

This research has found that the expectation of work-family conflict affects work and family preferences, which provides support for future research examining ways that the perception of conflict can be reduced. Past research has identified that reframing the worker identity as complementary to the mother identity and that a mother's employment is beneficial to her children is effective for removing or rising above the belief that work-family conflict exists. Based on previous research showing that role models provide a protective effect on stigmatized identities, it is possible that an intervention utilizing successful worker-mother role models could help to reduce this perception of conflict and in turn allow women to embrace both parental and worker identities. Similarly, utilizing successful male-caregiver role models may help to reduce the perception of conflict that exists among men by emphasizing the career benefits of parental involvement.

Similarly, future research may want to examine how these findings can be integrated into mentorship style. For example, if embracing a more holistic mentorship style where the mentor addresses issues of work-family balance, both present and future, specific to the mentee and the mentor shares their own experiences with navigating the worker-parent balance, will help to reduce this perception of conflict or perhaps slow or stop its development. Research could examine the effects of mentors on perception of conflict not just in educational contexts, but in organizational settings as well.

Future research should also consider men and their sex-role views and perception of conflict. The vast majority of research in this area examines women and their perception of conflict, rightly so because of the history of sex-role distribution in the United States. However, this study found that men expect even higher levels of work-family conflict than women, and

that there is a relationship between endorsement of sex role stereotypes and this expectation of conflict. Therefore, it is important to not center research based on sex alone, but on anyone experiencing this perception of conflict.

## Appendix A

### Demographic survey.

Please type your age: \_\_

Please select your gender: male, female, transgender(mtf), transgender(ftm), gender-fluid,  
other

Please select your race/ethnicity: Asian, Black, Latino/a, Multiracial, White, Other

Please select your sexual orientation: heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, pansexual,  
other

Please select your religious identification: agnostic/atheist, Christian, Muslim, Jewish,  
other

Please select your relationship status: single, in a relationship less than one year, in a  
relationship greater than 1 year, married

Please select your major:

Please select your minor:

Please select your education level: High school, some college, bachelor's degree

Please select your class standing: freshman, sophomore, junior, senior

Please select your current credit enrollment: 0-3 credits, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12, 13+

Please select your parental status: no children, 1 child, 2 children, 3 or more children

Please select your current work status: not employed, employed part-time on campus, employed part-time, employed full-time on campus, employed full-time

Please select your past work experience, up to this day: never employed, employed part-time less than 1 year, employed part-time greater than 1 year, employed full-time less than 1 year, employed full-time greater than one year

Please select your current yearly income from work: \$0, \$1-\$20k, \$20-40k, \$40-60k, greater than \$60k

Please select your mother's education level: high school, some college, bachelor's degree, master's degree, professional degree, PhD

Please select your father's education level: high school, some college, bachelor's degree, master's degree, professional degree, PhD

Please select your mother's occupational status for the majority of your life: full time work (outside home), full time work (from home), part time work (outside home), part time work (from home), homemaker, unemployed, volunteer/community involvement

Please select your father's occupational status for the majority of your life: full time work (outside home), full time work (from home), part time work (outside home), part time work (from home), homemaker, unemployed, volunteer/community involvement

## **Appendix B**

### **Qualitative measure of future-self attributions.**

Modified from Brown & Diekmann's (2010) Distant Future Self

“Think a minute about what your future will be like about 10 or 15 years from now, and what you will be like at this time. What do you expect you will be like? Write down some ways of describing yourself that will probably be true of you in 10 to 15 years. You can write down ways you are and probably still will be, or ways that you expect to become. You can write about what roles you expect to have, traits or characteristics of yourself, or anything else which you think will describe you in 10 or 15 years. Please write freely for up to ten minutes (the clock above will count the time for you). You may write as much as you would like.”



## **Appendix C**

### **Qualitative measure of future-self attributions: category coding definitions.**

Work: Responses related to jobs, promotions, starting a business or anything else employment related.

Family - Caregiving: Responses related to having children, caring for own children, etc.

Family - Marriage: mentions of getting married, romantic relationships, etc.

Material/Financial: Responses related to gaining material possessions or wealth.

