

Generational Warfare: The New Workplace

Amy Rummel*

Frances A. Viggiani**

Alfred University

Saxon Dr., Alfred NY 14802, USA

E-mail: frummel@Alfred.edu* , viggiani@alfred.edu**

Abstract

The problem of balancing work and family, career and parenting is currently receiving a great deal of attention in the national press. Cover stories in the New York Times and Business Week have focused on changing patterns in child bearing and the “traditional” family and on what many have called the “glass ceiling” vs. women’s choices to abandon the climb to the top. The dilemma that now seems to be facing career families is the regrets held by many at the over 40 age that their choice was to break the glass ceiling at the expense of having children. In 2003, approximately 200 undergraduates were surveyed to understand their perceptions of this dilemma. Do they perceive a conflict between their career aspirations and a family? Have they been smart enough to figure out the balance that has somehow escaped the 1980’s workforce? Or is history going to repeat itself? The results of this data indicated that this generation believes they can have it all. They believe that organizations will accommodate family into the workplace and that while there is some discrimination in an organization, career distinctions between men and women do not exist. The regrets that are haunting the baby boomers appear to be resolved for this generation. Yet the question remains, our the graduates of today facing a new world which will make these life “choices” no longer exist or are they being naïve. An identical survey was administered to random sample of alumni graduating in 1970-1975, 1980-1985, and 1990-1995. The responses to these questions will be able to assess the reality of the workforce of 2004. Have the previous generations created a brave new world or will they be faced in 20 years with similar choices and potential regrets.

Introduction

In the US during the early 1900’s proliferating industrial production and declining agricultural work led most to expect that men would hold paid jobs in the developing 20th century workplace, and women would work in the home as home-makers and mothers. Work and family expectations of husbands and wives, mothers and fathers were shaped by these economic realities. In 1900, 19% of women and 80% of men were in the US labor force. One hundred years later 60% of women and 75% of men are participating in the workplace and work and family expectations have changed dramatically. Indeed, in the years since WWII expectations about men’s and women’s roles in the workplace and the family have been transformed several times over (Powell and Graves, 14-18). What do college students of the early 21st century make of these transitions? Do they believe that women and men now have equal opportunities? How do they see women and men handling work/family activities – does everyone experience “conflict”? Achieve “balance”? In fact, are there inter/intra generational factors in the workplace which facilitate leadership development or does it lead to additional conflict in the workplace?

A survey of college students’ career and family expectations explored their views on gender discrimination (Rummel and Viggiani 2003). The results indicated that undergraduates in 2003 believed they could have it all. They expected that organizations would accommodate family needs into the workplace and that while there continued to be some gender discrimination in organizations, career distinctions between men and women did not exist. The regrets that are haunting the baby boomers appeared to be resolved for this undergraduate college population. Yet the question remains, are the graduates of today facing a new world in which they will no longer be forced to make the life “choices” faced by earlier generations – or are they being naïve?

This study extends our previous research by comparing undergraduates surveyed in 2003 with a cohort of alumni now in their 30's, 40's and 50's. We explore how years in the workforce have influenced men's and women's perceptions and attitudes. Are there changes in how men and women see these issues? Do women and men hold similar views? Furthermore are there generational factors which contribute to additional conflict in achieving work and family balance? Organizations are dynamic entities. The extent to which work-experienced males and females have similar work and family perceptions and expectations is the focus of this study. The expectations of recent undergraduate college students compared with cohorts of alumni reflect continuing changes in how the problems and possibilities of combining work and family, and whether discrimination continues to be a problem in the workplace. This cross sectional study captures a snap shot of particular cohorts that represent changing expectations and experience over time.

These survey results are exploratory and suggest indicators, or tendencies. We suggest how these generational dynamics might have developed and how clashing expectations may come into play. The alumni belong to a generation who now exercise a great deal of influence and control over new hires. We propose what circumstances, corporate cultures and/or expectations current college students may find when they are hired by those now running corporate America. It appears that there will be a battle. The generations of current undergrads think they can do a better job of managing the problems of work and family, and deal more effectively with issues of discrimination. They don't think the old wars were won, or that the generation of alums won it. The context of this meeting of generations can be heard in the voices of the popular press, pointing to some of the major concerns about work and family of the early 21st century. The following provides the context in which our generations are meeting.

