

Satisfaction With Work and Family Life: No Evidence of a Cultural Reversal

Hochschild (1997) argued that in recent decades the rewards of work have increased relative to those of family life and that this cultural reversal has aggravated the time bind that families face by increasing working hours. To the contrary, pooled data from the 1973–1994 General Social Surveys indicate that in working families, women have shifted away from finding work more satisfying than home toward finding home a haven. Moreover, were it not for women's growing labor force participation and the changing distribution of marital status, the shift would have been even larger. Men's relative work-home satisfaction has been stable. Finally, finding work a haven is unrelated to weekly working hours, and it has not contributed to any increases in working hours over time.

In *The Time Bind*, Hochschild (1997) found that for many, work takes precedence over home as a source of friendship, accomplishment, meaning, and even relaxation. Home is a place where they are beleaguered by disorder, the demands of children and spouses, and feelings of lack of control. Hochschild interprets these findings as an indication that in recent decades a cultural reversal has occurred, in which the rewards of work have increased relative to those of family life. Although

some “workaholic” men have always gained greater satisfaction from work than home (Duncombe & Marsden, 1993, in Hochschild, 1996), Hochschild argues that this pattern has become more prevalent.

Such a cultural reversal has negative consequences, as it signifies reduced investment in family life. Not only are workers relatively more attached to the workplace, Hochschild argues, but they spend more time there than in the past in order to avoid spending time at home. Long hours on the job aggravate the time bind (Hochschild, 1996, 1997) that many families experience. Long working hours by wives negatively affect their husband's health (Stolzenberg, 2001), presumably because wives have less time to manage family members' health. Long working hours also may decrease families' informal socializing and community involvement (Hochschild, 1996).

The claims of a cultural reversal accompanied by longer hours at work have received considerable attention from both scholars and journalists. Nevertheless, these claims require further investigation. First, they require a representative national sample, one that encompasses all workers. Hochschild's (1997) findings are based mainly on a participant observation study at a large manufacturing firm (“Amerco”) and a survey of mainly middle- or upper middle-class employees of large corporations whose children attended company-sponsored Bright Horizons Children's Centers (p. 199). Hays (1998), Jacobs (1999), and Maume and Bellas (2001) also have commented on this limitation. Second, longitudinal data are needed.

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Hochschild's data cannot provide evidence of a cultural reversal in relative satisfaction with work and home over time (Bielby, 1998; Hays). Moreover, the findings raise many unanswered questions about what explains relative satisfaction with work and home (Jacobs; Jacobs & Gerson, 2000) and what accounts for any change over time.

This study tests Hochschild's (1997) hypothesis of a cultural reversal with longitudinal data from a national sample, the 1973–1994 General Social Surveys (GSS). First, the study charts the trend in the prevalence of individuals who are more satisfied with work than family life to determine whether a cultural reversal has occurred. Second, it assesses the contributions of individual change and population turnover to overall change (Brewster & Padavic, 2000; Firebaugh, 1997). Third, it seeks to explain change by testing some of Hochschild's hypotheses about groups that are likely to be more satisfied with work than family life and to have contributed to a cultural reversal. Finally, it tests whether relative satisfaction with work and family life is related to weekly working hours and helps explain any increases in working hours over time.

BACKGROUND

Trends Over Time: Labor Force Change, Individual Change, and Population Turnover

Women's sustained movement into the paid labor force impels Hochschild's (1997) hypothesis that the rewards of work have increased relative to those of family life. Employment rates of women ages 25 to 64 increased from 50% in 1970 to 75% in 1994, the endpoint of this study. Wives at all educational levels increasingly work outside the home (Spain & Bianchi, 1996) to help compensate for declining real hourly wages (Bluestone & Rose, 1997). In the 1970s and 1980s, participation rates increased most rapidly for married women with children; by 1990 nearly three fourths were employed. From the 1970s to the 1990s, with each successive cohort, women's rates of full-time employment have grown to resemble men's (Spain & Bianchi), and acceptance of women's market work has increased (Brewster & Padavic, 2000). It appears that work has become a major source of satisfaction for women, as it is for men. At home, women still bear primary responsibility for housework, and work/family conflict adversely affects family functioning (Coltrane, 2000; Glass & Estes, 1997).

Hochschild's (1997) hypothesis of a cultural reversal implies that the percentage of respondents who are more satisfied with work than family life has increased over time. For this to have occurred, job satisfaction must have increased more than family satisfaction or decreased less. Based on empirical evidence, the second possibility seems more likely. Mean job satisfaction among American workers has been high and stable from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s (Hamilton & Wright, 1986) and into the early 1990s (Firebaugh & Harley, 1995). In contrast, satisfaction with family life has declined modestly since 1972 (Waite, 2000); marital quality has decreased (Glenn, 1998; Rogers & Amato, 1997); and marital discord has increased (Rogers & Amato, 2000).

If a cultural reversal has occurred, a key question is how much of the trend results from individual change and how much from population turnover (Firebaugh, 1997). That is, individuals may have become more likely to find work a haven over time (within-cohort change), and younger cohorts of workers may be more likely than older cohorts to find work a haven (cohort replacement). Studies of marital and job satisfaction from the 1970s to the 1990s suggest that the within-cohort component of the trend will be positive, but that the cohort replacement component may not be. Marital satisfaction does not seem to increase with marital duration, and the percentage of intact, "very happy" first marriages has declined across recent cohorts (Glenn, 1998). Again, job satisfaction has been stable. Within cohorts, individuals have higher satisfaction over time, and younger cohorts have lower job satisfaction than older cohorts. This pattern in which positive individual change offsets negative cohort replacement probably signifies an age effect, rather than a cohort effect (Firebaugh & Harley, 1995). Within cohorts, therefore, marital satisfaction has decreased over time and job satisfaction has increased. Younger cohorts are less satisfied than older ones with their marriages and their jobs. Hence the within-cohort component of the trend in finding work a haven should be positive, but the cohort replacement component may not be.