Personal Traits - Feminine: Responses related to personal characteristics that are traditionally viewed as feminine, such as warmth, kindness, sensitivity, and submission.

Personal Traits - Masculine: Responses related to personal characteristics that are traditionally viewed as masculine, such as agentic, powerful, decisive, competent, and dominant.

## Appendix D

### Measure of sex role stereotype endorsement

Larsen & Long's (1988) Traditional Egalitarian Sex Role (TESR) scale.

1 – Disagree strongly

2 – Disagree somewhat

3 – Disagree slightly

4 – Agree slightly

5 – Agree somewhat

6 – Agree strongly

1. It is just as important to educate daughters as it is to educate sons.
2. \*Women should be more concerned with clothing and appearance than men,
3. Women should have as much sexual freedom as men.
4. \*The man should be more responsible for the economic support of the family than the woman.
5. The belief that women cannot make as good supervisors or executives as men is a myth.
6. The word “obey” should be removed from wedding vows.
7. \*Ultimately a woman should submit to her husband's decision.
8. \*Some equality in marriage is good, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters.

9. Having a job is just as important for a wife as it is for her husband.
10. \*In groups that have both male and female members, it is more appropriate that leadership positions be held by males.
11. \*I would not allow my son to play with dolls.
12. Having a challenging job or career is as important as being a wife and mother.
13. \*Men make better leaders.
14. \*Almost any woman is better off in her home than in a job or profession.
15. \*A woman's place is in the home.
16. \*The role of teaching in the elementary schools belongs to women.
17. The changing of diapers is the responsibility of both parents.
18. \*Men who cry have weak character.
19. A man who has chosen to stay at home and be a house-husband is not less masculine.
20. \*As head of the household, the father should have the final authority over the children.

\*Reverse scored

## **Appendix E**

### **Measure of work and family aspirations**

Amatea, Cross, Clark, and Bobby's (1986) Life Role Salience Scale (LRSS)

Martial and Homecare items removed.

1 – Disagree

2 – Somewhat disagree

3 – Neither agree nor disagree

4 – Somewhat agree

5 – Agree

#### **I. Occupation Role Reward Value**

1. Having work/a career that is interesting and exciting to me is my most important life goal.
2. I expect my job/career to give me more real satisfaction than anything else I do.
3. Building a name and reputation for myself through work/a career is not one of my life goals. [reversed item]
4. It is important to me that I have a job/career in which I can achieve something of importance.
5. It is important to me to feel successful in my work/career.

#### **II. Occupational Role Commitment**

1. I want to work, but I do not want to have a demanding career. [reversed]

2. I expect to make as many sacrifices as are necessary in order to advance in my work / career.
3. I value being involved in a career and expect to devote the time and effort needed to develop it.
4. I expect to devote a significant amount of my time to building my career and developing the skills necessary to advance in my career.
5. I expect to devote whatever time and energy it takes to move up in my job/career field.

### **III. Parental Role Reward Value**

1. Although parenthood requires many sacrifices, the love and enjoyment of children of one's own are worth it all.
2. If I chose not to have children, I would regret it.
3. It is important to me to feel I am (will be) an effective parent.
4. The whole idea of having children and raising them is not attractive to me.  
[reversed]
5. My life would be empty if I never had children.

### **IV. Parental Role Commitment**

1. It is important to me to have some time for myself and my own development rather than have children and be responsible for their care. [reversed]
2. I expect to devote a significant amount of my time and energy to the rearing of children of my own.
3. I expect to be very involved in the day-to-day matters of rearing children of my own.

4. Becoming involved in the day-to-day details of rearing children involves costs in other areas of my life which I am unwilling to make. [reversed]
5. I do not expect to be very involved in childrearing. [reversed]

## **Appendix F**

### **Measure of relative importance of career versus family.**

As used in Grey and O'Brien's (2007) research

Participants will select one of five statements:

career pursuits are far more important than family pursuits

career pursuits are more important than family pursuits

career pursuits and family pursuits are equally important

family pursuits are more important than career pursuits

family pursuits are far more important than career pursuits

## Appendix G

### Measure of expected future work-family conflict.

Gaffey and Rottinghaus's (2009) Expected Work-Family Conflict Scale.

