Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Work-Family Conflict

A topic which has been extensively researched in organisational behaviour is
the conflict that arises between work and family. In recent years, various
studies have improved our understanding of the dynamics of how work affects
family and family affects work (Frone et al., 1992; Greenhaus & Beutell,
1985). The work and family relationship has received considerable attention,
which has been largely initiated by the increased participation of women in the
workforce (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010). The changing composition of the
workforce, coupled with the increasing number of individuals living in non-
traditional family structures, has further heightened the awareness of conflict
between work and family roles (Zedeck, 1992). Owing to these unfolding
changes, more and more individuals face the challenges of managing their
work and family responsibilities and roles (McNall, Masuda, & Nicklin, 2010).
The complexities involved in combining and managing work and family roles
ultimately lead to conflict between these two domains (Nikandrou,
Panayotopoulou, & Apospori, 2008). The unfavourable consequences of
conflict affecting families, employers and employees has led to the recognition
of the problem of integrating work and family as a social phenomenon of the
21st century (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1997).

The work and family relationship is complicated and multidimensional in
nature. When incompatible demands and expectations arise from work and
family roles, the result is a form of inter-role conflict, more specifically known
as work-family conflict (Netemeyer et al., 1996). Since work-family conflict
refers to the interference between work and family domains, decisions that
individuals make regarding these domains may impact upon both
organisations and individuals. For example, in the work domain, individuals
may choose to select career options that lessen the time in achieving career
goals. In the family domain, individuals decide on the amount of time and
attention they want to dedicate to their family roles. The amount of work-family

conflict an individual experiences can be attributed not only to these decisions, but also to individual and organisational characteristics (Nikandrou et al., 2008).

2.1.1 Work-family conflict and family-work conflict defined.

Two significant areas of adult life are family and work. The role expectations arising from both work and family may not always be compatible, which produces conflict between work and family roles (Netemeyer et al., 1996). Research on work-family conflict acknowledges the interdependencies between work and family domains and investigates how individuals experience role conflict. Role conflict is examined by the simultaneous performance of mutually dependent roles that individuals participate in, with their related demands in terms of time and energy that each role requires (Eagle et al., 1998). Role conflict is defined as the "simultaneous occurrence of two (or more) sets of pressures such that compliance with one would make more difficult compliance with the other" (Khan et al., 1964, p. 19). That is, the demands and pressures arising from one role make performance of the other role more difficult (Katz & Khan, 1978). Kahn et al. (1964) identified the type of conflict that an individual experiences between work and family roles as inter-role conflict. Inter-role conflict is defined as "a form of role conflict in which the sets of opposing pressures arise from participation in different roles" (Kahn et al., 1964, p. 20).
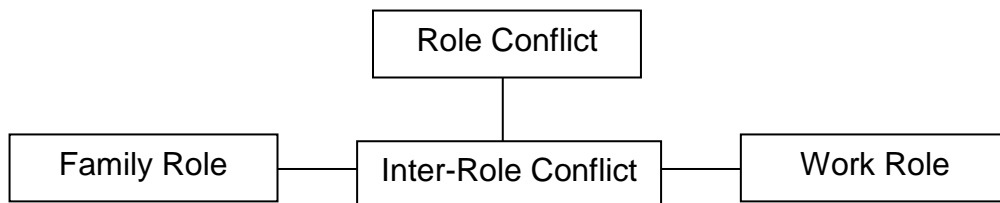

Figure 2. Origin of inter-role conflict

Therefore, due to the incompatibility between roles, the demands arising from one role (family) lead to inter-role conflict with the demands arising from

another role (work) (Figure 2). There exists a strong premise that work-family conflict and family-work conflict are separate but interrelated forms of inter-role conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Khan et al., 1964; Netemeyer et al., 1996). Even though several sources of work-family conflict have been acknowledged, researchers largely agree that the general demands of a role, the time dedicated to a specified role, and the strain created by a specified role are domain elements of work-family conflict and family-work conflict (Netemeyer et al., 1996).

One of the difficulties in synthesising the literature regarding the work and family relationship is the different terminology proposed by various authors to describe what is essentially the same construct (Gutek, Repetti, & Silver, 1988; Duxbury & Higgins, 1992b; Lewis & Cooper, 1988). Because of such interchangeable usage of work-family conflict and family-work conflict terminology, an overview of the work and family conflict theory is required. Figure 3 represents this overview, which is an integration of the conflict terminology utilised by Duxbury et al. (1994); Greenhaus and Beutell, (1985); and Netemeyer et al. (1996).
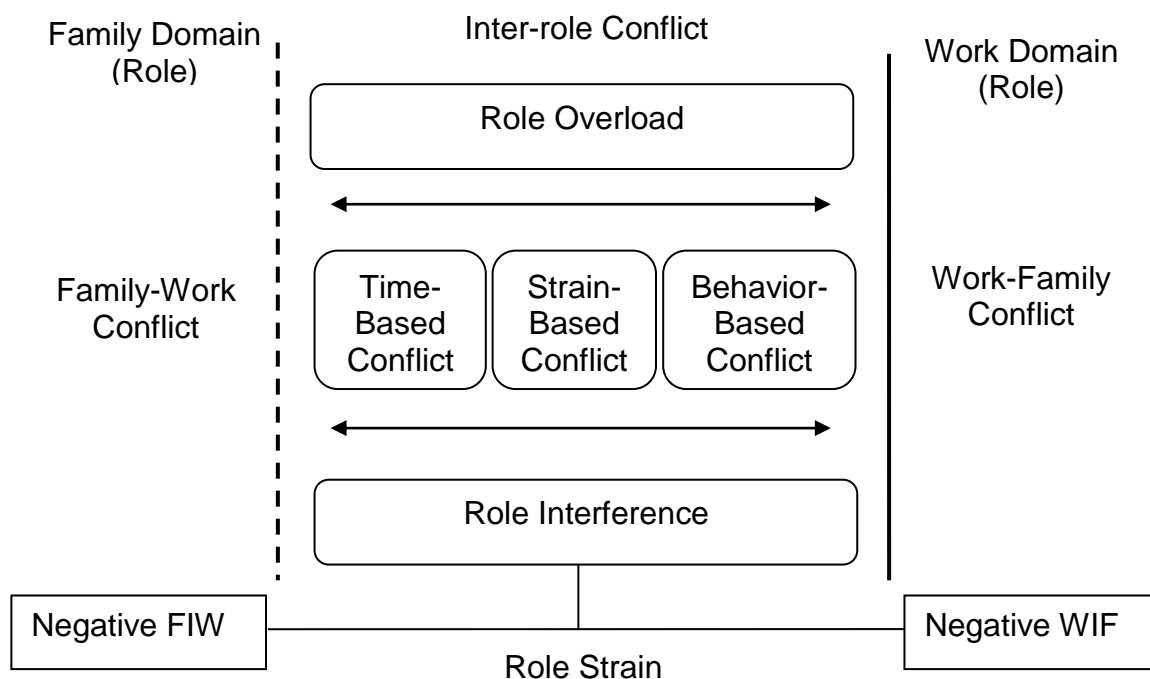
Figure 3. Definition of work and family conflict

Figure 3 demonstrates that inter-role conflict: conflict between work and family domains, takes two forms: role overload and role interference. Role overload exists when growing demands on an individual's time and energy from two or more roles exceed the individual's capability to execute either role proficiently. Role interference occurs when the demands from two or more roles conflict to the degree that the requirements of neither role can be satisfied (Duxbury & Higgins, 1992a). The definition of work-family conflict and family-work conflict offered by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) indicates the presence of incompatible role pressures; however, no causal direction of interference between roles is specified. The assumption of direction of role interference is, nonetheless, inherent in the work and family theory as well as in the measurement of conflict. Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) propose that it may be useful to develop conflict scales that reflect the directions of role interference: interference from work-to-family and from family-to-work.

In this study, it was therefore fundamentally important to distinguish between the directions of role interference. Role interference in work-family conflict is documented as being bi-directional in nature; that is, role strain may occur out

of family interference with work (FIW) as well as out of work interference with family (WIF) (Duxbury et al., 1994). Interference occurs when the demands of two or more roles conflict to the degree that the requirements of neither role are satisfied. Conflict arises from the interference between work and family roles; therefore negative interference becomes conflict.

Conversely, the positive side of the interface between work and family: the idea that work and family may in fact be equally beneficial, has received some attention. Researchers have attempted to present a more holistic picture of the positive side of work and family interface, which is referred to as enrichment (Frone, 2003; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002). Unfortunately, such research has developed with no clear direction and there is a need for further research to be conducted on salient concepts and measures regarding the positive outcomes deriving from the work and family interface (Korabik, Lero, & Whitehead, 2008).

The conflict that arises from family interference with work and from work interference with family takes three forms (see Figure 3). The first form is time-based conflict, which occurs when the time dedicated to satisfying duties in one domain limits the amount of time accessible to execute roles in the other domain (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Pleck, Staines, and Lang (1980) suggest that dimensions of time in the form of extremely demanding working hours and work schedules are considered time-based conflict dimensions, which lead to role overload. The nature and amount of work-family conflict that an individual experiences is expected to increase in direct proportion to the hours the individual spends in each role. In a meta-analytic study conducted by Byron (2005), a correlation of $r = .26$ was reported between work-family conflict and the number of hours worked, and a correlation of $r = .65$ was reported between work-family conflict and role overload. Research has confirmed that women experience more family interference with work conflict than men do, because women spend a greater amount of their time in the family domain (Gutek et al., 1991). The total amount of time that an

individual spends on both work and family roles is positively related to role
overload (Duxbury et al., 1994).

The second form of conflict under discussion in Figure 3 is strain-based
conflict, which occurs when strain created by one role hinders the role
demands in the other domain from being satisfied (Netemeyer et al., 1996).
Strain-based conflict may take the form of anxiety, fatigue, irritability and
tension (Premeaux, Adkins, & Mossholder, 2007). Extended and inflexible
working hours, commuting, travel and overtime are examples of variables that
may create strain-based and time-based conflict.

Although time-based and strain-based conflicts are conceptually different,
they share many common sources in the work domain. In the same way,
within the family domain, any role characteristic that creates extensive time
commitment may also, directly or indirectly, create strain (Greenhaus &
Beutell, 1985). Research conducted by Allen et al. (2000) found that time-
based and strain-based conflicts are related to a number of negative work-
family and stress-related outcomes variables.

Behaviour-based conflict is the third kind of conflict (Figure 3), and occurs
when patterns of in-role behaviour are incompatible with the expectations
relating to an individual's behaviour within another role (Greenhaus & Beutell,
1985). It is likely that behaviour-based conflict may also contribute to role
interference, particularly when an individual is unable to change his or her
behaviour to conform to the various role expectations; individuals are
therefore most likely to experience interference between such roles. When
individuals invest time and energy in the family domain, for example in child-
rearing duties, without sufficient time for recovery, negative load interference
develops and spills over into the work domain. Conversely, when the time
and energy invested remain acceptable because individuals can modify their
behaviour at home to suit their need for recovery, positive load interference
develops and spills over to the work domain (Geurts et al., 2005). The
conceptual model of work and family undertaken in the study is guided by the

work conducted by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985). Any role characteristics
that influence an individual's allocated time commitment and strain- or
behaviour-based conflict within another role can create conflict between
different roles (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

As mentioned, a difficulty in synthesising the literature on the work and family
relationship is the different terminology used by various authors to describe
essentially the same construct (Duxbury & Higgins, 1992b; Greenhaus,
Bedeian, & Mossholder, 1987; Herman & Gyllstrom, 1977; Kopelman,
Greenhaus, & Connolly, 1983; Parasuraman, Greenhaus, Rabinowitz,
Bedeian, & Mossholder, 1989). Researchers have agreed that work-family
conflict and family-work conflict are separate but related forms of inter-role
conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Khan et al., 1964; Netemeyer et al.,
1996; Pleck et al., 1980). Similarly, work interference with family and family
interference with work are also regarded as separate, although related,
components of work-family conflict (Gutek et al., 1991; O'Driscoll et al., 1992).

Upon analysing the theory and definitions of work-family conflict and family-
work conflict, Allen et al. (2000) suggests that there is ambiguity regarding the
nature of the work-family construct. Geurts et al. (2005) refer to "work-family
conflict" and "work interference with family" as one construct. Work-family
conflict (or work-family interference) has been defined as a form of inter-role
conflict in which role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually
incompatible in some respect (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, as cited in Geurts
et al., 2005, p. 320). Another study conducted by Koekemoer, Mostert, and
Rothmann (2010, p. 2), contends that the most commonly used definition of
the "interference" between work and family is Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985,
p. 7) definition of work-family conflict as a form of inter-role "conflict". A meta-
analytic review of work-family conflict conducted by Byron (2005) refers to
"work-family conflict" also as "work-family interference" as a type of inter-role
conflict (Kahn et al., 1964, as cited in Byron 2005, p. 170).

Construct redundancy is a major problem in organisational behaviour and
other social disciplines. New constructs that seem similar to existing

constructs are frequently proposed in the social sciences (Le, Schmidt, Harter, & Lauver, 2010). It is generally agreed that the failure to address redundancy issues between two or more constructs may result in the proliferation of constructs. Such proliferation thus hinders the process of methodical and cumulative research (Blalock, 1968; Singh, 1991). From the literature review and definitions of work-family conflict (WFC) and work interference with family (WIF), appear to be somewhat similar, with unclear distinctions between the constructs. Similarly, the constructs family-work conflict (FWC) and family interference with work (FIW) also appear to represent similar conceptualisations, in that their definitions appear to be similar.

Such interchangeable uses of the conflict and interference constructs create problems from a theoretical, empirical and practical perspective. From a theoretical perspective, redundancy issues that remain unexplained may cause considerable confusion. M Some researchers may regard such constructs as different and may perhaps devote a tremendous amount of effort to research that is focused around each construct (Singh, 1991), while other researchers may treat them as "overlapping" and utilise such constructs interchangeably. Similarly, from an empirical perspective, if redundancy issues go unaddressed, the current understanding of the constructs' sources, antecedents and consequences remain ambiguous (Singh, 1991). Lastly, it is not practical to have several constructs that elicit similar underlying phenomena without overtly understanding the nature of the redundancy issues between the constructs. If issues of redundancy remain unresolved, a substantial amount of confusion may persist.   Some researchers may consider constructs as separate, and strive to build logical research arguments focused around each construct, while conversely other researchers may regard certain constructs as overlapping and use them interchangeably (Singh, 1991).

2.1.2 The nature of the work and family problem.

Research on work and family has attempted to elucidate work-family conflict from various theoretical perspectives, particularly role theory.   Role theory

provides a conceptual framework that encompasses much of the work-family conflict literature (Khan et al., 1964). Role theory suggests that an individual's participation in numerous roles leads to difficulty in satisfying the demands of these roles, and ultimately leads to conflict. Role theory ascribes gender-typical roles to men and women regarding the social roles that they occupy in society. Social roles shape the expectations of suitable behaviour and attitudes required by men and women regarding their abilities and skills (Hoobler, Wayne, & Lemmon, 2009). Role theory research has repeatedly characterised men as agentic, competitive and capable, whereas it has characterised women as emotional, sensitive and nurturing (Diekman & Eagly, 2000). Mattis (2002) notes that stereotyping of women still prevails, since organisations characterise women as less dedicated to their careers than men, simply because of the care-giving roles that women occupy. Care-giving roles in organisations are often undervalued and viewed as incongruent with leadership-type roles (Lewis, 2010). The implication of such organisational stereotyping is that women's careers may be jeopardised because of the care-giving roles ascribed to them.

Competing demands resulting from multiple-role participation may influence the individual's decision to either follow a career or have a family. The accountability for managing the demands that may arise from pursuing a career or having a family or both lies predominately with the individual (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999). The concept of individual accountability remains consistent with the prevailing cultural values of individualism. Nevertheless, the reality is that many individuals work because of the economic necessity to support their families, regardless of the conflict that emerges (Powell, 1993). The role demands of family do not simply disappear for employed women, who usually bear the majority of the household and childcare responsibilities (Baxter, 2002).

The nature of the work-family problem became more prominent during the last century, with the increase in women's participation in the workforce. It was generally expected that a complementary increase in men's contribution

towards domestic and child-rearing activities would occur (Craig, 2007). It was assumed that the more time women spent in paid employment, the greater would be the increase in men's domesticity. However, analysis conducted from time data studies shows that, regardless of the assumption of increased gender equity, women are still responsible for the greater part of the domestic labour (Baxter, 2002; Bittman, England, Sayer, Folbre, & Matheson, 2003). Empirical research conducted on the use of time patterns confirms that the division of domestic labour remains uneven. Time pattern studies consistently demonstrate that if both paid and unpaid work are aggregated, men's and women's average workloads are in totality very alike (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006). This means that the majority of women remain responsible for unpaid labour and paid labour, but not to the degree that women are working longer total hours than men are (Craig, 2007).

Women's economic behaviour and the roles they occupy in the workplace have been significantly compared with the economic behaviour and the workplace roles of men (Hartmann, 2004). For instance, not only has there been an increase in women's participation in the labour force, but also women have invested more time in educational achievements (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010). According to Helfat, Harris, and Wolfsan (2006), the majority of women attain careers in disciplines such as law and economics, and graduate in numbers that are equal to those of men. Women are seeking economic independence and security by engaging in both work and family roles (Hartmann, 2004).

Professional women have various options with regard to the extent to which they embrace their family roles. An increasing number of women seem to delay marriage and children in order to first establish their careers (Hill, Märtinson, & Ferris, 2004). These decisions seem to be based on the assumption that a greater family role may lead to fewer career opportunities for women (Statham, Vaughan, & Houseknecht, 1987). On the other hand, if these women delay getting married and having children, there is the possibility that they may never marry or have children (Hewlett, 2002). Marriage and

child-rearing are essential elements of the life script of most women in professional careers, and women are looking for more effective ways to successfully integrate the demands of work and home (Galinsky et al., 2002). The successful integration of work and family has therefore aroused interest among work-family researchers. The focus of enrichment is on whether work and family roles can be beneficial to and improve one another (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Work-family enrichment suggests that an individual's participation in various roles can produce beneficial resources in these roles (McNall et al., 2010).

2.1.3 Work-family conflict and enrichment.

Conflict that originates between work and family domains has consistently been related to undesirable outcomes such as low levels of job satisfaction and burnout (Eby et al., 2005; Hill, 2005). However, a growing stream of research has reported positive implications of reciprocal enrichment between the work and family domains, such as higher organisational commitment and general well-being (Balmforth & Gardner, 2006; Damiano-Texeira, 2006; Voydanoff, 2004). These implications suggest that the work and family roles may be beneficial to each other because of the transference of positive experiences from one role to another role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Work-family enrichment, or facilitation, refers to the degree to which experiences in a particular role benefit and enhance the quality of life in another role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006).

Consequently, the construct of work-family enrichment is becoming prominent on the work-family research agenda (Frone, 2003). In a study conducted by Hill (2005), work-family enrichment was positively correlated to an individual's satisfaction in marriage, life, family and job. The role accumulation theory by Sieber (1974) and the expansionist theory by Marks (1977) provide insight into the enrichment process. Role accumulation theory suggests that individuals choose to engage and participate in multiple roles in exchange for

various rewards. Examples of such rewards include role privileges, decreased strain and higher status (McNall et al., 2010).

The expansionist approach proposes that participating in various roles has the potential to produce resources that access energy, which is ultimately redirected to other roles (McNall et al., 2010). Taking both the role accumulation and expansionist theories into consideration, Greenhaus and Powell (2006) have recently presented an all-encompassing theoretical framework of work-family enrichment. This proposes that enrichment occurs when resource gains such as rewards and energy in a specific role (the work role) improve performance in another role (the family role). Various resources, which include interpersonal skills and other skills; emotional and physical characteristics such as self-assurance and resilience; a flexible work schedule, and tangible benefits such as funds and gifts, all contribute to the work-family enrichment process (McNall et al., 2010).

