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사회복지학석사학위논문

**The Effects of Work-Family Conflict and  
Marital Satisfaction on Fertility Intentions of  
Married Working Women**

일-가정 갈등과 결혼만족이

기혼취업여성의 출산의도에 미치는 영향

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김 수 현



The Effects of Work-Family Conflict and  
Marital Satisfaction on Fertility Intentions of  
Married Working Women

SOOHYUN KIM

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# **ABSTRACT**

## **The Effects of Work-Family Conflict and Marital Satisfaction on Fertility Intentions of Married Working Women**

Soohyun Kim

Department of Social Welfare

Seoul National University

The present study aims to examine whether work-family conflict affects fertility intentions, and further, if marital satisfaction mediates the relationship between work-family conflict and fertility intentions of married working women in Korea.

The fertility rate of Korea is notably low on a global scale, which is presumably a result of a discrepancy between the role demands in work and family domains for working women and the current lack of policy support for women to balance those demands. Despite its importance, however, work-family conflict was insufficiently covered in domestic research since most of the studies dealing with the theme were triggered by the fertility issue. Likewise, advanced studies exploring the factors affecting the relationship of work-family conflict and fertility intentions were limited. Consequently, there is a huge gap

in terms of the volume and variety of work-family conflict research between domestic and international studies.

Given that, the research questions of the current study are as follows:

Question 1. Does work-family conflict affect fertility intentions of married working women?

Question 2. Does marital satisfaction have a mediating effect on the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions?

In order to test the hypotheses, the Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Family (KLoWF) Wave 3, a national survey conducted by Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI), was used. The 321 respondents who fulfilled the selection criteria of the study were included in the multinomial logistic regression analysis. The results of the analysis are presented below.

First, work-family conflict was negatively related to fertility intentions of married working women. Specifically, an increase of the occurrence of family interference in work decreased the likelihood of having children in the future compared to that of not having one.

Second, work-family conflict showed a negative relationship with marital satisfaction of married working women. Higher work interference in family was correlated with lower marital satisfaction.

Third, marital satisfaction was positively associated with fertility

intentions of married working women. Higher marital satisfaction increased the likelihood of having a baby compared to that of the opposite.

Lastly, the mediating effect of marital satisfaction on the negative impact of work-family conflict on fertility intentions was not statistically significant. Only this result proved the significant effect of family-to-work interference on fertility intentions of married working women when their marital satisfaction was controlled.

Based on the analytic results, the current study came to a conclusion that work-family conflict of married working women negatively affects their fertility intentions and marital satisfaction. Particularly, the women were more likely to have a negative fertility intention as the interference occurred from family to work increased.

The research aimed to refute a belief about the negative relationship between work-family conflict and fertility intentions of married working women by reviewing the relevant literature and examining it through empirical data analysis within a social science framework. It also attempted to narrow the knowledge gap between domestic and international research in this area, especially by using national data in analysis. Moreover, it tried to catalyze a change in perspective of fertility discourse in Korea, moving from the phenomenon itself to the fundamental reason: work-family conflict. Nevertheless, the limitation of data and analytic method used in the research posited some restrictions on the interpretation of the results. Further research, therefore, is encouraged to confirm the causal



relationship of the variables and the effect of the mediator. Accumulation of data and development of the accepted measurement related to work-family conflict are of utmost importance.

Keywords: Married working women, work-family conflict, marital satisfaction, fertility intentions, mediating effect

Student Number: 2009-22842

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# CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Problem Statement

Low fertility has emerged as a considerable social concern in the industrialized societies, and is intertwined with increasing women's economic participation, changing family structure, child care, and gender issue (Hochschild, 1997; McDonald, 2000). The phenomenon, however, is assumed to cause some social risks such as drop of work force, increase in dependency ratio, and damage to social protection, all of which lead to a decline in the country's competency (Lee & Choi, 2012).

Korea is a country well-known for its low level of fertility although the low fertility trend is a recent worldwide phenomenon. As of 2012, Korea's total fertility rate was 1.30<sup>1</sup>, which means that a Korean woman is expected to give birth to 1.30 children between the ages of 15 and 49. According to an OECD report (2013), Korea's total fertility rate in 2010 was 1.23, making it the second to last as compared to the OECD average of 1.74 during the same period. The report said that among the OECD countries the decrease rate of fertility was almost the highest in Korea, which was second only to Mexico; it declined by 3.30 over the three decades. The marriage rate, on the

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1 [http://kosis.kr/nsportalStats/nsportalStats\\_0102Body.jsp?menuId=1&NUM=13](http://kosis.kr/nsportalStats/nsportalStats_0102Body.jsp?menuId=1&NUM=13).



other hand, recorded the third place. In other words, Koreans are more likely to get married than their international counterparts, but are less likely to have children.

Putting aside the value-laden debate on fertility, it is necessary to question why the fertility rate is decreasing so drastically in Korea, compared to other countries. The answer can be inferred from the solutions presented in a number of studies. For instance, improving work-life balance and promoting women's labor market participation by providing quality child care services were recommended by an economic survey of Korea as the solutions to help to raise its fertility rate (OECD, 2012b). It should be noted that the report specifically emphasized that it is the promotion of women's labor market participation that buffers the impact of rapid population change. Indeed, the economic participation rate of Korean women of working age (25-54) was 62% in 2010, placing it in the third lowest among the OECD countries. The low level of women's economic participation is assumed to be the result of a deficiency of comprehensive policy support for working women, which would enable them to juggle their lives in work and family spheres. In addition, the country-specific conditions including the highest gender gap in wage, the longest work hours among the OECD countries, insufficient child care services, and short maternal leave and its low utility rate are also the contributing factors that hinder women's participation in the labor market.

Correspondingly, a fertility study focused on the Southern European countries, which have familism tradition similar to Korea also

provides an insight. Considering that the countries located in the Southern region show the lowest birthrate in Europe, Cooke (2009) compared Italy and Spain where there are low fertility levels with high institutional reliance on kinship and family. The result proved that the higher the father's share of childcare, the higher the birth likelihood of married working women in Italy, a country with a conservative family culture. In Spain, the birth likelihood decreased as the work hours of married working women increased whereas private childcare caused significant birth likelihood increases. Because Asian societies are assumed to keep "motherhood mandate" central (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, Granrose, Rabinowitz, & Beutell, 1989 as cited in Call, Sheffield, Trail, Yoshida, & Hill, 2008), the work-family interface can be more problematic for females in Korea than in the European countries.

Taking these findings into consideration, the extraordinarily low fertility rate of Korea can be concluded to be caused by a dissonance between remaining conservative family culture and changing role expectations towards women. In addition, a lack of appropriate policy support fails to reduce the discrepancy which recently affecting working wives who continue their individual life in both work and family areas, keeping them under stress and creating difficulty in satisfying both role demands, namely work-family conflict (Jang & Lee, 2013). Thus, this discrepancy finally manifests itself in the form of the low fertility rate and low women's labor market participation. Provided that, more attention is required on work-family conflict among married working

women which will underpin all these matters than the low fertility phenomenon itself.

Work-family conflict, as aforementioned, is a recent social problem that has emerged along with the process of industrialization. It can have an impact on the critical events overarching both work and family domains, including women's economic participation and childbirth. Therefore, in other countries that experienced industrialization earlier than Korea has been a range of accumulated research on work-family conflict. Nevertheless, despite its relatively short history compared to those countries, the domestic research related to working women and their work-family conflict has been prosperous for over a decade as more and more researchers are now paying special attention to the problem. Especially, the research interest in work-family conflict has been increasingly in the spotlight as a part of the fertility research that boomed from the early 2000s in Korea.

The previous domestic research pointed out some of Korea's demographic characteristics and social structural factors as the major determinants of its low fertility rate. To elaborate, increased age at the first marriage and decreased fertility rate among married couples (Do, 2006; Eun, 2001; Kim, 2004; Sohn, 2005) were the demographic factors that contributed to the falling fertility rate, while the burden of childcare and education costs (Do, 2006; Kim, 2008), unstable earnings and employment, and inadequate childcare support (Kim, 2004; Sohn, 2005) were the primary social structural contributors.

Since most of the domestic studies conducted so far heavily

concentrated on finding the significant factors affecting fertility rate of working women, deeper analyses on the fertility decision making process of married working women or on the factors related to the process are scarce (Lee & Choi, 2012). More recently, however, researchers began to focus on fertility intentions rather than fertility rate, representing the change of perspective in looking at the fertility issue as an individual's choice and decision. Even so, those studies examined the effects of the demographic (Park, Cho, & Choi, 2010; Yeom, 2013), sociological (Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2012; Park, 2005, 2008; Park, 2012) and economic factors (Lee, 2010) on fertility intentions. This reveals again that the consideration of the psychological factors occurring in a relationship context affecting fertility decision making was relatively inadequate. A few studies regarding the psychological factors mostly centered around personal value on children or family (Bae & Kim, 2011; Chung & Chin, 2008; Kang, 2007; Park & Cho, 2011).

Actively participating in both work and family roles leads to diverse psychological consequences (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006) which range from organizational issues to personal issues (Kim & Kim, 2010). Among other things, as one of the major non-work-related outcomes of work-family conflict (Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996), marital satisfaction is known to be related to fertility intentions (Lee & Choi, 2012; Song, Lee, & Kim, 2010; Berninger, Weiß, & Wagner, 2011; Call et al., 2008; Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007; Cavalli & Klobas, 2013; Myers, 1997) given that women's attitudes and feelings play an

important part in predicting childbearing (Barber & Axinn, 2005 as cited in Liu & Hynes, 2012). Also, marital satisfaction needs to be taken into consideration as an interpersonal psychological factor within a couple since childbirth is a joint family decision.

As we see, however, the preceding research has primarily focused on the low fertility phenomenon without a psychological approach focused on factors such as an individual's internal role conflict, satisfaction, stress or depression. In particular, the research examining the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions can be hardly found. Only a limited range of studies (Ahn, Park, & Han, 2008; Jang & Lee, 2013; Lee & Choi, 2012) provide evidence related to such an association. Since the relationship between work-family conflict and fertility intentions has been neither fully explored nor clearly demonstrated even in the international studies (Liu & Hynes, 2012; O'Driscoll, Brough, & Kalliath, 2006; Shreffler, Pirretti, & Drago, 2010), examining whether and how work-family conflict affects married working women's fertility intentions, especially through marital satisfaction, will help to build collective understanding of the issue.

## **1.2 Research Objective**

The purpose of this study is to examine the association between fertility intentions and work-family conflict and marital satisfaction in order to grasp the policy implications for married working women in

South Korea. In order to examine the effect of work-family conflict on fertility intentions of married working women, the researcher conducts quantitative analyses using a nationwide survey. In the current study, the characteristics of fertility intentions of married working women affected by the level of conflict between work and family spheres are expected to be identified clearly. Another goal of the study is to determine whether the work-family conflict influences fertility intentions via marital satisfaction, helping to eliminate the existing knowledge gap between domestic and international research. Furthermore, it is to call for a shift in perspective for low fertility discourse from the phenomenon itself to its fundamental cause: work-family conflict.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The research aims to identify the effect of work-family conflict on fertility intentions, and further a mediating role of marital satisfaction between the relationship by analysing a quantitative panel study data.

- 1. Does work-family conflict affect fertility intentions of married working women?**
- 2. Does marital satisfaction have a mediating effect on the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions?**

## **CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

Whether to have a child or not is fundamentally an individual's decision; however, its collective outcome is expected to harm the society's productivity and competency. Work-family conflict of married working women occurred by high role expectations as a carer and as a breadwinner is regarded as the critical factor creating the situation. Therefore, the effect of work-family conflict on working wives' fertility intentions is in need of an examination. As one of the major consequences of work-family conflict, marital satisfaction's mediating effect on fertility intentions will be further investigated.

This chapter looks over the prevailing theories and empirical studies on work-family conflict, fertility intentions, and marital satisfaction not only in order to understand the existing arguments around the issue but also to provide the underpinnings of the research model and its implications as well. The theoretical perspectives of each variable are introduced first, and then the empirical studies dealing with the relationships between the variables will be reviewed.

In regard to theoretical framework, this research provides the individual theoretical backgrounds for work-family conflict and fertility intentions one another because there are no specific theories explicating the relationship between work-family conflict and fertility intentions (Shreffler, Pirretti, & Drago, 2010). Role strain theory and spillover

theory were used to explain the tension between work and family domains, followed by the various academic perspectives presented in fertility research.

## **2.1 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1.1 Work-Family Conflict**

#### *Role Strain Theory*

Work-family conflict is a form of inter-role conflict in which the demands of work and family roles are incompatible in some respects (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Work-family conflict is a recent issue developed in the context of industrialization. In preindustrial societies, it was relatively easy to combine maternal and occupational obligations and to find secondary carers (e.g., relatives) for children other than parents (Stycos & Weller, 1967). As industrialization proceeded, however, fulfilling the two different productive responsibilities became increasingly incompatible (Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000). Likewise, it is role strain theory that explains the conflict occurred by the overlapping roles followed by societal change.

