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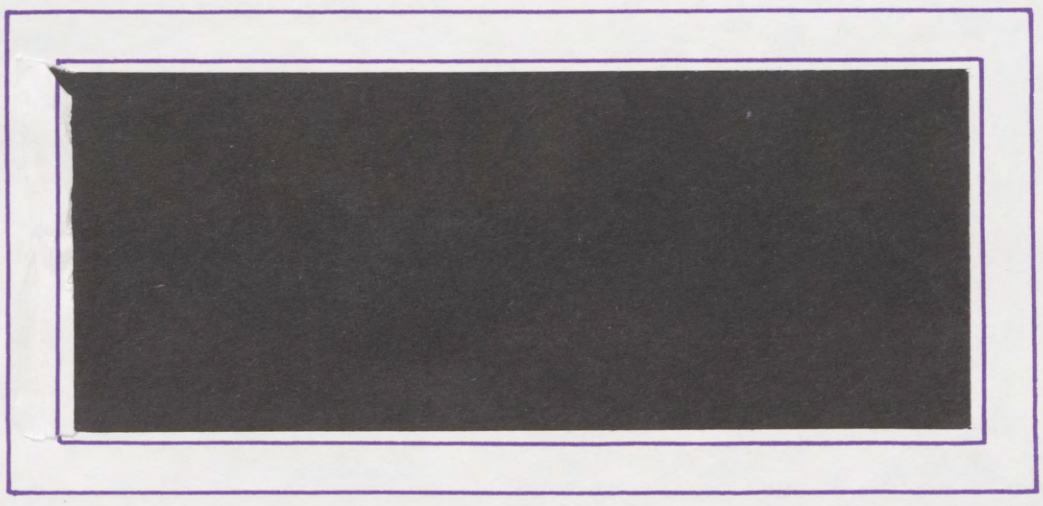

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IT PAYS TO VALUE FAMILY: WORK AND FAMILY TRADEOFFS RECONSIDERED

by

Peter Cappelli
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RP
RM-183

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Abstract

We use longitudinal data to assess whether individuals who place greater importance on marriage and family pay a price for that priority in subsequent labor market success. Male respondents placing a high priority on marriage and family before entering the labor market earn more, a finding contrary to behavioral research on work and family but consistent with the economics literature. Female respondents who place a high priority on marriage and family, however, do not appear to suffer in terms of subsequent earnings, a finding contrary to most previous research. While a good family life makes demands that may take away from individuals' work achievements, poor family life may interfere more with workplace success.

The relationship between work and family has become a popular research area in the field of management. While there are a range of specific issues under the broad work and family heading, most seem to center on possible conflicts between the two domains--whether the requirements of the workplace have a negative effect on family life, and whether the demands of family interfere with success in the workplace. Our interest is with the latter, the effect that making family interests a priority has on success in the labor market. The central question here is whether people pay a price in terms of workplace success by placing an emphasis on family interests.

We consider the complications in exploring this question and examine arguments which suggest how family priorities might improve performance on the job, in addition to the more typical assumptions about spillovers and sometimes tradeoffs between the two. To do this, we review two different streams of literature on work and family issues, one from behavioral research, the other from labor economics. While most research in this area uses cross-sectional data to relate current work and family priorities to current workplace or domestic outcomes, we use longitudinal data to examine how making family a priority affects one's long-term labor market success. This approach allows us to be more certain about the direction of causation in drawing conclusions.

BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH ON WORK AND FAMILY CONFLICTS

Much of the behavioral literature regarding work and family issues documents the tradeoffs associated with emphasizing marriage and family at the expense of work (and vice versa), with an corollary implicit assumption that the consequences of these choices eventually manifest themselves in labor market outcomes. Recent research suggests that separate spillover effects of work issues to home life and of family issues to work life can be distinguished (Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991) and have mostly negative impacts in both directions (Williams & Alliger, 1994).

The work validating tradeoffs between work and family interests is extensive, especially on the relationship between work and family conflicts and personal stress (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1993). Overall, the negative effects of work on family concerns appear to be much stronger than the negative effects of family on work (Ralston, 1990; Gutek et al., 1991; Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992). While the concern in this paper is with the effects of a commitment to family early in one's life on job-related economic outcomes, a quick survey of the effects of work on families is useful, as this research has been particularly important in shaping the basic idea that there is a tradeoff between work and family interests.

For example, researchers have associated work-family conflict with divorce (Jones 1988) and job insecurity with dysfunctionality in marriages and families (Larson, Wilson, & Beley, 1994). Pittman (1994) found a negative association between work satisfaction and marital tension through an intermediate stage, work-family fit. Similarly, Barling and Macewen (1992) found supporting evidence for a model where personal strain is an intervening state between work experiences and marital interactions. Evidence also exists of negative impacts of parents' work on their children, again suggesting a tradeoff.[1]

Effects of Family on Work

More to the point, the research examining the effects of family demands on work suggests tradeoffs as well. Consider the effects on the following job related outcomes:

Job stress. Family-related life factors can deeply influence individual stress on the job. For example, job satisfaction among women from dual-career families is strongly and negatively related to their husbands' disapproval of wives' careers outside the home (Andrisani & Shapiro,

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[1] For example, Ferdinand (1975) found progressive decreases in children's school grades as their mother's time spent at work increased. In another vein, Cantrell et al. (1990) found fathers' unemployment to be associated with more frequent child abuse. And Grossman, Pollack, and Golding (1988) observed that fathers' psychological characteristics, specifically feelings of autonomy and job satisfaction, affected the quality of their relationships with their children. Montemayor (1984) noted that dual-career families were associated with more argumentativeness among male children and less parent-child shared time.

1978). Burke (1993) found work-family conflict to be one of three sources of stress which were significantly related to burnout in a study of Canadian police officers.

Career decisions. Family concerns can be important factors in workers' career decisions. Adler (1986) demonstrated that anticipated family impact figures prominently in MBAs' decisions to accept overseas assignments. Respondents who believe that the assignments will have a negative effect on their families are less likely to take those assignments, sometimes to the apparent detriment of their career objectives. Bretz, Boudreau, and Judge (1994) determined that managers' desires to increase work-family balance was positively related to subsequent job search.

Career interruptions. A subject of considerable interest among researchers is career interruptions, primarily by women, in order to attend to family needs such as raising children. Such interruptions represent perhaps the most dramatic kind of emphasis on the family at the expense of work. Examining 3,422 subjects from the National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Women, Hill (1994) found that non-married women were more likely than married women to acquire the advanced training associated with higher-level wages. The magnitude of these effects on earnings is another issue, however. A 1985 study suggested that equating the differences due to experience, education, and career interruptions for family between men and women would decrease the earnings disparity between the sexes by less than 15% (Monthly Labor Review, 1985).