The theory of work-family enrichment not only highlights the positive aspects of participating in numerous roles, as mentioned (Warner & Hausdorf, 2009), but also identifies the circumstances which are related to distress, as opposed to fulfilment, in various roles. However, additional understanding is required regarding the underlying reasons why individuals participate in various roles that may lead to enrichment or fulfilment. Given the limited research that is available on the positive aspects of combining work and family roles, additional investigation from the perspectives of other theories is required. An increasing amount of literature is becoming available on social support and job characteristics such as workload and flexibility, which may explain whether multiple roles can be beneficial to an individual (Barnett & Hyde, 2001).

However, limited research is available on factors specifically internal to individuals which might aid the understanding of these benefits of multiple-role participation (Warner & Hausdorf, 2009). Such unexplored factors are internal mechanisms that affect the extent to which individuals experience positive spillover as opposed to negative spillover. For example, one unexplored

reason for the facilitating aspects of numerous roles may be the degree to which participating in various roles satisfies an individual's fundamental psychological needs for independence, competence and relatedness (Warner & Hausdorf, 2009). The needs theory forms the cornerstone of the self-determination theory.

The self-determination theory suggests that individuals have an inherent propensity towards psychological growth and development. Individuals strive to meet and manage their constant challenges and synthesise their experiences into a sense of self. The theory of satisfaction of basic needs, which derives from the self-determination theory, provides researchers with a platform for investigating the reasons why individuals thrive in certain roles but feel unsatisfied and alienated in others (Deci & Vansteenkiste, 2004). According to the needs theory, multiple-role participation should offer psychological benefits, since multiple roles present individuals with more opportunities to meet their own needs for independence, competence and relatedness. In other words, multiple-role participation provides more opportunities for individuals to engage with a sense of freedom, enabling those who experience little independence at work to acquire a sense of independence in their family interactions. Individuals may satisfy their need for competence through interacting and engaging in various roles, displaying high competence levels in a specific role (work), even when they feel less competent in another role (family). Individuals may satisfy the need for relatedness by participating in various roles, which exposes them to a broader range of people with whom they can collectively network and feel related (Barnett & Hyde, 2001).

It therefore becomes important for organisations to understand how individuals can simultaneously reduce their negative experiences and capitalise on their positive outcomes in order to create a balance between work and family (Chen, Powell, & Greenhaus, 2009).

Boundary theory provides insights into the negative and positive outcomes that individuals experience between their work and personal lives (Ashforth,

Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). The boundary theory explains how individuals categorise and separate certain role expectations and demands that originate from work and family domains (Kossek, Noe, & DeMarr, 1999). Individual preferences for work and family boundaries are socially developed (Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005). Individuals decide how to define their boundaries between work and home. For example, some individuals prefer to institute stringent boundaries between work and family by switching off mobile phones and e-mail at the end of the day (Kossek, Lautsch, & Eaton, 2006). Other individuals prefer to integrate their work and family boundaries and will take personal phone calls at work or work at home in order to be more available to their families (Kossek et al., 2006). A boundary management strategy forms the cornerstone of an individual's preferred approach to work-family role integration (Kossek & Ozeki, 1999).

The boundary theory allows individuals to select a preferred way to integrate work and family roles. This requires individuals to reflect on the realities of their lives in order to arrange and separate role expectations and demands within their specific work and family domains. The boundary theory is consistent with Zedeck's postulation (1992) that maintaining a balance between work and family is the way that individuals shape the boundaries of work and family activities, construct personal meaning, and deal with the relationships between family and work.

The approach towards work-family conflict and enrichment evolves from evaluating the appropriate resources and demands affiliated with the roles of work and family (Voydanoff, 2005a). There appears to be consensus that an inclusive appreciation of the interaction between work and family must incorporate the elements of both conflict and enrichment (Innstrand, Langballe, Falkum, Espnes, & Aasland, 2009a).

2.1.4 Antecedents and consequences of work and family conflict.

A large part of the literature on work and family highlights the antecedents and consequences of work-family conflict (Eby et al., 2005; Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). One antecedent of work-family conflict that is pertinent to the context of this study is the shift in the attitudes of women toward gendered roles. Autonomy, self-actualisation and fulfilment have led to a wider appreciation of the benefits of remaining single. Changing societal norms, accompanied by the improvement in women's education and career attainment, have influenced the choices women make regarding marriage and parenthood (Hamilton et al., 2006). The changes in the participation of women in the labour force have ultimately reshaped the traditional family structure of husband as primary breadwinner and wife as homemaker.

Family structure changes have contributed to an increase in the number of dual-income couples and families headed by single parents. The number of employees with irregular schedules has increased significantly, while very little has been done to support them in managing their work and family obligations (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). A factor contributing to work-family conflict is the active participation of women in work, which gives rise to additional pressure and demands at home. These experiences serve as work-domain predictors of work-family conflict. Likewise, disagreements between family members due to increased time spent at work, or the presence of small children at home, serve as family domain predictors of work-family conflict (Eby et al., 2005). Marital status, number and ages of children, gender, education, work schedules and organisational tenure are some of the antecedents of work-family conflict (Karatepe & Tekinkus, 2006). Relevant and applicable antecedents of work-family conflict pertaining to this study are discussed next, although the list is not exhaustive.

Parents experience changes as their children grow older, and the factors that influence work-family conflict, are not static but evolve over the course of a dependent child's life (Darcy & MCarthy, 2007). Individuals with younger

children are more likely to experience higher levels of work-family conflict; this conflict lessens as the age of the youngest child increases (Darcy & MCarthy, 2007). A study conducted by Nomaguchi (2009) found that parents experience greater work-family conflict than non-parents. The contemporary philosophy that parents should spend time with their children reflects the idealised imagery of family togetherness, and many parents feel a sense of obligation to pursue this ideal (Daly, 2001). Many parents go to great lengths to secure time with their children. However, more and more employed parents are finding it increasingly difficult to find sufficient time to spend with their children for various reasons. For example, time spent with children is often combined with household duties or social activities as well; in this way, parents ensure that everything gets done (Bianchi et al., 2006). However, the reality remains that, regardless of the increased pace of family life, most parents feel that they do not spend sufficient time with their children due to work commitments, which consequently increases work-family conflict.

There have been a number of studies exploring work schedules as antecedents of work-family conflict. A study conducted by Lee, MacDermid, Williams, Buck, and Keiba-O'Sullivan (2002) examined factors relating to work arrangements that successfully reduced the actual workload of individuals. The study indicated that individuals utilising such work arrangements as flexible schedules and flexitime reported being more satisfied in their jobs and experienced less work-family conflict, and that their time and relationships with their children had improved. Work-related demands and resources, such as the number of hours worked, meaningfulness of work and time constraints are all significant factors relating to work-family conflict. It is therefore important for organisations to not only promote flexibility in terms of hours worked and work schedules, but also include other forms of employee autonomy that would assist employees to manage their work-family conflict (Voydanoff, 2004).

The increase in work-family conflict is largely due to women's increased participation in the labour force, especially the participation of women who are

parents (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Winslow, 2005). Mixed evidence is found in the literature as to whether men and women experience different levels of work-family conflict. Duxbury and Higgins (1992b) found no differences in the work-family conflict experienced by men and women, while Behson (2002) found that women experience higher levels of work-family conflict than men do. Whether women experience higher work-family conflict in terms of intensity and frequency than men is debatable. A question arising from the inconsistency in the work-family research is whether time allocations were considered. Time-data studies found minimal gender differences with regard to the total hours of paid and domestic work performed by employed men and women. When the distribution of time is regarded as equal, women may be more likely than men to experience work-family conflict. This is partly because women usually assume the primary responsibility for child-rearing duties. Women are also more likely than men to assume responsibility for child-related crises, such as taking care of an ill child or picking up a child from school because of sickness or other emergency, which may interfere with their paid work activities to a large degree (Nomaguchi, 2009). A study conducted by Duxbury and Higgins (1992a) concluded that work conflict was the most important predictor of family conflict. In addition, in terms of work and family expectations, it was found that expectations from work were a stronger predictor of work-family conflict for men, whereas expectations from family were a stronger predictor of family-work conflict for women.

The number and ages of children also influence working parents' work-family conflict to a large degree. Having more children is associated with greater pressure, responsibility and demands on parents. The presence of young children in the home may be related to greater work-family conflict, since young children require parents' commitment and time (Voydanoff, 2004). However, empirical studies have not always confirmed a relationship between children's ages and work-family conflict (Keene & Quadagno, 2004).

Although many adults are delaying having children in order to acquire and develop their careers (Casper & Bianchi, 2002), a study conducted by

Winslow (2005) found that older and more mature parents experience less work-family conflict than younger parents. This may be because older parents generally have more resources at their disposal to deal with the multiple responsibilities of work and family. Older parents are also in stable and established positions in their lives, and are financially more independent than younger parents are. Therefore, the increase in the average age of parents may have supported a decline in work-family conflict (Winslow, 2005).

2.1.5 Forms of work-family conflict.

Three main forms of work-family conflict are presented in the work-family literature: time-based, strain-based and behaviour-based conflict. Time-based and strain-based conflict have been widely measured and researched in the work and family literature (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000). Time-based conflict occurs when the time committed to a role makes it difficult to participate in another role. For example, an inflexible work schedule is likely to compete for time that a mother would have spent with her children at home (Grice et al., 2007).

Strain-based conflict occurs when strain experienced in a particular role affects performance in another role. For example, reduced levels of social support received from work (from supervisors or colleagues) or from family (from spouse or partner) can lead to strain-based conflict (Grice et al., 2007).

Behaviour-based conflict occurs when a specific set of behaviours in one role is inconsistent with behaviours required in another role. For example, unresponsive and detached emotional behaviour may be tolerable at work but not suitable in parenting (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Any aspect of a particular role that causes time or strain or affects behaviour in that role produces conflict with another role. When work or family roles are salient to an individual's self-concept, one can expect role pressures to intensify and increased work-family conflict to be experienced (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

2.1.5.1 Time-based conflict.

Numerous roles may compete for an individual's time. Time-based conflict takes two different forms. The first form occurs when time pressures associated with commitment to a particular role make it difficult, if not impossible, to fulfil expectations from another role. The second form occurs when demands create a preoccupation with a specific role even when an individual is physically trying to satisfy the demands of another role (Bartolome & Evans, 1979). Demands may be left unfulfilled if an individual is either mentally preoccupied with another role or physically absent from that particular role. For example, a mother may be present at work but continuously preoccupied and worried about a sick child at home. Time-based conflict therefore involves the transfer of limited personal resources such as time, attention and energy from one role to another. The implication of this is that the transfer of time or attention from one role ultimately results in the demands of that role being unfulfilled (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000).

Sources of time-based conflict may be work-related or family related. Work-related sources of conflict include demands of working hours, work schedules, overtime and inflexible working arrangements. Previous research and meta-analytic reviews show that those individuals who have greater autonomy over their work schedules and working hours experience less work-family conflict (Byron, 2005; Kossek et al., 2006; Moen, Kelley, & Huang, 2008). Individuals utilise several adaptive strategies to lessen the work-family conflict they experience. Such strategies include reducing their working hours or reducing their spouse's working hours. These strategies often strengthen gender inequality, since women are more generally expected to either cut back on working hours or leave work permanently (Ammons & Edgell, 2007; Stone, 2007). Changes in working conditions or organisational policies would arguably do more than individual strategies to lessen the conflict and the disparity regarding gendered responses to work-family conflict (Kelley, Moen, & Tranby, 2011).

Family-related role characteristics that require an individual to expend large amounts of time in family activities ultimately create work-family conflict. Bellavia and Frone (2005) found that individuals who were married reported higher levels of work-family conflict than unmarried individuals. Similarly, parents were found to experience higher levels of work-family conflict than non-parents did (Winslow, 2005). The responsibilities of raising children are significantly salient in the lives of most mothers and fathers in paid employment.

Family-role strain is usually synonymous with the stress of combining paid work with raising children. Parenthood is regarded as one of several family-domain predictors of potential conflict with job demands (Elliot, 2003). The presence or absence of a marriage, work pressures on an individual's partner or spouse and dependent elderly parents and children have progressively become salient issues in the lives of working individuals (Elliot, 2003). Many working adults are left with elder-care responsibilities which coincide with the most intensive years of the adults' own child-rearing life stages.

Marital status becomes an important issue to consider when investigating family role-strain. For example, a spouse who contributes a steady income will increase the financial steadiness of the household, while an unemployed spouse becomes a financial burden on the family, with a resultant increase in conflict (Albelda, 1999). The degree to which a spouse assists with household tasks should affect the strain that is experienced between the work and family domains (Elliott, 2003).

2.1.5.2 Strain-based conflict.

Strain-based conflict occurs when symptoms of exhaustion and anxiety created by the demands of one role interfere with another role, thus preventing the demands of that role from being satisfied (Netemeyer et al., 1996; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1997). Work stressors can create strain symptoms of tiredness, melancholy, anxiety, and irritability (Greenhaus &

Beutell, 1985). Such strain symptoms have been found to relate to physical
and mental ill health (Martinussen, Richardsen, & Burke, 2007). The
experience of burnout, anxiety, or fatigue caused by negative emotional
spillover from work-to-family roles suggests that certain traumatic
occurrences, such as a new job, can make it difficult to pursue a well-
balanced family life (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Multiple-role participation has been related to various health outcomes,
especially for women. Professional working women not only engage in paid
work but are also responsible for most of the household responsibilities (Pitt-
Catsouphes et al., 2006). The time that employed mothers spend on
domestic activities such as childcare is greater than the time their husbands
spend on these activities, regardless of the number of hours working mothers
still spend at work (Dilworth, 2004). Research on multiple-role participation
suggests role overload is harmful to women's well-being (Staland-Nyman,
Alexanderson, & Hensing, 2008). A woman's ability to display compassion
and enthusiasm makes work satisfying but emotionally exhausting, especially
when she is expected to demonstrate those qualities at home (Anderson,
2000).

2.1.5.3 Behaviour-based conflict.

Behaviour-based conflict refers to a specific pattern of role behaviour that is
incompatible with the expectations that are required from another role
(Schabracq, Winnubst, & Cooper, 2003). For example, behaviours required
from a family role, such as being sensitive and emotional, are regarded as
inappropriate behaviours when applied to the work role (Parasuraman &
Greenhaus, 1997). Behaviour-based work-family conflict is different from
time-based and strain-based conflict in that it displays an incongruity between
the behaviours expected within each role (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000).
Individuals may blame their organisations for having exhausted the time and
energy they require for partaking in family activities, and therefore be less
fulfilled in their jobs (Lapierre et al., 2008). One can assume that an individual
will invest more time and energy into the role that is more salient to him or her.

Men usually behave very differently when they are at work compared with when they are spending time at home with their children (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). At home, men are expected to be warm, nurturing and emotional, while at work they are expected to be more aggressive and assertive. If an individual is unable to modify the behaviour required for a particular role, the likelihood of conflict being experienced between different roles is high (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Behaviour-based conflict may possibly be more prevalent among women than men because of the various transitions women are required to make between various roles (Bartolome, 1972). For example, women are required to transition from the employee-role at work to the subservient wife-role and the caring mother-role at home (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006).

By analysing the different forms of work-family conflict, it appears that working women with children will be affected by time-, strain- and behaviour-based conflict in the following ways. Time-based conflict is experienced because of the hours that women spend at work, and the limited amount of time they are able to spend with their children. Strain-based conflict is brought about by the role conflicts that are experienced between work and family roles; for example receiving little social support from spouse or supervisor. Behaviour-based conflict is experienced by the role transitions that working women with children are required to make between their work and family roles.

2.1.6 Role theory and work-family conflict.

A large part of the work and family literature has focused primarily on the conflict created by competing role responsibilities and demands (Pedersen, Minnotte, Kiger, & Mannon, 2009). An overarching theoretical perspective that assists in explaining the relationship between competing role demands is role theory (Hanson, Hammer, & Colton, 2006). Role theory highlights the context in which various roles are performed and differing role expectations and responsibilities are satisfied. Role theory includes the influences of role

demands, as well as individual and social resources, in shaping role performance and domain outcomes (Pedersen et al., 2009). Roles are defined as "explicit and systematically enforced prescriptions for how organisational members should think and feel about themselves and their work" (Kunda, 1992, as cited in Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003, p. 1168).

The scarcity perspective deriving from role theory suggests that all individuals participate in several role relationships, each with rather different responsibilities (Innstrand et al., 2009a). In the midst of these, contradictory performances may be obligatory, and conflicts of time, place, or resources may occur. According to Goode (1960), these are referred to as conflicts of allocations. The role-scarcity argument (Rothbard, 2001) contends that individuals have restricted resources such as time and energy at their disposal. Commitment of resources to one role requires the commitment of fewer resources to the other role. As individuals experience greater conflict between various roles due to participation in these roles, they will make certain decisions to lessen the conflict between the roles (Nikandrou et al., 2008).

The ability to transition from one role to another when necessary has been conceptualised as a way to reduce conflict between roles (Ashforth et al., 2000; Winkel & Clayton, 2010). Role transition is defined as the psychological and physical movement between different roles (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Empirical research conducted by Matthews, Barnes-Farrell, and Bulger (2010) indicated that the transition from work-to-family roles was positively correlated with family-work conflict. Similarly, the transition from family-to-work roles was positively correlated with work-family conflict. The more transitions that individuals reported between their work and family roles, the more they recognised that work and family roles were in conflict with one another. The empirical study by Matthews et al. (2010) therefore found that combining work and family roles might result in individuals experiencing increased work-family conflict between these roles.

The boundaries that are formed between the work and family roles are defined in terms of their permeability. Boundary permeability refers to the extent to which a role permits individuals to be physically positioned in the role but psychologically occupied in another role (Pleck, 1977). Research has indicated that pressures in different roles are directional and generate unconstructive effects from one domain to another owing to the permeability of roles (Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007).

The literature suggests that men and women experience role demands from family and work differently. As men and women both combine work and family roles, the interaction between these roles and the different genders is significantly important. Duxbury and Higgins (1992b) carried out an inclusive study on gender differences in work-family conflict. Their study found that gender differences depended on societal requirements and behavioural expectations, as opposed to innate biological differences between men and women. Differences in the behaviour of men and women, according to role theory, occur from the traditional distribution of men and women into social roles (traditional breadwinner and homemaker role). These social roles create gender roles, which are mutual expectations regarding how individuals of each sex characteristically behave or are required to behave (Eagly, Wood, & Diekman, 2000).

Childcare responsibilities play a critical role in a mother's life. Mothers' obligations towards their families consist of the practical tasks and emotional aspects that are associated with attending to their children's needs (Comer & Stites-Doe, 2006). As society and culture have dictated and indoctrinated women into devoting more of their efforts and time to their children, the mother assumes the primary role of caregiver. Women are expected to contribute more to their children than men (Hartmann, 2004). Even working women with children are challenged by ongoing demands to conform to the traditional gender-role philosophy regarding primary parenting. Social support from partners or spouses plays a significant role in promoting women's

psychological well-being and helping to minimise work-family conflict (Michel, Mitchelson et al., 2010), especially among working women with children.