Context

One impact of the transformations of work and family expectations is the age at which we become parents. The average age of women having their first child is now 30, and among 40 year olds the pregnancy rate has risen by 40% in the past 10 years (Longrigg, 2003). Generally women's fertility now begins to decline in the late 20's and early 30's, with a more rapid decline around age 37 and a marked decline at 42. The average age of menopause is 51 (Lynem, 2002). Expectations concerning later parenting have become important. Pamela Madsenif, executive director of the American Fertility Association, suggests that many women expect to be able to conceive five to ten years later than they will actually be able to (ibid). Some studies claim to show that a growing career focus for women has had an impact on childbearing, with fewer children born to educated women (Marcinkus, Whelan-Berry & Gordon, 2007) These trends and questions about how women and men may combine careers in the workplace with parenting roles in the family are a continuing focus in the popular press.

Catchy titles express concerns: the *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote about: "The Mother Load: Some Who Delay Having Kids End Up Waiting Forever" (Lynem 2002). A *Time Magazine* cover read: "Babies vs Career: Which Should Come First for Women Who Want Both: the Harsh Facts About Fertility" (Gibbs 2002). *USA Today* put it most starkly. Women are now, they wrote, "Having It All - Except Children: They've Come a Long Way, But Forgot To Have a Baby" (Peterson 2002). And another wrote: "To have it all: Women are realizing they're not a failure if they don't" (Deam, 2002). Scheffler, a former CEO who retired in 1998 at 57, published *Beyond the Corner Office* (2004) about her decision to retire to a small, remote cabin in Maine in order to focus on her family.

Hewlett's (2002) controversial study, *Creating a Life: Professional Women and the Quest for Children* pointed to issues about women's parenting choices because of career-related pressures to put off childbearing. How do college students perceive these issues? And what data do we have on comparisons with expectations during college and after a period of time in the workforce attempting to combine work and family? This paper first points to how changing expectations are reflected in an historical evolution of theoretical conceptualizations of career, work and family issues since the 1960's. Next we briefly review literatures on careers and on students' attitudes and changes in attitudes after leaving college. And finally we present our data and an analysis comparing current students' expectations with those of a cohort of alumni.

Work and Family since the 1960's – Changing Expectations and Conceptualizations

Many authors of important early studies were women who, for the first time in history, examined the impacts of the post WWII influx of women into the workforce. During the 1940's many expected that women had only two choices: either to marry and have children or to remain single and pursue a professional career without family. Later survey research in the 1960's and 1970's examined changing ideas about work and family using survey questions and variables shaped by the concerns and attitudes of their time. For example Bernard's influential 1972 study of the impact of work on women's family role was entitled, *The Future of Motherhood*. During over 30 years of research she focused on family lifestyles, "women, wives and mothers" and conceptualized "two worlds" – those of working men, and working women (Voydanoff, 1988). Hennig and Jardin's classic 1977 study focused on the work context, discussing "the managerial woman" in a world in which, when competing with male managers, women managers should expect to either not marry, or to have no children. And Kanter's 1977 sociological study, *Men and Women of the Corporation* explored issues of power, organizational roles and gender. The 1970's focus on women's work and family roles over the life course was followed in the 1980's by several main strands of research on women's changing occupational choices; traditional vs. non-traditional career women; homemakers or housewives vs. career or professional women.

Pleck's 1985 study pointed to the experience of the "working husband". In the 1990's the focus shifted to working women's experiences of role strain, stress, multiple roles, and work-family conflict, with the idea of balancing work and family, and the quintessential late 20th century idea of women having it all – marriage, family and career. Most recently - thirty years since Bernard's initial work that focused on women and marriage - studies now focus on both positive and negative work-family impacts for both men and women. Work-family conflict (and hence balance) was initially measured uni-directionally. Research has now shown that work can interfere with family, and family can interfere with work (Cinamon and Rich 2002). Also, in a paper entitled "Commitment to family roles: Effects on managers' work attitudes and performance" Ohlott, Graves and Rudeman (2004) claim to have found few significant gender differences in the experience of family-to-work interference or enhancement. Similarly Raskin (2006) suggested that conflict is more due to job involvement and career perception than gender. Much of the newest research is moving past the construct of work-family "conflict" altogether. Greenhaus and Powell (2004) have recently proposed a theory of work-family enrichment.