Having children is a specific type of family demand, and a large body of research documents negative effects of having children on work outcomes, particularly for women. For example, in a study of British men and women, Kiernan (1989) found that male professionals who were ambitious and highly educated were likely to be childless. Similarly, Olsen and Farkas (1985) found that women favor childbearing when their wages are low and curtail childbearing when their wages are relatively high. However, having young children appears to have no direct

impact on job satisfaction for workers of either sex (Hanson & Sloane, 1992). Goff, Mount, and Jamison (1990) found that parents' satisfaction with their child care arrangements was positively associated with reduced absenteeism.

Behavioral Causes of Work and Family Conflict

Several different arguments have been used in support of the general position that there is a tradeoff between work and family and, specifically, that family interests can interfere with workplace success. The first, and perhaps most obvious, focuses on the fact that the number of hours in a day is fixed and that work and family make competing demands on one's time and energy. Time and effort spent on family matters takes away from time that could be spent on work, and there is evidence that this tradeoff affects performance in both (Gutek, et al., 1991). It should also be noted that new evidence suggests that this tradeoff may be a function of economic necessity or simply a matter of preference (Hochschild, 1997).

The conflict between work and family demands appears to increase in intensity as individuals make greater commitments of time and attention to either role but particularly if commitments to both roles are simultaneously high (Ralston, 1990). For example, Keith and Schafer (1984) found more role conflict in dual-career families than in one-job families, and Wiley (1987) noted that job involvement and commitment to work among graduate students had a positive relationship to increased levels of work-family conflict and decreased overall satisfaction. Similarly, Ralston (1990) observed that increasing commitments to families were associated with higher levels of work-family conflict. In a study of flight attendants, Levy, Faulkner, and Dixon (1984) found greater levels of stress, role conflict, and dissatisfaction in married than non-married subjects. And in a study of dual- versus traditional-career families (Higgins & Duxbury, 1992), men from dual-career families reported significantly more work-family conflict.

The second set of arguments centers on differences in the nature of the demands placed on individuals by family and by work. Research suggests that the domains of work and family

require different roles (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Wiersma, 1994), behaviors (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), and value-systems (Lobel, 1992). The different requirements of work and family may not be compatible, forcing individuals to decide which to favor. Individuals may also find it difficult to move back and forth between the different roles that work and family require, increasing the incentive to focus on one domain or the other. As a result, meeting the requirements for success in one sphere may make it difficult to succeed in the other. Survey evidence (e.g., Stake, 1979; Murrell, Frieze, & Frost, 1991) suggests that people believe that such tradeoffs are real (Stake, 1979; Murrell, Frieze, & Frost, 1991).

Perhaps the best publicized illustration of work and family role conflict is the apparently widely-shared perception of male executives that work issues are less important to women than family concerns, such as raising children--the so-called "mommy track" (Rosin & Korabik, 1992; Barker, 1993; Hamilton, 1993)--despite evidence that such perceptions may exaggerate women's true position on the issue (Powell, Posner, & Schmidt, 1984).

Finally, in a recent case study of the introduction of "family friendly" policies at a mid-size U.S. corporation (which received many awards for their initiatives), Arlie Hochschild (1997) found employees made surprisingly little use of policies that increased flexibility at work to allow a better work and family "balance". While some employees reported a problem with managers and supervisors who were not truly committed to these policies, others plainly stated they would rather be at work than home. Hochschild hypothesizes that work has increasingly become a "haven" from home for men and women. Although this seems to results in more hours at work, she does not investigate whether it leads to higher productivity, performance, or wages at work.

Moderating Effects of Family on Work

While the demands of work and family commitments can create conflict and stress, a number of studies suggest ways in which a good family life can also help reduce or buffer the severity of work and family conflicts. For example, a good family life may buffer the strain in

roles associated with work-family conflict (La Rocco, House, & French, 1980). Berkowitz and Perkins (1984) found that spouse support mediated work-family role conflict in a study of wives on dairy farms where work provides unusual strains (i.e., no time off). Kessler and Essex (1982) found that married individuals were less vulnerable to developing depression as a result of role strain when they had support from individuals in their social network, particularly spouses.

Other studies show how family relationships can help balance and compensate for problems at the workplace. As Cooke and Rousseau (1984) demonstrated, strong family and marriage commitments are a key factor in creating conflict between work and family roles, but they can also help individuals withstand the strain created by such conflicts. In a study of 300 full-time employed women in dual-earner couples, Barnett (1994) demonstrated that positive marriage and family role experiences can help prevent job experiences from leading to psychological distress. In a separate longitudinal study of employed women in various occupations, Barnett, Marshall, and Singer (1992) found that having a partner and children had independent buffering effects on the relationship between alterations in job-roles and psychological distress; individuals without partners and/or children experienced greater distress than those with partners and/or children. But other work (Riefman, Biernat, & Lang, 1991) has questioned the buffering effects of social networks on stress associated with work-family conflict, suggesting that these effects may have limits.

In summary, the behavioral research suggests that the combination of work and family interests creates a series of conflicts. In particular, family demands seem to have a negative impact on success in the workplace, and the magnitude of that impact increases as the demands from family rise. Good family life may help reduce some of the negative effects of such conflicts and may even help offset the effects of work-related problems. Overall, however, most behavioral findings emphasize the negative effects of family interests on work-related outcomes.

EFFECTS OF FAMILY ON WORK IN LABOR ECONOMICS

Research on work and family issues in labor economics provides a different perspective. While the behavioral research on work and family seems on balance to suggest that the demands of family impinge on work, research in labor economics finds mixed results for men and women, with no apparent tradeoff between the two for men. Indeed, being married consistently has a positive effect on labor market outcomes for men (Schoeni, 1990; Korenman & Neumark, 1991). The earnings of married women apparently do not suffer, once the effects of children are included (Korenman & Neumark, 1992), but a marriage premium comparable to that enjoyed by men does not appear, either.

Exactly what causes marriage to be associated with higher earnings is the subject of some debate, but the hypotheses are clearly distinct from the kind of arguments in the behavioral literature about how family priorities affect work success. The hypotheses in labor economics suggest how family interests may change the behavior of workers in ways that cause them to perform better in the labor market.

One set of arguments suggests that married workers have greater motivation--e.g., they feel that they need more money to support a family (Loscocco & Leicht, 1993). Anecdotes about employers preferring to hire married men because they were presumably less likely to quit (the argument being that single men and women had fewer ties and married women might move with their husbands) show how these functional arguments could be turned into employer practices. These practices, in turn, could become the basis for discrimination that benefits married men. Especially in the past, employers were likely to allocate pay and promotion opportunities to workers with greater family responsibilities, and that typically meant married men (Korenman & Neumark, 1991).