Multiple-role participation, according to role theory, is organised in a hierarchy of salience, and roles are created actively rather than enacted passively. At the pinnacle of this hierarchy are the most essential, prominent, and salient roles. Even though the majority of individuals own several identities, identities may differ with regard to salience (Bagger, Li, & Gutek, 2008). The salience of a specific role relies on two factors: firstly, the degree to which an individual is engaged with a particular identity; and secondly, the relative strength of the bond the individual has with others who share the same identity (Stets & Burke, 2000). Role salience is the individual's emotional commitment to a particular role, as well as the time and energy the individual dedicates to achieving success in that role. The individual's association with a particular role involves a deep psychological focus on the activities of that role (Rothbard, 2001). Even though most individuals have multiple identities as a result of the social roles they participate in, these identities may differ in terms of importance or salience (Bagger et al., 2008), and the most salient roles for working individuals are typically work and family roles (Werbel & Walter, 2002).

2.1.7 Competing role demands.

In the preceding section, three factors were identified from the literature that might influence an individual's decision of when to take part in a work role vis-à-vis a competing family role. The factors identified as deriving from participation in these roles and determining the direction of interference between work and family roles are role pressures, salience of roles and role support.

2.1.7.1 Role pressure and participation in a work or family activity.

In their analysis of organisational stress, Khan et al. (1964) investigated the process by which an individual responds to various role demands. Khan et al. (1964) define the process by which individuals respond to various role pressures simply as communication of expectations between role-sender and the focal individual. Thus, a role sender may be a manager from the work domain or a spouse from the family domain. A role-sender communicates to the focal individual the expected and appropriate behaviour that the individual needs to enact. The sent expectation corresponds to a role pressure that is intended to persuade the focal individual to conform to the expectation (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). A role pressure implies certain sanctions that may be either negative (for non-conformity) or positive (for conformity) to the required role behaviour the individual needs to endorse. A psychological force arouses the individual to satisfy and adhere to the expectations of the role-sender (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). A strong role pressure is more effective than a weaker role pressure, since a strong pressure involves greater sanctions for conformity (Kahn et al., 1964).

In addition to the sanctions for conformity or for non-conformity conferred by role pressures, individuals may conform to a stronger role pressure in order to maintain their relationship with the role-sender. There are, however, times when the focal individual experiences simultaneous and conflicting pressures from role-senders in both work and family domains. In such a case, it is up to the individual to decide whether to conform to the role behaviour expectations from the work role-sender or the family role-sender (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). For example, an individual may be pressured by a manager to take part in a work activity at the same time that a family role-sender asserts pressure on the individual to take part in a family activity. In this instance of inter-role conflict, the focal individual is likely to be influenced by the relative strengths of the pressures from each role (Khan et al., 1964).

2.1.7.2 Role salience and participation in a work or family activity.

Individuals may initiate pressures upon themselves to take part in a role, over and above the pressures they receive from external role senders. According to individuals' personal concepts of what it means to be a worker, spouse, father or mother, individuals develop into their own self-senders of internally assumed expectations and pressures of a role (Khan et al., 1964). Furthermore, individuals develop more rigorous or challenging internal expectations in salient roles as opposed to roles that are less critical to their sense of self-identity. Social identity theory suggests that social roles form the foundation of an individual's sense of self (Burke & Tully, 1977). The multiple-role participation that individuals engage in consists of various social identities that offer meaning and purpose to life (Thoits, 1991). Role salience has certain implications for an individual's engagement in that particular role. Evidence indicates that the more salient a particular role is to the individual, the more energy, resources and time the individual will invest in the role (Piliavin, Grube, & Callero, 2002). Such an investment is the result of an individual's desire to sustain and reinforce his or her identity by engaging in highly salient roles (Thoits, 1991). A highly salient role leads to extensive involvement in that role and consequently interferes with involvement in another role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003).

2.1.7.3 Role support and participation in a work or family activity.

The support that an individual receives from a role-sender regarding expected participation in various role activities may influence the individual's decision whether to engage in work or family activities or not. Such role-sender support may cause individuals to become more receptive to pressures created in the role in which the support is received. For example, family-friendly policies offered by organisations, such as childcare facilities, elder-care amenities, and flexible working arrangements usually have a positive effect on individuals' attitudes (Hill, Jacob et al., 2008). However, managers who are

opposed to executing those policies (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003) can undermine such family-friendly policies. A supportive manager who understands an individual's desire to manage work and family obligations encourages the use of such work-family policies (Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999). Individuals with supportive managers may decide to participate in a work activity rather than a family activity as a way of showing appreciation towards these managers for being supportive of their participation in family activities.

2.1.8 Role identity and role salience among working women.

In the preceding review of work-family conflict, the majority of studies discussed regarding antecedents of work-family conflict have focused on situational variables of work and family. It appears that working women with children adopt role identities that are, in part, based on the stereotyping of women by organisations. The internalisation of women's role identities may carry certain implications for work-related and behavioural perceptions. These behavioural perceptions could potentially result in the development of conflict between women's work and family roles (Siebert & Siebert, 2007).

The role identity construct is often applied in both the social and behavioural sciences. Consequently, various theoretical models have explored the construct, resulting in several conceptualisations of the term "role identity" (Burke, 2003). Identity theory defines an individual's identity as the "parts of a self composed of the meanings that persons attach to the multiple roles they typically play in highly differentiated contemporary societies" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 284). Social identity theory proposes that an individual's identity is related to the social environment to which the individual belongs, as opposed to the personal identity theory, which focuses on the individual's sense of self as the core of his or her identity (Hogg et al., 1995). The conceptualisation of self consists of an array of social role identities that materialise from constant social relations and expectations from others, which in turn direct an individual's behaviour in the future (Finkelstein, 2008). Together these

concepts form the definition of role identity: the disposition of a role that an individual occupies within a specific social position (Siebert & Siebert, 2007).

The number of structured role relationships that an individual occupies (Stryker, 1980) limits participation in multiple identities. The idealised concept of self and the justification of role identity through role performance are significant for individuals. Society plays a vital part in role-identity formation. Society requires that all individuals claim some form of identity; if an individual does not claim an identity, society imposes one, so that classification of that individual is made easier. Once an identity is claimed, behaviour must be consistent with that particular identity, especially in the presence of others, to ensure the identity is confirmed (Siebert & Siebert, 2007). In other words, if an individual's behaviour is consistent with the conceptualised perception of self, this idyllic perception becomes legitimate. For example, the role of mother is internalised by women and "adopted as a component of the self" (Piliavin et al., 2002, p. 472). Therefore, this identity ensures that a working mother displays the appropriate behaviour, as she behaves in coherence with her transformed concept of self (Finkelstein, Penner, & Brannick, 2005).

A study conducted by Piliavin et al. (2002) investigating the influence of role identity found that role identity enactment is initiated through the expectations of significant others. The perceived expectations of others lead to the formation of a role identity, and ultimately to the intention to continue with the enactment of the particular role identity. The researchers concluded that the most optimal predictor of role identity is the perceived expectations of significant others (Grube & Piliavin, 2000). Despite the fact that the expectations of significant others are vital to the development of role identities, the organisational environment in which an individual enacts a particular role identity is also essential for maintaining that particular identity (Grube & Piliavin, 2000). When individuals perceive their particular roles as pivotal to the success of an organisation, their commitment and self-esteem in relation to their roles increase. If individuals experience positive feelings toward the organisation, any role identity that strengthens their relationship to the

organisation will be reinforced through the organisational environment (Jain, George, & Maltarich, 2009).

Roles predominately direct behaviour, and greater meaning is allocated to a role when it is internalised by the individual (Callero, 1985). As identity is the internal part of what constitutes role identity, the role is the external part. Roles do not stand in isolation; instead, they are more effectively understood when related to counter-roles, as is the case with identities (Burke & Tully, 2003). As Burke and Tully (1977) postulate, "the role identity husband does not stand in isolation but presupposes and relates to the role identity wife" (p. 83). It becomes important to assess the meaning of the "self-in-role" as an object to the self when measuring role identity. For these reasons, the present study attempts to establish whether working women with children identify more with the role of mother than with the role of employee. Even though it is critical to recognise the exclusive characteristics of working women with children, a more holistic understanding of their assumed identity is necessary. Working women with children often find it difficult to achieve a balance between their careers and their personal lives. This balance is affected by the demands that are imposed on them by their work, spouses or children (Hamilton et al., 2006). The more salient the role of mother is to a woman's self-identity, the more time and energy she will dedicate to the role, as it portrays her sense of self (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). Working women with children are often referred to "super-women" or "super-mothers", by family and friends, whose expectations and behaviours support the social roles of mother and employee (Siebert & Siebert, 2007).

Women construct their identities, or define themselves, by the relationships they have with their families (Dalton, 1992). Societal norms regarding marriage and courtship have, however, changed, as more women are establishing their careers before settling down and starting a family. These changes have altered women's view of self-identity formation; that is, women have moved away from the traditional perspective of homemaker into multiple-role participation (Hamilton et al., 2006). Yet, as we have seen, this

participation in multiple roles leads to inter-role conflict by virtue of involvement in, and the salience of, other life roles (Siebert & Siebert, 2007). Such inter-role conflict is particularly pervasive among women, as they do not always receive the necessary support when attempting to manage both work and family roles (Wilson, 2004). Role support is the set of behaviours enacted by others to confirm or support the idealised perception of self as an occupant of a particular social position (Siebert & Siebert, 2007). Women create the ideal view of their role identity from their participation in social and personal roles.

It becomes critical to examine and investigate role identity, as it provides a frame of reference for evaluating an individual's feelings and behaviour toward work and family roles. One can argue that women with children are not only bound by the roles of wife and mother according to the prevailing societal norms, but also that their identities are shaped by the identities derived from various other life roles such as work.

2.2 Family Interference with Work

Research examining the work and family relationship has increased significantly, probably due to fundamental societal changes in the composition of work and family roles. As we have seen, the increased participation of women in the labour force and the digression from traditional gender roles have led to conflict arising from participation in multiple roles (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Conflict created by attempting to cope with a career in combination with motherhood has received much attention in the work and family literature (Frone, 2003). Working women with children are continuously trying to manage and integrate the dual needs of being a good mother while engaging in paid work (Gersick & Kram, 2002). Working mothers often find it difficult to combine parenting with maintaining their adult entitlements in the form of privacy, leisure and time for themselves (Comer & Stites-Doe, 2006). As strongly as women may be drawn to raising their children and taking care of their families, career and life goals still remain considerably significant. For

this reason, working women with children constantly look for ways to integrate both their professional and family roles (Hattery, 2001).

Family interference with work conflict refers to the degree to which role demands arising from the family domain are incompatible with the work domain. In other words, the involvement in the family role is made more complicated by virtue of involvement in the work role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Family characteristics may influence family interference with work conflict. Several studies investigating the antecedents of family interference with work conflict have examined the structural characteristics of the family situation. Such antecedents include the number and ages of children, whether the spouse or partner is in employment, and childcare responsibilities; however, this list is not exhaustive. A study conducted by Grzywacz and Marks (2000) found that men and women who have children, regardless of the children's ages, experienced higher family interference with work conflict than men and women without children. Furthermore, domestic differences regarding financial issues, household responsibilities, and leisure activities were strong predictors of family interference with work conflict (Bakker, Demerouti, & Dollard, 2008).

Research has shown that a high level of family interference with work conflict is prominent among individuals confronted by various pressures from family roles (Peeters, Montgomery, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2005). The most consistent family antecedent predicting family interference with work is parenting (Tausig & Fenwick, 2001). Upon examining the relationship between parenting and the work and family interface, Moen and Roehling (2005) found that parenting alters men's and women's work and family roles. For women, the conversion to motherhood is associated with increased time spent in the family domain, which is achieved by adjusting the demands from work to accommodate family demands and activities (Hinze, 2000). For men, the conversion to fatherhood has been associated with increased working hours and greater prioritisation of work (Kaufman & Uhlenberg, 2000). New fathers who have not yet established themselves financially may experience pressure to work

longer hours to support their families. Employed new mothers not only experience increased child-rearing responsibilities but also simultaneously attempt to manage a career to acquire income and career opportunities (Moen & Roehling, 2005).

Research findings indicate a decline in marital satisfaction with individuals' transition to parenthood (Cowan & Cowan, 2000). Increases in childcare and household responsibilities are the reasons for the decline in marital satisfaction. These additional responsibilities produce further strain and in turn influence work and family roles (Cowan & Cowan, 2000). The exposure to increased role activities in both work and family domains entails a higher probability of increased conflict in the work and family roles in the transition to parenthood. A study conducted by Martinengo, Jacob, and Hill (2010) found that the presence of young children in the home was regarded as a strong catalyst for gender differences in the work-family interface. Greater gender differences were established when children required more temporal and financial resources from their parents.

Researchers have examined work and family roles extensively in the lives of working individuals. Lobel (1991) argues that work and family researchers need to change their approach when addressing multiple-role participation. The approach adopted when examining work and family roles requires a shift from examining role conflict in isolation to a more constructive integration of an individual's self-concept within his or her various roles. Lobel (1991) is of the opinion that individuals can achieve a balance in work and family roles by upholding standards of responsibility in the performance of both roles. Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, and King (2002) agree with Lobel (1991) that greater focus is required from researchers on the benefits of combining both work and family roles. In a study conducted among female managers and executives, a correlation of $r = .18$ ($p < .01$) was found between women's participation in and commitment to numerous roles, with life satisfaction. Furthermore, Ruderman et al. (2002) interviewed women in a qualitative study and found that women's private lives provided psychological resources that

assisted in improving their role performance at work. A study of 30 000 randomly selected individuals found that individual commitment to both work and family roles led to an overall positive effect on general well-being (Nordenmark, 2002). Yet although there are both positive benefits and psychological consequences related to combining work and family roles, inevitability, role conflict does persist. Because of this, participation in various roles leads to significant challenges for both organisations and individuals (Ballout, 2008).

Recent research on the work and family interface suggests that family interference with work has different outcomes from those of work interference with family (Byron, 2005). While the potential consequences of work-family conflict are documented, little is known about the causes and their effects on work interference with family and family interference with work (Byron, 2005). Consequently, one purpose of this chapter is to systematically review the work and family literature to ascertain the possible antecedents of family interference with work conflict. This review of the literature will assist in elucidating the conflict between family and work that working women with children experience.

2.2.1 Parenting and paid work.

According to the work and family literature, parenting is considered a critical area of gender-role differences between men and women. Recent work-family research has called for a re-examination of parenting life, concluding that gender may be most optimally understood within the context of family life (Martinengo et al., 2010; Moen & Sweet, 2004). The following section offers an overview of parenting differences that men and women experience in integrating work and family.

2.2.1.1 Mothering.

Across various demographic profiles, classes and differences in marital status, raising her children remains a vital obligation to any mother. Mothering constitutes an essential part of women's lives, one in which women have the ability to express creativity and affection and exercise influence (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). Women in dual-parent families carry the majority of the household and parenting responsibilities. Paid employment does not provide a comprehensive explanation for the gender gap in parenting. For instance, full-time employed mothers with pressured careers allocate more time to childcare activities than men (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006).

Numerous organisations have implemented programmes and policies for granting working women flexibility in the time and place of work (Fredriksen-Golsen & Scharlach, 2001). Flexible working arrangements and family-friendly programmes also enable new parents to integrate their role demands more effectively. Such flexible working arrangements have been recognised in the literature as helpful to new parents and especially to mothers with younger children (Hill, Grzywacz et al., 2008). Mothers with younger children are especially vulnerable to family interference with work conflict (Moen & Roehling, 2005). Having young children at home is a predictor of greater family interference with work for self-employed mothers (Hundley, 2001). Furthermore, mothers with young children are likely to skip work because of their family demands (Dilworth, 2004). The availability and utilisation of flexible working arrangements have been explored as mechanisms that reduce conflict at the work and family interface. However, additional investigation is required to examine whether flexibility is more effective for men or women (Hill, Jackson, & Martinengo, 2006). The implementation of family-friendly practices has been related to positive outcomes and experiences for working individuals and for organisations.

A study of employed and self-employed men and women found that individuals who had greater opportunity to participate in flexible working

arrangements were notably more likely to experience lower levels of work-family conflict (Bond, Thompson, Galinsky, & Prottas, 2002). Job flexibility was particularly appreciated by mothers with young children, but its effectiveness in lessening conflict at the work and family interface has not yet been examined with reference to gender (Hill, Jacob et al., 2008; Jacob, Bond, Galinsky, & Hill, 2008). Flexibility enables working mothers to spend a greater proportion of their time with their children.

However, women are often fearful that taking time off work or opting for a reduction in a work week may create animosity from co-workers who are responsible for the tasks of these women while they are away (Armenti, 2004). Some women avoid participating in flexible working arrangements, or conceal their family responsibilities, to ensure they are perceived as committed to the organisation. For this reason, many women are actually restricting the number of children they have, or giving up the option of parenting altogether (Drago et al., 2004). Similarly, another study examining the use of family-friendly policies found that such policies were not being utilised adequately, as individuals were fearful that doing so might lead to negative career consequences (Frye & Breaugh, 2004).

A study investigating the amount of time spent on family activities found that the number of hours spent on housework and care-giving responsibilities was not a significant predictor of family-to-work interference for mothers (Dilworth, 2004). The perceived success of mothers with young children in performing both work and family roles was strongly related to perceptions of success in other areas of life (Staudinger & Bluck, 2001). Regardless of the multiple roles women engage in, they still value spending time on other important aspects of their lives such as friendships and organisational life (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000). Mothers with young children may experience more negative perceptions of life and personal achievement when they do not feel they are successful in satisfying their family-role activities. In a study conducted by Nomaguchi, Milkie, and Bianchi (2005), women reported

greater emotional distress than men when they felt work hindered the time allocated to spend with their children or spouses.

2.2.1.2 Fathering.

The traditional family structure consisted of a father who engaged in paid work to provide for his family financially, and a mother who was responsible for household and child-rearing activities (Craig, Mullan, & Blaxland, 2010). The traditional family structure changed as more women entered the workforce. It became extremely difficult for women to find the time to meet the demands of household activities, family responsibilities and paid work (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Evidence has indicated that although men are participating in and taking more ownership of domestic duties, this change is not occurring as quickly as women would like (Bianchi et al., 2006; Fisher, Egerton, Gershuny, & Robinson, 2007). The slow transition in the allocation of domestic tasks has left the majority of family responsibilities for women to assume. Mothers are especially heavily burdened, and for that reason, households with children have a more powerfully gendered division of labour than households with no children (Craig, 2006b).

An interesting study conducted by Barnett and Gareis (2007) found that when mothers working on shifts worked in the evenings, fathers performed "motherly type" activities like preparing children for bed. Conversely, when mothers worked normal hours during the day, the family structure resembled a traditional family in which the mothers were more involved with childcare activities than fathers. It is likely that being alone at home, especially during the day, may be a significant factor in increasing a spouse's share of traditionally female household tasks, for both fathers and mothers (Presser, 2003). Moorehead, (2003) has coined the phrase "the power of absence" to indicate that shift work makes it possible for mothers to be absent during peak periods of domestic activities. Husbands and fathers are frequently required to assume a larger portion of domestic workload during these periods (Probert, 2005).

Conflicting interpretations regarding the allocation of men's time and the influence of time utilisation on gender equality have been acknowledged in the work and family literature. The mid-1980s saw an increase in the time fathers spent with their children, though the average amount of time that a mother spent looking after children remained relatively high (Bianchi et al., 2006; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2005). A number of studies conducted between 2000 and 2010 have indicated that the gap between men and women's allocation of time for paid and unpaid work has narrowed considerably (Sayer, 2005). The narrowed gender gap in household activities is a consequence of men's allocating a greater proportion of their time to family activities (Bianchi et al., 2006). Child rearing still remains more the responsibility of the mother than the father, regardless of fathers' increased participation in family and home activities (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). In another study using time data, Craig (2006a) found that mothers engaged in more multitasking, spent more time with children, and were more accountable for looking after the children than fathers.