Role strain is defined as the felt difficulty in meeting role demands within a total role system which is over-demanding (Goode, 1960) or the stress caused by the difficulty in fulfilling the role expectations (Burr et al., 1979 as cited in Voydanoff, 2005). According



to Goode (1960), role strain is created by the unique and over-demanding role system of each individual whereas individuals have a finite amount of ability to fulfill the responsibilities of the roles they assume. “The more individuals think their roles are incompatible, the greater the role strain (Burr et al., 1979 as cited in Voydanoff, 2005).” In this situation, the individual’s problem is how to make his whole role system manageable, that is, how to allocate his energies and skills so as to reduce role strain to some bearable levels (Goode, 1960). The individuals can ameliorate the strain by downsizing the effort to meet the role demands either in work or in family (Liu & Hynes, 2012).

Role strain theory supports the idea that the level of work-family conflict may make a difference in fertility decisions because the role strain results in a variety of negative outcomes in the two domains (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Netemeyer et al., 1996). Having a baby can possibly be considered as adding a new role for an employed woman. In view of role strain theory, it may create role strain as the woman struggles to meet the incompatible responsibilities at work and home but to feel frustrated (Liu & Hynes, 2012). Hence, working mothers who experience high role strain will decide not to have a child to maintain the present level of work-family conflict; but, those who feel low degree of role strain are likely to decide to have one.

The role strain theory explains that the demands and tension from one domain may spill over to affect the quality of the other domain (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). That is, the stressors from one role have negative ‘strain’ effects on the individuals’ other roles (O’Driscoll et

al., 2006).

### *Spillover Theory*

While the role theory provides an answer about why work-family conflict occurs in psychological perspective, there is another theoretical explanation on the issue focusing on the relationships between work and family domains. Consistent with Shreffler, Pirretti, and Drago (2010), spillover theory is an appropriate approach to describe how work-family conflict is expected to affect fertility intentions.

Spillover refers to “effects of work and family on one another that generate similarities between the two domains (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000)”; a majority of work-family studies have focused on this issue. Spillover occurs when one’s experience in one domain influences the same individual’s perceptions and role performance in the other domain (Pedersen & Minnotte, 2012). In other words, the spillover can take place in both direction from work to family and vice versa.

The concept of spillover which is implicit in the study of work-family conflict suggests that the boundaries of work and family domains are flexible and that role demands from one domain often ‘spill over’ into the other (Kanter, 1977 as cited in Shreffler et al., 2010). Spillover between the two domains can take place in terms of mood, values, skill and behaviors (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). The theory also infers that the two domains are positively related (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Lambert, 1990; Staines, 1980).

That work and family roles interfere with one another is the fundamental premise of the conflict perspective (Major & Cleveland, 2005). In other words, the conflict is likely to occur when the distinction between the domains is vague, making the interference with each domain gets more severe. As a result, spillover theory is the most suitable model for explaining conflict as well as interrelationship between work and family domains (Lee, 2008; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). In this study we conceptualize work-family conflict as a bidirectional construct based on spillover theory and distinguish the conflict occurred from family domain from that from work domain<sup>2</sup>.

### **2.1.2 Fertility Intentions**

Although fertility intention is the strongest predictor of the actual childbearing outcome, it is a quite recent trend to use it as a typical measure. Given that, here introduced the theoretical perspectives related to fertility rate or behavior, and the research dealing with fertility intentions will be discussed specifically later in the review.

#### *Demographic Perspective*

A study that tried to explain the pattern of low fertility in the view of cohort analysis found that women born during the 1960s and the early

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<sup>2</sup> The present study will use the expressions of 'work-to-family interference' (WFI) and 'family-to-work interference' (FWI) in order to refer to a specific direction of work-family conflict, and use work-family conflict when referring to a generic notion of conflict encompassing both directions following O'Driscoll et al. (2006).

1970s experienced lower fertility rate than the women born earlier, contributing to continuity of the declining fertility trend (Frejka & Calot, 2001). The difference in fertility is determined jointly by a variety of demographic and/or sociological factors including the couples' age, level of education, religion, social class and so forth (Kramer, 1987 as cited in Ma, 2008). In respect of demographics, an increase in the age at the first marriage, a delay in the age at the first childbirth, and decreasing fertility of married couples were reported as the major causes of the fertility change.

Differential fertility theory is one example of the demographic perspectives that emphasizes the effect of social regulation such as social norms on individual's behaviors and decision-making, especially fertility decision. Based on the theory, fertility level of a society is highly related to its socio-economic and/or cultural backgrounds and can be different depending on the society's specific characteristics. The theory interprets that childbirth cannot be limitedly defined as a biological phenomenon but rather a social phenomenon (Lee, 2007 as cited in Lee & Choi, 2012).

### *Gender Equity Perspective*

Gender equity perspective in fertility research accounts for the change in fertility in relation to the level of equity within a couple by using the share of household chores as a typical measure (Kang, 2007). Within the perspective, a difference in fertility rate among developed western countries experiencing low fertility can be explained by the

consistency of the level of gender equity between social institutions (McDonald, 2000).

McDonald (2000) argued that an improvement of gender equity within family-oriented social institutions has been mainly related to the change in fertility level from high to low and almost solely within the family itself. A study on American dual-earner couples, on the other hand, indicated that the stalled revolution resulted in decreasing fertility (Hochschild, 1989 as cited in Torr & Short, 2004). The stalled revolution refers to a phenomenon that despite the increased social status of women, even with children, gender equity has not been achieved in the whole society as the level of equity in family domain remains the same.

The perspective points out the inequality within family and society as a main cause of the falling fertility rate by generating conflict between work and family for employed women. That is, on the contrary to the upgraded women's social status, working wives are still responsible for childcare and household chores at home. In addition, the labor market situation has become fiercer, in that employment instability enhanced and work intensity increased, to reinforce the low fertility tendency among married working women (Lee & Choi, 2012). The studies based on the gender equity theory have yielded a consensus about an importance of couples' sharing of domestic labor and gender ideology in childbearing decision.

### *Economic Perspective*

Economic analysis on fertility commenced during the 1950s and 60s with Leibenstein's theory of marginal utility and Becker's theory of consumption demand (Ma, 2008). According to the theories, the level of fertility of a household is decided in a way that maximizes the benefit under the household's financial constraints in consideration of the consumption of parents and children. This makes parents take the economic utility and the value of having a child, such as child care cost, into account beforehand. Social norm about fertility, therefore, subsequently changes as the economic utility and cost of children is modified by the development of society (Liebenstein, 1974).

The fertility research conducted by economists has produced a consistent result that children's economic utility affects fertility decision of working mothers. For women, especially, as they have a greater opportunity for education and therefore realize economic advantages, bearing children may become a greater economic sacrifice (Call et al., 2008). In other words, as socio-economic standards increases, the entire level of fertility decreases because the high income earners prefer to have less children and focus on human capital investment such as education (Becker, 1965).

Besides, a different interpretation is presented by a perspective emphasizing an individual's subjective appraisal of one's own economy. The fertility opportunity hypothesis (Abernethy & Penaloza, 2002) posits that individuals adjust their family sizes corresponding to the perceived economic opportunity. Consequently, strong economy that brings an

increase in lucrative opportunities leads to relatively larger family sizes.

### *Psychological Perspective*

In psychological perspective, quality of partnership has been studied in relation to fertility decision. The fertility research based on the psychology has emerged after the criticism against the weaknesses of the existing theories biased to economic, demographic, and/or sociological perspectives which failed to produce a universal explanation for fertility behavior (Kang, 2007). They emphasized an importance of family dynamics, such as marital relationship, women's role and status within the couple, as the diverse lenses in understanding the change of fertility behavior.

Friedman and others (1994), for example, suggested uncertainty reduction theory which illustrated an association between childbearing behavior and marital solidarity. The researchers suggested that every man naturally tries to reduce the uncertainty in life and marriage is a substantial mechanism to reduce the uncertainty. This human characteristic brings about a tendency for the couples with low solidarity to have a child so as to reduce the uncertainty of their relationship. Myers (1997), however, directly refuted Friedman's theory with the findings that the couples with higher marital satisfaction and solidarity are likely to plan to have a baby.

The psychological studies dealing with fertility issue have so far agreed on the point that the psychological factors, for example, motivation, happiness, and bargaining power, have been ignored in

fertility research; nevertheless, at the same time, they show inconsistency in research findings about how those psychological factors affect fertility behavior.

Heretofore the theoretical backgrounds which underpin the notion of work-family conflict and fertility intentions were discussed. Particularly, role strain theory accounts for why the conflict between work and family domains occurs while spillover theory explains how it occurs. Based on the theories, the current research hypothesizes that work-family conflict affects fertility intentions of working mothers, specifically in a negative way. In addition, the hypotheses for testing the distinctive effects of work-to-family interference and family-to-work interference on fertility intentions are formulated.

In regard to fertility intentions, each of the demographic, sociological, economic, and psychological interpretation was given. Among the various theoretical views interpreting women's fertility decision, the current study is supposed to pay more attention to how a psychological construct, marital satisfaction, plays a role in between work-family conflict and fertility intentions of married working women. As aforementioned, fertility decisions are closely linked to a couple's interpersonal relationship that makes social psychological explanations relatively more important (Andrade & Bould, 2012). Meanwhile, it does not mean that it negates the other perspectives; it is rather building the research model onto them by encompassing the determinants discussed. The next chapter will provide the empirical evidence about the



relationships between work-family conflict, marital satisfaction and fertility intentions in detail, contributing to specification of the research model.

## **2.2 Literature Review**

The literature review will address four areas related to the associations between work-family conflict, marital satisfaction and fertility intentions. The first section will address research related to the relationship between work-family conflict and fertility intentions. The second section will focus on the studies about the relationship between work-family conflict and marital satisfaction; the third section will discuss research related to marital satisfaction and fertility intentions. Finally, the last section will review the previous studies including all variables.

### **2.2.1 Work-Family Conflict and Fertility Intentions**

Although considerable amount of attention has been paid to cause and effect of work-family conflict, the body of research focusing on the relationship of the conflict with fertility intentions is quite limited as previously mentioned (Liu & Hynes, 2012). The empirical evidence, however, has not reached consensus yet. In the literature, the impact of work-family conflict on the women's fertility intentions varied, appearing to have both positive (Begall & Mills, 2011) and negative

effects (Ahn et al., 2008; Lee & Choi, 2012; Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000; Frejka & Calot, 2001) as well as no significant effect at all (Call et al., 2008; Shreffler et al., 2010).

Begall and Mills (2011) examined the relationships between women's subjective perceptions of control or autonomy over work, job strain, work-family conflict and fertility intentions. Data from the European Social Survey (ESS) 2004/5 covering 23 European countries (n=1,533) indicated that the higher amount of work-family conflict contributes to the intention to have a second baby, contrary to the general idea. The researchers assumed that the working mothers with one child still place a high importance on family responsibility and experience the high level of work-family conflict.

On the contrary, Brewster and Rindfuss (2000) firmly argued that there is a definite negative association between fertility and female labor participation in terms of the role incompatibility in between home and labor market. The researchers in their literature review especially pointed out the industrialization as a pivotal factor that jeopardizes working women's effort to balance the two role demands by separating the work and family areas. And thus, women in advanced industrialized societies, who typically care for children at home, come to decide either to limit their children or leave the market.

Another study, on the other hand, found no evidence to support the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions among married and employed women (Call et al., 2008). The article explored which factors in work and family interface related to plans for

more children, using the Singapore National Study of Work-Life Harmony 2006. Neither work-to-family interference nor family-to-work interference predicted future childbearing plan of the participants here.

Shreffler and her colleagues (2010) also did not identify a significant effect of work-family conflict on fertility intentions of married working women in the United States. They investigated a possible gender difference in the relationship by comparing the effects of work-to-family and family-to-work interferences perceived by the participants and their partners. The results showed that neither the women's own work-family conflict nor their perception of their spouses' work-family conflict affected their fertility intentions while only the men's perception of their wives work-to-family interference significantly predicted their fertility intentions. The explanation for the results was opened for further research.

Even the fertility research using actual outcomes, such as conception or birthrate, instead of intentions presented the different results. A longitudinal study of Liu and Hynes (2012) attempted to examine a relationship between work-family conflict and subsequent childbirth measured by conception. The analysis provided little support that a difficulty in juggling work and family is related to fewer subsequent birth; rather, the working mothers chose to exit the labor market. But in a European cohort fertility study, the researchers indicated the problem of role compatibility to be the major reason for the decreasing parity distribution (Frejka & Calot, 2011).

As for domestic research, however, a negative association between

work-family conflict and fertility intentions among married working women have been captured. Lee and Choi (2012) explored a path of work-family conflict which is linked to fertility intentions based on gender equity perspective by analyzing a national survey, Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Family. They proved that there was a significant negative effect of work-family conflict on fertility intention but only indirectly through marital satisfaction with a perfect mediating effect. However, it used the ideal number of children as a measure of fertility intention, and the result is limited in interpretation because the directionality of work-family conflict was not taken into consideration.

Those studies that differentiated the direction of work-family conflict did not produce an agreed conclusion although they used the same panel data. An article examined the effects of work-family conflict and policy support for child care/education on fertility intention (Ahn et al., 2008). It observed that work interfering with family directly affects fertility intentions in a negative way. In Jang and Lee's study (2013), on the contrary, it was family interfering with work that influenced the married working women's fertility intention. The researchers investigated the demographic and social determinants of married working women's fertility intentions and found a significant but limited effect of family-to-work interference ( $p < .10$ ).

