5-2022

OBSERVING GENDER ROLE SALIENCE AND GENDER ROLE FLEXIBILITY AS POTENTIAL BUFFERS BETWEEN LEVELS OF HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES AND EXPERIENCES WITH WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND ROLE OVERLOAD

Roberta Alexis Salgado
CSUSAN BERNARDINO

OBSERVING GENDER ROLE SALIENCE AND GENDER ROLE FLEXIBILITY AS POTENTIAL BUFFERS BETWEEN LEVELS OF HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES AND EXPERIENCES WITH WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND ROLE OVERLOAD

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science in

Psychology: Industrial/Organizational

---

by

Roberta Alexis Salgado

May 2022

OBSERVING GENDER ROLE SALIENCE AND GENDER ROLE FLEXIBILITY AS POTENTIAL BUFFERS BETWEEN LEVELS OF HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES AND EXPERIENCES WITH WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND ROLE OVERLOAD

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

---

by

Roberta Alexis Salgado

May 2022

Approved by:

Dr. Mark Agars, Committee Chair, Psychology

Dr. Ismael Diaz, Committee Member

Dr. Janet Kottke, Committee Member

ABSTRACT

Despite the known link between the level of household responsibilities and negative experiences/outcomes (e.g. work-family conflict, role overload), few studies have observed how gender-role beliefs may impact these relationships. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between level of household responsibilities and experiences with work-family conflict and role overload. Further, we considered potential buffers of these relationships by examining the moderating effects of gender role flexibility and gender role saliency. Data for the study were collected from a sample of employed parents, 18 years old or older, residing in the United States, who were currently married or in a long-term committed relationship. Consistent with expectations, our results show that the level of household responsibilities was significantly related to experiences with work-family conflict and role overload. Additionally, our results show that gender role salience and the level of household responsibilities play a critical part in the levels of work-family conflict and role overload decreasing. The results of this study extend the limited work-family research on the importance of gender roles and individual differences. To our knowledge, this is the first study to examine the dual impact of the level of household responsibilities and gender-role beliefs. Furthermore, our results indicate that employees in dual-earner relationships with children would benefit from developing mutually beneficial couple-level coping strategies, along with suggesting that organizations need to

be aware of the potential high level of work-family conflict experienced by their employees.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my faculty advisor, Dr. Mark Agars, in helping me through the tedious process of thesis revisions and showing me the importance of conciseness and attention to detail. I would also like to thank my committee members Dr. Ismael Diaz and Dr. Janet Kottke for their feedback and guidance through this thesis process. Lastly, I would like to thank my family for their support and understanding while I finished my education.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v

LIST OF TABLES viii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 1

Gender Roles and Expectations 3

Role Flexibility and Role Salience 5

Work-Family Conflict 9

Division of Household Labor 11

The Present Study 14

CHAPTER TWO: METHOD 16

Participants 16

Procedure 17

Measures 18

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS 22

Data Management 22

Primary Analysis 24

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION 31

Research and Applied Implications 34

Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research 38

APPENDIX A: SCALES 41

APPENDIX B: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL 56

REFERENCES……60

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations for all Study Variables……27

Table 2. Bivariate Correlations for all Study Variables and Demographic Variables……28

Table 3: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Work-Family Conflict……29

Table 4: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Role Overload…… 30

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Working individuals face the challenge of simultaneously managing responsibilities at work and at home. As has been long documented, these responsibilities often conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), and the emergent work-family conflict links to a myriad of negative work, family and health consequences (Allen & Paddock, 2015; Peters, Dulk, & Lippe, 2009; Simmons & Swanberg, 2008). Experiences of conflict are tied in part to individual expectations about the division of household labor (Domínguez-Folgueras, Jurado-Guerrero, Botía-Morillas, & Amigot-Leache, 2017; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010; Moreno-Colem, 2017; Young, Wallace, & Polachek, 2015), and these expectations emerge in part from existing gender roles (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Kaufman & White, 2016). As a result, men and women are likely to have significantly different expectations about their own household responsibilities, leading these differences to affect their experiences with work-family conflict. (Dominguez – Folgueras et al., 2017; Moreno-Colem, 2017; Powell & Craig, 2015; Young et al., 2015). Gender roles, however, and individual differences about their importance, have seen limited consideration in the work-family research.

Understanding men's and women's level of household responsibilities is important because men and women experience a substantial amount of work-family conflict due to differences in work and housework hours (Sayer, 2005). In addition, it should be noted that both one's expected and actual level of household responsibilities may be derived from existing gender role beliefs. These differences in gender role beliefs can lead to experiences of role overload and work-family conflict due to the excessive level of household/work responsibilities that are connected to those differing beliefs/expectations. According to Reilly (1982), role overload is a form of work-family conflict that occurs when excessive demands deplete an individual's time and energy supply, such as an increase in the level of household and/or work responsibilities. Therefore, when role overload occurs, it can cause changes in work and family decisions/actions, which can lead to an increase in work-family conflict. Despite the known link between the level of household responsibilities and negative experiences/outcomes (e.g. work-family conflict, role overload), few studies have observed how gender-role beliefs may impact these relationships. To address this need, the present study investigates the influence of the level of household responsibilities on experiences with work-family conflict and role overload. Additionally, this study also examines the moderating effects of gender role perceptions (i.e., gender informed role flexibility and role saliency) as potential buffers.

Gender Roles and Expectations

Gender roles are defined as shared beliefs that apply to individuals on the premise of their socially identified sex/gender (Eagly, 2009). Gender role beliefs are both descriptive and prescriptive in that they imply what men and women typically do and what they must do. The descriptive factor of gender roles tells individuals what's usual for his or her sex. For example, if a scenario is ambiguous or vague, human beings have a tendency to enact traditional gender behaviors. The prescriptive element of gender roles tells people what is considered admirable for his or her sex in their cultural context. People may enact these proper behaviors to gain social approval or bolster their personal esteem (Eagly, 2009; Erdogan, Ozcelik, & Bagger, 2019).

Gender roles are sets of expectations/responsibilities that are held by society about the ways in which men and women are supposed to be based on their gender (Erdogan, Ozcelik, & Bagger, 2019).Traditional gender roles reflect differences in how men and women are perceived, in that more of the financial provider (i.e., the “breadwinner”) responsibility falls on men, while the home and family responsibilities (i.e., the “caregiver”) are more likely to fall on women (Matthews, Swody & Barnes, 2012; Schneider, 2011). Within these traditional beliefs, there is the expectation that women spend less time and energy on work responsibilities and instead spend more time fulfilling household/family obligations (e.g. household chores, childcare, etc.), while men typically spend more time and energy on work obligations than on home/family obligations

(Eagly, 2009). Additionally, gender norms are also based on beliefs that individuals hold about themselves, which can be completely different from societal expectations not only in the workplace, but in the household as well. These gendered beliefs can lead to men and women experiencing certain challenges (i.e., work-family conflict, role overload, etc.), such as experiencing difficulties in making career decisions in order to accommodate expected work and family responsibilities (i.e. exploring flexible work options; Perrone et. al, 2006).

Gender norms partially explain why men and women take on different amounts of household labor (Lachance-Grzela, 2010; Young et. al, 2015). Recent data, however, suggest that these norms are changing, and that individuals with more modern gender role beliefs see men and women's roles as more egalitarian. Kaufman and White (2016) explored married men's ideal and current (i.e., actual) home/family arrangements based on views of their wives' employment. Their results demonstrated that men with egalitarian beliefs, who hold more modern attitudes, see the traditional role of a stay-at-home mom as unnecessary, and emphasize the monetary/emotional benefits of maternal employment. In contrast, men with more traditional beliefs think maternal care is best for their children and therefore want their wives to stay home (Kaufman & White, 2016). They found that the majority of men's ideal home/family arrangement were the same as their current home/family arrangement. For example, traditional fathers emphasized the provider role and the importance of

their work, whereas egalitarian fathers showed strong support for their wives' employment and their contribution to the family income (Kaufman & White, 2016). These findings demonstrate that differing gender role beliefs can influence and determine the level of expected work/household responsibilities, which may, in turn, lead to work-family conflict and role overload.