2.2.2 Theories from social psychology of work and family conflict.

To gain a holistic understanding of how social psychology can inform research on work and family, a review of pertinent theories from the field of social psychology is presented. These theories have been utilised to counteract gendered roles and endorse the possibility of gender equality in both work and family roles. Four theories are relevant to the work and family issues within the context of this study. The attachment theory suggests that an individual's behaviour at work is psychologically embedded in family relationships. The other theories (social-role theory; group norm and gender-construction theory; and spillover and compensation theory) identify the mechanisms through which gendered norms of work and family are substantiated and preserved, and suggest ways in which these norms may be dismantled. Social psychological research on the following theories can inform our understanding of work and family life (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006).

2.2.2.1 Attachment theory.

The attachment theory derives from contemporary theories of social psychology and research on intimate relationships (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). Such relationships incorporate the interface between family relationships and functioning at work (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003). Attachment theory proposes that an individual's functioning at work is directly influenced by the quality of the relationships that persist within his or her family structure. As a means of survival, individuals are born with a need for attachment. This need directs individuals to seek proximity to caregivers, particularly under threatening conditions (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). Social psychologists have proposed that attachment techniques remain pertinent in intimate relationships throughout an individual's life. Adults may be classified according to the various styles of attachment they demonstrate. Styles of attachment differ along two distinct dimensions: high to low anxiety of rejection and high to low reassurance with relationship proximity (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003).

For example, secure individuals with lower levels of anxiety and high levels of reassurance are more inclined to establish intimate, gratifying relationships at work. These individuals are able to offer comfort and deal more appropriately with conflict. Insecure individuals are more inclined to attach to their partners, are particularly sensitive to rejection and continuously seek attention (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). A secure style of attachment in adulthood provides the emotional freedom necessary to feel satisfied in a working environment (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). In contrast, an anxious attachment style gives rise to an obsession with relationships that may influence the individual's functioning at work. An avoidant style of attachment may develop into a neurotic work style that can be utilised to evade proximity with family members (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006).

Research conducted by Hazan and Shaver (1990) exploring romantic partnerships suggested a possible association between work and love. It was

found that individuals with secure attachment styles appeared to have positive experiences at work. These individuals reported higher job security and less likelihood of putting off work or experiencing rejection from colleagues, and they placed higher value on their intimate relationships with family than on work. Individuals with anxious attachment styles seemed to be apprehensive towards work and felt unacknowledged by colleagues, and reported that love interfered with their work. These individuals made less money than the other participants in the study, claiming that their performance was influenced by their preoccupation with how colleagues perceived them. Individuals with avoidant attachment styles were comparable to secure individuals in terms of their work experiences, with the exception that their colleagues perceived them negatively. In addition, the orientation towards work of individuals with avoidant attachment styles appeared to be irrational. When not working, these individuals felt anxious and reported valuing work over love. Avoidant individuals seemed to be compulsive workers who engaged in work to avoid closeness. Although this study by Hazan and Shaver (1990) focused predominately on attachment security figures for romantic couples, a significant similar attachment figure for married couples would be their spouses.

During times of heightened stress and anxiety, whether produced at work or at home, a spouse remains the pivotal figure of potential reassurance and support (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). The ability to receive support at home is associated with positive functioning in the workplace. The conversion to parenthood is a demanding time for women especially, as they seek support from their husbands. Marital interactions are influenced and shaped by wives' particular attachment styles during the transition to parenthood. A study conducted on marital changes during the transition to parenthood found that apprehensive, insecure women were perceived to receive less support from their husbands prenatally than women who were less anxious in their attachment style. Anxious new mothers who felt unsupported by their husbands prenatally reported higher marital dissatisfaction (Simpson, Rholes, Campbell, Tran, & Wilson, 2003).

A longitudinal study of new parents demonstrated the connection between the benefits to family and work of a secure attachment style compared with an anxious attachment style (Vasquez, Durik, & Hyde, 2002). Attachment security in postpartum mothers and in fathers during year one and year four resulted in more rewards and less experience of stress in family relationships. Attachment theory research definitively indicates that there is a psychological relationship between work and family. Furthermore, attachment theory research proposes future directions for work and family researchers. For example, the negative interference effects from work-to-family and from family-to-work may be moderated by individuals' attachment styles. Whether stress at work negatively interferes with family life may be dependent upon whether the stressed individual receives spouse support. Nevertheless, although a link exists between attachment theory, work, and family, this does not appear to enlighten our understanding of the gendered nature of work and family life (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006).

2.2.2.2 Social role theory.

Social role theory suggests that variations in men and women's behaviour emerge from the inequitable distribution of their various social roles. Social role theory posits that gender stereotypes are derived from the work and family roles that men and women occupy in society (Eagly et al., 2000). Traditional social roles regarding role behaviours for men and women were stereotypically perceived as breadwinner versus homemaker (Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008). Breadwinning has been characterised as providing economic support for the family, and serves as a benchmark for male identity (Warren, 2007). In other words, gendered roles are created by the social roles that individuals hold, which are collective expectations of how men and women should characteristically behave (Innstrand et al., 2009b).

Feminine qualities such as compassion and the urge to nurture are usually adopted by women and are perceived as significant in the family domain. Masculine qualities such as aggressiveness and independence are usually

adopted by men and are perceived as significant in the work domain (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010). The male breadwinner role is associated with certain masculine identities. For example, a husband's employment or unemployment may influence his perception of his masculinity (Smithson, Lewis, Cooper, & Dyer, 2004). Three main social roles associated with masculinity have been identified by Nock (1998). These are: the role of father, in that men need to be father figures to their children; the role of provider, in that men need to take care of and provide for their families; and the role of protector, in that men need to protect and look after their wives and children.

The breadwinning wife may challenge a man's ability to perform the last two social roles proposed by Nock (1998), and consequently challenge his masculinity. A study conducted by Meisenbach (2010) on women's experiences as primary breadwinners found that more than half of the women in the study took pleasure in the control they experienced as breadwinners. A possible explanation for this sense of pleasure was that these women enjoyed the way in which they had more power in their relationships than they had in the past. Quite a few of these women openly reported that they experienced more happiness when deviating from the traditional "housewife" gender-norm.

A longitudinal study conducted by Abele (2003) found that the perceptions of identities derived from the self and others are created from the tenancy and performance of various roles. Due to the fact that these roles are diversely different for men and women, gendered stereotypes materialise. There is, however, a possibility that stereotypes in principle lead to self-fulfilling prophecies that maintain gendered family and work roles for men and women (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). For example, if women are seen to lack agentic traits in the workplace, it may jeopardise their chances of being considered for highly influential jobs. Similarly, if men are perceived to lack communal and nurturing traits at home, their partners or spouses may not feel that they can be trusted to take care of young children. Self-attributions of gendered traits may propagate choice of and success in adopting gendered roles. The theoretical logic of social role theory disregards power associations

between men and women, as gender roles are considered in childhood by gender socialisation procedures (Lippa, 2005) and later emphasised in adulthood (Roese & Sherman, 2007).

2.2.2.3 Gender construction theory and group norm theory.

We have seen that women continue to assume the majority of the domestic responsibilities despite their increasing participation in paid work (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The prevailing theory from the work and family literature that is invoked to explain the disproportionate number of domestic activities assumed by women is the gender construction theory. The gender construction theory posits that by doing disproportionately less or more domestic work, men and women are respectively reacting to normative conceptions regarding their genders. Women "do gender" by engaging in domestic activities; conversely, women also "do gender" by not regarding their paid employment as breadwinning. Men "do gender" by withholding themselves from housework and treating their paid employment as breadwinning. The gender construction theory illustrates the power of gender norms in shaping behaviour, but does not describe the internal psychological processes that lead individuals to feel obliged to conform to those norms (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006).

Group norm theory deals with the issue of norms. Although this theory may not overtly focus on work and family issues or even gender, understanding how norms operate may be relevant to understanding how gender norms function at home and work. Norms regarding motherhood are especially powerful because there is so much pressure surrounding the various roles mothers participate in (Kallgren, Reno, & Cialdini, 2000). Mothers may be criticised by others because of their career aspirations or for their impatience with childcare. Disapproval may leave mothers feeling pressured by their peers or families to articulate acceptable feelings and goals. Gradually, the suppression of their feelings may become more internally motivated and may ultimately be experienced as reality. Women who are adamant that decisions

to compromise their work lives are established on choice may, in fact, feel that way because they have internalised the norms (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). Their failure to blame their husbands for the unequal distribution of domestic work may be a consequence of having suppressed resentment by shifting their attention from a comparison between their spouses and themselves to a comparison between their spouses and other men. The suppression of feelings that conflict with gender norms, as illustrated by the group norm theory, is similar to the emotion work that Hochschild (1989) refers to as "second shift". Hochschild (1989) focused on how men and women differ in feeling what they think they should feel regarding gendered roles; the group norm theory focuses on the social context that provokes those "shoulds".

2.2.2.4 Spillover and compensatory models.

Research regarding work and family linking mechanisms has increased significantly, owing largely to the changes in traditional family structures (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). The work and family literature has consistently highlighted the way in which individuals' behaviours, attitudes, and experiences spill over into, or influence, work and family domains. Linking mechanisms are the relationships that exist between work and family constructs, and only exist when work and family are conceptually distinctive from one another (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Modern technology as a form of linking mechanism has improved the way in which individuals communicate with one another. Examples of the sophisticated communications technology available are mobile phones, laptops and BlackBerries. For instance, a BlackBerry allows an individual to receive and respond to e-mails at any place or at any time via wireless network (Towers, Duxbury, Higgins, & Thomas, 2006). Such technological improvements have equipped and enabled individuals to converse with each other at any place and any time, and are regarded as a spillover mechanism from work-to-family (Ilies, Wilson, & Wagner, 2009). Consequently, these innovations have blurred the boundaries between the allocated times for work and family, thus escalating the probability of spillover across domains (Ilies et al., 2009).

Work-family spillover is defined as the negative or positive effects of both work and family domains on one another (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). Positive spillover improves an individual's role performance, while negative spillover is detrimental to the quality of the role (Pedersen et al., 2009). Two theories proposed in the literature demonstrating the effect that family domains have on individuals' job attitudes are the spillover theory and the compensatory theory (Wilensky, 1960). The spillover theory suggests that positive reciprocal relationships exist between individuals' job satisfaction and family satisfaction. The spillover theory supports the perception that life and work satisfaction are interconnected, and that satisfaction in one aspect of an individual's life may spill over to satisfaction in another domain. Compensatory theory postulates that dissatisfied individuals compensate for their frustrations at work by seeking satisfaction outside work (Van der Walt, 2007).

Research into the nature and antecedents of spillover assists our understanding of how individuals manage the competing demands of work and family life. Spillover effects based on gender are of particular interest in the context of this study. Various studies have examined the issue of gender differences with regard to the division of domestic activities and accountabilities (Dilworth, 2004). The consolidation of such studies has concluded that gender-based division of labour is still pertinent, both in commitments of time and gender-segregated activities, regardless of working hours (Coltrane, 2001; Ferree, 1991; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Pittman, Teng, Kerpelman, & Solheim, 1999). Working mothers continue to spend more time on household and childcare activities than their husbands, irrespective of the total number hours that either spouse works (Dilworth, 2004). Husbands and wives who hold traditional beliefs regarding the division of labour feel that family activities largely remain the women's responsibility (Dilworth, 2004).

2.2.3 Social support.

Social support involves the exchange of resources between at least two individuals, with the objective of assisting individuals who receive the support

(Van Daalen, Willemsen, & Sanders, 2006). Social support may be received from work-related or non-work related sources (Adams, King, & King, 1996). Men usually receive a greater amount of social support from their spouses than women (Reevy & Maslach, 2001), whereas women usually receive more social support from family and friends than men (Joplin, Nelson, & Quick, 1999). Women who receive such personal and social resources are able to combine work and family roles more effectively and experience less conflict (Seiger & Wiese, 2009). Research has indicated that domain-specific effects of social support are associated with reduced levels of work-family conflict. For example, spousal support reduces family interference with work conflict, while organisational support reduces work interference with family conflict (Bellavia & Frone, 2005). A meta-analysis conducted by Ford et al. (2007) found a weighted mean correlation of $r = .23$ between work interference with family conflict and manager support, and a correlation of $r = .17$ between family interference with work conflict and family support.

Social support as an antecedent of work-family conflict may mitigate work-family conflict, with its influences mediated by stress (Seiger & Wiese, 2009). Managers, colleagues, spouses and other family members may contribute to the stressors at work and at home that create work-family conflict. On the other hand, support received from either work or family members is regarded as a resource that creates positivity in a specific domain, which improves the quality of life in the other domain (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). The accessibility of resources in the family domain influences the degree to which family enhances work life (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Social support is an essential resource that enables an individual to feel accepted, recognised and valued, and fosters affect in the family domain, which in turn enhances functioning at work.

The conservation of resources model proposes that individuals are encouraged to acquire and sustain resources such as social support networks while dealing with stress. This acquisition and sustainability of resources implies that social support has a direct influence on work-family conflict

(Aycan & Eskin, 2005). Three types of social support pertaining to the context of this study are spouse support, organisational support and childcare support. Spousal support as a component refers to the assistance, counsel and appreciation that spouses provide for one another. Two types of spousal support have been conceptualised and empirically measured: instrumental and emotional support (Adams et al., 1996).

Instrumental support refers to behaviours and attitudes of family members that assist spouses with the daily household and domestic activities. For example, a husband's assisting his wife with the household chores or accommodating her work requirements has been shown to act as a buffer against negative work perceptions (Fu & Shaffer, 2001). Family instrumental support has been shown to affect both life and job satisfaction, and positively influence the individual's performance at work (King, Mattimore, King, & Adams, 1995).

Emotional support includes empathy, consideration, listening, warmth, counsel, and concern for the welfare of the partner (Van Daalen et al., 2006). Emotions and behaviours in the family may positively influence an individual's experience of positive affect and performance in the work domain (Wayne, Randel, & Stevens, 2006). Research has indicated that emotional support received in the family, such as spouse support, can decrease workplace stress (Noor, 2002). While instrumental spousal support alleviates the burden of family demands and allows women to dedicate more time and energy to work, emotional spousal support improves feelings of self-efficacy both in the workplace and in the family domain (Aycan & Eskin, 2005). Increased spousal support is associated with lower levels of work-family conflict (Erdwins, Buffardi, & Casper, 2001).

Support from a spouse or partner plays a vital role towards sustaining an individual's ability to integrate both career and parenting roles. For instance, a supportive partner reduces the negative effect that children have on a working woman's psychological well-being (Roxburgh, 2002).

According to Hartmann (2004), a critical way to bring about a more equitable division of labour is to understand the double standard in parenting. Currently, society acknowledges a double standard, in that women carry out more of the parenting work than men. Women also spend more of their time caring for and nurturing their children, take more time off work, and place higher value on care-giving abilities than men. Mothers experience more guilt than fathers do, especially when working longer hours at work (Hartmann, 2004). Since research has shown that it is the traditional roles that facilitate this type of role behaviour, particular attention has been paid in this study to the role demands of mothers in the context of work and family.

Organisational support plays an important part in an individual's ability to manage work and family obligations effectively (Behson, 2002). Three types of organisational support (supervisor support, organisational policies and flexibility regarding time demands and jobs) pertinent to the context of this study have been integrated in this section. Like spousal support, supervisory support can be seen as consisting of two types of support: instrumental and emotional (Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997). The provision of direct support and guidance, with the intention of assisting the worker to manage his or her family obligations, is referred to as instrumental supervisory support (Frone et al., 1997). Supervisors who are supportive towards their subordinates are instrumental in creating the organisation's work-family policies (Eby et al., 2005). On the other hand, empathetic listening, consideration towards work-family issues and sincere concern for the welfare of an individual and his or her family are referred to as emotional supervisory support (Frone et al., 1997).

The second component of organisational support consists of organisational policies directed at reducing employees' work-family conflict. Family-friendly policies are services that include flexible working arrangements, job sharing, and childcare amenities. Family-friendly policies are designed to assist individuals in making specific arrangements to manage their work and family obligations (Aycan & Eskin, 2005). The third component of organisational

support addresses time demands and inflexibility of jobs. Organisational time demands refer to the number and flexibility of working hours (Behson, 2002). A consequence of heavy organisational time demands is work overload which, coupled with long work hours, leads to an increase in work-family conflict (Clark, 2001).

An important type of social support relates to childcare. Although work-family researchers have not comprehensively explored childcare support, it remains a vital support function, especially for dual-career couples with young children and single women with children. A primary reason why women leave their paid work is the failure to find suitable childcare facilities (Stone, 2007). Satisfaction with childcare support has been shown to lead to reduced levels of work-family conflict among women (Ahmad, 2010). However, to avoid repetition of the overlap occurring between the various types of social support described in the work-family literature, for the purposes of this study only spousal and organisational support have been investigated.

2.3 Job Satisfaction

Employee satisfaction has developed into one of the main business objectives in recent years (García-Bernal, Gargallo-Castel, Marzo-Navarro, & Rivera-Torres, 2005). South African businesses are being exposed to factors influencing the work economy such as technological advancements and international competition. Such exposure creates enormous pressure on organisations to improve performance levels and transform themselves into more globally competitive entities (Buitendach & De Witte, 2005). In the South African competitive landscape, the primary concerns for organisations are profitability and people. Organisations are unable to remain competitive if their workforce is dissatisfied and does not identify with the organisation (Stewart, 1996). Conversely, a motivated and dedicated workforce can be an influential factor in the success of an organisation. Job satisfaction is perceived as a multidimensional concept comprising individuals' favourable or unfavourable perceptions of their jobs (Bowen & Cattell, 2008). Such

favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards work may wield influential effects on many forms of organisational behaviour. Job satisfaction is an important concept to investigate, as it assists in ensuring the sustainability of organisational success (Gunlu, Aksarayli, & Percin, 2010).

The construct of job satisfaction has been investigated over several years and different authors have postulated a variety of definitions. Even though the wording of the various definitions presented in Table 1 is slightly different, it seems that most authors are in agreement regarding what constitutes job satisfaction. To derive a complete understanding of the construct, it is necessary to take cognisance of the various definitions that have been presented in the literature. These are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Definitions of job satisfaction

Author	Definition of Job Satisfaction
Lofquist and Dawis (1969, p. 53)	Job satisfaction is defined as "a function of the correspondence between the reinforcer system of the work environment and the individual's needs".
Porter, Lawler, and Hackman (1975, p. 53)	Job satisfaction is "determined by the difference between the amount of some valued outcome that a person receives and the amount of the outcome he feels he should receive".
Locke (1976, p. 1300)	Job satisfaction is defined as "a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences".
Locke (1983, p. 1319)	Job satisfaction is termed "the result from the appraisal of one's work as attaining or allowing the attainment of one's important work values in congruence with, or helping to fulfil, one's basic needs".
Griffin and Bateman (1986, p. 158)	Job satisfaction is defined as "a global construct encompassing such specific facets of satisfaction as satisfaction with work, pay, supervision, benefits, promotion opportunities, working conditions, co-workers, and organisational practices".
Cranny et al. (1992, p. 1)	Job satisfaction is "an affective (that is, emotional) reaction to a job that results from the incumbent's comparison of actual outcomes with those that are desired (expected, deserved, and so on)".
Ivancevich and Matteson (1999, p. 123)	Job satisfaction is defined as "an attitude people have about their jobs"
Greenberg and Baron (2008, p. 75)	Job satisfaction is termed "an individual's positive or negative attitude toward their job"

The theme of the definitions presented in Table 1 relates to an attitudinal assessment of an individual's work, with the exception of Locke's definition (1983, p. 1319), which alludes to the acquisition of work values. Even though Locke's definition does not overtly refer to the attitudinal aspect of job satisfaction, his definition refers to it indirectly because of the relationship that exists between positive attitudes and values.