They have pointed out that many recent studies examined the positive effects of combining work and family roles in such phenomena as "positive spillover", "enhancement" or "facilitation". They also point to the "absence of a comprehensive theoretical framework in which to examine the positive effects of combining work and family roles" (Frone, 2003, 3-4). These changing research foci have reflected the historically changing expectations of individuals and couples. The notion of two separate worlds of working men and women in the 1950's and 1960's was replaced by the dual-career couple concept of the 1990's. The concept of "work-family enrichment" is replacing earlier ideas of work-family conflict and role strain (Raskin, 2007). And in the 21st century "having it all" is being reconsidered by some who, in their marriages have chosen that the woman "stay home" and/or choose to leave high powered careers in order to spend more time in the family with their children (Cinamon, 2006; deJanasz & Behson 2007). This "conflict" has also given rise to home based businesses which is one of the fastest growing business segments (Dwelly, Maguire and Trustcott, 2005)

Careers, Work and Family – Impact on Family Structure

An important area of research related to expectations concerning work and family is our notion of a "career" and the trajectories of careers in individuals' lives. Various models have attempted to link career, age and changing attitudes in a predictable series of stages over the life course. Such models included expectations of a continuous ascent up corporate managerial hierarchies in professional careers. Recent work suggests that men and women may often have different career timetables. Sullivan (1999) suggests that because of greater family demands and women's experienced workplace discrimination, pay and promotion inequities and sexual harassment, the earlier career stage model theories may not be generally applicable to women's careers: "traditional career stage models were developed to explain the careers of men and were tested with male samples" (p 6). Arthur and Rousseau (1996) proposed the "boundary less career model" that focuses on changing employers, marketability of a career skill set, the importance of information networks for a specific career,

the absences of specific hierarchical supervisory and upward movement and the importance of family considerations the particular meaning for an individual in their creation of their career. Moen (2003) major study of dual career families in upstate New York examines how the “fundamental arithmetic” of the family – two adults and two jobs (one full-time paid at work and one full-time unpaid at home) - has changed. They suggest that the institutions of the workplace, home and neighborhood have not kept pace with these changes. They point to how couple’s careers and working families’ needs may be addressed through a variety of policy initiatives, new choices by employing organizations, and continuing development of new expectations about career and family. Schner and Rertrian (1993) propose that “post traditional family structures” are associated with managerial career progression. Their typology of six possible family structures ranging from “single no children” to “married, children, employed spouse (two incomes)” makes explicit the career implications of family structures. They find income effects, satisfaction effects and differential impacts in each of these areas for men and women.

Career, Work and Family- Students’ Changing Expectations

Several studies have examined these questions about career and family. Some studies have surveyed college students for their views on work, family and careers. Others have compared responses over time. Changes in these issues and concerns are tracked by researchers who have examined the changing trajectories of careers. Almquedst and Antui (1971) did an early study of role models and their influence on college age women and their career aspirations. Long (1983) examined marriage expectations of college age women and Stone (2000) found “gendered futures” in a study of how college students envisioned family and career. Barnett et al (2003) examined college seniors’ concerns about career-marriage conflict. Hoffnung (2004) found that almost all college women in her study, despite socioeconomic status, race and level of college, “wanted it all – career, marriage and motherhood”. Seven years later, half of the respondents were married and still employed. A few had children but this had not decreased a focus on career. Other studies have looked at changes in perceptions and attitudes of college age students and changes in their views over time in the same sample.

Angrist, in 1969 found a clear priority among the majority of college women for family roles over career roles, But research over the next 30 years documented the increasing value women placed on having both a career and a family. Konrad et al (2004) looked at MBA students and outcomes three years later concerning preferences of job attributes and work and family issues. Weer et al’s (2004) study of college students’ expectations examined expected work-family conflict and choices concerning “family-altering” strategies such as age at marriage or at child bearing; or “career altering strategies” such as lower managerial aspirations or lower status aspirations. Responses from a sample of students in a required Organizational Behavior course showed that the women had relatively high intentions to have children even though they expected work-family conflict. The authors suggest that students are developing new approaches to the conflict that some expect in work and family roles.

Expected work-family conflict may influence men’s and women’s selection (or avoidance) of certain occupations. Students anticipating extensive conflict may pay attention to particular characteristics of jobs (e.g. autonomy) and employers (e.g. family friendliness) when searching for jobs (Weer 2004 22-23). Thus the extant research demonstrates gender affects work and family expectations. As individuals gain more experience in the workplace, these expectations change. They change in ways, for instance, that may become more pessimistic about the reality of a balance existing between family and work or cynical about the choices that are made over a career lifetime (e.g. Not having children, working at home, quitting mid career to establish a family, feelings of poor performance on the job). However there is an assumed “moving average” in much of this research. In other words, there is an assumption that as a generation moves through their career life, others within that generation are feeling the same with little outside generational influences. There has been little discussion or research directed towards examining different generational cohorts and how their perceptions or expectations might conflict. This study examines these questions.

