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RACE/ETHNICITY, FERTILITY INTENTIONS, AND WELL-BEING: THE IMPORTANCE OF OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN AMERICAN WOMEN'S LIVES

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ABSTRACT

Although research from the organizational and psychological fields suggests that many characteristics of occupations are related to various dimensions of well-being, there are several major limitations of previous studies. First, due to data limitations, research has typically examined only one characteristic at a time, or it has examined numerous characteristics of a specific occupation. Additionally, virtually all studies of the effects of occupational characteristics have relied on respondent's self-reports of their occupational characteristics, which can create bias. Despite decades of research on the negative relationship between women's employment and their relationship, virtually no studies have attempted to ascertain what it is about work, beyond work hours, that reduces fertility. Finally, despite knowledge that occupations are highly segregated by race/ethnicity, research has failed to examine how occupational characteristics might differ by race/ethnicity and that outcomes associated with working in occupations with specific characteristics may differ by race/ethnicity.

The studies presented here expand on prior studies by linking data from the Department of Labor's Occupational Information Network (O*NET) with the National Survey of Fertility and Infertility (NSFI). The O*NET is a database of over one hundred characteristics for nearly one thousand occupations. Randomly selected employees working in each occupation responded to standardized questionnaires regarding the characteristics of their occupations. The NSFI is a nationally-

representative sample of women between the ages of 25 and 45 that includes a number of variables related to fertility. Occupational characteristics of prestige, autonomy, supervising others, complexity, supportive workplace practices and policies, hazardous working conditions, routinization, and high interpersonal conflict from the O*NET were linked to NSFI respondents' occupations. This provides subjective assessments of occupational characteristics.

This study demonstrates that occupational characteristics differ by race/ethnicity, and several characteristics have implications for women's fertility intentions and ideals and individual well-being as assessed by life satisfaction. Many of the significant outcomes associated with occupational characteristics are moderated by race/ethnicity, indicating that minority women experience differential outcomes from White women. These findings suggest that occupational characteristics have an important role in the relationship between work and well-being for women, but not all women derive the same benefits or face the same negative consequences based on their occupational characteristics.

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INTRODUCTION

In contemporary society, work and family represent the two most important domains in the lives of working women. Although these domains are usually physically separate from one another, events occurring in one domain often affect events and behaviors in the other (Katz and Kahn 1978). As women's labor force participation and the proportion of dual-earner couples continue to increase, researchers have increasingly become interested in the ways that work impacts individual and family well-being (Perry-Jenkins et al. 2000). Much of the research in the work-family and sociological literature has focused largely on the effects of employment status and work hours, work-family conflict, and occupational segregation. However, research from the organizational and psychological fields suggests that certain characteristics about the specific jobs worked by individuals affect various family and individual well-being outcomes and must be considered in work-family research (Crouter et al. 2006; Parcel and Menaghan 1994).

Occupational Characteristics

Occupational characteristics refer to environmental conditions of the workplace and are widely thought to be related to employee attitudes and behavior (Spector and Jex 1991). Many studies were conducted in the 1970s and 1980s on the effects of occupational characteristics on employee behavior in the workplace, particularly after landmark works by Hackman and colleagues, who hypothesized that certain jobs have characteristics that make them more enriched. These enriched jobs

include characteristics such as autonomy (degree to which the job provides substantial freedom, independence, and discretion in how the employee does the job), skill variety (breadth of skills used at work), task identity (opportunity to complete an entire piece of work), and feedback (amount of information provided about the effectiveness of job performance), which in turn affect factors such as employee motivation in the workplace (Hackman and Lawler 1971; Hackman and Oldham 1976; Hackman et al. 1978). Thomas and Griffin (1983) furthered this theory by developing a framework of occupational characteristics, which suggests that 1) jobs are characterized by a number of different objective attributes; 2) employees perceive and react to these attributes; and 3) the presence of these attributes then affect outcomes such as affect and job performance.

A large body of literature has focused on how occupational characteristics affect individual well-being. These studies, which typically use employee self-reports of occupational characteristics, have revealed associations between a number of occupational characteristics and dimensions of well-being.

Occupational prestige is one of the most widely studied occupational characteristics in sociological research and the only characteristic in this study that does not refer to an environmental condition of the job. Although there are criticisms regarding the meaning and measurement of using prestige as an indicator of socioeconomic status or job condition (Wegener 1992), there is a high consensus in occupational prestige ranking among individuals located in different social positions, across different societal contexts, and over time (Blau and Duncan 1967; Hodge et. al

1964; Hodge et. al 1966; Treiman 1977). As an occupational characteristic, prestige is widely assumed to have positive implications for well-being. A study by Helms-Erikson and colleagues (2000) reveals that for women, outcomes may differ depending on gender role ideology and the importance of work. They found that occupational prestige is linked to lower levels of marital conflict and depression only for women who viewed themselves as co-providers for their families.

Autonomy refers to the degree of freedom that employees have in making job-related decisions. Research suggests that the autonomy that a worker has over work demands has a positive effect because it enables them to structure their job, which results in a greater balance between job and family demands (Greenhaus and Parasuraman 1986). Greater autonomy is associated with more opportunities in which to cope with stressful situations, which in turn reduces psychological distress (Jenkins 1991) and can have a lasting impact on health (Ganster and Schaubroeck 1991). Autonomy is usually found to be related to outcomes reflecting happiness or general positive affect, such as life satisfaction and lower levels of depression (Karasek 1979) and anxiety (Kohn 1969). Individuals working in jobs with higher autonomy report more positive self-evaluation, such as self-esteem and self-confidence (Hackman et al. 1978; Kohn 1969). Alternatively, Warr (1987) suggests that high levels of autonomy may be detrimental to mental health, since it implies uncertainty, difficulty in decision-making, and high responsibility.

An individual's power in the workplace is primarily based on his or her position in the organization. The feature of power in organizations is the ability to

control resources such as capital, things, and other people's work. Being "higher up" in the workplace is essentially related to power and the ability to control one's own work and the work of others. *Supervisory* positions offer control over the work process and control over others' work and increases both extrinsic rewards such as income and intrinsic rewards such as interpersonal recognition, which is related to positive well-being (Ross and Mirowsky 1996). Cross-cultural qualitative research has shown that Americans report significantly more incidents of low control at work when reporting job-related stressors (Liu et al. 2007). Recent research in Japan has found that lower levels of control in the job are significant predictors of suicide (Tsutsumi et al. 2007).

Complexity refers to the extent to which jobs provide employees with opportunities for stimulating and challenging responsibilities. One of the most researched occupational characteristic, complexity has been repeatedly linked to positive individual well-being. Individuals who work in more complex occupations experience high levels of intrinsic motivation, which in turn increases their creativity and self-efficacy (Shalley et. al 2004). Complexity is also related to higher life satisfaction, self-esteem, self-confidence, and lower anxiety (Caplan et al. 1975; Gardell 1971; Hackman and Lawler 1971; Kohn 1969; Kohn and Schooler 1973; Kornhauser 1965; Miller et al. 1979). Research has also found that working in occupations that are more complex benefits not only the individual, but his or her family as well; occupational complexity is positively linked to mothers' childrearing behaviors and children's home environment (Menaghan and Parcel 1991).

A number of *workplace policies and practices* intended to help workers balance a variety of work and life responsibilities while enhancing productivity have been implemented in many businesses in the past several decades (Meyer et al. 2001). A supportive workplace is believed to somewhat mitigate the negative effects of work on the family (see Greenhaus, 1988; Kline & Cowan, 1988). Workplace policies and support have been linked to positive work-to-family facilitation (Voydanoff 2004), which suggests there may be a positive effect on the family as well as the individual. Evidence suggests that workplace support is associated with positive outcomes for the employee regardless of whether or not an individual takes advantage of family-friendly policies (Grover and Crooker 1995).

Hazardous conditions in the workplace can create dangerous settings and, in turn, can negatively affect workers' health and well-being. A variety of hazardous conditions has been identified in the occupational health literature, which are often field-specific. For example, health care workers face hazards such as exposure to ionizing radiation, stress, injury, infectious agents, and chemicals (Moore and Kaczmarek 1990), while farm workers are exposed to hazards such as dangerous equipment, chemicals, and physical labor in extreme temperatures (Mobed et al. 1992). Working in hazardous conditions has been associated with a number of health risks. Among workers who report perceived exposures, health consequences as lung and respiratory problems and hearing impairment are the most common (Shilling and Brackbill 1987). Despite efforts by many firms to improve workplace health and safety, the U.S. workplace appears to be growing more, not less hazardous (Danna

and Griffin 1999). This appears to be due to structural changes in the economy such as the rapid implementation of new technology, a healthy economy pushing many companies to production capacity, increases in overtime to avoid hiring new permanent staff, and outsourcing (Danna and Griffin 1999).

Routinization refers to automaticity in behavior and as an occupational characteristic, is related to repetitive and predictable tasks (Perrow 1970). Employees working in routinized jobs have little personal discretion, use the same skills with great repetition, complete a small part of the overall work, and receive little feedback on their performance (Oldham 1996). Research on the effects of routinization has found that it exacerbates psychological distress (Miller et al. 1979) and reduces self-esteem (Gecas and Seff 1989). A test of gender differences of the effects of work characteristics revealed that women are even more vulnerable to the negative effects of routinization than men, which the researcher attributed to the differential vulnerability hypothesis: even though men and women are exposed to similar stressful working conditions and job demands, differences in the social environment result in women experiencing negative work conditions as more stressful (Roxburgh 1996).

Work stress has become a popular topic of both discussion and research, particularly in the organizational psychology field, where researchers have conducted studies designed to demonstrate relations between the work environment and health outcomes. These outcomes have been broadly defined and have included affective reactions such as job satisfaction, mental health, and physical health (Kahn and

Byosiere 1992). There is disagreement regarding measurement of stress in the workplace, however, since different occupations often have inherently different stressors, which makes it difficult to compare effects of stress across occupations (Glowinkowsky and Cooper 1985). A recent study by Narayanan and colleagues (1999) examined a number of potential stressors that could occur across all occupations and determined that *interpersonal conflict* was common across occupations and was a stressor for adults in all of the occupations that they examined, especially for women. Experiencing high interpersonal conflict is linked to negative well-being outcomes such as anxiety and anger (Fox and Spector 2006).

THE CURRENT STUDY

New Contributions

The current study is a comprehensive examination of the descriptive differences and family and individual outcomes associated with occupational characteristics. Specifically, I examine racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics, determine how these characteristics affect the employment/fertility relationship, and analyze how occupational characteristics are related to life satisfaction in a nationally-representative sample of women. Special attention is paid to the moderating effects of race/ethnicity and parity throughout the study. Dating back to Kohn's (1969) landmark research on occupational characteristics, a large number of studies have explored effects of a variety of occupational characteristics on

individual and family outcome variables. However, these studies typically face one or more limitations that the current study is able to overcome.

First, studies typically focus on only one occupational characteristic of interest. This limits the explanatory power of the models and likely fails to incorporate important occupational characteristics. Additionally, when studies do take into account multiple characteristics, they often analyze only characteristics of one occupation, such as nursing or teaching. While this provides useful information about several selected occupations, it is not applicable to analyzing representative samples with a large variety of occupations. The primary challenge researchers face when attempting to analyze the effects of occupational characteristics is measurement (Crouter et al. 2006). Most large surveys simply do not include detailed information about occupations and those that do might not include a large variety of outcome variables.

Additionally, most studies of job characteristics have relied almost exclusively on employee self-reports of their working conditions. However, the use of self-reports for occupational characteristics is questionable for a number of reasons. First, it is not clear the extent to which perceptions correlate with objective work conditions (Spector and Fox 2003). Critics have also pointed out problems of interpretation and causality of these reports (Aldag et al. 1981; Roberts and Glick 1981). While employee's own reports of their job characteristics reliably predict expected outcomes, it is also clear that employees who are more satisfied with their jobs report their characteristics more highly (Caldwell and O'Reilly 1982; Fried and Ferris 1987;

Loher et al. 1985). A causal study of the job characteristics/ job satisfaction relationship determined that characteristics are both the cause and consequence of job satisfaction (James and Tetrick 1986). Third, self-reports are subject to a number of biases, which include transient mood effects (Brief et al., 1995; Spector, 1992), trait affect or temperament (Brief et al., 1988), and by the attitudes, opinions, and perceptions of others, rather than just the nature of the job itself (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978).

One way to reduce the biases inherent in self reports of occupational characteristics is to aggregate ratings from individuals in the same occupations (Vahtera et al. 1996). This has the effect of reducing the variations in perceptions of jobs, which reduces the impact of biases caused by respondents (Jones and James 1979). Because employees' perceptions of job characteristics have been found to be influenced by job satisfaction, (Caldwell and O'Reilly 1982; O'Reilly and Caldwell 1979), life satisfaction (Keon and McDonald 1982), using aggregated data based on the reports of employees other than the individuals in the study eliminates the possibility of individual characteristics and perceptions influencing the measures of job characteristics. One source of aggregated data on occupational characteristics comes from documentary evidence associated with specific occupations. In the United States, the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT) and, more recently, O*NET databases allow researchers to match job titles to a number of job characteristics in an extensive database of job analyses (Roos and Treiman 1980, used by Spector and Jex 1991; Spector et al. 1995).

The current study overcomes these limitations by linking external data on occupational characteristics from O*NET databases created by the Department of Labor with data from a nationally representative RDD survey of women on family and (in)fertility issues that includes employment data in specific occupations and a number of psychosocial and fertility outcomes.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

With the rise of the dual-earner family, interest has grown regarding how individuals manage their multiple roles and how the domains of life affect each other. There are three basic theoretical models that predict the effects of work on other domains of life: 1) segmentation, which proposes that work and other domains of life are isolated from one another and thus do not affect each other (Dubin 1956); 2) compensation, in which individuals who feel a sense of deprivation in the workplace will seek to compensate with non-work activities (Wilensky 1960); and 3) spillover, which states that work experiences will carry over and affect non-work domains (Wilensky 1960). Although these theories are typically viewed as competing, some evidence suggests all three processes link work and life domains that they may overlap and even occur simultaneously (see Lambert 1990 for a review). Therefore, the analyses in this study attempt to identify when relationships of occupational characteristics and other domains operate under different processes in an effort to determine the circumstances under which a particular process predominates.

Segmentation

The segmentation model is the earliest theory of the work-life relationship and states that work and other domains of life are unrelated. Though most studies assume that work is related in some ways to nonwork domains such as the family, a few researchers have supported segmentation. Early studies on the work-life relationship applied this theory particularly to blue-collar occupations, which were viewed as uninvolving and unsatisfying and therefore workers would naturally keep work and home life separate (Blood and Wolfe 1960). More recent research assumes that if segmentation does occur, it is not a natural process; individuals may attempt to segment work and non-work domains. For example, when one domain is particularly stressful, psychological benefits such as less spillover of negative emotions may encourage segmentation (Edwards and Rothbard 2000; Hall and Richter 1988). Additionally, if differing expectations or norms exist regarding the domains of home and family, individuals may attempt to keep the domains segmented to better cope with the expectations (Hewlin 2003). Finally, segmentation may be a choice even when work and other domains of life are fulfilling; Rothbard et al. (2005) suggest that segmentation may be a choice that individuals make because it allows them to preserve and develop their nonwork lives more fully. Few studies have explicitly examined effects of occupational characteristics using the segmentation model. Hart (1999) is an exception and found no relationship between work characteristics and nonwork (comprised of factors such as marriage, health, family life, neighborhood, standard of living, etc.) satisfaction among Police Officers.

Compensation

The compensation model refers to a situation in which dissatisfactions in one domain are related to greater investment and satisfaction in the other domain (Lambert 1990). This theory is largely applied to workers in dissatisfying jobs who look to their families for satisfaction, particularly in studies of blue-collar occupations, but it might also explain why dissatisfaction at home can lead workers to become more involved at work (i.e., Hochschild 1997).

Spillover

The most popular view of the work-life relationship is that work roles impact individual and family well-being and *vice versa*. Numerous studies have examined spillover effects in the past decades. Previous research on spillover has particularly focused on demographic characteristics such as age, education, marital status, and presence of children, as well as employment variables such as job demands and workload and has largely found support for the spillover theory (Delgado and Canabal 2006). Application of the spillover theory in studies of occupational characteristics is limited, however, with a few notable exceptions. Melvin Kohn proposed that occupational characteristics such as complexity, supervision, and routinization shape attitudes regarding the social world, which in turn influences people's behaviors when they are not at work (Kohn 1969). Kohn and colleagues apply this model to their studies of the effects of work on family interactions (Kohn 1963; 1969; Kohn et al. 1990; Kohn and Schooler 1973; 1978; 1983), finding many significant relationships. Crouter (1984) found that when workers are required to

contribute to decision-making, they use their newly acquired skills at home to more effectively raise their children. More recently, Maume and Houston (2001) examined characteristics such as work hours, work flexibility, autonomy, and supportive workplace culture among white collar workers and found that women experience negative work-family spillover when they work long hours but that working in occupations with greater autonomy and supportive workplace cultures is related to reduced spillover for women.

The theoretical perspectives on the work-life relationship presented here provide the conceptual framework necessary to understand how occupational characteristics might influence non-work domains of women's lives, including family and individual well-being outcomes. The segmentation model suggests that occupational characteristics will not significantly predict non-work outcomes. If the segmentation model is correct, occupational characteristics should not affect fertility intentions and ideals or life satisfaction. The compensation model largely applies to situations where dissatisfactions in one domain encourage behavior or outcomes in another domain that make that domain more satisfying. Applied to the studies here, the compensation model suggests that working in occupations that are less satisfying might be related to greater fertility intentions and ideal number of children, and that working in less satisfying occupations might be related to higher life satisfaction due to the worker investing more in the non-work domain. The spillover model suggests that either negative or positive experiences or attitudes in one domain spill over into the other. The spillover model suggests that working in occupations with more

negative characteristics might be related to desiring fewer children and having lower intentions as well as lower life satisfaction.

Structural Constraints

Because this research examines racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics and in the outcomes of occupational characteristics, I also consider the perspective that structural constraints reduce life chances. Structural constraints refer to macro conditions such as inequalities in the social structure based on race and ethnicity, inequities in income distribution, changes in the economy, structuring of the welfare system, and economic structuring of low-skill jobs and locations of these jobs. Wilson (1996) found that the departure of middle-class residents from urban Chicago as well as the relocation of manufacturers to city outskirts eliminated blue-collar work and thereby chances for prosperity among inner-city dwellers; disadvantages and struggles for blacks were economically, thus structurally, imposed. There are several ways that the structural constraints perspective applies to research on occupational characteristics. Research on occupational segregation trends continues to find that segregation by race/ethnicity is quite high (Tomaskovic-Devey et al. 2006). In a study of low-skilled minority inner city dwellers, Holzer (1996) found three dominant reasons why minority, particularly African Americans, face structural inequalities in the paid labor market. First, jobs for which low-skilled African Americans are most qualified tend to be in the suburbs, which can be difficult to access due to lack of transportation. Second, employers favored hiring white applicants over minority applicants. Finally, most jobs available to low-skilled

workers required customer interaction, reading, writing, and math skills, as well as general work experience, references, and specialized training, which minority applicants are less likely to have than Whites (Holzer 1996). Because of occupational segregation and the factors behind it, the hypotheses in this dissertation consider that not only do occupational characteristics differ by race/ethnicity, the structural constraints faced by minorities might affect the work-family outcomes of occupational characteristics for Black and Hispanic women differently than occupational characteristics affect White women.

Chapter Structure

Chapter 2 describes the data and measures used in this study. Tables presenting the occupations scoring highest and lowest on the eight occupational characteristics, a correlation matrix of the occupational characteristics, and results from an exploratory factor analysis are provided in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 examines the work conditions experienced by women of differing race/ethnicity in the United States. Descriptive differences in occupational characteristics and the most common occupations by race/ethnicity are discussed. The key contribution of this chapter is an examination of how race/ethnicity is related to each occupational characteristic. Special attention is paid to the moderating effects of education and parity on the relationship. Chapter 4 continues the investigation into the relationship between occupational characteristics and fertility by examining how occupational characteristics are related to fertility intentions and ideals. Differences in intentions,

ideals, and occupational characteristics by parity are presented in a descriptive table. Multivariate regression analyses of the occupational characteristics on intentions and ideals are the primary focus of Chapter 4. Interactions between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity are estimated, and significant interaction tables and graphs are presented. The primary focus of Chapter 5 is the relationship between occupational characteristics and life satisfaction, with an emphasis on racial/ethnic differences. Descriptive statistics are presented by race/ethnicity, and a table of results of the regression models are presented. Interaction effects between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity are examined, and significant findings are presented in tables and charts.

CHAPTER 2:

DATA AND METHODS

The data for the following studies are drawn from two sources: the National Survey of Fertility and Infertility and the Occupational Information Network (O*NET). The measures in most of the analyses are operationalized the same across the three studies, so the data sources and measures are described here. There are a few minor differences, however, so each chapter contains a section describing these differences.

THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF FERTILITY AND INFERTILITY (NSFI)

One source of data for this study come from a large (n = 2,576) random digit dialing (RDD) survey of women and their partners designed to enable family researchers to examine a number of family issues, especially infertility, and a variety of psychosocial outcomes. Data were collected from Fall 2004 to Spring 2006. The sample is nationally representative, with an oversample of minority respondents and people with infertility problems. Approximately 42% of respondents are members of racial/ethnic minority groups. Advantages of using this dataset for these studies are that open-ended responses regarding employment allow for detailed occupational coding, and the recency of the data collection provides current information regarding women's employment and related variables such as employment status, occupation, importance of work, and work satisfaction. Because of the dissertation focus on effects of occupational characteristics, analyses in this dissertation restricted the

sample to women who were employed either full-time (at least 35 hours/week) or part-time (less than 35 hours/week). In addition, the sample was restricted to women who are White, Black, or Hispanic, due to the size (n = 63) and diversity of the "other race" category (39% are Asian, 27% are American Indian or Alaskan Native, 11% are Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and the remaining 22% reported "some other race"). These restrictions limit the sample to 1736.

OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION NETWORK (O*NET)

The research questions examined require detailed information regarding the characteristics of respondents' jobs. To measure these occupational characteristics, I will be utilizing the Occupational Information Network, or O*Net. O*Net was developed by the Department of Labor to replace the outdated Directory of Occupational Titles and was first released in 1998. O*Net is continually updated on skill requirements and job characteristics for over 950 jobs in the United States and is available online (http://online.onetcenter.org/) as a resource for jobseekers, students, guidance counselors, employees, and researchers (Peterson 2001).

Data collection for O*NET was conducted using a two-stage design; first, a random sample was drawn of businesses expected to employ workers in the targeted occupations; then, a random sample of workers in those occupations within the businesses were asked to respond to standardized questionnaires. These questionnaires contain a large set of items measuring the workers' reports of the characteristics that define their jobs. The primary strength of O*NET for research

purposes is the rich information provided about job characteristics. O*NET provides hundreds of occupational characteristics on a wide range of topics such as skills and knowledge, physical demands, and workplace environment. The present study will restrict the focus to several occupational characteristics that are conceptually related to fertility decisions and that have been found by previous research to impact dimensions of well-being such life satisfaction.

MEASURES

Independent Variables

Although occupational characteristics are treated as dependent variables in a descriptive study of women's work experiences, the primary purpose of this dissertation project is to determine various outcomes of working in occupations with certain characteristics. With the exception of the descriptive study, eight measures of occupational characteristics, from the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) are included in these studies as the primary independent variables. These characteristics are aggregated at the occupational level and, with the exception of supportive workplace policies and prestige, are scales. Items for the scales were chosen based on factor loadings reported in the O*NET tutorial by Crouter and colleagues (2006) as well as previous research on occupational characteristics. The survey questions and response options for the items used on O*NET are presented in Appendix A. With the exception of the occupational characteristics, all other

variables in the study are from NSFI data. The survey questions and response options for the items used from the NSFI are presented in Appendix B.

Occupational prestige. Occupational prestige is a variable calculated by the Department of Labor and is based on four criteria: workers have opportunity for advancement, workers receive recognition for the work they do, workers on this job give directions and instructions to others, and the extent to which workers on this job are looked up to by others in their company and community. Scores are based on the mean of the four criteria and range from 1 to 5, with 5 representing the highest occupational prestige.

Autonomy. Occupations with high levels of autonomy allow employees to work on their own and make decisions. Autonomy is a scale comprised of three items with a Cronbach's alpha reliability of .96. Respondents were asked on a scale from 1 to 5 (*no freedom* to *a lot of freedom*) the extent they are allowed to try out their own ideas, make decisions on their own, and plan their work with little supervision.

Supervising others. The extent to which an occupation provides opportunities to supervise others is measured by a six-item scale and includes items on coordinating the work and activities of others, developing and building teams, training and teaching others, guiding and directing subordinates, coaching and developing others, and providing consultation and advice to others. The alpha reliability for the scale was .76.

Occupational complexity. The construct of occupational complexity was created from a scale of five items provided by O*Net including decision making and

solving problems, updating and using relevant knowledge, developing strategies or objectives, scheduling work and activities, and organizing, planning, and prioritizing work. The Cronbach's alpha for scale reliability was .92.

Routinization. This scale is comprised of three items, including the importance of repeating the same tasks, degree of automation and pace determined by the speed of equipment. Alpha reliability was .65. Responses ranged from 1 to 5 such as 1 = no automation and 5 = completely automated "How automated is your current job?" or 1 = not important at all to 5 = extremely important: "How important to your current job are continuous, repetitive activities (like key entry) or mental activities (like checking entries in a ledger)?"

Hazardous working conditions. Hazardous working conditions is a scale comprised of six items: frequency of exposure to hazardous equipment, hazardous conditions, contaminants, disease, uncomfortable noise levels, and very hot or cold temperatures. Cronbach's alpha reliability was .73. Respondents were asked on a scale from 1 = never to 5 = every day questions regarding their working conditions such as "In your current job, how often are you exposed to contaminants (such as pollutants, gases, dust, or odors)?"

High conflict. The scale representing high conflict working conditions is comprised of three items: frequency of conflict situations, extent to dealing with angry or unpleasant people, and extent of dealing with aggressive people. Alpha reliability was .80. Respondents were asked on a scale from 1 = *never* to 5 = *every day* questions such as "How often are conflict situations a part of your job?"

Supportive workplace. Workplace support is a one-item variable from O*Net which asks respondents, "In your job, how supportive are the workplace policies and the administration of the policies? Responses range from 1 (Not supportive) to 5 (Very supportive).

Race/Ethnicity. Respondents' reports of their racial/ethnic identities were included in the studies as a set of dummy variables representing Black, Hispanic, and White as the reference category. Because respondents could select more than one race/ethnicity during the survey, race/ethnicity was coded so that a respondent reporting White and either Black or Hispanic was included in the study as the minority race/ethnicity, whereas someone reporting all three races/ethnicities was coded as Hispanic. Black and Hispanic was coded as Hispanic.

Dependent Variables

For the analyses conducted in Chapter 3, the occupational characteristics listed above were the dependent variables. *Fertility intention* and *fertility ideal* were the dependent variables in Chapter 4. *Life satisfaction* was the dependent variable in Chapter 5.

Fertility Intention: Fertility intention is a continuous variable and was coded from two questions. Respondents were first asked, "Do you intend to have a baby?" Those who answered "Yes" to the intent question were then asked: "In your case, how sure are you that you will have a child: very sure, pretty sure, not very sure?" Those who answered "No" were asked: "In your case, how sure are you that you will

not have a child: very sure, pretty sure, not very sure?" Responses were coded as an ordinal variable ranging from 1 "very sure, do not intend" to 7 "very sure, intend." Following Thomson's (1997) reasoning, this intentionally leaves a larger distance between 3 and 5, those who intended and those who did not intend but were not sure about intentions, than between intentions in the same direction but with varying levels of certainty.

Number of Children Desired. Ideal number of children is a one-item measure that asked respondents, "If you yourself could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would you choose?" Responses were coded into an interval variable from 0 to 4, with 4 including respondents who reported choosing 4 or more children. This variable allows for comparisons with previous research on the ideal number of children, such as studies using the General Social Survey (Hagewen and Morgan 2005).

Life satisfaction. Life satisfaction is assessed using four items from the "Satisfaction with Life Scale" (Diener et al. 1985) which include: 1) In most ways, my life is close to ideal; 2) I am satisfied with my life; 3) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing; and 4) So far, I have gotten the important things out of life. The items were coded so that high scores indicate high life satisfaction. Factor analysis of the SWLS variables in the current study revealed a single factor model accounting for 69% of the variance, which suggests that the SWLS measures a single dimension of life satisfaction. The factor loadings for the four scale items are .84,

.86, .80 and .84. The item-to-total correlations for the items are .85, .78, .82 and .80. In the present study, Cronbach's alpha reliability was .85.

Control Variables

All control variables come from the National Survey of Fertility and Infertility. *Age*, *education*, *union status*, *work status*, *importance of work*, *religiosity*, *importance of parenthood*, *traditional ideology*, and *parity* were included as controls in all three analytic chapters. The inclusion of other control variables in certain chapters is noted below in the measurement descriptions.

Demographic characteristics

The analyses included controls for a number of demographic characteristics. *Age* is centered around the mean age of the women in the sample (35.18). An additional age variable was created by squaring the centered age variable and included in models to test for curvilinear effects of age. If no effects were found, *age squared* was subsequently dropped from all models.

The two measures of socioeconomic status in this study are education and household income. *Education* is an interval variable measured in years representing years of schooling. *Household income* is a categorical variable where 1 = under $5,000; 2 = $5,000 to $9,999; 3 = $10,000 to $14,999; 4 = $15,000 to $19,999; 5 = $20,000 to $24,999; 6 = $25,000 to $29,999; 7 = $30,000 to $39,999; 8 = $40,000 to $49,999; 9 = $50,000 to $59,999; 10 = $60,000 to $74,999; 11 = $75,000 to $100,000; and 12 = $100,000 or more. Household income was included in analyses

for Chapters 4 and 5, but not Chapter 3 due to possible problems of causal ordering of the income and occupational characteristics.

Union status was coded into dummy variables: *married*, *cohabiting*, and *no partner in the household* as the reference category. *Relationship length* was included in analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 and is a continuous variable representing years. *Relationship satisfaction* was included in analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 as a standardized index based on five items regarding the respondents' attitudes about their overall satisfaction, sexual satisfaction, whether they had ever thought their relationship was in trouble, did they feel that way currently, and had they ever discussed ending the relationship with their partners. *Social Support*, included in Chapter 5, is an index referring to the degree of support the respondent feels and includes four items asking whether the respondent has someone who could give her good advice, helpful information, share her most private worries and thoughts with, and whether the respondent has someone whose advice she wants.