Most working adults spend the greater part of their lives at work. Understanding the factors that are associated with job satisfaction becomes important for enhancing the well-being of such adults. Job satisfaction has certain implications for the social lives of individuals at work, forms part of an individual's assessment of well-being, and is regarded as an essential component for organisations (Demirel & Erdamar, 2009). Improved individual well-being is related to enhanced levels of job performance and lower levels of absenteeism and turnover, and is of particular significance for an organisation's success (Frey & Stutzer, 2002; Kaiser, 2007). Another reason why job satisfaction is of interest to organisations is that a satisfied workforce leads to increased productivity, and this in turn leads to organisational profitability (Rafferty & Griffin, 2009). In examining job satisfaction, it becomes important to take note of the following factors, which affect every working individual (Williamson, 1996, p. 17):

- Individual participation in work contributes to and defines an important element in the human experience. Although work occupies a great deal of time and energy, it is regarded as a central element in people's lives; therefore, job satisfaction can be significantly related to overall life satisfaction.
- Work activity will always be necessary for human sustenance.
- Work does not only identify human experiences; work proceeds to identify humans. Humans are both created and creative beings, continuously interacting with their work.

The topic of job satisfaction has been extensively examined within organisational research. Job satisfaction encompasses individuals' general attitudes and feelings regarding their jobs as well as the characteristics of their jobs (Demirel & Erdamar, 2009). Although the list of examples is not exhaustive, examples of job characteristics include the working environment and conditions, equitable rewards, and communication with colleagues (Kim, Leong, & Lee, 2005). Job satisfaction is experienced when individuals feel that their capabilities, experiences and values are utilised in their work and that, in turn, work reciprocates with opportunities and rewards. Job satisfaction therefore concerns the individual's personal assessment of conditions existing in the job, or consequences that arise as a result of having a job which are influenced by the individual's particular needs, values and expectations (Buitendach & De Witte, 2005). Individuals therefore assess their jobs on factors that they consider as being important to them (Sempane, Rieger, & Roodt, 2002).

2.3.1 Historical analysis of job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction has been extensively investigated and examined over the years; in fact, it is the most widely researched variable in organisational behaviour (Oshagbemi, 2000; Spector, 1997). The reason for the interest shown by industrial psychologists in the job satisfaction construct has been to gain a deeper understanding of the individual's work experiences and how optimally to improve productivity in organisations (Lipińska-Grobelny & Wasiak, 2010). The rationale for such interest resides in the association between individuals' satisfaction with their jobs and their aspiration to remain with the organisation.

Several reasons why researchers should be concerned with job satisfaction have been postulated in the literature, which can be classified according to whether they focus on the individual or the organisation. The humanitarian perspective posits that all individuals are entitled to be treated equitably and with respect. To some extent, job satisfaction is an effective indicator of

respectful treatment in organisations, and is considered a reflection of an individual's emotional and psychological well-being (Spector, 1997). The utilitarian perspective views job satisfaction as leading individuals to behave in a way that affects organisational functioning. As discussed later in this section, there are significant implications for individuals' experiences, which may lead to positive or negative behaviours. Assessing employee job satisfaction is a common activity in many organisations in which management feels that individual well-being is essential. The motives for ensuring job satisfaction may be humanitarian or practical, but either way individual job satisfaction is an important organisational objective to investigate (Spector, 1997)

2.3.2 Antecedents of job satisfaction.

A thorough examination of job satisfaction and its antecedents is essential in order to redefine the development of policies that may not only prevent women's dissatisfaction but also encourage job satisfaction and general health in organisations (Cortese, Colombo, & Ghislieri, 2010). Owing to the significant influence that job satisfaction has on organisational outcomes, outlining and describing the antecedents of job satisfaction become important (Fassina, Jones, & Uggerslev, 2008). More specifically, organisations are interested in understanding how work-family conflict impacts on job satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and the effect this may have on organisational outcomes (Rutherford, Boles, Hamwi, Madupalli, & Rutherford, 2009).

There are two levels of antecedents of job satisfaction: organisational and individual. The organisational level is concerned with the working environment. The work environment consists of various elements pertinent to the individual, such as job characteristics, organisational constraints, role variance, work-family conflict, remuneration and job stress. These elements are associated with the job and are regarded as important indicators of job satisfaction. Research into organisational characteristics and job satisfaction has considered different types of leadership styles (Rad & Yarmohammadian,

2006), and work characteristics and conditions (Bockerman & Ilmakunnas, 2006).

The individual level is concerned with personal characteristics such as locus of control, negative affectivity and person-job fit. Such characteristics include the unique attributes that individuals bring to the job, such as personality and prior experiences (Spector, 1997). The individual level has received much of the attention in the job-satisfaction literature (Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002). Research pertinent to the context of this study into individual personal characteristics as antecedents of job satisfaction has dealt with issues such as marital status (Demirel & Erdamar, 2009), number of children, educational level (Koustelios, 2001), gender (Oshagbemi, 2000), rank (Koustelios, 2001), age (Moyes, Williams, & Koch, 2006), tenure (Oshagbemi, 2003), and emotional welfare (Wright, Cropanzano, & Bonett, 2007).

A study conducted by Koustelios (2001) investigating relationships between job satisfaction and personal characteristics found correlation coefficients for work itself ($r = .75$); remuneration ($r = .71$); promotion ($r = .70$); supervision ($r = .81$); and working environment ($r = .79$). Furthermore, differences in individuals' personal characteristics denoted different predictors of job satisfaction. For example, gender was regarded as an important predictor variable only for the working environment subscale. It was further concluded that working women tended to be more satisfied with their working environment than men. These conclusions were similar to those of Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson, and Capwell (1957), in a study which found that working women were more inclined than men to regard the working environment as significant. Oshagbemi (2000) examined differences between men's and women's job satisfaction, and found a general job satisfaction score of 4.220 for women compared with 4.206 for men. The results indicated that working women were slightly more satisfied with their jobs than men and that job satisfaction increased with rank and age (Oshagbemi, 2000). In another study investigating the relationships between personal characteristics of women and

job satisfaction, Oshagbemi (2003) found that rank ($p < .001$) and tenure ($p < .1$) were significant predictors of overall job satisfaction.

2.3.3 Gender and job satisfaction.

The changing composition of the workforce and the number of women participating in paid work has not created a convergence of men's and women's perceptions regarding job attributes. Several studies have indicated that the relative importance of job characteristics and attributes is to a large degree gender based (Beutell & Marini, 1995; Lueptow, Garovich, & Lueptow, 1995). Men in general place higher value on extrinsic attributes such as remuneration, career opportunities and promotions. Women, on the other hand, value intrinsic rewards such as job satisfaction and positive relationships with colleagues (Moyes et al., 2006). A study conducted by Moyes et al. (2006) exploring perceptions of job characteristics found that even though attitudinal differences regarding job attributes are gender related, some are related to age as well. For example, younger individuals perceive promotional opportunities as positive, while older individuals, regardless of gender, experience fulfilment and satisfaction from the jobs they have. Although both younger and older working women are aware of gender bias, it is more prominent among older than younger women (Moyes et al., 2006).

Demographic characteristics from previous organisational research were utilised as proxies for an individual's background and experiences (Helms & Stern, 2001). Within the context of the current research study, the effect of gender plays an important role in establishing whether women in general experience more work-family conflict than men do. Various researchers have investigated the relationship between job satisfaction and gender (Antonakas & Mironaki, 2009; Boles, Wood, & Johnson, 2003; Clark, 1997; Kim, Murrmann, & Lee, 2009; Lipińska-Grobelny et al., 2010; Mayrhofer, Meyer, Schiffinger, & Schmidt, 2007; Mora & Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2009; Morrison, 2009; Moyes et al., 2006; Oshagbemi, 2003; Sabharwal & Corley, 2009; Seifert & Umbach, 2008; Usui, 2008).

Findings by various research studies regarding job satisfaction in relation to the gender of the individual have been conflicting. Such conflicting findings may be because men and women experience and perceive the various aspects of their jobs, such as remuneration and promotional opportunities, differently. The degree to which the same job satisfies individual requirements also differs, as men and women use different criteria in the assessment of their jobs. For example, a job high on social satisfaction and low in skill utilisation may result in higher job satisfaction for women than for men. Conversely, in jobs permitting limited scope for social relationships, the differences in satisfaction may be in the opposite direction (Oshagbemi, 2003). Studies conducted by Okpara (2006) and Oshagbemi (2000) on job satisfaction and gender concluded that their findings did not reveal cohort gender differences with regard to general satisfaction. However, gender was regarded as an important predictor variable. The results of these studies showed significant gender differences between men and women that related to overall job satisfaction (β = .519, r = .64, p > .049).

A study conducted by Kim (2005) investigating gender and job satisfaction, and focusing on reasons why women experience lower job satisfaction than men, found women's jobs to be more mediocre in terms of remuneration, authority and promotional prospects. Kim (2005) reports women's average job satisfaction as higher than men's, and the difference in mean scores as statistically significant at p < .001. On average, women achieved a mean score of 2.99, while men were rather dissatisfied, with a mean score of 2.70. Furthermore, women reported a mean score of 3.07 for job security, while a mean score of 2.71 was reported for men, with a mean difference that is statically significant at p < .001. Kim's (2005) study found that women's satisfaction was higher than men's, with statistically significant differences (p < .001 or p < .05) in the majority of the facets of job satisfaction, such as offering service, work itself, social reputation, pay and promotion.

Lack of job satisfaction has been regarded as one of the most consequential job outcomes affected by role stress. Researchers have argued that role

stress, consisting of role conflict and role ambiguity, has greater influence on job satisfaction for some types of individual than others (Kim et al., 2009). Differences in gender have been utilised as a moderator in the association between role stress and satisfaction with the job (Boles et al., 2003; Karatepe, Yavas, Babakus, & Avci, 2006). It has been hypothesised that women acquire a socialising-oriented, collective behaviour, whereas men express a more task-oriented, agentic behaviour in the workplace (Eagly, 1987). Women are therefore more satisfied with their jobs when they are able to network and socialise with others who share the same appreciation and understanding of their roles. Men, on the other hand, are inclined to be more satisfied when their performance is appreciated and recognised by others. Consequently, women are more prone to experience job dissatisfaction and role stress than men are unless the expectations of their role have been specified to them (Kim et al., 2009).

Kaiser (2007) holds that the opinion that women are disadvantaged in the workplace with regard to income or career advancement almost compels women to lower their job expectations. However, Ghazzaw and Smith (2009) disagree with Kaiser, and contend that the majority of women are moving towards becoming more career oriented, and that women have shifted from the traditional care-giving roles to more career-oriented roles. Various possible reasons explain why women may be less satisfied with their jobs than men. Women struggle to balance the conflicting demands of work and family roles, which has an impact on their work attitudes (Spector, 1997). The ever-changing social roles that women occupy at work imply that their perceptions regarding the centrality of work have become comparable to men's (Ghazzaw & Smith, 2009). Women embrace a holistic picture of their lives, and satisfaction with life in general is related to self, family, work and the multiple roles that women occupy. The family role remains central in many women's lives, while the employee-role and being satisfied at work represent a source of self-esteem and self-efficacy. The research study assists our understanding of the extent to which working women with children experience

job satisfaction by participating in multiple social roles both at work and at home.

2.3.4 Measuring job satisfaction.

Measures of job satisfaction that assess the various levels of specificity have been extensively used in research. One approach to acquiring measures of job satisfaction is to enquire directly about overall feelings regarding the job; this approach is referred to as a global measure. A global measure of job satisfaction requires individuals to combine their reactions to the various components of the job in a single, integrated answer. The utilisation of a global measure fails, however, to take into account the various facets of job satisfaction (Boles et al., 2003) and is unsuccessful in providing a precise and complete evaluation of job satisfaction (Churchill, Ford, & Walker, 1974). Many studies examining job satisfaction have focused mainly upon a single job satisfaction construct, and not taken into consideration the various facets of job satisfaction (Boles et al., 2003).

To overcome the innate limitations of the global measure of job satisfaction, a number of multidimensional individual job satisfaction scales were developed to allow researchers to gain a comprehensive and precise evaluation of the job satisfaction construct (Boles et al., 2003). To assess job satisfaction accurately, several characteristics or facets of the job that measure the individual's beliefs and attitudes regarding his or her job need to be taken into consideration (Churchill et al., 1974). The facet approach is used to examine which components of the job generate satisfaction or dissatisfaction. This type of approach can be beneficial for organisations wanting to diagnose and assess areas where individuals are dissatisfied. A job satisfaction facet may relate to any characteristic or part of a job (Spector, 1997). The facet approach presents a more comprehensive framework of an individual's job satisfaction than the global approach (Spector, 1997). Such job satisfaction facets may not be of equal significance to various individuals. For example, a working mother may specify that she is content with her manager,

remuneration and organisational policies, but unhappy with the other aspects
of her work, such as the job itself.

2.3.5 Theories of job satisfaction.

Feminists' reports suggest that because women perceive the world differently
from men they are likely to develop and maintain specific interpretations of
their workplace (Franklin, 1997; Ramazanoglu & Hollard, 2002).   The
distinctive world of women provokes a diverse reality, which subsists not by
comparison with men's reality, but stands as a self-governing and equitable
one (Franklin, 1997; Tong 1994). The researcher has therefore integrated an
epistemology of existing theories and concepts into the study, in which, as
working women with children are the focus, special attention is paid to the job
satisfaction of working women,

Various theories of job satisfaction have discussed elements that assist our
understanding of job satisfaction in totality (George & Jones, 2000; Williams,
2000). Two influential theories have been selected for the study that are
relevant to the job satisfaction of working women with children: the facet
model of job satisfaction, and the job characteristics theory of Hackman and
Oldham (1980).

2.3.5.1 The facet model of job satisfaction.

To gain a holistic assessment of job satisfaction, it is necessary to consider
the various facets that constitute the job. Such a holistic measure includes
individuals' beliefs and attitudes regarding their jobs (Churchill et al., 1974*).*
The facet measure of job satisfaction is designed to cover each primary area
within the general satisfaction domain separately. The facets are designed to
be comparatively homogeneous, and different from the other facets. The facet
model of job satisfaction is primarily concerned with the individual's working
environment (Spector, 1997). By dissecting a particular job into its various
facets, one can ascertain how satisfied individuals are with each facet of their

jobs (George & Jones, 2000).   Table 2 shows the various job satisfaction
facets that are found in a number of popular job-satisfaction instruments.

Table 2

Facets of job satisfaction

Facets of Job Satisfaction

Ability utilisation	Activity	Achievement
Authority	Independence	Moral values
Responsibility	Security	Creativity
Social service	Social status	Variety
Advancement	Company policy	Compensation
Recognition	Working conditions	Co-workers
Supervision (human relations)	Supervision (technical)	

Note. From "Job satisfaction: application, assessment, causes, and consequences",
by P.E. Spector, 1997, California: Sage, p. 3. Copyright 1997 by Copyright Holder.
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According to Spector (1997), Utilising the faceted approach to job satisfaction
as indicated in Table 2 offers a more comprehensive picture of an individual's
job satisfaction than the global approach to job satisfaction.   Not only do
individuals differ in terms of their satisfaction across the various facets, but
also the job satisfaction facets are modestly related to one another (Spector,
1997).   Analysing the various facets of job satisfaction as indicated in the facet
model reveals that not all the facets mentioned are of relevance to this study,
more specifically to working women with children.   For example, the security
facet may be of paramount importance to single working women with children.
The need for authority may also be high among working women with children.
Authority refers to the extent to which a job offers the individual sovereignty
and diplomacy in scheduling work and determining how the work will be
performed (Weiss et al., 1967).

The facet approach is used to understand which aspect of a particular job
generates an individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction.   This can be
essentially beneficial for organisations that would like to understand the

various areas of employee dissatisfaction. Facets that are regularly measured include rewards, such as remuneration or fringe benefits; colleagues or managers; the nature of the work; and the organisation itself (Snipes, Oswald, La Tour, & Armenakis, 2005). The facet model of job satisfaction is useful as it enables researchers to understand how work affects individuals, and that certain facets of a job may be more significant to some individuals than others. Men and women may look for or be selected for different jobs that have differing levels of job resources. Men approach work as a means to success and are inclined to emphasise wealth, position, and power. Women, on the other hand, value growth, development, and the opportunity to nurture others in their work environment (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). Men and women may construe or experience the same working environment and the various facets of work differently. Such differences exist purely because what women aspire to in a job is different from what men aspire to in a job (Wayne, Grzywacz, Carlson, & Kacmar, 2007).

Kim (2005) conducted a study investigating whether gender adds to the differences in job satisfaction between men and women. Kim evaluated the variances between men and women with regard to the meaning of job satisfaction, and evaluated the impact of gender on the criticality and satisfaction of each job facet against general job satisfaction. Kim found that women regarded the following job facets as highly important to them: working conditions, supervision, personal growth, work itself, colleagues, job stability, and the offering of service. Men, on the other hand, valued promotional opportunities more highly than women did. A mean score of 4.23 was reported for women on the value of working conditions, whereas men reported a mean score of 4.03 (statistically significant $p < .001$). Women reported a mean score of 4.10 for the importance of work itself, while men reported a mean score of 3.91. A mean score for men on the value of promotional opportunities reported 4.22, while women reported 4.13. Kim (2005) concluded that women have higher job satisfaction on the various job satisfaction facets than men, and that among work and demographic

variables, gender may be regarded as the single most significant predictor of
job satisfaction.

2.3.5.2 Job characteristics theory.

Jobs that are experienced as inherently uninteresting and are associated with
simple and routine tasks have often been found to be dissatisfying (Spector,
1977).   Researchers have promoted job redesign as a tool to enable and
enhance job satisfaction by making jobs more appealing (Herzberg, 1968).
Jobs are redesigned by modifying certain characteristics within the content
and nature of the job (McKnight, Phillips, & Hardgrave, 2009). The content
and nature of tasks within the actual job are referred to as job characteristics;
only a limited number of characteristics have been researched as contributors
to job satisfaction (Wall & Martin, 1987).   The job characteristics theory of
Hackman and Oldham (1980) is the most influential theory explaining how the
characteristics of a job affect individuals at work.   The job characteristics
theory posits that individuals are encouraged by the intrinsic satisfaction they
discover in executing job tasks. When individuals perceive that work is
pleasurable and significant, they become engaged in their work and motivated
to perform well in their jobs (Spector, 1997).

The five core dimensions of the job characteristics theory can be applied to
any job (McKnight et al., 2009; Spector, 1997); these are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Dimensions of job characteristics

Mean Characteristics	Description of Characteristic
Skill Variety	The skills required by an individual to do the job
Task Identity	Depends on whether or not an individual completes an entire job or a part of a job
Task Significance	The influence the job has on other individuals
Autonomy	The degree to which individuals are free to carry out their jobs as they deem appropriate
Job Feedback	The degree to which it becomes clear to individuals that they are executing their jobs accurately

Note. From "Job satisfaction: application, assessment, causes, and consequences",
by P.E. Spector, 1997, California: Sage, p. 33. Copyright 1997 by Copyright Holder.
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The five core job characteristics have been proposed to lead to three
psychological states: skill variety, task identity, and task significance (De Dreu
& Nauta, 2009). These three psychological states together induce
experiences of meaningfulness at work. Jobs high in autonomy offer the
individual a sense of personal accountability. Job feedback results in the
individual's understanding of the outcomes related to products of work. The
job characteristics theory suggests that if skill variety, task identity and task
significance are present in a job, the individual views the job as being
significant and meaningful (Spector, 1997). The job characteristics
dimensions indicated in Table 3 have been utilised in this study for measuring
and interpreting individuals' satisfaction in their jobs. The three psychological
states consequently contribute to job satisfaction outcomes and individual

motivation. Accordingly, the five core job characteristics indicate how motivating a job is expected to be.