Role Flexibility and Role Salience

In addition to gender roles and their individual characteristics, there has been research on the topic of gender role beliefs. Specifically, there has been recent discussion on the concepts of gender role perceptions, such as gender role flexibility and salience. Gender role flexibility and salience have been found to influence expectations in work/household responsibilities, along with these perceptions helping to reduce experiences with work-family conflict and role overload (Abeysekera & Gahan, 2019; Erdogan, Ozcelik & Bagger, 2019; Lieke & Lautsch, 2016; Noor, 2004; Wiley, 1991; Winkel & Clayton, 2010). Role flexibility is the extent to which an individual is willing and able to respond to changing circumstances and expectations in one role domain (e.g. household/family) in order to meet the demands of another role domain (e.g. work; Winkel & Clayton, 2010). Role salience is an individual's perception of the relative importance of their work and family roles (Abeysekera & Gahan, 2019; Erdogan, Ozcelik & Bagger, 2019; Lieke & Lautsch, 2016; Noor, 2004; Wiley,

1991). While higher levels of role flexibility provide an individual the ability to change when and where a domain's activities occur, role salience provides meaning and purpose behind an individual's roles. Whereas role flexibility affords an individual the opportunity to meet the demands of one domain while in another, role salience provides guidance for choosing domain activities (Abeysekera & Gahan, 2019; Bagger, Li & Gutek, 2008). For example, Winkel and Clayton (2010) examined the manner in which people separate their work and family roles by managing the boundaries between these two important roles. Specifically, they looked at how role flexibility and role salience influence transitions between roles. Their findings indicated that the ability and willingness to flex a role boundary and role salience are important predictors of successful transitions between roles. Furthermore, they found that "the relationship between one's willingness to flex their family boundary and make transitions from their family role to their work role was weaker when the individual's work role was highly salient (Winkel & Clayton, 2010)." In contrast, they found that "the relationship between one's willingness to flex their work boundary and make transitions from their work to their family role was stronger when the individual's family role was highly salient." Their findings support the notion that "an employee may be willing to flex their work boundary, but if their family role does not hold great meaning for them and they are not that engaged in their family role, they may be less willing to flex their work boundary to accommodate household/family responsibilities and meet gendered expectations." These

findings signify the importance of role flexibility and role salience in managing work and family boundaries.

Role salience refers to the significance individuals ascribe to their roles in the work and family domains (Super, 1980). Role salience perceptions determine when role participation will lead to someone feeling exhausted or engaged as a function of their activities, which is related to the increase in role overload and work-family conflict. According to Lieke and Lautsch (2016), when individuals identify their work role as having high salience, their exhaustion levels decreased and their level of engagement in work activities increased, compared to those who identify their work role as having low salience (e.g., spending less time at work). However, individuals who identify their family role has having high salience (e.g. spending more time with family), experienced lower exhaustion levels, and their level of engagement in work activities increased. This was particularly true when they identified their work role as having low salience (Lieke & Lautsch, 2016). These findings suggest that health consequences of role participation depend on an individual's salience perceptions of their work and family roles. Essentially, individuals who find the family role highly important felt less exhausted and more engaged than those who find the family role less important, which can lead to greater responsibilities within the home, along with lower levels of work-family conflict and role overload.

Recent research has examined the role of work hours (e.g. billable hours), role salience and behavioral role involvement. Particularly, researchers are

seeing if these variables lead to work–family conflict and positive well-being, along with observing if the influence of work hours leads to negative well-being outcomes (Matthews et. al, 2011). Research indicates that work hours can lead to negative experiences with work–family conflict and role overload (Matthews et al, 2011; Wallace & Young, 2008). Additionally, Matthews et al. (2011) and Wallace and Young (2008) found that behavioral family involvement was negatively related to work involvement and negatively related to family-to-work conflict. In contrast, behavioral family involvement was positively related to life satisfaction. Both family-to-work conflict and role overload were negatively related to life satisfaction. Similarly, Noor (2004) found a direct effect of role salience in the prediction of job satisfaction, in that work role salience was positively related to job satisfaction. However, it was found that work salience increased the negative impact of work-to-family interference (WIF) rather than family-to-work interference (FIW), on women's well-being. These results explain the negative consequences of employees placing high importance on work, which is connected to the increase in work-family conflict and role overload. In addition, these findings demonstrate that the presence of individual role characteristics (i.e. flexibility, salience) influence the impact of work/household decisions and expectations on other outcomes (i.e. work-family conflict, role overload).

Work-Family Conflict

Work-family conflict (WFC) is the consequence of an incompatible relationship due to role pressures/stressors (i.e. situational/external factors) from the work and family domains. With its bidirectional nature, this phenomenon can occur as family interfering with work (FIW) and work interfering with family (WIF; Allen & Paddock, 2015; Cardenas, Major, & Bernas, 2004; Frone et al., 1992; Frone et al., 1996; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Specifically, WIF conflict involves the interference of work-related responsibilities on household/family responsibilities (i.e. checking and answering work emails at home), and FIW conflict occurs when family-related responsibilities interfere with work-related activities (e.g. leaving work to pick-up a suddenly-ill child from school; Abeysekera & Gahan, 2019; Erdogan, Ozcelik & Bagger, 2019; Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992; Noor, 2004; Michael & Hargis, 2008).

The general definition of work-family conflict has been expanded to include time and/or strain-based conflicts. Time-based conflict occurs when time demands associated with one role limits the amount of time that can be dedicated to the other role, which can hinder one's performance in the other role (e.g., family; Allen & Paddock, 2015; Frone et al., 1996, Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). In contrast, strain-based conflict occurs when stress occurring in one role is transferred to the other role, with the resulting strain reducing performance in the second role (Allen & Paddock, 2015; Frone et al., 1992; Frone et al., 1996; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). These forms of conflict have been associated with

lower job satisfaction, role overload, and higher negative health/wellbeing outcomes such as depression/anxiety, burnout/emotional exhaustion, and stress; these negative health/wellbeing outcomes can potentially lead to an increase in absenteeism, turnover, and counterproductive work behaviors (CWBs; Frone, Russell, & Barnes, 1996; Peters, Dulk & Lippe, 2009; Simmons & Swanberg, 2008).

For instance, Offer (2014) found that there were specific stressors and strains (e.g., work fatigue, work–family conflict, depression) from both the work and family domains that can negatively impact individuals and their families. To further explore the impact of these strains, several studies have observed how the salience of work and family roles is related to experiences of work–family conflict (Abeysekera & Gahan, 2019; Bagger, Li & Gutek, 2008; Erdogan, Ozcelik & Bagger, 2019; Noor, 2004.) For example, Erdogan et al. (2019) found that individuals who assigned greater salience to either the work role (i.e., work salience) or the family role (i.e., family salience) experienced less work–family conflict as compared to those assigning high and/or low levels of salience to both roles. These findings suggest that setting priorities between work and family roles may result in less work–family conflict.

A salience hierarchy requires juggling more than one role by way of favoring one role over the alternative. As an example, employees with primary work or family salience might have a tremendous quantity of room to act on their reflective appraisals and accordingly commit to their more salient position, which

allows them to respond to competing work and family/household needs in a variety of approaches in order to devise their own understanding of work-life balance (Erdogan et. al, 2019). Erdogan and his colleagues (2019) found that experiences with work-family conflict and role overload are influenced by the presence of existing societal expectations. However, these findings also indicate that the presence of individual role characteristics/perceptions (i.e. role flexibility, role salience hierarchy) can positively impact work/household expectations, which can decrease the presence of work-family conflict and role overload (Erdogan et. al, 2019).

Division of Household Labor

In comparison to paid work/labor, unpaid work/labor (i.e. household responsibilities) consists of essential responsibilities that takes place in the household, such as cooking, cleaning and childcare (Moreno-Colem, 2017; Sayer, 2005). Aside from the struggle of work-family conflict, gender role beliefs affect both men and women in terms of how responsibilities are distributed in the household. For instance, women are generally more likely to take on vital day-to-day household duties (i.e. cooking and cleaning), whereas men take on less vital weekly-based responsibilities (i.e. yard work; Lachance-Grzela, 2010; Moreno-Colem, 2017; Van Hooff, 2011). This means that when a working woman finishes her paid-work responsibilities, she is likely to have additional household

obligations, whereas the man's obligations do not need immediate attention. This results in the woman experiencing not only work-family conflict, but also role overload.

Men's and women's experiences with the division of household labor and work-family conflict are tied in part to individual expectations and existing gender norms, such as in the form of gender performance (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Dominguez – Folgueras et. al, 2017; Lachance-Grzela, 2010; Moreno-Colem, 2017; Young et. al, 2015). According to Schneider (2011) and Coltrane (2000), gender performance theory is the idea that both earnings and housework have important cultural and societal meanings, which vary by gender. Specifically, gender performance theory states that housework and paid work serve as a way for women and men, respectively, to portray their gender role and create social significance (Coltrane, 2000; Schneider, 2011; Shelton & John, 1996; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Research on the distribution of household labor has demonstrated that men and women engage in gender performance through housework (Schneider, 2011). For example, women portray their gender role by doing more housework than otherwise similar women who have earnings that are approximately equal to their husbands'. In comparison, men portray their gender role by doing less housework than otherwise similar men with approximately equal earnings to their wives'. In order to test the application of gender performance theory, Schneider (2011) examined archival U.S. time diary data from 2003 to 2007. Their results showed no evidence that married men ''do

gender'' through housework; however, men who were unemployed spent more time on housework per day than men who are currently working. In comparison, when married women increased their earnings toward equality with their husbands, they reduced the amount of time they spend each day on routine housework tasks. These research findings indicate that a couple may not need to follow societal gender roles, which could reduce differences in the level of household responsibilities and decrease their chances of experiencing work-family conflict and/or role overload.