Studies of either family or job satisfaction, however, cannot tell us whether a cultural reversal has occurred. To assess "the relative emotional magnetism of home and work" (Hochschild, 1997, p. 202), we must consider the *joint distribution* of satisfaction with work and family life (Pleck, 1985). These ideas imply a two-by-two ty-

pology of *relative work-home satisfaction*. First, Hochschild focuses on workers for whom work is a haven from home (1996, p. 28), who gain more satisfaction from work than family life. This work-as-haven pattern is a cultural reversal of the second, older, more usual pattern of “*family as haven from work*” (1996, p. 28; emphasis in original). Third, some workers fit a “double-positive” (1996, p. 29) pattern of “work-family balance,” finding both work and home pleasurable. I term this category *high work-home satisfaction* instead, because the term work-family balance refers to individuals’ perceived success in combining work and family (Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Moen & Yu, 1999). Fourth, some workers fit a “double-negative” (1996, p. 28) pattern of *low work-home satisfaction*, in which “neither work nor home has any strong attraction” (1997, p. 203).

Few reports of relative work-home satisfaction exist, and the measures are not comparable. Twenty-five years ago, not many individuals found work a haven. Using data from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey, Pleck (1985) discovered that only 4.3% of husbands and 6.5% of wives were more satisfied with work than family life. About 40% of respondents were more satisfied with family life than work, and over 50% were equally satisfied with both (that is, high and low work-home satisfaction combined). More recently, Hochschild (1997) estimated that gaining more satisfaction from work than home “was a predominant pattern in about a fifth of Amerco families, and was a prominent theme in over half of them” (p. 45). Of the Bright Horizons working parents surveyed, 85% agreed that home feels like a workplace at least fairly often, and 25% agreed that work feels like home should feel (p. 200). The work-as-haven pattern may not be as prevalent in the general population. In an Ohio survey of employed parents with children at home, Maume and Bellas (2001) created a “reversed world” index based on agreement that “sometimes home feels like a workplace,” “sometimes work feels like home should feel,” and “I want to go to work to escape life at home.” The mean response fell between “occasionally” and “rarely or never.”

What Explains Relative Work-Home Satisfaction Cross-Sectionally and Over Time?

Gender, experiencing a divorce, having preschool children, and occupational group are four social characteristics that may influence relative work-home satisfaction, and they may have changed

over time in directions that may “exacerbate this reversal of work and family cultures” (Hochschild, 1996, p. 26). Any social characteristic that affects relative work-home satisfaction could have contributed to aggregate change if its *effect* or its *mean* or both have changed over time (Firebaugh, 1997). I now review evidence for each characteristic’s potential for contributing to aggregate change.

Hochschild (1997) implied that women will find work a haven more than men do, because women’s disproportionate share of domestic labor fosters role overload. She also implied a changing effect of gender—women’s tendency to find work a haven may have increased more rapidly than men’s. Evidence regarding gender differences in job satisfaction over time is inconsistent. Firebaugh and Harley (1995) found no gender differences in job satisfaction or in trends in job satisfaction from the 1970s to the 1990s. Waite (2000) also found that men’s job satisfaction had not changed, but that women’s had decreased slightly. Both men’s and women’s family satisfaction had declined slightly. Hence the work-as-haven category is unlikely to have increased because of a changing effect of gender. If women are less satisfied with family life than men, the work-as-haven category could have increased because of women’s growing share of the labor force (Spain & Bianchi, 1996).

Hochschild (1996, 1997) also argued that divorce increases the likelihood of finding work a haven by producing insecurity about family relationships (1997, p. 45) and strained relationships with ex-spouses and stepfamily members (1996). For example, stepparents are less satisfied with family life (White & Booth, 1985). Moreover, divorcé(e)s tend to become more involved with work (Riessman, 1990). In recent decades, the prevalence of divorcé(e)s has grown, as members of younger cohorts are more likely to have divorced than are members of older cohorts. If divorcing increases the likelihood of finding work a haven, the growing prevalence of divorcé(e)s could have increased the size of the work-as-haven category.

Having preschool children also may increase the likelihood of finding work a haven (Hochschild, 1997). Among dual-earner households, men and women with preschool children feel the least successful at balancing work and family life (Moen & Yu, 1999), especially if wives work full-time (Milkie & Peltola, 1999). Moreover, as work-family demands increase with wives’ em-

ployment and the number of preschool children, the higher the level of marital discord (Rogers & Amato, 2000). This effect should weaken as children age. As women with preschool children have increased their share of the labor force (Spain & Bianchi, 1996), having preschool children could have contributed to an aggregate increase in finding work a haven.

Occupational level also may influence relative work-home satisfaction. Most top and middle managers, especially men, that Hochschild (1997) interviewed were highly satisfied with work and family life, partly because they worked in increasingly rewarding environments filled with "friendly ritual and positive reinforcement" (1996, p. 26). Hence managers and perhaps professional/technical workers should be more likely than other occupational groups to have high work-home satisfaction. Hochschild suggested that the work-as-haven pattern was disproportionately emerging in the middle of the class structure (1996, p. 28), but did not provide details. She found the work-as-haven pattern least prevalent and the home-as-haven pattern most prevalent among blue-collar workers.