A related argument suggests that married workers may acquire higher levels of human capital which, in turn, generate differential returns, because of greater family needs (Blackburn, Bloom, & Neumark, 1993; Duncan, Prus, & Sandy, 1993). The higher earnings of married

workers, however, exist even when controlling for the most common measures of human capital: education, work experience, and job tenure.[2]

Another related argument emphasizes the benefits of one partner in a marriage specializing his or her effort and attention on workplace success rather than on producing domestic goods and services (Becker, 1981). Labor market specialization is thought to lead to greater productivity and, hence, to greater relative compensation for these persons. Since men have traditionally specialized on roles in the labor market, the argument goes, the wage premium for married men should be higher than for married women, and even divorced or separated individuals may have accrued some advantage while they were married. Moreover, this reasoning even applies to two-career families, since women do the majority of household work even in these cases, thus offering a rationale for observed male marriage premiums in these cases. (Shelton and John, 1996).

Reconciling the economic and behavioral literature on work and family is not easy. While noting some ways in which family life may help individuals succeed at work, largely by helping offset work and family conflicts, the behavioral studies clearly suggest that success in one area can impinge on success in the other. The research in labor economics, on the other hand, not only shows no evidence of a tradeoff between work and family, it finds the opposite--that being married actually seems to increase success for men in the labor market.

Some of the difference in these results might be attributed to the different foci of studies in these two fields. The research in labor economics compares being married with not being married or having a family with having no family. The behavioral research, in contrast, more

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[2] An alternative argument, a version of the unobserved, omitted variable problem, suggests that perhaps some characteristics that lead one to be married also contribute to success in the labor market (Grossbard-Shechtman & Neuman 1988). The assumption here is that an shortage of certain characteristics will prevent one from getting married. For example, Kalmijn (1991) determined that education, an important factor in labor market success, was also an important factor in determining who married, with people tending to marry those with similar levels of education. We return to this omitted variable problem below.

typically compares the intensity of family demands and commitments among people who are all married. Being married is not a perfect measure of the demands or priority a person gives to family, of course. One can be married and still give family a low priority over work, or even no priority. So the positive relationship between being married and receiving higher wages in labor economics research may not necessarily indicate that there is no tradeoff between a high level of commitment to family and labor market success.

More importantly, the two literatures emphasize different dependent variables. Labor economics studies typically study the impact of family commitments on economic outcomes such as wages or earnings, while behavioral studies are more concerned with emotional affect (e.g., satisfaction, stress) or with behaviors (incidence of divorce, familial conflict). The general thrusts of the two literature streams noted above may not conflict at all, but offer complementary views which have yet to be juxtaposed in the same study. The potential contradictions and complementarities between research in these two fields is this paper's focus.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Most of the research noted above uses surveys of individuals that ask about both work and family issues simultaneously. Cross-sectional data like this has a number of drawbacks, the most important of which is difficulty in establishing causation. This concern raises an important dilemma for the stream of work and family research that tries to assess how the physical demands of family life--hours spent in childcare, energy spent on the household, etc.--affect work-related outcomes. Demands and outcomes are often measured at roughly the same time. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to estimate how these demands affect outcomes because those demands may be endogenous. In order to establish causation with cross-sectional data, we would need to have some measure for family priorities and demands that is truly exogenous and could not itself be shaped by work-related outcomes. Even variables like the number of children one has are not

necessarily exogenous, as the decision to have children may have been shaped in part by one's expectations about future labor market success. A recent study which gets around the endogeneity issue used data from families with twins, where a second child is unexpected, to demonstrate how the presence of additional children can negatively impact labor market outcomes (Bronars & Grogger, 1994).

Longitudinal data helps mitigate the problem of establishing causation. Where family priorities and interests are expressed first and workplace outcomes are examined later, the direction of causation runs more clearly from those interests to workplace outcomes. Further, where attitudinal issues like work and family priorities are measured first and then followed later by objective measures of workplace outcomes, cognitive processes like rationalization, where attitudes are adjusted to current or previous commitments, cannot apply.

Longitudinal measures do not eliminate all measurement problems, of course. One important and potentially confounding issue is whether expressions of work and family priorities are driven by some other factor that, in turn, affects subsequent success in the workplace. The most likely scenario for these confounding effects would be where respondents know something about the likelihood of their future success in the labor market and adjust their life interests accordingly. Early feedback from work is an obvious source of such information. For example, after the first year or so in a job, a respondent has a good deal more information about how interesting they find work, as opposed to outside interests, and how successful they are likely to be at work. They may well adjust their work and family interests and priorities in response to earlier workplace outcomes. Work and family priorities expressed after being on the job for a while may be related to workplace outcomes in the future in part because those priorities were adjusted in response to early workplace outcomes: Persons who discover that they are uncomfortable in the workplace may, in turn, place greater priority on activities outside of work such as family.

In our analyses, we follow the methodology in Labor Economics and consider hourly wages and annual earnings as measures of economic well-being. There are two advantages to using a measure such as earnings or hourly wages when examining the impact of early attitudes toward marriage and family on economic well-being. First, wages are thought to be the best measure of productivity on the job, and controlling for human capital characteristics such as education and work experience, are directly comparable across individuals. Using wages also eliminates the problem of percept-percept bias, where a respondent's attitudes or perceptions in one domain are related to those in another domain because respondents subconsciously work to make them consistent. Although hourly wage is not complete measure of economic well-being, it is a clearly defined variable which we can be confident measures the same thing across individuals. Another characteristic of more objective measures like earnings is that they reflect the results of long-term efforts. While job attitudes today may be shaped in large part by the circumstances one faces today, one's earnings or job title reflect the choices and investments made across an entire career.

While it is reasonably straightforward to control for the influence on workplace success of objective factors like education levels, it is more difficult to control for other, unobserved characteristics that may affect success in the workforce and also be associated with work and family priorities. For example, the fact that some respondents do not believe that a strong family life is important may simply reflect the lack of any clear focus or priorities in their lives; a belief in the importance of a good family life may reveal an organized, goal-directed, mature individual who focuses on long-term interests, characteristics that may have a direct relationship with success on the job. Therefore, we include control variables in our analysis that measure some of these other life interests or attributes directly, albeit not comprehensively.

HYPOTHESES

Our main hypothesis, drawn from the general thrust of behavioral research, states that greater importance given to "finding the right person to marry and having a good family life" should be negatively related to subsequent earnings, though again, we should stress that behavioral work and family studies rarely, if ever, hypothesize about effects on wages. We expect this effect to be stronger for women on the assumption that family demands may bear more heavily on them, creating a stronger tradeoff between family interests and work success. The fact that we are controlling for marital status, the variable positively related to earnings in prior labor economics research, suggests that labor economics arguments about household specialization which explain positive relationships between wages and marriage are also controlled. The negative relationship hypothesized above between the family life variable and earnings should therefore be even stronger.