Furthermore, individual beliefs about one's own level of household responsibilities and the consequences associated with these beliefs are also tied to gender roles. For example, Lachance-Grzela (2010) examined the individual characteristics that explain gender role differences in the division of household labor. Findings indicated that "women with greater relative incomes and educational attainments, as well as those who are less available to complete work at home and those who favor more egalitarian gender attitudes, tend to share household labor more equally with their partners." They also found that "husbands were less likely to increase their contribution to housework when their wives worked long hours, but wives increased their housework hours in response to husbands' long work hours due to the expectation that domestic work is 'women's work' (Lachance-Grzela, 2010; Offer, 2014; Van Hooff, 2011)." These findings indicate that the division of household labor matters because both actual and perceived levels of household responsibilities, along with the presence of

gender roles, determine whether one will experience role overload.t the “enter” key to create the extra space.

The Present Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of the level of household responsibilities on experiences with work-family conflict and role overload, along with examining the moderating effects of gender role perceptions (i.e. gender role flexibility and saliency), which may buffer the impact that level of household responsibilities has on with work-family conflict and role overload.

Specifically, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1: The level of household responsibilities will be positively related to experiences with work-family conflict.

Hypothesis 2: The level of household responsibilities will be positively related to experiences with role overload.

Hypothesis 3: Gender role salience will moderate the relationship between the level of household responsibilities and experiences with work-family conflict, such that the relationship will be weaker for those that place high salience on their family role.

Hypothesis 4: Gender role salience will moderate the relationship between the level of household responsibilities and experiences with role overload, such

that the relationship will be weaker for those that place high salience on their family role.

Hypothesis 5: Gender role flexibility will moderate the relationship between the level of household responsibilities and experiences with work-family conflict, such that the relationship will be weaker for those that have high flexibility in their work role.

Hypothesis 6: Gender role flexibility will moderate the relationship between the level of household responsibilities and experiences with role overload, such that the relationship will be weaker for those that have high flexibility in their work role.

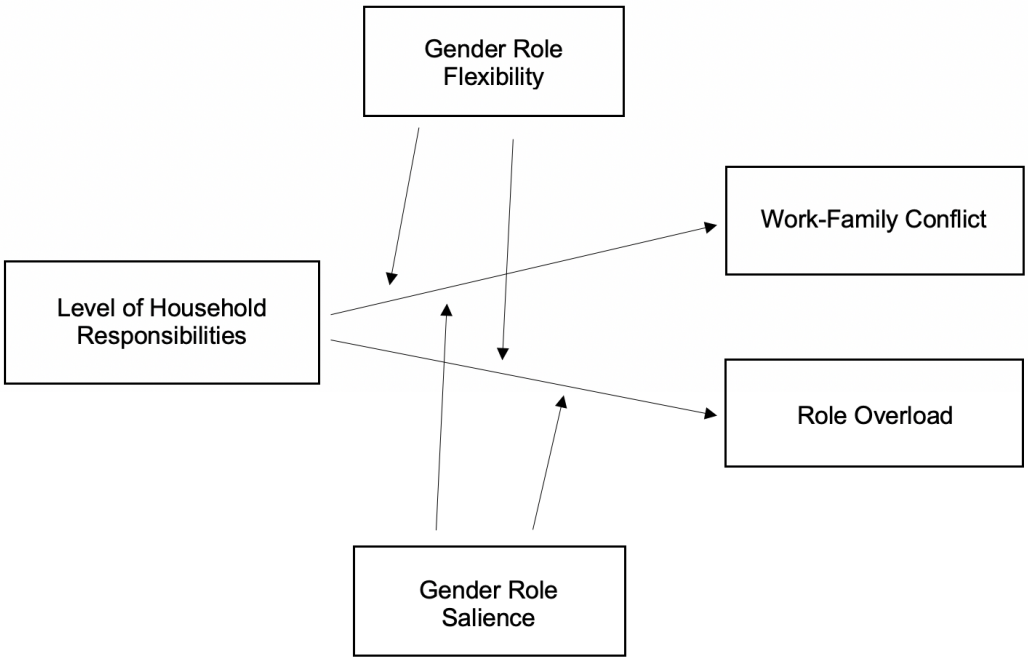

Figure 1. Proposed Model and Illustration of Hypotheses.

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD

Participants

Participants were employed parents, 18 years old or older, residing in the United States, who were currently married or in a long-term committed relationship. Based on a power analysis (with power = 0.85 and α = 0.05) using Cohen (1992), approximately 200 working adults were needed. A total of 518 participants were recruited, 44 did not meet the attention checks, and 60 did not meet the study criteria, thus the final sample was 414. Participants were required to be able to read and understand English and to work at least 20 hours per week. Participants were compensated approximately $2.00 for completing this survey. All participants were treated with respect and in accordance with the American Psychological Association's code of Ethics (Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct, 2013).

Among the participants, 58% were women (n = 239) and 42% were men (n = 174). The participants' age range was 22 to 67 years old, with the average age of 44. Of the participants, 80% identified as White/Caucasian (n = 332), 9% identified as African American/Black (n = 38), 5% identified as Asian American (n = 22), and 4% identified as Hispanic/Latinx (n = 17). When asked about their current relationship status, 90% identified as being married (n = 374), while 10%

identified as being in a domestic partnership and/or in a long-term committed relationship (n = 40). Out of the 414 participants, 90% work full-time (n = 371), 7% work part-time (n = 30), and 3% are self-employed (n = 13). Prior to the COVID -19 pandemic, 54% were not working from home (n = 224), while 46% were working from home. Currently, 68% are working from home (n = 283) and 32% are not currently working from home (n = 131).

Procedure

Participants were presented with an informed consent and had the opportunity to read their rights and withdraw from the study at any time. Additionally, participants were provided with instructions regarding the questionnaire, including the number of questions and the approximate completion time. Screening methods were set-up using the Qualtrics and the Mechanical Turk systems to ensure participants met the following qualifications before completing the survey. Participants who met study requirements and agreed to participate were able to access the questionnaire immediately after reading the consent form. The survey included demographic information related to age, gender, education, marital status, their current/past work arrangements, income, race and number of dependents. In addition to answering demographic questions, participants were asked to complete questions regarding their current level of household responsibilities, perceptions of the flexibility and salience of

their gender role, and experiences with work-family conflict and role overload (Table 2). The survey had a total number of 85 items; the estimated time to complete the survey was approximately 30 minutes. Once participants completed the survey, they were provided a study explanation statement, and instructions to submit a survey code that ensures that only participants who completed the survey will be paid. The survey concluded with a statement thanking participants for their participation and included the primary investigator's contact information for participants to contact the investigator directly to voice any questions or concerns.

Measures

Level of Household Responsibilities

Level of household responsibilities was operationalized as measuring individual perceptions of their own workload of household responsibilities relative to their spouse's/partner's workload. Level of household responsibilities was assessed using Atkinson and Huston's (1984) 8- item Division of Household Labor Scale and Barnett and Baruch's (1987) 12-item Child-Care Labor Scale. The Division of Household Labor Scale items was rated on a five-point Likert scale, with 1 = usually or always my spouse to 5 = usually or always myself. An example of a question is, "Who primarily does the cooking?" The alpha reliability for the overall scale is 0.69 (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004). The Child-Care

Labor Scale items was rated on a five-point Likert scale, with 1 = “usually or always my spouse” to 5 = “usually or always myself.” An example of a question is, “Who primarily feeds the child(ren)?” The alpha reliability for the overall scale is 0.85 (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004). For this study, we combined the two subscales to create an overall scale score for Level of Household Responsibilities.

To further examine household responsibilities during the COVID-19 pandemic, we added an open-ended question where we ask the participants if and how the COVID-19 pandemic has changed their home expectations.

Gender Role Flexibility

Gender role flexibility is defined as the extent to which someone is willing and able to respond to changing circumstances and expectations in one domain (e.g. household/family) in order to meet the demands of another domain (e.g. work; Winkel & Clayton, 2010). Gender role flexibility was measured using 18-items from Matthews and Barnes-Farrell’s (2011) scale that measures gender role flexibility in the work and family domains. Specifically, we used only four subscales: Family Flexibility – Ability (FFA; 5-items), Family Flexibility – Willingness (FFW; 4-items), Work Flexibility – Ability (WFA; 4-items), and Work Flexibility – Willingness (WFW; 5-items). The items were rated on a seven-point Likert scale, with 1= “strongly disagree” and 7= “strongly agree.” An example of a question is “I am willing to take an extended lunch break so that I can deal with responsibilities relating to my family and personal life.” The alpha reliabilities for

FFA, FFW, WFA, and WFW was, respectively, .72, .75, .84, and .68. For this study, we combined the four subscales to create an overall scale score for Gender Role Flexibility that had an overall alpha reliability of 0.75.

Gender Role Salience

Gender role salience is defined as an individual's perception of the importance on their work and family roles, leading that individual to make a commitment to those specific roles. Gender role salience was measured using 20-items from the Life Role Salience Scale (LRSS; Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986). Specifically, we used only four subscales: Occupation Role Reward Value (5-items), Occupation Role Commitment (5-items), Homecare Role Reward Value (5-items), and Homecare Role Commitment (5-items). The items were rated on a five-point Likert scale, with 1= "disagree" and 5= "agree." An example of a question is "I expect to assume the responsibility for seeing that my home is well kept and well run." The alpha reliabilities for Occupational Role Reward Value, Occupation Role Commitment, Homecare Role Reward Value, and Homecare Role Commitment was, respectively, .86, .83, .82, and .79. For this study, we combined the four subscales to create an overall scale score for Gender Role Salience with an overall alpha reliability of 0.83.