A personality variable was added to the job characteristics theory of Hackman and Oldham (1976): growth need strength. The growth need strength variable plays a moderating role between the effects of the core job characteristics. The growth need strength variable reveals an individual's need for the attainment of higher-order needs, such as job autonomy or development and growth. The job characteristics theory posits that the motivating effects of job characteristics will take place only if individuals have high growth need strength. In other words, individuals who favour challenges and significance in their work will be more content and motivated if they have jobs that are complex as defined by the five core characteristics. Such individuals are more likely to avoid jobs that are simplistic in nature, and may be attracted to managerial jobs that offer greater levels of complexity.

Chovwen and Ivensor (2008) conducted a study to determine how skill variety, autonomy and job feedback on job characteristics and organisational justice could predict the job security and motivation of working women. The findings of the hierarchical regression analysis showed a significant combined effect of job characteristics on job loss for working women ($r = 0.04$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, a combined influence of job characteristics and organisational justice on perceived motivation and insecurity was found for women. In other words, when problems materialise as a consequence of job characteristics and unfair processes, women may feel that their job security is endangered and their level of motivation may be affected.

Because of the centrality of the role that work plays in many individuals' lives, it becomes necessary for organisations to understand how individuals may feel satisfied in their jobs. A motivated workforce implies many benefits to an organisation; therefore the creation of a working environment that cultivates motivation becomes important (Swanepoel, Erasmus, Van Wyk, & Schenk, 2003). Various motivational theories need to be taken into consideration in

creating this type of working environment. Motivational theories have been formulated in order to explain and predict the impact of motivation on organisational variables such as job satisfaction, productivity, absenteeism and turnover (Swanepoel et al., 2003). A discussion on the relationship between job satisfaction and motivation follows.

2.3.6 The relationship between job satisfaction and motivation.

Work psychology has for some time endeavoured to examine the reasons why individuals differ in terms of their motivation to work. Work psychology attempts to establish how individual differentiation interrelates with organisational and situational factors to impact upon satisfaction on the job (Furnham, 2002). Despite the fact that many researchers have presented various reasons for the sources of both job satisfaction and work motivation, there has been very limited focus on and measurement of individual differences (Furnham, 2002).

According to Westwood (1992, p. 288), motivation can be defined as "an internal state, giving rise to a desire or pressure to act". Job satisfaction, on the other hand, refers to the degree to which individuals are satisfied with their jobs (Warr, 2002). Both work motivation and job satisfaction are discussed side by side; as it is arguable that the degree to which individuals are satisfied at work may be influenced by the existence of factors and conditions that have a motivating effect (Furnham, 2002). The underlying principle behind the more modern theories of job satisfaction and work motivation is to offer a foundational framework by means of which organisations are better equipped to motivate their employees and increase their excitement within their roles (Furnham, Eracleous, & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2009). For the purposes of this study, only Herzberg's theory of motivation (1959) will be utilised, owing to its applicability to job satisfaction and work-family conflict.

Herzberg's theory of motivation (1959) is based on his seminal two-factor theory. Herzberg contends that satisfaction and dissatisfaction should not be

viewed as two opposing extremes but rather as a continuum, with two interdependent concepts caused by and derived from different facets of work. These two concepts are known as the extrinsic, or "hygiene" factors, and the intrinsic, or "motivational" factors. Hygiene factors, or lower-order needs, are considered as extrinsic factors of the job that may add to an individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction on the job (Oplatka & Mimon, 2008). For example, hygiene needs include elements such as supervision, working conditions, benefits, remuneration, and interpersonal relations. Herzberg's theory of motivation (1959) postulates that job dissatisfaction is highly likely in situations where hygiene (extrinsic) factors are lacking or limited in the individual's working environment (Gunlu et al., 2010).

Motivators, or higher-order needs, are intrinsic to the actual job and consist of elements such as appreciation, accomplishment and acknowledgement (Furnham et al., 2009). Herzberg (1959) hypothesised that motivators or intrinsic factors such as appreciation or accomplishment are fundamental in motivating individuals to carry out their daily tasks at work, and are related to job satisfaction. Reinardy (2009) conducted a study utilising Herzberg's motivational-hygiene theory to assess the effects on overall job satisfaction of motivational factors, such as social and organisational support, and hygiene factors, such as job demands, work-family conflict and role overload. Reinardy found a strong positive, statistically significant, relationship between overall job satisfaction and social support ($r = .46$). Furthermore, a weak negative, statistically significant, relationship was reported between job satisfaction and work-family conflict ($r = -.26$) and between job demands ($r = -.27$), and role overload ($r = -.27$). Reinardy's (2009) results indicate that motivational factors may be consequential predictors of job satisfaction. Hygiene factors, although partially supported, may be consequential predictors of job dissatisfaction.

Herzberg (1959) argues that only intrinsic factors can essentially generate high levels of motivation. Extrinsic factors do not motivate individuals; nonetheless, neglecting these elements may be detrimental to an individual's

commitment to his or her work. Ebrahimi (1999) recognised gender as a vital consideration in the literature of work motivation and Aycan (2001) contended that there was a need for more research into influences of gender on work motivation. Worthley, MacNab, Brislin, Ito, and Rose (2009) investigated factors relating to work motivation for men and women employees in Japan, utilising Herzberg's (1959) motivational-hygiene theory. A significant difference was found with regard to extrinsic motivation ($p < .05$) in which women on average achieved a higher score than men (Worthley et al., 2009). In addition, men placed significantly greater emphasis on intrinsic motivators ($p < .01$), while women did not. While men were more likely to emphasise intrinsic aspects over extrinsic ones, women did not make a significant distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic aspects. Extrinsic factors that were of particular interest to women in the study were social relationships, equality, job security and quality of managers.

Most of the studies investigating job satisfaction and work motivation have focused on organisational or situational predictors such as remuneration, support and supervision (Locke, 1976), while disregarding the importance of individual differences (Staw & Ross, 1985). It is important to take into consideration the significant differences between the ways in which individuals, especially working women, perceive their jobs (Furnham et al., 2009). The modern individual may not necessarily experience job satisfaction and motivation solely because of the financial aspect associated with work. Moreover, the same hygiene factors and motivators may not guarantee that all individuals are motivated and satisfied in their jobs (Van der Walt, 2007). It appears that modern employees have a greater concern with intrinsic motivating factors such as a sense of achievement in family life, but not to the detriment of the hygiene factors. It would be advantageous if organisations considered the hygiene factors; but to guarantee motivation and job satisfaction, intrinsic needs which are family based should also be met by the organisation (Furnham et al., 2009).

2.3.7 Intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions of job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction is an attitude that reflects three factors: the intrinsic and extrinsic factors, and general reinforcement. The job satisfaction dimensions that measure intrinsic job satisfaction in the MSQ Short-Form are ability utilisation, activity, achievement, independence, moral values, responsibility, security, creativity, social service, social status and variety. Similarly, the job satisfaction dimensions that measure extrinsic job satisfaction are advancement, company policy, compensation, recognition and supervision (human relations and technical). Job satisfaction in general incorporates two additional factors: working conditions and co-workers. When intrinsic and extrinsic factors are combined with the working environment, general job satisfaction is created (Feinstein & Vondrasek, 2001). A review follows of intrinsic and extrinsic factors pertinent to the context of this study.

Financial reward is regarded as one of the extrinsic benefits of work; such rewards seek to satisfy the temporary needs of individuals and enable the attainment of physical assets for continued satisfaction. Throughout human history, the financial rewards that work provides have been of importance in the lives of individuals engaged in the world of work (Markovits, Davis, & Van Dick, 2007). A study conducted by De Klerk, Boshoff, & Van Wyk (2001) investigating "man's will to meaning" reported a statistically significant correlation between meaning and an individual's intention to continue working without financial gains ($p < .044$). The study by De Klerk et al. showed that individuals search for meaning in their work, a meaning that is greater than mere financial gain. Herzberg (1959) postulated that individuals accumulated interest on the psychological benefits that they gained from their jobs, saying, "when the worker is not pushed for such basic things as food, clothing and shelter, he also thinks more about some of the pleasurable and personally rewarding aspects of his job, recognition, responsibility, and interesting work". The meaningful work that Herzberg (1959) refers to is associated with more refined skills and greater complexity, and provides greater opportunities for intrinsic job satisfaction (Markovits et al., 2007). It is important to understand

how single mothers with low income manage their work and family lives. Research has indicated that work is meaningful for mothers working in family-friendly environments (Sahibzada, Hammer, Neal, & Kuang, 2005). For example, giving working mothers the opportunity to take time off work to handle family and childcare issues without the reduction of income alleviates the strain of their work-family conflict (Son & Bauer, 2010).

The number of hours worked is another factor that can increase single mothers' work-family conflict and decrease job satisfaction. Low-income single mothers are more likely to engage in jobs with non-standard working hours, which results in their experiencing more work-family conflict than married mothers do (Presser, 2003). Single mothers have very limited resources available to them and are confronted by various family and work demands and job insecurity (Son & Bauer, 2010; Urban & Olsen, 2005). The degree of differentiation of work-family conflict is based on the nature of demands and the availability of resources for mothers. Demands are composed of goals or actions, and the means that fit with these demands and actions are resources (Son & Bauer, 2010).

From an extrinsic perspective, research has recently focused on the career development and advancement of working women in managerial positions (Davidson & Burke, 2004; Vinnicombe & Bank, 2003). Researchers are in agreement that working women continue to experience difficulty in progressing through the ranks of senior management levels, regardless of their qualifications, tenure and levels of job performance (Burke & Mattis, 2005; Burke & Nelson, 2002; Ruderman & Ohlott, 2002). More recently, organisations have begun to support women's career aspirations to more senior roles (Burke & Mattis, 2005; Burke & Nelson, 2002; Eagly & Carli, 2007). Such organisational support involves bringing women who have the appropriate education, experience and track record into managerial roles (Hewlett, Luce, & Shiller, 2005). Women in managerial positions may be exposed to certain obstacles in the workplace, such as prejudice, scrutiny, conflict between work and family life, exposure to higher performance

measures and standards and unfavourable working conditions (Hochschild, 1989). However, Schein (2007) proposes that the greatest challenges that confront women with regard to career progression are the attitudes, prejudice, observation and behaviour that they will receive from men in the workplace. The culture of working excessively long hours also prejudices women in the workplace, as a woman's key accountability is her family and home (Burke, Koyuncu, & Fiksenbaum, 2008). Available resources derived from the work domain, such as supervisor support, flexible working arrangements and job benefits, appeal to the capabilities of working mothers, who are attempting to manage the responsibilities of work and family (Mammen, Lass, & Seiling, 2009; Pedersen et al., 2009).

A study conducted by Aycan (2004), investigating the factors that influence women's career advancement, concluded that regardless of the organisational support women receive, gender-role stereotypes remain rigid. Aycan (2004) added that women hold more traditional attitudes regarding gender roles. This might be because women strongly internalise societal attitudes regarding their gender roles, although women sometimes find it more suitable to "think like men" and repress their "feminist" attitudes in order to gain approval in a male-dominated working environment (Kabasakal, 1998). Furthermore, Aycan (2004) found that women in managerial positions had constantly to fight against gender-role stereotypes. These women needed to persuade themselves that it was acceptable not to execute domestic activities themselves, but to obtain assistance from family members or paid help instead. Women in managerial positions had to learn not to feel guilty in a cultural situation in which significant others criticised them for leaving their children to go to work. They had to persuade their husbands or partners to acknowledge them as professional women and share the household activities. These women also had to prove to their organisations that they were capable of managing greater accountabilities, and that their family responsibilities did not interfere with their work.

In general, men place higher value on extrinsic attributes such as remuneration and opportunities for career advancement. Women, on the other hand, seek intrinsic attributes such as job satisfaction and positive social relationships with colleagues (Moyes et al., 2006). These differences support the alleged tendency of women to choose the teaching and nursing professions, while men are more interested in complex occupations (Moyes et al., 2006). However, this is not the case for all men and women. Assuming that both extrinsic and intrinsic job benefits and rewards may be of significance to most individuals, it may be valuable to sufficiently measure specific facets of the job. It would be of particular interest to ascertain whether gender differences exist in the job satisfaction of working women with children compared to that of other working women and men.

2.3.8 Work-family conflict and job satisfaction.

The increasing numbers of dual-career families, in which husband and wife work, are likely to create even greater conflict between work and family (Livingston & Judge, 2008; Major & Germano, 2006). Employed women have greater combined demands from their work and families, which leads them to experience conflict between work and family domains (Davidson & Burke, 2004). The increased interest in work-family conflict is based on the idea that work-family conflict may lead to negative work-related outcomes such as job dissatisfaction (Frye & Breaugh, 2004). Work-family conflict and job satisfaction are discussed within this study; the next part of this discussion highlights the significance of job satisfaction and its effects on work-family conflict.

Researchers have effectively established relationships between work-family conflict and job satisfaction. A study by Namasivayam and Mount (2004) investigating relationships between work-family conflict, family-work conflict and job satisfaction found that when individuals' work roles interfere with family roles, the individual experiences lower job satisfaction. In addition, research conducted by Karimi (2008) found that work interference with family

conflict had a significant and negative influence on job satisfaction ($r = -.19$, $p < .01$) for employed women. These results demonstrated that higher levels of work interference with family conflict were related to lower job satisfaction for working women.

An investigation by Ngah, Ahmad, and Baba (2009) investigated the mediating effect of work-family conflict on the relationship between locus of control and job satisfaction for single working mothers. The study found that work-family conflict was significantly correlated to job satisfaction. Single mothers with lower levels of work-family conflict experienced higher job satisfaction. Such results show that when single employed mothers believe that they have the power to control the events that occur in their lives, they are more satisfied with their jobs and experience less conflict between the obligations of work and family. A study conducted by Boles et al. (2001) concluded that work-family conflict is significantly related to all facets of job satisfaction ($p < .05$), with the exception of satisfaction with co-workers. Similarly, family-work conflict is also significantly related to all facets of job satisfaction, with the exception of satisfaction with promotion. The findings indicate that increased levels of work-family conflict and family-work conflict are negatively correlated to employee job satisfaction. The results also propose that work interference with family is a potential predictor of low job satisfaction.

Cohen and Liani (2009) investigated work-family conflict among female employees. The findings of the study confirmed a strong significant relationship between work attitudes, predominantly job satisfaction, and work-family conflict ($r = -.29$, $p < .01$). The findings demonstrate that higher job satisfaction may be related to lower levels of work-family conflict. A research study by Ahmad (1996), investigating the consequences of work-family conflict of married women by using path analytic associations of work-family conflict, job satisfaction, family and life satisfaction, found work-family conflict led to significantly lower job satisfaction ($r = -.40$, $p < .01$) and family satisfaction ($r = -.29$, $p < .01$). The data implies that work-family conflict is a

significant concern for individuals and organisations owing to its unfavourable consequences, such as reduced job satisfaction. According to the studies and investigations regarding job satisfaction and work-family conflict, it can be confidently stated that when work roles interfere with family roles, individuals experience lower job satisfaction (Boles et al., 2001; Cohen & Liani, 2009; Karimi, 2008; Namasivayam & Mount, 2004; Ngah et al., 2009; O'Driscoll, Brough, & Kalliath, 2004). Considering the available evidence, it seems that job dissatisfaction, as a work factor, has consistently been demonstrated to be the most important consequence of conflict in the family domain.

2.3.9 Role variables and job satisfaction among working women.

One approach to viewing the interaction of individuals and jobs is from the perspective of role theory (Katz & Khan, 1978). A role is described as the required pattern of behaviour that an individual takes on within the organisation (Hamilton et al., 2006). In terms of the role theory, certain variables have been hypothesised to be important influences on job satisfaction. Role ambiguity and role conflict have been the most thoroughly examined, the latter being pertinent to the context of this study. Role ambiguity refers to the degree of certainty individuals have concerning what their outputs and responsibilities should be. For example, if a supervisor's expectation of an employee's role is not accurately described to the employee, role ambiguity will result. Role conflict exists when individuals experience incompatible demands regarding their roles and responsibilities (Hamilton et al., 2006). Such a situation provokes negative emotional responses and reduces job satisfaction and effectiveness in a position. Both role ambiguity and role conflict have been shown to correlate with low levels of job satisfaction.

Tarrant and Sabo (2010) conducted a study investigating role conflict, role ambiguity and job satisfaction among nurse executives. The study reported a mean score of 3.04 for role conflict. Role ambiguity reported a mean score of

2.91, and job satisfaction reported a mean score of 4.01. Upon examining the relationship between role conflict, role ambiguity and job satisfaction, a moderate negative relationship was found between role conflict and job satisfaction (r = -.49), signifying that as individuals' role conflict increases, their job satisfaction decreases. The analysis of the data also revealed a moderate negative relationship between role ambiguity and job satisfaction (r = -.54), signifying that as individuals' role ambiguity increases, their job satisfaction decreases.

Roles form part of an individual's social structure and are recognised and used by all members within a social community. While roles are shared behavioural expectations, role identities are internalised role expectations. Certain dimensions such as gender may have the characteristics of a role identity, but frequently modify role identities (Verdonk, De Rijk, Klinge, & De Vries, 2008). Role theory integrates the influences of role demands, individual resources and social resources in shaping role performance and domain outcomes. It is likely that multiple-role participation and the process of satisfying various demands, although potentially demanding, can be a positive experience that yields rewards. This is particularly true when resources such as family-friendly policies are accessible to assist individuals to meet their specific family needs (Pedersen et al., 2009).

A study conducted by Karatepe et al. (2006) investigating gender differences in the banking industry found that these had a significant moderating impact on the association between role conflict and job satisfaction. Relationships were found between role conflict and job satisfaction (r = -.38) and role ambiguity (r = -.47) for women; and role conflict (r = -.23) and role ambiguity (r = -.44) for men. Men and women have varying perceptions regarding their roles in society, and they experience role conflict and role ambiguity differently. Two theoretical perspectives that distinguish between men and women's role stress have been proposed in the literature. The first suggested theory is that, as men and women are biologically different, differences will exist with regard to their attitudes in the workplace. Women seek roles that do

not interfere with their family, especially with their roles as mothers (Mackey &
Coney, 2000).   The second proposed theory is the role theory, which
categorises women as enacting collective and nurturing roles, while men
engage in more agentic or influential roles (Eagly, 1987).   Such theoretical
perspectives suggest that men and women differ in their outlook regarding
their jobs, and experience varying degrees of work-related consequences,
based on the demands deriving, from work and family domains (Boles et al.,
2003).   It may be concluded that men and women have conflicting job
expectations, which may lead to role conflict, role ambiguity and work-family
conflict.

2.3.10 Demand-control model and job satisfaction.

The demand-control model has been utilised in several previous studies to
explain individual well-being in a high job demand context (Karasek, 1979;
Karasek & Theorell, 1990).   A basic tenet of the demand-control model is that
in jobs characterised by a combination of high job demands and low job
control, strain will be more evident.   According to a study conducted by
Johnson and Hall (1988), social support from managers and co-workers also
plays a significant role in coping with job demands.   A few studies have
verified this finding (De Lange, Taris, Kompier, Houtman, & Bongers, 2003;
Van der Doef & Maes, 1999), while other studies have incorporated the
emotive and physical demands in the demand-control model in addition to
workload (De Croon, Blonk, De Zwart, Frings-Dresen, & Broersen, 2002; Van
Vegchel, De Jonge, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2002).   Demands such as workloads
constitute stressors that have the potential to produce strain in individuals.
Control, on the other hand, functions as a buffer to limit the effects of the
demands.   For example, an individual who has a high level of job control will
find that the demands of the job have little effect on job strain.   If an individual
has limited job control, then the demands of the job will result in job strain.
Therefore, one can assume that jobs with greater demands and low control
will be characterised as "high-strain jobs" (Bakker, Van Veldhoven, &
Xanthopoulou, 2010).   A significant implication for organisations of the

demand-control model is that the negative effects of demands may be reduced by increasing the control that individuals have over their jobs.

