The Influence of Individual Values on Work-Family Conflict:
The Roles of Materialism and Postmaterialism

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The question of how one's values influence work-family conflict is a recent area of inquiry. This study had two aims: to explore whether the values of materialism and postmaterialism were associated with work-family conflict; and to assess the relationship between the two values themselves. A total of 217 working adults were surveyed regarding their values and perceived role conflict. Materialism was positively associated with both directions of work-family conflict, but no relationship was seen with postmaterialism. The interaction between materialism and postmaterialism was not significant. The findings demonstrate the importance of considering values in the context of work-family conflict.

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have considered the issue of work-family conflict (WFC) for several decades, yet the pace of scholarly inquiry continues to intensify (Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007). The ongoing interest in work-family conflict reflects the fact that it has important consequences for both workers and employers. Individuals who experience high levels of work-family conflict suffer from psychiatric disorders (Frone, 2000), impaired marital interactions (Hughes & Galinsky, 1994), and lower life satisfaction (Adams, King, & King, 1996). From an employer's perspective, work-family conflict is associated with reduced organizational commitment and increased intentions to turnover (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000). Further, society itself is affected by work-family conflict due to resulting job stress (Gambles, Lewis, & Rapoport, 2006). Because of the range of deleterious outcomes, it is important to better understand the factors that lead to work-family conflict. The influence of values on role conflict is an area that may provide needed insights.

Many variables have been linked to work-family conflict, such as work time commitment (Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998), family demands (Parasuraman, Purohit, Godshalk, & Beutell, 1996), organizational culture (Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999), personality (Baltes, Zhdanova, & Clark, 2011), and gender (Martinengo, Jacob, & Hill, 2010). Overall, dispositional factors such as personality are more strongly associated with WFC than situational factors like job autonomy (Andreassi & Thompson, 2007). The realm of personal values, however, has received less attention as a potential source of conflict. Yet values are truly part of "what the person brings to the table" for work-family conflict (Andreassi, 2011, p. 1474). Moreover, the values people hold in life are an integral part of how individuals define themselves and set goals (Locke & Henne, 1986). Logically, therefore, values will influence the choices that people make concerning work, family, and other pursuits.

Two personal values that may be especially helpful in predicting work-family conflict are materialism and postmaterialism since they have been connected to a wide array of behaviors, both in the workplace

and at home. Materialism, defined as placing high importance on income and material possessions (Diener & Seligman, 2004), leads people to focus on attaining material rewards at the expense of personal relationships (Kasser, 2002). Meanwhile, postmaterialism, which emphasizes self-expression and affiliation, is related to such concerns as environmentalism (Lee & Kidd, 1997) and quality of life (Uhlaner & Thurik, 2003).

The influence of materialism and postmaterialism on the work-family interface is largely untested. Thus, one goal of this study was to assess the relationship between these two values and work-family conflict. A second goal was to explore whether the interaction between materialism and postmaterialism is significant in relation to work-family conflict. This second goal reflects disagreements concerning the dimensionality of the materialism-postmaterialism relationship; in response, the study includes two conceptualizations – one bidimensional (Bean & Papadakis, 1994) and the other interactional (Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2004)

VALUES AS ANTECEDENTS OF WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT

According to a meta-analysis by Byron (2005), sources of work-family conflict can be: (1) variables in the work domain (such as work hours), (2) variables in the non-work domain (such as spousal employment), and (3) demographic/individual factors like income and gender. Some variables, such as social support, cut across multiple categories since one can receive support at work and at home. Researchers have also explored whether individual difference variables are associated with work-family conflict (Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991), including Big Five personality traits (Wayne, Musisca, & Fleeson, 2004), workaholism (Buelens & Poelmans, 2004), and core self-evaluations (Friede & Ryan, 2005). Yet, with a handful of exceptions, values have been little considered in regards to work-family conflict. And even when WFC studies have included values, researchers have not necessarily considered them as direct antecedents of conflict (e.g., Carlson & Kacmar, 2000).