Given the detailed review, whether the married women with difficulties in balancing work and family reconcile with the problem by avoiding additional childbirth was not consistently supported by the previous literature. However, there were some weaknesses to the former

research in terms of measurement. It was found that each preceding study has used different measures of work-family conflict, risking a possibility of measuring the different aspects of the conflict and thus drawing different conclusions (see Appendix A).

The mixed results about the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions could have reflected in part the difference of measurement. Moreover, the previous studies did not take those who are uncertain about their fertility plans into consideration while only counting the dichotomous responses of fertility intentions (i.e., yes or no). These weaknesses will be controlled in the current study.

### **2.2.2 Work-Family Conflict and Marital Satisfaction**

Marital satisfaction, a social-psychological dimension of marital quality (Johnson et al., 1986; Glenn, 1990 as cited in Rijken & Liefbroer, 2009), refers to an individual's affective evaluation of the overall quality of one's marital relationship (Voydanoff, 2005). As the consequences of work-family conflict can be divided into work-related, non-work-related and stress-related outcomes (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000), marital satisfaction stands for one of the non-work-related outcomes. Extensive research has indicated that work-to-family and family-to-work interferences are negatively associated with marital satisfaction (see Allen et al., 2000). Otherwise, there are contrasting viewpoints on which one more strongly predicts a change in

marital satisfaction (Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011; Voydanoff, 2005).

One approach is to suppose that the conflict derived from the originating domain diminishes the quality of receiving domain. For example, Frone and his colleagues (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992; Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997) suggested that work interference with family affects family dissatisfaction or distress whereas family interference with work causes negative work outcomes. That is, WFI is related to outcomes in family domain while FWI is related to outcomes in work domain. The other approach assumes the opposite; the conflict occurred in the originating domain reduces the quality of the same domain, which is called a “matching-hypothesis” (Amstad et al., 2011). It suggests that work-to-family interference affects the well-being of work domain while family-to-work interference influences that of family domain (Wayne, Musica, & Fleeson, 2004 as cited in Voydanoff, 2005). The recent studies on this issue provide different evidence.

Allen and others (2000) carried out a meta-analysis to examine a range of consequences of work-family conflict including work-, non-work-, and stress-related outcomes, but confined to the work interfering with family. The 67 previous studies published in six major journals between 1977 and 1998 were located in the analysis. The results indicated that work interfering with family correlated with marital satisfaction ( $r=-0.23$ ) among non-work outcomes. Especially in part, however, the relationship was inconsistent across samples.

The contradictory evidence was offered by Voydanoff (2005). She

investigated relationships between social integration, work-family conflict and facilitation, and job and marital satisfaction with ecological systems approach. In regression analysis which included both of work-to-family and family-to-work interferences, family-to-work interference was significantly related to a decrease in marital satisfaction while work-to-family interference was significantly related to a reduction of job satisfaction.

Other researchers who proved that both WFI and FWI predict marital satisfaction suggested that FWI has a stronger effect than WFI (Amstad et al., 2011; Kinnunen, Vermulst, Gerris, & Mäkikangas, 2003; Netemeyer et al., 1996). Specifically, Amstad and others (2011) conducted a meta-analysis to ascertain the relationships between bidirectional work-family conflict and its consequences, complementing the weaknesses of the preceding meta-analyses by Kossek and Ozeki (1998), and Allen and others (2000) that did not consider the direction of the conflict. The analytic results revealed that both directions of work-family conflict were related to work-, non-work, and domain-unspecific outcomes. In addition, while work-to-family interference was more strongly associated with work-related outcomes, family-to-work interference was more strongly associated with family-related outcomes.

Besides, when Kim and Ling (2001) analyzed work-family conflict experienced by Singapore women entrepreneurs, they provided a different result. The job-spouse conflict, a sub-category of work-family conflict assumed by the researchers, generated from work stressors

strongly predicted marital satisfaction (-0.45,  $p < .01$ ) as well as job satisfaction (-.30,  $p < .05$ ).

To recapitulate, the previous research dealing with work-family conflict and marital satisfaction consistently demonstrated a negative relationship. Conflict occurred between work and family domains may reduce one's quality of marital relationship. Compared to the large amount of research body abroad, Korea-specific research on the association of work-family conflict and marital satisfaction is very limited. The forementioned study conducted by Lee and Choi (2012) has partially thrown light on the issue; however, the individual effect of work-family conflict depending on its direction was not identified. The current study, as a result, will help to accumulate knowledge on this issue in terms of the directionality of work-family conflict especially at the national level. It is also assumed that the results will have an explorative meaning due to the inconsistent effect of the direction on marital satisfaction as reported.

### **2.2.3 Marital Satisfaction and Fertility Intentions**

According to three Eurobarometer surveys in the 1990s and 2000s, stable or supportive partnership was the most or second most important factor when the young people decided to have children (Rijken & Thomson, 2011). However, the relationship between marital satisfaction and fertility intentions has remained relatively unexplored by researchers



compared to the opposite influence of having children on relationship quality with partners (Rijken & Liefbroer, 2009). Even so, the body of relevant research accumulated so far discovered that in most cases it is likely that marital satisfaction positively affects fertility intentions (Lee & Choi, 2012; Song et al., 2010; Berninger et al., 2011; Call et al., 2008; Cavalli & Klobas, 2013; Myers, 1997). But, at the same time, there are some articles that proposed contrary or exceptional interpretations (Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007; Friedman, Hetcher, & Kanazawa, 1994; Rijken & Liefbroer, 2009; Rijken & Thomson, 2011).

The argument that marital satisfaction reduces an individual's will to have a child was first broached by Friedman and her colleagues (Friedman et al., 1994). They argued that couples who are strongly connected through emotional, social and economic ties have less need to enhance their relationship by a strategy of having children. The theory assumed that people in developed societies decide to have children as a means of reducing uncertainty even though the net instrumental value of children is negative. According to the theory, rational people tend to reduce uncertainty in life, for example, in marriage. Thus, the researchers argued that the risk of divorce increases the tendency of parenthood.

A qualitative study conducted in Australia provided support for the theory (Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007). Throughout the in-depth interviews with 115 Australian individuals, the researchers found a tendency that there were some people who did not want to challenge their intimacy and partnership by having children. Referring to the

study, today people highly value self-actualization and chosen lifestyle. Especially, there was certainly a group of women who did not think motherhood as a vital component of their personal fulfillment. Marital satisfaction was not a factor promoting childbirth for the women because they preferred to make a full commitment to the relationship with their partners to let their energy dispersed by children.

In contrast, other studies observed that marital satisfaction increases the likelihood of childbearing. Based on Theory of Planned Behavior by Ajzen (1985), the recent research of Cavalli and Klobas (2013) examined how expected life and partner satisfaction affect realization of women's fertility intention. The research focused on a change of fertility intentions from "probably yes" to "definitely yes" depending on the women's expectation of their partnership quality influenced by their children. The analysis displayed a result that the better partnership satisfaction women predicted, the fuller the realization of fertility intention occurred (OR=2.39,  $p<.001$ ).

A German article that investigated an influence of job security on fertility intention of employed couples without children also produced the evidence supporting the positive relationship between marital satisfaction and an intention to have children (Berninger et al., 2011). That is, marital satisfaction, a mediating variable in this model, was positively related to the women's fertility intention even though its mediating effect was not confirmed. Specifically, its effect was stronger for part-time employed women than for full-time employed women. Given that the major findings highlighted an importance of men's role

in fertility decision, the researchers assumed that the working women with higher job security could stay more independently from their male partners' influence on decision making.

Besides, the research that used measures of actual fertility behavior had some blended results (Myers, 1997; Rijken & Liefbroer, 2009; Rijken & Thomson, 2011). Myers (1997) examined how marital solidarity and uncertainty, measured by proneness to divorce, affect the pregnancy of married couple based on the uncertainty reduction theory of parenthood. The analytic results failed to demonstrate the theory, drawing a conclusion that the married couples with high relationship satisfaction are more likely to have a(nother) child than the couples with low relationship satisfaction. Rijken and others, on the other hand, consistently proposed a curvilinear association that childbearing outcomes peak in the medium level of the satisfaction with one's partner (Rijken & Liefbroer, 2009; Rijken & Thomson, 2011). To elaborate, the people who are moderately satisfied with their partnership tend to have a child in order to consolidate the relationship and to challenge it by the new event. It is contrary to that those who have either the most or the least partnership satisfaction recognize having a child as a threat for the present relationship.

In terms of domestic situation, the previous studies agreed on a positive relationship between marital satisfaction and fertility intention of married working women in Korea (Lee & Choi, 2012; Song et al., 2010). Song and others (2010) explored the psychosocial factors affecting subsequent fertility intentions among working mothers in

Korea. Data of Panel Study on Korean Children (2009) indicated that marital satisfaction is positively related to working mother's intention to have the second child. It implied that employed mothers are more likely to plan their subsequent childbearing in consideration of their partnership quality than housewives who mainly consider their own psychological factors.

As we looked over the preceding studies, marital satisfaction is assumed to increase the intention to have a child among individuals including women in spite of some conflicting opinions. Since the literature on the relationship of marital satisfaction and fertility intentions is still developing in and outside the country, additional new findings from further studies in the future are expected. Yet, compared to international level, the observations from domestic research addressing this issue are so restricted that they can hardly be generalized. The existing studies mentioned above showed a disagreement in measures of fertility intentions of which either the presence of future childbearing plan (Lee & Choi, 2012) or the ideal number of children (Song et al., 2010). Given the limitations, the current study aims not only to discover the effect of marital satisfaction on fertility intentions which were measured by the presence of childbearing plan, but also put up another empirical evidence on the existing knowledge base.

## **2.2.4 Work-Family Conflict, Marital Satisfaction, and Fertility Intentions**

The previous chapters identified that, among married working women, work-family conflict and fertility intentions, work-family conflict and marital satisfaction, marital satisfaction and fertility intentions have the causal relationships respectively. Provided that, to question that whether work-family conflict affects fertility intention through a path with marital satisfaction seems quite plausible. Some of the researchers who came up with the idea attempted to test the hypothesis with survey data (Lee & Choi, 2012; Andrade & Bould, 2012).

Andrade and Bould (2012) hypothesized that working mothers' perception of fairness of childcare within a couple would impact the relationship satisfaction and their intention to have the second child based on the social psychological theory. By using structural equation model, the researchers detected that the women's perceived justice of childcare division affected their fertility intentions both directly and indirectly via relationship satisfaction. Even if the perceived justice of childcare was put at the heart of the model, the study can be understood to being in the same context of work-family conflict because it inferred that the injustice of childcare occurred when men and women's new roles began to disrupt the traditional family gendered divisions of labor. Therefore, despite its weakness of omitting other factors exacerbating role strain, such as housework other than childcare, this research provides the good empirical base of the current study.

Lee & Choi (2012), which appeared repetitively throughout the review of literature reflecting the limited pool of domestic research in this area, laid the groundwork for this research. The results of the study with a sample of dual-earner women in Korea were congruent to Andrade and Bould (2012). Again, however, the research posited several weaknesses; it may have a possible bias in the prediction by excluding the information of those who have definite no or uncertain fertility intention. And, the different effects of work-family conflict by its direction on fertility intentions were not distinguished as the measures used in the study only dealt with work-to-family interference. Those shortcomings were all considered in the present study.

Previously, the preceding studies that investigated the associations between work-family conflict, marital satisfaction, and fertility intentions were reviewed. Contrast to the general expectation, the effect of work-family conflict on fertility intentions was not uniformly consistent. Work-family conflict was found to have a negative influence on marital satisfaction; yet, it was unclear about whether it is work-to-family interference (WFI) or family-to-work interference (FWI) that affects marital satisfaction. Higher marital satisfaction was related to positive fertility intention for the most part. Finally, little but significant exemplary research offered the possibility of identifying a mediating effect of marital satisfaction between work-family conflict and fertility intentions.

Along with the previous research, the current study is expected to

offer the evidence of the effects of work-family conflict and marital satisfaction on fertility intentions of married working women. To be specific, it will verify the causal relationship between work-family conflict and fertility intentions, particularly considering the directionality of the conflict. It will lead to answer the question of in which direction work-family conflict affects marital satisfaction. The mediating effect of marital satisfaction on the work-family conflict – fertility intentions relationship will also be examined. The literature reviewed will help to establish the research model and the hypotheses, and discuss the results of the current research.