The affiliation between an individual's health, working hours and family functioning is intricate, as not all individuals are affected in the same manner by working long hours (Burke & Fiksenbaum, 2008). These authors conducted a study investigating the relationship between working hours, job satisfaction and general well-being among women. The study found that women who worked 56 hours or more per week were more inclined not to have children than were women who worked 55 hours or less per week. Higher job satisfaction, more promotional opportunities and salary increases were reported by the women working more hours. However, greater psychological stress was reported by women working 56 or more hours per week, suggesting that working long hours was also associated with some psychological costs. One could argue that women are more vulnerable to difficulty in an organisational culture of long working hours, especially if they are career driven and have family obligations as well. According to Hewlett et al., (2005), women with a family are disadvantaged in a work environment that demands long working hours because of their dual life responsibilities. Women may decide not to take part in work that requires long working hours as it may prevent them from attending to their family responsibilities (Hewlett et al., 2005).

Organisations need to recognise that a culture of long working hours, which may be appealing to some individuals and contribute to productivity in the short term, may be impractical in the long term. Working in "extreme" jobs may over time lead to turnover, especially among talented women, and to exhaustion and emotional distress among those who stay with the organisation (Burke & Fiksenbaum, 2008). An extreme job is described as one that requires 60 working hours or more per week (Hewlett et al., 2005).

2.4 Burnout

Many behaviours and individual outcomes have been proposed to be a
consequence of job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction. Some of these
outcomes include not only work variables such as performance and individual
turnover but also outcomes not related to work, such as health and well-being.
Burnout, for instance, is an example of an emotional and psychological state
that an individual experiences on the job. Job satisfaction is regarded as
attitudinal in nature; burnout, however, is regarded as more of an emotive
response to the job (Hewlett et al., 2005).

The two main resources that parents are responsible for providing for their
children are time and money (Thomson, Hanson, & McLanahan, 1994).
However, providing for their children inevitably requires parents to spend time
working. The obligation to spend time on paid work interferes with the amount
of quality time that the individual may spend in the family domain (Bulanda &
Lippman, 2009). Similarly, spending too much time at work may result in a
reorganisation of domestic activities, and may leave an individual feeling
stressed and overworked (Bulanda & Lippman, 2009). Stress in the
workplace has been the subject of a great deal of research throughout the
years (Cooper, Dewe, & O'Driscoll, 2001). Continuous exposure to stress at
work may have a negative influence on an individual's health and may
ultimately lead to burnout (Ursin & Eriksen, 2004; Martinussen et al., 2007).
The burnout construct is a significant and controversial element in the
literature on organisational behaviour and research, as it incorporates the
reality of individual experiences in the workplace.

Burnout research has focused primarily on role characteristics of work
(Halbesleben & Buckley, 2004), as burnout has been defined as a state of
mind that is related to work characteristics (Maslach et al., 2001). A study
conducted by Schreuder and Coetzee (2010) investigating the frequency of
published research in Industrial and Organisational Psychology found that
research trends not only evolved over time but keep up with the unyielding
challenges of a changing work and socio-economic context. Overall, the

findings show an increase in research relating to organisational psychology and employee and organisational wellness. The proportional increase in employee and organisational wellness research is aligned with the increasing changes in the nature of jobs due to the rapid technological and socio-economic changes (Rothmann & Cilliers, 2007). The proportional increase of research on employee and organisational wellness seems to be a global trend. Schaufeli (2001) postulates that from 1990 until 2001 over 6000 scientific publications with 'burnout' in the title were published globally. This trend could be ascribed to the continuing demands of a globally volatile, highly competitive organisational environment that impacts on both employee and organisational wellness (Rothmann & Cilliers, 2007).

The concept of burnout was criticised in the past as a non-academic construct and was relegated to the realm of "popular psychology". This term is used to characterise different types of mental frameworks that may or may not be scientifically confirmed. Given the consequential empirical studies, investigations and supporting models on burnout, the question of whether burnout is an academic construct or not has been answered (Maslach et al., 2001). What has materialised from theoretical models and research is a conceptualisation of the construct of job burnout as "a psychological syndrome in response to chronic interpersonal stressors on the job" (Maslach et al., 2001, p. 399). Burnout is an important construct to examine because of the increasing number of individuals who experience and suffer from it. Burnout as an occupational disorder is a significant dilemma in the modern workplace (Ten Brummelhuis et al., 2008).

Several work-related variables have been shown to be related to burnout. Such variables include job demands and physical workloads (Jassen, Bakker, & De Jong, 2001), increased psychological strain caused by modern-day jobs and physical work environments (Hakanen, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2006), low levels of autonomy (Demerouti et al., 2001), poor supervisor support (Sundin, Hochwälder, Bildt & Lisspers, 2007), inadequate job resources and high job demands (Demerouti et al., 2001). Increasing demands arising from an

individual's job lead to greater workloads, conflicting roles and limited resources, elevating the individual's risk of burnout (Demerouti et al., 2001). According to recent research conducted by Ten Brummerlhuis et al. (2008), burnout may be traced back and related to the family domain, as the majority of individuals affected have also experienced an increase in family-related duties. The combined demands of work and family frequently lead to stress, time pressures and conflict in satisfying both roles (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). However, research examining the impact of family duties and responsibilities on job burnout is limited (Eby et al., 2005; Hill, 2005). This study examines the time pressures that are caused by the combination of work, family and burnout.

Satisfaction in women's lives is often related to their families, work and their sense of self derived from multiple-role participation (Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 2006). Compared with their participation in family roles, the role of work signifies a basis of self-worth and self-efficacy. Job and career growth, developmental opportunities and the ability to manage a job that requires certain levels of accountability may be direct sources of life satisfaction for many women. Financial and career security also contributes to the general health and welfare of women (Campione, 2008). Furthermore, a sense of accomplished self-efficacy derived from work affords women the opportunity to manage both work and family roles more effectively.

Although women take a global perspective of their lives and may undeniably be satisfied with their lives in general, they are usually more concerned with daily life activities (Campione, 2008). As we have seen, working women continue to assume a greater part of caregiving and domestic responsibilities, in conjunction with paid work, on a daily basis. Family networks may offer some form of time and financial relief to women (Campione, 2008). However, there may be instances when family networks may become depleted of the resources required to support women. In such cases, women turn to their employment as a source of support (Voydanoff, 2005b). Some organisations provide an array of fringe benefits, such as flexible working arrangements or

telecommuting, as a way to assist individuals to manage their time and family obligations (Brett & Stroh, 2003). Certain employers, however, can make it very hard for individuals to manage their various roles, which may ultimately lead to stress and affect their well-being (Campione, 2008). Depending solely on family networks is not sufficient in modern-day life; the work role affords entry into another network where women can acquire support and assistance.

2.4.1 Defining the construct: the three dimensions of burnout.

Burnout was first defined as "a state of fatigue or frustration brought about by devotion to a cause, way of life or relationship that failed to produce the expected reward" (Freudenberger, 1980, p. 13). Later, Maslach et al. (2001, p. 399) defined burnout as a "psychological syndrome in response to chronic interpersonal stressors on the job". The consensus in the literature is that burnout can be seen as the result of commencing work with high motivational and commitment levels; by not attaining favourable outcomes, individuals are left highly dissatisfied (Ben-Zur & Michael, 2007). Winstanley and Whittington (2002) contend that burnout can be viewed as a dynamic process, linked to stress, caused by the combination of elevated levels of workloads and limited coping alternatives. Burnout is an extended reaction to constant stressors associated with the job, and thus plays a unique role, especially in the healthcare industry, in which employees suffer from both emotional and physical stress (Piko, 2006).

The MBI-HSS was developed to measure burnout as an occupational issue for individuals offering human services (Sundin et al., 2007). It became apparent that there was a need to measure burnout in other occupations that did not have direct contact with service recipients, and in response, the Maslach Burnout Inventory General Survey (MBI-GS) was developed. The MBI-GS is used to measure individuals' relationships with their work on a continuum from engagement to burnout (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996).

The instrument was selected to measure burnout in this study. The MBI-GS consists of three subscales that parallel those of the MIB-HHS: emotional exhaustion, cynicism and professional efficacy. The burnout dimensions are related differently to each other and cannot be summarised or viewed as a distinct scale of burnout. The weakest correlations are between emotional exhaustion (r = .04) and professional efficacy (r = .34), while the strongest correlations are between emotional exhaustion and cynicism (r = .44 and r = .61).

Emotional exhaustion is regarded as the most apparent expression of the intricate syndrome of burnout. When individuals consider themselves experiencing burnout, they very often report the presence of exhaustion. Exhaustion has been consistently established to be more frequently reported in women (mean 33.6) than in men (mean 28.6) (Sjogren & Kristenson, 2006). The likelihood of women working in positions with higher job demands and little authority to make decisions is great; therefore, women tend to report more job strain than men (Sjogren & Kristenson, 2006). In a study conducted by Canivet et al. (2010), exhaustion (as well as family-work conflict, poor self-rated health, working overtime, job strain and low job support) was reported to be more prevalent in women (15.6%) as opposed to men (8.3%) in a sample of 12 607 men and women.

According to Maslach et al. (2001) of the three dimensions of burnout, exhaustion is probably the most extensively researched and thoroughly analysed. Even though exhaustion reveals the stress dimensions of burnout, it is not successful in capturing the significant elements of the relationship individuals have with work. Exhaustion is not viewed as a simplistic experience; instead, it evokes behaviour in which individuals are emotionally and mentally restrained from performing their work as a mechanism to manage and deal with work overload (Maslach et al., 2001).

The second dimension is depersonalisation, or cynicism. Cynicism is defined as an effort to place distance between oneself and one's clients (service

recipients) by intentionally disregarding the aspects that make them exclusive and engaging individuals (Maslach et al., 2001). Outside the human services, individuals utilise cognitive distancing by developing an unresponsive or cynical attitude when they are exhausted and disheartened. Distancing oneself is such an immediate response to exhaustion that a strong relationship between exhaustion and cynicism is consistently found in burnout research (Maslach et al., 2001). The cynicism dimension is not commonly discussed in the stress literature; however, it constitutes a fundamental feature of the burnout experience. Cynicism refers to a negative, unsympathetic, or extremely detached reaction towards people, as well as other characteristics of the job (Maslach, 2003).

Professional inefficacy is the third dimension of burnout and refers to the tendency to evaluate oneself negatively, especially with regard to one's work with clients (González-Romá, Schaufeli, Bakker, & Lloret, 2006). The relationship between professional efficacy (personal accomplishment) and the other two burnout dimensions is somewhat complicated. In some instances, it seems to be a function, to some extent, of either exhaustion, cynicism, or a combination of the two (Lee & Ashforth, 1996). A work situation with constant, unrealistic demands that contribute to exhaustion or cynicism has the potential to wear down the individual's sense of efficiency. Furthermore, exhaustion or depersonalisation interferes with effectiveness: that is, an individual finds it difficult to attain a sense of achievement when feeling exhausted. However, within the job context, inefficacy seems to develop in parallel with exhaustion and cynicism rather than sequentially (Leiter, 1993). The lack of efficacy appears to emerge from limited resources, while exhaustion and depersonalisation arise from social conflict and overload (Maslach et al., 2001).

Owing to the nature of the various "nurturing" roles working women assume in their personal and professional lives, it may be surmised that women are more vulnerable to experiencing higher levels of burnout than men. One significant aspect of organisations that influences the psychosocial work environment

and produces job-related stress is role conflict (Kalliath & Morris, 2002). A study conducted by Piko (2006) investigating the interrelations between burnout, role conflict and job satisfaction found that emotional exhaustion was strongly correlated with decreased job satisfaction ($p < .001$), while role conflict was a factor contributing positively to emotional exhaustion ($p < .001$) and depersonalisation scores ($p < .001$). Furthermore, women were more inclined to report a higher repetition of psychosomatic symptoms on all three dimensions of burnout than men. A study conducted by Bezuidenhout and Cilliers (2010) investigating the negative consequences of burnout claim that if burnout symptoms are not effectively managed and contained, work that is viewed as significant, meaningful and stimulating could become unpleasant to female academics in higher-education institutions. These women could start to experience work as unrewarding and meaningless. Furthermore, the study found that involvement amongst female academics turned into cynicism, with associated negative symptoms.

2.4.2 Situational factors: where does burnout occur?

Burnout is perceived as an individual experience that pertains predominantly to the work context. The focus of research conducted over the past 25 years has been on the situational factors of burnout, which are regarded as the major correlates of this phenomenon (Maslach et al., 2001). The next section outlines certain situational factors that are deemed relevant to the study.

2.4.2.1 Burnout and job characteristics.

Researchers have investigated and examined the impact of job demands on individuals when the workload is too great for the amount of time allocated. The results of such investigations have supported the general idea that burnout is a response and reaction to work overload (Maslach et al., 2001). Burnout is directly related to the individual's workload and time pressures; this is especially significant for the exhaustion dimension of burnout. A study investigating gender differences with regard to workload found that men

spend more of their time in professional work, while women spend more of their time on childcare activities (Bergman, Ahmad, & Stewart, 2008). As we have seen, women are more accountable for managing the majority of household and family activities (Bergman et al., 2008). Women carry an uneven distribution of work or perhaps even a "double workload" because they are largely responsible for household duties over and above their paid work (Ahmad, 2010).

The acknowledgement of the adverse psychological consequences of emotional exhaustion has directed interest towards the role of contributing factors such as workload and work-family conflict in tackling the problem of emotional exhaustion (Ahmad, 2010). The findings below are from the study by Ahmad (2010) investigating the mediating influence of work-family conflict on the relationship between exhaustion and role overload among working women. The results of the correlation analysis indicated that role overload was significantly related to work-family conflict ($r = .55$, $p < .001$) and emotional exhaustion ($r = .56$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, work-family conflict was significantly related to emotional exhaustion ($r = .55$, $p < .001$). Multiple regression analysis in Ahmad's study showed that among working women, work-family conflict mediates the relationship between role overload and emotional exhaustion.

Various studies have been conducted investigating qualitative job demands and their influences on burnout. Such studies have focused predominantly on role conflict and role ambiguity. Both role conflict and role ambiguity have consistently demonstrated a modest to high correlation with burnout. A study conducted by Tunc and Kutanis (2009), investigating role conflict and role ambiguity among female nurses, found significant levels of role conflict (p < .001) and role ambiguity ($p < .005$). The linear regression analysis indicated that role conflict may be associated with burnout variables (.31 to 45; $p < .01$) and to role ambiguity (.20 to .23; $p < .01$). This indicates that role conflict can increase emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation and that role ambiguity can significantly increase emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation.

Furthermore, Tunc and Kutanis (2009) postulated that women reported higher levels of burnout on the emotional exhaustion dimension and lower levels of personal accomplishment than did men. In investigating and analysing the presence of job demands, researchers have considered the absence of job resources (Maslach et al., 2001). Thompson, Kirk and Brown (2005) indicate that social support as a job resource construct has been widely examined, and a vast body of evidence has indicated that a lack of social support is related to burnout.

2.4.2.2 Burnout and occupational characteristics.

The increasing scope of occupational sectors has necessitated a re-examination of the situational context for burnout. Researchers examining burnout were previously inclined to focus more on the immediate work environment, such as a nurse's work with patients at a hospital or the work a teacher performs with her students in a classroom setting. However, work also occurs within a larger organisation that includes hierarchical structures, company policies and resources (Maslach et al., 2001). The situational context of burnout can have a significant influence, especially when such a context infringes on basic expectations of equality and fairness. Consequently, contextual focus has been extended to incorporate the organisational and management environment in which work occurs. Such a focus has heightened the importance of values inherent in organisational processes and structures, and how these values outline the emotional and cognitive relationship that individuals develop with their jobs (Maslach et al., 2001).

The reality is that the majority of organisations have undergone significant changes, which in turn have had a significant effect on the morale of employees. Such changes as downsizing and mergers are largely driven by economic, social and cultural forces that occur within the organisational context. Undoubtedly, the most apparent changes occur in the psychological contract between employees and organisations (Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly,

2003). A psychological contract can be defined as "a set of individual beliefs or perceptions regarding reciprocal obligations between the employee and the organisation" (Knights & Kennedy, 2005, p. 57). Individuals may now be required to give more of their time and skills in exchange for fewer intangible benefits, such as job security. Violation of the psychological contract has the potential to create burnout because it wears away the concept of reciprocity, which is vital in maintaining well-being (Maslach et al., 2001).

Given the increased demands and pressures in organisations, researchers utilise various models of stress that integrate factors specific to burnout and organisational stress. Constant stress at work creates burnout; over time, burnout accumulates and leads to lower job performance, and ill health associated with anxiety and stress. The increase in work stressors such as working longer hours, downsizing, job insecurity, role ambiguity and role overload has led to an increase in stress and anxiety (Twenge & Campbell, 2008).

As a result of the fundamental changes in women's roles, the current generation of women are scoring higher on assertiveness traits that may be beneficial for them in the workplace (Twenge & Campbell, 2008). As the participation of women in the workforce continues to increase, so does their suitability for promotion into leadership roles. The perception of women's roles in the workplace has also changed; by the 1980s, women perceived the likeness between "female" and "manager" exactly as they did between "male" and "manager" (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989). Nonetheless, the ideals and beliefs surrounding gender stereotypes regarding how men and women are required to behave, feel and think still prevail (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Such beliefs are particularly prevalent at senior organisational levels. Stereotypes surrounding sex differences have shaped individuals' perceptions and comparisons of male and female leaders. Women's leadership style is perceived as focusing more on having good listening skills and being sympathetic, people-centric and less aggressive in the achievement of organisational outputs and goals. However, the stereotypes regarding

women's leadership styles can hamper prospects for the development of women in leadership roles (Twenge & Campell, 2008). There is a need for organisations to work harder to dismiss the perceptions that persist regarding men and women in leadership positions (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

2.4.3 Individual factors: who experiences burnout?

Maslach et al. (2001) state that individuals do not merely respond to the work environment: rather, individuals bring unique qualities to the relationship with their work. Demographic variables such as age and gender are examples of such exclusive qualities. A number of such individual characteristics have been established to be associated with burnout. Nevertheless, the relationships between burnout and situational factors are much greater than the relationship between individual characteristics and burnout. Therefore, burnout is regarded as a social phenomenon rather than an individual one (Maslach et al., 2001).

2.4.3.1 Burnout and demographic characteristics of individuals.

Age is one of the most extensively researched demographic variables that has been consistently related to burnout. Maslach et al. (2001) postulate that higher burnout is reported among younger working individuals than individuals who are over thirty or forty years of age (Garner, Knight, & Simpson, 2007). Age is often associated with an individual's working experience; therefore, age can be assumed to be much more of a risk earlier in an individual's life and career (Lent, 2010). Gender as a demographic variable has not been positioned as a strong predictor of burnout; despite countess debates that burnout is a female experience. Mixed findings have been documented with regard to burnout and sex or gender (Leon, Visscher, Sugimura, & Lakin, 2008). Several studies have demonstrated that women experience higher burnout; others have indicated that men experience higher burnout and some have discovered no significant differences in burnout levels between the

sexes (Antoniou, Polychroni, & Vlachakis, 2006; Comerchero, 2008). There is, however, a small but reliable gender difference between men and women: men often achieve a higher score on cynicism, while there is a tendency in some studies for women to achieve a higher score on exhaustion. Such results may be associated with gender-role stereotypes, but may also reflect the confusion of sex with occupation. For example, firefighters are more likely to be male, and nurses more likely to be female (Maslach et al., 2001).