Values are "trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person" (Latham & Pinder, 2005: 491). Values help shape career and family choices (Verplanken & Holland, 2002) as well as a host of other activities in life. Since one's values help to define one's goals, it is possible that values create pressures in one part of life (e.g., work) that make it hard to fulfill tasks in the other domain (e.g., family). Several studies have included values in the context of work-family conflict. For example, Carlson and Kacmar (2000) found that life role values moderated perceived work-family conflict. Specifically, for individuals who highly valued their family roles, work antecedents produced greater conflict; for those who highly valued work, family antecedents produced more conflict. Cinamon and Rich (2002) compared work-family conflict among three "profiles" of respondents based on their stated importance of work versus family. As predicted, individuals who placed greater importance on family reported lower levels of work-to-family conflict. Carr, Boyar and Gregory (2008) confirmed role centrality as a moderator of work-family conflict and discovered that for employees who placed greater importance on family over work, conflict was associated with higher job turnover and poorer work attitudes. Lastly, Bagger, Li, and Gutek (2008, p. 200) found that "increases in FIW were related to more job distress and less job satisfaction, but only for those who were low in family identity salience." These results suggest that the value one places on family may have an effect on work-related outcomes.

Although the above studies support the importance of including personal values in studies of work-family conflict, there remains much to explore. One issue is that (as noted), often values are not conceived as antecedents of WFC, yet evidence indicates that they should be (Promislo, Deckop, Giacalone, & Jurkiewicz, 2010). Other life values may have stronger connections to work-family conflict, particularly if they are: (1) predictive of people's behavior in both their work and family domains; and (2) possess theoretical connections to the work-family interface. The values of materialism and postmaterialism satisfy these criteria because they reflect the inherent role conflict between work and home, in which "…participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role" (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). This is the case because work typically provides material rewards, while family serves to enhance one's quality of life (Kasser, 2002).

Materialism and Work-Family Conflict

Materialism reflects two central beliefs: that acquiring possessions will lead to happiness, and that one's possessions define success (Richins & Dawson, 1992). Notably, individuals who are highly materialistic place less importance on interpersonal relationships, and seek to boost their appearance to others (Kasser, 2002). Materialistic people thus tend to devote considerable time and energy to work (Sheldon & Kasser, 2001). Materialistic values have consistently been associated with a plethora of negative states of well-being, including depression and anxiety (Kasser, 2002), and lower life satisfaction (Sheldon & Kasser, 2001). Recently, materialism was also connected to negative well-being at work, specifically to lower job and career satisfaction (Deckop, Jurkiewicz, & Giacalone, 2010).

Since materialists actively seek money and possessions, they will tend to focus more on work (although, as the above study found, they are actually less satisfied at work). These efforts will diminish time and energy available to their families (Kasser, 2002). The result will likely be increased role conflict. In fact, a recent study found that materialism was strongly associated with work-family conflict (role overload mediated the relationship) (Promislo et al., 2010).

Postmaterialism and Work-Family Conflict

Postmaterialism "describes the degree to which a society places immaterial life-goals such as personal development and self-esteem above material security" (Uhlaner & Thurik, 2003, p. 2). Inglehart (2008) argues that a gradual but profound value shift has occurred in advanced industrial nations. As countries achieve higher levels of economic security, their populations become more postmaterialistic; that is, they place greater value on such goals as free speech and self-expression, and less value on material concerns.

Inglehart's research is founded on two hypotheses: (1) a *scarcity hypothesis,* which states that "one places the greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply" (Inglehart, 2000, p. 220). (2) a *socialization hypothesis* – values are formed in one's pre-adult years, and typically change little thereafter. Thus, a nation's values as a whole are slow to change (Inglehart, 2000). Although hugely influential, Inglehart's work has been attacked on a number of fronts. One major criticism is that his unidimensional construct of materialism-postmaterialism is flawed (Bean & Papadakis, 1994; Kidd & Lee, 1997).

Although postmaterialism has generally been studied on a macro level, some findings provide insight into its possible connection to work-family conflict. For example, a study of Spanish students found that postmaterialism was associated with "postmaterialist leisure" (Aguila, Sicilia-Camacho, Rojas Tejada, Delgado-Noguera, & Gard, 2008). These activities consisted of reading books, artistic endeavors, and attending political meetings. Materialistic students, on the other hand, primarily engaged in "materialist leisure" which was short-term and competitive. Further, Lewis (2003) argued that postmaterialists tend to integrate work with other parts of their lives, an approach that can help in attaining role balance (Kossek & Lambert, 2005). In sum, postmaterialists are less concerned with material rewards and may devote more attention to family, community, and leisure activities that help promote self-growth and benefit other people.

Thus, research on materialism and postmaterialism has produced intriguing implications for the work-family interface. Materialistic values have been associated with deficits in well-being (Deckop et al., 2010; Kasser, 2002) as well as with work-family conflict (Promislo et al., 2010). On the other hand, postmaterialist values may serve to enhance one's ability to find balance between work and family.