I found no evidence that changes in the effect of occupational level or in the distribution of occupational groups has fueled aggregate increases in finding work a haven or high work-home satisfaction. Hochschild's (1996, 1997) findings imply that job satisfaction has risen more over time among higher level and middle-level occupational groups than among blue-collar workers, "who have borne the brunt of America's deindustrialization" (Firebaugh & Harley, 1995). National survey data from 1972 to 1991, however, show that job satisfaction declined modestly among professionals, managers, and clerical workers, but not among blue-collar or sales and service workers (Firebaugh & Harley), who had lower mean job satisfaction than the other three groups initially. Hence it is unlikely that changing effects of occupational group have enlarged the categories of work-as-haven or high work-home satisfaction by raising job satisfaction. Changes in the distribution of occupational groups toward more professional and service workers and fewer blue-collar workers (Firebaugh & Harley) may have influenced relative work-home satisfaction in ways that are difficult to predict.

Several other social characteristics also influence job satisfaction or satisfaction with family life: age, race, marital status, education, employment sector, and family income (Campbell, 1981;

Firebaugh and Harley, 1995; Voydanoff, Donnelly, & Fine, 1988; Waite, 2000). Financial satisfaction mediates the effect of income on family satisfaction (Voydanoff et al.) and is positively related to job satisfaction (Campbell). Financial satisfaction has declined modestly since the 1970s (Gorman, 2000; Waite, 2000). I include these predictors in the analyses below.

Relative Work-Home Satisfaction and Working Hours

Hochschild (1997) argued that those who find work a haven work more hours than others out of choice and that they help account for observed increases in working hours over time (Schor, 1991). In contrast, Maume and Bellas's (2001) reversed world index (described above) is unrelated to weekly working hours or working on weekends, but is positively related to having a second job. The authors conclude that even individuals who "find greater fulfillment at work than at home" do not necessarily work longer hours than those "whose home lives are more enjoyable than career pursuits" (Maume & Bellas, pp. 1151-1152). Other evidence disputes the notion that workers voluntarily work long hours to "avoid stressful family lives in favor of a workplace that offers recognition and camaraderie" (Maume & Bellas, p. 1143). Instead, employers' demands (Schor) and financial need dictate weekly working hours. Many professional, managerial, and technical workers work longer than average hours but would prefer to work fewer hours. Many less-educated workers work part-time, but would prefer to work more hours and earn more money (Bluestone & Rose, 1997; Clarkberg & Moen, 2001; Jacobs & Gerson, 1998, 2000; Maume & Bellas). Some middle-class couples scale back their paid work to spend more time with their families (Becker & Moen, 1999), and Hochschild's own data reveal that workers at Amerco often tried in vain to arrange for more family time (Hays, 1998; Jacobs, 1999). Moreover, evidence disputes the assumption that working hours have increased. For example, Current Population Survey (CPS) data show that from 1970 to 1997, average weekly work hours did not increase, but more workers were working fewer than 30 hours or at least 50 hours per week (Jacobs & Gerson, 1998, 2001). Nevertheless, the hypothesis that the cultural reversal has contributed to an increase in weekly working hours would be supported if finding work a haven is positively related to weekly working

hours, and if either the size of the work-as-haven category or its effect on working hours has increased.

Based on the literature reviewed above, several hypotheses are tested. First, a cultural reversal has occurred, such that the percentage of respondents who are more satisfied with work than with family life has increased over time. Both within-cohort change and cohort replacement may have contributed to this trend. Second, four factors help explain work-home satisfaction cross-sectionally and over time: (a) women are more likely than men to find work a haven; (b) divorcing increases the likelihood of finding work a haven; (c) having preschool-age children increases the likelihood of finding work a haven; and (d) managers and professional/technical workers are more likely than other occupational groups to have high work-home satisfaction. Also, the higher the occupational level, the less likely respondents are to view home as a haven from work. Third, finding work a haven is positively related to weekly working hours cross-sectionally and over time.

METHOD

Data

The data were drawn from the GSS from 1973 to 1994, the latest year that measured satisfaction with family life. Data were available for every year during this time except 1979, 1981, and 1992, when the GSS was not conducted, and 1985, when satisfaction with family life was not asked. For all other years, the GSS contained identically worded questions about satisfaction with work and family life. Satisfaction with family life was ascertained for all respondents from 1973 to 1987, for a two-thirds subsample from 1988 to 1993, and only for respondents who received versions two and three of the questionnaire in 1994. Each survey was designed to be representative of noninstitutionalized, English-speaking adults 18 years of age or older in the United States. The data were weighted to take account of oversamples of African Americans in 1982 and 1987 (for details, see Davis & Smith, 1996), and the sample sizes reported reflect those weights.

Of the 24,243 respondents who were asked about satisfaction with family life, 13,459 were ages 18 to 64, employed full-time or part-time in nonfarm occupations or temporarily unemployed. Studies of work and family life by Hochschild and Machung (1989), Hochschild (1997), and others

(e.g., Clarkberg & Moen, 2001) have focused on how role overload affects spouses or partners and their minor children. Adults without partners and children do not have a family life in the same sense (Waite, 2000). Consequently, the analysis included only those 9,761 respondents who were (a) married ($n = 8,285$) or (b) unmarried, in a heterosexual cohabiting relationship with or without children, or noncohabiting with at least one child under age 18 ($n = 1,476$). (Cohabitators could not be identified until 1975, but the number omitted is very small [Smith, 1992].) The analysis excluded 3,588 respondents who lived alone or who lived with roommates or with family members other than children, as well as eight respondents who were visiting the households on which they reported. It excluded 102 other respondents with missing data on job satisfaction or satisfaction with family life. The sample size was further reduced in some analyses because of missing data on the predictor variables.