Work status was coded into dummy variables for *part-time* (between 0 and 35 hours a week) and *full-time* (over 35 hours per week) as the reference category. A dichotomous variable representing *poor health* was included in analyses in Chapter 5. Parity is a set of dummy variables representing the number of children the respondent had given birth to which includes *one child*, *two children*, *three children or more*, and *no children* as the reference category.

Ideological Variables

Work satisfaction was included in analyses in Chapters 4 and 5, but was excluded from analyses in Chapter 3 due to concerns about causal ordering. Work satisfaction is a dichotomous variable where 1 represents very satisfied or satisfied and 0 represents a little dissatisfied and dissatisfied with the job.

Importance of work is also a dichotomous variable that asked respondents how important it was to them to be successful at work; 1 = very important or important, and 0 = somewhat important or not important.

Religiosity is a scale based on four items: 1) "How often do you attend religious services?" 2) "How often do you pray?" 3) "How close do you feel to God most of the time?" and 4) "In general, how much do religious beliefs influence your life?" Because the items did not have equal numbers of responses, they were first coded into z-scores and then added together to create a scale (alpha = .84).

Importance of parenthood is assessed by a four-item scale that draws from Andrews et al.'s (1991) scale, "Rejecting a Childfree Lifestyle." Respondents were asked how strongly they agree to the following statements: 1) "Having children is important to my feeling complete as a woman"; 2) "I always thought I'd be a parent"; 3) "I think my life will be or is more fulfilling with children"; and 4) "It is important for me to have children." Cronbach's alpha reliability for the scale is .72.

Gender role ideology is a two-item index. Respondents were asked how much they agreed with the following statements: "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family"

and "If a husband and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally." Items were coded so that high scores represent more traditional (vs. egalitarian) gender role ideology.

Missing Data

The amount of missing data varied across the study variables, but generally constituted fewer than 3% of cases, with the exceptions of occupational characteristics (9.1%) and income (5.9%). To make full use of available data and minimize power loss, missing data were imputed using the expectation maximization (EM) method in SPSS. EM is a full information method of imputing missing values that uses an iterative procedure to sort through data and fit the best values (Acock 1997.

Weights

Data for the sample were weighted to match the demographic characteristics of women in the United States aged 25-45 based on the 2005 Current Population Survey March Demographic Supplement. The demographic characteristics used for adjustments included age, educational attainment, marital status, metropolitan residence, region of the country, and race/ethnicity. Because one group of respondents (those who had had at least one child, had no plans for additional children, and did not report ever having had a fertility problem) had been sampled at $1/5^{th}$ the rate of the other women, an additional weight of 5 was applied to this group,

and women not meeting these characteristics were assigned a weight of 1. The weights were calculated using the SAS IHB Raking macro, which uses an iterative algorithm to create weights that match the percentage distributions on the sample and population characteristics (Battalia et al. 2004).

Table 2.1: Descriptive Statistics of Occupational Characteristics

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Skewness *(SE=.06)*	Kurtosis *(SE=.12)*
Prestige	2.90	0.57	1.46	4.06	-0.57	-0.10
Autonomy	9.28	2.41	4.37	14.11	-0.17	-1.03
Supervisory	16.65	3.37	6.16	27.13	0.04	-0.20
Complexity	16.47	2.71	6.66	21.85	-0.69	0.20
Supportive workplace	3.37	0.47	1.25	4.62	-1.01	0.96
Hazardous	11.84	2.98	6.44	23.90	0.94	0.88
Routinization	6.98	1.24	4.04	10.91	0.17	-0.26
High conflict	8.07	1.34	4.93	13.90	0.33	1.05

N = 1736

Analyses

Table 2.1 presents the descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum score, skewdness, and kurtosis) for each occupational characteristic. Prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supportive workplace are skewed to the left, while hazardous, routinization, and high conflict characteristics are skewed to the right. Examining the degree of clustering around the mean (kurtosis) reveals that autonomy and routinization scores are clustered less, while supportive workplace, hazardous conditions, and high conflict scores are clustered more. The variation from a normal distributions of each of these measures is small, however, as the measures of skewness and kurtosis are within + or – 1.00. Examination of the histograms found

no further departures from nonmormality nor and outliers. Figures 2.1 to 2.3 show the histograms for the characteristic with the most normal distribution (supervisory roles), the most skewed (supportive workplace) and the measure with the most kurtosis (autonomy).

Figure 2.1: Histogram of Occupational Supervisory Roles

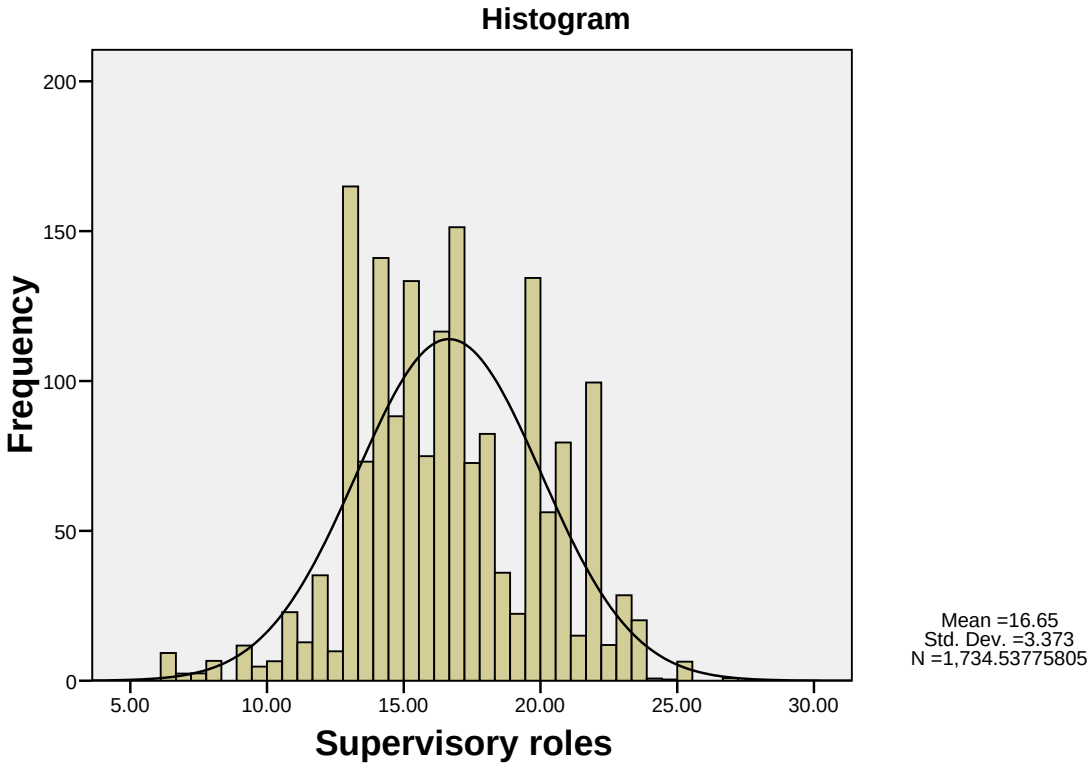


Figure 2.2: Histogram of Supportive Workplace Policies and Practices

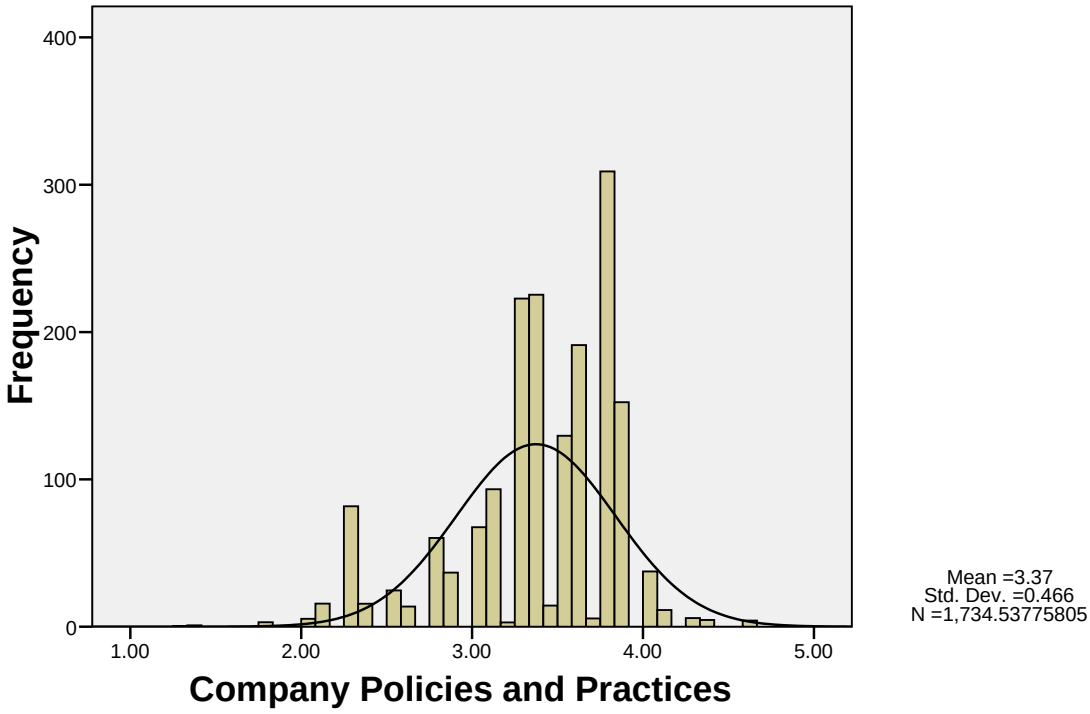


Figure 2.3: Histogram of Occupational Autonomy

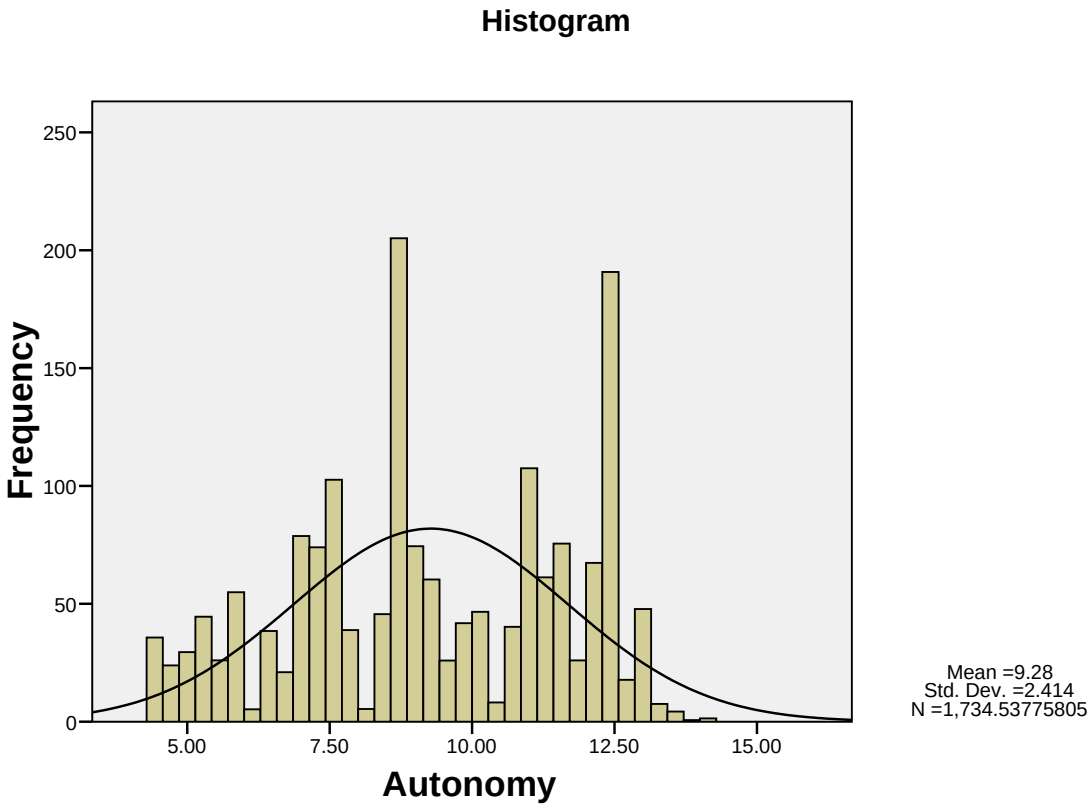


Table 2.2 presents the occupations in the sample that emerged as having the highest and lowest values on the eight occupational characteristics in the study. Seeing the actual occupations behind the characteristics helps them come to life. Women with the highest exposure to hazardous conditions in the study, for example, are furnace/kiln/oven operators, emergency medical technicians/paramedics and fire fighters.

Table 2.2: Occupations Scoring Highest and Lowest on Occupational Characteristics

	Occupations	
	Highest scores	Lowest scores
Prestige	Surgeons	Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners
	Physicians	Janitors
	Program Directors	Bartenders
Autonomy	Clinical psychologists	Nursing Aides, Orderlies, and Attendants
	Physicians	Order Fillers (Wholesale and Retail Sales)
	Lawyers	Hand Packers and Packagers
Supervisory	Coaches and scouts	Agricultural Graders and Sorters
	Education Administrators	Data Entry Keyers
	Human Resources Managers	Construction Laborers
Complexity	Speech Language Pathologists	Food servers
	Education Administrators	Floor Sanders and Finishers
	Financial Analysts	Painters
Supportive policies	Bus Drivers	Farmers and Ranchers
	Computer Systems Analysts	Animal Breeders
	Airline Pilots	Landscaping and Groundskeeping Workers
Routinization	Medical Transcriptionists	Dieticians and Nutritionists
	Package/Machine Operators	Medical and Public Health Social Workers
	Dispatchers	Animal Trainers
Hazardous	Furnace, Kiln, Oven Operators	Public Relations Specialists
	Emergency Medical Technicians and Paramedics	Legal Secretaries
	Municipal Fire Fighters	Accountants
High conflict	Correctional Facility Managers	Craft Artists
	Correctional Officers and Jailers	Massage Therapists
	Police Patrol Officers	Curators

Correlation Matrix

A correlation matrix of the occupational characteristics variables is presented in Table 2.3. Results indicate that prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity are highly correlated (>.60), indicating problems of multicollinearity. Prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity are all negatively correlated with routinization and razardous working conditions and positively correlated to supportive workplace policies and practices and high interpersonal conflict.

Table 2.3: Correlation Matrix of Occupational Characteristics

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Prestige	1.000							
2. Supportive policies	0.389 **	1.000						
3. Autonomy	0.890 **	0.252 **	1.000					
4. Supervisory	0.607 **	0.126 **	0.595 **	1.000				
5. Complexity	0.721 **	0.246 **	0.702 **	0.727 **	1.000			
6. Routinization	-0.264 **	0.153 **	-0.421 **	-0.445 **	-0.297 **	1.000		
7. Hazardous	-0.278 **	-0.454 **	-0.218 **	0.092 **	-0.092 **	-0.182 **	1.000	
8. High conflict	0.131 **	-0.145 **	0.048 *	0.345 **	0.154 **	-0.145 **	0.316 **	1.000

Note: **p<.01; *p<.05 (two-tailed)

Supportive workplace practices and policies is highly negatively correlated with hazardous working conditions and shows positive correlations with autonomy, routinization, supervising others, and somplexity and a negative correlation with high interpersonal conflict. Routinization has a significant correlations with high interpersonal conflict work (negative) and hazardous working conditions (positive). Hazardous conditions is positively related to high interpersonal conflict.

Factor Analysis

Because of high statistical and conceptual interrelatedness among the eight O*NET items in the following studies, an exploratory factor analysis (principal components analysis with Kaiser criterion set to eigenvalue > 1) was conducted on these variables using orthogonal rotation (i.e. Varimax). As can be seen in Table 2.4, the analysis revealed a four-factor solution with a strong first factor (eigenvalue = 3.07) and three additional factors (eigenvalues = 1.57, 1.10, and 1.04). Consistent with Tabachnik and Fidell's (2001) criteria for "very good" factor loadings, items with a loading of > .55 are included in the resulting factors. Four items had loadings greater than .55 on the first factor, and a difference greater than .30 in loading on the other factors. These include items that are typically associated with occupations that have high intrinsic and extrinsic benefits for the employee: prestige, autonomy, supervision (of others), and complexity. The mean of the items that loaded on each factor were used to create scale scores. As noted by Comrey and Lee (1992), this approach is acceptable for exploratory studies such as this, given the fairly simple

Table 2.4: Exploratory Factor Analysis of Occupational Characteristics

Items	Professional	Supportive/ Low Hazard	Routinized	High Conflict
Prestige	**0.86**	0.34	-0.12	0.05
Autonomy	**0.85**	0.22	-0.30	-0.08
Supervisory	**0.80**	-0.09	-0.20	0.31
Complexity	**0.92**	0.04	-0.01	0.05
Supportive policies	0.24	**0.80**	0.20	0.05
Low hazard	0.02	**0.85**	-0.02	-0.26
Routinization	-0.27	0.15	**0.93**	-0.07
High conflict	0.11	-0.15	-0.06	**0.96**
Eigenvalues	3.07	1.57	1.04	1.10
% of variance explained by factor	38.42	19.63	13.05	13.76
Cronbach's alpha	0.91	0.63		

Note: Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

factor structure of the solution and the high degree of similarity in variance across items. The resulting four-item scale has a reliability alpha of .91. Due to the types of jobs that typically score high on these characteristics, this scale is termed, "Professional." The second factor had two items with loadings higher than .55: Supportive workplace practices and policies and Low hazard working conditions. The resulting scale has a reliability alpha of .63 and is termed, "Supportive/Low hazard." The final two factors are single item. "Routinized" and "High conflict" each had one item (routinization and high conflict) with a factor loading higher than .55 (.93 and .96, respectively).

Analyses conducted in Chapter 3 include occupational characteristics as dependent variables; therefore, they are not combined into factors for the purpose of that study. In Chapters 4 and 5, however, occupational characteristics are the primary

independent variables of the analyses. Occupational prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory roles are combined to create the "Professional" factor. Routinization and high conflict are included in Chapters 4 and 5 as single indicators. Because the factor of supportive workplace and low hazardous conditions is confusing and not theoretically supported, the occupational characteristic of supportive workplace practices and policies is dropped from analyses. The variable representing hazardous workplace conditions is included alone in the analyses for Chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 3:

RACIAL/ETHNIC AND PARITY EFFECTS ON OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter presents an initial exploration into racial/ethnic differences in women's work conditions. Researchers have long been interested in women's labor force trends and occupational segregation by both gender and race/ethnicity. Studies have largely focused on overall patterns of women's employment status and type of occupation and changes in these patterns over time (Tomaskovic-Devey et al. 2006). Beyond a basic conclusion that inequality between men and women and minorities and Whites continues to exist, however, these studies largely fail to explain how inequality manifests itself in terms of differential experiences in the workplace. Due to the racial/ethnic differences in occupational segregation, it is expected that occupational characteristics will differ by race/ethnicity as well.

One of the most significant predictors of women's employment is childbearing. Childbearing has a negative effect on women's employment status; women with children are more likely to work part-time or leave the workplace altogether than women without children (Budig 2003). Women with children who remain in full-time employment also face differential outcomes, such as lower pay, from women without children. A landmark study by Budig and England (2001) revealed that mothers earn 7 percent less per child than non-mothers. Though some of the differential is explained by fewer years spent in the paid labor force, the

majority of the "motherhood wage-penalty" is explained by discrimination from employers and lower productivity of mothers. Budig and England's research highlights the importance of considering parity in studies of the effects of children on employment. This chapter adds to the literature by exploring whether mothers versus non-mothers work in jobs with significantly different characteristics.

The first part of the chapter provides a descriptive look at racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics. Mean differences in occupational characteristics by race/ethnicity are tested for significance, and the most common occupations worked by women in the sample are reported by race/ethnicity. The second part of the chapter examines racial/ethnic differences in each of the eight occupational characteristics included in this study. Parity is incorporated to determine how motherhood is related to occupational characteristics. The third part of the chapter explores the moderating effects of race/ethnicity and parity on occupational characteristics in an effort to determine if White, Black, and Hispanic women experience differential occupational characteristics depending on their motherhood status.

BACKGROUND

Trends in Female Labor Force Participation

Women's labor force participation has grown dramatically in the last several decades. Merely a few decades ago, women were primarily responsible for the home, but now the majority of women work (Spain and Bianchi 1996). According to Jacobs

and Gerson (2001), as women have moved into the paid labor force, the most common family type has shifted from breadwinner-homemaker (51.4 percent in 1970) to dual-earner (59.9 percent in 1997). This change is especially dramatic for mothers with children living in the home. Hayghe (1997) found that 63.9 percent of women with children under age six, and 78.3 percent of women with children ages six though seventeen were in the paid labor force in 1997.

While there has been a general trend of increasing female labor force participation in the second half of the 20th century, the rates and types of employment differ by race/ethnicity. Historically, Black women in the United States had much higher rates of employment than white women, but the rates converged around 1980 at about 47 percent. Both groups had higher employment than Mexican (44 percent) and Puerto Rican (35 percent) women, although Cuban women had higher rates (51 percent) (Smith and Tienda 1988). In recent years, however, white women, particularly those with higher education, have been more likely to work for pay than Black or Hispanic women (England et al. 2004).

Racial/Ethnic Trends in Occupational Segregation

Though there has been a considerable amount of research conducted on sex segregation in the labor market, much less is known about racial differentials, particularly beyond Black-White comparisons (Tomaskovic-Devey et al. 2006). In one of the most comprehensive studies of Black-White segregation, King (1992) demonstrated that for women, occupational segregation declined at rates of 2.9% and

1.5% per year between 1960 and 1980 for women and men, respectively and that the decline appeared to be flattening in the 1980s. Segregation rates for Hispanic women and men also declined substantially during the 1970s, but actually increased during the 1980s and 1990s (Catanzarite 2003; Queneau 2005). The largest declines in occupational segregation occurred in the 1970s when regulatory enforcement was highest (Bergmann 1996).

Recent research shows that minorities continue to be segregated into certain types of employment. In 2002, both Blacks and Hispanics were underrepresented in higher-paying occupations and overrepresented in lower-paying occupations. The segregation is most extreme for Hispanics, who are less likely to be in higher-paying and more likely to be in lower-paying occupations than Blacks (Queneau 2005). Today, Black women are significantly underrepresented in the private sector and overrepresented in public sector and nonprofit occupations (Burbridge 1994).

Effects of Fertility on Women's Employment

For the past several decades, scholars have been interested in the negative relationship between women's employment and fertility. Causal research has shown that a relationship exists in both directions; having children reduces women's employment (both full- and part-time), and participation in the paid labor force is related to having fewer children (Budig 2003). Despite the interest in how fertility affects women's employment status, scholars largely have not examined the possibility that women with children might work in occupations that are different than

the occupations that women without children work in. One notable exception is Budig and England's (2001) study on the motherhood wage penalty, which included an analysis on whether mothers are more likely to work at "family-friendly" jobs than non-mothers. They did not find a significant effect of motherhood on working "family-friendly" jobs. However, there are reasons to believe that women with children might work in occupations that are different from those worked in by women without children for the same reasons that mothers receive lower wages than non-mothers. Mothers might work in occupations that provide lower external and internal benefits because they 1) have less work experience due to being out of the paid labor force for a time after childbirth(s); 2) are less productive at work; 3) make trade-offs for jobs that are more mother-friendly; and 4) are discriminated against by employers (see Budig and England 2001 for an application of these possibilities to the study of the motherhood wage penalty).

Racial/Ethnic Differences in Occupational Characteristics

Understanding racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics and their relationships with other factors such as family size is critical to the study of racial/ethnic inequality in the workplace because occupational characteristics have been linked to numerous dimensions of well-being. Studies of occupational characteristics typically have not described who is likely to work in occupations with specific characteristics, although Delgado and Canabal (2006) examined the effects of several employment and occupational characteristics on family outcomes for Non-

Latino Whites and Latinos. They found that work hours, supervisor support, job pressure, and autonomy significantly affect the family for both groups, while workplace culture is only significant for Whites. Failing to account for racial/ethnic differences in actual experiences encountered in the workplace understates the effects of occupational segregation (Filer 1993; Zalokar 1990).

Theoretical Framework

Structural constraints refer to macro conditions such as inequalities in the social structure based on race and ethnicity, inequities in income distribution, changes in the economy, structuring of the welfare system, and economic structuring of low-skill jobs and locations of these jobs. The hypotheses in this chapter utilize this framework, and I assume that occupational characteristics differ by race/ethnicity because Blacks and Hispanics are not occupationally segregated into the same types of jobs as Whites. Because of geographic segregation and discrimination, I posit that even if all women had equal levels of education, there would still be significant differences in occupational characteristics. Additionally, I draw from the spillover model of work-life interaction and posit that the number of children a woman has affects her occupational characteristics. Although causality between occupation and parity occurs in both directions (Budig and England 2001), I am not attempting to ascertain causality; I merely hope to determine whether occupational characteristics differ by parity.

HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: Occupational characteristics differ by racial/ethnic group.

Hypothesis 2: Disparities in educational attainment do not account for the racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics.

Hypothesis 3: There is a moderating effect of race/ethnicity and education on occupational characteristics.

Hypothesis 4: There is a moderating effect of race/ethnicity and parity on occupational characteristics.

DATA AND METHODS

Analytic Strategy

In the current study, the sample was restricted to employed White, Black, and Hispanic Women who participated in the first wave of the National Survey of Fertility and Infertility (*n* = 1736). The three groups compared in these analyses are White women (n = 1083), Black women (n = 382), and Hispanic women (n = 262). Data on occupational characteristics was provided by the Occupational Information Network, or O*Net, and linked to the occupations of the women in the National Survey of Fertility and Infertility. The plan of analyses involved a two-step strategy. In the first step, a series of ordinary least squares regression analyses examined the relationships between race/ethnicity and parity on the occupational characteristics. The first model of the analyses included only race/ethnicity. The second model included control variables with the exception of education to ascertain if the relationship between race/ethnicity and each occupational characteristic is spurious. The third model included education with control variables to assess whether

racial/ethnic disparities in education explain the racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics. The second step involved estimating interactions between race/ethnicity and education and race/ethnicity and parity to determine if the educational attainment or number of children a woman has condition the racial/ethnic effects on occupational characteristics.

Dependent Variable

The occupational characteristics of prestige, autonomy, complexity, supervisory, workplace support, routinization, hazardous, and high conflict working conditions were included in the analyses as dependent variables (the measurement of these occupational characteristics are described in more detail in Chapter 2).

Independent and Control Variables

Numerous variables related to individual demographic and ideological characteristics were included in the models. Race/ethnicity was coded into dummy variables for White (reference category), Black, and Hispanic. Parity was also included as a set of dummy variables representing "no children" (reference category), one child, two children, and three or more children. Age was centered at it's mean in the regression analyses, and both age and a squared term for age (to test for curvilinear effects of age) were included in the models, although the squared term was dropped if non-significant. Education is a continuous variable representing years of schooling. Union status was coded into a dummy variables with no partner in the household as a reference category along with married and cohabiting. A measure of part- or full-time work status was included with part-time coded 1 and full-time coded

0. Ideological variables measuring the importance of work, religiosity, parenthood, and traditional gender ideology were also included in the models. Previous research has found that occupational characteristics predict income (for example, see Sloane and Theodossiou 1996), so due to the causal effects of occupational characteristics on household income, income was not included in the analyses in this chapter.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics of the study variables are presented in Table 3.1 separately by race/ethnicity. ANOVA tests were conducted between each racial/ethnic minority group and Whites to determine any significant differences in occupational characteristics and demographic and ideological variables. Results revealed that Black and Hispanic women worked in occupations with significantly different characteristics than White women, with the exception of the occupational characteristic of a supportive workplace in terms of policies and practices. Black and Hispanic women were significantly less likely than White women to work in occupations with characteristics that are typically viewed as being more positive, such as prestige, autonomy, supervisory roles, and complexity. Black women were more likely to work in more routinized and high conflict occupations than White women, while Hispanic women were significantly more likely to work in occupations that are more hazardous.

Table 3.1: Women's Occupational Characteristics and Control Variables by Race: Weighted Descriptive Statistics

	White		Black		Hispanic	
Variable	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Occupational Characteristics						
Prestige	2.99	0.55	2.78 **	0.56	2.74 **	0.62
Autonomy	9.66	2.33	8.65 **	2.39	8.67 **	2.47
Supervisory	16.93	3.40	16.19 **	3.37	16.23 **	3.17
Complexity	16.77	2.58	16.07 **	2.90	15.91 **	2.80
Supportive workplace policies	3.38	0.47	3.35	0.48	3.37	0.43
Routinization	6.93	1.24	7.10 **	1.29	7.01	1.22
Hazardous workplace	11.66	2.94	11.94	3.13	12.37 **	2.92
High conflict	8.02	1.36	8.19 *	1.29	8.09	1.32
Parity						
No children	0.34	0.47	0.22 **	0.42	0.22 **	0.41
1 child	0.20	0.40	0.25 **	0.43	0.18	0.39
2 children	0.31	0.46	0.27	0.45	0.31	0.46
3+ children	0.16	0.36	0.25 **	0.44	0.29 **	0.45
Demographic Characteristics						
Age	35.73	6.08	34.98	5.94	33.63 **	5.85
Education in years	15.34	2.48	14.73 **	2.21	13.32 **	3.31
Household income	9.11	2.58	7.56 **	2.77	7.63 **	2.89
Union status						
No partner in household	0.23	0.42	0.50 **	0.50	0.29 *	0.46
Married	0.68	0.47	0.37 **	0.48	0.58 **	0.49
Cohabiting	0.10	0.29	0.13 *	0.34	0.13	0.33
Employment status						
Full-time	0.82	0.38	0.89 **	0.31	0.75 *	0.43
Part-time	0.18	0.38	0.11 **	0.31	0.25 *	0.43
Ideology Variables						
Importance of Work	0.46	0.50	0.63 **	0.48	0.50	0.50
Religiosity	-0.26	0.95	0.41 **	0.69	0.08 **	0.74
Importance of Parenthood	3.18	0.75	3.16	0.70	3.18	0.62
Gender role ideology	1.74	0.51	1.85 **	0.54	1.92 **	0.57
Unweighted N	1094		382		262	

Note: Significant differences between White women and the racial/ethnic minority women are tested using one-way ANOVAs. **p<.01; *p<.05. Column total may not equal 100% because of rounding error.