Methodology

Participants

A total of 403 individuals were surveyed to assess their views of career and personal attitudes. Two populations were specifically targeted, those who were currently in their senior year of college and those who had been in the workplace for 15 years or more. Table 1 provides a summary of the respondents.

Insert table (1) about here

Responses were analyzed to determine 1) if there were patterns of responses that differed between within gender generations. 2) if there were significant differences between current and post graduates and finally, 3) if there were any significant interactions between age and gender regarding their perceptions of work and family conflicts.

Procedure

To offset any geographical bias, senior college students were enlisted from two different universities, one located upstate New York and the other from downstate. There was an equal number (110) selected from each university. Enrollees in senior level business management classes were recruited to complete paper and pencil questionnaires to examine their perceptions of their family plans and the career goals. The responses from individuals in the workforce 15 years or more were accessed from an alumni database from the Upstate New York University. A total of 450 questionnaires were sent out with 183 individuals responding, representing a 40% response rate.

Materials

The survey used in this study was comprised of two existing questionnaires that have been validated in the literature. The first survey was the Liberal Feminist Attitudes and Ideology Scale (LFAIS) developed by B.L. Morgan in 1996. It is a likert type scale that provides measurement of gender role attitudes, goals of feminism and feminist ideology. The second survey was the Contemporary Gender Discrimination Scale developed by Roswell and Hartman (2001). The inclusion of this scale allowed for additional measurement concerning discrimination in the workplace. Both of these scales were the basis for measurement because they focus on work and family conflict as well as perceptions of gender roles within the workplace and the family. Exploration of these responses within gender and across generations would enable us to determine the (non)existence of career and family conflict.

Results

Given that this study was exploratory in nature, the survey results were analyzed with three main questions in mind:

- 1) Do women from different generations have similar perceptions of family and the workplace? A lack of significant mean differences would imply that (perhaps) through observation, effective mentoring and/or through potential strides in the workplace women regardless of age and experience, perceive a common world.
- 2) How common are perceptions across gender, within generation of the working world? Do both 20 year-old men and women perceive a common battle or victory in terms of discrimination in the workplace and the pressures family concerns impose of their lives. For the older generation, is the battle still raging or has there been a peaceful reconciliation?
- 3) Finally what, if any, interaction exists between gender and generation? Are executive males able to perceive similar realities as our young females? Do young males enter the workforce bring with them a more liberating attitude and perhaps more similar to female executives?

Our Generation Gap: Women

Let's first paint a picture of where our women are across generations. What is revealed is that women across generations hold many similar perceptions.

Insert table 2 about here

Education is perceived as a key ingredient to success and equal rights in the workplace (Q10: 5.18/5.28). Choices in life should not be restricted by gender (Q12: 5.57/5.73) even though their perceived reality is that women must still work harder than men to achieve the same things (Q2: 4.46/4.72), and have fewer choices (Q15: 3.73/3.48) because to some extent our women believe that discrimination still exists within the organization (Q3: 4.37/4.54). In regards to societal discrimination and the extensiveness of this discrimination (Q4& Q5) there is a "wait and see" attitude with most responses hovering between a mean of 3.0 and 3.5.

Career and Family

Are older females facing conflicts between personal and career goals? Are younger women expecting to experience this same conflict? Absolutely (Q18: 2.89/2.90). They are both driven to have both career and family, believing that both partners could experience successful careers regardless of family constraints (Q20: 1.82/1.96; Q21: 2.13/2.14). Although both generations feel it is important to work for organizations that support their dual lives (Q28: 4.23/4.34), they are more ambivalent about “corporate” what allowances should be made (Q22: 3.86/4.04).

Lessons to be learned

As one would expect our generations are not in total agreement. In terms of career objective, “the most important issue (in younger women’s life) is having a very successful career” (Q29: 3.55/2.41). Yet, while they are driven by their careers, older women question their ability to be successful mothers significantly more than do our younger, untried women (Q19: 4.56/4.05), and their ability to resolve this conflict (Q25: 3.45/3.14). And all the while, they are more likely to agree that children interfere with their job performance (Q23: 2.14/2.77). This is compounded by the fact that they are worried that they won’t be able to have children if they wait too long (Q24: 2.87/4.03) as compared to our younger generation. These response patterns can be interpreted as reflecting a very conflicted generation: women who want to have it all, children and career, yet find they must live a trade-off. What have they done? What they have done is to create, perhaps, a more realistic generation of younger women; younger generations who perceive that it is not as bad as their mothers/mentors remember. These younger women find it more important to have children before the age of 40 (Q17: 4.46/4.05) and are less worried that it will be an issue (Q24: 2.87/4.03). They are more driven by having a “very successful career” and have more hope that conflicts between career and family will work itself out (Q25: 3.45/3.14). More optimistic, perhaps?