Work-Family Conflict (WFC)

Work-family conflict (WFC) was operationalized as two types of conflict: work-interfering-with-family (WIF) conflict and family-interfering-with-work (FIW) conflict (Noor, 2004). Work-family conflict was assessed using Netemeyer, Boles,

and McMurrian's (1996) 10-item WFC scale. The items were rated on a seven-point Likert scale, with 1= "strongly disagree" and 7= "strongly agree." An example of a question is "The demands of my work interfere with my home and family life." The alpha reliability for the 5-item WFC subscale was .88, while the alpha reliability for the 5-item FWC subscale was .86. For this study, we combined the two subscales to create an overall scale score for Work-Family Conflict with an overall alpha reliability of .87.

Role Overload

Role overload is a subset of role conflict that occurs when excessive demands depletes an individual's time and energy supply. Role overload was assessed using 6-items from Reilly's (1982) Role Overload Scale. The items were rated on a five-point Likert scale, with 1= "disagree" and 5= "agree." An example of a question is "I need more hours in the day to do all the things that are expected of me." The alpha reliability for this scale was 0.89 (Thiagarajan, Chakrabarty, & Taylor, 2006).

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

Data Management

Data were downloaded from Qualtrics and screened using IBM SPSS. Initially there were 518 cases. We removed cases that did not meet the attention checks (44) and those that did not meet the study criteria of being employed, working at least 20 hours per week, being married or in a long-term committed relationship, and having children (60). Following this, the data set included 414 cases.

Prior to conducting the primary analyses, we screened that data for univariate and multivariate outliers. The standardized z-scores revealed two univariate outliers in gender role flexibility and gender role salience as the scores exceeded the criterion of ± 3.3. One case with an extremely low z score on gender role flexibility and one case with an extremely low z score in gender role salience was found to be univariate outliers; these two univariate outliers were filtered out. With the use of a $p < .001$ criterion for Mahalanobis distance, five multivariate outliers among the cases were found; all five multivariate outliers were filtered out.

The data were then analyzed for violations of normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, multicollinearity, and independence of errors. To analyze for

linearity, P-P plots were run using IBM SPSS. The P-P plots indicated that the relationship between the IVs and the DVs was linear, concluding that the assumption for linearity was met. Furthermore, to test the assumption of normality was met, the skewness and kurtosis of all of the variables was analyzed. For instance, level of household responsibilities was negatively skewed (skewness = - .424, SE = .120) and platykurtic (kurtosis = - .482, SE = .239); gender role flexibility was negatively skewed (skewness = - .615, SE = .120) and leptokurtic (kurtosis = .522, SE = .239); gender role salience was negatively skewed (skewness = - .525, SE = .120) and leptokurtic (kurtosis = .415, SE = .239); work-family conflict was negatively skewed (skewness = - .203, SE = .120) and platykurtic (kurtosis = -1.351, SE = .239); role overload was negatively skewed (skewness = - .681, SE = .120) and platykurtic (kurtosis = - .512, SE = .239). The analysis indicated that the assumption of normality was partially met due to modest violations.

To test for homoscedasticity, we ran six scatterplots of the standardized residuals for all of the variables, which was evenly distributed around the mean, confirming that the assumption for homoscedasticity was met. Lastly, to test the assumption for multicollinearity, bivariate correlations were examined. Bivariate correlations indicated no cause for concern since none of the correlations was greater than □ 0.9, indicating that the assumption for multicollinearity was met for this analysis. Regarding missing data, the Missing Variable Analysis (MVA) revealed there were no missing data in the dataset.

Primary Analysis

To test the study hypotheses, two separate hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed in IBM's SPSS to predict experiences with work-family conflict and experiences with role overload based on the level of household responsibilities. We also examined the moderating effects of gender role salience and gender role flexibility. Separate sets of hierarchical regression analyses were performed for each main effect (i.e., level of household responsibilities, gender role salience, gender role flexibility). In order to create interaction terms, study variables were standardized. The product of the standardize level of household responsibilities and standardized gender role salience was created to examine the moderating effect of gender role salience, and the product of standardized level of household responsibilities and standardized gender role flexibility was used to examine the moderating effect of gender role flexibility. Standardized versions of study variables were used in the primary analyses. For each analyses, level of household responsibilities was entered in Step 1, gender role salience and gender role flexibility were entered in Step 2, and the interaction terms were entered in Step 3.

Work Family Conflict

A sequential regression analysis was carried out to investigate the relationship between level of household responsibilities, gender role flexibility, and gender role salience, with work-family conflict (see Table 1). In Model 1, we significantly predict work-family conflict from level of household responsibilities,

Multiple R = .272, F(1,410) = 32.661, p < .0001. In support of Hypothesis 1, level of household responsibilities (β = 0.27, p < .0001) explained 7.4% of the variance in work-family conflict, Multiple R2 = .074, β = 0.27, p < .0001. In Model 2, we test if our prediction can be improved by adding gender role salience and gender role flexibility. Consistent with Hypothesis 3 gender role salience (β = 0.21, p < .0001) significantly predicted work-family conflict, and explained 5.6% additional variance in work-family conflict (Multiple R= .361, Multiple R2 change = .130, Fchange (2,408) = 13.209, p < .0001) (see Table 3). However, Hypothesis 5 was not supported as gender role flexibility was not a significant predictor. In Model 3, we test if our prediction can be improved adding the interaction between level of household responsibilities and gender role salience, and the interaction between levels of household responsibilities and gender role flexibility. Adding the interaction terms, however, did not add significantly to the prediction of work-family conflict (Multiple R2 change = .005, Fchange (2,406) = 1.253, p =.287). Overall, the final model demonstrates we can significantly predict work-family conflict from level of household responsibilities (β = 0.23, p < .0001) and gender role salience (β = 0.21, p < .0001), R2 Change = .005, F(5,406) = 12.721, p < .0001. The total variance explained in work-family conflict by the total model was 14% (see Table 3).

Role Overload

A sequential regression analysis was carried out to investigate the relationship between level of household responsibilities, gender role flexibility,

and gender role salience, with role overload (see Table 1). In Model 1, we can significantly predict role overload from level of household responsibilities, Multiple R = .293, $F(1,410) = 38.492$, $p < .0001$. In support of Hypothesis 2, level of household responsibilities ($\beta = 0.29$, $p < .0001$) explained 8.6% of the variance in role overload, Multiple R2 = .086, $\beta = 0.29$, $p < .0001$. In Model 2, we test if our prediction can be improved by adding gender role salience and gender role flexibility, Multiple R = .329, Multiple R2 change = .023, Fchange (2,408) = 5.167, $p < .05$. Consistent with Hypothesis 4, level of household responsibilities ($\beta = 0.27$, $p < .0001$) and gender role salience ($\beta = 0.17$, $p < .05$)) significantly predicted role overload, and explained 2.3% additional variance in role overload (Multiple R= .329, Multiple R2 change = .108, Fchange (2,408) = 5.167, $p < .05$) (see Table 4). However, Hypothesis 6 was not supported as gender role flexibility was not a significant predictor. In Model 3, we test if our prediction can be improved adding the interaction between level of household responsibilities and gender role salience, and the interaction between levels of household responsibilities and gender role flexibility. Adding the interaction terms, however, did not add significantly to the prediction of role overload (Multiple R = .332, Multiple R2 change = .002, Fchange (2,406) = .490, $p = .613$). Overall, the final model demonstrates we can significantly predict role overload from level of household responsibilities ($\beta = 0.29$, $p < .0001$) and gender role salience ($\beta = 0.16$, $p < .05$), R2 Change = .002, $F(5,406) = 10.093$, $p < .0001$. The total variance explained in role overload by the total model was 10% (see Table 4).