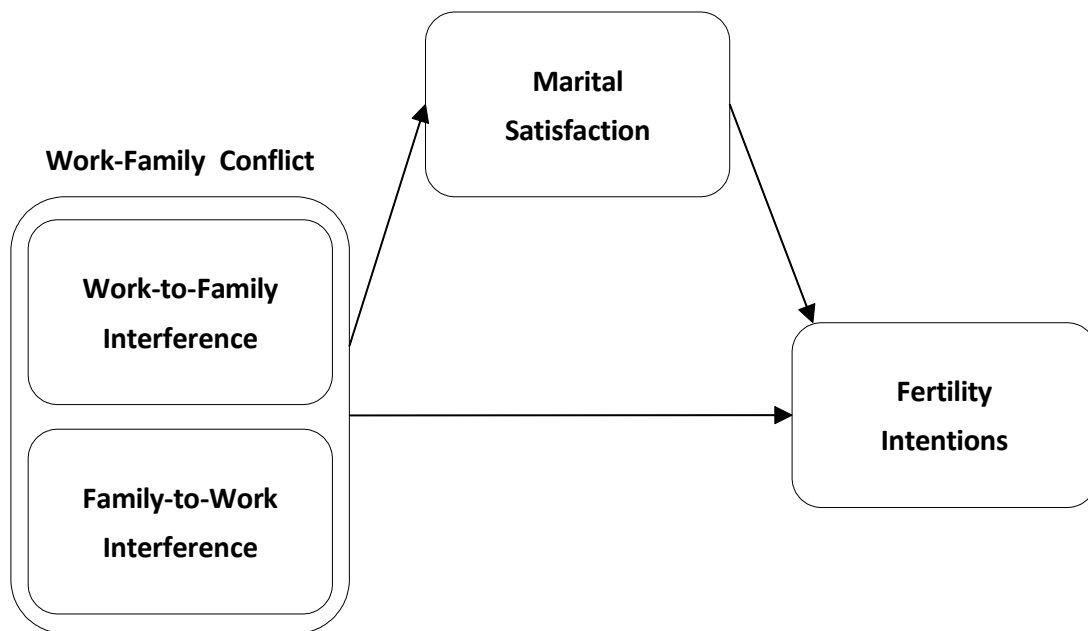
## **CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHOD**

### **3.1 Research Model and Hypotheses**

#### **3.1.1 Research Model**

The objective of the study is to examine the effect of work-family conflict on fertility intentions among married working women, especially via marital satisfaction. Although a few researchers attempted to explain the relationship, they have not reached an agreed conclusion on whether and how work-family conflict affects women's intention to have a child. The research model, therefore, was designed to investigate a direct path from work-family conflict to fertility intentions as well as an indirect path through marital satisfaction. Based on the theories and literature related, the bidirectional characteristic of work-family conflict was taken into consideration. The specified model is presented in Figure 3.1.





**Control Variables:** Women's age, husbands' participation in household chores, monthly household income, presence of helper with household chores, presence of young children (age<5), maternity policy at work, work hours

**Figure 3.1 Research Model**

### **3.1.2 Research Hypotheses**

Consistent with the two research questions of the study, the following hypotheses are given.

**[Hypothesis 1]** Work-family conflict will be associated with fertility intentions.

[Hypothesis 1-1] Higher work-to-family interference (WFI) will be associated with negative fertility intention.

[Hypothesis 1-2] Higher family-to-work interference (FWI) will be associated with negative fertility intention.

**[Hypothesis 2]** Marital satisfaction will have a mediating effect on the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions.

[Hypothesis 2-1] Marital satisfaction will have a mediating effect on the association between work-to-family interference (WFI) and fertility intentions.

[Hypothesis 2-2] Marital satisfaction will have a mediating effect on the association between family-to-work interference (FWI) and fertility intentions.

## 3.2 Data and Participants

Data are used from the third wave of the Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Family (KLoWF) to test the research hypotheses. KLoWF, a nationwide panel survey launched by Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI) in 2006, was designed to understand women's life, and the structure and change in family life. The purpose of the survey is to compile a massive database that can follow up the changes in women and family life<sup>3</sup> both in cross-sectional and longitudinal manner (KWDI, 2007). With this vast amount of database built, KLoWF makes it possible to obtain a picture of increasing women's labour market participation and consequential work-life balance and/or work-life transition. The survey can look at the status of work-family compatibility by expanding the samples to those who shift or combine work and family domains, overcoming the limitation of other existing panel surveys. Because measuring the bidirectional work-family conflict by one item may cause confounding results and thus the low internal consistency estimates (Tetrick & Buffardi, 2006), the survey offers suitable measurement for work-family conflict for its distinction between 'effects of current work on family life' and 'effects of family life on current work'. The data were collected using a combination of home-visiting interviews and computer-assisted personal

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3 The changes here include a change in women's labour status and family relationship through life cycle, values on family, family structure, family formation process and events and so forth (KWDI, 2007).

interviews (CAPI).

The total sample of the third wave (2010) included 9,997 women aged 19 to 64 in 9,068 households, which was reduced subsequently following the selection criteria. The married women under age 36 who were employed in a paid job and living with husband were included in the analysis; however, those who were not cohabiting with their husbands temporarily, had married adult children, or with missing responses were excluded. As a result, 321 married working women were selected as the final sample.

Yet the range of the participants' age to be included in fertility intention research has not been clearly agreed by the previous studies until now. One study used Wave 1 of the same panel data has included women under age 45 (Ahn et al., 2008) and another domestic research dealt with the effects of ecological factors (Bae & Kim, 2011) limited the range of respondents' age only from 25 to 39 years old according to the previous findings of its significant impact on fertility intentions (Chun, 2005 as cited in Bae & Kim, 2011). Although the survey provides the information of women at age 49 at the oldest, in this research, the respondents' age was limited to 36. Because the average age of Korean women at their fourth birth was reported to be 35.88 (KOSTAT, 2013)<sup>4</sup>, the age 36 was assumed to be the realistic maximum for a woman to have a child, except for special cases.

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<sup>4</sup> The women's age at their first birth was reported to be 30.50 in average; at the second 32.40; at the third 34.17; and finally at the fourth 35.88, according to the government announcement.

### **3.3 Measurement**

#### **3.3.1 Dependent Variable: Fertility Intentions**

Fertility intentions, the dependent variable of the study, are defined as the presence of willingness to have a(nother) child in future, assessed by a question of ‘Do you have a plan for a(nother) child?’. The respondents were allowed to answer the question in three forms of responses, ‘Yes’, ‘No’, or ‘Do not know.’ The previous literature suggested that an ambiguous fertility intention should be differentiated from the definite ones, such as definite yes or no (Cavalli & Klobas, 2013; McQuillan, Greil, & Shreffler, 2011). Especially, McQuillan and others (2011) compared American women who were trying to, trying not to, or okay in either way about getting pregnant in terms of their attitudes to have children, social pressures, life course and social status. What the researchers found was that the three groups of women displayed different profiles with regard to parity, age, race, trust in getting pregnant, and importance of motherhood. Given that, the current study included all three responses in the analysis. Here the response to have a child, ‘yes’, was defined as definite “positive” fertility intention and the response not to have one, ‘no’, was defined as definite “negative” fertility intention as with Cavalli and Klobas (2013). The response of ‘do not know’ was defined as uncertain fertility intention.

### **3.3.2 Independent Variable: Work-Family Conflict**

Work-family conflict is defined as a tension occurred between work and family domains when the demands of the roles in each domain are incompatible, according to the traditional definition of Kahn and others (1964) and Greenhaus and Beutell (1985). Regarding the two types of work-family conflict, work-to-family interference (WFI) refers to a negative spillover occurred from work domain to family domain; and family-to-work interference (FWI) refers to a negative spillover occurred in the opposite direction. It is necessary to distinguish the subsets of work-family conflict depending on the directionality based on the argument of previous studies (Liu & Hynes, 2012; Tetrick & Buffardi, 2006). The researchers argued that work-to-family and family-to-work interferences have different relationships with the antecedents and consequences, meaning that they have distinct validity. Tetrick and Buffard (2006), for example, warned that putting both directions in the same measure might confound the results which in turn leads to lower internal consistency estimates.

Work-to-family interference was measured by a scale composed of the six items that ask how much current work affects family life in aspect of (a) rewards and energies in life, (b) recognition from family members, (c) satisfaction with family life, (d) positive influence on children, (e) excessive work hours, and (f) irregular work hours. Family-to-work interference, on the other hand, was measured by a scale of the five items asking how much family life affects current

work in respect of (a) family responsibility, (b) recognition from family members, (c) burden of childcare, (d) burden of household chores, and (e) caring burden for a sick family member.

**Table 3.1 Measures of Work-Family Conflict**

<b>Work-to-family interference</b> (Cronbach's $\alpha=.576$ )
Q. How much does your current work affect your family life? (Scale: 1 strongly agree, 2 agree, 3 disagree, 4 strongly disagree)
1. Work gives me rewards and energies in life
2. I can be more recognized from family members by doing work
3. Family life becomes more satisfactory by doing work
4. Doing work has a positive influence on my child(ren) <sup>a</sup>
5. The excessively long work hours interfere with family life
6. The irregular work hours interfere with family life
<b>Family-to-work interference</b> (Cronbach's $\alpha=.645$ )
Q. In contrast, how much does your family life affect current work? (Scale: 1 strongly agree, 2 agree, 3 disagree, 4 strongly disagree)
1. Family responsibility makes me work harder <sup>a</sup>
2. I work harder because family members approve of my current job
3. It is often difficult to combine work with childcare burden <sup>a</sup>
4. It is often difficult to do work due to the burden of household chores
5. I have thought of quitting the job because of a sick family member <sup>a</sup>
<i>Notes: a</i> Scale: 1 strongly agree, 2 agree, 3 disagree, 4 strongly disagree, 9 not applicable

One thing should be noted that, as we see in table 3.1, the items of the questionnaires are asking the women's response about the spillover experience between work and family domains rather than conflict that we normally expect. Thus, the scope of work-family conflict in the research is confined to the working women's internal conflict brought on by overlapping of the caring role and the breadwinning role, setting aside the institutional conflict. To capture the

conflict, the items measuring the positive spillover were reversed. All of the items were recoded and averaged into a scale running from 1 to 4, with higher values indicating more negative spillover. The cases of 'Not Applicable (9)' were replaced with the mean value of each item. The reliability of the measures of work-to-family interference and family-to-work interference was quite low, suggesting a risk of questionable internal consistency (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .576$  and  $.645$ , respectively).

Meanwhile, there are few preceding studies that used the same KLoWF data in their hypotheses testing. They, however, have failed to reach an agreement on the selection of items measuring work-family conflict. A study on work-family conflict and fertility intentions of married working women (Lee & Choi, 2012) included only five out of the six items measuring work-to-family interference. Another study on the effects of work-family conflict and childcare or education support policy (Ahn et al., 2008) selectively chose the five items, two from the work-to-family interference measures and three from the family-to-work interference measures. The difference in the measures of work-family conflict is likely to be caused by the researchers' efforts to overcome the aforementioned low reliability problem of the measures. The present study, nevertheless, intended to avoid an arbitrary manipulation of the measures without any official instructions about item use, and used the original sets of items<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> The item 5 among the measures of family-to-work interference was inevitably not included in the analysis because of its low response rate (51.7%).



### **3.3.3 Mediating Variable: Marital Satisfaction**

Marital satisfaction is defined as a woman's emotional, especially positive, appraisal of the overall quality of relationship with her husband, referring to the notion established earlier (Lee & Choi, 2012; Voydanoff, 2005). It was measured by a 7-point scale, which ranged from 'Very Unhappy (1)' to 'Very Happy (7)', on how the respondents feel about their life in marriage to current husband; higher score accounts for higher level of satisfaction in their marital partnership.

### **3.3.4 Control Variables**

The control variables in the current study were selected based on the review of theories and literature in terms of the other factors that are known to have an effect on work-family conflict and fertility intentions other than the major variables. To be specific, the demographic (women's age), sociological (husbands' participation in domestic labor), and economic (household income) variables were controlled in the data analysis with the significant others from the empirical studies related.

The women's age was controlled as a fundamental demographic factor affecting fertility intentions (Bae & Kim, 2011; Jang & Lee, 2013; Kang, 2007; Kim, Wang, Jeong, & Choi, 2011; Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2012; Yeom, 2013; Frone et al., 1992; McQuillan et al., 2011; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006; Wong, Tang, & Ye, 2011). A number of

studies emphasized that the division of household chores and childcare within a couple is a key variable when understanding the fertility plan of working mothers (Chung & Chin, 2008; Lee et al., 2012; Park et al., 2011; Park, 2012; Andrade & Bould, 2012; Cavalli & Rosina, 2011; Cavalli, 2012a; McDonald, 2000; Torr & Short, 2004). Husbands' participation in domestic labour was measured by the time spent a day in the activities including, for example, washing dishes, cleaning the house, and caring for the children. The variables included was summed to represent the time of husbands' participation during a week. Since financial situation also plays a significant role in the decision to have a child (Bae & Hong, 2010; Jang & Lee, 2013; Lee, 2010; Park, 2005; Call et al., 2008; Cavalli, 2012b; de Wachter & Neels, 2011; Testa, 2010), the equalised monthly household income was also included in the model.

In addition, the variables verified from the recent studies were controlled for the model as well. Particularly consistent to the context of work-family conflict, resources and support either from work or from family have shown a significant effect on work-to-family and family-to-work interference (Tetrick & Buffardi, 2006). In family domain, the presence of helper with household chores and young children were respectively considered. Since a person who helps with household chores of working women acts as an additional resource to reduce their burden at home, the presence of the helper is associated with fertility intentions (Chung & Chin, 2008; Kim & Kim, 2012; Park et al., 2010). Here, the information was assessed by a question asking the presence

of helper other than the respondent herself or her partner. The presence of young children under age 5 was controlled based on the assumption that parents with pre-schoolers experience more work-family conflict than parents with older children (Kim & Ling, 2001; Lee, 2010; Major et al., 2002 as cited in O'Driscoll et al., 2006). A new variable was created depending on the age of the women's children; those who had their youngest child at or under age 5<sup>6</sup> at the time of survey were coded as '1' while those who did not were coded as '0'.