DATA

The data used in this analysis are from the National Longitudinal Survey of the Class of 1972 (NLS '72). The NLS '72 surveyed a random sample of high school seniors in 1972 on a variety of issues and then resurveyed them again at later points in time, most recently in 1986. This data set has been widely used in social science research, and its properties--such as the representativeness of the original sample and response bias in the subsequent resampling--have been examined thoroughly. Information concerning the NLS '72 data set (descriptive statistics, research methodology, etc.) is publicly available from the U. S. Department of Education's National Center on Education Statistics (N.C.E.S.).[3] The NLS '72 is well-suited for examining the issue of how making family interests a priority affects workplace success. Respondents were asked a variety of questions about work and family priorities in 1972 while they were high school

[3] Although the NLS72 is a nationally representative data set, the final data used for these analyses no longer reflects the entire population. For most of the analyses, the data are conditioned on whether an individual had wages in 1986. Even in the sections that include non-earners, respondents are only included in the analysis if they have a full set of background characteristics available, including their responses to various life interest questions which were posed in 1972.

seniors, before entering full-time employment. In 1986, the most recent resurvey available, it asked those same respondents about their jobs (including current wages) as well as about characteristics that might affect their success in the labor market.

Table 1 presents summary statistics and descriptions for the variables used in this study. The dependent variable in most regression models is the log of hourly earnings in 1986. The equations are estimated as standard Mincer type wage equations using attitudes towards marriage, work, family and community when the respondent was a senior in high school (i.e. in 1972) as additional controls. Hence, attitudes towards work, family and community used here are determined 14 years before wages. We converted annual, monthly, or weekly salaries, when reported, into hourly wage rates based on the reported hours worked per week. Hourly earnings are a censored measure, however, in that those who are unemployed, have withdrawn from the labor force, or are performing unpaid work have no earnings. Because we want to examine the effects of life preferences on wages, respondents are excluded from the sample if they are not working.[4]

Insert Table 1 about here

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[4] Since many women choose not to participate in the labor force, wage equations for women typically examine wages conditional on being employed by estimating an intermediate probit model for women's employment in order to control for possible systematic differences between women who participate in the labor force and those who do not. If these differences exist, the coefficients for some variables, particularly those related to employment such as experience and tenure, may be biased (Korenman & Neumark, 1992). For most of the analysis, we skip that step here because we are only interested in respondents who have chosen to work and therefore are potentially exposed to work and family conflict. Also, this issue is becoming less problematic as female labor force participation rates continue to increase (in these data, 72% of all women and 90% of all men report they are working in February of 1986). However, to ensure the effects found here are not due entirely to being in the working population, we consider people with no earnings or wages later in the paper.

The critical independent variables are a series of life interest questions asked in 1972 and described in Table 1. The most important of these questions asks respondents to rate on a three-point scale how important "finding the right person to marry and having a happy family life" is to their life.[5] This questions obviously measures a preference and, arguably, the intent of the respondents, not their actual behavior. We revisit this important distinction in the analysis. A second life interest question asks about a related issue, the importance of "having strong friendships." The arguments about tradeoffs between work and family life may also be relevant to work and friendships; time spent on friendships may take away from time spent getting ahead on the job. The complication, however, is that friendships can also help one succeed on the job. Findings have demonstrated the value of social networks in helping individuals achieve occupational success (Granovetter, 1974; Kram & Isabella, 1985). Whether the effects of this preference differ by sex is an issue explored below.

The life interest questions also asked about other priorities that may reflect some otherwise unobserved characteristics related to performance in the workplace. The most important of these are a series of questions that ask directly about the priority placed on money, success at work, and finding steady work. As noted earlier, we want to control for the possibility that some respondents who see family as an important interest may simply be highly motivated and organized--good planners--who are interested in and capable of succeeding at work as well.

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[5] Because the life interest questions are all measured on the same three-point scale, there may be relatively little variance across them. As a result, the potential for multicollinearity when all of these questions are included in the same regression equations is considerable. The most common alternative is to examine different specifications of the equations using subsets of the variables. Omitting variables thought to be relevant misspecifies the equations, however, and biases the coefficients. We estimated alternative models using different combinations of the life interest questions. The results, available on request, differ little from those presented.
We also utilized factor analysis to group these single item responses onto three "factors" one related to family, one to work and one to community. Factor analysis helps to reduce the high colinearity problem, but makes it somewhat less clear what is being measured. Results using the factors are presented later in the paper.

In addition to their earnings and hours, respondents in 1986 were also asked about their level of education, their tenure with their current employer, and their overall years of job experience, the three variables thought to be most important in predicting overall earnings from individual-level variables in labor economics.[6] These variables were included as controls in the subsequent analysis. Thus, our analytic strategy for merging labor economics and behavioral perspectives is to add the life interest variables, which capture the relative prioritization respondents give to certain life interests in 1972 before they have begun much of their working lives, to a regression predicting the log of hourly wages in 1986, when their working lives are well underway, which controls for the usual labor economics covariates. While this is at best a partial operationalization of behavioral perspectives on work and family relationships, we believe it is a significant advance, and it is as far as the data permit us to go.

Further, the respondents were asked some basic questions concerning their current family life--whether they were married or cohabiting, whether they have been divorced, and how many children (if any) they have. These variables are also included in the analysis as controls. Given the presence of these controls, the importance of the variable "finding the right person to marry and having a happy family life" is independent of whether one is married and/or has children. Without these controls, the question might be confounded with being married and/or having children, status which has been found in previous research to affect wages. This distinction is important and relates to the distinction between the research in labor economics and the behavioral fields noted above. It is certainly possible to be married and have children, yet accord one's family a relatively low priority. Similarly, one does not need to be married to give marriage and

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[6] We are unable to control for individuals' geographic location in 1986, which measures local labor market characteristics, so we use location in 1972 as a rough approximation. Although there is evidence most high school graduates remain in state when choosing a college (see Manski & Wise, 1983), we know of no evidence that individuals remain in the same city or MSA in which they grew up. Hence, we rely heavily upon the fact that these 1972 approximations seem to impact wages as expected (i.e. earnings in cities are higher and earnings in the South are lower).

family life a high priority (for example, when individuals delay marriage until their careers are established or wait until they find a truly compatible partner).[7]

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Log wage equations

The analysis used here is straightforward ordinary least squares (OLS) using the log of hourly wages as the dependent variable and the life interest priorities and control variables as independent variables. (The appendix presents correlations between these variables for the full data set.) Tables 2 and 3 present the regressions we discuss. In Table 2, Model 1 is for the full sample. Model 2 contains estimates from the same regressions estimated separately for men and women. We follow the convention in labor economics in estimating separate wage equations for men and women so that each coefficient as well as the intercept can vary by sex. Important changes in anti-discrimination legislation, in attitudes toward women in the workplace, and in opportunities for women since 1972 may have altered the "true" or underlying relationships between these variables, which is why tests of labor market hypotheses generally rely more on results for men for time periods such as the one covered by this study. (Indeed, it's unfortunate that we don't have new follow-up data for more recent years to compare time periods.) In this case, the fact that work and family interests might have different impacts on women than on men means that the relationships are worth examining separately by sex.[8]

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[7] It is an interesting question as to whether these characteristics should be included as control variables. Characteristics such as education levels or marrying and having children may in part be determined by one's life interests. These priorities, then, may have an indirect effect on earnings through their effects on education or family status, and controlling for these characteristics then ignores those additional indirect effects. In a reduced form model where the indirect effects are included (i.e., where these control variables are left out), the size of the coefficients on work and family life priorities would be larger or smaller depending on the way in which marriage and family affect wages. Results of estimation leaving out controls for marriage and children are discussed later in the paper.