Measures

Two items were used to classify respondents into the four categories of relative work-home satisfaction: high work-home satisfaction, work-as-haven, home-as-haven, and low work-home satisfaction. These items were (a) how satisfied respondents were with their jobs (*very satisfied*, *moderately satisfied*, *a little dissatisfied*, or *very dissatisfied*) and (b) how much satisfaction they get from their family lives (*a very great deal*, *a great deal*, *quite a bit*, *a fair amount*, *some*, *a little*, or *none*). (The Results section below gives details.) The variable hours worked per week or hours usually worked (if temporarily laid off) had a mean of 40.9.

The analyses included several predictor variables. Year, measured as survey year minus 1973, ranged from 0 to 21. Gender was a dummy variable (male = 0; female = 1, $M = 0.47$). The equations also included the number of children ages 0 to 5 in the household ($M = 0.38$), the number of children ages 6 to 12 ($M = 0.51$), and the number of children ages 13–17 ($M = 0.40$). Whether respondents had ever been divorced was a dummy variable ($M = 0.15$). A set of dummy variables identified professional and technical workers, managers, clerical workers, and sales and service workers. Blue-collar workers were the comparison category.

As for the control variables, age in years had a mean of 39.12. Race was a dummy variable

TABLE 1. TYPOLOGY OF RELATIVE WORK-HOME SATISFACTION ($N = 9,761$)^a

Amount of Satisfaction from Family Life	Satisfaction with Work			
	Very Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	A Little Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
A very great deal	28.0 ^b	16.2 ^c	3.7 ^c	1.5 ^c
A great deal	16.2 ^b	14.1 ^c	3.3 ^c	1.3 ^c
Quite a bit	3.2 ^d	4.1 ^d	1.1 ^e	0.3 ^e
A fair amount	1.6 ^d	2.1 ^d	0.6 ^e	0.3 ^e
Some	0.5 ^d	0.6 ^d	0.2 ^e	0.1 ^e
A little	0.2 ^d	0.3 ^d	0.1 ^e	0.1 ^e
None	0.1 ^d	0.1 ^d	0.1 ^e	0.0 ^e

^aCell percentages are shown. ^bHigh work-home satisfaction (44.2% of sample). ^cHome-as-haven (40.1% of sample). ^dWork-as-haven (12.8% of sample). ^eLow work-home satisfaction (2.9% of sample).

(White = 0; non-White = 1; $M = 0.12$). Marital status was a dummy variable (married = 0; unmarried = 1; $M = 0.15$). The analysis of hours worked per week compared unmarried respondents ($M = 0.15$) and respondents with a nonemployed spouse ($M = 0.25$) with respondents with an employed spouse ($M = 0.60$). Education was measured in years ($M = 12.95$). Dummy variables compared self-employed respondents and government workers with respondents who were employed by others in the private sector. Real family income was computed by recoding family income to the category midpoint in thousands of dollars, then weighting it by the purchasing power of the dollar, adjusted to constant 1982–1984 dollars (U.S. Census, 2000; $M = 30.73$). Satisfaction with one's family's current financial situation was measured as *not satisfied at all*, *more or less satisfied*, or *pretty well satisfied*, coded 0, 1, and 2, respectively ($M = 1.03$).

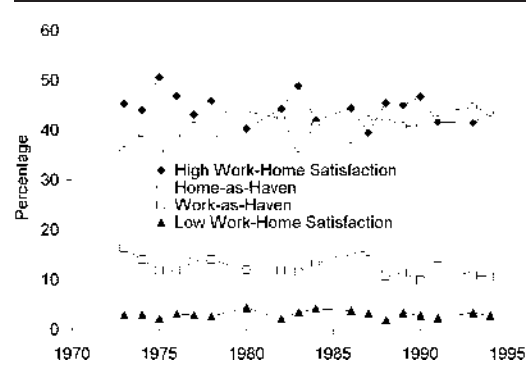
RESULTS

Table 1 shows how respondents were classified by relative work-home satisfaction. For all years combined, only 12.8% of respondents fit the work-as-haven category. High work-home satisfaction, the largest category, had 44.2% of respondents. The home-as-haven category contained 40.1% of respondents. Only 2.9% of respondents were in the low work-home satisfaction category.

Trends in Relative Work-Home Satisfaction

Figure 1 shows trends in the four categories. Contrary to the first hypothesis, the size of the work-

FIGURE 1. TRENDS IN RELATIVE WORK-HOME SATISFACTION, 1973–1994



as-haven category has decreased over time except for the mid-1980s, from 16.1% in 1973 to 10.8% in 1994. In contrast, the size of the home-as-haven category has increased, from 31.8% in 1973 to 40.4% in 1994. The percentage of respondents who have high work-home satisfaction has decreased slightly, whereas that of respondents with low work-home satisfaction is nearly stable. I tested the significance of these trends by regressing dummy variables for each of the four categories on survey year using logistic regression (Firebaugh, 1997). The trends for all variables except low work-home satisfaction were significant. At the aggregate level, correlations between the percentage in each category with survey year were -0.47 for the work-as-haven category, 0.65 for the home-as-haven category, -0.35 for high work-home satisfaction, and 0.02 for low work-home satisfaction. All but the last were significant.