Compared with White women, Black and Hispanic women had lower levels of education and income (as with most surveys, education and income levels of respondents were higher than the population-at-large). About half of Blacks and 29% of Hispanics did not have a partner in the household. Black women were significantly (7%) more likely to work full-time than White women, while Hispanic women were more likely to work part-time (7%). Black women were much more likely than White women to report that work brings meaning to their lives (63% and 46%, respectively). Black and Hispanic women were both more religious and reported a more conservative ideology than White women. Fewer Black and Hispanic women than White women had no children, and Black and Hispanic women were significantly more likely than White women to have three or more children.

Based on the literature focused on occupational segregation, an underlying assumption of this study is that women work in different occupations depending on their racial/ethnic group. The most common occupations held by White, Black, and Hispanic women are shown in Table 3.2. Despite a large number of occupations represented in the data (500 between women and their spouses/partners), some jobs were more frequent in each group. The most frequent occupations by race/ethnicity were Elementary School Teacher (Whites), Administrative Assistant (Blacks), and Housekeeper/Maid (Hispanics).

Table 3.2: Most Common Occupations for Women by Race/Ethnicity

White women		Black women		Hispanic women	
Occupation	n (%)	Occupation	n (%)	Occupation	n (%)
Elementary School Teacher	65 (6.0)	Administrative Assistant	17 (4.5)	Housekeeper/Maid	16 (6.1)
Registered Nurse	38 (3.5)	Child Care Worker	17 (4.5)	Elementary School Teacher	15 (5.7)
Administrative Assistant	34 (3.1)	Registered Nurse	16 (4.2)	Administrative Assistant	11 (4.2)
Bookkeeper/Accounting Clerk	26 (2.4)	Customer Service	14 (3.7)	Child Care Worker	8 (3.1)
General Manager	22 (2.0)	Nursing Aide/Orderly	12 (3.1)	Secretary	8 (3.1)
Total n	1094		382		262
Number of occupations reported	284		157		113

Multivariate Analyses

The aim of this study is to extend the occupational segregation literature by examining differences in working conditions by race/ethnicity for women. Table 3.3 shows the results of the multivariate regression models predicting each of the eight occupational characteristics by race/ethnicity. Special attention was paid to the number of children women have given birth to, since childbearing has been shown to affect women's employment trajectories (Hynes and Clarkberg 2005). For each occupational characteristic, the first model included the race/ethnicity variables only, the second model included the control variables except for education, and the third model involved all controls, including education. Examination of the correlations among the independent variables found no evidence of high multicollinearity.

Prestige. Mirroring the results from the ANOVA comparisons in Table 3.1, Model 1 shows that Black and Hispanic women worked in occupations with significantly lower prestige than White women. This pattern persisted when the control variables were included in Model 2. When education was added to the analysis in Model 3, however, the effect size of Hispanic on prestige decreased by 63% (-.177 to -.065 in models 2 and 3, respectively) and was no longer significant.

Table 3.3: Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Race/Ethnicity on Occupational Characteristics

	Prestige						Autonomy					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Race												
White (reference)												
Black	-0.214 ***	0.034	-0.171 ***	0.037	-0.164 ***	0.035	-1.019 ***	0.143	-0.860 ***	0.157	-0.832 ***	0.148
Hispanic	-0.257 ***	0.037	-0.177 ***	0.037	-0.065	0.036	-0.991 ***	0.155	-0.722 ***	0.158	-0.265	0.153
Parity												
No children (reference)												
1 child			-0.122 **	0.040	-0.041	0.038			-0.659 ***	0.171	-0.330 *	0.163
2 children			-0.143 ***	0.038	-0.020	0.037			-0.584 ***	0.163	-0.083	0.158
3+ children			-0.308 ***	0.042	-0.149 ***	0.041			-1.188 ***	0.180	-0.542 **	0.176
Age			0.000	0.002	-0.002	0.002			-0.001	0.010	-0.007	0.009
Education					0.076 ***	0.005					0.309 ***	0.021
Union status												
No partner in household (reference)												
Married			0.046	0.032	0.005	0.031			0.135	0.137	-0.029	0.130
Cohabiting			-0.104 *	0.047	-0.094 *	0.044			-0.347	0.200	-0.305	0.189
Employment status												
Part-time			-0.200 ***	0.035	-0.195 ***	0.033			-0.460 **	0.150	-0.442 **	0.142
Importance of Work			0.050	0.027	0.057 *	0.025			0.426 ***	0.114	0.456 ***	0.108
Religiosity			-0.002	0.016	0.002	0.015			-0.050	0.068	-0.033	0.064
Importance of Parenthood			0.054 **	0.020	0.036	0.019			0.171 *	0.086	0.100	0.081
Gender role ideology			-0.116 ***	0.026	-0.052 *	0.025			-0.365 **	0.110	-0.107	0.105
Constant	2.994 ***	0.017	3.132 ***	0.078	1.856 ***	0.112	9.660 ***	0.072	10.061 ***	0.333	4.877 ***	0.478
R^2	0.038 ***		0.106 ***		0.211 ***		0.040 ***		0.089 ***		0.187 ***	

Note: *** p<.001; p<.01; * p<.05

Model 2 includes all control variables except for education.

Model 3 includes all control variables, including education.

Table 3.3 (Continued): Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Race/Ethnicity on Occupational Characteristics

	Complexity						Supervisory					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Race												
White (reference)												
Black	-0.720 ***	0.163	-0.472 **	0.176	-0.433 **	0.161	-0.730 ***	0.203	-0.550 *	0.226	-0.510 *	0.214
Hispanic	-0.864 ***	0.176	-0.436 *	0.178	0.209	0.166	-0.702 **	0.220	-0.471 *	0.228	0.179	0.221
Parity												
No children (reference)												
1 child			-0.667 **	0.192	-0.204	0.177			-0.547 *	0.246	-0.080	0.235
2 children			-0.559 **	0.184	0.149	0.172			-0.345	0.236	0.367	0.229
3+ children			-1.437 ***	0.203	-0.525 **	0.192			-0.550 *	0.260	0.369	0.255
Age			0.021	0.011	0.012	0.010			0.005	0.014	-0.004	0.013
Education					0.436 ***	0.023					0.439 ***	0.031
Union status												
No partner in household (reference)												
Married			0.202	0.155	-0.029	0.142			0.429 *	0.198	0.196	0.188
Cohabiting			-0.403	0.225	-0.343	0.205			-0.664 *	0.288	-0.604 *	0.273
Employment status												
Part-time			-0.997 ***	0.169	-0.970 ***	0.154			-0.555 *	0.216	-0.529 *	0.204
Importance of Work			0.353 **	0.128	0.395 **	0.117			0.430 **	0.165	0.472 **	0.156
Religiosity			-0.101	0.076	-0.078	0.070			-0.019	0.098	0.005	0.093
Importance of Parenthood			0.274 **	0.096	0.173 *	0.088			0.316 *	0.123	0.214	0.117
Gender role ideology			-0.454 ***	0.124	-0.090	0.115			-0.367 *	0.159	-0.001	0.152
Constant	16.773 ***	0.082	17.098 ***	0.375	9.783 ***	0.520	16.929 ***	0.103	16.530 ***	0.480	9.160 ***	0.691
R^2	0.019 ***		0.087 ***		0.240 ***		0.010 ***		0.030 ***		0.131 ***	

Note: *** p<.001; p<.01; * p<.05

Model 2 includes all control variables except for education.

Model 3 includes all control variables, including education.

Table 3.3 (Continued): Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Race/Ethnicity on Occupational Characteristics

	Supportive workplace						Routinization					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Race												
White (reference)												
Black	-0.028	0.028	0.014	0.031	0.015	0.031	0.164 *	0.075	0.143	0.084	0.133	0.082
Hispanic	-0.015	0.030	0.033	0.031	0.049	0.032	0.075	0.081	0.063	0.085	-0.093	0.085
Parity												
No children (reference)												
1 child			-0.078 *	0.034	-0.066	0.034			0.126	0.092	0.014	0.091
2 children			-0.100 **	0.033	-0.082 *	0.033			0.206 *	0.088	0.035	0.088
3+ children			-0.160 ***	0.036	-0.136 ***	0.037			0.229 *	0.097	0.009	0.098
Age			-0.001	0.002	-0.001	0.002			0.001	0.005	0.003	0.005
Education					0.011 *	0.005					-0.105 ***	0.012
Union status												
No partner in household (reference)												
Married			0.042	0.027	0.036	0.027			-0.050	0.074	0.006	0.072
Cohabiting			-0.053	0.040	-0.051	0.040			-0.021	0.107	-0.035	0.105
Employment status												
Part-time			-0.151 ***	0.030	-0.150 ***	0.030			-0.288 ***	0.080	-0.294 ***	0.079
Importance of Work			-0.040	0.023	-0.039	0.023			-0.196 **	0.061	-0.206 **	0.060
Religiosity			-0.016	0.013	-0.016	0.013			-0.014	0.036	-0.020	0.036
Importance of Parenthood			0.028	0.017	0.025	0.017			-0.046	0.046	-0.022	0.045
Gender role ideology			-0.030	0.022	-0.021	0.022			0.078	0.059	-0.010	0.059
Constant	3.382 ***	0.014	3.436 ***	0.066	3.249 ***	0.101	6.934 ***	0.038	6.995 ***	0.179	8.761 ***	0.266
R^2	0.001		0.029 ***		0.032 ***		0.002		0.013 **		0.055 ***	

Note: *** p<.001; p<.01; * p<.05

Model 2 includes all control variables except for education.

Model 3 includes all control variables, including education.

Table 3.3 (Continued): Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Race/Ethnicity on Occupational Characteristics

	Hazardous conditions						High conflict					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Race												
White (reference)												
Black	0.272	0.180	0.072	0.200	0.073	0.200	0.164 *	0.081	0.147	0.091	0.153	0.090
Hispanic	0.705 ***	0.195	0.590 **	0.202	0.602 **	0.207	0.071	0.088	0.056	0.091	0.163	0.093
Parity												
No children (reference)												
1 child			0.411	0.218	0.420	0.220			0.138	0.099	0.215 *	0.099
2 children			0.226	0.209	0.239	0.214			0.126	0.095	0.243 *	0.096
3+ children			0.712 **	0.230	0.729 **	0.238			0.304 **	0.104	0.455 ***	0.107
Age			0.044 ***	0.012	0.044 ***	0.012			-0.007	0.006	-0.009	0.006
Education					0.008	0.029					0.072 ***	0.013
Union status												
No partner in household (reference)												
Married			-0.181	0.176	-0.185	0.176			0.004	0.079	-0.034	0.079
Cohabiting			-0.110	0.255	-0.109	0.255			-0.226	0.116	-0.216	0.115
Employment status												
Part-time			0.480 *	0.191	0.481 *	0.191			-0.136	0.087	-0.131	0.086
Importance of Work			0.116	0.146	0.117	0.146			0.019	0.066	0.026	0.065
Religiosity			0.148	0.087	0.149	0.087			-0.017	0.039	-0.013	0.039
Importance of Parenthood			-0.036	0.109	-0.038	0.110			0.110 *	0.050	0.093	0.049
Gender role ideology			0.094	0.140	0.101	0.143			-0.093	0.064	-0.033	0.064
Constant	11.667 ***	0.091	11.360 ***	0.425	11.226 ***	0.647	8.022 ***	0.041	7.755 ***	0.193	6.539 ***	0.290
R^2	0.007 **		0.026 ***		0.026 ***		0.001		0.011 ***		0.028 ***	

Note: *** p<.001; p<.01; * p<.05

Model 2 includes all control variables except for education.

Model 3 includes all control variables, including education.

The same effect of education on the relationship between Black and occupational prestige was not found; the addition of education to Model 3 only reduced the effect of Black by 4%, and the significant effect was not changed. The final model indicated that women with higher levels of education and those who stated greater importance of their jobs had higher occupational prestige, while Black women, women working part-time (as compared to full-time), having more traditional gender role ideology, and having three or more children experienced lower prestige.

Autonomy. Results of Model 1 of the regression of occupational autonomy reveal that Black and Hispanic women have significantly less autonomy in their occupations than White women. Including the control variables in Model 2 did not affect this pattern or significance. The addition of education to Model 3 greatly reduced the magnitude of the Hispanic coefficient (-.722 to -.265, a reduction of 63%). The significant, negative relationship between Black and autonomy remained largely unchanged. Women with more education and those who reported higher values on work worked in occupations with higher autonomy, while women who worked part-time and those with three or more children experienced significantly less autonomy.

Complexity. Model 1 indicates that Black and Hispanic women worked in occupations that were significantly less complex than White women. The effect of race/ethnicity remained significant but was reduced by about half for both Black and Hispanic women when control variables except for educational attainment were added to the model. In Model 3, the effect size of the coefficient for Hispanic women

was reduced to nonsignificance. Although the addition of education to the model reduced the effect for Black women by 8%, it did not change the significant negative effect of Black women on occupational complexity. Education, the importance of the job, and the importance of parenthood all had significant positive relationships with occupational complexity, while having three or more children and working part-time had significant negative effects.

Supervisory. Black and Hispanic women were found to work in significantly less supervisory positions than White women in Model 1. The relationship was reduced but did not change significant once control variables with the exception of education were added in Model 2. Adding educational attainment to the model reduced the effect for Hispanic women, making the relationship nonsignificant, but again did not have an effect for Black women. Women with greater educational attainment and those who placed greater importance on the role of work in their lives tended to be significantly more likely to work in occupations with greater supervisory characteristics, while women who worked part-time and those who were cohabiting tended to have less supervisory responsibilities than those working full-time and those with no partner in the household, respectively.

Supportive workplace policies and practices. No models found significant effects of race/ethnicity on working in supportive workplaces. Because education did not significantly alter any coefficients of Model 2, only the model with education is shown in Table 3.3. Women with higher levels of education worked in occupations

with greater workplace support, while women with two or more children and those working part-time reported significantly less workplace support.

Routinization. Model 1 shows that Black women worked in occupations that were more routinized than White women, but the effects for Hispanic women were not significant. Once the control variables were included in the analyses, however, the effect among Black women was no longer significant. Other results from the model indicated that women with lower levels of education, those who worked part-time, and those who placed less importance on their jobs were employed in occupations with a higher degree of routinization.

Hazardous conditions. Results from Model 1 indicate that Hispanic women worked in significantly more hazardous occupations than White women. The effect was not significant for Black women. The significant effect of Hispanic ethnicity remained after control variables were added, including education. Adding all control variables decreased the effect size of Hispanic by 14.6%, but it remained significant at the $p<.01$ level. Parity had a significant effect on being in a hazardous occupation as well; women with three or more children were significantly more likely to work in occupations with higher occupational hazards than were women without children. Older women and those working part-time were also more likely to work in hazardous occupations.

High interpersonal conflict. Model 1 shows that Black women worked in occupations with greater conflict than did White women. This effect was no longer significant following the introduction of control variables, both with and without

education. Women with higher levels of education and those with any number of children compared to women with none, were significantly more likely to work in occupations with higher levels of interpersonal conflict.

Interaction Effects

Additional exploratory analyses were performed including interactions between race/ethnicity and educational attainment. The interactions were conducted both without and with additional control variables. For four of the occupational characteristics (prestige, autonomy, complexity, and routinization), significant interactions of race/ethnicity by parity were found. Results of the significant models are presented in Table 3.4. Exploratory analyses were also conducted with interactions between race/ethnicity and parity. Five of the occupational characteristics (prestige, autonomy, complexity, supervising others, and routinization) revealed significant interactions of race/ethnicity and parity. Results of the significant models are presented in Table 3.5.

Race/Ethnicity and Education Interactions

Prestige. The examination of the interaction effects between race/ethnicity and education revealed a positive effect on prestige in the full model. A graph of the interaction effects of race/ethnicity and parity on occupational prestige is presented in Figure 3.1. The graph shows that as expected, higher levels of educational attainment resulted in greater occupational prestige for all women; however, the relationship

Table 3.4: Multivariate Regression Interaction Effects for Race/Ethnicity by Education on Occupational Characteristics

	Model 1 Prestige		Model 2 Prestige		Model 1 Autonomy		Model 2 Autonomy	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Race								
White (reference)								
Black	-0.083	0.208	-0.026	0.204	-0.364	0.882	-0.277	0.872
Hispanic	0.175	0.160	0.351 *	0.158	1.217	0.677	1.674 *	0.676
Education	0.090 ***	0.006	0.085 ***	0.007	0.367 ***	0.027	0.352 ***	0.028
Interaction variables								
Black X Education	-0.005	0.014	-0.009	0.014	-0.029	0.059	-0.036	0.058
Hispanic X Education	-0.019	0.011	-0.030 **	0.011	-0.110 *	0.047	-0.139 **	0.047
Constant	1.617 ***	0.099	1.711 ***	0.128	4.028 ***	0.421	4.213 ***	0.548
R2	0.181 ***		0.213 ***		0.171 ***		0.190 ***	
R^2 (Interactions)[a]	0.001		0.003 *		0.003		0.004 *	

Note: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05

[a]Additional variance explained by set of interaction terms over full model.

Model 1 does not include any control variables other than education.

Model 2 includes controls for age, parity, union status, employment status, importance of work, importance of religion, importance of parenthood, and gender role ideology.

Table 3.4 (continued): Multivariate Regression Interaction Effects for Race/Ethnicity by Education on Occupational Characteristics

	Model 1 Complexity		Model 2 Complexity		Model 1 Routinization		Model 2 Routinization	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Race								
White (reference)								
Black	-0.224	0.966	0.104	0.948	-0.778	0.486	-0.661	0.485
Hispanic	1.455 *	0.742	2.217 **	0.734	-1.043 **	0.373	-0.921 *	0.376
Education	0.486 ***	0.030	0.480 ***	0.030	-0.130 ***	0.015	-0.130 ***	0.015
Interaction variables								
Black X Education	-0.013	0.064	-0.035	0.063	0.059	0.032	0.053	0.032
Hispanic X Education	-0.100	0.052	-0.144 **	0.051	0.064 *	0.026	0.058 *	0.026
Constant	9.310 ***	0.462	9.102 ***	0.596	8.924 ***	0.232	9.133 ***	0.305
R2	0.209 ***		0.243 ***		0.050 ***		0.058 ***	
R^2 (Interactions)[a]	0.002		0.003 *		0.004 *		0.003 *	

Note: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05

[a]Additional variance explained by set of interaction terms over full model.

Model 1 does not include any control variables other than education.

Model 2 includes controls for age, parity, union status, employment status, importance of work, importance of religion, importance of parenthood, and gender role ideology.

Table 3.5: Multivariate Regression Interaction Effects for Race/Ethnicity by Parity on Occupational Characteristics

	Model 1 Prestige		Model 2 Prestige		Model 1 Autonomy		Model 2 Autonomy		Model 1 Complexity		Model 2 Complexity	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Race												
White (reference)												
Black	-0.301 ***	0.069	-0.245 ***	0.065	-1.516 ***	0.288	-1.295 ***	0.276	-1.736 ***	0.326	-1.350 ***	0.299
Hispanic	-0.206 **	0.075	-0.182 **	0.070	-0.704 *	0.315	-0.603 *	0.297	-0.350	0.357	-0.107	0.322
Parity												
No children (reference)												
1 child	-0.154 **	0.048	-0.090	0.047	-0.717 ***	0.202	-0.439 *	0.201	-0.808 ***	0.228	-0.446 *	0.218
2 children	-0.155 ***	0.042	-0.058	0.044	-0.720 ***	0.177	-0.307	0.187	-0.705 ***	0.201	-0.204	0.202
3+ children	-0.331 ***	0.052	-0.194 ***	0.053	-1.336 ***	0.219	-0.754 ***	0.224	-1.590 ***	0.248	-0.837 **	0.243
Interaction variables												
Black X 1 child	0.127	0.097	0.097	0.090	0.619	0.409	0.459	0.386	1.146 *	0.463	0.927 *	0.418
Black X 2 children	0.202 *	0.093	0.176 *	0.086	1.096 **	0.392	0.979 **	0.369	1.912 ***	0.444	1.699 ***	0.400
Black X 3+ children	0.138	0.099	0.061	0.092	0.723	0.417	0.390	0.392	1.482 **	0.472	1.012 *	0.425
Hispanic X 1 child	0.064	0.112	0.213 *	0.104	-0.371	0.473	0.200	0.445	-0.296	0.535	0.486	0.482
Hispanic X 2 children	-0.084	0.099	0.077	0.092	-0.228	0.417	0.341	0.392	-0.571	0.472	0.264	0.425
Hispanic X 3+ children	0.018	0.105	0.211 *	0.098	0.066	0.442	0.770	0.418	-0.290	0.500	0.612	0.453
Constant	3.124 ***	0.029	1.864 ***	0.112	10.236 ***	0.123	4.941 ***	0.480	17.401 ***	0.140	9.926 ***	0.520
R2	0.07 ***		0.213 ***		0.069 ***		0.189 ***		0.056 ***		0.246 ***	
R^2 (Interactions)[a]	0.004		0.005		0.005		0.005		0.013 **		0.009 **	

Note: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05

[a]Additional variance explained by set of interaction terms over full model.

Model 1 does not include control variables other than parity.

Model 2 includes controls for age, education, union status, employment status, importance of work, importance of religion, importance of parenthood, and gender role ideology.

Table 3.5 (continued): Multivariate Regression Interaction Effects for Race/Ethnicity by Parity on Occupational Characteristics

	Model 1 Supervisory		Model 2 Supervisory		Model 1 Routinization		Model 2 Routinization	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Race								
White (reference)								
Black	-1.917 ***	0.413	-1.627 ***	0.396	0.368 *	0.153	0.334 *	0.153
Hispanic	-0.046	0.451	0.116	0.428	-0.343 *	0.168	-0.346 *	0.165
Parity								
No children (reference)								
1 child	-0.256	0.289	-0.042	0.289	-0.072	0.107	-0.099	0.112
2 children	-0.379	0.254	-0.080	0.269	0.190 *	0.094	0.099	0.104
3+ children	-0.683 *	0.313	-0.145	0.323	0.209	0.116	0.069	0.125
Interaction variables								
Black X 1 child	0.624	0.586	0.502	0.554	0.013	0.217	0.017	0.214
Black X 2 children	2.343 ***	0.561	2.326 ***	0.530	-0.421 *	0.208	-0.417 *	0.205
Black X 3+ children	1.785 **	0.597	1.496 **	0.564	-0.396	0.222	-0.331	0.218
Hispanic X 1 child	-1.374 *	0.677	-0.612	0.639	0.862 **	0.251	0.675 **	0.247
Hispanic X 2 children	-0.841	0.597	0.005	0.563	0.341	0.222	0.205	0.218
Hispanic X 3+ children	-0.189	0.633	0.773	0.601	0.432	0.235	0.226	0.232
Constant	17.204 ***	0.177	9.355 ***	0.690	6.857 ***	0.066	8.713 ***	0.266
R2	0.023 ***		0.141 ***				0.060 ***	
R^2 (Interactions)[a]	0.016 ***		0.013 ***				0.008 *	

Note: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05

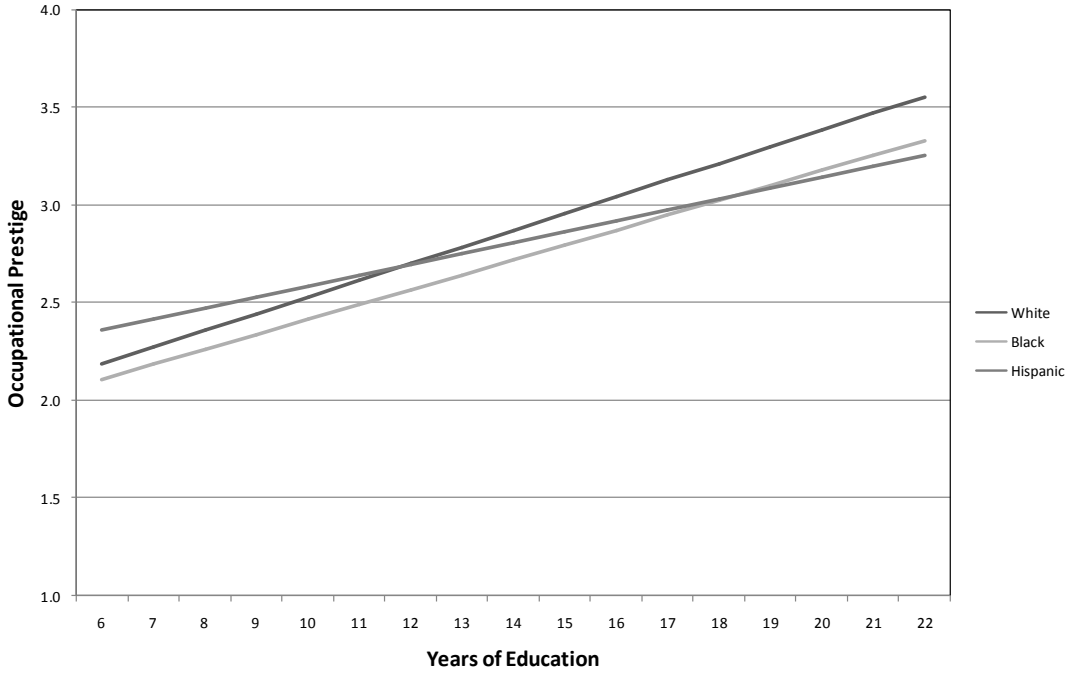
[a]Additional variance explained by set of interaction terms over full model.

Model 1 does not include control variables other than parity.

Model 2 includes controls for age, education, union status, employment status, importance of work, importance of religion, importance of parenthood, and gender role ideology.

differed by race/ethnicity. The interaction effect for Hispanic women is particularly poignant; for all women with low levels of educational attainment, Hispanic women were actually more likely to work in higher prestige occupations than White women. Obtaining more education did not appear to be as beneficial for Hispanic women as for White women, however. Once women obtained high school educations, White women had the highest occupational prestige; a gap that increased with more education. At the highest levels of education (graduate degrees), Hispanic women had lower occupational prestige than either White or Black women.

Figure 3.1: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Education on Occupational Prestige



Autonomy. Results of the interaction between race/ethnicity and education revealed a significant effect both with and without control variables added to the model. A graph of the full model is presented in Figure 3.2. For women in all race/ethnicities, higher levels of education were related to higher occupational autonomy. As with prestige, Hispanic women with lower levels of education worked in occupations with higher autonomy than White or Black women. The slope for Hispanic women is much flatter, indicating again that while obtaining more education resulted in higher occupational autonomy for Hispanic women, White and Black women experienced more gains in autonomy with more education, particularly White women. Among all women with the highest levels of education, Hispanic women worked in occupations with lower autonomy than White or Black women.

Complexity. Interaction effects between race/ethnicity and educational attainment on occupational complexity revealed a significant effect for Hispanic women in the full model. A graph of the interaction is presented in Figure 3.4. Results indicate that occupational complexity was higher for all women with more education, but White women appear to have had the most gains in complexity with more education. Hispanic women again worked in jobs with greater complexity at low levels of education, but as educational attainment increased, complexity did not increase as much for Hispanic women as for White or Black women. For women with the highest levels of educational attainment, Hispanic women worked in occupations with the lowest complexity.

Figure 3.2: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Education on Occupational Autonomy

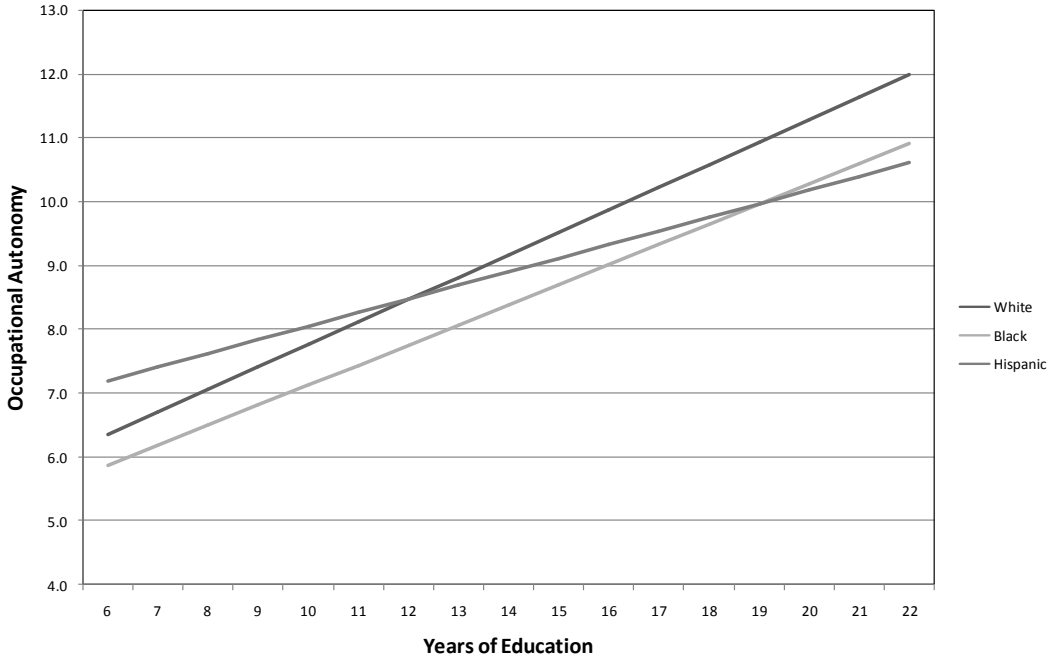
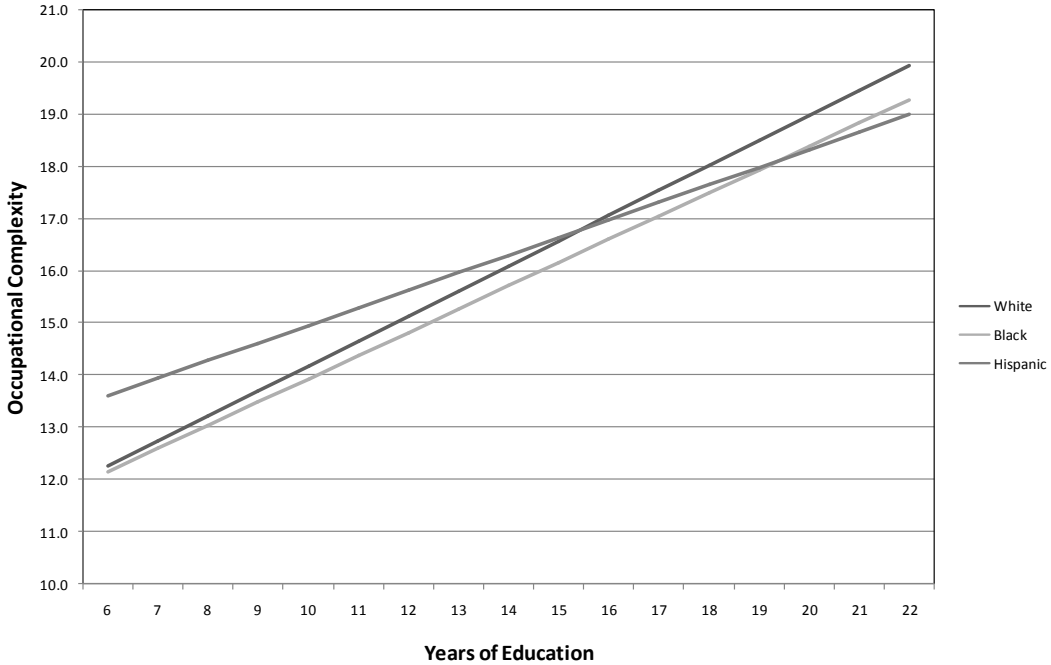
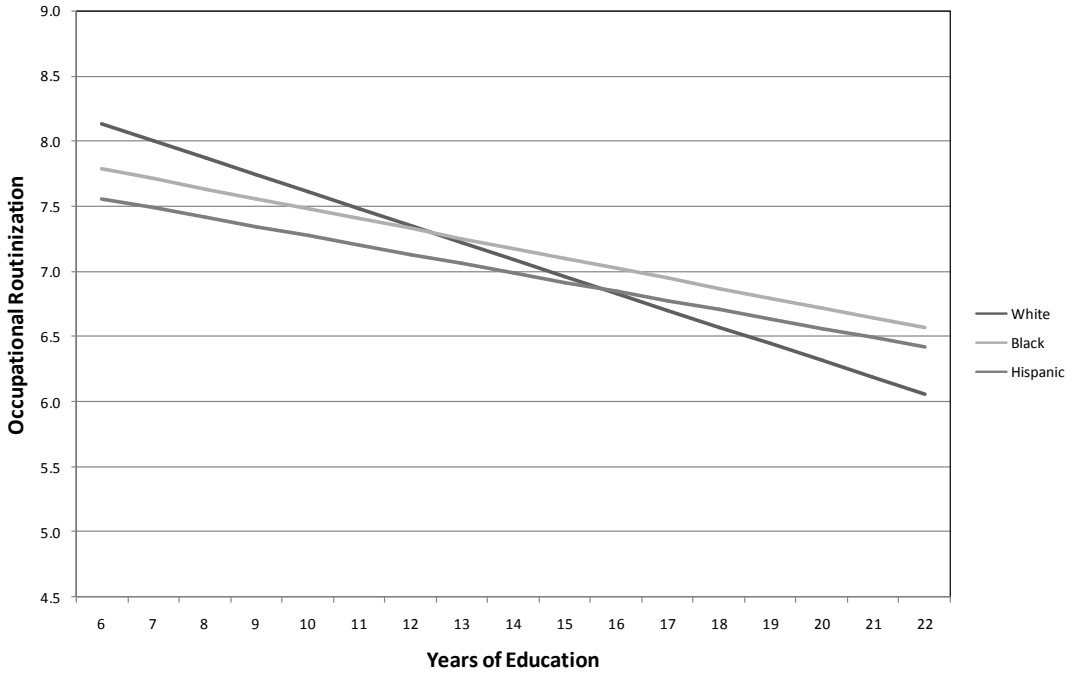


Figure 3.3: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Education on Occupational Complexity



Routinization. Results of the interaction between race/ethnicity and education revealed a significant effect on occupational routinization for Black women. Figure 3.4 presents the results of the full model and shows that while White women were the most likely to work in more routinized occupations among all women with low educational attainment, they were also the least likely to work in routinized occupations among those with high educational attainment. The effect of education on the likelihood of working in routinized jobs for Black and Hispanic women appears to have been approximately the same, although Black women worked in more routinized occupations than Hispanic women at every level of educational attainment.