Clash of the Generation

Table 3 identifies the mean averages comparing all 4 cohorts.

Insert table 3 about here

What is immediately striking is that there are no significant differences between the two generational snapshots of males on any of the surveyed questions. This might suggest that there has been some very effective modeling occurring with this particular gender and in some cases to the extreme. But what do we mean by this?

The patterns of responses suggest that there are two significant “clashes” occurring. The first is the significant differences that exist between our young men and our older females. Indeed, over half of the differences found exist between these two populations. Our young men are less likely to believe women experience discrimination in the work place (Q3: 3.71/4.54) and therefore their need to work harder to achieve similar success in the workplace (Q2: 3.42/4.72). Furthermore, these young men believe that eventually men and women will be treated equally “if we leave well enough alone” (Q16, 3.56/2.48) maybe because they have a significantly stronger belief that women have equal opportunity (Q14: 2.82/2.86). Young men are more likely to believe a man is less masculine if he stays home than are older females (Q6: 3.84/4.95) and men in fact, make better leaders (Q11: 3.75/1.71) The second pattern that emerges is the clash between our older males and our young females. Our older males “Titans” are less likely to agree than any other cohort that women face discrimination (Q5) or that women need legislation to insure job safety (Q13). While younger males mimic their view it is in stark contrast to our female cohort. In fact our young females are more likely to believe that discrimination towards women’s lack of choices is widespread (Q15) than either male generation, while males are significantly more likely to agree than females have equal opportunities (Q13).

Conclusion/Further Research

There is no doubt that there can be multiple interpretations of the data presented in this paper. And without multiple viewpoints, the conversation between males and females and the presence or absence of discrimination would be silenced. That cannot happen. As our workforce ages and as generational influences impact organizational functioning, we all must be cognizant of the dynamics at play.

The academic literature validates the popular press and vice versa. Women have historically fought for their rightful place in the workforce. For some the battle has been won through affirmative action and just pure acknowledgement that discrimination exists.

But for some women, this “struggle” has come at a cost. What was once a dream to “have it all”, successful career and happy home” has come at a cost. Our data confirms this. Older women are more conflicted about their ability to have children because they might have waited too long. They seem to be asking questions about their relationship with their children: Do I have a warm and secure relationship with my children? Should I have postponed my career? And as our older generation of women deal or have dealt with these issues, there has been an audience, an audience of younger women, their daughters or their coworkers. These younger women seem to be saying, “It’s OK”. They see the need for education, the existence of discrimination, conflict between family and career. Whereas our older generation is not so sure that they have made the right choices, our younger generation of women has a sense of optimism about themselves. It will be OK. But it might not be. This data indicates that there are potential conflicts arising. As men hold the majority of authority positions and as our younger men hold similar views, there is a gap between male bosses and their new female hires and women bosses and their younger male subordinates. These are conflicts left unexamined by popular and academic press. How will these conflicts resolve themselves to the extent where gender is no longer perceived as an issue?

Further research is needed. A better understanding of the interrelationship between generation of men and women in the workplace is needed. This quantitative data indicates that while men across generations have similar perceptions of family and career, women are experiencing intergenerational conflict. Is this really true? And if so, how did this happen? One hypothesis is that as older women have struggled with balancing their career and families while men have been able to live their lives in a stereotypical fashion, being able to go to and from work with little interference from family constraints. Are our younger males observing this behavior, perceiving little conflict in the lives of our females? To dis/prove this hypothesis, qualitative data would need to be undertaken talking to both generations of men to understand their perceptions and beliefs. Similarly what have our younger women perceived, a conflicted, perhaps unsatisfied older generation of women, or a generation that has given them optimism that in fact a balance between family and the workplace can be achieved? Are they observing a group of women who have paved the way or a group that just didn’t get it right? Additionally, what of the potential conflict between gender-related generations? Does it exist as indicated by this study? In-depth interviews of organizational participants are needed to begin to answer these questions. The conflict that has existed within and between genders has been a topical issue in recent years. This study suggests that not only do differences between genders exist in terms of their perceptions of discrimination in the workplace, balance between home and work but also there are differences developing between generations. How these “clashes” will play them out is anyone’s guess.