[8] We tested this formally by including a set of interaction terms for a dummy variable indicating females (as seen in Model 1) with the other variables in the regression. This model (not shown), when compared to Model 1, generates an F-statistic which significantly rejects the null hypotheses

Results

Beginning with the results for men (see Model 2, Men), the control variables have powerful relationships with earnings which are consistent with findings in prior labor economics research. In particular, being married and cohabiting, other things equal, raise wages. Being previously married (divorced, widowed, or separated) also raises earnings compared to the alternative of being single and not cohabiting; even having formerly been in a family-like situation seems to raise earnings.

The most interesting finding is clearly that the importance of "finding the right person to marry and having a happy family life" in high school is positively and significantly related to hourly earnings 14 years later, in 1986, even after controlling for the other factors in the model. In terms of the magnitude of this effect, its coefficient is twice as large as the next most important life interest priority and it is the only statistically significant life interest variable. The return to moving up one "point" on the scale increases the wages of men by over 6% an effect nearly as large as an additional year of schooling.

Insert Table 2 about here

Turning to the results for women (see Model 2, Women), none of the family status control variables are significant except for the number of children, which has a negative effect on earnings. How much of the latter effect should be attributed to women earning less because they have more children versus women who would have earned less deciding to have more children is

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that this group of variables is zero ($F[19, 4409] = 5.20$, $p<.00001$), suggesting that separate models for males and females are appropriate. In a similar way, we tested another labor economics convention, distinguishing black respondents from the rest of the population. In this case, the F-statistic for a group of interaction terms with a black dummy variable is only significant to the .18 level. This does not appear to be enough justification for running separate models for black and non-black respondents, but we do include a dummy variable indicating black respondents in all regression models.

hard to determine. The family life priority variable for women has a positive but statistically insignificant relationship with earnings. In terms of magnitude, its effect is the second largest among the different priorities examined.

The sensitivity of these results was tested with some additional specifications which excluded the marital status and children controls and by restricting the samples to married and single individuals only. Eliminating the controls for actual marital and family status in 1986 may yield the "net" effect of attitudes toward marriage and family early in life as this predisposition could affect the likelihood someone is married or has children by 1986. As expected, when controls for marital status and children are eliminated the coefficient on the marriage and family life interest variable rises to 7.7 percent for men (and remains highly statistically significant) and effectively lowers it to zero for women. Thus it does appear as if early attitudes towards marriage and family affect later wages both directly and indirectly, through their effect on eventual family status.

Restricting the sample to married and single individuals only may also yield interesting results since, being married at age 32 does not necessarily imply an individual thought a good marriage and family were important at age 18 (nor does being single imply they thought it wasn't important). When the sample is restricted to married men only, the impact of the marriage and family interest variable falls slightly to 5.7 percent. It is higher for the sample of never married men, 7.6% and is highest, 8.1% for the sample of not currently married men which includes never married plus once married and cohabiting men. The coefficient is zero for currently married women. It is small and positive, but statistically insignificant for single women. However, when divorced and cohabiting women are added to the sample of single women, it rises to 4.9%, but is not estimating very precisely (t=1.5).[9] The positive result for men appears to be immune to sample specification while the positive result for women is quite fragile, however, there is still no

[9] Results of these estimates are available from the authors upon request.

evidence that early commitment to a good marriage and family life hurts women later in their careers.

A problem with the life interest measures in this study is that they are single-item measures. Such measures present problems in convergent and discriminant construct validity and in reliability, although a number of recent studies have used single-item measures of attitudes and dispositions with success--indeed, with data similar to that used here (Staw & Ross, 1985; Gerhart, 1987).

We explored this issue with the factors used in regressions reported in Table 3. Factor analysis suggests three distinct factors can be formed from the ten life interest questions.[10] The one labeled "importance of family" includes the central life interest question about "finding the right person to marry and having a happy family life" and also includes two other questions that focus on specific family priorities that are not necessarily related to a happy marriage and family life, "living close to family and relatives" and "getting away from this area of the country." "Living close to family and relatives" and "getting away from this area of the country" would seem to have a negative relationship with labor market outcomes, as they represent decisions to restrict job search and opportunities to a narrow geographic area. Indeed, both variables have negative (though insignificant) coefficients when included as single variables in Model 2 for both sexes in three of four cases. Yet, as the results for men in Model 4 demonstrate, the construct captured by this factor has a significant, positive effect on subsequent wages. The fact that the magnitude and significance of this factor is reduced somewhat, for women and men, by including occupational control variables in Model 5 suggests that at least some of the impact of family-related preferences on wages operates through their influence on one's choice of occupation--those who value family, other things equal, seem to choose better-paying occupations, a hint that

[10] This was verified using both the factors created within the NLS 72 data set and our own factor analysis of the 10 single item responses. The factors used in the regressions are those generated in the NLS72 data set

subjects' responses to the importance of family question in 1972 are predictive of labor market behaviors in the period 1972-1986.

Insert Table 3 about here

A second factor, labeled "importance of work," includes the life interest questions about "being successful in my line of work," "having lots of money," and "being able to find steady work." This factor becomes significant at the .05 level and of slightly greater magnitude for men in Model 5, with the occupational dummies included, suggesting that the effects of the construct captured by this factor are distinguishable from the effects of occupational choice, broadly defined by our occupational dummy variables. None of the single item responses in the work factor were large or statistically significant in Model 2 on Table 2. Once these variables are loaded onto a single factor however, responding that good, steady and lucrative work is important, has a positive impact on men's wages later in their careers. The factor continues to have no effect of wages of women.

A third factor, labeled "importance of community," includes the life interest questions about "being a leader in my community," "being able to give my children better opportunities than I've had," and "working to correct social and economic inequalities." This factor is not significant in either Model 4 or Model 5, for either sex. The life interest question about "having strong friendships" does not load on any of the three factors.

Table 4 presents Model 6, which uses individuals' reponses to the marriage and family life interest questions in 1972 as dummy variables representing each response on the scale (i.e "finding the right person to mary and having a good family life" is "somewhat", "very" or "not

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(see Research Triangle Institute, National Longitudinal Study: Base Year (1972) through Fourth Follow Up

important" to me). The results in Table 4 suggest that the majority of the impact of the categorical variable in Model 2 for men, comes from male respondents who indicated that marriage and family were not important (approximately 5% of men and 3% of women marked this reponse). Since the ommited category is those that responded marriage and family were "very important", the coeffiecient on "not important" for men indicates that men who responded marriage and family were not important earned nearly 17% less than men who responded it was very important.