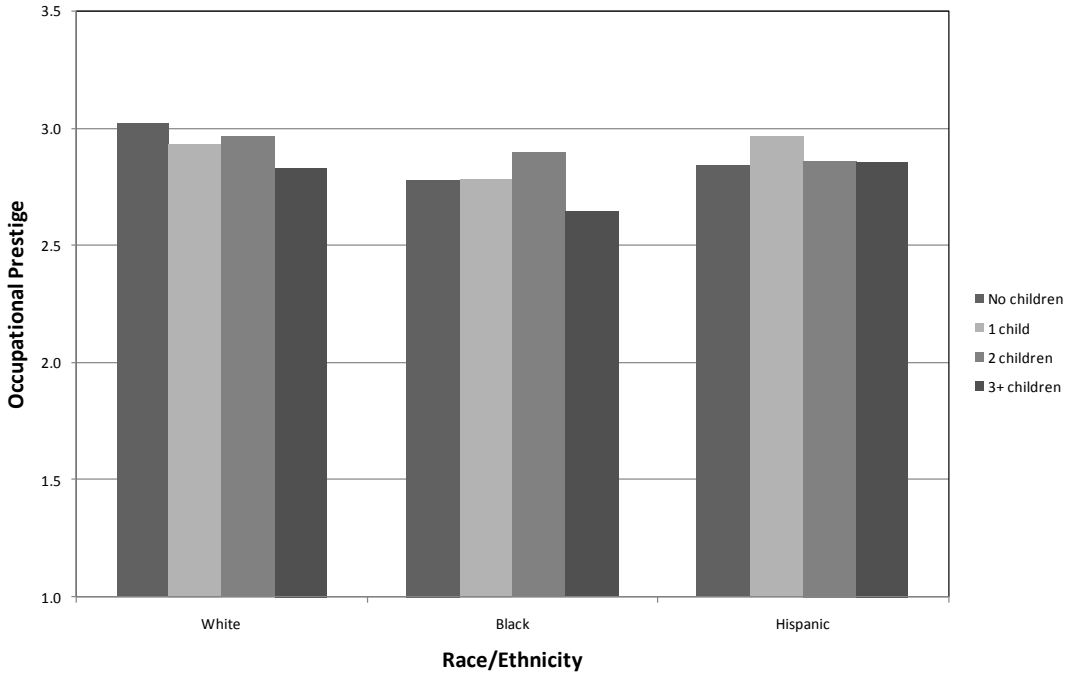
Figure 3.4: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Education on Occupational Routinization



Race/Ethnicity and Parity Interactions

Prestige. The interaction effects between race/ethnicity and parity revealed a significant effect on occupational prestige with and without control variables included in the model. Figure 3.5 presents the results of the interaction for the full model. Results indicate that parity affected occupational prestige in the expected direction for White women; as parity increased, prestige decreased. White women with no children had the highest occupational prestige of all women in the sample. For Black and Hispanic women, however, having more children did not decrease prestige, except for Black women with three or more children. Surprisingly, Black women with two children and Hispanic women with one child actually had higher occupational prestige than Black and Hispanic women with no children, respectively.

Figure 3.5: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Parity on Occupational Prestige



Autonomy. The examination of the interaction effects between race/ethnicity and parity revealed a significant effect on autonomy. A graph of the interaction effects of race/ethnicity and parity on occupational autonomy in the full model is presented in Figure 3.6. The graph shows that as expected, autonomy in the workplace decreased for White women with an increase in parity. White women with no children had the highest occupational autonomy. However, this relationship was not true for Black and Hispanic women. Black women with two children actually experienced a significant increase in workplace autonomy after the effects of the other variables in the model were statistically controlled. Although Hispanic women without children had the highest level of autonomy among all Hispanic women, those with three or more children also had fairly high autonomy; slightly higher than White women with three or more children.

Complexity. The interaction between race/ethnicity and parity revealed a significant effect on occupational complexity in both models. The graph is depicted in Figure 3.7. Again, the results indicate that effects of parity on complexity operated in the expected direction for White women; as parity increased, occupational complexity decreased. Black and Hispanic women did not experience the same negative effects of having more children, and Black women who have two children actually experienced almost the same level of complexity as White women without children.

Supervising others. Results of the interaction model show that Black and Hispanic women, compared to White women, having more children appeared to have

Figure 3.6: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Parity on Occupational Autonomy

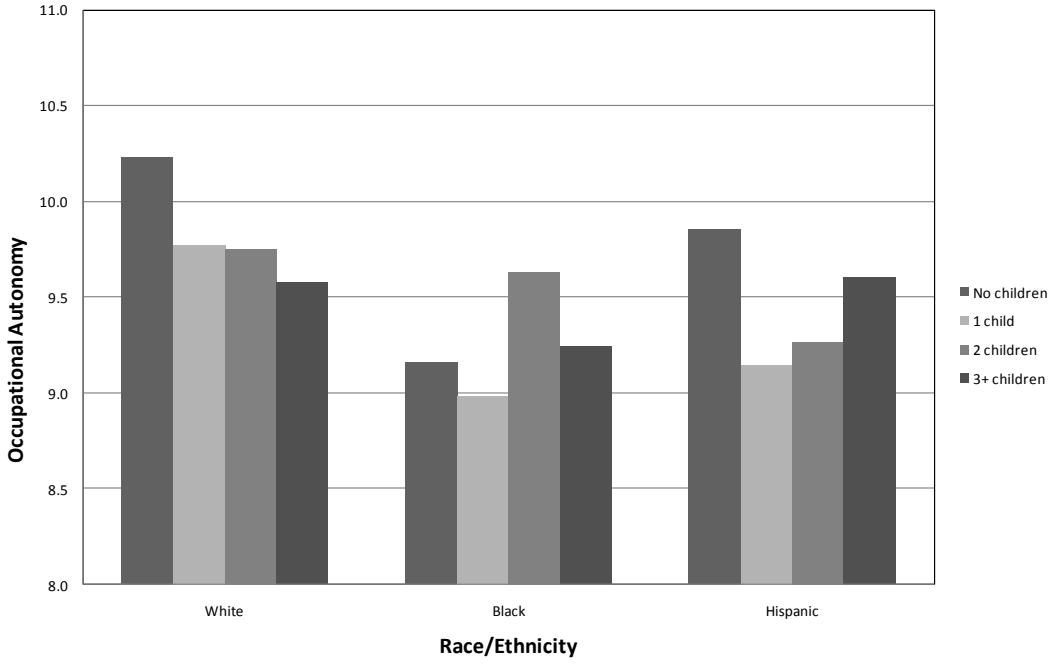
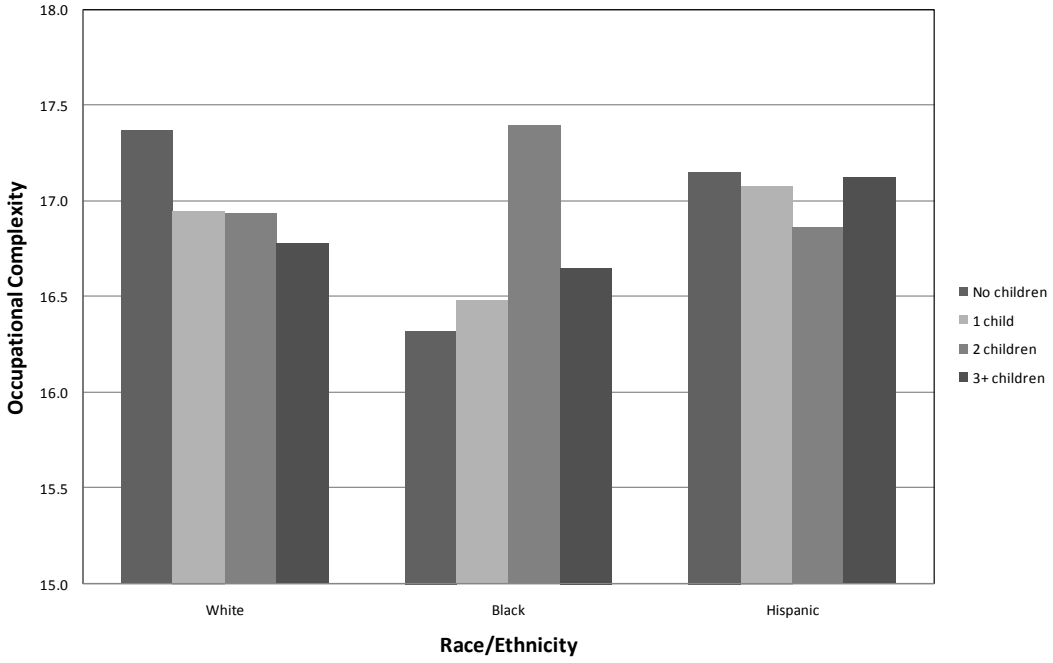
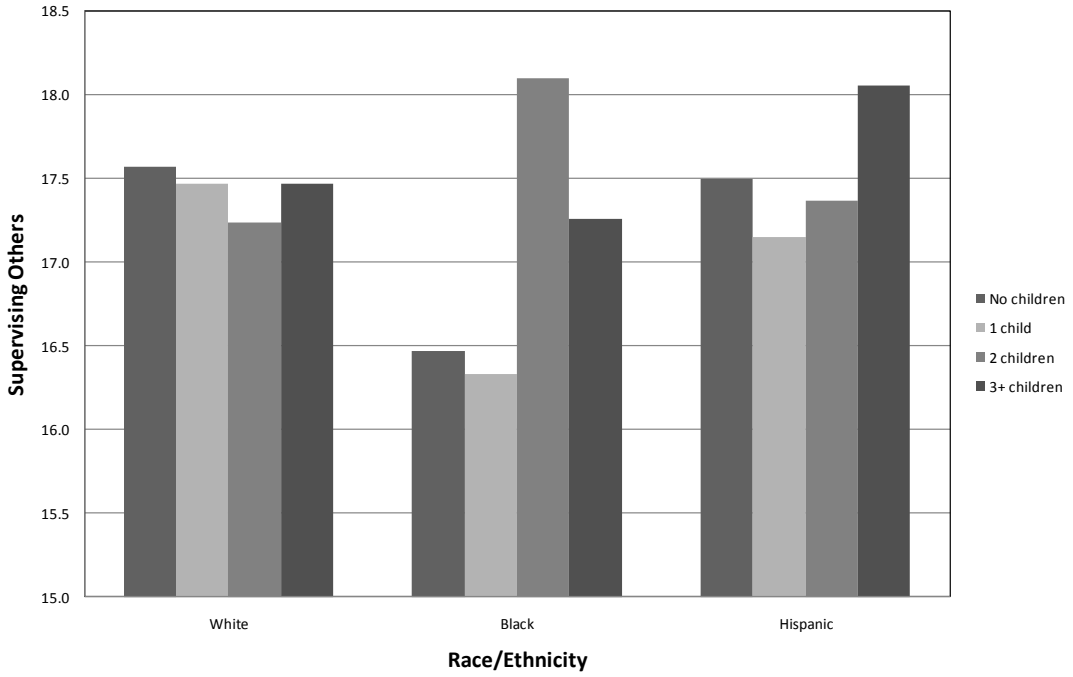


Figure 3.7: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Parity on Occupational Complexity



a positive effect on working in more supervisory roles. The interaction effects are presented in Figure 3.8. Hispanic and Black women in the sample both experienced positive effects of having more children, although results were not significant for Hispanic women. There was a large, positive impact on working in supervisory positions of having two children for Black women. Black women with two children, after controlling for the effects of the other variables in the model were more likely to work in supervisory roles than did White women of any parity.

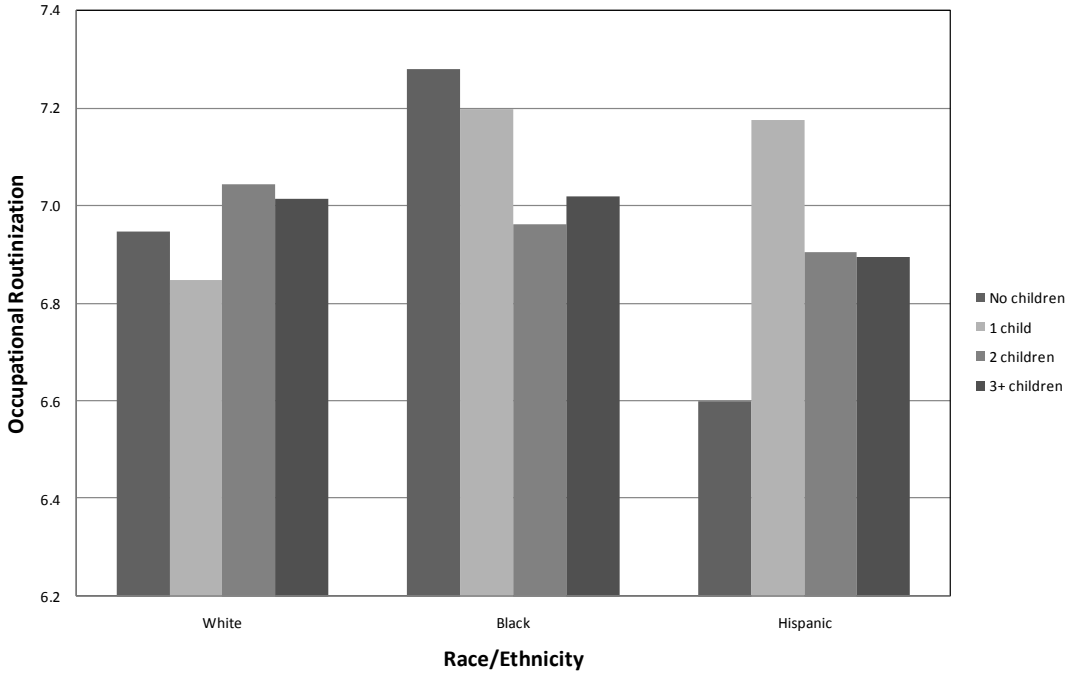
Figure 3.8: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Parity on Supervising Others



Routinization. The interaction model for race/ethnicity and parity effects on occupational routinization revealed a significant effect, which is presented in Figure 3.9. For White women in the sample, parity did not have much of an effect on their

likelihood of working a job with higher levels of routinization. Hispanic women with no children worked in the least routinized jobs of all the women in the sample, although Hispanic women with one child worked at quite high rates. The large difference in these groups may be related to the small numbers of Hispanic women in the sample having none or only one child (64 and 55, respectively). Black women with no children had the highest rates of routinization in their occupations, followed by Black women with one child. Levels of routinization were much lower for Black women with two or more children.

Figure 3.9: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Parity on Occupational Routinization



DISCUSSION

The present chapter utilizes a nationally representative sample of women in the United States to examine the relationship between race/ethnicity and the occupational characteristics of prestige, autonomy, complexity, supervisory roles, workplace support, routinization, hazardous, and high conflict work conditions. Particular attention is paid to whether racial/ethnic educational disparities explain differences in occupational characteristics. Additional analyses examine how differences in education and parity affect these characteristics for White, Black, and Hispanic women.

Results of this chapter indicate that White, Black, and Hispanic women work in occupations that have significantly different characteristics. Black and Hispanic women are employed in occupations with significantly lower prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory characteristics than White women; all of which previous research has linked to positive psychosocial outcomes and standard of living. Disparities in educational attainment, often thought to be the primary reason that Whites obtain "better" jobs, do not explain the Black/White differences in occupational characteristics. Although holding education constant in the analyses explained the significant differences for Hispanic women and White women with the exception of working in jobs with hazardous conditions, Black women with the same educational levels as White women worked in jobs with less prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory roles. There was no effect of race/ethnicity on

workplace support, and the positive relationship between Black and routinization and high conflict work conditions disappeared once education was controlled for.

Education was a significant predictor of all occupational characteristics except for hazardous working conditions. The exploratory examination of interaction effects found that education moderated the effect of race/ethnicity for prestige, autonomy, complexity, and routinization. As the figures for the interaction analyses demonstrate, the slope of education was steepest for White women in all of these analyses. This indicates that White women face the greatest gains in prestige, autonomy, and complexity with increases in education, as well as greater drops in routinization with higher levels of education than do Black or Hispanic women.

There were significant effects of parity on several occupational characteristics. Women with three or more children were less likely to work in occupations with higher prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supportive workplaces than women without children, but they were more likely to work in occupations with higher hazardous conditions and more interpersonal conflict. These findings support the "spillover" theory of the work-family relationship. However, the exploratory examination of interaction effects found that parity moderated the effect of race/ethnicity for several occupational characteristics in surprising ways. The interaction graphs show that parity affected White women's working conditions in the expected directions; White women with more children worked in occupations lower in positive characteristics and higher in negative characteristics. The same effect was not found for Black and Hispanic women, however. In most cases, Black and

Hispanic women with children tended to work in occupations with more positive characteristics than Black and Hispanic women without children, a relationship that is particularly poignant in the case of working in more supervisory positions. Perhaps minority women with children have more pressure to work in more "enhanced" (i.e., higher earning) careers than minority women without children because they are less likely to have partners in the household than White women. Even if there is a male present, minority men tend to have low earnings and often unstable employment due to structural disparities and discrimination.

These findings suggest that Black women work in jobs with more "negative" occupational characteristics such as routinization and high interpersonal conflict because they have lower educational attainment than White women. Education differentials do not explain disparities in "enhanced" occupational characteristics between Black and White women, however. The opposite case was found for Hispanic women; achieving equal levels of education as Whites allows Hispanic women to work in occupations with "enhanced" characteristics, although even with the same education, more Hispanic women work in occupations with hazardous conditions.

This study lends support to the theory that structural constraints exist that cause differential opportunities in the workplace. Results indicate that racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics for women would continue to persist even if disparities in educational attainment in American society were eliminated. Due to data limitations, I cannot at this time investigate further what the structural constraints

are. Geographic locations of people and jobs are likely one contributing factor. Jobs with greater prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory opportunities may not be located in the areas of cities with large Black populations, while Hispanic women, many of whom are in the Southwest, may be located around a larger number of hazardous jobs such as fieldwork. Employer discrimination is another plausible explanation for racial/ethnic differences that persist after controlling for education. Discrimination in both hiring preferences and promotions may account for a significant portion of the disparities. Future research is necessary to ascertain why Black women do not achieve the same levels of prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory roles and Hispanic women work in more hazardous conditions even when they have the same educational attainment as White women.

This study provides several major contributions to the literature. First, this chapter highlights the importance of moving beyond trends when investigating racial and ethnic employment inequalities. Although previous research has examined labor force participation trends and occupational segregation for women in different racial/ethnic groups, there is a significant lack of information regarding the characteristics of their employment. Measuring occupational segregation is irrelevant unless we understand what that segregation means for workers. The research presented here indicates that Black and Hispanic women work in occupations that provide fewer intrinsic and extrinsic rewards than do White women. The actual experiences are likely even more differentiated than this study suggests. Due to the aggregated nature of the data on occupational characteristics and knowledge that

occupational segregation occurs not only between occupations but within occupations and organizations (Carlson 1992), the findings presented here are likely conservative estimates of racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics.

Second, this study shows that even though education is related to nearly all occupational characteristics, eliminating racial/ethnic educational inequalities would not abolish disparities in occupational characteristics. Interaction results reveal that racial/ethnic disparities in occupational characteristics worsen for women with higher educational attainment. These analyses present questions for future research. If not education, what explains the racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics? Why do White women receive greater gains for higher educational attainment than Black or Hispanic women? More research is needed to fully explore the factors contributing to the occupational disparities found in this study.

Finally, literature on the effects of childbearing on women's employment has determined a negative effect on status and wages, but it fails to investigate working conditions of mothers versus non-mothers and largely ignores racial/ethnic differentials. This study integrates these two research areas and contributes to both by examining racial/ethnic and parity effects on occupational characteristics. Findings presented here indicate that parity is related to occupational characteristics. Women with children work in occupations with lower prestige, autonomy, and complexity as those that are more hazardous and high conflict than women without children, even after controlling for factors such as education and work and family ideologies. Investigating the moderating effects of race/ethnicity and parity on

occupational characteristics reveals that parity is especially important for White women; the more children White women have, the less prestigious, autonomous, complex, and supervisory their occupations. Parity does not appear to have such a negative effect for minority women, and in some cases, appears to have the reverse effect than for White women. Future research is needed to determine reasons for these relationships. Are White mothers making trade-offs of working jobs with more positive characteristics for other factors such as higher pay? Why do Black and Hispanic women show opposite effects of having children on their occupational characteristics than White women? Although this study shows the need for more investigation into the factors affecting women's occupational characteristics, it provides a first look at how these characteristics differ by race/ethnicity.

CHAPTER 4:

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND FERTILITY INTENTIONS AND IDEALS

The fertility decisions of women in contemporary American society have profound implications for a wide variety of social phenomena, including individual factors such as well-being and marital satisfaction, but also larger economic factors, since these decisions determine the future labor force. As women's labor force participation has increased over the past half century and women's fertility has declined during the same time, much research has been interested in the relationship between women's employment and fertility decisions and behaviors. Early studies were largely theoretical and/or focused on correlations between employment and fertility, since data simply did not exist to examine causality (Cramer 1980). More recent studies have made great strides in determining that both part-time and full-time employment reduce fertility, and giving birth reduces employment in the short term (Budig 2003), except for Black women; childbearing does not impact Black women's labor force behavior (Cheng 1996). Despite the interest in the employment/fertility relationship, however, studies have largely failed to investigate the reasons for the relationship beyond effects of work status and hours.

This omission has had broad implications in how we view women's decisions about childbearing. For example, scholars frequently imply that employed women make fertility decisions as a cost/benefit analysis (Becker 1981) or that work and

family obligations are often incompatible for women (Bumpass 1990). Although there is some discussion of social class differences in the benefits received by working, both theoretical and empirical studies fail to acknowledge that certain occupations or even occupational characteristics might encourage or discourage childbearing. This study provides the first look at how specific occupational characteristics are related to fertility intentions and ideals.

The first part of the chapter provides a descriptive look at the study variables by parity. Significance tests of mean differences in the study variables by parity are presented. The second part of the chapter examines the effect of occupational characteristics on fertility intentions and desired number of children. The third part of the chapter explores the moderating effects of occupational characteristics and control variables with a particular emphasis on race/ethnicity and parity in an effort to determine if White, Black, and Hispanic women report differing intentions and ideals depending on their occupational characteristics and motherhood status.

BACKGROUND

Employment/Fertility Relationship

As female labor force participation has increased over the past half century to the point where now the majority of all women and mothers in the United States are employed (Spain & Bianchi, 1996), there has been much interest in the effect of women's employment on childbearing. The decades-old maternal role incompatibility hypothesis (Stycos and Weller 1967) suggests that as women's labor

force participation rises, fertility falls because women must choose between having more children and working in the paid labor force. The relationship has grown more complicated in recent years, however. Factors such as the growing availability of quality childcare and shifts in gender role ideology make combining motherhood and employment easier than in the past (Bernhardt 1993; Brewster and Rindfuss 1999; Desai and White 1991; Rindfuss and Brewster 1996), although women's income and career advancement suffer when they become mothers (Budig and England 2001).

The primary explanation given as to why a negative relationship continues to exist between female employment and fertility is the difficulty of balancing multiple roles (Greenhaus and Beutell 1985). One example of this is McDonald's (2000) theory of gender equity in fertility transitions around the world; he explains that when gender equality becomes normative in societal institutions such as the workplace, fertility falls due to increasing opportunities for women (raising the value of their time). However, McDonald believes that gender equality in the family is much slower to occur and that the added burden of performing the majority of household labor in addition to participating in paid employment suppresses fertility even further, often below fertility intentions. McDonald speculates that only when gender equity is achieved in the family and the society-at-large will fertility settle at the replacement level.

McDonald's (2000) theory appears to find support in the United States when examining demands on women. Despite widespread participation in the paid labor force, women continue to perform two-thirds of the household labor (Coltrane 2000).

In a study of the division of labor in the family and subsequent births, Torr and Short (2004) find a U-shaped curve; when women perform less than 55 percent of the household labor, the likelihood of having a second birth increases. Similarly, the likelihood of second births for those who do more than 80 percent of the household work is high (suggesting traditional gender ideology norms); however, for those families in which women do between 55 and 80 percent of the household labor, the likelihood of second births is much lower. Not surprisingly, women in the paid labor force have fertility levels roughly one-half to one child lower than women who are not labor force participants (Spain and Bianchi 1996).

For several decades, few attempts were made to assess the causality of the negative relationship due to a lack of longitudinal data and appropriate methodology (Cramer 1980). However, recent studies have been able to examine fertility and employment, generally finding causality in both directions. In one of the most thorough studies of this relationship to date, Budig (2003) used Event History analysis on the 1979-1994 NSLY longitudinal data to examine hazards of employment and fertility. She found that pregnancy does not increase the hazard of exit from employment, although having pre-school-aged children in the home does increase hazard of leaving paid employment. On the other hand, having older children in the home increases the hazard of entry into full-time employment. Both full- and part-time employment were found to decrease the hazard of pregnancy. An additional study by Cheng (1996) on the relationship between Black female employment and fertility also finds that employment reduces the risk of pregnancy;

unlike Budig's study, however, Cheng finds that the presence of even young children in the home does not decrease labor force participation of Black women.

Recent studies have finally some closure on the debate on the causality of the negative relationship between women's employment and fertility, suggesting that employment reduces fertility, while fertility may exert only a short-term effect on employment. Many questions remain unanswered, however. Specifically, what is it about work that reduces fertility? Thus far, the extent of research in the employment/fertility relationship has focused on work hours or work status. Are there certain characteristics of occupations that affect fertility intentions and behaviors? What role do fertility intentions play in the employment/fertility relationship? Does employment reduce intentions to give birth, or are employed women unable to meet their fertility intentions? Or is there a selection effect, suggesting that employed women have lower intentions to begin with? Further research on this topic is needed to fully understand the employment-fertility relationship. The current chapter intends to provide a first look into how women's fertility intentions and ideal number of children differ depending on their occupational characteristics.

Fertility Intentions and Ideals

Fertility trends have fluctuated in recent decades in the United States, reaching a low point in the 1970s below replacement level. Today, the total fertility rate (TFR) is exactly at replacement level in the United States, which is approximately 2.1 children per woman (Bianchi and Casper 2000). Previous research on parity indicates

that the rationales for having first and second children differ from higher-order births. For example, Bulatao (1981) found that first children are generally desired for affective reasons (to have a child to love and care for or to pass on the family name), while second children are intended to build families (particularly to provide a sibling for the first child or even out sex composition), and third or higher births serve economic functions. In industrialized, typically low-fertility countries like the United States, conceptual models of fertility behaviors focus on choice; people choose to have children. (Thomson and Brandreth 1995). Bongaart's (2002) widely cited conceptual model suggests that there are competing factors with intentions, however:

$$TFR = IFS * F_u * F_g * F_r * F_t * F_i * F_c$$

where TFR is the total fertility rate, IFS refers to intended family size, F_u is unintended fertility, F_g refers to gender preferences, F_r is replacement fertility, F_t is tempo fertility, F_i refers to infecundity, and F_c represents competition. Despite the disjuncture that can occur between fertility intentions and behavior due to these competing factors, empirical evidence overwhelmingly finds predictive validity of fertility preferences (Schoen et al. 1999).