References

- Almquist, E.M. & S.S. Angrist. (1971). Role model Influences on College Women’s Career Aspirations. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 17, 263-279.
- Angrist, S. S. (1969). The Study of Sex Roles. *Journal of Social Issues*, 25, 215-232.
- Arthur, M. B. & D. M. Rousseau. (1996) *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principal for a New Organizational Era*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bakker, A.B. & S. A. Geurts (2004). Toward a Dual-process Model of Work-home Influence. *Work & Occupation*, 31, 3.
- Barnett, R.C., K.C. Gareis, J.B. James & J. Steel. (2003). Planning ahead: College seniors’ Concerns About Career-marriage Conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 62, 305-319.
- Bernard, J. (1974). *The Future of Motherhood*. New York: The Dial Press.
- Belkin, L. (2003). The Op-out Revolution. *New York Times*, October 26, 42+.
- Botkin, D. R. (2000). Changing Marriage Role Expectations: 1961-1996. *Sex Roles*. May.
- Buddhapriya, S. (2009) Work-Family Challenges and their Impact on Career Decisions: A Study of Indian Women Professionals. *Vikalpa*, 34,1, January-March, 31-45
- Chira, S. (2002). Woman’s work: Female Professional Wanting Kids? Wed Early, Sylvia Ann Hewlett says. *New York Times Book Review*, June.

- Cinamon, R. G. and Y. Rich. (2002). Gender Differences in the Importance of Work and Family Roles: Implications for Work-family Conflict. *Sex Roles*, 47, 11, 531.
- Cinamon, R. (2006) Anticipated Work –Family Conflict: Effects of Gender, Self-Efficacy and Background. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 54, March, 202-215
- Conlin, M. (2003). Unmarried America. *Business Week*, October 20, 106-116.
- Davey, F. H. (1998). Young Women's Expected and Preferred Patterns of Employment and Child Care. *Sex Roles*, Vol. 38, 1/2, 95-.
- Deam, J. (2002). To Have it All: Women are Realizing They're Not a Failure if They Don't. *Denver Post*, May.
- Deutch, C. (May 1, 2005). Behind the Exodus of Executive Women: Boredom. *New York Times*.
- deJanasz, S. & S. Behson (2007) Cognitive Capacity for processing work and family conflict: An initial examination. *Career Development International*, 12, 4, 397-411.
- Estes, S. B. & J.L. Glass. (1996). Job Changes Following Birth: are Women Trading Compensation for Family-responsive Work Conditions? *Work and Occupations*, 23, 405-436.
- Frone, M.R. (2003). Work-family Balance. In J.C. Quick & L.E. Tehide, (Eds.), *Handbook of Occupational Health Psychology*, 143-162. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Gibbs, N. (2002). Making time for a baby. *Time Magazine*, April 15.
- Gibbs, N. (2005). A female mid-life crisis? *Time Magazine*, May 16.
- Greenhaus, J. H. & G. N. Powell. (2004). When Work and Family are Allies: A Theory of Work-family Enrichment. *Academy of Management Annual Meeting*, New Orleans.
- Hewlett, S. A. (2002). *Creating a Life: Professional Women and the Quest for Children*. New York: Hyperion.
- Hoffnung, M. (2004). Wanting it all: Career, Marriage, and Motherhood During College-Educated Women's 20s. *Sex Roles*. May.
- Katz, M. H. & C. S. Piotrkowski (1983). Correlates of Family Role Strain Among Black Women. *Family Relations*. July, 331-339.
- Konrad, A. M., Y. Yang, C. B. Goldberg, & S. E. Sullivan. (2004). Preferences for Job Attributes Associated with Work and Family: A Longitudinal Study of Career Outcomes. *Academy of Management Annual Meeting*, New Orleans.
- Long, B. (1983). Evaluations and Intentions Concerning Marriage among Unmarried Female Undergraduates. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 119, 235-242.
- Longrigg, Clare. (2003). Women: Man Hunt: Women are Delaying Having a Baby until Their Late 30s – and Once Again Their Careers and Lifestyles are Being Blamed. But isn't it More about Finding the Right Relationship. *The Guardian*, Manchester (UK): Nov. 17, 8.
- Lynem, J. N. (2002). The Mother Load: Some who Delay Having Kids End Up Waiting Forever. *San Francisco Chronicle*. May 12.
- Pleck, J.H. (1985). *Working Wives, Working Husbands*. Beverly Hills CA: Sage Publishers.
- Powell, G. N. & J. H. Greenhaus. (2004). Is the Opposite of Positive Negative? The Relationship Between Work-Family Enrichment and Conflict", *Academy of Management Annual Meeting*, New Orleans.
- Powell, G. N. & L. M. Graves. (2003). *Women and Men in Management*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Raskin, P. (2006) Women, Work and Family: Three Studies of Roles and Identity Among Working Mothers. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, June, 49, 10, 1354-1381
- Rosell, M. C. & S. L. Hartman. (2001). Self-presentation of Beliefs about Gender Discrimination and Feminism. *Sex Roles*, 44, 647-659.
- Rummel, A & F. Viggiani (2003). Undergraduate Personal/Career Attitudes. *Proceedings*, Academy of Business Disciplines, Ft. Myers Beach, Florida.
- Stone, L. & N.P. McKee. (2000). Gendered futures: Student Visions of Career and Family on a College Campus. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 31, 67-89.
- Sullivan, S. E. (1999). The Changing Nature of Careers: A Review and Research Agenda. *Journal of Management*, 25, 3, 457.
- Tolbert, P. S. & P. Moen. (1998). Men's and Women's Definitions of 'Good Jobs'. *Work and Occupations*, 25, 2, 168-194.