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations for all Study Variables

Variable	Mean	*SD*	1	1a.	1b.	2	2a.	2b.	2c.	2d.	3	3a.	3b.	3c.	3d.	4	4a.	4b.	5
1. Level of Household Responsibilities	65.79	19.93	_																
1a. Division of Household Labor Scale	519.63	163.67	.97*	_															
1b. Child-Care Labor Scale	533.03	166.14	.97*	.87**	_														
2. Gender Role Flexibility	4.89	.84	.03	.05	-.01	_													
2a. Family Flexibility-Ability	24.41	6.22	.10*	.12*	.08	.75*	_												
2b. Family Flexibility-Willingness	19.04	4.85	.21*	.23*	.19*	.61*	.71*	_											
2c. Work Flexibility-Ability	21.28	4.83	.11*	.12*	.08	.82*	.54*	.46*	_										
2d. Work Flexibility-Willingness	25.86	5.02	.20*	.21*	.18*	.68*	.52*	.54*	.67*	_									
3. Gender Role Salience	4.98	0.62	.17*	.17*	.16*	.39*	.39*	.44*	.30*	.29*	_								
3a. Occupation Role Reward Value	24.92	6.01	.21*	.21*	.19*	.44*	.63*	.73*	.34*	.42*	.69*	_							
3b. Occupational Role Commitment	25.36	5.73	.18*	.18*	.17*	.49*	.62*	.72*	.40*	.45*	.75*	.84*	_						
3c. Homecare Role Reward Value	27.31	3.96	.34*	.33*	.34*	.40*	.48*	.50*	.40*	.51*	.65*	.56*	.60*	_					
3d. Homecare Role Commitment	25.62	4.84	.29*	.28*	.28*	.48*	.67*	.71*	.48*	.58*	.59*	.76*	.75*	.74*	_				
4. Work - Family Conflict	4.18	1.78	.27*	.24*	.28*	.17*	.44*	.61*	.18*	.40*	.28*	.61*	.59*	.44*	.68*	_			
4a. WFC subscale	21.47	8.84	.23*	.20*	.24*	.14*	.42*	.56*	.12*	.37*	.24*	.56*	.54*	.39*	.62*	.96*	_		
4b. FWC subscale	20.36	9.73	.29*	.26*	.30*	.18*	.43*	.61*	.22*	.40*	.30*	.62*	.59*	.45*	.68*	.96*	.84*	_	
5. Role Overload	4.87	1.54	.29*	.26*	.30*	-0.01	.18*	.33*	0.06	.33*	.18*	.34*	.34*	.37*	.43*	.73*	.72*	.69*	_

Note: This table states the bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations respectively.

* indicates $p < .01$. $n = 414$.

Table 2. Bivariate Correlations for all Study Variables and Demographic Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Level of Household Responsibilities	–														
2. Gender Role Flexibility	.03	–													
3. Gender Role Salience	.17	.39**	–												
4. Work - Family Conflict	.27	.17**	.28**	–											
5. Role Overload	.29*	-.003	.18**	.73**	–										
6. Gender	-.48*	.10*	.05	.03	-0.07	–									
7. Ethnicity	.07	.06	.02	.10	.15**	0.01	–								
8. Marital Status	-.03	-.16**	-.12*	-.16**	-0.05	-0.09	-0.04	–							
9. Number of Dependents	-008	.004	.06	.07	.11*	-0.06	0.02	-0.06	–						
10. Current Employment Status	.11*	-.10	-.09	-.12*	-0.03	-.13**	-0.04	.10*	0.03	–					
11. Work Hours	-.26**	-.10*	-.18**	-.35**	-.29**	0.07	-.13**	0.06	-.13**	-.30**	–				
12. Job Title	.08	.08	.08	0.02	0.05	-0.04	0.001	0.07	0.10	.15**	0.03	–			
12. Income	-.05	.08	-.05	-.12*	-0.04	-0.07	-0.04	-.10*	-0.02	-.18**	.19**	-0.01	–		
13. Education	.08	.21**	.19**	.32**	.24**	0.08	-0.02	-.17**	-0.002	-.24**	-0.01	.18**	.15**	–	
14. Working from Home Status- Pre-COVID-19 Pandemic	-.17**	-.24**	-.15**	-.40**	-.30**	0.02	0.01	.17**	-0.05	0.02	.15**	-0.05	-0.01	-.23**	–
15. Working from Home Status- During COVID-19 Pandemic	-.23**	-.26**	-.21**	-.55**	-.37**	0.04	-.16**	.19**	-0.02	0.02	.38**	0.002	.14**	-.21**	.43**

Note: This table states the bivariate correlations respectively.

* indicates $p < .01$. $n = 414$.

** indicates $p < .05$. $n = 414$.

Table 3. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Work-Family Conflict

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Level of Household Responsibilities	0.27	0.05	0.27*	0.23	0.05	0.23*	0.23	0.05	0.23*
Gender Role Flexibility				0.07	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.06
Gender Role Salience				0.21	0.05	0.21*	0.22	0.05	0.21*
Level of Household Responsibilities * Gender Role Salience							0.07	0.04	0.07
Level of Household Responsibilities * Level of Household Responsibilities							0.01	0.04	0.02
R^2 *Change*		0.07			0.06			0.005	
F for change in R^2		32.66*			13.21*			1.25	

Note: *p < .0001; n=414.

Table 4.

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Role Overload

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Level of Household Responsibilities	0.29	0.05	0.29*	0.27	0.05	0.27*	0.29	0.05	0.29*
Gender Role Flexibility				-0.08	0.05	-0.08	-0.08	0.05	-0.08
Gender Role Salience				0.17	0.05	0.17**	0.16	0.05	0.16**
Level of Household Responsibilities * Gender Role Salience							0.003	0.04	0.003
Level of Household Responsibilities * Level of Household Responsibilities							0.04	0.04	0.05
R^2 *Change*		0.09			0.02			0.002	
F for change in R^2		38.49*			5.17**			0.49	

Note: *p < .0001,

** p < .05; n = 414.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the influence of the level of household responsibilities on experiences with work-family conflict and role overload, along with examining the moderating effects of gender role perceptions (i.e. gender role flexibility and saliency), which may buffer the impact that level of household responsibilities has on work-family conflict and role overload. Consistent with expectations, our results show that the level of household responsibilities was significantly related to experiences with work-family conflict and role overload, which aligns with previous research findings on the matter (Lachance-Grzela, 2010; Moreno-Colem, 2017; Offer, 2014; Van Hooff, 2011). In addition, our results show that the moderation effects of gender role salience were robust and significant, indicating that gender role salience and level of household responsibilities significantly predicted experiences with work – family conflict and role overload. However, we found that the moderation effects of gender role flexibility were small and non-significant, meaning that gender role flexibility and level of household responsibilities didn't significantly predict experiences with work-family conflict and role overload.

Specific stressors that come from responsibilities in both the work and family domains can negatively impact individuals and their families (Offer, 2014).

However, when these occurrences are being moderated by gender role perceptions, then that can potentially increase or decrease the levels of work-family conflict and/or role overload that one may experience. Our results show that gender role salience significantly buffers the impact that level of household responsibilities has on work-family conflict and role overload. Specifically, in support of Hypotheses 2 and 3, the relationships of household responsibilities with work-family conflict and role overload were weaker for participants who place high salience on their family role. These findings are consistent with previous research, such as Lieke and Lautsch (2016), who found that individuals who identify their family role as having high salience experienced lower exhaustion levels, and their level of engagement in work activities increased. Specifically, individuals who find the family role highly important felt less exhausted and more engaged than those who find the family role less important. Further, those individuals also experienced lower levels of work-family conflict and role overload (Lieke and Lautsch, 2016). These findings affirm that health consequences of role participation depend on an individual's salience perceptions of their work and family roles. Working individuals who find the family role highly important will feel less exhausted and more engaged than those who find the family role less important, which can lead to greater responsibilities within the home, along with lower levels of work-family conflict and role overload.

In contrast to expectations stated in Hypotheses 5 and 6, our results indicated that gender role flexibility does not significantly buffer the impact of

level of household responsibilities on work-family conflict and role overload. Although surprising, one explanation may be that while role flexibility may afford an individual the opportunity to meet the demands of one domain while in another, role salience provides guidance for choosing domain activities. For instance, Abeysekera and Gahan (2019) and Bagger, Li and Gutek (2008) found that while higher levels of role flexibility provide an individual the ability to choose when and where a domain's activities occur, role salience provides meaning and purpose behind an individual's decision. Another reason for the low impact of gender role flexibility could be that one's ability and willingness to flex a role to transition between roles was incompatible with the salience they placed on their other role(s). For example, an employee may be willing to flex their family demands, but if their work role does not hold great meaning for them and they are not that engaged in their work, then they may be less willing to flex their family demands to accommodate work demands (Erdogan, Ozcelik & Bagger, 2019; Winkel & Clayton, 2010). This suggests that role/domain participation more heavily depends on an individual's salience perceptions of their work/family roles instead of their ability/willingness to flex their roles, which can lead to an increase in responsibilities at home or at work, and resulting in experiences of work-family conflict and role overload (Lieke & Lautsch, 2016; Noor, 2004; Wiley, 1991).

In sum, we found that both household responsibilities and an individual's gender role salience help explain experiences with work-family conflict and role overload. Working individuals and their families frequently experience work-

family conflict and role overload due to high levels of responsibilities at work and/or at home. However, more modern gender role perceptions are related to lower levels of work-family conflict and role overload in response to household responsibilities. Individuals who place high salience on one domain (i.e., family), instead of another (i.e., work), lessens the impact of level of household responsibilities. Our study's purpose was to find a deeper understanding of the relationship between level of household responsibilities and experiences with work-family conflict and role overload. Our results suggest that household responsibilities relate to increased conflict and overload, meaning that when the family identity is more salient, the relationship is weaker, which leads to reduced levels of those negative outcomes. In essence, these findings demonstrate that gender role salience influences the impact of work/household decisions and expectations on experiences with work-family conflict and role overload.