In addition, concerning work domain, family-friendly policy at workplace and work hours of the women were controlled. Family-friendly schemes implemented at workplace, such as flexible working schedules (Bae & Hong, 2010; Bae & Kim, 2011; Kim et al., 2011; Cavalli, 2012a; Kim & Ling, 2001; Wong et al., 2011), or women's perception of the schemes (Park & Cho, 2011) result in reduction of the women's work-family conflict. In this study, the schemes were measured by the gross number of maternity protection policies executed by the respondents' employers. Within the six maternity protection policies were maternity leave, childcare leave, workplace daycare facilities, flextime, work time reduction during childcare period, and paternity leave referred to Legislation on Gender Equality in Employment and Work-Family Balance in Republic of Korea (enforcement: 2008.6.22.). As Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) regarded time as one of the three reasons generating conflict between

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<sup>6</sup> The age criteria was set by the official definition of infants and toddlers by the government.

work and family domains, work hours of the employed women is a direct cause of the conflict (Kim et al., 2011; Begall & Mills, 2011; Call et al., 2008). Therefore, the respondents' number of hours worked during a week was included in the model.

It should be noted that other variables influencing fertility intentions were inevitably eliminated due to a serious multicollinearity problem with the variables of the research model. For example, although the number of children is a strong predictor of fertility intentions (Bae & Kim, 2011; Jang & Lee, 2013; Yeom, 2013), it was not included because of its high correlation with the women's age. However, the presence of young children can act as a good replacement of the number of children in that both of them are the measures of the same construct, greater family responsibility. All the continuous variables included as the control variables were centered toward their means.

### 3.4 Analytic Technique

Firstly, descriptive statistics including frequency analysis was conducted to identify the statistical characteristics of the participants selected for the study. After that, correlation coefficients among the variables of interest were calculated. Finally, multinomial logistic regression was used to test all hypotheses due to the categorical nature of the dependent variable; linear regression was applied to the test of Hypothesis 2 only. All analytical processes were performed in SPSS 20.

The regression equations used in the examination of each hypothesis are as follows:

**Hypothesis 1. Work-family conflict will be associated with fertility intentions.**

$$\ln \hat{Y}_i = b_0 + b_1X_{1i} + b_2X_{2i} + b_3X_{4i} + b_4X_{5i} + b_5X_{6i} + b_6D_{7i} + b_7D_{8i} + b_8X_{9i} + b_9X_{10i}$$

**Hypothesis 2. Marital satisfaction will have a mediating effect on the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions.**

*Model a. A regression of marital satisfaction on work-family conflict*

$$\widehat{X}_{3i} = b_0 + b_1X_{1i} + b_2X_{2i} + b_3X_{4i} + b_4X_{5i} + b_5X_{6i} + b_6D_{7i} + b_7D_{8i} + b_8X_{9i} + b_9X_{10i}$$

*Model b. A regression of fertility intentions on marital satisfaction*

$$\ln \hat{Y}_i = b_0 + b_1X_{3i} + b_2X_{4i} + b_3X_{5i} + b_4X_{6i} + b_5D_{7i} + b_6D_{8i} + b_7X_{9i} + b_8X_{10i}$$

*Model c. A regression of fertility intentions on work-family conflict and marital satisfaction*

$$\ln \hat{Y}_i = b_0 + b_1X_{1i} + b_2X_{2i} + b_3X_{3i} + b_4X_{4i} + b_5X_{5i} + b_6X_{6i} + b_7D_{7i} + b_8D_{8i} + b_9X_{9i} + b_{10}X_{10i}$$

Y : Fertility intentions

X<sub>1</sub> : Work-to-family interference (WFI)

X<sub>2</sub> : Family-to-work interference (FWI)

X<sub>3</sub> : Marital satisfaction

X<sub>4</sub> : Women's age

X<sub>5</sub> : Husbands' participation in household chores

X<sub>6</sub> : Monthly household income

D<sub>7</sub> : Presence of helper with household chores

D<sub>8</sub> : Presence of young children (age<5)

X<sub>9</sub> : Maternity policy at work

X<sub>10</sub> : Work hours

## CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

### 4.1 Descriptive Statistics of Major Variables

Since the aim of the study is to discover whether and how work-family conflict affects fertility intentions among married working women, the two-way negative work-family interferences, marital satisfaction and fertility intentions are the major variables of the research model. The descriptive statistics of the major variables and the control variables included in the model are presented in the table 4.1.

**Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics of Major Variables**

	N (%)	Min	Max	Mean	SD
<b>Dependent Variable</b>					
Fertility intentions	321				
No (0)	223 (69.5)				
Do not know (1)	28 (8.7)				
Yes (2)	70 (21.8)				
<b>Independent Variables</b>					
Work-to-family interference	321	1	3.17	2.07	0.36
Family-to-work interference	321	1	4	2.77	0.48
<b>Mediating Variable</b>					
Marital satisfaction	315	1	7	5.23	1.04
<b>Control Variables</b>					
Women's age	321	23	36	32.68	2.81
Husbands' participation in household chores (min/week)	315	0	351.43	44.38	58.15
Household income (10k)	319	0	1020	361.18	168.76
Help with household chores	321				
No (0)	272 (84.7)				
Yes (1)	49 (15.3)				

*(continued)*

	N (%)	Min	Max	Mean	SD
<b>Control Variables</b>					
Child 5 or younger	321				
No (0)	149 (46.4)				
Yes (1)	172 (53.6)				
Maternity policy at work	321	0	6	1.04	1.50
Work hours (hrs/week)	317	4	77	40.15	11.56

To elaborate, most of the women in the study had a negative fertility intention. Among the 321 participants who answered about their fertility intentions, 223 people (69.5%) responded that they were not likely to have a child in the future whereas 70 people (21.8%) were planning to have a child. Those who responded that they had no idea about their future childbearing plan accounted for 8.7 percent.

With regard to work-family conflict, the 321 women did not perceive a high level of work-family conflict, especially in terms of both work-to-family and family-to-work interferences. The level of work-to-family interference of the respondents was 2.07 on average, meaning that they disagreed the statement that the negative spillover from work influence family life. On the other hand, the average level of family-to-work interference of the respondents was 2.77, meaning that they nearly agreed that their family life negatively influenced on their work. The average level of marital satisfaction (5.23/7) showed that many of the married working women included in the analysis were satisfied with their marriage.

The respondents' age was 32.68 years old on average, ranged from 23 to 36 years old. 276 people out of the 321 respondents



(86.0%) were no less than 30 years old and the rest 45 people (14.0%) were under age 30. The average time of the women's husbands participating in household chores was 44.38 minutes per week, ranged from 0 to 351.43 minutes. 228 out of the 315 husbands included in the model (72.4%) did household chores and childcare less than an hour a week, and 58 husbands (18.4%) did not involve in the activities at all.

The monthly household income was ranged from 0 to 10.2 million won, with the average income of 3.61 million won. The large standard deviation of 1.7 million won inferred that the distribution of the income of the participants' households were quite dispersed. Compared to the average household income per month in Korea, 4,259,920 won<sup>7</sup>, the level of household income in the study was relatively low (3,611,771 won). The equivalized household income in the study (1,924,697 won) was also lower than the equivalized national average of 2,359,351 won<sup>8</sup>.

When asked about the presence of someone who helps with the household chores, most of the women responded that they had nobody. Only 49 out of the 321 respondents (15.3%) answered 'yes' meaning that they had someone who helped with the household chores, while the rest (84.7%) answered 'no.' In regard to the presence of a young child under age 5, more than a half of the respondents (53.6%) answered that they had young child(ren) at the time of survey.

The workplace where the married working women in the study were employed was implementing one maternity policy on average. To

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7 Kosis, as of 2013.11.22.

8 The equivalized household income was calculated by dividing the average household income by the square root of the average number of household members.

be specific, nearly 60% (57.3%) of the 321 companies did not put any maternity policies in place. The participants were working 40.15 hours per week, which was 1.5 hours less than the average work hours of female employees in Korea (OECD, 2013).

## 4.2 Correlations between Major Variables

The results of the correlation analysis among the continuous variables are shown in the table 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2 Correlations between Continuous Variables**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Work-to-family interference	1							
2 Family-to-work interference	.068	1						
3 Marital satisfaction	-.193**	-.114*	1					
4 Women's age	-.046	-.021	-.109	1				
5 Husbands' participation	.029	.237**	.052	-.069	1			
6 Household income	-.090	.004	.227**	.036	.046	1		
7 Maternity policy at work	-.167**	.112*	.178**	-.095	.137*	.466**	1	
8 Work hours	.213**	.225**	-.110	-.149**	.106	.135*	.160**	1

Note: \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01.

In terms of the independent variables, the work-to-family interference was significantly negatively correlated with marital

satisfaction ( $r=-.193$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and the number of maternity schemes implemented at work ( $r=-.167$ ,  $p<.01$ ), while showing a positive correlation with work hours ( $r=.213$ ,  $p<.01$ ). The family-to-work interference was also negatively related to marital satisfaction ( $r=-.114$ ,  $p<.05$ ); however, it was positively associated with husbands' participation in household chores ( $r=.237$ ,  $p<.01$ ), the number of maternity policies implemented at work ( $r=.112$ ,  $p<.05$ ) and work hours ( $r=.225$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Although the two types of interference have been said to be related to each other (Amstad et al., 2011), there was no correlation presented. With marital satisfaction, the mediating variable, monthly household income ( $r=.227$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and the number of maternity policies at work ( $r=.178$ ,  $p<.01$ ) showed a significant positive correlation.

Concerning the control variables, the women's age had a negative correlation with their work hours ( $r=-.149$ ,  $p<.01$ ). The household income per month was positively correlated with the women's work hours ( $r=.135$ ,  $p<.05$ ). The number of maternity protection policies showed positive correlations with the time of husbands' participating in domestic labor ( $r=.137$ ,  $p<.05$ ), household income ( $r=.466$ ,  $p<.01$ ), and work hours ( $r=.160$ ,  $p<.01$ ).

That the family-to-work interference positively correlates with husbands' housework participation and family-friendly policies at workplace contradicts to common expectation. Since the results of the correlation analysis provided a brief overview of the relationship between the variables, the relationship can be possibly changed in further analysis.

## **4.3 Analytic Results**

A series of multinomial logistic regression analyses was conducted in order to examine the research questions on (i) an association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions, and (ii) the mediating effect of marital satisfaction between the relationship. In the regression analyses, a group of people who had no future plan for a child, namely with a negative fertility intention, was assigned as the referent group. The results of the analyses were illustrated as follows.

### **4.3.1 Effect of Work-Family Conflict on Fertility Intentions**

Hypothesis 1. Work-family conflict will be associated with fertility intentions.

Hypothesis 1-1. Higher work-to-family interference (WFI) will be associated with negative fertility intention.

Hypothesis 1-2. Higher family-to-work interference (FWI) will be associated with negative fertility intention.

Multinomial logistic regression was conducted in order to examine the hypothesis 1 as described in table 4.3 below.

**Table 4.3 Regression Coefficients of Fertility Intentions on Work-Family Conflict (n=309)**

	B (SE)	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
		Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
<b>Do not know / No</b>				
Intercept	-2.210 (0.54)***			
Work-to-family interference	-.174 (0.65)	.233	.840	3.027
Family-to-work interference	-.385 (0.51)	.248	.680	1.868
Women's age	-.176 (0.09)*	.707	.839	.995
Husbands' participation (Min/week)	.001 (0.00)	.993	1.001	1.009
Household income (10k KRW)	.003 (0.00)	.998	1.003	1.009
Help with household chores (1=yes)	-.367 (0.58)	.225	.693	2.138
Children 5 or younger (1=yes)	.630 (0.48)	.735	1.878	4.798
Maternity policy at work	.068 (0.17)	.771	1.070	1.485
Work hours (Hrs/week)	.005 (0.02)	.962	1.005	1.049
<b>Yes / No</b>				
Intercept	-2.636 (0.51)***			
Work-to-family interference	.628 (0.52)	.679	1.875	5.175
Family-to-work interference	-1.266 (0.39)**	.133	.282	.600
Women's age	-.345 (0.06)***	.626	.708	.801
Husbands' participation (Min/week)	.005 (0.00)	.999	1.005	1.011
Household income (10k KRW)	.006 (0.00)**	1.002	1.006	1.010
Help with household chores (1=yes)	.084 (0.48)	.421	1.088	2.812
Children 5 or younger (1=yes)	2.046 (0.39)***	3.622	7.737	16.527
Maternity policy at work	.103 (0.12)	.872	1.108	1.407
Work hours (Hrs/week)	.018 (0.02)	.986	1.018	1.051

Note:  $R^2=0.294$ (Cox & Snell),  $0.374$ (Nagelkerke). Model  $X^2(18)=107.543$ ,  $p<.001$ .

\* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p<.01$ , \*\*\* $p<.001$ .

The model's chi-square statistics proved that the model significantly

explained a significant amount of the original variability ( $\chi^2(18)=107.543$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Cox and Snell's pseudo R-squared statistics, which was reported as .294, indicated that the model explained the 29.4% of the total variance.