Voydonoff, P. (1988). Women, Work, and family: Bernard’s Perspective on the Past, Present and Future. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 12, 269-280.

Weer, C. H., J. H. Greenhaus, S. N. Colakoglu, & S. Foley. (2004). The role of Gender, Maternal Employment, and Coping Strategies in College Students’ Expectations of Work-family Conflict. *Academy of Management Annual Meeting*, New Orleans.

Yogev, S. (1983). Judging the Professional Woman: Changing Research, Changing Values. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 7, 3, 219-234

Table 1

| | Male | Female |
|-------------------|------|--------|
| College Seniors | 129 | 91 |
| 15+ years working | 101 | 82 |
| Total | 230 | 173 |

Table 2

| Q | | YW | OW |
|----|--|------|-------|
| 1 | Although women were frequently denied jobs 50 years ago, it rarely happens today. | 3.74 | 3.56* |
| 2 | Women still need to work harder than men to achieve the same things | 4.46 | 4.72* |
| 3 | Although it is subtler than it used to be, women still experience discrimination. | 4.37 | 4.54 |
| 4 | Society no longer treats women as inferior to men. | 2.94 | 3.19 |
| 5 | Discrimination toward women is extensive and continues to be a widespread problem. | 3.54 | 3.39 |
| 6 | A man who has chosen to stay at home to be a house-husband is not less masculine than a man who is employed full-time. | 4.38 | 4.95* |
| 7 | The first duty of a woman with young children is to home and family. | 2.99 | 3.68* |
| 8 | A woman should not let child bearing and rearing children stand in the way of a career if she wants it. | 4.99 | 4.42* |
| 9 | An employed woman can establish as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who is not employed. | 4.72 | 4.58 |
| 10 | Access to education is a crucial part of gaining equal rights for women. | 5.18 | 5.28 |
| 11 | Although women make good leaders, men make better leaders. | 1.96 | 1.71 |
| 12 | Men and women should be able to freely make choices about their lives without being restricted by their gender. | 5.57 | 5.73 |
| 13 | Legislation is needed to insure that a woman can keep her job after she has a baby. | 4.77 | 4.64 |
| 14 | Women are already given equal opportunities with men in all important aspects of their lives. | 3.04 | 2.86 |
| 15 | Women have fewer choices available to them as compared to men. | 3.73 | 3.48* |
| 16 | If we leave well enough alone, eventually men and women will be treated fairly. | 2.79 | 2.48 |
| 17 | It is important to me to have children before I am 40 years old. | 4.46 | 3.99* |
| 18 | I do not face any conflict between my career goals and my personal goals. | 2.89 | 2.90 |
| 19 | I believe a woman can hold a high responsibility and be a successful mother at the same time. | 4.56 | 4.05* |
| 20 | Only one partner can have a successful career while the other stays home with the family. | 1.82 | 1.96 |
| 21 | A woman/man should sacrifice her/his career if she/he and their partner want children. | 2.13 | 2.14 |
| 22 | The corporate world should make allowances for a working man/woman with children. | 3.86 | 4.04 |
| 23 | Children do interfere with my job performance | 2.14 | 2.77* |
| 24 | I am worried that I might not be able to have children if I wait too long. | 2.87 | 4.03* |
| 25 | Any problems I encounter between my personal goals (children and partner) and my career goals will have worked themselves out. | 3.45 | 3.14* |
| 26 | Raising healthy children is more important to me in the future than having a successful career. | 3.62 | 3.72 |
| 27 | I believe it is possible to postpone my career goals to raise a family and re-enter the workforce successfully. | 3.03 | 2.94 |
| 28 | It is important to me that I work for an organization that supports my personal life goals. | 4.23 | 4.34 |
| 29 | Above all else, the most important issue in my life is having a very successful career. | 3.55 | 2.41 |