(Modified from Carlson's Multidimensional Work-Family Conflict scale).

1 – Disagree strongly

2 – Disagree

3 – Neither agree nor disagree

4 – Agree

5 – Agree strongly

1. My work will keep me from my family activities more than I would like.
2. The time I must devote to my job will keep me from participating equally in household responsibilities and activities.
3. I will have to miss family activities due to the amount of time I must spend on work responsibilities
4. The time I spend on family responsibilities will often interfere with my work responsibilities
5. The time I spend with my family will often cause me not to spend time in activities at work that could be helpful to my career.
6. I will have to miss work activities due to the amount of time I must spend on family responsibilities



7. When I get home from work, I will often be too frazzled to participate in family activities/responsibilities
8. I will be often so emotionally drained when I get home from work that it will prevent me from contributing to my family
9. Due to all the pressures at work, sometimes when I come home I will be too stressed to do the things I enjoy
10. Due to stress at home, I will often be preoccupied with family matters at work
11. Because I will often be stressed from family responsibilities, I will have a hard time concentrating on my work
12. Tension and anxiety from my family life will often weaken my ability to do my job
13. The problem-solving behaviors I use in my job will not be effective in resolving problems at home
14. Behavior that is effective and necessary for me at work will be counterproductive at home
15. The behaviors I perform that make me effective at work will not help me to be a better parent and spouse
16. The behaviors that will work for me at home will not seem to be effective at work
17. Behavior that will be effective and necessary for me at home would be counterproductive at work
18. The problem-solving behaviors that will work for me at home will not seem to be as useful at work

## **Appendix H**

### **Measure of personal importance of workplace characteristics.**

Modified from Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi (2013)

Please select how important each item is to you personally when choosing an employer:

1 – Extremely important

2 – Very important

3 – Moderately important

4 – A little important

5 – Not important at all

1. work/life balance (e.g., job allows a healthy balance between work life and home life)
2. compensation (salary)
3. opportunity for rapid advancement
4. opportunity for flexible work arrangements (e.g., part-time, flexi-time, flexi-place)
5. person autonomy (e.g., ability to make own decisions)
6. family support programs (e.g., on-site childcare)
7. Stimulating tasks
8. Clear organizational structure
9. Collaborative environment
10. Benefits (e.g. insurance)

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## Curriculum Vitae

### ANDREA FINK-ARMOLD

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#### EDUCATION

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- PhD** Quantitative/Experimental Psychology expected May 2021  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
Dissertation: TBD  
Advisor: Murray Millar, Ph.D.
- MA** Quantitative/Experimental Psychology expected May 2019  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
Thesis: "The Effects of Sex Role Stereotype Endorsement  
and Work-Family Conflict on Emerging Adult Aspirations"  
Advisor: Murray Millar, Ph.D.
- BA** Psychology, *Summa Cum Laude* May 2017  
Nevada State College  
Advisors: Shantal Marshall, Ph.D. & Wendi Benson, Ph.D.

#### SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS

---

- UNLV Graduate & Professional Student Association Travel Award (\$510) Spring 2019  
Patricia J. Sastaunik Scholarship (\$2,500) 2018-2019  
UNLV Graduate Childcare Access Scholarship (\$1,800) 2018-2019

#### GRANTS

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- Nevada State College Seed Research Grant (\$500) 2016  
NSF Experimental Program to Stimulate Competitive Research (\$5,000) 2015-2016

#### PUBLICATIONS

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**Fink-Armold, A.**, (in preparation). Effects of Individual Characteristics and Workplace Prestige and Sex-Type on Beliefs about Sexual Harassment Prevalence.

**Fink-Armold, A.**, Krum, A., Shope, M., & Barchard, K. (under review). Examining the psychometric properties of the Perceptions of Occupational Sexual Harassment scale. Submitted to *Sex Roles*.

**Fink-Armold, A.,** Marshall, S. R., & Benson, W. (2017). Using intersectional expert models to increase implicit personal association with science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM). Unpublished manuscript, Department of Psychology, Nevada State College, Henderson, NV.