Insert Table 4 about here

Log earnings equations

It is worth considering the effect of life interest questions on a broader measure of economic well-being such as earnings. Although hourly earnings are the best measure of marginal productivity, annual earnings includes the effect of total hours worked. Since early attitudes toward work and family may affect eventual hours worked, considering total earnings is a good test of the robustness of our findings so far. As mentioned earlier, we are mainly interested in seeing how attitudes early in one's career affect later career outcomes. Since we are interested in potential work and family conflicts, we restricted our analysis to individuals who are working. However, individuals in the sample without earnings in 1986 may also add insights into how attitudes impact later earnings.

Table 5 shows the results of restimating model 2 using earnings as the dependent variable. Model 7 is restricted only to those individuals with positive earnings and Model 8 includes all individuals.[11] Since the natural log of zero earnings is undefined, earnings are entered in dollars.

(1979)).

[11] Earnings for 1986 were estimated from responses to questions about whether a respondent was working in February 1986 and their current salary in that job. Respondents were also asked about their earnings from

Hence the coefficients can be interpreted as the increase (or decrease) in dollars of annual earnings caused by a one unit change in the explanatory variable.[12] The first two columns show the results for Model 7. The positive result of marriage and family persists for men and is not statistically significant different from zero for women. The effect of saying marriage and family are important early in one's career continues to have a large effect on men, increasing annual earnings by over $1,000 for both samples.

Insert Table 5 about here

Interesting results with regards to the other life interest variables emerge in this table. Wanting to be a leader in the community early in one's career has a large, positive impact on annual earnings for men and women (remember this variable had no impact on hourly wages in any specification). The "work" variables also becomes important for men, although the t-values range from 1.5 - 1.7, making them not quite significant at the 5% level (many are significant at the 10 - 15% level.) The work variables are not estimated precisely for women and therefore, are not significantly different from zero. In another surprising result, wanting your children to have better opportunities than yourself has a negative effect on earnings. This variable seems to be a proxy for some characteristics that cause lower earnings later in one's career.

The results on earnings reinforce the findings so far. Placing a high importance on a good marriage and family early in one's career has a positive and substantial impact on later wages for

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wages in 1985. The trade-off between the two measures is the error that may be introduced in trying to recall 1985 earnings versus the error that is introduced if any individual changes or loses their February 1986 job. The results using the two measure did not differ substantially, although the estimate for 1985 earnings for men and women were somewhat smaller and had larger standard errors (possibly indicating measurement error due to the recall problem). Results for the 1985 estimations are available upon request.

[12] Mean 1986 earnings for men with earnings above zero are $28, 269 (with an s.d. of 15,593) and $27,845 (s.d. 15,853) for men including those with zero earnings. The corresponding means for women are $17,693 (12, 054) and $16,761 (12,380).

men and no negative impact on women. These results also help to clear up puzzle of why some of the work variables didn't seem to affect wages. While wanting to have a good, steady and lucrative job may not increase your marginal productivity (i.e. hourly wage), it does appear to increase the total amount of hours or weeks worked in a year. Hence, considering total earnings is important in quantifying the effect of life interest variables on economic well-being.

LIMITATIONS

Given that behavior is ultimately what should affect life outcomes, it is also worth considering how well a stated preference predicts later behavior. The behavioral intentions research certainly suggests that behavior should be related to intentions (Locke, 1968; Ryan, 1970; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), though these are not the same construct as preferences. Efforts to estimate the stability of preferences over time and the consistency of relationships between preferences and behavior with respect to the variables used here would be a complete research project in its own right, but we offer here some evidence about how life interest preferences in the data relate to subsequent behavior, particularly on the marriage and family question.

One suggestive way of examining this question is to compare the means of respondents' answers to life interest questions when the sample is divided by outcomes which imply their family priorities. Men who were married in 1986 recorded significantly higher mean scores on the "importance of family" life interest question in 1972 than did those who were divorced, separated, widowed, or single in 1986. Women who were married, divorced, separated, or widowed reported significantly higher family interest question scores in 1972 than women who were single in 1986.[13] As noted above, the regression analyses performed in this paper control for differences in marital status, but these results suggest that the family question is associated with real behavioral differences, though they appear to play out in different ways across the sexes.

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[13] Results are available upon request. The difference in means tests were performed separately for white men and for white women who comprise the majority of the sample.

A related issue is the elapsed time between when life interests are assessed (1972) and when earnings were measured (1986). As argued earlier, one's earnings represent the cumulative effect of decisions made over many years, including life interest decisions, making it appropriate to examine the relationship over time. Further, the most important factor in a good marriage and family life may be to find the right partner. The importance persons give that issue when they are 17 or 18 may be crucial for their success in having a good marriage and family life in later years, as that is the age when many of these decisions start to be made. Whether these life interest variables remain stable 14 years later may be irrelevant if the important commitments and decisions are made earlier on.

DISCUSSION

The main lesson from the above analysis is to call into question the thrust of much of the prior literature which suggests a overall tradeoff between giving importance to a good family life and success in the workplace. For men, reporting that family life is a priority early on is associated with labor market success later in life. The fact that this relationship may hold for women as well as for men is especially significant in that it is generally assumed that women experience the greatest work and family conflicts because they shoulder a larger share of the demands of family. In this light, it's impressive that we did not find a significantly negative coefficient for this variable in any of the models for women.

While it's hazardous to draw conclusions from insignificant coefficients, the fact that none of the variables measuring work priorities (success in work, having money, finding steady work) were close to significant in the hourly wage models is surprising.[14] However, the results on earnings seem to indicate that these types of attitude measure may not influence wages, but how

[14] Separate regressions run with only these three life interest questions also find that none are significant; multicollinearity with the other variables does not seem to explain the results.

hard you work. Thus, this life interest variable is operating as expected although all estimates are less precise than the marriage and family estimates.

Clearly, these results should not be taken as evidence that there are no tradeoffs between work and family interests or even that there are no negative consequences for work outcomes associated with making family a priority. Earnings are not the only outcome relevant to workplace success. Perhaps attitudinal measures such as stress or satisfaction, which are typical to behavioral studies, might show a different relationship with these interests. Also, these results do not address how current family demands affect current work outcomes. The endogeneity issues noted above make that question very difficult to address with any empirical study.

How can these results be reconciled with prior research? First, by assessing economic outcomes, they add an important layer of complexity to behavioral work and family research. They also go further than prior findings in labor economics in that making family a priority, not simply having a family, seems to improve one's earnings. These results certainly seem to call into question the argument that women experience lower wages because of some higher innate desire or "demand" for family. (Fuchs, 1989.) These results have shown that attitudes toward marriage and family do not negatively impact women's wages, although actual family responsibilities may.

Several potential explanations may reduce the distance between these findings and those from earlier behavioral research. The first is to consider that some of the attribution of causation from family interests to workplace outcomes in some previous studies may have been misplaced. Some of the relationships in these cross-sectional studies may in fact be attributable to reverse causation. For example, problems at the workplace may have spilled over to perceptions of family demands; respondents who were performing less well at work may have placed more emphasis on family interests or rationalized their lack of success by citing family interests and demands, etc. Perhaps the negative effects of family on work were in fact less in previous studies than has been suggested. It appears that behavioral work and family conflict models are, indeed,

becoming increasingly sophisticated about the non-recursive nature of the relationship between these two related domains (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Voydanoff, 1987; Zedeck, 1992).