Decomposition of the Trends: Individual Change and Cohort Replacement

To examine the dynamics underlying these trends, I identified the relative contributions of individual (within-cohort) change and cohort replacement (population turnover). The trends were not sufficiently linear to use Firebaugh's (1997) method of regression decomposition; predicted change differed from observed change by more than 20%. Instead I used the method of algebraic decomposition, which precisely accounts for change (Firebaugh, 1992). In this method, μ represents a mean, for example, the proportion of respondents in the work-as-haven category. The change in that proportion from Time 1 to Time 2 ($\Delta\mu$) can be separated into three components: (a) within-cohort

TABLE 2. ALGEBRAIC DECOMPOSITION OF CHANGE IN RELATIVE WORK-HOME SATISFACTION, 1973-1994, BY GENDER
($N = 9,761$)

	Full Sample	Women	Men
High work-home satisfaction			
Net change	-.017	-.051	.014
Within-cohort component	.163	.054	.266
Cohort replacement component	-.180	-.105	-.252
Home-as-haven			
Net	.076	.151	.010
Within-cohort component	-.066	.037	-.177
Cohort replacement component	.142	.114	.187
Work-as-haven			
Net	-.057	-.103	-.018
Within-cohort component	-.078	-.053	-.073
Cohort replacement component	.021	-.050	.055
Low work-home satisfaction			
Net	.002	-.002	-.007
Within-cohort component	-.019	-.038	-.017
Cohort replacement component	.017	.040	.010

change, (b) a turnover effect stemming from cohort replacement, and (c) the joint effect of individual change and population turnover. "The . . . equation is:

$$\begin{aligned}\Delta\mu &= \mu_2 - \mu_1 \\ &= \sum_j p_{j1}\Delta\mu_j + \sum_j \mu_{j1}\Delta p_j + \sum_j \Delta\mu_j\Delta p_j,\end{aligned}$$

where $\Delta\mu_j$ is $\mu_2 - \mu_1$, change in the mean for subgroup j ; and Δp_j is $p_{j2} - p_{j1}$, change in j 's population share" (Firebaugh, 1992, p. 3). In this case, the subgroups are birth cohorts. As is usual, the joint effect of individual change and population turnover is distributed equally between the first and second terms, making the equation

$$\begin{aligned}\Delta\mu &= \sum_j [(p_{j1} + p_{j2})/2]\Delta\mu_j \\ &+ \sum_j [(\mu_{j1} + \Delta\mu_{j2})/2]\Delta p_j, \\ j &= 1, 2, \dots, N \text{ cohorts.}\end{aligned}$$

(Firebaugh, 1992, p. 4)

Algebraic decomposition was performed for all 17 pairs of successive survey years from 1973 to 1994 (i.e., 1973-1974, . . . , 1978-1980, and so forth), and the results were summed. Separate decompositions were performed for the four dummy variables representing the proportions of respondents in each category.

Table 2 presents the results of the decomposition for the full sample and by gender. Because the four categories are all part of the same vari-

able—relative satisfaction with work and family—net change for each one must sum to zero, as must their within-cohort and cohort replacement components. Overall, net change from 1973 to 1994 is modest. The size of the low work-home satisfaction category has scarcely changed at all over the period. For other categories, within-cohort change and cohort replacement partially offset each other.

For the total sample, the proportion of high work-home satisfaction decreased by only 1.7 percentage points from 1973 to 1994. Positive within-cohort change was offset by younger cohorts' lower likelihood of being satisfied with work and family life. High work-home satisfaction was stable among men, but declined by 5.1 percentage points among women. Younger cohorts of both genders were less likely than older ones to be highly satisfied with work and family life. Men's decrease, however, was offset by their strong tendency to become highly satisfied with work and family life over the period. Women's decline in high work-home satisfaction because of cohort replacement (10.5 percentage points) was smaller than men's, and it was only partially offset by a within-cohort increase of 5.4 percentage points. Consequently, women changed over the period, but men did not.

The home-as-haven category had the largest net change from 1973 to 1994, an increase of 7.6 percentage points. Women accounted for nearly all of it, with a net increase of 15.1 percentage points. Younger cohorts of both genders were

TABLE 3. MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS PREDICTING RELATIVE WORK-HOME SATISFACTION^a (*N* = 9,184)