## **ORAL PRESENTATIONS**

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**Fink-Armold, A.** (Scheduled: June 2019). Contemporary Manifestations of Caregiver-Breadwinner Stereotypes within Future-Self Narratives. Panel presentation at the 2019 Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues Annual Conference. San Diego, CA.

**Fink-Armold, A.** (October 2018). It all depends on my husband: The impact of stereotype endorsement and expected conflict on occupational and familial aspirations. Individual talk at the Department of Psychology, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Las Vegas, NV.

**Fink-Armold, A.** (October 2018). You can't measure sh\*t if you don't have a ruler: How to develop tools to study and solve evolving social problems. 3 Minute Thesis talk at the University of Nevada Rebel Grab Slam. Las Vegas, NV.

**Fink-Armold, A.** (October 2018). Pinterest-perfect supermom: How sex role stereotypes and social expectations limit the aspirations of millennial women. Individual talk at the 2018 Nevada System of High Education Southern Nevada Diversity Summit, Focusing on Gender: Equity, Identity, and Intersectionality. Henderson, NV.

**Fink-Armold, A.,** Jenkins, M., & Carroll, L. (April 2017). The ABC's of psychology: Attitudes, behavior, and cognition. Panel discussion presented at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Undergraduate Research & Creative Works Conference. Henderson, NV.

## **POSTER PRESENTATIONS**

---

**Fink-Armold, A.** (February 2019). Beliefs about sexual harassment prevalence differ based on harassment type and workplace characteristics. Poster submitted to the 2019 UNLV Graduate & Professional Student Research Forum. Las Vegas, NV.

**Fink-Armold, A.,** Krumm, A.E., Shope, M.M., & Barchard, K.A. (Scheduled: April 2019). Measuring perceptions of the prevalence of workplace sexual harassment. Poster submitted to the 2019 Western Psychological Association Annual Convention. Pasadena, CA.

**Fink-Armold, A.** (February 2019). Beliefs about sexual harassment prevalence differ based on harassment type and workplace characteristics. Poster scheduled to be presented at the 2019 Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Convention. Portland, OR.

**Fink-Armold, A.,** Marshall, S. R., & Benson, W. (April 2017). Using representative expert models to increase implicit personal association with science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM). Poster presented at the Western Psychological Association 97<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention. Sacramento, CA.

## RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

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<b>Graduate Research Assistant</b> , Rebel Baby and Child Lab Director: Jennifer Rennels, Ph.D., University of Nevada, Las Vegas	2018-current
<b>SONA Subject Pool Coordinator</b> Department of Psychology, University of Nevada, Las Vegas	2017 to 2018
<b>Research Assistant</b> , Media, Identity, and Social Attitudes Lab Director: Shantal Marshall, Ph.D., Nevada State College	2015 to 2016

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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<b>Political Field Organizer</b> , Nevada State Democrat Party Coordinated Campaign	2016
<b>Psychosocial Education Class Instructor</b> , U.S. Veterans Initiative Director: Michelle Johnston	2016
<b>Business and program management and consultation</b> , Las Vegas, NV	2008-2017

## ACADEMIC SERVICE

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<b>Quantitative Emphasis Area Representative</b> University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Department of Psychology, Experimental Student Committee	2018-current
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### Peer-Reviewed Articles for:

- *Assessment*

### Reviewed Conference Submissions for:

- American Psychological Association, Division 35: Society for the Psychology of Women

### Reviewed Award Submissions for:

- Association for Psychological Science Student Caucus: Student Research and RISE Awards

## COMPUTER SKILLS

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### Excellent knowledge of:

- Microsoft Word, Excel, Outlook, Power Point, Qualtrics, and SONA

### Intermediate knowledge of:

- R, Millisecond Inquisit, and IMB SPSS Statistics

### Proficient knowledge of:

- Photoshop, NGP VAN, and web design and maintenance

## RELATED TRAINING

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<b>University of Nevada, Graduate College</b> Rebel Writing Boot Camp	2019
<b>CITI Program</b> Human Research, Social/Behavior IRB Basic Course	2017
<b>National Institutes of Health</b> Protecting Human Research Participants training	2015

## PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

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Society for the Psychology Study of Social Issues  
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## REFERENCES

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