CONCLUSIONS

Reconsidering the Question

But if prior hypotheses do not explain these results, what does? None of the arguments presented earlier suggest why someone who places a greater importance on a good family life should earn more than someone who does not. While this result seems generally consistent with the findings in labor economics, it cannot be readily explained by the productivity arguments used in those studies, either. In those arguments, having a family creates motivation to earn more money, but it is not obvious that valuing a good family life, independent of family status, would necessarily create additional motivation to earn more money, especially when expressing the preference for earning a lot of money early on does not seem to explain subsequent earnings.

Our results do seem to support one theory on the marriage premium for men in the economics literature which focuses on the "selection" of high productivity men into marriage. The theory suggests that there is some characteristics about men that makes them both highly productive in the labor market and desirable in the marriage market. Thus the wage premium found for working men is due in part to specialization in the household and part to this unobservable trait (Korenman and Neumark, 1991). It should be noted that recent studies have shown a decline in this marriage premium using data later than what is used here (Blackburn & Korenman, 1994, Gray 1997). That decline has been largely attributed to a decline in the amount of specialization that occurs in the home, i.e. more men are married to women who work outside the home and cannot specialize fully in market work. Hence, more of the premium may be due to "unobservable" traits which we capture with our early attitude variable.

Another explanation which also reconciles some of the previous literature demands some rethinking of the assumptions underlying much of that prior research and suggests a different way

of framing the question about family influence on work outcomes. A good family life may well demand time, energy, roles, etc. that potentially takes away from efforts needed to achieve in the workplace. But the implicit assumption that the effort needed for a good family life would otherwise be available to direct at workplace achievement is probably false, as many behavioral work-family literature has recently begun to recognize. Having a poor family life may make even greater demands on one's time and effort. Consider, for example, how bad marriages, divorce, and other family conflicts disrupt one's overall life (e.g., Kniesner, 1976; Forehand, Middleton, & Long, 1987; Morgan 1991; Zedeck, 1992). These problems make different kinds of demands on individuals than the requirements of a good family; the negative consequences of a poor family life on one's work efforts may be enormous.

So the relevant question may not be how much a good family life costs, but how much a bad family life costs and whether avoiding one has a labor market payoff. The arguments concerning the moderating effects of family on workplace issues described earlier suggest that strong families may provide balance and stability that helps offset the strain of workplace problems. The time and energy spent dealing with a poor family life appear to have no such benefits for the workplace, but they still have costs. A stable, mature, and happy family life may allow one more time and energy to devote to the workplace than does a family life fraught with problems. Putting it differently, avoiding a bad family life may really pay off. Perhaps when respondents report that "finding the right person to marry and having a happy family life" is a priority, they are expressing a commitment to avoid bad marriages and a poor family life. This argument also helps explain why giving priority to a good family life pays off independent of whether one even has a family: In the labor market, it may be better to have no family life than to have a bad one, and someone who values a good family life may make that choice.

Further, the fact that this priority is measured early on may be especially important. Finding the "right" person to marry and making an investment in a good marriage from the

beginning may be the most important factor in having a good family life. People who take those issues less seriously when they are 17 or 18 may be more likely to make mistakes (like early marriages that are more likely to fail) that cost them dearly later on. Someone who does not pay attention to family issues early on may find themselves facing family problems that cause conflicts with careers in later life.

In summary, what one sees in examining the relationship between work and family may depend in part on how one frames the question. Examining the current demands of family, for example, is likely to show a tradeoff with success in the workplace. Comparing the effects of a good family life to a poor one is likely to show the opposite. The results here indicate that the pursuing a good family life actually pays off when one considers how costly the alternative may be.

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TABLE 1
Main Variables Used in the Analysis

Labor Economics Control Variables:

Men		Women		
Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Variable description
13.12	12.24	10.06	11.62	WAGE - Log of hourly earnings as reported by respondents. They report salary, the period over which they earn that salary, and the hours per week they work.
3.9	2.46	3.47	2.46	JOB TENURE - Tenure at most recent job. Number of years respondent reported working at their most recent job.
10.38	2.5	9.37	2.91	WORK EXPERIENCE - Total years of work experience. Potential years were 1973-1986 for a maximum possible of 12.
15.19	1.7	15.00	1.71	YEARS of SCHOOLING - Years of schooling. The range is from 11 to 18 years.
0.08	0.27	0.13	0.34	ONCE MARRIED - Dummy variable = 1 if separated, divorced, widowed; 0 if not.
0.71	0.46	0.62	0.49	MARRIED - Dummy variable = 1 if married; 0 if not.
0.03	0.17	0.05	0.21	COHABITING - Dummy variable = 1 if living in "marriage like relationship" but unmarried; 0 if not.
1.22	1.12	1.22	1.14	NUMBER of CHILDREN - Number of children (natural, step children, or adopted).
0.32	0.47	0.31	0.46	LIVED in LARGE CITY - Dummy variable = 1 if lived in "large" or "very large" city when graduated from high school; 0 if not.
.30	.46	.33	.47	LIVED IN SOUTHY - Dummy variable=1 if lives in South when graduated from high school; 0 if not
.08	.27	.14	.35	BLACK - Dummy variable=1 if race is black; 0 otherwise

Life Interest Variables:
The stem = "How important is each of the following to you in your life?" Where 1=not important, 2=somewhat important, and 3=very important. Factor variables generated using single item variables below.
See Page 21-22 in text for description

Men		Women		
2.84	0.40	2.83	0.39	WORK SUCCESS - "Being successful in my line of work"
2.75	0.54	2.82	0.46	MARRIAGE and FAMILY - "Finding the right person to marry and havin a happy family life"
2.06	0.63	1.80	0.59	MONEY - "Having lots of money"
2.81	0.42	2.78	0.46	FRIENDSHIPS - "Having strong friendships"
2.80	0.46	2.72	0.48	STEADY WORK - "Being able to find steady work"
1.76	0.69	1.64	0.65	COMMUNITY LEADER - "Being a leader in my community"
2.57	0.63	2.59	0.61	CHILDREN'S OPPORTUNITIES - "Being able to give my children better opportunities than I've had"
1.53	0.61	1.58	0.63	LIVING CLOSE FAMILY - "Living close to parents and relatives"
1.52	0.71	1.55	0.72	MOVING AWAY - "Getting away from this area of the country"
1.99	0.69	2.19	0.67	WORKING against INEQUITY - "Working to correct social and economi inequalities"
2.57	0.36	2.45	0.35	Factor 1: Importance of work
0.92	0.41	0.95	0.41	Factor 2: Importance of family
2.10	0.47	2.14	0.46	Factor 3: Importance of Community