Research and Applied Implications

The results of this study extend the limited work-family research on the importance of gender role perceptions. Specifically, this study is consistent with past research supporting Noor's (2004) and Lieke and Lautsch's (2016) findings that consequences of role participation depend on an individual's salience perceptions of their work and family roles, which leads to their experiences with work-family conflict and role overload. In our study, we found that gender role

salience and the level of household responsibilities play a critical part in the levels of work-family conflict experienced by individuals an in their experiences of role overload. There have been few studies that have observed the impact of gender-role beliefs on the relationships between the level of household responsibilities and negative experiences/outcomes (e.g. work-family conflict, role overload). To our knowledge, this is the first study to examine the dual impact of the level of household responsibilities and gender role beliefs, which addresses the need to observe how gender-role perceptions may impact these relationships.

Also, this study extends the research on gender role perceptions, specifically on gender role salience and gender role flexibility as moderators of the relationships between household responsibilities, work-family conflict and role overload. Although the impact of gender role salience was robust in our results, exploring gender role flexibility further, along with examining other potential moderators, may also explain the variance unaccounted for in our model. Gender role flexibility occurs when an individual is willing and able to respond to changing circumstances in one role domain to meet the demands of another role domain (Erdogan, Ozcelik & Bagger, 2019; Winkel & Clayton, 2010). However, Lieke and Lautsch (2016) and Super (1980) found that role salience determines when role participation would lead someone to feel exhausted or engaged, which leads to the increase in role overload and work-family conflict. Thus, levels of emotional exhaustion and engagement, along with gender role salience, would

be suitable moderators to examine in the relationships between the level of household responsibilities and negative experiences/outcomes among a population of working individuals and their families.

One implication of our results is that employees in dual-earner relationships with children would benefit from developing mutually beneficial couple-level coping strategies (Abeysekera & Gahan, 2019). If the work role salience of both partners is high, resources available for shared household responsibilities at the couple-level could be limited, resulting in high work-family conflict and high role overload for both. In this instance, couples would benefit from developing coping mechanisms that are mutually beneficial, such as reassessing/ lowering their work role salience, taking turns to fulfill household responsibilities, hiring paid domestic help, or renegotiating expectations held of each other regarding family/household demands. The application of these coping strategies is likely to produce outcomes that are more satisfactory to both partners and could possibly decrease work-family conflict and role overload (Erdogan, Ozcelik & Bagger, 2019; Noor, 2004).

With our study happening during the COVID-19 pandemic, work-family balance has become increasingly challenging, especially with women being forced to have more household responsibilities. In our qualitative analysis of the responses regarding experiences during the pandemic, many participants commented on changes in their level of responsibilities in their own households. For example, several respondents have said that nothing has changed with their

expectations around household responsibilities, in that they are still doing what they had done around the house prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. However, many expressed that they are “performing more household responsibilities than before,” along with others expressing that they “expected to receive more help from…family when it came to household responsibilities.” While both men and women are working from home, the pandemic presents an opportunity for men to step up and share in the childcare and housework. For example, Abeysekera and Gahan (2019) confirm that despite the advances made towards creating a more egalitarian division of paid and unpaid labor, women continue to undertake most of the the unpaid family responsibilities regardless of their employment status. Therefore, the need for public policy to be aimed at improving men’s participation in the family domain may somewhat address the current gender imbalance associated with paid and unpaid work (i.e., paid parental leave, paid family leave plan), which could reduce differences in the level of household responsibilities and decrease their chances of experiencing work-family conflict and/or role overload. Moreover, this same study discovered that both men and women respondents reported that a family-supportive organizational culture significantly reduced their experience with work-family conflict, which could potentially lead to a decrease in role overload (Abeysekera & Gahan, 2019). Therefore, there is a need for the use of public policy to create more family-friendly workplaces to reduce the negative consequences associated with increasing work hours, work

intensity and workloads for individuals, organizations, and society, especially during a national crisis, like a pandemic.

Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research

We experienced some limitations related to the method used in this study. First, due to the restrictions of our sample size, we were unable to test if there was a difference between individuals who do not identify as men/women, same sex couples, households that include non-child dependents, single/multiple income households and the outcomes we found. Future studies would benefit from collecting a larger, inclusive sample, which would provide the opportunity to examine levels of household responsibilities comparatively among different types of families (Doan & Quadlin, 2019).

Additionally, most of our results were measured quantitatively, and this form of data collection prescribes participants to select predetermined answers, whereas multiple open-ended questions allow for participants to express their responses freely. With the inclusion of a mix-method approach, it would have allowed for participants to discuss their levels of household responsibilities and experiences with work-family conflict and role overload openly, and thus uncovering other variables not examined in our model, such as anecdotal experiences with burnout or engagement. Since we only found 24% of the variance in work-family conflict and role overload, it appears that there are other

factors that could explain work-family conflict and role overload. Moreover, if we incorporated a mix-method approach, we might be able to indicate inherit reasons for the increase in work-family conflict and role overload that wouldn't have been found if we just measured the data quantitatively. Future studies should consider adopting such methods when replicating our study, such as utilizing our questionnaire (or a modified version of it) and incorporating open-ended interviews or follow-up focus groups to allow participants to elaborate on their experiences.

Another limitation is that we collected our participant sample from commercial online panel data (OPD), which is becoming more prevalent in applied psychology research, but still remains controversial due to concerns with the internal consistency of the quality of data being collected using this sampling method (e.g., Amazon Mechanical Turk; Walter, Seibert, Goering, & O'Boyle, 2019). For instance, when in the process of adding marital status qualifications respondents had to meet to complete the survey on Amazon Mechanical Turk, the only marital status options they had was single, married or divorced; this led to our sample to be 90% married, which limits the generalizability of our results to those that are either in long-term committed relationships or are in domestic partnerships. Although OPD has been found to not systematically affect internal consistency in applied psychology research, future studies should carefully consider the purpose(s) of their study, the population sampling frame, the

incentives they would like to use to select respondents, and/or the data screening procedures they will use to eliminate poor responders.

Lastly, we didn't examine if partner characteristics (i.e., relative income, gender, gender expression) can causally affect perceptions of responsibility for housework and childcare in heterosexual and same-sex couples, which could explain our results in a deeper context. When examining partner characteristics and perceptions of household/childcare responsibilities, Doan and Quadlin (2019) found that respondents viewed gender and gender expression as more relevant to division of household labor than partners' relative income, which was a surprise since prior research shows that income is a major predictor of determining levels of household responsibilities (Greenstein, 2000). Therefore, it would be important for future studies to see how perceptions of the level of household responsibilities changes experiences of work-family conflict/role overload.

APPENDIX A

SCALES

Demographics

Gender:

- Female
- Male
- Other:_____

What is your age?

_____

Ethnicity:

- Asian
- African American
- American Indian
- Middle Eastern
- Hispanic / Latino
- White / Caucasian
- Other: _____

What best describes you?

- Married
- Widowed
- Divorced
- Separated
- Single
- Domestic Partnership
- Committed Relationship

Including yourself, how many working adults (over 18) live in your household?

_____
_

How many total adults (over 18) live in your household?

_____
_

How many total children (under 18) live in your household?

_____
_

What is your current employment status?

- Full time (1)
- Part time (2)
- Unemployed and looking for work (3)
- Unemployed and not looking for work (4)
- Retired (5)
- Student (6)
- Unable to Work (7)
- Self-Employed (8)
- Homemaker (9)

On average, how many hours do you work per week?

- Less than 5 hours (1)
- 5 to 10 hours (2)
- 11 to 15 hours (3)
- 16 to 20 hours (4)
- 21 to 30 hours (5)
- 31 to 40 hours (6)
- More than 40 hours (7)

Which of the following most closely matches your job title?

- Intern (1)
- Entry Level (2)
- Associate (3)
- Manager (4)
- Senior Manager (5)
- Director (6)
- Vice President (7)

- Senior Vice President (8)
- C level executive (CIO, CTO, COO, CMO, Etc) (9)
- President or CEO (10)
- Other (11) _____

Please mark the box that most closely represents the income of all household members combined in the past year:

- Less than $10,000 (1)
- $10,000 - $19,999 (2)
- $20,000 - $29,999 (3)
- $30,000 - $39,999 (4)
- $40,000 - $49,999 (5)
- $50,000 - $59,999 (6)
- $60,000 - $69,999 (7)
- $70,000 - $79,999 (8)
- $80,000 - $89,999 (9)
- $90,000 - $99,999 (10)
- $100,000 - $149,999 (11)
- More than $150,000 (12)

Education Level:

- Less than High School
- High School Diploma
- Some College
- Associates or Vocational Degree
- Bachelor’s Degree
- Master’s Degree (MA / MS)
- Professional Degree (MD, JD)

- Doctorate Degree (Ph.D., Ed.D.)

Level of Household Responsibilities Scale

(Atkinson & Huston, 1984; Barnett & Baruch, 1987)

Items on the Level of Household Responsibilities Scale will be based on the following 5-point Likert scale.

Usually or Always my Spouse *(0%–20% personal contribution)*				Usually or Always Myself *(80%–100% personal contribution)*
1	2	3	4	5

Directions: Indicate the proportional contribution to each task on a 5-point scale.