Occupational Characteristics

Although there has been a growing interest in the effects of occupational conditions on a variety of work and family issues, most research has focused on how occupational conditions affect husbands' behavior away from work (Coverman and Sheley 1986; Kohn 1969; Szinovacz 1984) or men's attitudes towards their wives'

employment (Kessler and McRae 1982; Menaghan and Parcel 1991). Research has largely failed to consider the conditions that women experience at work and how occupational conditions affect women's behavior in the family (Shelton 1990; Staines and Pleck 1983).

Theories on the employment/fertility relationship typically lump all paid work together and fail to consider occupational differences. One notable exception has been made for women who are pursuing professional careers; a few scholars have determined that time spent out of the labor force, especially when it occurs early in a career track, negatively affects occupational advancement (Bielby 1992; Rindfuss et al 1999; Rosenfeld 1992; Rosenfeld and Spenner 1992). This chapter intends to address this limitation with aggregated data on occupational characteristics applied to a nationally representative sample of employed women.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Compensation Theory

The hypotheses for the fertility intentions and ideals analyses in this chapter rely on the compensation model. Gary Becker's theories on the allocation of time and the opportunity costs of having children (1965 and 1981, respectively) have dominated economic fertility theories, which treat employment and childbearing as competing interests; women who work in occupations with higher statuses and incomes face higher opportunity costs of having children. Although fertility theories typically fail to mention low status, less full-filling jobs, the compensation theory

suggests that working in jobs that provide less occupational self-direction and opportunities for creativity and enjoyment are expected to desire more children and have higher fertility intentions.

Compensatory models necessitate comparisons of dissimilarities between events and conditions of the job and those in other domains of life (Crawford 1999). In this study, I modify Crawford's (1999) application of the compensation model from leisure to fertility intentions and ideals. There are three ways that the compensatory can apply to childbearing decisions in the context of women's employment. First, women may choose to have children because the activities of parenting are dissimilar in nature to work activities and thus are desirable because they counterbalance work activities. Second, resource theory applications suggest that there are limits to an individual's time and energy, so high demands at work may cause women to want fewer children. Finally, individuals who are able to meet their psychological needs at work are less likely to seek further gratification away from work in other domains of life (1999).

HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: Fertility intentions and desired number of children differ by occupational characteristics.

Hypothesis 2: Fertility intentions and ideals differ by parity.

Hypothesis 3: There are moderating effects of occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity.

DATA AND METHODS

Analytic Strategy

In this study, the sample was restricted to White, Black, and Hispanic women who are employed at least part-time (N = 1735). Professional characteristics (prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity), hazardous working conditions, routinization, and high interpersonal conflict working situations are the primary independent variables. The dependent variables include fertility intentions (do you intend to have a child, and how sure are you) and the number of children considered ideal for the respondent. These variables are described in more detail in the methods chapter.

The analyses involved two major steps. In the first step, the relationships between occupational characteristics and fertility intentions and ideals were estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). For each outcome, the first model included zero-order correlations of occupational characteristics on fertility intentions or ideals. Models 2 through 9 included the occupational characteristics individually, first with race/ethnicity, and then with control variables to determine if the relationship between occupational characteristics and fertility intentions and ideals was spurious and due to a third set of variables. Additional models were conducted without education to ascertain whether education explained the occupational characteristics effects, but no significant effects were found. The tenth model incorporated all occupational characteristics without control variables, the eleventh model added race/ethnicity, and

the twelfth model for each outcome included all occupational characteristics and control variables.

The second step involved estimating interaction effects between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity and educational attainment. This set of analyses addresses the question of whether the relationships between occupational characteristics and fertility intentions and ideals are moderated by the levels or categories of a third set of variables. Each interaction was tested both as a zero-order model and with all relevant control variables with a single set of interaction terms by occupational characteristic.

Dependent Variables

Fertility Intention: Fertility intention is a continuous variable based on two questions. Respondents were first asked, "Do you intend to have a baby?" Those who answered "Yes" to the intent question were then asked: "In your case, how sure are you that you will have a child: very sure, pretty sure, not very sure?" Those who answered "No" were asked: "In your case, how sure are you that you will not have a child: very sure, pretty sure, not very sure?" Responses were coded as an ordinal variable ranging from 1 "very sure, do not intend" to 7 "very sure, intend."

Number of Children Desired. Respondent's ideal number of children is a one-item measure that asked, "If you yourself could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would you choose?" Responses were coded into an interval variable from 0 to 4, with 4 including respondents who reported choosing 4 or more children.

Independent and Control Variables

Occupational characteristics are the primary independent variables in the present study. Based on results of the exploratory factor analysis presented in Chapter 2, several of the occupational characteristics of interest were combined to create constructs for the analyses in this chapter. The construct termed "Professional" includes the occupational characteristics of prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity. "Hazardous conditions," Routinization," and "High conflict working conditions" are included in the analyses individually (please refer to Chapter 2 for the measurement of each occupational characteristic).

Demographic and ideological variables were included in the models as control variables. Race/ethnicity was coded into dummy variables for White (reference category), Black, and Hispanic. Age was centered around its mean, and both age and a squared term for age (to test for curvilinear effects of age) were included in the models, although the squared term was dropped if non-significant. Education is a continuous variable representing years of schooling. Income is a categorical variable ranging from 1 (household income < $5,000) to 12 (household income of $100,000 or above). Union status was coded into dummy variables with no partner in the household as a reference category and married and cohabiting each represented by a dummy variable. Relationship length is a continuous variable representing years of marriage or cohabitation. Relationship satisfaction is a standardized scale which ranges from -2.03 (low satisfaction) to 2.97 (high satisfaction). Part-time work status is included in the models as a dichotomous variable, with part-time coded 1 and full-

time coded 0. Ideological variables measuring the importance of work, religiosity, parenthood, and traditional gender ideology were also included in the models. Parity was included as a set of dummy variables representing "no children" (reference category), one child, two children, and three or more children.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 4.1 presents the weighted means and standard deviations for selected variables used in the analysis for employed women, separately by parity. ANOVA tests were conducted between women with one child, two children, and three or more children and women with no children to determine any significant differences in occupational characteristics and demographic and ideological variables. Results show that the mean fertility intentions differed significantly by parity; women with children reported lower intentions. The number of children considered ideal also varied significantly by parity; those without children preferred about two children, and the number increased by parity (2.39, 2.59, and 3.29, respectively). A significant correlation of .157 ($p<.01$) between fertility intentions and ideals was also determined (not shown).

Although the scores for occupational characteristics are standardized and included in regression models as factors, the actual scores of the occupational characteristics are presented here in an effort to reveal parity differences. Results

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables for Employed Women by Parity

	No children		1 child		2 children		3+ children	
Variable	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Fertility Variables								
Strength of intentions	4.33	2.38	3.92 *	2.44	2.00 **	1.69	1.71 **	1.45
Number of children ideal	2.02	1.11	2.39 **	0.90	2.59 **	0.88	3.29 **	0.84
Occupational characteristics[a]								
Professional								
Prestige	3.05	0.53	2.90 **	0.52	2.90 **	0.56	2.70 **	0.64
Autonomy	9.90	2.29	9.13 **	2.41	9.27 **	2.32	8.53 **	2.50
Supervising others	16.89	3.59	16.40 *	3.38	16.75	3.23	16.43	3.23
Complexity	17.08	2.57	16.34 **	2.80	16.57 **	2.53	15.58 **	2.86
Hazardous working conditions	11.41	2.84	11.92 *	3.07	11.84 *	2.98	12.41 **	3.00
Routinization	6.87	1.31	6.96	1.25	7.04 *	1.19	7.08 *	1.21
High conflict	7.92	1.35	8.10 *	1.24	8.07	1.31	8.26 **	1.45
Race								
White	0.70	0.46	0.59 **	0.49	0.62 **	0.49	0.48 **	0.50
Black	0.16	0.37	0.26 **	0.44	0.19	0.39	0.27 **	0.45
Hispanic	0.13	0.34	0.15	0.36	0.18 *	0.38	0.25 **	0.43
Age	33.46	6.25	34.41 *	6.17	36.67 **	5.63	36.37 **	5.49
Education in years	15.96	2.37	15.01 **	2.62	14.46 **	2.62	13.75 **	2.74
Household income	8.68	2.68	8.61	2.73	8.83	2.58	7.77 **	3.10
Union status								
No partner in household	0.47	0.50	0.28 **	0.45	0.17 **	0.37	0.27 **	0.44
Married	0.39	0.49	0.58 **	0.49	0.76 **	0.43	0.65 **	0.48
Cohabiting	0.14	0.35	0.14	0.34	0.07 **	0.26	0.08 **	0.27
Relationship length	6.74	4.69	8.50 **	5.52	12.04 **	6.44	13.16 **	6.22
Relationship satisfaction[b]	0.24	0.56	0.13 *	0.69	0.09 **	0.72	0.04 **	0.72
Employment status								
Full-time	0.89	0.31	0.77 **	0.42	0.80 **	0.40	0.82 **	0.38
Part-time	0.11	0.31	0.23 **	0.42	0.20 **	0.40	0.18 **	0.38
Work satisfaction (1=Y)	0.82	0.38	0.83	0.38	0.90 **	0.30	0.82	0.39
Importance of work	0.53	0.50	0.45 *	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.54	0.50
Religiosity[b]	-0.31	1.00	-0.08 **	0.88	0.00 **	0.86	0.23 **	0.74
Importance of Parenthood	2.78	0.84	3.33 **	0.59	3.32 **	0.61	3.36 **	0.54
Gender role ideology	1.65	0.53	1.75 **	0.51	1.87 **	0.52	1.93 **	0.52
N	501		360		528		345	

Note: [a] Occupational characteristics are standardized for regression analyses. [b] Values presented here are standardized.

Significant differences between women with no children and women with 1, 2, and 3 or more are tested using one-way ANOVAs. **p<.01; *p<.05. Column total may not equal 100% because of rounding error.

indicated significant differences for almost all characteristics by parity. Those with children were significantly less likely than women without children to work in occupations with characteristics that are termed "Professional" in this study: prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity, although supervising others was not always significant. Those with children (especially women with three or more

children) were more likely to work in hazardous, routinized, and high conflict working conditions than those without children.

Compared with women with no children, women with one, two, or three or more children were more likely to be Black or Hispanic, older, and have lower levels of education and income. For all parity levels, women with children were more likely to be married. For women in relationships, women with one, two, or three or more children had significantly longer but less satisfying relationships than those without children. Those without children were more likely to work full-time, were less religious, viewed parenthood as less important, and were less traditional than women who have any number of children.

Multivariate Analyses

The descriptive results present compelling evidence that intention, number of children considered ideal and occupational characteristics vary by parity. I now turn to a series of multiple regression models to assess whether these differences can help explain the female employment/fertility relationship.

Fertility Intentions. Table 4.2 reports the results of the regression models predicting fertility intentions by occupational characteristics. Model 1 included zero-order regression analyses of each occupational characteristic individually and reveals that professional occupations were significantly related to higher fertility intentions, while more routinized occupations were related to lower intentions. The relationship between professional characteristics and intentions controlling for race/ethnicity is

Table 4.2: Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Occupational Characteristics on Fertility Intentions

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics												
Professional	0.306 ***	0.067	0.355 ***	0.067	0.035	0.054						
Hazardous	-0.021	0.020					-0.027	0.020	0.028 *	0.014		
Routinization	-0.154 **	0.048									-0.158 **	0.047
High conflict	0.016	0.044										
Race												
White (reference)												
Black			0.301 *	0.147	0.263 *	0.118	0.190	0.147	0.256 *	0.118	0.206	0.146
Hispanic			0.776 ***	0.161	0.737 ***	0.120	0.682 ***	0.162	0.723 ***	0.120	0.675 ***	0.161
Age					-0.118 ***	0.010			-0.119 ***	0.010		
Education in years					0.061 **	0.019			0.065 ***	0.018		
Household income					0.017	0.019			0.020	0.019		
Union status												
No partner in household (reference)												
Married					0.293 **	0.109			0.295 ***	0.108		
Cohabiting					0.152	0.156			0.148	0.155		
Relationship length					-0.063 ***	0.010			-0.063 ***	0.010		
Relationship satisfaction					0.025	0.064			0.024	0.064		
Employment status												
Part-time					0.068	0.113			0.049	0.112		
Work satisfaction					0.093	0.117			0.105	0.116		
Importance of Work					0.005	0.085			0.009	0.085		
Religiosity					0.129 *	0.051			0.125 *	0.051		
Importance of Parenthood					0.800 ***	0.064			0.800 ***	0.063		
Gender role ideology					0.063	0.084			0.059	0.083		
Parity												
No children (reference)												
1 child					-0.719 ***	0.129			-0.735 ***	0.129		
2 children					-2.093 ***	0.129			-2.103 ***	0.129		
3+ children					-2.377 ***	0.145			-2.405 ***	0.145		
Constant			2.808 ***	0.075	0.744	0.429	3.165 ***	0.242	0.345	0.439	3.948 ***	0.337
R2			0.026 ***		0.521 ***		0.010 ***		0.523 ***		0.016 ***	

Note: Model 1 includes zero-order regression analyses.
***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

Table 4.2 (continued): Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Occupational Characteristics on Fertility Intentions

	Model 7		Model 8		Model 9		Model 10		Model 11		Model 12	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics												
Professional							0.255 **	0.077	0.311 ***	0.078	0.066	0.062
Hazardous							-0.013	0.022	-0.016	0.022	0.035 *	0.015
Routinization	-0.026	0.034					-0.089	0.054	-0.082	0.053	0.001	0.038
High conflict			0.011	0.044	-0.006	0.031	-0.019	0.047	-0.031	0.047	-0.036	0.034
Race												
White (reference)												
Black	0.259 *	0.118	0.179	0.147	0.258 *	0.118			0.310 *	0.148	0.275 *	0.119
Hispanic	0.735 ***	0.120	0.665 ***	0.162	0.738 ***	0.120			0.780 ***	0.162	0.727 ***	0.120
Age	-0.118 ***	0.010			-0.118 ***	0.010					-0.120 ***	0.010
Education in years	0.062 **	0.019			0.066 ***	0.018					0.060 **	0.019
Household income	0.021	0.019			0.020	0.019					0.018	0.019
Union status												
No partner in household (reference)												
Married	0.287 **	0.109			0.287 **	0.109					0.302 **	0.109
Cohabiting	0.140	0.155			0.141	0.155					0.157	0.156
Relationship length	-0.063 ***	0.010			-0.063 ***	0.010					-0.062 ***	0.010
Relationship satisfaction	0.028	0.064			0.027	0.064					0.013	0.065
Employment status												
Part-time	0.054	0.113			0.060	0.112					0.055	0.114
Work satisfaction	0.094	0.116			0.100	0.116					0.091	0.117
Importance of Work	0.006	0.085			0.010	0.085					0.000	0.085
Religiosity	0.128 *	0.051			0.129 *	0.051					0.123 *	0.051
Importance of Parenthood	0.800 ***	0.063			0.802 ***	0.064					0.800 ***	0.064
Gender role ideology	0.062	0.084			0.062	0.084					0.059	0.084
Parity												
No children (reference)												
1 child	-0.718 ***	0.129			-0.719 ***	0.129					-0.729 ***	0.129
2 children	-2.088 ***	0.129			-2.091 ***	0.129					-2.098 ***	0.129
3+ children	-2.376 ***	0.145			-2.377 ***	0.146					-2.390 ***	0.146
Constant	0.891	0.508	2.759 ***	0.357	0.700	0.456	3.939 ***	0.574	3.823 ***	0.570	0.633	0.580
R2	0.521 ***		0.009 **		0.521 ***		0.013 ***		0.027 ***		0.522 ***	

Note: Model 1 includes zero-order regression analyses.
***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

shown in Model 2. The effect of professional occupational characteristics was not significant when factors such as parity, union status, and ideologies were controlled for. The next two models examined the relationship between hazardous occupational characteristics and fertility intentions with race/ethnicity and then all control variables. The relationship between hazardous characteristics and intentions was not significant until control variables such as parity and education were controlled for. In Model 5, working in jobs that are more hazardous was related to higher fertility intentions. Model 6 shows that routinization was significantly related to lower fertility intentions when controlling for race/ethnicity, but after all control variables were added in the seventh model, the effect was reduced to nonsignificance. Models 8 and 9 did not find a significant relationship between working in high conflict occupations and fertility intentions. Model 10 included all occupational characteristics but not control variables, and there was a significant, positive effect for jobs with professional characteristics. The relationship remained in the next model, controlling for race/ethnicity. All the control variables were included in Model 12 with all occupational characteristics. The only significant relationship for occupational characteristics was for working in jobs that are more hazardous; fertility intentions were higher. All models with controls found that Black and Hispanic women, higher levels of education, being married, and viewing religiosity and parenthood as more important were related to higher fertility intentions. Women in longer relationships and those with children (any parity) had lower fertility intentions.

Ideal Number of Children. Results of the regression analyses predicting ideal number of children by occupational characteristics are presented in Table 4.3. Model 1 shows that when the zero-order occupational characteristics are in the model, more hazardous occupations and higher conflict occupations were related to reporting more children as ideal. The relationship between professional characteristics and ideal number of children remained non-significant in Models 2 and 3 when race/ethnicity and all control variables were included in the analysis. The relationship between working in hazardous occupations and wanting more children remained when controlling for race/ethnicity in Model 4, but the significant effect was removed when control variables were added, as shown in Model 5. The next two models examined the effect of routinization on desired number of children, and the relationship remained non-significant with the inclusion of control variables. Models 8 and 9 indicate that even with controls such as race/ethnicity, education level, and parity included in the analysis, working at higher conflict jobs was related to desiring more children. Model 10 examined the effect of occupational characteristics on ideal number of children with no control variables. Results indicated that women who work in more professional occupations reported wanting fewer children, while those in higher conflict occupations desired more children. Controls for race/ethnicity were added in Model 11, and the significant effect of professional occupations disappeared, while higher conflict occupations continued to be related to desiring more children. Model 12 included all occupational characteristics and all control variables and found no significant relationship between any occupational characteristic and ideal number

Table 4.3: Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Occupational Characteristics on Ideal Number of Children

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*		
Occupational characteristics														
Professional	-0.053	0.028	-0.026	0.029	0.044	0.028								
Hazardous	0.024 **	0.008					0.019 *	0.008	0.005	0.007				
Routinization	-0.009	0.020									-0.012	0.020	-0.028	0.017
High conflict	0.074 ***	0.019												
Race														
White (reference)														
Black			0.107	0.063	-0.024	0.061	0.110	0.063	-0.032	0.061	0.117	0.063	-0.029	0.061
Hispanic			0.457 ***	0.068	0.248 ***	0.061	0.452 ***	0.068	0.245	0.061	0.466 ***	0.068	0.245 ***	0.061
Age					-0.011 *	0.005			-0.012 *	0.005			-0.011 *	0.005
Education in years					-0.005	0.010			0.000	0.009			-0.004	0.010
Household income					0.000	0.010			0.003	0.010			0.004	0.010
Union status														
No partner in household (reference)														
Married					0.012	0.056			0.008	0.056			0.005	0.056
Cohabiting					-0.116	0.079			-0.127	0.079			-0.131	0.079
Relationship length					-0.006	0.005			-0.007	0.005			-0.007	0.005
Relationship satisfaction					0.138 ***	0.033			0.141 ***	0.033			0.142 ***	0.033
Employment status														
Part-time					0.037	0.058			0.025	0.058			0.019	0.058
Work satisfaction					-0.042	0.060			-0.033	0.060			-0.041	0.060
Importance of Work					-0.085	0.044			-0.079	0.043			-0.084	0.044
Religiosity					0.101 ***	0.026			0.100 ***	0.026			0.101 ***	0.026
Importance of Parenthood					0.430 ***	0.033			0.433 ***	0.033			0.432 ***	0.033
Gender role ideology					0.115 **	0.043			0.114 **	0.043			0.114 **	0.043
Parity														
No children (reference)														
1 child					0.118	0.066			0.113	0.066			0.116	0.066
2 children					0.339 ***	0.065			0.339 ***	0.065			0.343 ***	0.065
3+ children					0.998 ***	0.074			0.991 ***	0.074			0.997 ***	0.074
Constant			2.423 ***	0.032	0.793 ***	0.220	2.196 ***	0.102	0.633 **	0.226	2.502 ***	0.142	0.940 ***	0.262
R2			0.026 ***		0.306 ***		0.028 ***		0.306 **		0.025 ***		0.306 ***	

Note: Model 1 includes zero-order regression analyses.
***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

Table 4.3 (continued): Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Occupational Characteristics on Ideal Number of Children

	Model 8		Model 9		Model 10		Model 11		Model 12	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics										
Professional					-0.080 *	0.033	-0.053	0.033	0.022	0.032
Hazardous					0.009	0.009	0.007	0.009	0.000	0.008
Routinization					-0.015	0.023	-0.011	0.022	-0.018	0.020
High conflict	0.072 ***	0.018	0.038 *	0.016	0.076 ***	0.020	0.073 ***	0.020	0.034	0.017
Race										
White (reference)										
Black	0.103	0.062	-0.038	0.061			0.086	0.063	-0.032	0.061
Hispanic	0.461 ***	0.067	0.242 ***	0.061			0.439 ***	0.068	0.241 ***	0.061
Age			-0.011 *	0.005					-0.011 *	0.005
Education in years			-0.003	0.009					-0.007	0.010
Household income			0.002	0.010					0.001	0.010
Union status										
No partner in household (reference)										
Married			0.011	0.056					0.012	0.056
Cohabiting			-0.119	0.079					-0.116	0.079
Relationship length			-0.007	0.005					-0.007	0.005
Relationship satisfaction			0.145 ***	0.033					0.143 ***	0.033
Employment status										
Part-time			0.031	0.057					0.030	0.058
Work satisfaction			-0.034	0.060					-0.042	0.060
Importance of Work			-0.080	0.043					-0.087 *	0.044
Religiosity			0.101 ***	0.026					0.101 ***	0.026
Importance of Parenthood			0.429 ***	0.033					0.428 ***	0.033
Gender role ideology			0.116 **	0.043					0.116 **	0.043
Parity										
No children (reference)										
1 child			0.108	0.066					0.111	0.066
2 children			0.333 ***	0.065					0.334 ***	0.066
3+ children			0.979 ***	0.074					0.983 ***	0.074
Constant	1.846 ***	0.152	0.446	0.234	1.903 ***	0.247	1.846 ***	0.245	0.687 *	0.302
R2	0.033 ***		0.308 ***		0.012 ***		0.034 ***		0.307 ***	

Note: Model 1 includes zero-order regression analyses.
***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

of children. Employed women who are Hispanic, more satisfied with their relationship, are more religious, view parenthood as more important, are more traditional in their gender role ideology, and those with two or more children reported more children as ideal to them. Older women and those who view work as more important wanted significantly fewer children.

Interaction Effects

Additional analyses including interactions occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity and education were performed on both models without control variables and the full models of the regression analyses of fertility intentions and ideals.

Fertility Intentions. Two models showed significant effects of occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity on fertility intentions. Professional characteristics and race/ethnicity as well as routinization and race/ethnicity had significant effect on fertility intentions when demographic and ideological variables were not included in analyses. Results of significant interaction effects between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity on fertility intentions are presented in Table 4.4. No significant interactions were found between occupational characteristics and education on fertility intentions.

The interaction effects between professional occupations and race/ethnicity revealed a negative effect on fertility intentions for Black women who were employed

Table 4.4: Multivariate Regression Interaction Effects for Occupational Characteristics and Race/Ethnicity on Fertility Intentions

	Model 1		Model 2	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics				
Professional	0.543 ***	0.088		
Hazardous				
Routinization			-0.231 ***	0.061
High conflict				
Race				
White (reference)				
Black	0.238	0.148	-1.600	0.831
Hispanic	0.782 ***	0.163	0.113	0.923
Interaction variables				
Professional X Black	-0.586 ***	0.163		
Professional X Hispanic	-0.275	0.180		
Routinization X Black			0.256 *	0.116
Routinization X Hispanic			0.081	0.130
Constant	2.785 ***	0.075	4.454 ***	0.431
R^2	0.033 ***		0.018 ***	
R^2 (Interactions)[a]	0.008 **		0.003	

Note: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

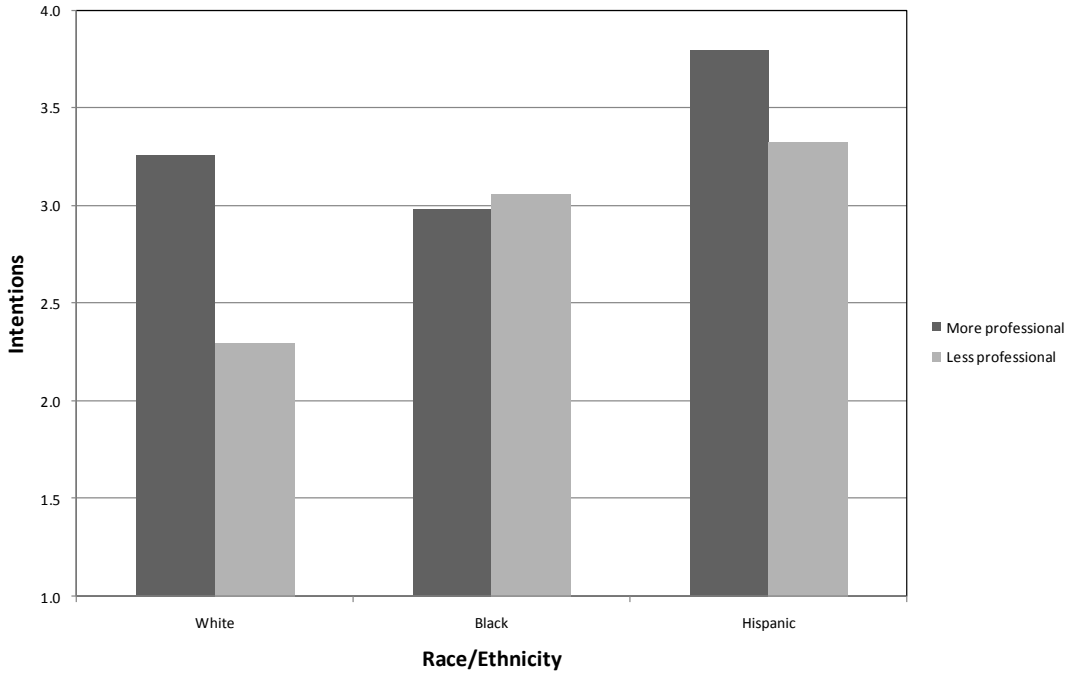
[a]Additional variance explained by set of interaction terms over full model.

No control variables are included in the models.

in more professional occupations. A graph of the interaction effects of "Professional" and race/ethnicity on fertility intentions is presented in Figure 4.1. The chart shows that Hispanic women had the highest fertility intentions, and the Hispanic women who work in more professional occupations reported the highest intentions. White women in professional occupations also had higher intentions than White women in less professional occupations. Black women in professional occupations, however, had slightly lower fertility intentions than Black women in less professional occupations. The significant effect of professional occupations and Black was removed by the addition of parity without any other control variables to the model

(not shown); the coefficient of the significant interaction variable decreased from -.586 to -.279, reducing the effect of the interaction by more than half. This suggests that White and Hispanic women in more professional occupations postponed having some or all of the children that they intend to have, whereas Black women do not.

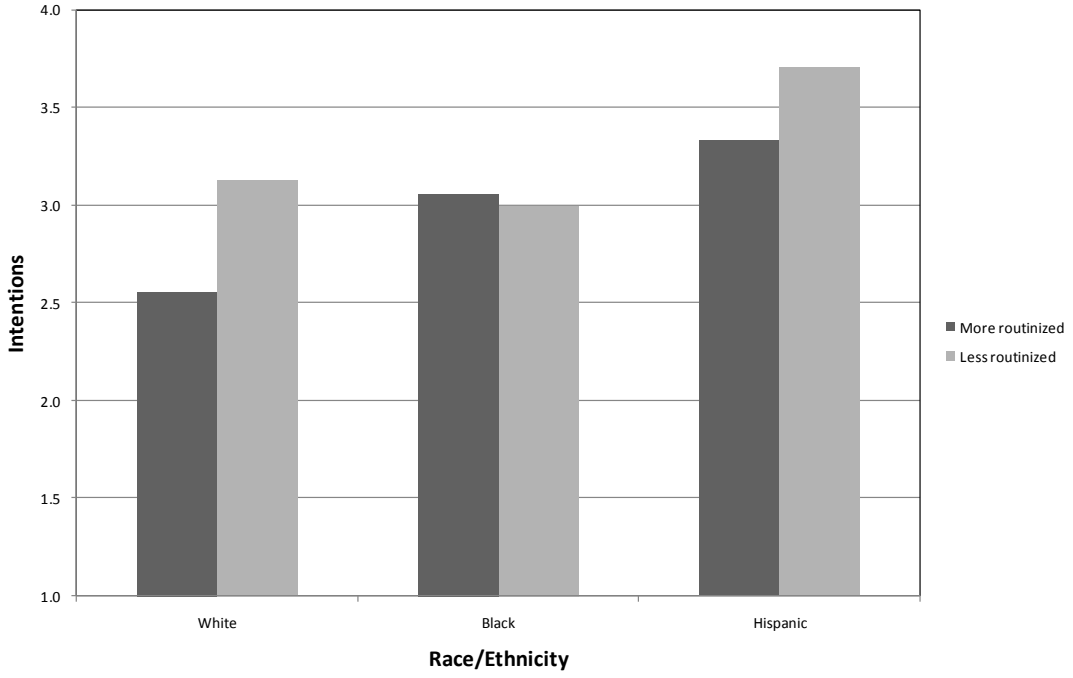
Figure 4.1: Interaction Effects of Professional Occupations and Race/Ethnicity on Fertility Intentions



The significant interaction between routinization and race/ethnicity on fertility intentions revealed that there were positive, significant effects of working in more routinized occupations for Black. These results are depicted in Figure 4.2. The chart shows that Hispanic women had higher fertility intentions than White or Black women, and that White and Hispanic women working in more less routinized

occupations had higher fertility intentions. Black women working in more routinized occupations had slightly higher fertility intentions than Black women working in less routinized occupations. The significant effect of the interaction was removed by the addition of parity to the model sans other control variables. The unstandardized coefficient was reduced by more than two-thirds; from .256 to .084.