Marital status also has certain implications for levels of burnout. Unmarried individuals are perceived to be more susceptible to experiencing burnout than married individuals are. Moreover, single individuals experience higher burnout levels than do those who are divorced. Several studies have concluded that educational levels may also have some bearing on burnout. Individuals with higher qualifications are reported to experience more burnout than less qualified individuals (Stevens, Minnotte, Mannon, & Kiger, 2007). However, according to Maslach et al. (2001), it is not clear how to construe this finding, as education may be confused with other variables, such as occupation and rank. It is plausible to assume that individuals with higher qualifications may have jobs with greater responsibilities that are particularly stressful. On the other hand, it may be that more highly qualified individuals have higher job expectations and are thus more concerned if these expectations are not met.

The assumption that burnout is more pronounced among women is not an unusual one (Maslach et al., 2001). Such assumptions may be potentially damaging for the following reasons. In a working environment, colleagues and managers may perceive women as experiencing higher burnout than men do. Research has shown that, because of the stereotypes associated with women, women are seen as being at risk of experiencing more stress and, to some degree, burnout, than men (Matlin, 2004). If managers' perceptions are that women are more susceptible to experiencing greater burnout, women may not be offered challenging projects and promotional opportunities. Another factor to take into consideration is the lack of awareness or support

from men when women experience stress and burnout (Wilcox, 1992). Men
and women experience burnout in different ways. For example, a qualitative
investigation conducted by Maslach et al. (2001) found that women reported a
significantly higher score on the emotional exhaustion dimension of the
burnout scale than men, and men were more inclined to attain a higher score
on the depersonalisation dimension than women. This qualitative review is
consistent with the gender-role theory (Maslach et al., 2001). According to the
gender-role theory, women are more likely to demonstrate emotional and
physical exhaustion because they are conditioned to express their feelings.
Men, on the other hand, are more likely to withdraw under stress because
they are conditioned to hide their feelings (Purvanova & Muros, 2010).

Being a working mother with children has consequences for general health
and well-being (Herbst, Coetzee, & Visser, 2007*).* A key challenge for
working women is the incongruity between the roles they hold as spouses and
mothers and the roles they occupy in paid work (Vosloo, 2000). Managing the
various roles contributes to an increase in stress and can lead to difficulty for
working women who have children.   This has several implications for
organisations in terms of efficiency and productivity, as the majority of working
women with children remain accountable for household and childcare
responsibilities (Douglas & Michaels, 2004). In a South African study, Vosloo
(2000) found that women do not operate in isolation but rather form part of a
wider system that includes the organisation. Vosloo adds that women also
operate within an individual system that encompasses their families and
demographic variables. The interaction between these two systems, and the
possible conflict that can emerge from this interface, necessitates certain
mechanisms for managing the numerous roles efficiently (Herbst et al., 2007).
The personality characteristics and sense of coherence of working women are
considered as significant mechanisms that may have an impact on the way in
which women deal with their numerous roles successfully (Herbst et al.,
2007). Personality dimensions or traits are one area through which different
behavioural responses can be understood. Trait theories assist in providing
reasons why individuals respond differently to stress in their environments,

and encourage an understanding of the various sources of what is deemed
stressful for individuals.   More critically, trait theories assist in discovering
possible strategies for coping more efficiently (Saville & Hodsworth, 1999).

According to Saville and Hodsworth (1999), personality traits may assist in
comprehending the differences between working mothers' behavioural
reactions to their environments. Personality traits may consequently be
variables that have an impact on the level of stress that working mothers in a
given situation are likely to experience.   Antonovsky (1979) developed the
"salutogenic" (source of health) theory, which emphasises an individual's
ability to remain healthy and flexible during stressful events, and in managing
and coping with daily life.   The main notion of this theory pivots on positive
circumstances of psychological well-being.   Herbst et al. (2007, p. 58) define
Antonovsky's (1979) theory of coherence as "an internalised sense of control,
which guides individuals' orientation towards events".   A study conducted by
Carrim (2000) found a relationship between the strength of working women's
"salutogenic" (containing a sense of coherence) scores and their ability to
manage various roles in their environments.   Another study conducted by
Herbst et al. (2007) found that personality and sense of coherence acted as
determinants of the way in which working women experienced and coped with
various levels of stress.   Herbst et al. further postulated that personality and
sense of coherence might determine the style in which working mothers
manage with the stresses and pressures of life.   Working mothers require
proficiencies to be successful wives and mothers and competent employees
(Vosloo, 2000).   It is particularly important for organisations to take
cognisance of this, especially in attempting to retain the human capital
(Senior, 2003).

2.4.3.2 Burnout and job attitudes of working women with children.

A variance exists with regard to the expectations that individuals bring to their
jobs. In some instances, the expectations that the individual holds of the job

may be too high, especially concerning the nature of the job and the probability of attaining success within that job (Maslach et al., 2001). Whether such high expectations are rated as realistic or impractical, one assumption has remained: that these expectations are regarded as a risk for burnout (Kutcher, Bragger, Rodriguez-Srednicki, & Masco, 2010). Individuals who have high expectations about their jobs work harder, and this hard work eventually leads to exhaustion and cynicism. This is especially true when the results do not match the individual's expectations. Nevertheless, longitudinal studies with repetitive evaluations are required to shed light on the issue (Maslach et al., 2001).

Working women with children are usually confronted with numerous sources of stress. These sources include pressure from time constraints, inflexible self-expectations, demands arising from conflict, personal resources, and difficulty in obtaining social support from families, organisations and managers (Kushner & Harrison, 2002). The influence of social ideology on the experiences of working women with children has centred mainly on motherhood ideology (Johnston & Swanson, 2006). This focus explains the evaluation of and the concern about women in relation to the socially constructed principles of "the good mother", but it fails to consider the various demands that are made of mothers in paid and non-paid work. The principles of motherhood ideology have also wholly emphasised motherhood as women's fundamental role (Mudry, Kushner, & Neufeld, 2010). Support derived from family is believed to be beneficial in reducing work-family conflict and stress.

However, limited literature is available to assist in understanding the impact of expectations and social ideology, especially worker ideology. Mothers in paid work are therefore confronted with the conflicting social ideologies of a "good mother" and a "good worker" (Mudry et al., 2010, p. 906). The perception of a good mother is "selfless, independent with children, naturally endowed for nurturing, and successful in the domestic sphere", while the perception of a good worker is "promoting self, demonstrating independence, and fulfilling her

potential in the public sphere" (Johnson & Swanson, 2003, p. 245). Women perceive paid work and being a mother as opposing binaries, and feel that marketplace logic is opposed to the cultural ideology of being a mother (Hays, 1996). Exhaustive and demanding motherhood remains the leading ideology (Hattery, 2001), and working women continue to experience demands in selecting between the mother-role and the employee-role (Blair-Loy, 2001).

2.4.4 Job demands, family demands and burnout.

The association between work and family roles and ill health has often been overlooked in research. A more unified, coherent picture would be obtained by incorporating and assessing the demands that arise from the family domain. Limited evidence exists on the probable impact of family characteristics on individuals' health (Mostert, 2009). According to a study conducted by Peeters et al. (2005), demands originating from work and family had a direct impact on burnout, over and above the effect of work interference with family, and family interference with work. The demands arising from the family domain also necessitate a degree of cognitive and physical effort that is related to physiological and emotional cost (Demerouti et al., 2001).

Job demands refer to the extent to which physical, social or organisational elements of the job necessitate physical and mental effort and are consequently related to certain physiological and psychological costs, such as exhaustion (Demerouti et al., 2001). Furthermore, the concept of job demands implies unfavourable outcomes if they require further effort over and above the standard manner of attaining work goals (Demerouti et al., 2001). The majority of studies pertaining to the association between job demands and strain have predominately been concerned with quantitative demands, such as workload. The most renowned model that focuses on this area is Karasek's (1979) demand-control model.

The demand-control model focuses specifically on the probable comprehensive nature of job demands. The urgent need to assess the

various job demands was brought about by the reality of the changing world of work. Various forces, environmental, political and legislative in nature, led to the need to assess job demands in order to contribute to the reformation of work (Cooper et al., 2001). Technological innovation has been one of the prime reasons for the materialisation of the new ways of working (Peeters et al., 2005). With regard to emotional job demands, a large proportion of individuals are working either in a client-service environment or as service professionals. This type of work is demanding in terms of additional cognitive and emotional effort, as opposed to physical effort (Peeters et al., 2005). Against this backdrop, work overload appears to be one of the most prominent contributors influencing work interference with home. Job demands can be evaluated by examining the cognitive, emotional and quantitative demands of a job (Peeters et al., 2005). Cognitive job demands refer to the extent to which tasks at work cause the individual to apply continuous cognitive effort in performing daily tasks at work. Emotional job demands refer to the affective constituent of work, which places the individual in very emotionally active and tense situations. Quantitative job demands refer to work overload or pressure that is too great for the individual to bear for more than limited periods of time (Peeters et al., 2005).

A holistic view of the ways in which individuals manage the responsibilities of work and home is guided by assessing the probable impact of the home demands on work outcomes. The greater part of the literature on work interference with home has examined structural home demands, such as the number of children and whether the spouse or partner was in employment. However, a literature review conducted on structural variables by Montgomery (2003) found limited evidence connecting them to either work interference with home or home interference with work. This suggests that there may be a need to study the family domain of the work-family relationship and its connections in greater psychological detail.

2.4.5 Models of stress: the job demands-resources model.

The job demands-resources model is considered a more suitable model to predict employee well-being, work engagement and burnout as it can be used to assess any type of job (De Braine & Roodt, 2011). Most of the research into job burnout pivots on the antecedents of burnout within the working environment, job characteristics, or organisational outcomes (Maslach et al., 2001), proposing that stressors derived from roles, such as role conflict, role ambiguity and work overload are significant constructs in burnout (Thompson et al., 2005). Models of stress and coping offer theoretical direction and further assist our understanding of how individuals deal with stressful situations. According to the cognitive stress model (Lazarus, 1999), stress is viewed as the outcome of environmental demands that exceed an individual's capability to manage them. Therefore, the actual assessment of a particular situation depends on the individual's feelings, beliefs, and actions during stressful situations.

The cognitive stress model consists of both primary and secondary appraisals. During the primary appraisal, the stressful event is perceived as a failure, risk, or challenge, based on individual differences derived from social support networks, demographic characteristics, and past individual experiences (Ben-Zur & Michael, 2007). During the secondary appraisal, the situation is analysed and the individual is required to assess what he or she can do to resolve the issue, eliminate the threat, or rectify the loss. These types of evaluation are based on accessible resources, an individual's ability to cope, and processes available for coping (Ben-Zur & Michael, 2007).

Individuals manage stressful situations by using coping mechanisms that represent the individuals' cognitive and behavioural efforts (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Such efforts result in a number of actions that are categorised according to emotion-focused and problem-focused modes. Emotion-focused coping is directed to reducing or tolerating the emotional and physiological reactions that are characterised as stressful. Problem-focused

coping, by contrast, refers to actions that individuals take to manage future risks by altering their interactions with the environment (Ben-Zur & Michael, 2007).

A qualitative study conducted by Hinton and Earnest (2010), examining women's narratives and perceptions concerning coping with personal adversity, investigated women's coping strategies. The study found that, in the presence of adverse working conditions, most of the women reported that their coping strategy was being self-reliant and confident in their ability to meet economic demands and to provide for their families. Another study, conducted by Hattar-Pollara, Meleis, and Nagib (2003), investigating the multiple-role stressors of women in clerical jobs, found that women often take total accountability for their own struggles without expecting assistance from others. Both the studies conducted by Hinton and Earnest (2010) and Hattar-Pollara et al. (2003) found similar themes in women's coping patterns. Another finding in the study by Hinton and Earnest (2010) suggested that social relationships might not necessarily be supportive in nature, and might at times become stressors in the lives of many women who participated in the study. If social relationships are perceived as potentially negative in nature, they may have an impact on an individual's capability to cope (Karlsen, Idsoe, Hanestad, Murberg, & Bru, 2004). Many women in the study by Hinton and Earnest (2010) reported being in unaccommodating marital relationships, characterised by a lack of emotional, social and financial constancy. Furthermore, these women experienced heavy workloads and were left resolute in the conviction that this was a direct consequence of being a woman (Hinton & Earnest, 2010). To cope with unsupportive marital relationships, the main coping strategies of some of these women incorporated seeking social support, while others articulated their confidence in passive, emotion-focused ways of coping, such as denial, acceptance and mental disconnection (Hinton & Earnest, 2010).

Various other stress and coping models are available that share the same perspective as the one posited by Lazarus and Folkman (1984). However,

these models highlight the role of social and personal resources in assisting
individuals to manage stressful situations (Brotheridge & Lee, 2005). The job
demands-resources model (Bakker, Demerouti, De Boer, & Schaufeli, 2003a;
Bakker, Demerouti, Taris, Schaufeli, & Schreurs, 2003b) proposes two basic
assumptions. The first assumption is that working environments may vary;
therefore, in this model the attributes of these working environments are
arranged in two groups: job demands and resources. Job demands are
defined as "physical, psychological, social, or organisational aspects of the job
that require sustained physical and/or psychological (cognitive and emotional)
effort or skill and are therefore associated with certain physiological and/or
psychological costs" (Bakker & Demerouti, 2006, p. 312). Job resources are
defined as "physical, psychological, social, or organisational features of the
job, which, in turn, are functional in (1) achieving work goals, (2) reducing job
demands and the physical and or psychological cost associated with them,
and (3) stimulating personal growth and development" (Mauno, Kinnunen, &
Ruokolainen, 2006, p. 212).

The second assumption of the job demands-resources model is that there is
an underlying relationship in which an individual's physical and psychological
well-being are the consequence of two comparatively autonomous processes
(Bakker et al., 2003a; Bakker et al., 2003b). In the first process, the
challenging components of work, such as overload, lead to regular overtaxing
and eventually to health complaints. During the second process, the presence
of job resources assists individuals to manage the challenging components of
their work and at the same time inspires them to develop in their jobs, which
leads to feelings of attainment and commitment.

The underlying model that is used to demonstrate the functioning of the two
processes mentioned above is the effort-recovery (E-R) model (Meijman &
Mulder, 1998). The E-R model proposes that the quality and quantity of
recovery forms a critical part of the first process. During a certain period of
time, limited or no demands are made on the psychobiological systems that
are utilised for task performance. These systems eventually become more

stable at a particular baseline level, and individuals recuperate from the load effects that have accumulated during the task performance (Bakker & Geurts, 2004). Daily work generally consists of loads that are not essentially harmful, as they usually occur on a daily basis and consequently operate as a consistent source of pressure. However, if inadequate opportunities exist for recovery after exposure to heavy workloads, the psychobiological systems are triggered again before they have had a chance to stabilise at the baseline level. The individual, still operating in a sub-optimal state, will be required to exert added effort (Bakker & Geurts, 2004). The outcome of this additional effort leads to an elevated intensity of load reactions, which ultimately leads to higher demands on the individual's recuperative process.

According to the E-R model, the readiness to exert effort in performing tasks could be essential for the second process. A working environment that presents numerous resources, such as autonomy, career development and feedback on performance, could promote eagerness among workers to apply their skills to the task and achieve positive results. Due to the mobilisation of energy and the associated reduced requirement for recuperation, individuals start the following working day operating in an optimal condition (Bakker & Geurts, 2004).

Work-family conflict is expected to result in various strain reactions such as stress or burnout, while a limit to resources for example, limited job control or social support) would almost certainly hinder goal achievement, resulting in disappointment (Mauno et al., 2006). Alienated behaviour and adverse job attitudes, such as reduced job satisfaction, are most likely to develop as a response to such experiences. It has been postulated that job resources may also protect against the unfavourable consequences of job demands on the individual's well-being, even though empirical substantiation of such indirect effects remains limited (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005).

The job demands-resources model suggests that burnout is central to the relationship that occurs between the high demands of the job and their effects

on general health (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). The progression of burnout follows two routes. The first begins with the high demands of the job, which lead to exhaustion; the second begins with limited resources, which make it challenging to fulfil the demands required by the job, and lead to withdrawal behaviour. According to the job demands-resources model, the effect of high job demands, such as work overload and conflict, in combination with poor resources, such as low levels of support and autonomy, is additive and constitutes an exclusive contribution towards the development of burnout (Demerouti et al., 2001). It is therefore important to understand burnout among working women with children, as burnout is associated with both individual and work-related outcomes such as decreased job satisfaction. A study conducted by Koekemoer and Mostert (2010a) investigating the interaction between personal life and work life in a South African context found that individuals in other countries also experience similar antecedents and consequences of stressors (overload, stressful work and workload) and resources (flexible or inflexible work schedules, and work relationships). A study conducted by De Braine and Roodt (2011) found that managers should place a greater emphasis on increasing job resources as it predicts work engagement. Furthermore, the findings of the study also offer support for the use of the job demands-resources model as a human resource management tool for the enhancement of employee well-being and performance (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007; Hakanen, Schaufeli & Ahola, 2008).

2.4.6 Work-family conflict and burnout.

According to González-Roma et al. (2006), burnout is caused by constant job stress and by the draining of cognitive resources. Burnout is an indicator of work-related psychological well-being. A great proportion of research has recognised both job demands and work interference with family conflict as antecedents of burnout. It can, however, be argued that some stressors of a job cause work interference with family conflict and this may lead to the impairment of an individual's psychological health. This assumption, which is also known as the mediation hypothesis, is well articulated within the context

of the effort-recovery model (Geurts & Demerouti, 2003). According to the effort-recovery model, both the extent and the quality of an individual's recovery are important.

The model contends that job demands that require more effort are associated with the accumulation of unfavourable load effects that are spilled over to the family domain (Geurts et al. 2005). In other words, excessive job demands make it more difficult for individuals to recuperate sufficiently at home because of the amount of effort that has been expended in their job. This suggests that there is a high probability that excessive job demands may affect psychological health. Studies have verified the mediating role of work interference with family within the context of the stressor/strain relationship (Janssen, Peeters, De Jonge, Houkes, & Tummers, 2004). According to Peeters et al. (2005), job demands are a good predictor of work interference with family and, subsequently, of burnout, while family demands, on the other hand, are a good predictor of family interference with work and, subsequently, of burnout. In other words, the demands deriving from the family domain that necessitate more effort are often related to burnout.

A majority of research studies on the effects of spillover have focused attention on work interference with family conflict, instead of family interference with work conflict. According to Frone (2003), research findings maintain that the characteristics of the work domain are the most critical antecedents of work interference with family conflict, whereas the characteristics of the family domain are the major antecedents of family interference with work conflict. Peeters et al. (2005) suggest that work interference with family and family interference with work conflict are led predominately by the demands that exist in the particular domain that generates the actual interference. Regardless of the fact that work interference with family and family interference with work conflict play only a partial mediating role, it becomes important to ascertain not only the direct effects on job and home demands, but also on burnout. It is important to note that some job demands are contextual in nature; not all job demands interfere

with an individual's personal or home life, and vice versa. Anthropological studies analysing the manner in which individuals divide work and family postulate that there are some individuals who compartmentalise certain areas of their work life and home life, thus organising their lives in a way that ensures that the characteristics of one domain do not interfere with the other domain (Peeters et al., 2005).

One of the objectives of the study has been to understand the construct: dimensions and antecedents of burnout, and to examine the consequences of burnout, especially among working women with children. Derived from social problems, the phenomenon of burnout has thus grown into a more systematic series of theoretical models and empirical studies (Maslach et al., 2001). The information discussed in this section has the potential to assist our understanding of the construct of burnout and its causes and, importantly, it offers insights into strategies for coping with burnout to assist those individuals who experience it.