The top half of the table shows the individual parameter estimates for the group of women who had uncertain intention to have a child or not, compared to the group of people who definitely did not have a plan. According to the analytic results, only the age of the married working women predicted the change of mind between being unsure about having a child in the future and definitely not to have one ( $b=-.176$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Particularly, for every one-year increase in working mother's average age of 32.68, the log-odds of fertility intention was expected to decrease by 0.176. The odds ratio indicated that as the woman got one year older, the change in the odds of having uncertain fertility intention rather than definite negative intention was 0.839.

The bottom half of the table represents the individual parameter estimates for the group of people who had a definitely positive fertility intention compared to the group with a definite negative fertility intention. In this comparison, the family-to-work interference (FWI) significantly predicted the fertility intentions ( $b=-1.266$ ,  $p<.01$ ). To be specific, the log-odds of fertility intentions among married working women decreased by 1.266 for every one-unit increase in family-to-work interference. To put it differently, as the negative spillover from family to work increased by one level, the change in odds of having positive fertility intention rather than negative one was .282. This finding is

congruent with the preceding studies that suggested a negative association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions (Ahn et al., 2008; Jang & Lee, 2013; Lee & Choi, 2012; Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000; Frejka & Calot, 2001), supporting the hypothesis 1, and especially hypothesis 1-2.

Among the control variables, on the other hand, the women's age again affects fertility intentions ( $b=-.345$ ,  $p<.001$ ). That is, the log-odds of positive fertility intention decreased by .345 as the age of women increased by one unit. In this case, the change in odds of having future plan for a child rather than having no plan was .708. Monthly household income ( $b=.006$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and the presence of young children under age 5 ( $b=2.046$ ,  $p<.001$ ) also significantly predicted the fertility intentions. To elaborate, the log-odds of fertility intention changed by .006 as the monthly household income increased by 10,000 won from its average of 3,611,800 won. In regard to the presence of young children under age 5, when the presence of young children changes from no (0) to yes (1), the change in the odds of having positive fertility intention compared to having negative fertility intention was 7.737, which is notably high. In other words, the odds of having an intention to have another child for a working mother with young children compared to having an intention not to have one was 1.36 times more than for a working woman without young children. The variable was the only significant predictor when comparing the group with the definite positive fertility intention to the group with the uncertain fertility intention ( $b=1.416$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

### 4.3.2 Effect of Work-Family Conflict on Marital Satisfaction

Hypothesis 2. Marital satisfaction will have a mediating effect on the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions.

Hypothesis 2-1. Marital satisfaction will have a mediating effect on the association between work-to-family interference (WFI) and fertility intentions.

Hypothesis 2-2. Marital satisfaction will have a mediating effect on the association between family-to-work interference (FWI) and fertility intentions.

In order to test the hypothesis 2, the researcher carried out some additional analyses. Firstly, the linear regression of marital satisfaction on the work-family conflict including control variables was conducted.

**Table 4.4 Regression Coefficients of Marital Satisfaction on Work-Family Conflict (n=309)**

	B	SE B	$\beta$
Constant	.058	.086	
Work-to-family interference	-.384	.165	-.131*
Family-to-work interference	-.224	.124	-.105+
Women's age	-.048	.020	-.131*
Husbands' participation (Min/week)	.002	.001	.085
Household income (10k KRW)	.002	.001	.192**
Children 5 or younger (1=yes)	-.111	.116	-.053
Help with household chores (1=yes)	.071	.159	.025
Maternity policy at work	.055	.044	.080
Work hours (Hrs/week)	-.011	.005	-.118*

Note:  $R^2=.135$ , Adjusted  $R^2=.109$  ( $p<.001$ ),  $F(9,299)=5.172$  ( $p<.001$ ).  
+ $p<.10$ , \* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p<.01$ , \*\*\* $p<.001$ .



As the results shown in the table 4.4 above, the F statistics (5.172) indicated that the model significantly predicted the variance of the outcome variable, marital satisfaction. The R-squared value, another indicator of goodness of fit for the model, presented that the model explained 13.5% of the entire variance in a moderate level.

In terms of the individual parameter estimates, only the work-to-family interference (WFI) significantly predicted a change in marital satisfaction of married working women ( $b = -.384$ ,  $p < .05$ ) while the effect of family-to-work interference (FWI) was not significant at .05 level of significance. To be specific, one level increase in work-to-family interference (WFI) transferred into .384 decrease in marital satisfaction from its mean value of 5.23. The result of the analysis supports the argument of those who found work-to-family interference is related to the outcomes in family domain, in this case, marital satisfaction (Frone et al., 1992, 1997).

The participants' age was negatively related to their marital satisfaction ( $b = -.048$ ,  $p < .05$ ). As the women got one year older, their marital satisfaction decreased by .048. In addition, monthly household income and work hours of the participants were also found to be the significant predictors of marital satisfaction among the control variable. The household income was positively related to marital satisfaction meaning that the level of marital satisfaction escalated by .002 as the household income increased by 10,000 won ( $b = .002$ ,  $p < .01$ ). And the marital satisfaction of the women decreased by .011 unit when they worked one hour longer than their average work hours (40.15) during

the week ( $b=-.011$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

### **4.3.3 Effect of Marital Satisfaction on Fertility Intentions**

For the next step, multinomial logistic regression of fertility intentions on marital satisfaction was performed. The table 4.5 represents the results of the analysis.

According to the results, the chi-square statistics ( $\chi^2(16)=100.067$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and the pseudo R-squared statistics (Cox & Snell's  $R^2=.277$ ; Nagelkerke's  $R^2=.352$ ) allow us to know that the model is reasonable to predict the variance of the dependent variable, fertility intentions.

As we see, however, the comparison between the group with uncertain fertility intention and the group with definite negative fertility intention yielded no significant results other than the intercept. Only in the comparison between those who planned to have a child and those who planned not to was the significant effect of marital satisfaction on fertility intentions ( $b=.370$ ,  $p<.05$ ). The regression coefficient of marital satisfaction indicated that the log-odds of having positive fertility intention increased by .370 as one level of marital satisfaction increased from its mean value. In other words, as the women feel one unit happier about their relationship with husband, the change in odds of having a plan for a child rather than having no plan at all is 1.448. The finding supports the idea that higher marital satisfaction is related to a positive fertility intention (Berninger et al., 2011; Cavalli & Klobas, 2013; Myers, 1997).

**Table 4.5 Regression Coefficients of Fertility Intentions on Marital Satisfaction (n=309)**

	B (SE)	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
		Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
<b>Do not know / No</b>				
Intercept	-2.225 (0.54)***			
Marital satisfaction	.109 (0.23)	.705	1.116	1.766
Women's age	-.168 (0.09)	.714	.845	1.000
Husbands' participation (Min/week)	.001 (0.00)	.993	1.001	1.008
Household income (10k KRW)	.003 (0.00)	.998	1.003	1.009
Help with household chores (1=yes)	-.391 (0.57)	.221	.677	2.075
Children 5 or younger (1=yes)	.690 (0.48)	.784	1.994	5.067
Maternity policy at work	.069 (0.16)	.779	1.072	1.474
Work hours (Hrs/week)	.000 (0.02)	.959	1.000	1.042
<b>Yes / No</b>				
Intercept	-2.588 (0.50)***			
Marital satisfaction	.370 (0.18)*	1.022	1.448	2.050
Women's age	-.325 (0.06)***	.641	.723	.815
Husbands' participation (Min/week)	.002 (0.00)	.996	1.002	1.008
Household income (10k KRW)	.005 (0.00)**	1.002	1.005	1.009
Help with household chores (1=yes)	.059 (0.48)	.414	1.061	2.717
Children 5 or younger (1=yes)	2.094 (0.37)***	3.907	8.115	16.858
Maternity policy at work	.019 (0.12)	.799	1.019	1.300
Work hours (Hrs/week)	.016 (0.02)	.985	1.016	1.049

Note:  $R^2=0.277$ (Cox & Snell),  $0.352$ (Nagelkerke). Model  $X^2(16)=100.067$ ,  $p<.001$ .

\* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p<.01$ , \*\*\* $p<.001$ .

Additionally, mother's age, monthly household income, and the presence of young children under age 5 significantly predicted the difference in fertility intentions. To illustrate, a one-year increase of mother's age decreased the log-odds of fertility intention by .325 ( $b=-.325$ ,  $p<.001$ ). In terms of odds ratio, the change in odds of having

a positive fertility intention compared to having a negative one was .723 when the working mother got one year older. As the monthly household income increased by 10,000 won, the log-odds of fertility intention increased by .005 ( $b=.005$ ,  $p<.01$ ). The odds ratio indicated that if the household income increased by one unit, the change in odds of having a plan for a child rather than deciding not to have one was 1.005. The presence of children younger than 5 years old made a difference in log-odds of fertility intentions by 2.094 ( $b=2.094$ ,  $p<.001$ ). As the presence of young child changed from 'no (0)' to 'yes (1)', the change in the odds of having a positive fertility intention compared to a negative fertility intention was 8.115, which was considerably high. It was the only variable that was significantly related to the fertility intentions when comparing those with the definite positive fertility intention to those with the uncertain fertility intention ( $b=1.404$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

#### **4.3.4 Effects of Work-Family Conflict and Marital Satisfaction on Fertility Intentions**

Finally, in order to examine the mediating effect of marital satisfaction the full model including bidirectional work-family conflict and marital satisfaction was analyzed by multinomial logistic regression, and the results were as presented in table 4.6.

**Table 4.6 Regression Coefficients of Fertility Intentions on Work-Family Conflict and Marital Satisfaction (n=309)**

	B (SE)	95% CI for Odds Ratio		
		Lower	Odds Ratio	Upper
<b>Do not know / No</b>				
Intercept	-2.212 (0.54)***			
Work-to-family interference	-.135 (0.66)	.238	.874	3.203
Family-to-work interference	-.373 (0.52)	.249	.688	1.901
Marital satisfaction	.089 (0.24)	.682	1.093	1.751
Women's age	-.173 (0.09)*	.709	.841	.998
Husbands' participation (Min/week)	.001 (0.00)	.993	1.001	1.009
Household income (10k KRW)	.003 (0.00)	.998	1.003	1.008
Help with household chores (1=yes)	-.366 (0.58)	.225	.694	2.141
Children 5 or younger (1=yes)	.639 (0.48)	.741	1.895	4.847
Maternity policy at work	.071 (0.17)	.773	1.074	1.491
Work hours (Hrs/week)	.005 (0.02)	.963	1.005	1.050
<b>Yes / No</b>				
Intercept	-2.638 (0.51)***			
Work-to-family interference	.795 (0.53)	.781	2.215	6.283
Family-to-work interference	-1.160 (0.39)**	.147	.314	.670
Marital satisfaction	.334 (0.19)+	.969	1.397	2.014
Women's age	-.331 (0.06)***	.635	.719	.814
Husbands' participation (Min/week)	.004 (0.00)	.998	1.004	1.010
Household income (10k KRW)	.006 (0.00)**	1.002	1.006	1.009
Help with household chores (1=yes)	.086 (0.49)	.415	1.090	2.859
Children 5 or younger (1=yes)	2.015 (0.39)***	3.508	7.498	16.024
Maternity policy at work	.069 (0.13)	.833	1.071	1.378
Work hours (Hrs/week)	.021 (0.02)	.989	1.021	1.055

Note:  $R^2=0.302$ (Cox & Snell),  $0.384$ (Nagelkerke). Model  $X^2(20)=110.905$ ,  $p<.001$ .  
 + $p<.10$ , \* $p<.05$ , \*\* $p<.01$ , \*\*\* $p<.001$ .

The model's chi-square statistics showed that the final model explains a significant amount of the original variability ( $\chi^2(20)=110.905$ ,  $p<.001$ ). According to Cox and Snell's pseudo R-squared statistics, in particular, the model accounts for about 30 percent of the total variance (Cox & Snell's  $R^2=.302$ ).

When comparing the group with an ambiguous fertility intention to the group with a definite negative fertility intention, only the women's age significantly predicted the change of fertility intention ( $b=-.173$ ,  $p<.05$ ). As a married working woman grew one year older, the change in the odds of having uncertain fertility intention rather than a negative one was .841.

However, there were a lot more discoveries in the comparison between the groups showing definite fertility intentions. The family-to-work interference strongly predicted the change in fertility intentions ( $b=-1.160$ ,  $p<.01$ ) whereas the work-to-family interference displayed no significant effect. The value indicated that the log-odds of fertility intention decreased by 1.160 if the negative interference from family to work increased by one level. The results again confirmed the influence of work-family conflict, and particularly of its sub-category, family-to-work interference on fertility intentions which was found in the initial analysis. Concerning the mediating effect of marital satisfaction, the result of the analysis was not able to show the relevant evidence at .05 level of significance ( $b=.334$ ,  $p<.10$ ). The findings here, therefore, neither supported the results of the preceding studies (Lee & Choi, 2012; Andrade & Bould, 2012) nor accepted the hypothesis 2.