Comparison Group	(1a)	(1b)	(2)	(3a)	(3b)	(3c)
	Work-as-Haven versus Home-as-Haven	High Work-Home Satisfaction versus Home-as-Haven	Work-as-Haven versus High Work-Home Satisfaction	Work-as-Haven versus Low Work-Home Satisfaction	High Work-Home Satisfaction versus Low Work-Home Satisfaction	Home-as-Haven versus Low Work-Home Satisfaction
Year	0.978***	0.989**	0.990	0.987	0.998	1.009
Female	1.236*	1.037	1.191*	1.282	1.076	1.038
Unmarried	3.558***	0.926	3.841***	1.977*	0.515*	0.556*
Female × unmarried	0.627**	1.248	0.503***	0.634	1.260	1.010
Ever-divorced	1.491***	1.232**	1.210*	1.065	0.880	0.714
Children under age 6	0.828***	0.968	0.855**	0.995	1.165	1.203
Children ages 6–12	0.932	1.077*	0.865***	1.023	1.182*	1.098
Children ages 13–17	1.043	1.080*	0.966	0.949	0.983	0.910
Occupation ^b						
Professional or technical	1.166	1.537***	0.759*	1.495	1.969**	1.281
Managerial	1.249	1.503***	0.831	1.225	1.473	0.980
Clerical	0.856	1.189*	0.720**	1.090	1.514	1.274
Sales or service	1.045	1.171*	0.892	0.999	1.120	0.956
Control variables						
Age	1.017***	1.018***	0.999	1.025***	1.027***	1.008
Race (1 = <i>Non-White</i>)	1.153	0.772***	1.494***	0.605**	0.405***	0.525***
Education	0.983	0.989	0.994	0.989	0.995	1.006
Employment sector ^c						
Self-employed	1.466***	1.655***	0.886	1.618	1.827*	1.104
Public sector	1.223	1.341***	0.912	1.529	1.676	1.250
Family income in constant 1982–1984 dollars	1.001	1.002	0.999	1.008	1.009	1.006
Financial satisfaction	1.106*	1.632***	0.678***	2.032***	2.999***	1.837***
Intercept	–1.877***	–1.315***	–0.563*	–0.221	0.342	1.657***
χ^2 ^d	973.913***					
<i>df</i>	57					

^aEach effect is the multiplicative change in odds of being in each category versus the comparison category of relative work-home satisfaction, per unit change in an independent variable. ^bCompared with respondents in blue-collar occupations. ^cCompared with respondents employed by others in the private sector. ^dChi-square remains the same regardless of which category is the comparison category.

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

more likely than older cohorts to be more satisfied with home than work. Over time, however, men tended to leave this category, whereas women became more likely to find home a haven.

Contrary to prediction, net change for the work-as-haven category was small and negative, and most change was within cohorts. Women's net decrease of 10.3 percentage points accounted for nearly all of it. Women became less likely to find work a haven over time, and younger cohorts were less likely than older ones to find work a haven. Men had a net decrease of only 1.8 percentage points. Over time men were 7.3 percentage points less likely to find work a haven, but

younger cohorts were 5.5 percentage points more likely than older ones to do so.

What Explains Relative Work-Home Satisfaction Cross-Sectionally and Over Time?

The next step is a set of multinomial logistic regression analyses (see Table 3). These analyses show the effects of predictor variables on the probability of falling into a given category. As the dependent variable has four categories, three equations are estimated simultaneously. Each equation compares one category of the dependent variable to a comparison category (Jaccard, 2001).

In the first analysis (columns 1a and 1b), the comparison category is home-as-haven. That is, columns 1a and 1b indicate how each predictor variable influences the likelihood of finding work a haven or having high work-home satisfaction, respectively, rather than finding home a haven. (The third comparison, home-as-haven with low work-home satisfaction, is shown in column 3c.) The analysis is rerun twice with different comparison categories—high work-home satisfaction (column 2) and low work-home satisfaction (columns 3a, 3b, and 3c). Together, these three analyses show all six possible comparisons—one category, rather than each other category, of relative work-home satisfaction.

Table 3 reports exponents of the multinomial logistic regression coefficients. These are odds ratios, the multiplicative changes in the predicted odds of a given category of relative work-home satisfaction (vs. a comparison category) per one-unit increase in the predictor variables. An exponent greater than 1 indicates a positive relationship, and an exponent less than 1 a negative relationship. The odds ratios of finding work a haven, rather than each of the other three categories, are shown in columns 1a, 2, and 3a. The odds ratios of high work-home satisfaction, rather than home-as-haven and low work-home satisfaction, are shown in columns 1b and 3b; and those of finding home a haven versus low home-work satisfaction are shown in column 3c.

As in Table 2, the effects of survey year contradict the first hypothesis—that finding work a haven has increased over time. Instead, the likelihood of finding work a haven versus finding home a haven (column 1a) has declined over time, as the coefficient 0.978 is less than 1. The likelihood of high work-home satisfaction versus finding home a haven also has declined (0.989 in column 1b). Hence over time the home-as-haven category has grown.

Women are predicted to be more likely than men to find work a haven. As gender interacts with marital status, however, their effects cannot be separated. The comparison category is married men. In Table 3, column 1a, the odds of finding work, rather than home, a haven are 1.24 times greater for married women than for married men; 2.76 times greater for unmarried women than for married men (obtained by multiplying the odds ratios for female, unmarried, and female \times unmarried); and 3.56 times greater for unmarried men than for married men. Similarly, in column 2, the odds of finding work a haven versus having

high work-home satisfaction are 1.19 times greater for married women than for married men, 2.30 times greater for unmarried women than for married men, and 3.84 times greater for unmarried men than for married men. That is, both married and unmarried women are more likely than married men to find work a haven versus these two alternatives, but unmarried men are the *most* likely to find work a haven. Thus the hypothesis that women are more likely than men to find work a haven receives conditional support: it holds for married, but not unmarried, respondents. In analyses not shown, unmarried women are less likely than unmarried men to find work, rather than home, a haven, but equally likely to find work a haven, rather than having high work-home satisfaction.