Figure 4.2: Interaction Effects of Routinized Occupations and Race/Ethnicity on Fertility Intentions



Ideal Number of Children. The interaction effects between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity revealed a significant effect on desired number of children for women working in more professional occupations. Results of the significant interaction effects between professional occupations and race/ethnicity on

Table 4.5: Multivariate Regression Interaction Effects for Occupational Characteristics and Race/Ethnicity on Fertility Ideals

	Model 1		Model 2	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics				
Professional	-0.089 *	0.037	-0.019	0.034
Hazardous				
Routinization				
High conflict				
Race				
White (reference)				
Black	0.122	0.064	-0.010	0.062
Hispanic	0.466 ***	0.069	0.256 ***	0.062
Interaction variables				
Professional X Black	0.171 *	0.071	0.180 ***	0.061
Professional X Hispanic	0.133	0.075	0.123	0.064
Constant	2.430 ***	0.032	0.808 ***	0.220
R^2	0.029 ***		0.310 ***	
R^2 (Interactions)[a]	0.004 *		0.004 **	

Note: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

[a]Additional variance explained by set of interaction terms over full model.

Model 2 includes controls for age, education, income, union status, employment status, work satisfaction, importance of work, importance of religion, importance of parenthood, gender role ideology, and parity.

ideal number of children are presented in Table 4.5. Additional tests for interactions between occupational characteristics and education on fertility ideals found significant interactions between professional, hazardous, and high conflict occupations and educational attainment. Table 4.6 presents the significant interactions between occupational characteristics and education.

Results from Model 1 in Table 4.5 show effects of the interaction between professional characteristics and race/ethnicity without control variables. Model 2 included control variables. In both models, there was a significant effect of working in more professional occupations for Black women.

Figure 4.3: Interaction Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Professional Characteristics on Ideal Number of Children

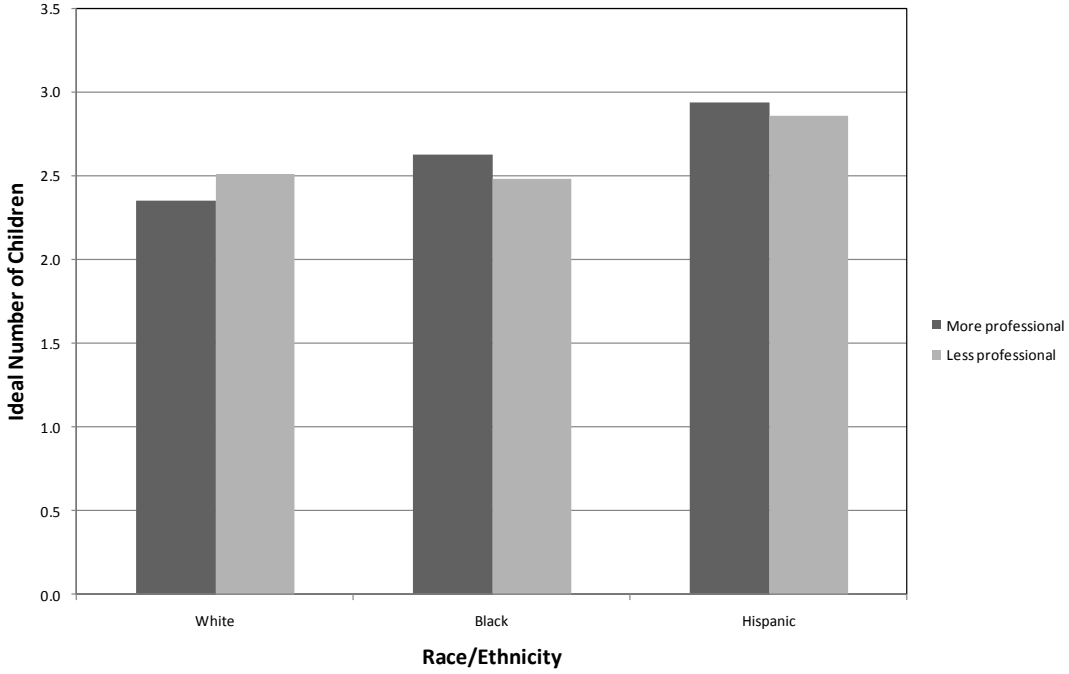


Figure 4.3 depicts Model 1 and shows that White women working in more professional occupations desired fewer children than White women working in less professional occupations, which is expected based on the theory of compensation. The opposite pattern was found for minority women, however, especially Black women. Black women in more professional occupations desired more children than did Black women in less professional occupations. These findings suggest that minority women do not receive the same benefits from working in jobs with more "enhanced" characteristics as do White women that encourage lower fertility.

Table 4.6: Multivariate Regression Interaction Effects for Occupational Characteristics and Education on Fertility Ideals

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics										
Professional	-0.291	0.156								
Hazardous			-0.129 **	0.049	-0.096 *	0.042				
Routinization										
High conflict							-0.131	0.106	-0.169	0.091
Education	-0.061 ***	0.010	-0.178 ***	0.040	-0.083 *	0.035	-0.176 **	0.056	-0.113 *	0.049
Interaction variables										
Professional X Education	0.022 *	0.010								
Hazardous X Education			0.010 **	0.003	0.007 *	0.003				
High conflict X Education							0.014 *	0.007	0.014 *	0.006
Constant	3.408 ***	0.156	4.920 ***	0.607	1.875 **	0.549	4.468 ***	0.858	2.102 **	0.755
R^2	0.023 ***		0.029 ***		0.308 ***		0.034 ***		0.309 ***	
R^2 (Interactions)[a]	0.003 *		0.006 **		0.002 *		0.002 *		0.002 *	

Note: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

[a]Additional variance explained by set of interaction terms over full model.

Models 3 and 5 include controls for race/ethnicity, age, income, union status, employment status, work satisfaction, importance of work, importance of religion, importance of parenthood, gender role ideology, and parity.

Results from interaction models conducted between occupational characteristics and educational attainment (shown in Table 4.6) reveal significant positive interactions between professional, hazardous, and high conflict occupations and education. Models 1, 2, and 4 include only the variables of interest to the interaction, while Models 3 and 5 include all control variables. The interaction effect of "Professional" and education was no longer significant after the addition of parity to the model (reduction of 37%), so the full model is not presented.

Figure 4.4: Interaction Effects of Education and Professional Characteristics on Ideal Number of Children

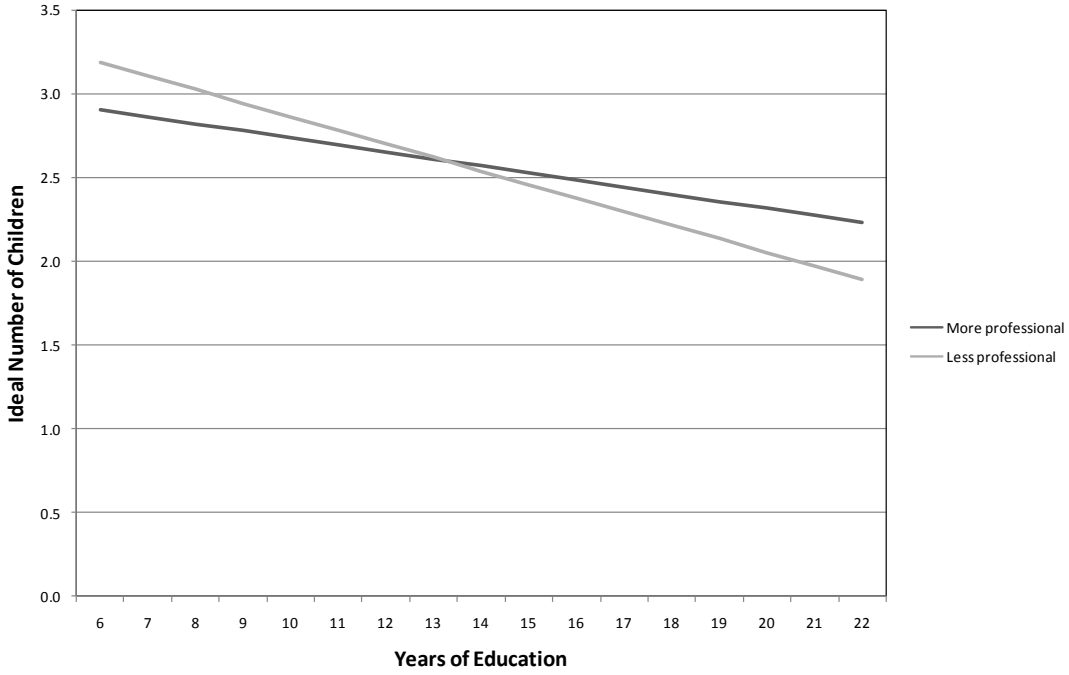


Figure 4.4 presents the results of the interaction between professional occupations and education (Model 1) and shows that for women with more education, working in more professional jobs is related to wanting more children than women

with higher educational attainment who work in jobs that are less professional. This finding, though unexpected, might be based on economic factors. Women with more education who work in less professional jobs (which is often associated with lower pay) might want fewer children either because they do not believe they can afford as many or because they realize that having more children might prevent them from being able to achieve more professional jobs.

Figure 4.5: Interaction Effects of Education and Hazardous Occupational Characteristics on Ideal Number of Children

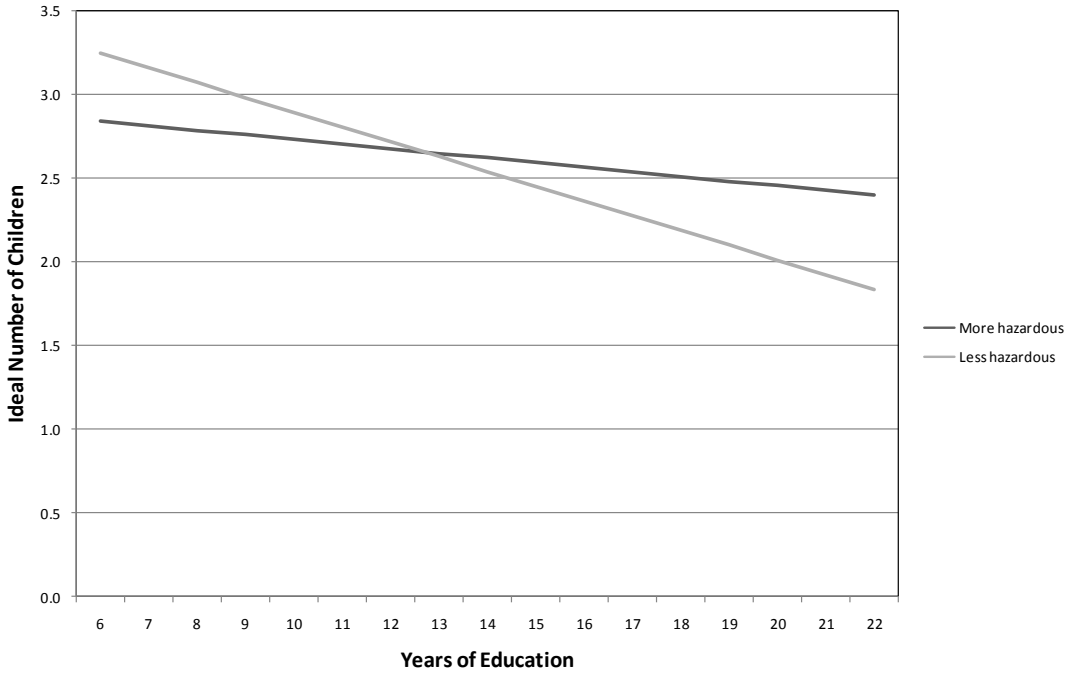
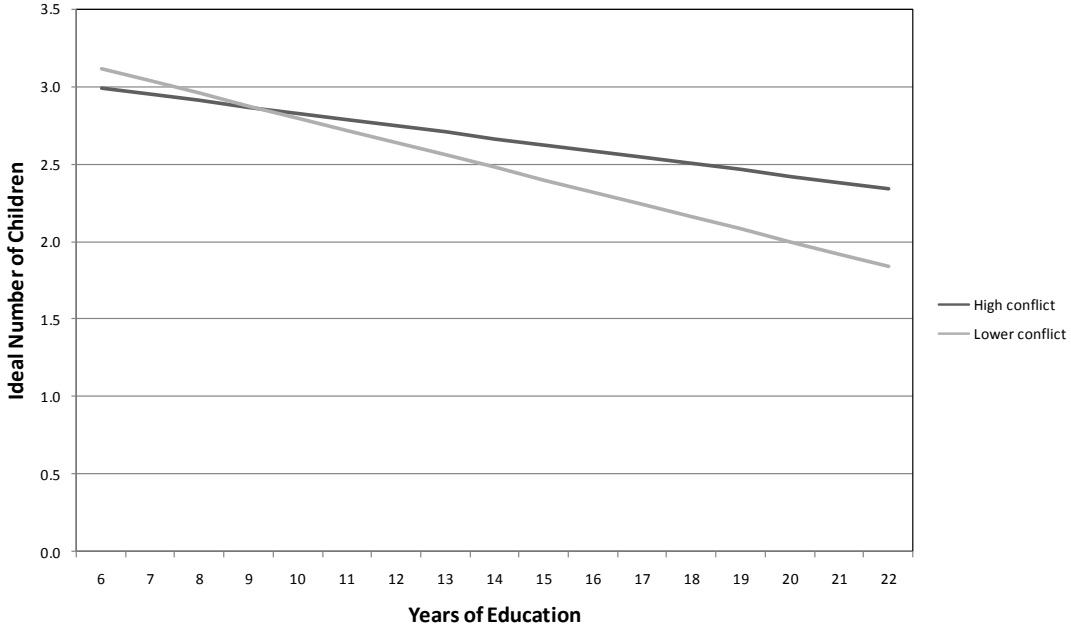


Figure 4.5 presents the interaction between hazardous occupations and educational attainment (Model 2). The graph shows that for women with more education (beginning with some college), working in more hazardous occupations

was related to viewing more children as ideal. Though education has a negative effect for women working in both types of occupations, the slope of education for women working in more hazardous jobs is not nearly as steep. This finding lends support for the compensatory theory; because hazardous occupations are largely not as desirable, women working in hazardous conditions might seek enjoyment or rewards from other domains of their life, such as parenthood.

Figure 4.6: Interaction Effects of Education and Interpersonal Conflict Occupational Characteristics on Ideal Number of Children



Results of the interaction between high conflict occupations and educational attainment (Model 4) are presented in Figure 4.6. The graph indicates that whereas fertility ideals were nearly the same for women with lower levels of education

regardless of conflict level in the job, as level of educational attainment increased, women who worked in a higher conflict job wanted more children than women in low conflict jobs. As in the previous figure, this suggests support for the compensatory model; perhaps women in higher conflict occupations with high levels of education view having more children as a means to compensate for their stressful occupations.

DISCUSSION

This study utilized aggregated data on occupational characteristics that were linked with a nationally representative sample of women to show that occupational characteristics have consequences for women's fertility decisions. Even with a number of demographic and ideological variables were controlled for, including parity, results indicated a few significant effects of occupational characteristics on fertility intentions and ideals.

Zero-order analyses of fertility intentions indicated that women working in more professional have higher fertility intentions, while women working in occupations that are highly routinized have lower intentions. Addition of control variables to the models suggests that much of this effect is due to factors such as parity. However, with all variables in the model, working in more hazardous conditions was found to be related to reporting higher fertility intentions. Zero-order analyses of fertility ideals found that working in more hazardous and higher conflict occupations was related to wanting more children. After controlling for a number of

control variables, working in higher conflict occupations continued to have a significant effect on desired number of children.

Analyses of the moderating effects of race/ethnicity indicate that women's intentions and the number of children seen as ideal differs by occupational characteristic for women of differing racial/ethnic groups. Working in more professional and less routinized occupations had a positive effect on fertility intentions for White and Hispanic women, but Black women's fertility intentions were largely unaffected by their occupational characteristics. Whereas working in more professional occupations had a negative effect on fertility ideals for White women, Black and Hispanic women working in more professional jobs viewed more children as desirable.

Assessing the interaction effects of occupational characteristics and educational attainment revealed that education moderates the effect of occupational characteristics on ideal number of children for professional, hazardous, and high conflict occupations. Although more years of education is related to desiring fewer children for women in all occupations, the slope is less steep for women in more professional, more hazardous, and higher conflict occupations. Women with higher levels of educational attainment working in more professional, more hazardous, and higher conflict occupations wanted more children than those in less professional, less hazardous, and lower conflict occupations.

This study finds support for the compensatory model; even after controlling for factors such as parity, women in more hazardous occupations had significantly

higher fertility intentions, and women in higher conflict occupations wanted significantly more children. Because these occupational characteristics are typically associated with more dangerous and stressful jobs (i.e., less desirable), their significant relationship with fertility intentions and ideals suggests that women who work in jobs with these characteristics might be compensating by investing more in another major life domain—parenthood.

These findings provide several major contributions to the female employment/fertility literature. First, this chapter suggests that there is more to the relationship than merely work status or work hours. Although the present study cannot examine causality between occupational characteristics and fertility behavior, the findings presented here suggest a relationship likely exists. Future research is needed to explore occupational characteristics/fertility behavior relationship and ascertain whether some characteristics prevent women from meeting their fertility intentions or make postponing more likely.

Additionally, this study indicates that occupational characteristics do not affect fertility intentions and desired number of children in the same way for White, Black, and Hispanic women or for women with differing levels of education.

Occupational characteristics affected fertility intentions and ideals for White women in the expected directions; White women who work in "Professional" occupations (those with "enhanced" characteristics that offer greater intrinsic and extrinsic rewards) had higher fertility intentions before controlling for parity. This indicates a possible relationship between these occupations and fertility

postponement, which supports economic theories regarding the costs and benefits of childbearing. White women in professional occupations also desired fewer children, as expected by the compensation model. Interaction effects between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity revealed different effects for minority women, however. Working in more professional and less routinized jobs was linked to higher fertility intentions for Hispanic women, whereas Black women's intentions were not affected by their occupational characteristics. Both Black and Hispanic women working in more professional occupations actually desired *more* children than Black and Hispanic women working in less professional occupations. There are several possible explanations for these racial/ethnic differences. Perhaps Black and Hispanic women tend to be more pronatalist, so that when they are able to afford more children or work in occupations that are more flexible, they do not postpone childbearing like White women and desire to have more children. Or, perhaps the rewards are not as great for Black and Hispanic women even when they work in the same occupations as White women, so they compensate by having children sooner and desiring more children.

Striking differences in desired number of children for women with similar educational attainment who work in jobs with differing occupational characteristics suggest that individual differences can play a large role in the effects of occupational characteristics. After controlling for a number of demographic, ideological, and parity variables, as education increased, so did the gap between desired number of children for women in more and less hazardous occupations and those in higher and

lower conflict occupations. Women with high levels of education who worked in less desirable (more hazardous and higher conflict) occupations viewed more children as ideal to them than women in jobs with more desirable characteristics suggesting that perhaps the compensatory effect is even greater for women with higher levels of education.

Future research utilizing longitudinal data must address why occupational characteristics have differing effects on fertility intentions and ideals depending on race/ethnicity and educational attainment. This chapter merely provides a first look into the effects of occupational characteristics on employed women's fertility intentions and ideals. The significant findings presented in this chapter suggest that the context of work is another important dimension in the employment/fertility relationship.

CHAPTER 5:

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND LIFE SATISFACTION: RACIAL/ETHNIC DIFFERENCES

The literature on women's employment and the intersection of work and family has grown dramatically and become more sophisticated in recent decades. Early studies of work and well-being among women typically focused on differences in well-being between employed wives and mothers and homemakers (Gove and Tudor 1973; Wright 1978). These studies were concerned mostly with how many hours women spent in a particular occupation (paid or unpaid) and the amount and type of work that was performed. More recent research on women's work and well-being has moved beyond the role of work status to examine the impact that structural qualities of jobs have on female workers' well-being (Lennon 1994; Lowe and Northcott 1988; Warr and Parry 1982). Several occupational characteristics have been found to affect multiple dimensions of well-being. For example, workers who are employed in positions with greater autonomy have higher life satisfaction (Karasek 1979), self-esteem (Kohn 1969), and lower psychological distress (Jenkins 1991). Most studies of the outcomes associated with occupational characteristics were conducted several decades ago and involved primarily White, male respondents. More recent research of the effects of occupational characteristics for women tends to focus on women in female-dominated careers, such as nursing. Evidence suggests that these studies fail to explain the extent that occupational characteristics affect

women, however, because not only do women face differential exposure to certain occupational characteristics than men (and minorities from Whites), there are gender differences in the intervening variables through which work influences well-being (Pugliesi 1995). Conceptually, there are likely racial/ethnic differences as well, although there is virtually no research on how the effects of work on women's well-being differ by race/ethnicity, particularly in recent decades. This suggests a need to examine more closely how occupational characteristics affect well-being for women while considering the possibility of racial/ethnic differences.

The primary focus of this study is to examine the effects of occupational characteristics on the life satisfaction of a nationally-representative sample of employed women. A secondary purpose is to determine whether race/ethnicity moderates the relationship. Most of the literature on determinants of life satisfaction and subjective well-being has focused on White men and women. Because goals and opportunities differ by racial/ethnic group, factors that affect life satisfaction for one group may not be the same across groups (Bradley and Corwyn 2004). Due to the long-standing occupational segregation in the paid labor force, there is reason to believe that the context of work will affect White, Black, and Hispanic women differently.

BACKGROUND

Work and Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction is one of the major facets of subjective well-being, and high life satisfaction has been linked to numerous positive outcomes for individuals such as physical health, mental health, and perceptions of overall quality of life (Deiner 1984; Deiner and Suh 1997). Life satisfaction refers to the degree to which the experience of an individual's life satisfies that individual's wants and needs, both physically and psychologically (Rice 1984). These wants and needs exist in multiple domains of life, including work and family (Andrews and Withey 1976; Campbell et al. 1976). An individual's job can affect life satisfaction in several ways. First, the income received in exchange for work is what allows an individual to purchase material goods that fill his/her wants and needs (Demerouti et al. 2000). Job loss or insecurity can negatively impact life satisfaction (Warr 1987). Finally, life satisfaction can also be impacted by the feedback received at work, prestige of the position, and the impact that occupational characteristics have on psychosocial well-being (Kahn 1981).

Occupational Characteristics and Life Satisfaction

Despite the well-documented relationship between work and life satisfaction, few studies have theoretically or empirically examined how working conditions affect life satisfaction. One exception is Rice (1984), who proposed that individuals' perceptions of the quality of the characteristics of their working and nonworking lives

affect their overall life satisfaction. These characteristics affect life satisfaction in the short-term due to effects on mood and energy level and in the long-term due to effects on mental and physical health. Studies conducted several decades ago by Karasek (1979) and Caplan and colleagues (1975) on male employees found that autonomy and complexity are related to outcomes reflecting happiness or general positive affect, such as life satisfaction and morale. A somewhat more recent study had similar findings; Loscocco and Roschelle (1991) noted that "employees' emotional well-being suffers when they do not receive valued job rewards, such as substantive complexity, challenge, and autonomy" (p. 207).

Another type of studies of the effects of occupational characteristics on well-being examines multiple characteristics within a single occupation. One such example of an effect of occupational characteristics and life satisfaction is a recent study by Demerouti and colleagues (2000), which focused on the effects of occupational characteristics on nurses' life satisfaction and found that nurses who had frequent, unpleasant interactions with patients, high workloads, environmental hazards, low performance feedback, low autonomy, high routinization, low support, and little decision-making ability faced more disengagement and exhaustion, which were related to life satisfaction, although the direct relationship was not assessed.

Race in the Occupational Characteristics/Life Satisfaction Relationship

Findings on the relationship between race/ethnicity and indicators of subjective well being (including life satisfaction) have been contradictory. Some

studies have reported that Blacks have lower life satisfaction than Whites (Campbell 1976; Stock et al. 1985). Other investigations have concluded no significant differences in life satisfaction between Blacks and Whites (Campbell et al. 1976; Clemente and Sauer 1974). At least one study has reported that Blacks have higher levels of subjective well-being than Whites among the elderly (Messer 1968). It should be noted that all these studies are two or more decades old and changing social conditions could affect the relationship today.

There are several reasons to believe that occupational characteristics might affect life satisfaction differently by race/ethnicity. First, evidence is clear that minorities continue to be segregated into certain types of employment. Both Blacks and Hispanics are underrepresented in higher-paying occupations and overrepresented in lower-paying occupations (Queneau 2005), and Black women are significantly underrepresented in the private sector and overrepresented in public sector and nonprofit occupations (Burbridge 1994). Occupational segregation between occupations is much easier to measure than segregation within occupations, but it is highly likely that even in the same occupations, Blacks and Hispanics are assigned tasks and responsibilities that are less beneficial to well-being than Whites.

Structural inequalities are another factor that might cause the occupational characteristics/life satisfaction to differ depending on race. Racial/ethnic minorities are less likely than Whites to possess a number of the characteristics related to higher life satisfaction, such as being married (Gove et al. 1983) and having relationship

support (Gordon and Whelan-Berry 2004), higher levels of education and income (Mookherjee 1992), and higher self-rated health (Riddick and Stewart 1994).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Spillover, Compensation, and Segmentation

Three guiding theories for the relationship between work and life satisfaction are the spillover, compensation, and segmentation perspectives (Loscocco and Roschelle 1991). Each perspective suggests that work affects life in different ways. The spillover model contends that satisfaction in one domain of life extends into others. A positive relationship between the domains is implied in this model. Therefore, employees who work in occupations with characteristics that provide greater intrinsic or extrinsic rewards are believed to be happy in their non-work activities, while employees who are dissatisfied at work are believed to be unhappy in their non-work activities. Previous research appears to support this perspective; in a meta-analysis of 34 studies, Tait and colleagues (1989) found an average correlation between job and life satisfaction of .44.

The compensatory model, on the other hand, suggests a negative relationship between work and life satisfaction (George and Brief 1990). In this model, employees who work in occupations that are dissatisfying are believed to compensate by engaging in satisfying non-work activities. Support for this model was found by Schmitt and Mellon (1980), who note the employees in more routinized jobs seek out interesting and fulfilling non-work roles.

The third model, segmentation, suggests no significant relationship between work and non-work domains. Under this model, occupational characteristics are believed to have no effect on life satisfaction.

In the present study, hypotheses for the life satisfaction analyses rely primarily on the spillover model. Support for a spillover model in this study would show negative associations between working in more hazardous, routinized and high conflict jobs and life satisfaction, while working jobs with characteristics such as more supervisory conditions, complexity, autonomy, and prestige would be positively related with life satisfaction. Individuals who have more negative working conditions are expected to carry the negative attitudes and experiences to other domains, such as their overall life satisfaction.

Structural Constraints

The multiple hierarchy stratification perspective views ethnic minority status as a source of inequality along with gender, age, and social class. In this view, society is seen as being stratified, with the bottom of the hierarchy occupied by older, poor, women from minority populations; whereas the top of the hierarchy is occupied by younger white males who are members of the upper or middle classes (Jackson 1972). Because of the disadvantaged position of Black and Hispanic women relative to White women, my hypotheses also consider that negative occupational characteristics will affect minority women more negatively than White women, and that positive occupational characteristics will benefit White women more than Black and/or Hispanic women.

HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: Occupational characteristics impact life satisfaction for all women so that women working in occupations with "professional" characteristics report higher life satisfaction and those working in hazardous, routinized and high conflict occupations report lower life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2: Race is significantly associated with life satisfaction, so that Black and Hispanic women report lower life satisfaction than White women.

Hypothesis 3: Race/ethnicity moderates the occupational characteristics/life satisfaction relationship so that more positive occupational characteristics are more beneficial to White women's life satisfaction, and more negative occupational characteristics have larger decreases in life satisfaction for minority women.

DATA AND METHODS

Analytic Strategy

In the current study, the sample was restricted to employed White, Black, and Hispanic Women who participated in the first wave of the National Survey of Fertility and Infertility (n = 1734). The sample sizes of the three groups compared in these analyses are White women (n = 1068), Black women (n = 368), and Hispanic women (n = 298). Data on occupational characteristics was provided by the Occupational Information Network, or O*Net and linked to the occupations of the women in the National Survey of Fertility and Infertility.

The plan of analyses involved a two-step strategy. In the first step, a series of ordinary least squares regression analyses examined the relationship between occupational characteristics and life satisfaction. The first model of the analyses included zero-order regressions of occupational characteristics only. The second, fourth, sixth, and eighth models included each occupational characteristic

individually along with dummy variables for Black and Hispanic (White as the reference category). The third, fifth, seventh, and ninth models included the demography and ideological control variables along with the individual occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity to ascertain if the relationship between occupational characteristics, race/ethnicity, and life satisfaction changed when a number of variables were held constant. The tenth model included all occupational characteristics without other control variables, the eleventh added race/ethnicity dummy variables, and the twelfth model included all occupational characteristics, race/ethnicity, and all control variables. Additional full models without educational attainment were conducted in an effort to determine if education explained much of the effect of occupational characteristics, but no significant differences in effects of occupational characteristics were determined.

The second step of the analyses involved estimating the interactions between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity to determine whether the effect of occupational characteristics on life satisfaction differs by race/ethnicity. Focusing on the interaction of occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity permits me to explore the pattern of differences in the effect of these characteristics on life satisfaction. Because I am interested in the experiences of women in different racial ethnic groups as well as the extent to which these observed differences by race/ethnicity are mediated by control variables, I conducted analyses both without and with control variables. Analyses conducted before adding controls more closely depicts actual racial/ethnic differences, since control variables are typically dependent

on an individual's race/ethnicity, such as education and income. Adding controls to the model assesses the extent to which these observed differences by race/ethnicity are mediated by the control variables.

Dependent Variable

The respondent's self-reported life satisfaction is the dependent variable in this study. Life satisfaction was assessed using four items from the "Satisfaction with Life Scale" (Diener et al. 1985) which included: 1) In most ways, my life is close to ideal; 2) I am satisfied with my life; 3) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing; and 4) So far, I have gotten the important things out of life. The items were coded so that high scores indicate high life satisfaction.

Independent and Control Variables

Occupational characteristics are the primary independent variables in this study. Based on results of the exploratory factor analysis presented in Chapter 2, which found that several of the occupational characteristics used here primarily tapped a smaller set of dimensions, they were combined to create four constructs for the analyses in this chapter. The construct termed "Professional" includes the occupational characteristics of prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity. The measures of hazardous conditions, routinization, and high conflict working conditions were included in the analyses individually (please refer to Chapter 2 for the measurement of each occupational characteristic).