Division of Household Labor Scale (Atkinson & Huston, 1984)

1. Making beds
2. Cleaning
3. Cooking
4. Dish washing
5. Laundry
6. Running errands
7. Preparing for events and activities like birthdays
8. Buying presents for and making calls to family and friends

Child-Care Labor Scale (Barnett & Baruch, 1987)

1. Take to birthday party
2. Take to doctor/dentist
3. Go to teacher conference
4. Supervise morning routine
5. Clean up room
6. Spend special time at bedtime

7. Take to and from lessons
8. Buy clothes
9. Take on outing (museum, park)
10. Supervise personal hygiene
11. Stay home
12. Make arrangements for care, when child is sick

Role Flexibility Scale

(Matthews & Barnes-Farrell, 2011)

Items on the Role Flexibility Scale will be based on the following 7-point Likert scale.

Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Family Domain Items

Instructions: Please read each of the following statements and indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree. It should be kept in mind that when you read the term “personal life responsibilities” this can be related to family commitments, plans you have made with family or friends, or obligations you have relating to family and friends.

Family Flexibility-Ability

1. Because of my family and personal life responsibilities, I cannot change my work schedule (for example going in early or staying longer to finish work related responsibilities). (Reversed Item)
2. If the need arose, I could work late without affecting my family and personal responsibilities.
3. My family and personal life responsibilities would not prevent me from going into work early if the need arose.
4. My family and personal life responsibilities would not prevent me from going into work an extra day in order to meet work responsibilities.
5. From a family and personal life standpoint, there is no reason why I cannot rearrange my schedule to meet the demands of my work.

Family Flexibility-Willingness

1. I am willing to change plans with my friends and family so that I can finish a job assignment.
2. I am willing to change vacation plans that I have made with friends and family to meet work related responsibilities.
3. While at home, I do not mind stopping what I am working on to complete a work-related responsibility
4. I am not willing to cancel plans with my friends and family to deal with work-related responsibilities (Reversed Item)

Work Domain Items

Instructions: Please read each of the following statements and indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree. It should be kept in mind that when you read the term “personal life responsibilities” this can be related to family commitments, plans you have made with family or friends, or obligations you have relating to family and friends.

Work Flexibility-Ability

1. I am able to arrive and depart from work when I want in order to meet my family and my personal life responsibilities.
2. If the need arose, I could leave work early to attend to family related issues.
3. If something came up in my personal life, it would be alright if I arrived to work late.
4. While at work, I can stop what I am doing to meet responsibilities related to my family and personal life.

Work Flexibility-Willingness

1. I am willing to take an extended lunch break so that I can deal with responsibilities relating to my family and personal life.
2. Assuming it was all right with my supervisor, I would not mind arriving to work late so that I could meet my family and personal life responsibilities.
3. If it became necessary in order to meet my family and personal life responsibilities I would be willing to change the shift, or start stop times, that I normally work.
4. I am not willing to take time off from work to deal with my family and personal life responsibilities (Reversed Item)
5. I would be willing to compress my normal work week into 4 days rather than 5 if it meant I could better deal with my family and personal life responsibilities.

Life Role Salience Scale (LRSS)

(Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986)

Items on the LRSS will be based on the following 5-point Likert scale.

Disagree				Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Directions: Indicate how you feel about each of the statements below

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.

Occupational Role Commitment

1. I want to work, but I do not want to have a demanding career. (Reversed Item)
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.

Homecare Role Reward Value

1. It is important to me to have a home of which I can be proud.
2. Having a comfortable and attractive home is of great importance to me.
3. To have a well-run home is one of my life goals.
4. Having a nice home is something to which I am very committed.
5. I want a place to live, but I do not really care how it looks. (Reversed Item)

Homecare Role Commitment

1. I expect to leave most of the day-to-day details of running a home to someone else. (Reverse Item)
2. I expect to devote the necessary time and attention to having a neat and attractive home.
3. I expect to be very much involved in caring for a home and making it attractive.
4. I expect to assume the responsibility for seeing that my home is well kept and well run.
5. Devoting a significant amount of my time to managing and caring for a home is not something I expect to do.

Work-Family Conflict (WFC) Scale

(Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996)

Items on the Work-Family Conflict Scale will be based on the following 5-point Likert scale.

Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Directions: Indicate how you feel about each of the statements below

Work-Family Conflict Scale

1. The demands of my work interfere with my home and family life.
2. The amount of time my job takes up makes it difficult to fulfill family responsibilities.
3. Things I want to do at home do not get done because of the demands my job puts on me.
4. My job produces strain that makes it difficult to fulfill family duties.
5. Due to work-related duties, I have to make changes to my plans for family activities.

Family-Work Conflict Scale

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

Role Overload Scale

(Reilly, 1982)

Items on the Role Overload Scale will be based on the following 5-point Likert scale.

Disagree				Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Directions: Indicate how you feel about each of the statements below

1) I have to do things which I don't really have the time and energy for.
2) There are too many demands on my time.
3) I need more hours in the day to do all the things which are expected of me.
4) I can't ever seem to get caught up.
5) I don't ever seem to have any time for myself.
6) There are times when I cannot meet everyone’s expectations.

APPENDIX B

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

December 2, 2020

CSUSB INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
Administrative/Exempt Review Determination
Status: Determined Exempt
IRB-FY2021-149

Mark Agars
CSBS - Psychology
California State University, San Bernardino
5500 University Parkway
San Bernardino, California 92407

Dear Mark Agars :

Your application to use human subjects, titled "Observing gender role salience and gender role flexibility as potential buffers between levels of household responsibilities and experiences with work-family conflict and role overload" has been reviewed and approved by the Chair of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of California State University, San Bernardino has determined that your application meets the requirements for exemption from IRB review Federal requirements under 45 CFR 46. As the researcher under the exempt category you do not have to follow the requirements under 45 CFR 46 which requires annual renewal and documentation of written informed consent which are not required for the exempt category. However, exempt status still requires you to attain consent from participants before conducting your research as needed. Please ensure your CITI Human Subjects Training is kept up-to-date and current throughout the study.

The CSUSB IRB has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval notice does not replace any departmental or additional approvals which may be required.

Your responsibilities as the researcher/investigator include reporting to the IRB Committee the following three requirements highlighted below. Please note failure of the investigator to notify the IRB of the below requirements may result in disciplinary action.

- Submit a protocol modification (change) form if any changes (no matter how minor) are proposed in your study for review and approval by the IRB before implemented in your study to ensure the risk level to participants has not increased,
- If any unanticipated/adverse events are experienced by subjects during your research, and
- Submit a study closure through the Cayuse IRB submission system when your study has ended.

The protocol modification, adverse/unanticipated event, and closure forms are located in the Cayuse IRB System. If you have any questions regarding the IRB decision, please contact Michael Gillespie, the Research Compliance Officer. Mr. Michael Gillespie can be reached by phone at (909) 537-7588, by fax at (909) 537-7028, or by email at

mgillesp@csusb.edu. Please include your application approval identification number (listed at the top) in all correspondence.

If you have any questions regarding the IRB decision, please contact Dr. Jacob Jones, Assistant Professor of Psychology. Dr. Jones can be reached by email at Jacob.Jones@csusb.edu. Please include your application approval identification number (listed at the top) in all correspondence.

Best of luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Nicole Dabbs

Nicole Dabbs, Ph.D., IRB Chair
CSUSB Institutional Review Board

ND/MG

Date: 2-20-2022

IRB #: IRB-FY2021-149
Title: Observing gender role salience and gender role flexibility as potential buffers between levels of household responsibilities and experiences with work-family conflict and role overload
Creation Date: 11-25-2020
End Date:
Status: Approved
Principal Investigator: Mark Agars
Review Board: Main IRB Designated Reviewers for Department of Psychology
Sponsor:

Study History

Submission Type	Review Type	Decision
Initial	Exempt	Exempt

Key Study Contacts

Member Mark Agars	**Role** Principal Investigator	**Contact** MAgars@csusb.edu
Member Roberta Salgado	**Role** Primary Contact	**Contact** 004828053@coyote.csusb.edu

REFERENCES

Abeysekera, L., & Gahan, P. (2019). Work–family conflict among Australian dual-earner couples: Testing the effects of role salience crossover and gender. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 30(10), 1549-1582.

Allen, T. D., & Paddock, E. L. (2015). How being mindful impacts individuals' work-family balance, conflict, and enrichment: A review of existing evidence, mechanisms and future directions. *Mindfulness in Organizations: Foundations, Research, and Applications*, 213-238. https://doi-org.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/10.1017/CBO9781107587793.011

Amatea, E. S., Cross, E. G., Clark, J. E., & Bobby, C. L. (1986). Assessing the work and family role expectations of career-oriented men and women: The life role salience scales. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 831-838.

Atkinson, J., & Huston, T. L. (1984). Sex role orientation and division of labor early in marriage. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(2), 330.

Bagger, J., Li, A., & Gutek, B. A. (2008). How much do you value your family and does it matter? The joint effects of family identity salience, family-interference-with-work, and gender. *Human Relations*, 61(2), 187-211.