- *indicates significance less than $p=.05$
- Note: Questions 1-16, 6= strongly agree
- Note: questions 17-29, 5=strongly agree

Table 3

| Q | | WM | OM | YW | OW | Sig. |
|----|--|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 | Although women were frequently denied jobs 50 years ago, it rarely happens today. | 3.84 | 3.74 | 3.74 | 3.56 | |
| 2 | Women still need to work harder than men to achieve the same things | 3.42 | 3.60 | 4.46 | 4.72 | * |
| 3 | Although it is subtler than it used to be, women still experience discrimination. | 3.71 | 3.73 | 4.37 | 4.54 | * |
| 4 | Society no longer treats women as inferior to men. | 3.66 | 3.53 | 2.94 | 3.19 | |
| 5 | Discrimination toward women is extensive and continues to be a widespread problem. | 2.77 | 2.40 | 3.54 | 3.39 | |
| 6 | A man who has chosen to stay at home to be a house-husband is not less masculine than a man who is employed full-time. | 3.84 | 4.19 | 4.38 | 4.95 | |
| 7 | The first duty of a woman with young children is to home and family. | 3.68 | 3.35 | 2.99 | 3.68 | |
| 8 | A woman should not let child bearing and rearing children stand in the way of a career if she wants it. | 4.11 | 4.29 | 4.99 | 4.42 | |
| 9 | An employed woman can establish as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who is not employed. | 4.05 | 4.09 | 4.72 | 4.58 | |
| 10 | Access to education is a crucial part of gaining equal rights for women. | 4.56 | 4.69 | 5.18 | 5.28 | |
| 11 | Although women make good leaders, men make better leaders. | 3.75 | 2.66 | 1.96 | 1.71 | * |
| 12 | Men and women should be able to freely make choices about their lives without being restricted by their gender. | 5.07 | 5.29 | 5.57 | 5.73 | |
| 13 | Legislation is needed to insure that a woman can keep her job after she has a baby. | 4.28 | 3.87 | 4.77 | 4.64 | |
| 14 | Women are already given equal opportunities with men in all important aspects of their lives. | 3.82 | 3.69 | 3.04 | 2.86 | |
| 15 | Women have fewer choices available to them as compared to men. | 3.09 | 2.81 | 3.73 | 3.48 | |
| 16 | If we leave well enough alone, eventually men and women will be treated fairly. | 3.56 | 3.15 | 2.79 | 2.48 | |
| 17 | It is important to me to have children before I am 40 years old. | 4.35 | 3.96 | 4.46 | 3.99 | * |
| 18 | I do not face any conflict between my career goals and my personal goals. | 2.96 | 3.05 | 2.89 | 2.90 | |
| 19 | I believe a woman can hold a high responsibility and be a successful mother at the same time. | 3.91 | 4.02 | 4.56 | 4.05 | * |
| 20 | Only one partner can have a successful career while the other stays home with the family. | 2.26 | 2.08 | 1.82 | 1.96 | |
| 21 | A woman/man should sacrifice her/his career if she/he and their partner want children. | 2.66 | 2.59 | 2.13 | 2.14 | |
| 22 | The corporate world should make allowances for a working man/woman with children. | 3.48 | 3.34 | 3.86 | 4.04 | |
| 23 | Children do interfere with my job performance | 2.81 | 2.66 | 2.14 | 2.77 | * |
| 24 | I am worried that I might not be able to have children if I wait too long. | 2.69 | 4.09 | 2.87 | 4.03 | * |
| 9 | Any problems I encounter between my personal goals (children and partner) and my career goals will have worked themselves out. | 3.48 | 3.32 | 3.45 | 3.14 | * |
| 10 | Raising healthy children is more important to me in the future than having a successful career. | 3.72 | 3.95 | 3.62 | 3.72 | |
| 11 | I believe it is possible to postpone my career goals to raise a family and re-enter the workforce successfully. | 3.15 | 3.20 | 3.03 | 2.94 | |
| 12 | It is important to me that I work for an organization that supports my personal life goals. | 3.95 | 4.10 | 4.23 | 4.34 | |
| 13 | Above all else, the most important issue in my life is having a very successful career. | 3.54 | 2.47 | 3.55 | 2.41 | * |

- * indicates significance less than $p=0.05$
- Note : 5= strongly agrees