Numerous variables related to individual demographic and ideological characteristics were included in the analyses. Race/ethnicity was coded into dummy

variables for White (reference category), Black, and Hispanic. Age was centered around its mean, and both age and a squared term for age (to test for curvilinear effects of age) were included in the models, although the squared term is dropped if non-significant. Education is a continuous variable representing years of schooling. Income is a categorical variable. Union status was coded into a dummy variables with no partner in the household as a reference category along with married and cohabiting. Relationship length is a continuous variable representing length in years, and relationship satisfaction is a standardized index of five items regarding the respondent's satisfaction with her relationship. Social support is a four item index variable regarding whether the respondent has someone from whom to get advice, help, and share her worries and fears with. Part-time work status was included in the models coded as 1, with full-time coded 0. Ideological variables measuring the importance of work, religiosity, parenthood, and traditional gender ideology were also included in the models. A dichotomous measure of respondent's self-reported health (1 = fair or poor) was included in the analyses. Parity was also included as a set of dummy variables representing "no children" (reference category), one child, two children, and three or more children.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics of the study variables are presented in Table 5.1 separately by race/ethnicity. ANOVA tests were conducted between each

racial/ethnic minority group and Whites to determine any significant differences in life satisfaction, occupational characteristics and demographic and ideological variables. Results reveal that Black and Hispanic women had significantly lower levels of life satisfaction than White women. Black and Hispanic also worked in occupations with significantly different characteristics. Black and Hispanic women were significantly less likely than White women to work in occupations with characteristics that are typically viewed being "enhanced," with higher prestige, autonomy, supervisory roles, and complexity. Black women were more likely to work in more routinized and high conflict occupations than White women, while Hispanic women worked in occupations that were more hazardous.

Compared with White women, Black and Hispanic women had lower levels of education and income (as with most surveys, education and income levels of respondents were higher than the population-at-large). Black and Hispanic women were much less likely to be married than White women (37%, 58%, and 68%, respectively), and Black women were significantly more likely than Whites to be cohabiting. Of the women in relationships, Black women had significantly shorter relationships, and they reported lower satisfaction with their relationships. Both Black and Hispanic women reported significantly lower levels of social support than White women.

Black women were significantly (7%) less likely to work part-time than White women, while Hispanic women were more likely to work part-time (7%). Black women reported significantly lower levels of work satisfaction than White

Table 5.1: Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables for Employed White, Black, and Hispanic Women in the Sample

	White		Black		Hispanic	
Variable	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Life satisfaction	3.13	0.58	2.95 **	0.57	3.04 **	0.57
Occupational characteristics[a]						
Professional						
Prestige	2.99	0.55	2.78 **	0.56	2.74 **	0.62
Autonomy	9.66	2.33	8.65 **	2.39	8.67 **	2.47
Supervising others	16.93	3.40	16.19 **	3.37	16.23 **	3.17
Complexity	16.77	2.58	16.07 **	2.90	15.91 **	2.80
Hazardous working conditions	11.67	2.93	11.92	3.12	12.37 **	2.92
Routinization	6.93	1.23	7.10 *	1.29	7.01	1.22
High conflict	8.02	1.36	8.19 *	1.29	8.09	1.32
Age	35.74	6.08	34.98	5.94	33.63 **	5.85
Education in years	15.34	2.48	14.73 **	2.21	13.32 **	3.31
Household income	9.11	2.58	7.56 **	2.77	7.63 **	2.89
Union status						
No partner in household	0.23	0.42	0.50 **	0.50	0.29 *	0.46
Married	0.68	0.47	0.37 **	0.48	0.58 **	0.49
Cohabiting	0.10	0.29	0.13 *	0.34	0.13	0.33
Relationship length	10.26	6.53	8.81 **	5.38	10.53	6.38
Relationship satisfaction[b]	0.13	0.67	0.04 *	0.63	0.24	0.73
Social support	3.74	0.48	3.56 **	0.65	3.33 **	0.88
Employment status						
Part-time	0.18	0.38	0.11 **	0.31	0.25 *	0.43
Work satisfaction (1=Y)	0.88	0.32	0.73 **	0.44	0.85	0.36
Importance of work	0.46	0.50	0.63 **	0.48	0.50	0.50
Religiosity[b]	-0.26	0.95	0.41 **	0.69	0.08 **	0.74
Importance of Parenthood	3.18	0.75	3.16	0.70	3.18	0.62
Gender role ideology	1.74	0.51	1.85 **	0.54	1.92 **	0.57
Poor health	0.12	0.32	0.16 *	0.36	0.22 **	0.41
Parity						
No children	0.34	0.47	0.22 **	0.42	0.22 **	0.41
1 child	0.20	0.40	0.25 **	0.43	0.18	0.39
2 children	0.31	0.46	0.27	0.45	0.31	0.46
3+ children	0.16	0.36	0.25 **	0.44	0.29 **	0.45
N	1068		368		298	

Note: [a] Occupational characteristics are standardized for regression analyses. [b] Values presented here are standardized.

Significant differences between White women and the racial/ethnic minority women are tested using one-way ANOVAs. **p<.01; *p<.05. Column total may not equal 100% because of rounding error.

women, but they were much more likely to report that success in their jobs is very important to them. Black and Hispanic women were both more religious and reported a more conservative ideology than White women. Both Black and Hispanic women were more likely to report that they have fair or poor health (compared to good or excellent health) as White women (16%, 22%, and 12%, respectively). Fewer Black and Hispanic women than White women had no children, and Black and Hispanic women were significantly more likely than White women to have three or more children.

Multivariate Analyses

The primary aims of this study are to examine how occupational characteristics impact employee's well-being as measured here by life satisfaction, determine racial/ethnic differences in life satisfaction, and estimate interaction effects of occupational characteristics and life satisfaction. The descriptive results present compelling evidence that life satisfaction and occupational characteristics vary significantly by race/ethnicity. I now turn to a series of multiple regression models to assess these relationships. Table 5.2 shows the results of the multivariate regression models predicting life satisfaction by occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity.

Life satisfaction. Model 1 includes zero-order regression analyses of each occupational characteristic individually and reveals that Professional characteristics (prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity) were positively related to life satisfaction. The relationship remained significant in Model 2 when

Table 5.2: Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Occupational Characteristics on Life Satisfaction

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics														
Professional	0.063 ***	0.016	0.051 ***	0.016	-0.023	0.016								
Hazardous	0.002	0.005					0.003	0.005	0.005	0.004				
Routinization	-0.017	0.011									-0.014	0.011	0.002	0.010
High conflict	0.015	0.010												
Race														
White (reference)														
Black			-0.162 ***	0.035	0.029	0.034	-0.179 ***	0.035	0.033	0.034	-0.176 ***	0.035	0.033	0.034
Hispanic			-0.080 *	0.038	-0.007	0.035	-0.100 **	0.038	-0.009	0.035	-0.096 *	0.038	-0.006	0.035
Age					-0.009 **	0.003			-0.009 **	0.003			-0.009 **	0.003
Education in years					0.028 ***	0.006			0.025 ***	0.005			0.025 ***	0.005
Household income					0.005	0.006			0.004	0.005			0.004	0.005
Union status														
No partner in household (reference)														
Married					0.312 ***	0.031			0.315 ***	0.031			0.315 ***	0.031
Cohabiting					0.149 **	0.044			0.156 ***	0.044			0.156 ***	0.044
Relationship length					0.005	0.003			0.005	0.003			0.005	0.003
Relationship satisfaction					0.261 ***	0.019			0.258 ***	0.019			0.259 ***	0.019
Social support					0.017	0.020			0.019	0.020			0.018	0.020
Employment status														
Part-time					0.050	0.032			0.053	0.032			0.056	0.032
Work satisfaction					0.266 ***	0.034			0.262 ***	0.034			0.262 ***	0.034
Importance of Work					-0.079 **	0.024			-0.083 **	0.024			-0.082 **	0.024
Religiosity					0.012	0.015			0.011	0.015			0.012	0.015
Importance of Parenthood					0.123 ***	0.018			0.122 ***	0.018			0.122 ***	0.018
Gender role ideology					-0.135 ***	0.024			-0.135 ***	0.024			-0.135 ***	0.024
Poor health					-0.228 ***	0.035			-0.233 ***	0.035			-0.233 ***	0.035
Parity														
No children (reference)														
1 child					0.048	0.037			0.047	0.037			0.049	0.037
2 children					0.021	0.037			0.018	0.037			0.019	0.037
3+ children					0.020	0.041			0.017	0.042			0.021	0.041
Constant			3.127 ***	0.018	1.942 ***	0.140	3.095 ***	0.057	1.937 ***	0.143	3.231 ***	0.079	1.972 ***	0.159
R^2			0.02 ***		0.306 ***		0.014 ***		0.305 ***		0.015 ***		0.305 ***	

Note: Model 1 includes zero-order regression analyses.
***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

Table 5.2 (continued): Multivariate Regression Models of the Effect of Occupational Characteristics on Life Satisfaction

	Model 8		Model 9		Model 10		Model 11		Model 12	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics										
Professional					0.066 ***	0.018	0.052 **	0.018	-0.024	0.018
Hazardous					0.004	0.005	0.004	0.005	0.003	0.004
Routinization					0.004	0.013	0.004	0.013	-0.001	0.011
High conflict	0.018	0.010	0.007	0.009	0.004	0.011	0.009	0.011	0.008	0.010
Race										
White (reference)										
Black	-0.181 ***	0.035	0.032	0.034			-0.165 ***	0.035	0.027	0.034
Hispanic	-0.099 **	0.038	-0.007	0.035			-0.083 *	0.038	-0.010	0.035
Age			-0.009 **	0.003					-0.009 **	0.003
Education in years			0.025 ***	0.005					0.027 ***	0.006
Household income			0.003	0.005					0.005	0.006
Union status										
No partner in household (reference)										
Married			0.316 ***	0.031					0.313 ***	0.031
Cohabiting			0.157 ***	0.044					0.151 **	0.044
Relationship length			0.005	0.003					0.005	0.003
Relationship satisfaction			0.259 ***	0.019					0.261 ***	0.019
Social support			0.019	0.020					0.018	0.020
Employment status										
Part-time			0.056	0.032					0.049	0.033
Work satisfaction			0.261 ***	0.034					0.267 ***	0.034
Importance of Work			-0.083 **	0.024					-0.080 **	0.024
Religiosity			0.012	0.015					0.011	0.015
Importance of Parenthood			0.122 ***	0.018					0.123 ***	0.018
Gender role ideology			-0.134 ***	0.024					-0.135 ***	0.024
Poor health			-0.233 ***	0.035					-0.228 ***	0.035
Parity										
No children (reference)										
1 child			0.048	0.037					0.045	0.037
2 children			0.018	0.037					0.019	0.037
3+ children			0.018	0.042					0.015	0.042
Constant	2.988 ***	0.085	1.944 ***	0.148	2.964 ***	0.138	2.981 ***	0.137	1.858 ***	0.181
R^2	0.016 ***		0.305 ***		0.008 **		0.019 ***		0.305 ***	

Note: Model 1 includes zero-order regression analyses.

***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

race/ethnicity dummy variables were included. Black and Hispanic women had significantly lower life satisfaction. Once all controls were added in Model 3, however, neither professional characteristics nor race/ethnicity were significant. Model 4 revealed negative effects for Black and Hispanic women on life satisfaction, but not the effect of working in hazardous occupations. In Model 5, neither hazardous occupations nor race/ethnicity were significant once all control variables were included. Models 6 and 7 did not reveal a significant relationship between routinization and life satisfaction, and the negative effect of race/ethnicity was eliminated when all controls were added in Model 7. Models 8 and 9 did not reveal significant effects of working in high conflict occupations on life satisfaction, and again the effect of race/ethnicity disappeared when controls were added to the models. When all occupational characteristics were included in the analyses without controls as shown in Model 10, professional characteristics was positively related to life satisfaction. This significant relationship remained in Model 11 with the inclusion of Black and Hispanic dummy variables, which also had significant, negative effects on life satisfaction. In the final model with all occupational characteristics, race/ethnicity variables, and control variables, occupational characteristics were not found to be related to life satisfaction. Additional attempts to ascertain whether one or two control variables significantly changed the effect size of professional occupations or race/ethnicity on life satisfaction did not reveal a primary factor.

Interaction Effects

Additional analyses that included interactions between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity were conducted both on models with occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity only and with all controls. In models both without and with all control variables, the interactions between professional characteristics and race/ethnicity and high interpersonal conflict and race/ethnicity were significant. Results of the significant interaction models ($p<.01$) are presented in Table 5.3.

Professional characteristics by race/ethnicity. The interaction effects between professional characteristics and race/ethnicity on life satisfaction reveal a significant effect for Hispanic women working in professional jobs. A graph of the interaction effect of professional characteristics and race/ethnicity on life satisfaction without controls is presented in Figure 5.1, since this interaction more accurately depicts present racial/ethnic differences (i.e., a number of control variables such as education, union status, and poor health are confounded by race/ethnicity). The graph shows that as expected, women working in professional occupations had higher life satisfaction than women working in less professional occupations. Black women had lower levels of life satisfaction than White women. Unexpectedly, Hispanic women working in more professional occupations had significantly higher life satisfaction than even White women in more professional occupations, although Hispanic women working in less professional occupations averaged much lower life satisfaction than Whites. This interaction suggests that not only does working in occupations with "enhanced" characteristics (i.e., ones that provide high intrinsic and extrinsic

Table 5.3: Multivariate Regression Interaction Effects for Occupational Characteristics and Race/Ethnicity on Life Satisfaction

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Occupational characteristics												
Professional	0.030	0.021	-0.038 *	0.019	-0.039	0.021					-0.023	0.018
Supportive/Low hazard					0.003	0.004					0.002	0.004
Routinization					-0.002	0.011					-0.001	0.011
High conflict					0.006	0.010	0.032 *	0.013	0.024 *	0.011	0.024 *	0.012
Race												
White (reference)												
Black	-0.168 ***	0.036	0.018	0.035	0.017	0.035	0.314	0.220	0.513 **	0.187	0.495 **	0.187
Hispanic	-0.062	0.039	0.009	0.035	0.006	0.035	-0.011	0.233	0.235	0.199	0.212	0.200
Interaction variables												
Professional X Black	0.002	0.040	-0.015	0.034	-0.015	0.034						
Professional X Hispanic	0.107 *	0.042	0.105 **	0.036	0.103 **	0.036						
Conflict X Black							-0.061 *	0.027	-0.059 **	0.023	-0.057 *	0.023
Conflict X Hispanic							-0.011	0.028	-0.030	0.024	-0.028	0.024
Constant	3.129 ***	0.018	1.968 ***	0.139	1.905 ***	0.181	2.877 ***	0.106	1.821 ***	0.156	1.753 ***	0.186
R^2	0.023 ***		0.309 ***		0.308 ***		0.018 ***		0.307 ***		0.307 ***	
R^2 (Interactions)[a]	0.004 *		0.004 **		0.004 **		0.003		0.003 *		0.003 *	

Note: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

[a]Additional variance explained by set of interaction terms over full model.

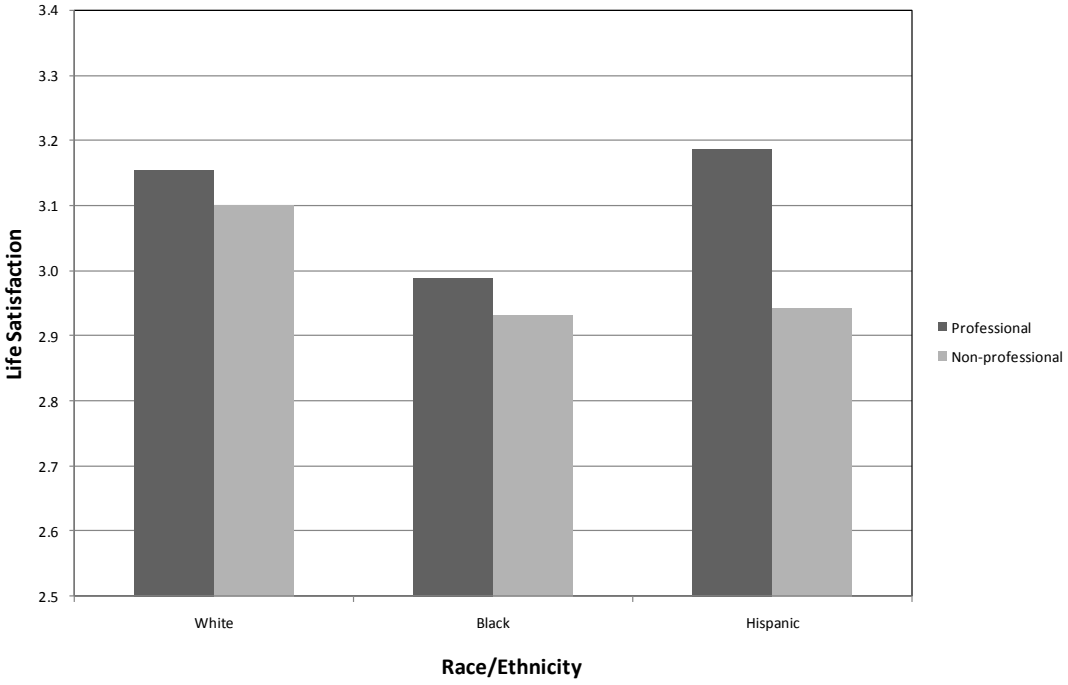
Models 1 and 4 include no control variables.

Models 2 and 5 include controls for age, education, income, union status, relationship length, relationship satisfaction, social support, work status, importance of work, work satisfaction, importance of parenthood, gender ideology, parity, and poor health.

Models 3 and 6 include control variables as well as all occupational characteristics.

benefits) spillover into overall satisfaction with life, the degree of spillover differs by race/ethnicity, with Hispanic women reaping the greatest rewards of working in more professional jobs.

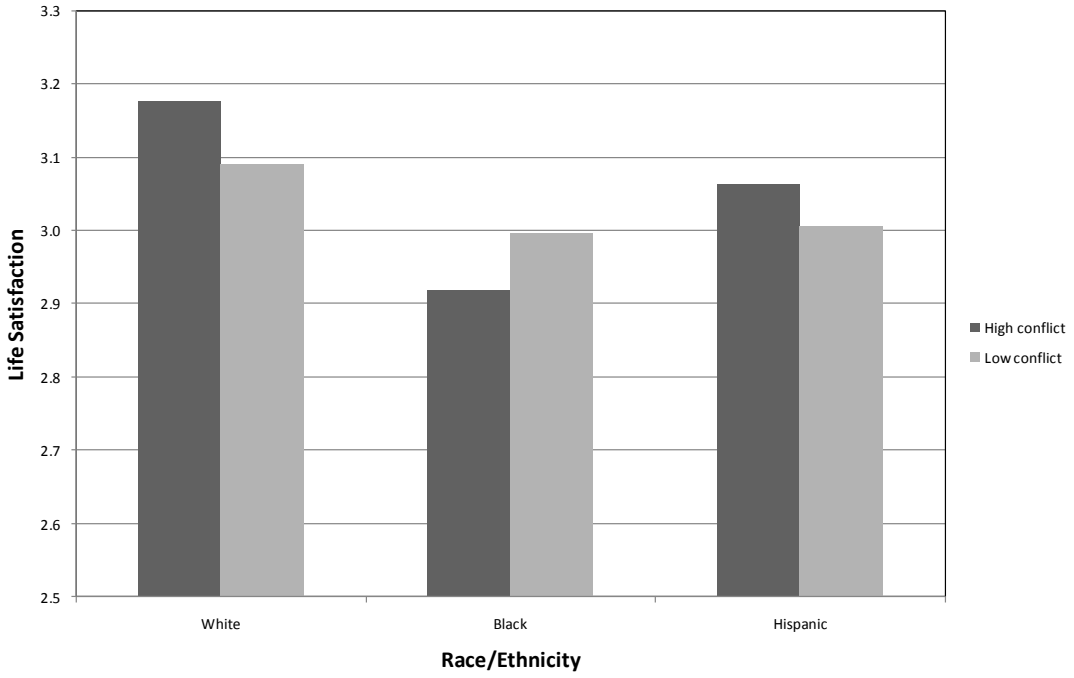
Figure 5.1: Interaction Effects of Professional Occupations and Race/Ethnicity on Life Satisfaction



High interpersonal conflict by race/ethnicity. The interaction effects between working in high conflict occupations and race/ethnicity on life satisfaction were significantly negative for Black women who work in high conflict occupations in models both without and with control variables. The model without control variables is depicted in Figure 5.2. The results indicate that White women had the highest levels of life satisfaction, regardless of their working conditions. Surprisingly, working in a high conflict occupation was related to higher life satisfaction for White

and Hispanic women. Black women, on the other hand, (who were significantly more likely to work in high conflict occupations) reported much lower levels of life satisfaction when they work in high conflict occupations.

Figure 5.2: Interaction Effects of High Interpersonal Conflict Occupations and Race/Ethnicity on Life Satisfaction



DISCUSSION

Although previous research has examined labor force participation trends for women in different racial/ethnic groups, there is a significant lack of information regarding the characteristics of their employment and what these characteristics mean for women in terms of their well-being. The findings presented here suggest that, prior to controlling for demographic and ideological factors, occupational

characteristics, particularly characteristics associated with more "professional" jobs, as well as race/ethnicity, affect life satisfaction. Although many of the significant relationships disappear with the addition of control variables such as education, income, union status, social support, ideologies, and poor health, it is essential in this case to remember that statistically controlling for these variables is artificial and does not represent the actual circumstances of employed women in the United States. While it is important to know how outcomes would differ if many of these demographic factors such as education and health that differ significantly by race/ethnicity were the same, today's society is far from reaching that goal. The study presented here indicates that women working in more professional jobs experience increases in their life satisfaction, while Black and Hispanic women report significantly lower life satisfaction. Additionally, occupational characteristics affect life satisfaction differently depending on race/ethnicity. Due to the aggregated nature of the data on occupational characteristics and knowledge that occupational segregation occurs not only between occupations but within occupations as well (Carlson 1992), the findings presented here are likely conservative estimates of racial/ethnic differences in work context.

The results of the analyses support my hypotheses in part. Professional occupational characteristics (prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity) were related to higher life satisfaction, although the relationship disappeared when controls were added to the models. The study also found that Black and Hispanic women reported significantly lower life satisfaction than White women, although the

relationship did not remain once control variables were added to the models. Race/ethnicity was found to moderate the occupational characteristics/life satisfaction relationship for professional characteristics and high interpersonal conflict, although results differed dramatically before and after control variables were added to the models. Further research into these differences is necessary to determine why the differences were so remarkable.

In the model before control variables were included, Hispanic women who work in more "professional" occupations reported higher life satisfaction than White women, although Hispanic women in less professional occupations reported quite low life satisfaction. In the model of high conflict occupations and race/ethnicity without control variables, working in higher conflict occupations was not found to negatively impact life satisfaction for White or Hispanic women, but Black women in higher conflict jobs reported significantly lower life satisfaction.

Results from this study found support for the spillover and structural constraints theories, and possibly segmentation theory. Although working in occupations with more negative characteristics did not negatively affect life satisfaction, working in more professional occupations was related to significantly higher life satisfaction. Since working in occupations with more negative characteristics did not negatively impact life satisfaction, it is possible that individuals in these jobs are able to segment their work domain from other domains of life. The negative relationships between Black and Hispanic women and life satisfaction that disappeared with the addition of control variables strongly supports the structural

constraints theory. The control variables include a number of demographic characteristics that are related to race/ethnicity, such as education, income, union status, and health. If there were not pervasive racial/ethnic differences in so many of these characteristics, there would not be the negative effect of race/ethnicity on life satisfaction that currently exists.

This study contributes to the literature by providing a first look into the relationship between occupational characteristics and life satisfaction for women of various racial/ethnic groups. Findings show that before a number of variables are statistically controlled for in the analyses, occupational characteristics of "enhanced" jobs and race/ethnicity predict life satisfaction in the expected directions. It is not surprising, however, that the relationships are not significant once control variables are included. There are a few possible explanation for the lack of significance in the final model. First, many of the control variables are correlated with both occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity, such as education, income, union status, employment status, importance of work, poor health, and parity. These associations also help explain why the interaction effects of race/ethnicity differ so dramatically once controls were statistically controlled for. Additionally, this study used aggregated data on occupational characteristics. Due to segregation in the workplace, it is possible and even likely that even in the same occupations, Black and Hispanic women do not experience the same characteristics. Similar studies must be conducted in the future that use self-reports of occupational characteristics. While

self-reports can provide biased information, the individual's perception of his/her job may be more important to some outcomes than overall conditions of the job.

This research not only indicates that occupational characteristics are a predictor of life satisfaction, it highlights the importance of investigating racial/ethnic differences in studies of individual well-being and testing for moderating effects of race/ethnicity in studies of work and well-being.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION

The findings from this dissertation demonstrate that occupational characteristics have important effects on individual and family outcomes and that race/ethnicity has a large effect on these outcomes. Utilizing aggregated data on occupations from the Occupational Information Network linked with a nationally-representative sample of women from the National Survey of Fertility and Infertility, the studies presented here show that there are substantial racial/ethnic differences in occupational characteristics, occupational characteristics are linked to fertility intentions and ideals with moderating effects of race/ethnicity, and occupational characteristics affect life satisfaction differently depending on race/ethnicity.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Occupational Characteristics

Although the majority of women and mothers are currently in the paid labor force, many questions regarding women's working conditions remain. Despite the many studies that have been conducted on racial/ethnic occupational segregation, previous research has largely failed to determine what this segregation means for employees in terms of the working conditions that they experience. In addition, research has not yet examined how mothers' occupational characteristics differ from non-mothers' occupational characteristics.

Findings show that White, Black, and Hispanic women work in occupations that have significantly different characteristics. Black and Hispanic women are employed in occupations with significantly lower prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory characteristics than White women; all of which previous research has linked to positive psychosocial outcomes and standard of living. Hispanic women are employed in more hazardous working conditions, which has been linked to deleterious effects on health and well-being.

While education has a positive effect on working in occupations with "enhanced" characteristics for women of all races/ethnicities, research presented here shows that White women experience the greatest benefits of attaining higher levels of education. White women experience significantly higher gains in occupational prestige, autonomy, and complexity and reduced routinization with increased years of education.

Women with children are less likely to work in occupations with higher prestige and autonomy than women without children, but they are more likely to work in occupations with higher hazardous conditions and those that are higher conflict. Parity moderates the effect of race/ethnicity for several occupational characteristics in surprising ways. The interaction graphs show that parity affects White women's working conditions in the expected directions; White women with more children work in occupations lower in positive characteristics and higher in negative characteristics. Hispanic women with more children work in more hazardous occupations. The effect of parity for Black and Hispanic women does not seem to be

same as for White women, however. Whereas White women experience declines in the likelihood of working in jobs with greater prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory roles, Black and Hispanic women with children either do not experience effects on their occupational characteristics, or they are actually more likely to work in occupations with higher prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory characteristics than Black women without children.

Fertility Intentions and Ideals

As women's labor force participation has increased over the past half century and women's fertility has declined during the same time, there has been a lot of interest in the relationship between women's employment and their fertility. Despite this interest, empirical research has not explored how work affects fertility aside from women's work status. This study provides the first look at how occupational characteristics affect the employment/fertility relationship by examining their effects on women's fertility intentions and ideals.

Zero-order analyses indicate that women working in more professional occupations had higher fertility intentions, while women working in occupations that are highly routinized had lower intentions. These effects disappeared with the addition of parity to the models. Working in more hazardous conditions was significantly related to having higher fertility intentions, with all variables statistically controlled for. Working in hazardous conditions and in higher conflict jobs were related to reporting more children as ideal. When parity was added to the models, the

effect for hazardous occupations was no longer significant, although high conflict occupations continued to predict desiring more children.

Analyses of the moderating effects of occupational characteristics indicated that fertility intentions and the number of children seen as ideal differs for women of differing racial/ethnic groups depending on their occupational characteristics. Whereas working in more professional and less routinized occupations increased fertility intentions for White and Hispanic women, Black women's fertility intentions were largely unaffected by their occupational characteristics. Because the effect of this relationship was reduced to nonsignificance with the addition of parity to the model, this suggests that White and Hispanic women might postpone their fertility based on their occupational characteristics, but not Black women. Additionally, whereas working in more professional occupations has a negative effect on fertility ideals for White women, Black and Hispanic women working in more professional jobs view more children as desirable. More research is needed to determine why occupational characteristics affect fertility intentions and ideals differently depending on race/ethnicity, but this is potentially a major finding; are employment and motherhood only competing interests for White women? Do Black and Hispanic women in more professional occupations want more children than because they can afford them and culturally desire more, or do Black and Hispanic women who want more children know that they will have to provide a larger proportion of the household income and thus are motivated to take more professional jobs?

Interactions of occupational characteristics and educational attainment reveal that although increasing levels of education decrease desired number of children for women in all occupations, the slope of the decrease is not nearly as steep for women in more professional, more hazardous, and higher conflict occupations. The significant effect of more professional occupations and education is reduced to nonsignificance with the addition of parity, suggesting that the relationship may be due in part to postponing childbearing.

Life Satisfaction

Although previous research has found that occupational characteristics are related to multiple dimensions of well-being such as life satisfaction (Karasek 1979), self-esteem (Kohn 1969), and psychological distress (Jenkins 1991), most of these studies were conducted several decades ago and involved primarily White, male respondents. More recent research of the effects of occupational characteristics for women tends to focus on women in female-dominated careers, such as nursing, although racial/ethnic differences are typically ignored. Evidence suggests that these studies fail to explain the extent that occupational characteristics affect women, however, because not only do women face differential exposure to certain occupational characteristics than men (and minorities from Whites), there are gender differences in the intervening variables through which work influences well-being (Pugliesi 1995). This study contributes to the literature by examining how

occupational characteristics affect life satisfaction for women of differing racial/ethnic groups.

Professional occupational characteristics (prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity) were related to higher life satisfaction, although the relationship disappeared when controls are added to the models. The study also found that Black and Hispanic women report significantly lower life satisfaction, although the relationship was no longer significant when control variables were added to the models. Race/ethnicity was found to moderate the occupational characteristics/life satisfaction relationship for professional characteristics and high interpersonal conflict, although the interaction effect differed dramatically before and after controls were included in the analyses. Hispanic women who work in more "professional" occupations reported higher life satisfaction than White women, although Hispanic women in less professional occupations reported quite low life satisfaction. While working in higher conflict occupations did not negatively impact life satisfaction for White or Hispanic women, Black women in higher conflict jobs reported significantly lower life satisfaction before controlling for a number of factors such as education and self-reported health.

Competing Effects

Many outcomes were not significantly related to occupational characteristics once a number of control variables were accounted for in the analyses. There may be competing effects that cause occupational characteristics to affect women's lives in

different ways, resulting in the overall effects of occupational characteristics appearing negligible. For example, although working in occupations with "professional" characteristics is related to higher fertility intentions, the effect is removed when parity is added to the regression models. This may be because professional characteristics are related to factors that encourage fertility postponement; women may choose to delay parenthood if they expect more extrinsic benefits from work, or professional occupations may cause higher work-family conflict, encouraging women to postpone childbearing. Perhaps individual differences such as affect or stress management differ between women who work in professional occupations and have children and those who do not have children.