Barnett, R. C., & Baruch, G. K. (1987). Determinants of fathers' participation in family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 29-40. https://doi-org.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/10.2307/352667

Bianchi, S. M., & Milkie, M. A. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 705-725.

Cardenas, R. A., Major, D. A., & Bernas, K. H. (2004). Exploring work and family distractions: Antecedents and outcomes. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 11(4), 346–365.

Cooklin, A. R., Westrupp, E. M., Strazdins, L., Giallo, R., Martin, A., & Nicholson, J. M. (2016). Fathers at work: work–family conflict, work–family enrichment and parenting in an Australian cohort. *Journal of Family Issues*, 37(11), 1611-1635.

Craig, L., & Mullan, K. (2010). Parenthood, gender and work-family time in the United States, Australia, Italy, France, and Denmark. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(5), 1344-1361.

Craig, L., Powell, A., & Cortis, N. (2012). Self-employment, work-family time and the gender division of labour. *Work, Employment and Society*, 26(5), 716-734.

Day, A. L., & Chamberlain, T. C. (2006). Committing to your work, spouse, and children: Implications for work–family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 68(1), 116-130.

Doan, L., & Quadlin, N. (2019). Partner characteristics and perceptions of responsibility for housework and child care. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 81(1), 145-163.

Domínguez-Folgueras, M., Jurado-Guerrero, T., Botía-Morillas, C., & Amigot-Leache, P. (2017). ‘The house belongs to both’: undoing the gendered division of housework. *Community, Work & Family*, 20(4), 424-443.

Eagly, A. H. (2009). The his and hers of prosocial behavior: An examination of the social psychology of gender. *American Psychologist*, 64(8), 644.

Erdogan, I., Ozcelik, H., & Bagger, J. (2019). Roles and work–family conflict: how role salience and gender come into play. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 1-23. https://doi-org.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/10.1080/09585192.2019.1588346

Franco, J. L., Sabattini, L., & Crosby, F. J. (2004). Anticipating work and family: Exploring the associations among gender-related ideologies, values, and behaviors in Latino and White families in the United States. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(4), 755-766.

Frone, M. R., Russell, M., & Cooper, M. L. (1992). Antecedents and outcomes of work-family conflict: testing a model of the work-family interface. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77(1), 65.

Frone, M. R., Russell, M., & Barnes, G. M. (1996). Work–family conflict, gender, and health-related outcomes: A study of employed parents in two community samples. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 1(1), 57–69.

Glauber, R., & Gozjolko, K. L. (2011). Do traditional fathers always work more? Gender ideology, race, and parenthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(5), 1133-1148.

Goldberg, A. E., & Perry-Jenkins, M. (2004). Division of labor and working-class women's well-being across the transition to parenthood. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 18(1), 225.

Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of Management Review*, 10(1), 76-88.

Greenstein, T. N. (2000). Economic dependence, gender, and the division of labor in the home: A replication and extension. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(2), 322-335.

Greer, T. W., & Egan, T. M. (2012). Inspecting the hierarchy of life roles: A systematic review of role salience literature. *Human Resource Development Review*, 11(4), 463-499.

Katz-Wise, S. L., Priess, H. A., & Hyde, J. S. (2010). Gender-role attitudes and behavior across the transition to parenthood. *Developmental Psychology*, 46(1), 18.

Kaufman, G., & Bernhardt, E. (2015). Gender, work and childbearing: Couple analysis of work adjustments after the transition to parenthood. *Community, Work & Family*, 18(1), 1-18.

Kaufman, G., & White, D. (2016). “For the Good of Our Family” Men’s Attitudes Toward Their Wives’ Employment. *Journal of Family Issues*, 37(11), 1585-1610.

Lachance-Grzela, M., & Bouchard, G. (2010). Why do women do the lion’s share of housework? A decade of research. *Sex Roles*, 63(11-12), 767-780.

Lee, K. S., Tufiş, P. A., & Alwin, D. F. (2018). The cultural divide and changing beliefs about gender in the United States, 1974–2010. *Sex Roles*, 79(7-8), 393-408.

Lieke, L., & Lautsch, B. A. (2016). Office or kitchen? Wellbeing consequences of role participation depend on role salience. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 93, 171-182. https://doi-org.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/10.1016/j.jvb.2016.02.008

Matthews, R. A., Swody, C. A., & Barnes-Farrell, J. L. (2012). Work hours and work–family conflict: The double-edged sword of involvement in work and family. *Stress and Health*, 28(3), 234-247.

Michel, J. S., & Hargis, M. B. (2008). Linking mechanisms of work–family conflict and segmentation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 73(3), 509-522.

Mihelič, K. K. (2014). Commitment to life roles and work-family conflict among managers in a post-socialist country. *Career Development International*. 19(2), 204–221

Moreno-Colom, S. (2017). The gendered division of housework time: Analysis of time use by type and daily frequency of household tasks. *Time & Society*, 26(1), 3-27.

Netemeyer, R. G., Boles, J. S., & McMurrian, R. (1996). Development and validation of work–family conflict and family–work conflict scales. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81(4), 400.

Noor, N. M. (2004). Work-family conflict, work-and family-role salience, and women's well-being. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 144(4), 389-406.

Offer, S. (2014, December). The costs of thinking about work and family: Mental labor, work–family spillover, and gender inequality among parents in dual-earner families. *In Sociological Forum,* 29(4), 916-936.

Orbuch, T. L., & Eyster, S. L. (1997). Division of household labor among Black couples and White couples. *Social Forces*, 76(1), 301-332.

Perrone, K. M., Ægisdóttir, S., Webb, L. K., & Blalock, R. H. (2006). Work-family interface: Commitment, conflict, coping, and satisfaction. *Journal of Career Development*, 32(3), 286-300.

Perrone, K. M., Wright, S. L., & Jackson, Z. V. (2009). Traditional and nontraditional gender roles and work—Family interface for men and women. *Journal of Career Development*, 36(1), 8-24.

Peters, P., Den Dulk, L., & van der Lippe, T. (2009). The effects of time-spatial flexibility and new working conditions on employees' work–life balance: The Dutch case. *Community, Work & Family*, 12(3), 279-297.

Powell, A., & Craig, L. (2015). Gender differences in working at home and time use patterns: Evidence from Australia. *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(4), 571-589.

Rehel, E. M. (2014). When dad stays home too: Paternity leave, gender, and parenting. *Gender & Society*, 28(1), 110-132.

Reilly, M. D. (1982). Working wives and convenience consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 8(4), 407-418.

Sayer, L. C. (2005). Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women's and men's paid work, unpaid work and free time. *Social Forces*, 84(1), 285-303.

Simmons, L. A., & Swanberg, J. E. (2009). Psychosocial work environment and depressive symptoms among US workers: comparing working poor and working non-poor. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 44(8), 628.

Schneider, D. (2011). Market earnings and household work: New tests of gender performance theory. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(4), 845-860.

Stratton, L. S. (2012). The role of preferences and opportunity costs in determining the time allocated to housework. *American Economic Review*, 102(3), 606-11.

Super, D. E. (1980). A life-span, life-space approach to career development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 16(3), 282-298.

Thiagarajan, P., Chakrabarty, S., & Taylor, R. D. (2006). A confirmatory factor analysis of Reilly's Role Overload Scale. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 66(4), 657-666.

van der Velde, M. E., Bossink, C. J., & Jansen, P. G. (2003). Gender differences in the influence of professional tenure on work attitudes. *Sex Roles*, 49(3-4), 153-162.

Van Hooff, J. H. (2011). Rationalising inequality: heterosexual couples' explanations and justifications for the division of housework along traditionally gendered lines. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 20(01), 19-30.

Wallace, J. E., & Young, M. C. (2008). Parenthood and productivity: A study of demands, resources and family-friendly firms. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 72(1), 110-122.

Walter, S. L., Seibert, S. E., Goering, D., & O'Boyle, E. H. (2019). A tale of two sample sources: Do results from online panel data and conventional data converge?. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 34(4), 425-452.

Weer, C. H., Greenhaus, J. H., & Linnehan, F. (2010). Commitment to nonwork roles and job performance: Enrichment and conflict perspectives. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 76(2), 306-316.

Wiley, M. G. (1991). Gender, work, and stress: The potential impact of role-identity salience and commitment. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 32(4), 495-510.

Winkel, D. E., & Clayton, R. W. (2010). Transitioning between work and family roles as a function of boundary flexibility and role salience. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 76(2), 336-343.

Xu, X., Peng, Y., Zhao, P., Hayes, R., & Jimenez, W. P. (2019). Fighting for time: Spillover and crossover effects of long work hours among dual-earner couples. *Stress and Health*, 35(4), 491-502.

Young, M., Wallace, J. E., & Polachek, A. J. (2015). Gender differences in perceived domestic task equity: A study of professionals. *Journal of Family Issues*, 36(13), 1751-1781.

Yu, W. H., & Lee, P. L. (2013). Decomposing gender beliefs: Cross-national differences in attitudes toward maternal employment and gender equality at home. *Sociological Inquiry*, 83(4), 591-621.