Among other variables, women's age, monthly household income, and the presence of young children under age 5 significantly predicted the difference between the definite positive and negative fertility intentions. One-unit increase in the women's age and monthly household income predicted the log-odds of having a positive fertility intention by  $-.331$  ( $p < .001$ ) and  $.006$  respectively ( $p < .01$ ). The women with young children showed 2.015 more log-odds of fertility intention compared to those without young children ( $b = 2.015$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicating that the change in odds of having a positive fertility intention rather than a negative one was 7.498 as with the change in the presence of young children. Again, it showed the only significant effect on fertility intentions in a comparison between those with uncertain fertility intention and those with definite positive fertility intention ( $b = 1.376$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

## **CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION**

### **5.1 Summary of Findings**

Married working women typically face the challenges of compatibility between work and family life caused by the different role demands in each domain, which is called work-family conflict. Especially with strong patriarchal traditions, the working wives in Korea are more likely to experience higher work-family conflict between a breadwinning role at work and a caring role at home than those living in other regions. The women experiencing high level of work-family conflict tend to delay or avoid having a child (Jang & Lee, 2013; Lee & Choi, 2013; Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000). Korea's fertility, which is the lowest among comparable economies, is supposed to be linked with the situation in which the married working women are now placed.

Various national studies have attempted to identify the factors determining the fertility intentions of married working women. Although the previous researchers delved into identifying the demographic, sociological, or economic factors that affect working women's fertility decisions, whether work-family conflict actually influences fertility intentions and/or how the conflict affects them have not been fully explored. Furthermore, a psychological aspect of fertility intentions, such as satisfaction with marital relationship, was the last theoretical



approach in a low priority taken into account. Few studies that previously examined the association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions of married working women (Ahn et al., 2008; Jang & Lee, 2013; Lee & Choi, 2012) showed a discrepancy between the measures and subsequently drew different conclusions whereas they used identical panel data.

The purpose of the current research, therefore, was to verify the relationship of work-family conflict and fertility intentions among married working women, and further, to explore the mediating effect of marital satisfaction over the relationship. Existing theories and the recent literature associated with the issue were reviewed for the hypotheses formation and model building for analysis.

The direct effect of work-family conflict as well as the indirect effect through marital satisfaction on working women's fertility intentions were examined by using panel data measuring the interference from work to family domain and vice versa. The 321 married working women aged from 23 to 36 were included in the multinomial logistic regression analysis. The major findings of the analysis are encapsulated in the following.

Firstly, work-family conflict had a significant effect on fertility intentions. Considering the direction of work-family conflict, the family-to-work interference (FWI) was significantly related to the fertility intentions while the work-to-family interference had no effect. To be specific, the effect was salient in a comparison between the groups with definite positive fertility intention and definite negative

fertility intention. Consistent to the antecedents (Ahn et al., 2008; Jang & Lee, 2013; Lee & Choi, 2012; Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000; Frejka & Calot, 2001), married working women were likely to avoid having a baby in the future as the negative spillover from family to work domain got more severe.

Secondly, the work-family conflict was found to have a significant effect on marital satisfaction only in the case of work-to-family interference (WFI), supporting Frone and others (1992, 1997). In accordance with the previous literature, marital satisfaction of married working women decreased as the level of work-family conflict increased.

Thirdly, marital satisfaction was positively associated with the women's fertility intention congruent to a majority of the previous research (Lee & Choi, 2012; Song et al., 2010; Berninger et al., 2011; Call et al., 2008; Cavalli & Klobas, 2013; Myers, 1997). The effect of marital satisfaction was significant only when comparing the groups of definitely positive and negative fertility intentions. In other words, the married working women were more likely to have a child when they perceived the spousal relationship as happier.

Lastly, the mediating effect of marital satisfaction on the association between the work-family conflict and fertility intentions was not proved. It only showed a restricted significance that cannot be generalized. It could be originated from several issues in the current research which will be discussed later in the limitation of the study.

## 5.2 Discussions

The study was conducted to investigate whether and how work-family conflict affects fertility intentions of married working women in regard to the low fertility phenomenon in the country. Here the major findings of the research will be discussed based on the preceding theoretical arguments.

### *Effect of work-family conflict on fertility intentions*

The research found that work-family conflict had a significant effect on fertility intentions of married working women, particularly adding evidence of the negative effect (Ahn et al., 2008; Jang & Lee, 2013; Lee & Choi, 2012; Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000; Frejka & Calot, 2001). The analytical finding of the study showed that family-to-work interference (FWI) reduced the likelihood of having a child in the future. This result gives support to the findings of Jang and Lee's study (2013), despite its restrictive level, rather than Lee and Choi's (2012) which found that work-to-family interference (WFI) affects fertility intentions of married working women.

The reason why only family-to-work interference showed a significant effect on fertility intentions compared to its counterpart is partially explained by different social pressure between men and women. According to Major (1993), social pressures including gender role socialization have a strong impact on the socially accepted

'normal' values and behaviors for both genders (as cited in O'Driscoll et al., 2006). And the deep-rooted norms continue to emphasize women's family caring role and men's income-generating role. This reasoning explains why FWI is generally higher among women while WFI is often stronger for men (Aryee et al., 1999; Frone et al., 1996). Therefore, the family-to-work interference which is a bigger concern for working women's life in work and family domains is assumed to have a relationship with their fertility intentions.

Particularly relevant to the result, Liu and Hynes's (2012) alternative explanation, which is useful for interpreting the association. According to the researchers, women who report that their work is interfering with their family are likely to change their work roles since work is perceived as the origin of the conflict. In contrast, women who report that their family life is interfering with their work life are likely to withhold from having a(nother) child because additional children would only enhance their family responsibilities, thereby exacerbating the problem.

Considering Korea's situation that women's labor market participation is low and share of family responsibilities (e.g., household chores and childcare) is hardly negotiated within a married couples, having a child is expected to exacerbate the role strain of working wives by expanding the family role demands. As a result, the finding that family-to-work interference affects fertility intentions is a plausible corollary in the specific context of the country.

### *Effect of work-family conflict on marital satisfaction*

The level of work-family conflict - work-to-family interference in particular - was negatively associated with marital satisfaction in the present study. In general, the excessive role demands are more likely to make the wives of dual-earner households suffer psychologically than housewives (Hochschild & Machung, 2003 as cited in Lee & Choi, 2012). Each role in work and family spheres requires time, energy and normative behaviors in order to realize it. Therefore, the continued accumulation of the multiple roles, either by work interfering with family or family interfering with work, may cause an intolerable burden, thereby creating psychological stress.

In addition, from the review of literature, there was a conflicting viewpoint on which direction of the work-family conflict affects marital satisfaction. The result, within the context, supported the argument that the conflict generated from one domain reduces the quality of the other domain (Frone et al., 1992, 1997). The rationale behind the assumption is that the conflict derived from the originating domain spills over and causes problems in the receiving domain. Consequently, the well-being of the receiving domain diminishes. For example, an individual experiencing work-to-family interference cannot commit enough time or energy to one's family life due to one's job responsibilities. This leads to degradation of quality of family life and related outcomes, including reduced family satisfaction (Amstad et al., 2011). On the contrary, if an individual successfully overcomes the role conflict between work and family, marital satisfaction is supposed to increase.

### *Effect of marital satisfaction on fertility intentions*

It was found that the higher the perceived marital satisfaction, the more positive the fertility intention among the married working women. Echoing the literature pointing to the relationship quality as a strong determinant of fertility intentions, the results can be said to confirm the previous discussion. Berninger and others (2011) found that married couples highly satisfied with their relationship were more likely to have a child than those who were less satisfied. They supposed that a possible reason for the association was that people wanted to secure a favorable conditions in which their children could grow up.

Another explanation of the result of the study otherwise can be given by considering an occasion in the opposite that low marital satisfaction hinders couple's intention to have a child. The presence of children, especially young children, raises the costs of dissolution in that separation could infer either having to raise the children alone, or having less or no contact with the children (Rijken & Thomson, 2011). Thus, people are likely to take these emotional and financial costs into account when they decide whether to have a child (Lillard & Waite, 1993). In case of the childless couples, for instance, they may stay in a relationship rather than raising the possible costs resulting from having a child if they evaluate the quality of relationship is not suitable for childbearing. Couples in moderate or bad quality relationships who already have children may think of neither breaking up nor having additional childbirth for the same reason (Rijken & Thomson, 2011). That the fear of breakup and its resulting costs affect women's fertility

intentions was again illustrated in a qualitative study (Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007). Many women were particularly conscious of a need to assess the quality of a relationship before having a family. Specifically, besides a sharing of childcare and housework, stability of relationship was their major concern in determining whether to have a baby because single motherhood was the common result of breakups if there was a child (Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007)

*Mediating effect of marital satisfaction on the relationship between work-family conflict and fertility intentions*

Although the analytic results of the study failed to find an effect, there was little but considerable evidence supporting a mediating effect of marital satisfaction (Lee & Choi, 2012; Andrade & Bould, 2012). According to the research, work-family conflict affects fertility intentions via marital satisfaction; specifically, as married working women perceive the level of conflict to be lower, their satisfaction with their spousal relationship increases, which in turn leads to a higher likelihood of having a child. Since the findings on this issue are quite limited, the mediating role of marital satisfaction between work-family conflict and fertility intentions is still open to discussion.

## **5.3 Research Implications**

### **5.3.1 Theoretical Implications**

Based on the main research findings, the present study provides the theoretical implications as follows.

First, it tried to unveil the discrepancy between the common idea and the actual relationship of work-family conflict and fertility intentions by examining the beliefs in a scientific manner. The statement that work-family conflict and fertility intentions of working women are closely related might have been regarded irrefutable or even worthless to verify. Congruent with the general expectation, the literature in this area is quite new and rare contrary to the gravity of the issue that now people are discussing (Liu & Hynes, 2012; Shreffler et al., 2010). However, what was found from the literature was that the presumed association between work-family conflict and fertility intentions of working mothers was nothing but an assumption itself. We need to remember that the idea of the negative relationship between women's labor market participation and fertility rate was once taken for granted. Hence, an effort to examine such a social myth related to working women should be continued.

Second, the research aimed to add the national evidence for the relationship between work-family conflict and fertility intentions so as to fill a huge knowledge gap between domestic and international



research. Although a number of preceding studies have attempted to find the effect of the linking mechanism between work and family domains, the effort to explore the mediating factors of work-family conflict and its consequences was very limited. Domestic research in this area is heavily focused on identifying the determinants of fertility intentions while paying little attention to further investigation to the relationship. Likewise, since most of the studies were originally triggered by the interest in fertility issue, the emphasis upon work-family conflict was also relatively weak. This situation leaves a gap between domestic and international studies on the work-family conflict issue in terms of both quality and quantity of knowledge. The present study, therefore, was conducted to fill the void by putting the work-family conflict at the heart of the research.

### **5.3.2 Policy Implications**

Since the research displayed a consistent strong effect of work-family conflict on married working women's positive fertility intention, it offers the implications for the policy makers to design appropriate incentives to augment the fertility rate. The result indicates that working women who try to reconcile their work and family roles experience a higher psychological conflict, and the women may well control their childbirths than their work in order to reduce the level of conflict. If this condition remains unchanged, it will after all enhance the tendency

of having negative fertility intention among married working women. Given that, policy support for working women to keep balance between work and family life is highly necessary to make a difference (Lee & Choi, 2012).

Likewise, the evidence from a paper (Mills, Rindfuss, McDonald, & te Velde., 2011), which conducted an extensive literature review of 139 relevant studies, suggested that policies supporting the compatibility between work and mother roles (e.g., maternity leaves childcare, early education) are more effective than any other policy aimed at increasing the fertility rate. Only with the case of policy support for reducing the incompatibility of work and family, the policy effect on the level or timing of fertility was consistently significant and positive through the overall research reviewed, while the effectiveness of cash and indirect benefits showed mixed empirical results.

The Korean government has been implementing a regular defensive strategy on low fertility and rapid ageing, the Plan for Ageing Society and Population, since 2006, recognizing the importance of its low fertility rate. Especially the second Plan for Ageing Society and Population (2011-2015), compared to the initial plan (2006-2010), expanded the policy support for childbirth and care of dual-earner households (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2006; 2011).

As presented in table 5.1, the change of policy approach reflects the government's disposition to prevent the expected decline in social productivity by strengthening the support for dual-earner family's work-family balance. Nevertheless the alteration, the second Plan did

not make an innovation but stood at searching for social capitals and expanding the former maternity protection policy except for introducing paternal leave, which is paid only for 3 out of 5 days in total.

**Table 5.1 Comparison of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Plan for Ageing Society and Population**

		1 <sup>st</sup> Plan	2 <sup>nd</sup> Plan
Low fertility	Target group	Low-income households	Dual-earner households
	Policy support	Child care	Comprehensive approach including work-family support

Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare (2010).

In regard to creating family-friendly working environment, the government began to issue the certification since 2008, and only the 116 companies were certified (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2012). The small number of certified companies is attributable to the fact that the investigation and certification are conducted based on the company's voluntary application.

Provided that, the government's support for work-family balance needs an improvement in order to increase its effectiveness. Jang and Lee (2013), for example, interpreted their findings that the institutional support had no effect on fertility intentions reflecting the situation where neither the policy was put in place nor perceived as substantial support by married working women. Similarly, in the present research, the average number of maternity protection policies implemented in workplace was close to one, indicating their low effectiveness.