While occupational prestige is considered to be one dimension of socioeconomic status, education and income are also important predictors of a wide range of individual and family outcomes. In the studies presented here, controlling for demographic factors, especially education and health, removes the significant effects of occupational characteristics. However, many of the control variables are correlated with both occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity, which suggests that the control variables are mediating the effects of the occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity in the studies presented here.

Due to the aggregated, objective nature of the data on occupational characteristics used in this study, however, it is important to note that individuals differ in their perceptions of their occupational characteristics, organizational climate can differ dramatically within the same occupation, and racial/ethnic segregation

exists both between and within occupations. While these factors stress the importance of obtaining self-reports of occupational characteristics, objective estimates of occupational characteristics reveal non-biased relationships. The significant findings presented here are likely conservative estimates of the relationships.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this dissertation relied on the three basic models that predict the effects of work on other domains of life: 1) segmentation, which proposes that work and other domains of life are isolated from one another and thus do not affect each other; 2) compensation, in which individuals who feel a sense of deprivation in the workplace will seek to compensate with non-work activities; and 3) spillover, which states that work experiences will carry over and affect non-work domains. Although these theories are typically viewed as competing, some evidence suggests all three processes link work and life domains that they may overlap and even occur simultaneously. In the analyses in this study, I attempted to identify which model(s) best explained the relationships between the occupational characteristics and outcome variables.

Because of the emphasis on racial/ethnic differences throughout this project, I also considered the perspective that structural constraints prevalent in today's society reduce life chances. Structural constraints refer to macro conditions such as inequalities in the social structure based on race and ethnicity, inequities in income

distribution, changes in the economy, structuring of the welfare system, and economic structuring of low-skill jobs and locations of these jobs.

Results from Chapter 3 provide strong support for the structural constraints perspective. Not only do racial/ethnic differences exist in American women's occupational characteristics, statistically controlling for demographic variables such as education did not remove all of the racial/ethnic effect, especially for Black women. This indicates that even if socioeconomic disparities were eliminated, Black women would still be less likely to work in occupations with higher prestige, autonomy, complexity, and supervisory roles.

Chapter 4 provide support for the compensation model; women who worked in more hazardous and higher conflict occupations (i.e., less desirable), had higher fertility intentions and desired more children, respectively. Women in more professional occupations had higher fertility intentions, but this was due to having fewer children, suggesting that they had postponed their childbearing. Fertility postponement by those in more "enhanced" jobs also indicates compensation; if work is fulfilling, women may be less inclined to interrupt it or risk negative consequences associated with having children.

Results from Chapter 5 indicate support for the spillover, segmentation, and structural constraints theories. Although working in occupations with more negative characteristics did not negatively affect life satisfaction, working in more professional occupations was related to significantly higher life satisfaction, indicating spillover effects. Since working in occupations with more negative characteristics did not

negatively impact life satisfaction, it is possible that individuals in these jobs are able to segment their work domain from other domains of life. The negative relationships between Black and Hispanic women and life satisfaction that disappeared with the addition of control variables strongly supports the structural constraints theory. The control variables include a number of demographic characteristics that are related to race/ethnicity, such as education, income, union status, and health. If there were not pervasive racial/ethnic differences in so many of these characteristics, there would not be the negative effect of race/ethnicity on life satisfaction that currently exists.

IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN'S WORK AND LIFE

The findings have important implications for employed women. First, this research shows that occupational characteristics differ by race/ethnicity. This is not surprising, given the level of racial/ethnic occupational segregation that continues to exist, but for the first time, it provides a look at what occupational segregation means for women's working conditions. As expected, White women tend work in occupations with characteristics that have been linked with positive outcomes, such as prestige, autonomy, supervising others, and complexity, while Black women work in occupations with higher interpersonal conflict, and Hispanic women work in more hazardous occupations. These racial/ethnic disparities are important because the studies presented here indicate that occupational characteristics are related to family and individual outcomes. Occupational characteristics affect fertility intentions and ideals, which may indicate that certain occupational characteristics are linked to

fertility postponement and possibly fertility forgone. Occupational characteristics are also related to one of the primary indicators of individual well-being: life satisfaction. These findings provide yet another justification for policies that attempt to end occupational segregation.

FUTURE RESEARCH

There are limitations in the present study that provide directions for future research. The O*NET occupational characteristics are surveyed from typical people in the job, which include both men and women, whereas my research is limited to women. It is possible and even likely that women might rate the characteristics of a specific occupation differently than men, but if they are the minority in an occupation, the overall characteristics will be based more on men's reports and may not reveal the true relationships between occupational characteristics and well-being for women. This issue would be resolved if O*NET would provide a gender variable for their respondents.

Another limitation is that O*NET provides characteristics of an occupation, not a specific job, which certainly has its own peculiarities, including changes individuals themselves make to their job characteristics (Parker et al. 2001; Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001). This limitation makes it difficult to draw inferences about the stressors associated with a particular job in a particular organization. Future research must weigh this limitation with concerns of bias associated with using self-reports.

Finally, there is ample evidence that the choices people make about jobs and career are not random. Social class is a greater predictor of occupational aspiration than any other variable (Bachman 1970; Kohn 1969). Selection problems likely affect outcomes associated with occupational characteristics. For example, the relationship between occupational characteristics and life satisfaction presented here does not take into account self-selection of people into an occupation; those who remain tend to be those with an adequate level of functioning. Individual differences vary by occupation and indirectly affect the impact of work in their lives (Holland 1976).

Despite these limitations, the present study has provided suggestive evidence that occupational characteristics differ significantly by race/ethnicity, and that occupational characteristics can have significant effects on women's lives. The findings will hopefully stimulate further research on the relationships between occupational characteristics and race/ethnicity, occupational characteristics and fertility, and occupational characteristics and life satisfaction.

APPENDIX A:

O*NET QUESTIONNAIRE

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

Scores were calculated by O*Net based on the following four criteria:

In your job, how much opportunity do you have to "be somebody" in the community?
In your job, how much opportunity is there for advancement?
In your job, to what extent does the job give you a feeling of accomplishment?
In your job, how often do you tell others what to do?

AUTONOMY

How important is INDEPENDENCE to the performance of *your current job*? An Independence Job requires developing one's own ways of doing things, guiding oneself with little or no supervision, and depending on oneself to get things done.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is INNOVATION to the performance of *your current job*? An Innovation Job requires creativity and alternative thinking to develop new ideas for and answers to work-related problems.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How much freedom do you have to determine the tasks, priorities, or goals of *your current job*?

1=No freedom
2=Very little freedom
3=Limited freedom
4=Some freedom
5=A lot of freedom

SUPERVISING OTHERS

How important is COORDINATING THE WORK AND ACTIVITIES OF OTHERS to the performance of *your current job*? This includes getting members of a group to work together to accomplish tasks.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is DEVELOPING AND BUILDING TEAMS to the performance of *your current job*? This refers to encouraging and building mutual trust, respect, and cooperation among team
members.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is TRAINING AND TEACHING OTHERS to the performance of *your current job*? This refers to identifying the educational needs of others, developing formal educational or training programs or classes, and teaching or instructing others.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is GUIDING, DIRECTING, AND MOTIVATING SUBORDINATES to the performance of *your current job*? This refers to providing guidance and direction to subordinates, including setting performance standards and monitoring performance.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is COACHING AND DEVELOPING OTHERS to the performance of *your current job*? This includes identifying the developmental needs of others and coaching, mentoring, or otherwise helping others to improve their knowledge or skills.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is PROVIDING CONSULTATION AND ADVICE TO OTHERS to the performance of *your current job*? This refers to providing guidance and expert advice to management or other groups on technical, systems-, or process-related topics.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

COMPLEXITY

How important is MAKING DECISIONS AND SOLVING PROBLEMS to the performance of *your current job*? Involves analyzing information and evaluating results to choose the best solution and
solve problems.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is UPDATING AND USING RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE to the performance of *your current job*? This refers to keeping up-to-date technically and applying new knowledge to your job.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is DEVELOPING OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES to the performance of *your current job*? Involves establishing long-range objectives and specifying the strategies and actions to achieve them.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is SCHEDULING WORK AND ACTIVITIES to the performance of *your current job*? This includes scheduling events, programs, and activities, as well as the work of others.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important is ORGANIZING, PLANNING, AND PRIORITIZING WORK to the performance of *your current job*? Refers to developing specific goals and plans to prioritize, organize, and accomplish your work.

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

SUPPORTIVE WORKPLACE POLICIES AND PRACTICES

In your job, how supportive are the workplace policies and the administration of the policies?

1=Not supportive at all
2=Not very supportive
3=Somewhat supportive
4=Moderately supportive
5=Very supportive

ROUTINIZATION

How automated is *your current job*?

1=Not at all automated
2=Slightly automated
3=Moderately automated
4=Highly automated
5=Completely automated

How important to *your current job* are continuous, repetitious physical activities (like key entry) or mental activities (like checking entries in a ledger)?

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

How important to *your current job* is keeping a pace set by machinery or equipment?

1=Not important at all
2=Fairly important
3=Important
4=Very important
5=Extremely important

HAZARDOUS

In *your current job*, how often are you exposed to sounds and noise levels that are distracting and uncomfortable?

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

In *your current job*, how often are you exposed to very hot (above 90° F) or very cold (under 32° F) temperatures?

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

In *your current job*, how often are you exposed to contaminants (such as pollutants, gases, dust, or odors)?

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

How often does *your current job* require that you be exposed to diseases or infection? This can happen with workers in patient care, some laboratory work, sanitation control, etc.

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

How often does *your current job* require that you be exposed to hazardous conditions? This can happen when working with high voltage electricity, flammable material, explosives, or chemicals. Do not include working with hazardous equipment.

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

How often does *your current job* require that you be exposed to hazardous equipment? This includes working with saws, close to machinery with exposed moving parts, or working near vehicular traffic (but not including driving a vehicle).

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

HIGH CONFLICT

How often are conflict situations a part of *your current job*?

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

How often is dealing with unpleasant, angry, or discourteous people a part of *your current job*?

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

How often is dealing with violent or physically aggressive people a part of *your current job*?

1=Never
2=Once a year or more but not every month
3=Once a month or more but not every week
4=Once a week or more but not every day
5=Every day

APPENDIX B:

NSFI SURVEY ITEMS

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Fertility Intentions

Do you intend to have a baby?
INTERVIEWER: THIS MEANS SOMEDAY, NOT A SPECIFIC TIME.
IF R ASKS IF THIS MEANS INTEND TO TRY OR INTEND TO HAVE, WE MEAN INTEND TO TRY. PRESS F1 FOR MORE. THIS DOES NOT REFER TO ADOPTION.

1 Yes
5 No
6 CANNOT HAVE (VOLUNTEERED)
7 INTEND TO LET NATURE/GOD DECIDE
8 DON'T KNOW (OR HAVEN'T MADE UP MIND)
9 REFUSED

Of course, sometimes things do not work out exactly as we intend them to, or something makes us change our minds.

In your case, how sure are you that you will have a child?
Are you very sure, pretty sure, or not very sure?

1 Very sure
2 Pretty sure
3 Not very sure
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Ideal Number of Children

The next question asks about the number of children you consider ideal for yourself. This could be more or less than you already have or more or less than you expect to have.

If you yourself could choose exactly the number of children to have in your whole life, how many would you choose?

[Enter 0 - 20]
88 DON'T KNOW

99 REFUSED

Life Satisfaction

Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements.

In most ways, my life is close to ideal.

1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

I am satisfied with my life.

1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

So far, I have gotten the important things I want in life.

1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

CONTROL VARIABLES

Race/Ethnicity

What race or races do you consider yourself to be?

INTERVIEWERS: READ CHOICES IF NECESSARY. CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.

<1> White (Caucasian)
<2> Black or African American
<3> Asian
<4> American Indian or Alaska Native
<5> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
<6> Some other national origin / OTHER-SPECIFY
<7> DON'T KNOW
<8> REFUSED
<9> HISPANIC

Do you consider yourself to be either Hispanic or Latino or neither one?

1 Yes (EITHER)
5 No (NEITHER)
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Age

How old were you on your last birthday?
[Enter Age]

Education

How many years of schooling have you completed?
0 No schooling
1 1st grade
2 2nd grade
3 3rd grade
4 4th grade
5 5th grade

6 6th grade
7 7th grade
8 8th grade
9 9th grade
10 10th grade
11 11th grade
12 12th grade
13 college fresh
14 college soph
15 college jun
16 college sen
17 1st yr grad school
18 2nd yr grad school
19 3rd yr grad school
20 4th yr grad school
21 5th yr grad school
22 6th yr grad school
77 GED/GED equivalent
88 = DON'T KNOW 9

ELEMEN. ONLY = 8
HIGH SCHOOL DEGREE = 12
ASSOCIATES DEGREE = 14
BACHELORS DEGREE = 16
MASTERS DEGREE = 18
DOCTORATE DEGREE (PH.D) = 22

Do you have a high school diploma or GED Certificate?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Income

Was your total family income in 2004 $40,000 or more, or less than $40,000?
1 Less than $40,000
5 More than $40,000
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

I am going to mention a number of income categories. When I mention the category which describes your total family income in 2004, please stop me.

8 $40,000 - $49,999
9 $50,000 - $59,999
10 $60,000 - $74,999
11 $75,000 - $100,000
12 $100,000 OR MORE
88 DON'T KNOW
99 REFUSED

I am going to mention a number of income categories. When I mention the category which describes your total family income in 2004, please stop me.

1 Under $5,000
2 $ 5,000 - $ 9,999
3 $10,000 - $14,999
4 $15,000 - $19,999
5 $20,000 - $24,999
6 $25,000 - $29,999
7 $30,000 - $39,999
88 DON'T KNOW
99 REFUSED

Union status

What is your current marital status? Are you currently married, divorced, widowed, separated or never married?

1 Married
2 Divorced
3 Widowed
4 Separated
5 Never Married
6 LESBIAN PARTNERSHIP
7 COHABITING
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSE

Are you currently living with a partner?

1 Yes
5 No
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Relationship length

How long have you been living with your current partner or husband?
[Enter years]
CODE LESS THAN ONE YEAR AS 0

Relationship satisfaction

Taking all things together, how would you describe your relationship? Would you say that it is very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?
1 Very happy
2 Pretty happy
3 Not too happy
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Overall, how satisfied are you with your sexual relationship?
Would you say very satisfied, pretty satisfied, or not too satisfied?
1 Very Satisfied
2 Pretty Satisfied
3 Not Too Satisfied
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Many relationships go through some ups and downs from time to time. Even people who get along well with their partner sometimes wonder whether their relationship is working out.

Have you ever thought your relationship might be in trouble?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Do you feel this way now?
1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Have you and your partner discussed the possibility of ending your relationship any time in the last three years?

1 YES
5 NO
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Social Support

Now we have some questions about the people in your life.
People sometimes look to others for companionship, assistance, or other types of support.

How often is each of the following kinds of support available to you if you need it?

Someone to give you good advice about a crisis?
Would you say...

1 Often
2 Occasionally
3 Seldom
4 Never
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Someone to give you information to help you understand a situation.
Would you say...

1 Often
2 Occasionally
3 Seldom
4 Never
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Someone whose advice you really want.
Would you say...

1 Often
2 Occasionally
3 Seldom
4 Never
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Someone to share your most private worries and fears with.
Would you say...

1 Often
2 Occasionally
3 Seldom
4 Never
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Employment status

I'd like to know a little bit about your present job.
Last week were you employed full-time, part-time, going to school, keeping house, or something else?

REMEMBER, IF R HAS 2 STATUSES, TAKE THE ONE HIGHEST ON THE LIST.

1 Employed at a full time job (35 hours or more)
2 Employed at a part time job(s)
4 Unemployed, laid off, looking for work
5 Retired
6 In school
7 Keeping house
8 DISABLED
9 OTHER - SPECIFY
88 DON'T KNOW
99 REFUSED

Occupation

What kind of work do you normally do?

INTERVIEWER: OBTAIN JOB TITLES, DUTIES, INDUSTRY, SELF-EMPLOYED, OR EMPLOYEE. IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, GET DETAILS FOR ALL JOBS BUT CLEARLY MARK PRIMARY JOB.

Work satisfaction

On the whole, how satisfied are you with this job?

Would you say very satisfied, satisfied, a little dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

1 Very Satisfied
2 Satisfied
3 A Little Dissatisfied
4 Very Dissatisfied
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Importance of work

How important is each of the following to you in your life?
Please tell me if it is very important, important, somewhat important, or not important.

Being successful in my line of work.

1 Very Important
2 Important
3 Somewhat Important
4 Not Important
5 NOT APPLICABLE
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Religiosity

How often do you attend religious services?
(USE CATEGORIES AS PROBES, IF NECESSARY)

1 Never
2 Less than once a year
3 About once or twice a year
4 About once a month
5 Nearly every week
7 Every week
8 Several times a week
88 DON'T KNOW
99 REFUSED

About how often do you pray?

Would you say several times a day, once a day, several times a week, once a week, less than once a week, or never?

1 Several times a day
2 Once a day
3 Several times a week
4 Once a week
5 Less than once a week
6 Never
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

How close do you feel to God most of the time?

Would you say extremely close, somewhat close, not very close, or not close at all?

1 Extremely close
2 Somewhat close
3 Not very close
4 Not close at all
5 DON'T BELIEVE IN GOD
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

In general, how much would you say your religious beliefs influence your daily life?

Would you say....

1 Very Much
2 Quite a bit
3 Some
4 A little
5 None

Importance of parenthood

Now, I'm going to read you a number of statements about families and children. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each one.

Having children is important to my feeling complete as a woman.

1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree

3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

I always thought I'd be a parent.
1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

I think my life will be or is more fulfilling with children.
1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

It is important for me to have children.
1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Traditional gender ideology

I'm going to read you a number of statements about families and children. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each one.

It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family.
1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

If a husband and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally.

1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Self-reported health

Now I have some questions about your health. In general, would you say your own health is excellent, good, fair, or poor?

1 Excellent
2 Good
3 Fair
4 Poor
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Parity

Did the pregnancy end in a live birth, a still birth, a miscarriage, or an abortion?[1]

1 Live birth
2 Still birth
3 Miscarriage
4 Abortion
5 STILL CURRENTLY PREGNANT
6 TWINS
7 THREE OR MORE
8 OTHER
88 DON'T KNOW
99 REFUSED

[1] This question was asked regarding each pregnancy for up to ten pregnancies. Parity was coded from the total number of live births.

APPENDIX C:

ADDITIONAL ANALYSES

Table A1: Correlation Matrix of All Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Prestige	1.000						
2. Supportive policies	0.393 **	1.000					
3. Autonomy	0.889 **	0.254 **	1.000				
4. Supervisory	0.607 **	0.132 **	0.593 **	1.000			
5. Complexity	0.722 **	0.252 **	0.700 **	0.728 **	1.000		
6. Routinization	-0.258 **	0.152 **	-0.415 **	-0.441 **	-0.295 **	1.000	
7. Hazardous	-0.287 **	-0.467 **	-0.222 **	0.086 **	-0.094 **	-0.182 **	1.000
8. High conflict	0.136 **	-0.150 **	0.056 *	0.350 **	0.160 **	-0.153 **	0.298 **
9. Fertility intentions	0.119 **	0.068 **	0.125 **	0.050 **	0.115 **	-0.082 **	-0.026
10. Fertility ideal	-0.069 **	-0.068 **	-0.044	0.020	-0.068 **	-0.010	0.069 **
11. Life satisfaction	0.081 **	-0.046	0.069 **	0.096 **	0.093 **	-0.037	0.009
12. White	0.196 **	0.028	0.202 **	0.107 **	0.140 **	-0.050 *	-0.076 **
13. Black	-0.112 **	-0.022	-0.136 **	-0.070 **	-0.080 **	0.048 *	0.016
14. Hispanic	-0.133 **	-0.006	-0.114 **	-0.058 *	-0.095 **	0.010	0.080 **
15. Age	-0.016	-0.028	-0.017	0.013	0.024	0.025	0.093 **
16. Education	0.412 **	0.102 **	0.387 **	0.336 **	0.453 **	-0.213 **	-0.048 *
17. Household income	0.384 **	0.142 **	0.333 **	0.213 **	0.342 **	-0.030	-0.046
18. No partner	-0.007	-0.005	0.000	-0.032	0.001	0.002	0.014
19. Married	0.042	0.025	0.028	0.084 **	0.028	-0.004	0.000
20. Cohabiting	-0.057 *	-0.032	-0.044	-0.085 **	-0.046	0.004	-0.021
21. Relationship length	-0.100 **	-0.025	-0.116 **	-0.020	-0.106 **	0.038	0.084 **
22. Relationship satisfaction	0.097 **	0.123 **	0.066 **	0.027	0.067 **	0.008	0.016
23. Social Support	0.127 **	0.080 **	0.108 **	0.068 **	0.139 **	-0.011	-0.051 *
24. Part-time	-0.152 **	-0.124 **	-0.095 **	-0.069 **	-0.161 **	-0.075 **	0.070 **
25. Work satisfaction	0.122 **	0.020	0.122 **	0.120 **	0.142 **	-0.077 **	-0.027
26. Importance of Work	0.043	-0.034	0.080 **	0.056 *	0.068 **	-0.065 **	0.014
27. Religiosity	-0.084 **	-0.048 *	-0.101 **	-0.024	-0.088 **	0.015	0.080 **
28. Importance of Parenthood	-0.006	-0.010	-0.020	0.040	-0.009	-0.010	0.023
29. Gender role ideology	-0.175 **	-0.067 **	-0.148 **	-0.079 **	-0.151 **	0.042	0.060 *
30. No children	0.156 **	0.093 **	0.160 **	0.045	0.140 **	-0.057 *	-0.087 **
31. 1 child	0.000	-0.002	-0.032	-0.038	-0.024	-0.008	0.014
32. 2 children	-0.006	-0.024	-0.001	0.019	0.023	0.029	-0.002
33. 3+ children	-0.176 **	-0.086 **	-0.155 **	-0.034	-0.164 **	0.040	0.094 **
34. Poor health	-0.046	-0.008	-0.043	-0.050 *	-0.073 **	0.020	0.015

Note: **p<.01; *p<.05 (two-tailed)

Table A1 continued: Correlation Matrix of All Study Variables

	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Prestige							
2. Supportive policies							
3. Autonomy							
4. Supervisory							
5. Complexity							
6. Routinization							
7. Hazardous							
8. High conflict	1.000						
9. Fertility intentions	0.009	1.000					
10. Fertility ideal	0.094 **	0.157 **	1.000				
11. Life satisfaction	0.035	0.028	0.052 *	1.000			
12. White	-0.047 *	-0.081 **	-0.120 **	0.137 **	1.000		
13. Black	0.045	0.006	0.006	-0.110 **	-0.644 **	1.000	
14. Hispanic	0.008	0.099 **	0.158 **	-0.034	-0.568 **	-0.235 **	1.000
15. Age	-0.022	-0.543 **	-0.049 *	-0.061 *	0.109 **	-0.021	-0.119 **
16. Education	0.103 **	0.184 **	-0.146 **	0.160 **	0.227 **	-0.028	-0.260 **
17. Household income	0.071 **	-0.004	-0.056 *	0.228 **	0.269 **	-0.179 **	-0.148 **
18. No partner	0.006	0.027	-0.094 **	-0.276 **	-0.192 **	0.229 **	-0.003
19. Married	0.026	-0.078 **	0.129 **	0.284 **	0.209 **	-0.237 **	-0.014
20. Cohabiting	-0.049 *	0.084 **	-0.065 **	-0.043	-0.047 *	0.038	0.026
21. Relationship length	0.014	-0.540 **	0.090 **	-0.021	0.045	-0.098 **	0.038
22. Relationship satisfaction	-0.059 *	0.077 **	0.047	0.302 **	0.000	-0.064 **	0.071 **
23. Social Support	-0.021	0.085 **	-0.028	0.159 **	0.230 **	-0.061 *	-0.220 **
24. Part-time	-0.032	0.034	0.085 **	0.057 *	0.016	-0.087 **	0.085 **
25. Work satisfaction	0.008	-0.016	0.001	0.240 **	0.132 **	-0.168 **	0.008
26. Importance of Work	0.019	0.004	-0.037	-0.087 **	-0.115 **	0.132 **	-0.004
27. Religiosity	0.024	-0.010	0.225 **	0.053 *	-0.292 **	0.265 **	0.073 **
28. Importance of Parenthood	0.074 **	0.160 **	0.399 **	0.180 **	0.012	-0.013	0.007
29. Gender role ideology	-0.021	-0.073 **	0.174 **	-0.144 **	-0.137 **	0.054 *	0.111 **
30. No children	-0.067 **	0.357 **	-0.321 **	-0.073 **	0.126 **	-0.084 **	-0.078 **
31. 1 child	0.011	0.198 **	-0.065 **	0.058 *	-0.021	0.056 *	-0.026
32. 2 children	-0.001	-0.285 **	0.041	0.045	0.018	-0.035	0.007
33. 3+ children	0.071 **	-0.279 **	0.365 **	-0.028	-0.133 **	0.074 **	0.102 **
34. Poor health	-0.023	-0.009	0.035	-0.200 **	-0.103 **	0.022	0.102 **

Note: **p<.01; *p<.05 (two-tailed)

Table A1 continued: Correlation Matrix of All Study Variables

	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1. Prestige							
2. Supportive policies							
3. Autonomy							
4. Supervisory							
5. Complexity							
6. Routinization							
7. Hazardous							
8. High conflict							
9. Fertility intentions							
10. Fertility ideal							
11. Life satisfaction							
12. White							
13. Black							
14. Hispanic							
15. Age	1.000						
16. Education	0.005	1.000					
17. Household income	0.211 **	0.416 **	1.000				
18. No partner	-0.037	-0.012	-0.338 **	1.000			
19. Married	0.112 **	0.034	0.326 **	-0.789 **	1.000		
20. Cohabiting	-0.122 **	-0.037	-0.017	-0.226 **	-0.420 **	1.000	
21. Relationship length	0.664 **	-0.169 **	0.045	-0.033	0.189 **	-0.251 **	1.000
22. Relationship satisfaction	-0.052 *	-0.055 *	0.094 **	0.003	-0.044	0.066 **	-0.039
23. Social Support	-0.062 **	0.258 **	0.166 **	-0.042	0.072 **	-0.051 *	-0.109 **
24. Part-time	-0.034	-0.062 **	-0.112 **	-0.034	0.070 **	-0.062 *	-0.007
25. Work satisfaction	0.033	0.053 *	0.114 **	-0.052 *	0.109 **	-0.095 **	0.058 *
26. Importance of Work	-0.043	-0.017	-0.102 **	0.157 **	-0.156 **	0.016	-0.032
27. Religiosity	0.089 **	-0.105 **	-0.125 **	-0.019	0.091 **	-0.117 **	0.183 **
28. Importance of Parenthood	-0.059 *	-0.048 *	0.024	-0.146 **	0.165 **	-0.045	0.058 *
29. Gender role ideology	0.079 **	-0.232 **	-0.114 **	-0.059 *	0.078 **	-0.036	0.125 **
30. No children	-0.180 **	0.267 **	0.042	0.233 **	-0.258 **	0.065 **	-0.340 **
31. 1 child	-0.068 **	0.027	0.015	-0.019	-0.012	0.047	-0.121 **
32. 2 children	0.159 **	-0.099 **	0.071 **	-0.191 **	0.222 **	-0.071 **	0.214 **
33. 3+ children	0.095 **	-0.206 **	-0.136 **	-0.035	0.061 *	-0.045	0.250 **
34. Poor health	0.005	-0.198 **	-0.211 **	0.051 *	-0.063 **	0.025	0.127 **

Note: **p<.01; *p<.05 (two-tailed)

Table A1 continued: Correlation Matrix of All Study Variables

	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1. Prestige							
2. Supportive policies							
3. Autonomy							
4. Supervisory							
5. Complexity							
6. Routinization							
7. Hazardous							
8. High conflict							
9. Fertility intentions							
10. Fertility ideal							
11. Life satisfaction							
12. White							
13. Black							
14. Hispanic							
15. Age							
16. Education							
17. Household income							
18. No partner							
19. Married							
20. Cohabiting							
21. Relationship length							
22. Relationship satisfaction	1.000						
23. Social Support	0.175 **	1.000					
24. Part-time	0.054 *	-0.019	1.000				
25. Work satisfaction	0.074 **	0.057 *	-0.019	1.000			
26. Importance of Work	0.088 **	0.030	-0.097 **	-0.018	1.000		
27. Religiosity	0.065 **	-0.010	0.027	0.029	0.015	1.000	
28. Importance of Parenthood	-0.063 **	0.021	0.106 **	0.017	-0.036	0.201 **	1.000
29. Gender role ideology	-0.102 **	-0.166 **	0.155 **	-0.070 **	-0.110 **	0.215 **	0.130 **
30. No children	0.094 **	0.136 **	-0.119 **	-0.045	0.027	-0.187 **	-0.372 **
31. 1 child	0.002	0.007	0.079 **	-0.027	-0.057 *	-0.010	0.111 **
32. 2 children	-0.042	-0.065 **	0.044	0.095 **	-0.008	0.044	0.139 **
33. 3+ children	-0.069 **	-0.080 **	0.002	-0.037	0.030	0.159 **	0.130 **
34. Poor health	0.002	-0.089 **	0.030	-0.123 **	0.038	0.017	-0.002

Note: **p<.01; *p<.05 (two-tailed)

Table A1 continued: Correlation Matrix of All Study Variables

	29	30	31	32	33	34
1. Prestige						
2. Supportive policies						
3. Autonomy						
4. Supervisory						
5. Complexity						
6. Routinization						
7. Hazardous						
8. High conflict						
9. Fertility intentions						
10. Fertility ideal						
11. Life satisfaction						
12. White						
13. Black						
14. Hispanic						
15. Age						
16. Education						
17. Household income						
18. No partner						
19. Married						
20. Cohabiting						
21. Relationship length						
22. Relationship satisfaction						
23. Social Support						
24. Part-time						
25. Work satisfaction						
26. Importance of Work						
27. Religiosity						
28. Importance of Parenthood						
29. Gender role ideology	1.000					
30. No children	-0.175 **	1.000				
31. 1 child	-0.043	-0.331 **	1.000			
32. 2 children	0.093 **	-0.407 **	-0.339 **	1.000		
33. 3+ children	0.132 **	-0.314 **	-0.255 **	-0.330 **	1.000	
34. Poor health	0.019	-0.014	-0.017	0.047	-0.027	1.000

Note: **p<.01; *p<.05 (two-tailed)

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