As predicted, divorcé(e)s are more likely than others to find work a haven. As shown in Table 3, divorcé(e)s are more likely to find work a haven than to find home a haven or to have high work-home satisfaction (columns 1a and 2), and they are more likely to have high work-home satisfaction than to find home a haven (column 1b). Thus divorce encourages psychological investment in the workplace (Riessman, 1990). Contrary to expectation, respondents with preschool children are not more likely than others to find work a haven. Families with children under age 6 are less likely to find work a haven, rather than finding home a haven (column 1a) or having high work-home satisfaction (column 2). Having children 6–12 years old increases the likelihood of high work-home satisfaction as against finding home a haven (column 1b) or having low work-home satisfaction (column 3b). Hence having preadolescent children *decreases* the likelihood of finding work a haven. Perhaps young children make family life more satisfying by elevating parents' sense of meaning and purpose (Umberson & Gove, 1989).

Occupation also affects relative work-home satisfaction. Blue-collar workers are predicted to be more likely than other workers to find home a haven. This hypothesis receives some support in Table 3. Blue-collar workers (the omitted comparison category) are no less likely than other workers to find work, rather than home, a haven (column 1a), but they are more likely to find home a haven, rather than having high work-home satisfaction (column 1b). Professional/technical workers and clerical workers are less likely than other workers to find work a haven versus having high work-home satisfaction (column 2).

As regard the control variables, the coefficients for age in Table 3 show that older workers are more likely than younger ones to find work, rather than home, a haven (column 1a) or to have low work-home satisfaction (column 3a). Older workers also are more likely to have high work-home satisfaction than to find home a haven (column 1b) or have low work-home satisfaction (column 3b). Non-Whites are more likely than Whites to find either home or work a haven, rather than having high work-home satisfaction (columns 1b and 2), and they are more likely than Whites to have low work-home satisfaction, rather than other outcomes (columns 3a, 3b, and 3c). Self-employed respondents are more likely than other workers to find work, rather than home, a haven (column 1a). They also are more likely than workers employed in the private sector to have high work-home satisfaction instead of finding home a haven (column 1b) or having low work-home satisfaction (column 3b). Family income in constant dollars affects relative work-home satisfaction (not shown), but financial satisfaction explains its effect. Financial satisfaction is positively related to having high work-home satisfaction, rather than finding either home a haven (column 1b) or work a haven (column 2). Financial satisfaction also increases the likelihood of being satisfied with work or home or both, rather than with neither one (columns 3a, 3b, and 3c).

The next question is whether these social characteristics help explain the aggregate changes in the four categories over time, which is seen in Table 2. Again, either changes in the *effects* of the predictors or changes in the *means* of the predictors may contribute to aggregate change. Because no interactions of year with any of the predictor variables are significant, changes in effects cannot explain aggregate change. Changes in the means may, however. In this case, significant predictors whose means have changed over time—gender, marital status, having been divorced, and financial satisfaction—may help to account for change.

Four logistic regressions were performed in which the respective dependent variables were membership in a given category (e.g., work-as-haven) versus the other three, as in Table 2. Predicted probabilities of being in a given category were computed for 1973 and 1994, using the mean of each potential source of change in 1973 and 1994, respectively, and the overall means for the other predictors. The difference between the two probabilities was how much the change in means contributed to aggregate change. To sum-

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED MEAN HOURS WORKED PER WEEK BY RELATIVE WORK-HOME SATISFACTION AND BY GENDER

	Women (<i>n</i> = 4,565) (<i>M</i> ^a)	Men (<i>n</i> = 5,054) (<i>M</i> ^a)
High work-home satisfaction	36.3	46.2
Home-as-haven	35.3 ^{b,c}	44.3 ^c
Work-as-haven	36.5	45.5
Low work-home satisfaction	34.9	44.9

^aAdjusted for the effects of year, age, age squared, race, being unmarried or having a nonemployed spouse or an employed spouse, children under age 6, children ages 6–12, children ages 13–17, ever having divorced, education, occupation, and employment sector. ^bDiffers from work-as-haven, *p* < .05. ^cDiffers from high work-home satisfaction, *p* < .05.

marize the results, changes in the means of the predictors did not explain much aggregate change in relative work-home satisfaction. Moreover, some were suppressor variables: When their effects were taken into account, the amount of change to be explained increased. For example, from 1973 to 1994, the proportion of women in the sample increased from 0.39 to 0.54 because of women's rising labor force participation. The proportion of unmarried respondents increased from 0.10 to 0.20; and that of unmarried women increased from 0.06 to 0.15. Together these increases yielded a predicted increase in the work-as-haven category of 0.01 (results not shown). Yet as Table 2 showed, this category *decreased* by 0.057. Similarly, taking into account changes in the means of gender, marital status, and the interaction between them, the home-as-haven category was predicted to decrease by 0.01. Instead it increased by 0.076. Changes in the means of the other significant predictors, ever-divorced and financial satisfaction, had only small effects on change in relative work-home satisfaction. Hence neither changes in the effects or the means of the predictors accounted for aggregate change in relative work-home satisfaction.

Does Relative Work-Home Satisfaction Influence Weekly Working Hours?

The last hypothesis is that work-as-haven respondents work more hours per week than respondents in other categories do. Regression analyses are used to estimate mean weekly working hours for men and women in each category, adjusted for sociodemographic characteristics (see Table 4).

The data do not support the hypothesis. Significance tests with different categories omitted show that women who find work a haven only work more hours than women who find home a haven. Men who find work a haven work no more hours per week than men in any other category. In fact, on average women and men with high work-home satisfaction work as many hours per week as those who find work a haven.