Therefore, it is required for the government to design the incentive system carefully and to create the family-friendly atmosphere so as to promote the participation of its private partners.

Based on the results of the current study, policy effort hereafter should focus more on family role demand interfering with work life. Particularly in accordance with the aspects of family-to-work interference measured here, creating the political and social climate that puts high value on women's paid work is in great need. A change in value cannot be achieved by temporary education or promotion in short-term (Lee, 2008); rather, it needs an overall re-evaluation of the place where female employment stands in our society. At the same time, the social structural discrimination such as the huge gender gap in payment should be eliminated<sup>9</sup>. Such efforts will naturally lead to higher recognition of working women by their family members and themselves as well.

Policy measures designed to reduce the burden of childcare and housework should also be implemented. Many of the developed countries now provide the services that externalize family responsibilities. In regard to housework, for example, European countries have made a continued commitment to increasing the personal and household services by introducing a voucher system and/or tax credit (European Commission, 2013). Yet its specific effect on reducing the

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<sup>9</sup> The huge gender gap in payment in Korea has remained static for a decade; Korea's female workers are paid less than male workers by 39%. The figure is 2.6 times higher than the average of the 28 OECD countries (15%), occupying the first place among them (OECD, 2012a).

burden of housework has not been analyzed, there should be the desired effect considering that the demand for personal and household services has been rapidly growing. Likewise, it is required for Korean government to look for the initiatives to settle the work-family conflict of working women, especially generated from family domain.

In addition, as an intention to have a child among married working women is related to higher marital satisfaction, policies and services to improve the quality of marital partnership should be provided. Since working women's family responsibilities are deeply related to the role of their male partners (Lee & Choi, 2012; Park, 2012; Carmichael & Whittaker, 2007), the policy strategy supporting work-family balance should be established in view of gender equality. Shorter work hours should be primarily achieved to let married working women spend more time with their family and spouse. Support for flexible work arrangement, such as flextime, alternative work schedule, and tele-work, is also keenly needed to guarantee family life of working women. The policy should take the high priority as its advantage can affect fairly both women and men in dual-earner families. Also, micro strategies, including education and/or counselling services, that encourage support and a sharing of childcare and housework from partners need to be developed.

## **5.4 Limitation of the Study and Direction for Future Research**

Although the researcher tried to carefully design and implement the study, there are still few limitations remained.

First, the data used in the analysis might be insufficient to fully explore the fertility intentions of married working women in South Korea. Since the response of the survey participants were highly inclined towards no plan for a new baby, the model was too sensitive to catch the effects of the variables. Also, as the reliability of the measures was questionable, the relationships between the major variables are in need of further examination. The relatively small size of the sample posed another risk in the research. Despite those facts, the KWDI's panel data offered the best fit for the research as long as it is the only officially released dataset incorporating the measures of work-family conflict at both sides.

Second, the method of cross-sectional analysis may provide the limited evidence on the causal relationship between the variables as it captures only a certain period of the whole process. Because the study used fertility intentions as an indicator for childbearing outcome of working wives, whether work-family conflict is negatively related to their actual pregnancy needs to be examined in a longer term.

Third, the consideration of both partners' views on work-family conflict and fertility intentions was not included in the analysis.

According to the argument of the preceding studies (Beckman, 1984; Corijin, Liefbroer, & Gierveld, 1996; Rijken & Thomson, 2011; Thomson & Hoem, 1998), men's childbearing plans are known to influence couples' childbearing, and therefore research based solely on characteristics of either the male or the female possibly have a risk of providing potentially confounding results (Corijin et al., 1996).

Corresponding to the limitations mentioned, the research can draw the following recommendations.

First, an improvement of measures and data that identify the properties of work-family conflict is highly recommended. Even though there are several work-family conflict measures used in empirical studies abroad, for instance, Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985), no Korean version or Korea-specific measures have been developed. It is partially understandable when considering the short history of the national research in this area. A lack of proper measures and data can become a huge obstacle to expanding the further research. As the number of working women is estimated to increase, the development of comprehensive data dealing with the mechanisms between work and family domains is prerequisite for generating an effective policy strategy.

Second, future studies should explore the causal connections between one's own perception of work-family conflict and fertility outcomes as well as fertility intentions. And, if possible, both husbands' and wives' perceptions of work-family conflict and their fertility intentions should be taken into consideration together. Further research

with couple data as well as longitudinal data will help us fully understand the link between work-family conflict and fertility intentions (Shreffler et al., 2010). The limitations of the current study again underline the need for extensive data collection.

Finally, although this research failed to discover the path how work-family conflict affects fertility intentions of married working women, further academic commitment to find the mediators and moderators between the relationship should be continued.



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## APPENDIX A. DIFFERENCE IN MEASUREMENTS OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT USED IN LITERATURE

**Table A.1 Items Used to Measure Work-Family Conflict**

Research	Direction	Questions
Ahn, Park, & Han (2008)	WFI	1. Doing work has a positive influence on my child(ren)
		2. The excessively long work hours interfere with family life
		3. Family life becomes more satisfactory by doing work
		4. Doing work has a positive influence on my child(ren)
		5. The excessively long work hours interfere with family life
	FWI	1. Family responsibility makes me work harder
		2. I work harder because family members approve of my current job
		3. It is often difficult to combine work with childcare burden
		4. It is often difficult to work due to the burden of household chores
		5. I have thought of quitting the job because of a sick family member
Jang & Lee (2013)	FWI	(not explicitly stated)
Lee & Choi (2012)	WFI	1. Work gives me rewards and energies in life
		2. I can be more recognized from family members doing work
		3. Family life becomes more satisfactory by doing work
		4. The excessively long work hours interfere with family life
		5. The irregular work hours interfere with family life
Begall & Mills (2011)	-	1. keep worrying about work problems when you are not working
		2. feel too tired after work to enjoy the things you would like to do at home
		3. find that your job prevents you from giving the time you want to your partner or family
		4. find that your partner or family gets fed up with the pressures of your job

*(Continued)*

Research	Direction	Questions
Call, Sheffield, Trail, Yoshida, & Hill (2008)	WFI	"How often in the past three months work affected family life?" (6 items)
	FWI	"How often in the past three months family life affected work?" (5 items)
Shreffler, Pirretti, & Drago (2010)	WFI	"How does your job interfere with your family life?" (1 item)
	FWI	"Do the demands of your family – for example, doctor appointments, sickness, and household emergencies – interfere with your job?" (1 item)

## APPENDIX B. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE (KOREAN VERSION)

### B.1 Fertility Intentions

문. 자녀를 가질 계획이 있으십니까?

- ① 있다
- ② 없다
- ③ 모르겠다

### B.2 Work-to-family interference

문. \_\_님께서 하시는 일은 가정생활에 어느 정도 영향을 주고 있습니까?

내 용	매우 그렇다	약간 그렇다	별로 그렇지 않다	전혀 그렇지 않다	해당 없음
(1) 일을 하는 것은 내가 삶의 보람과 활력을 준다	①	②	③	④	-
(2) 일을 함으로써 식구들한테 더 인정받을 수 있다고 생각한다	①	②	③	④	-
(3) 일을 함으로써 가정생활도 더욱 만족스러워 진다	①	②	③	④	-
(4) 일을 하는 것은 자녀들에게 긍정적인 영향을 준다	①	②	③	④	⑤
(5) 일하는 시간이 너무 길어서 가정 생활에 지장을 준다	①	②	③	④	-
(6) 일하는 시간이 불규칙해서 가정 생활에 지장을 준다	①	②	③	④	-

### B.3 Family-to-work interference

문. 이번에는 반대로, 가정생활은 \_\_님께서 하시는 일에 어느 정도 영향을 주고 있습니까?

내 용	매우 그렇다	약간 그렇다	별로 그렇지 않다	전혀 그렇지 않다	해당 없음
(1) 가족부양에 대한 책임감 때문에 더 열심히 일을 하게 된다	①	②	③	④	⑤
(2) 식구들이 내가 하는 일을 인정해주어 일을 더 열심히 하게 된다	①	②	③	④	-
(3) 자녀양육 부담으로 인해 일을 병행하는 것이 힘들 때가 많다	①	②	③	④	⑤
(4) 집안일이 많아서 직장일을 할 때도 힘들 때가 많다	①	②	③	④	-
(5) 식구 중 환자가 생겨서 일을 그만둘 생각을 해 본적이 있다	①	②	③	④	⑤

### B.4 Marital satisfaction

문. 전체적으로 보아 현 남편과의 요즈음 결혼 생활에 대한 \_\_님의 느낌을 가장 잘 표현하고 있다고 생각하는 숫자에 응답해 주십시오.

매우 불행하다                      ←                      →                      매우 행복하다

①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
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# 국문초록

## 일-가정 갈등과 결혼만족이 기혼취업여성의 출산의도에 미치는 영향

서울대학교 대학원  
사회복지학과  
김수현

본 연구의 목적은 한국의 기혼취업여성의 출산의도에 일-가정 갈등이 영향을 미치는지 검증하고, 결혼만족이 일-가정 갈등이 출산의도에 미치는 영향을 매개하는지 확인하는 것이다.

우리나라의 출산율은 세계적으로 매우 낮은 수준으로, 여성의 사회적 역할기대와 가정 내 역할기대 간 불일치, 관련 지원정책의 부재가 그 원인으로 지목되고 있다. 그러나 기혼취업여성의 일-가정 갈등에 관한 국내 연구는 대체로 저출산 논의에서 비롯된 경향이 있어 저출산의 근본적인 원인이 되는 일-가정 갈등의 중요성에 대한 충분한 검토와 인식이 부족하였다. 같은 맥락에서 일-가정 갈등과 출산의도 간 관계에 영향을 미치는 변수를 밝히는 심화된 연구도 소수에 불과하여, 결론적으로 국내의 일-가정 갈등 관련 선행연구는 해외의 연구수준과 비교해 볼 때 양적, 질적 측면에서 현저한 차이가 있다.

위와 같은 문제의식을 바탕으로 본 연구에서 설정한 연구문제는 다음과 같다.



첫째, 기혼취업여성의 일-가정 갈등은 출산의도에 영향을 미치는가?

둘째, 기혼취업여성의 결혼만족은 일-가정 갈등이 출산의도에 미치는 영향을 매개하는가?

연구문제에 따른 가설 검증에는 한국여성정책연구원에서 실시하는 '여성가족패널(KLoWF)' 3차 자료가 활용되었다. 조건을 만족하는 기혼취업여성 321명을 대상으로 다항 로지스틱 회귀분석을 실시하였으며, 주요 연구 결과는 다음과 같다.

첫째, 기혼취업여성의 일-가정 갈등은 출산의도에 부정적인 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타났다. 특히 '가정이 일에 미치는 부정적인 영향'은 기혼취업여성이 향후 자녀 출산을 계획할 가능성보다 계획하지 않을 가능성을 높이는 것과 유의미한 상관이 있었다.

둘째, 기혼취업여성의 일-가정 갈등은 결혼만족에 부정적인 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타났다. 특히 '일이 가정에 미치는 부정적인 영향'은 기혼취업여성의 낮은 결혼만족과 유의미한 상관이 있었다.

셋째, 기혼취업여성의 결혼만족은 출산의도에 긍정적인 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타났다. 높은 결혼만족은 기혼취업여성이 향후 출산을 계획하지 않을 가능성보다 계획할 가능성을 높이는 것과 유의미한 상관이 있었다.

넷째, 기혼취업여성의 결혼만족은 일-가정 갈등이 출산의도에 미치는 영향을 매개하지 않는 것으로 조사되었다. 이는 기혼취업여성의 일-가정 갈등, 특히 '가정이 일에 미치는 부정적인 영향'이 결혼만족에 관계없이 출산의도에 유의미한 영향이 있음을 알려준다.

이상의 연구 결과를 바탕으로 기혼취업여성의 일-가정 갈등이 향후 출산의도와 결혼만족에 부정적인 영향을 미친다는 것을 확인하였다. 특히 가정생활이 직장생활에 미치는 부정적인 전이가 클수

록 향후 출산에 부정적인 태도를 가지는 것으로 나타났다.

본 연구는 일-가정 갈등이 기혼취업여성의 저출산과 관련이 있을 것이라는 막연한 믿음을 선행연구 검토를 통해 반박하고, 자료 분석을 통해 사회과학의 틀 안에서 실증적으로 검증하였다는데 그 의의가 있다. 뿐만 아니라 국내의 자료를 통해 기혼취업여성의 일-가정 갈등과 결혼만족, 출산의도 간의 관계를 규명했다는 점에서 해외의 관련 연구와 국내 연구 간에 존재하는 상당한 지식의 격차를 좁히고, 국내의 저출산 논의의 초점을 현상 자체보다 근본적인 원인인 일-가정 갈등으로 전환시키는데 일조하고자 하였다. 그럼에도 불구하고 분석에 사용한 자료와 분석방법의 제약 때문에 연구의 한계가 발생하여, 추후 연구를 통해 주요변수 간 인과관계의 확증 및 매개효과의 검증이 추가적으로 이루어질 필요가 있다. 또한 일-가정 갈등 관련 다양한 자료 확보와 국내용 척도 개발이 필수적으로 요구된다.

**주요어 : 기혼취업여성, 일-가정갈등, 결혼만족, 출산의도,  
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