TABLE 2
Results of Regressions for Men and Women,
Including All Life Interest Variables
Dependent Variable: Log of Wages, 1986

Variable	Model 1	Model 2, Men	Model 2, Women
INTERCEPT	.4243**	0.6792**	0.2763†
LABOR ECONOMICS CONTROL VARIABLES			
Job tenure	.033**	0.038**	0.026**
Work experience	.033**	0.009†	0.043**
Years of schooling	.092**	0.078**	0.10**
Once married	0.041	0.092*	0.003
Married	.072**	0.166**	-0.007
Cohabiting	0.0717*	0.0799	0.0465
Number of children	-0.015*	0.003	-0.028**
Lived in large city	.079**	0.076**	0.083**
Lived in south	-.046**	-0.064**	-0.028
Female	-0.207**		
Black	-.079**	-.116**	-.067*
LIFE INTEREST CONTROL VARIABLES			
Work success	0.002	0.002	-0.005
Money	0.006	0.008	-0.003
Friendships	-0.006	0.027	-0.031
Steady work	0.007	0.025	-0.009
Community leader	-0.005	-0.000	-0.009
Children's opportunities	-0.000	-0.001	0.005
Living close to family	-0.008	-0.018	0.004
Moving away	-0.016†	-0.023†	-0.01
Working against inequity	-0.006	-0.021	0.008
Marriage and family	.046**	0.063**	0.026
N	5454	2264	2186
R^2	.26	.17	.26
Adjusted R^2	0.266	0.16	0.26

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01

TABLE 3

Results of Regressions for Men and for Women, Including Life Interest Variables Factors
Dependent Variable: Log of Wages in 1986

Variable	Model 3, Men	Model 3, Women	Model 4, Men	Model 4, Women	Model 5, Men	Model 5, Women
INTERCEPT	0.857**	.272**	0.743**	0.285*	.914**	.565**
CONTROL VARIABLES						
Job tenure	0.038**	.031**	0.038**	0.026**	.041**	.026**
Work experience	0.0104**	.0347**	0.0086†	0.0434**	0.0059	.0403**
Years of schooling	0.0781**	.0987**	0.0783**	0.0943**	.0559**	.0664**
Once married	0.0868*	0.0140	0.0969*	-0.0032	.0884*	0.0027
Married	0.1778**	0.0059	0.1748**	-0.0097	.1537**	-0.0203
Cohabiting	0.0482	0.0333	0.0774	0.0442	0.0694	0.0469
Number of children	0.0041	-.0352**	0.0019	-0.0275**	0.0068	-.0207*
Lived in large city	0.0811**	.0887**	0.0771**	0.0793**	.0712**	.0785**
Lived in south	-0.0588**	-.0444*	-0.0621**	-0.0357†	-.0605**	-.0422*
Black	-0.1442**	-.0533*	-0.1306**	-0.0492†	-.0870*	-0.0247
LIFE INTEREST FACTORS						
Factor 1: Importance of family			0.0639**	0.0297	0.0536*	0.0197
Factor 2: Importance of work			0.0489†	-0.0192	.0516*	-0.0080
Factor 3: Importance of Community			-0.0224	-0.0037	-0.0199	-0.0092
OCCUPATION DUMMIES[a]						
Managers and administrators					.2665**	.2213**
Professional and technical workers					.2755**	.2618**
Sales workers					.4054**	.2714**
Clerical workers					.1022*	.0805*
Craftspersons					.1986**	.1453*
Operatives, not including transportation operators					.0838†	0.0067
Transportation operators					0.0620	-0.0363
Laborers, not including farm labor					0.0506	-0.0198
N	2532	2504	2321	2247	2321	2247
R^2	0.16	.26	0.16	.26	.19	.29
Adjusted R^2	0.16	0.26	0.16	0.26	0.19	0.28

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01

[a]In Model 5, the reference (omitted) occupational category is service workers (farmers and farm workers are excluded from the sample).

TABLE 4
Results of Regressions for Men and Women,
With Dummy Variables Representing Responses on Marriage and Family Life Interest Question
Dependent Variable: Log of Wages in 1986

Variable	Model 6, Men	Model 6, Women
INTERCEPT	0.859	0.344*
LABOR ECONOMICS CONTROL VARIABLES		
Job tenure	.038**	.026**
Work experience	0.008†	.043**
Years of schooling	.077**	.097**
Once married	.090*	-0.002
Married	.164**	-0.009
Cohabiting	0.078	0.046
Number of children	0.004	-.028**
Lived in large city	.074**	0.082**
Lived in south	-.066**	-0.030
Black	-.113**	-.068*
LIFE INTEREST CONTROL VARIABLES		
Work success	0.002	-0.006
Money	0.009	-0.004
Friendships	0.030	-0.027
Steady work	0.026	-0.008
Community leader	-0.000	-0.009
Children's opportunities	0.010	0.005
Living close to family	-0.017	0.005
Moving away	-0.022	-0.009
Working against inequity	-0.022†	0.007
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RESPONSE[a]		
Not important	-.182**	-0.062
Somewhat important	-0.019	-0.018
N	2,267	2,192
R^2	.17	.26
Adjusted R^2	0.16	0.26

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01

[a]In Model 6, the reference (omitted) response category for the marriage and family life interest question is "very important".

TABLE 5
Results of Regressions for Men and Women,
Including All Life Interest Variables
Dependent Variable: Earnings in 1986

Variable	Model 7, Men (Earnings > 0)	Model 7, Women (Earnings > 0)	Model 8, Men (Include 0 Earnings)	Model 8, Women (Include 0 Earnings)
INTERCEPT	$ -24,960**	-14,608**	$ -25,232**	$-15,568**
LABOR ECONOMICS CONTROL VARIABLES				
Job tenure	809**	548**	866**	549**
Work experience	228†	639**	320*	758**
Years of schooling	2,588**	1,706**	2,569**	1,658**
Once married	1,981†	726	1,766	1,005
Married	4,111**	-1,027	3,756**	-1,426*
Cohabiting	4,979**	1,163	4,586**	1,392
Number of children	467†	-1,070**	462	-1,114**
Lived in large city	1,467†	892	1,235	886
Lived in south	-1,797**	90	-1,756**	201
Black	-4,379**	-391	-4,441**	-77
LIFE INTEREST CONTROL VARIABLES				
Work success	1,220	342	1027	408
Money	672	530	728	709†
Friendships	181	202	305	95
Steady work	928	-595	1033	-805†
Community leader	916*	1,094**	789†	1,136**
Children's opportunities	-1,016*	-309	-1,118*	-231
Living close to family	-1,116*	-400	-1,210**	-350
Moving away	-597	152	-587	79
Working against inequity	-680	-358	-587	-366
Marriage and family	1,199*	373	1,009†	467
N	2821	2912	2864	3074
R^2	.15	.18	.14	.19
Adjusted R^2	.14	.17	.14	.18

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01

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