Relative work-home satisfaction did not explain increases in hours worked over time, either. In these data, average weekly working hours increased from 44.4 to 48.6 for men and from 32.1 to 37.5 for women. Why this trend differs from the flat trend found in large CPS samples with high response rates (Jacobs & Gerson, 1998, 2001) is not clear. The two-way interactions of gender with relative work-home satisfaction, year with gender, and year with relative work-home satisfaction were not significant, nor was the three-way interaction of year with relative work-home satisfaction and gender (not shown). That is, the effects of relative work-home satisfaction on weekly working hours did not differ by gender, and the effects of gender and relative work-home satisfaction did not change over time.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study, which is the first to use longitudinal data and a representative sample of U.S. adults with families to test Hochschild's (1997) two main assertions from *The Time Bind*, do not support either. A cultural reversal has not occurred; work has not become relatively more satisfying than home. Such a reversal would signify declining investment in family life; the data show otherwise. Finding work a haven is not positively related to weekly working hours, and it has not contributed to increases in working hours over time.

First, from 1973 to 1994, the percentage of individuals with families for whom work is more satisfying than family life shrank, rather than grew. More specifically, men's likelihood of finding work a haven has not changed; women have become *less* likely to find work a haven. Second, finding work a haven does not promote longer working hours (see also Maume & Bellas, 2001), and it has not contributed to increases in weekly working hours over time. Men and women who find work a haven spend no more hours at work than those with high work-home satisfaction. Instead, the home-as-haven category, with shorter

working hours, is distinctive. Some home-as-haven respondents may reduce their working hours in response to unsatisfactory jobs. Probably for most, however, short weekly hours are yet another disadvantage of less than satisfying jobs (Bluestone & Rose, 1997; Jacobs & Gerson, 2000).

Another finding also belies the notion that individuals are less psychologically invested in their families than in the past. Contrary to expectation, respondents with children under age 6 are more likely to find a home a haven, rather than finding work a haven or having high work-home satisfaction. As children get older, individuals seem to shift toward high work-home satisfaction. Perhaps children make family life more satisfying by boosting parents' sense of meaning and purpose (Umberson & Gove, 1989). These effects have not changed over time.

Although a cultural reversal has not occurred, the findings do not encourage optimism. Instead they imply that men's and women's work opportunities, career patterns, and family responsibilities continue to differ over the life course and over time, leaving many longstanding work and family problems unresolved. Men's relative work-home satisfaction has scarcely changed. As in previous research on job satisfaction, within-cohort change offsets cohort replacement. This pattern probably signifies an age effect (Firebaugh & Harley, 1995) in which men shift away from being more satisfied with work or home toward high work-home satisfaction over time. In a word, men shift toward "having it all." For women, in contrast, work has become relatively less rewarding. Women have shifted away from finding work a haven or having high work-home satisfaction toward finding home a haven. The seeming contradiction with Waite's (2000) finding that women's family satisfaction has decreased mostly likely results from my analyzing individuals with families, who tend to be more satisfied than others with family life. Notably, were it not for changes in women's share of the labor force and the distribution of marital status over the study period, women's shift toward finding home a haven would have been even larger.

Apparently the workplace still does not offer women the rewards that would increase their job satisfaction over time. Most women still work in female-dominated occupations, which tend to pay poorly, have little authority, and offer few opportunities for promotion (Bielby & Baron, 1986). Even when women hold male-dominated jobs, they are less likely than men to receive wage pro-

motions, and they are more likely to leave their jobs (Maume, 1999). Blocked mobility fosters disengagement (Cassirer & Reskin, 2000, p. 458). Another sort of job reward is family-responsive working conditions, which help retain women employees after childbirth (Glass & Riley, 1998). Although work/family programs have spread, they remain spotty, rudimentary, weakly institutionalized, and underutilized, as they often lack managers' support (Glass & Estes, 1997; Hochschild, 1997).

Tensions at home from balancing work and family life also remain. A multivariate analysis with survey year controlled provides a snapshot of the factors that influence relative work-home satisfaction at any time. The analysis shows that married women, unmarried women, and unmarried men are progressively more likely than married men to find work a haven instead of having high work-home satisfaction or finding home a haven. This rank ordering roughly parallels the groups' responsibility for domestic labor. Unmarried men with children may find the responsibility even more onerous than unmarried women because it is more likely to contradict their gender ideology. Consistent with Hochschild's (1997) findings, therefore, role overload because of disproportionate responsibility for domestic labor seems to promote finding work a haven. That the effects of gender and marital status have not changed directs attention to enduring stressors in family life (Coltrane, 2000; Hochschild, 1989).

The analysis has several limitations. First, as the available measures of job and family satisfaction are global, they mask dissatisfaction with specific aspects of work and family life. Second, as Hochschild (1996, 1997) also found, divorce is associated with greater job than family satisfaction; however, more detail about previous divorce(s) and about subsequent family relationships is desirable. For example, does the effect of previous divorce on work-home satisfaction diminish over time or with remarriage? Finally, if more recent data on family satisfaction were to become available, the analysis could be updated.

This study has shown that a cultural reversal in relative work-home satisfaction has not occurred. Moreover, because finding greater satisfaction with work than family life is unrelated to working hours, it cannot account for the time bind that many families increasingly face. More research is needed on relative work-home satisfaction, however. This analysis has broadly outlined some features of the work-family interface that

influence relative work-home satisfaction at any given time. Integrative models of the work-family interface (Voydanoff, 2002) can guide more detailed investigations of how work and family characteristics, opportunities, and constraints interact with each other and with men's and women's work-family preferences to influence relative work-home satisfaction over the life course and over time.

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