STUDY HYPOTHESES

Because of the concerns noted with Inglehart's unidimensional construct of postmaterialism, this study used bidimensional (Bean & Papadakis, 1994) and interactional models (Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2004) to assess work-family conflict. For the bidimensional model (assessing the relationship of each value to work-family conflict separately), materialism is expected to be associated with both family interference with work (FIW) and with work interference with family (WIF). First, materialists will tend

to view family as interfering with work because family demands can hinder the attainment of material rewards (for example, if a planned vacation conflicts with a lucrative work assignment).

Hypothesis 1a: Materialism will be positively related to FIW.

Regarding WIF, even though materialists may not necessarily place high value on their family role, they will likely recognize that their work is taking away from family time. Also, they will still experience demands (and possibly frustrations) from *other* family members.

Hypothesis 1b: Materialism will be positively related to WIF.

Postmaterialism is expected to have a negative relationship with both FIW and WIF. Postmaterialists will perceive less FIW because, even though they invest time into family, these efforts will not be seen as "interfering" with work. On the contrary, family time is valued since it contributes to one's overall quality of life.

Hypothesis 2a: Postmaterialism will be negatively related to FIW.

Individuals high in postmaterialism will experience lower WIF due to two factors: (1) they place less value on material rewards and thus will spend less time and effort on work; this leaves them with more time to devote to family; (2) postmaterialists appear to value role balance (Inglehart, 2000; Marks & MacDermid, 1996) and thus are more likely to give equal weight to work and family.

Hypothesis 2b: Postmaterialism will be negatively related to WIF.

Lastly, it is important to consider that materialism and postmaterialism may not be independent values. If this is the case, the two values may interact to influence role conflict. For example, Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2004) found that the interaction of postmaterialism and materialism explained significant variance in predicting dimensions of personal and social identity (DPSI). Specifically, postmaterialism was only significant when levels of materialism were low. Because data on this question is limited and mixed (Giacalone, Jurkiewicz, & Deckop, 2008), the following are posed as research questions:

> *Research Question 3a: Will materialism moderate the relationship between postmaterialism and FIW, such that increases in postmaterialism will be associated with lower levels of FIW only when materialism is low?*
> *Research Question 3b: Will materialism moderate the relationship between postmaterialism and WIF, such that increases in postmaterialism will be associated with lower levels of WIF only when materialism is low?*

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Sample and Procedure

Respondents in this study were adults in the U.S. who were working full-time (71%) or part-time (29%). Respondents were obtained through a panel called "ZoomPanel" maintained by Zoomerang/MarketTools (now owned by SurveyMonkey), an online survey company that provides individuals who meet specified criteria and have indicated a willingness to complete surveys for research purposes (MarketTools Inc., 2009). Besides actively working, the other criterion for respondents was that they were either: (1) married/living with a partner, (2) had children, or (3) were both married/living with a partner and had children. This ensured that respondents had an adequate level of family responsibility (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

Data were collected in two waves with the same set of respondents; the surveys were separated in time by six weeks. Wave 1 included measures on materialism, postmaterialism, social desirability, and demographic variables. Wave 2 included the measures of work-family conflict. A total of 217 respondents completed both waves of the survey, comprised of 55% male and 45% female. Respondents represented a wide range of ages: 25% were between 18 and 35, 23% between 36-45, 26% between 46-55, and 15% over 55. About two-thirds of respondents were married or living with a partner, one-quarter were single, and 11% divorced or widowed. About half the respondents had children living at home.

The mean number of hours worked per week was 37, while the average household income was in the range of $60,000 - $79,999. A comparison of the study sample to MarketTools' statistics on its ZoomPanel showed that the sample was a good representation (MarketTools Inc., 2009).

Measures
Materialism-Postmaterialism
Materialism was measured with Richins's (2004) Material Values Scale (the revised 15-item scale). A sample item is: "The things I own say a lot about how well I'm doing in life." Postmaterialism was measured with Giacalone and Jurkiewicz's (2004) Revised Materialist–Postmaterialist Index. This scale consists of 11 items that emphasize personal growth and caring for others. A sample item is "Caring and compassion are essential to a business setting." For both scales, respondents rated each statement from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Family Interference with Work and Work Interference with Family
FIW and WIF were measured with an 18-item scale by Carlson, Kacmar, and Williams (2000) that assesses the extent to which an employee's work interferes with family responsibilities (WIF), and the extent to which family interferes with work (FIW). A sample WIF item is "When I get home from work I am often too frazzled to participate in family activities/ responsibilities." A sample FIW item is "I have to miss work activities due to the amount of time I must spend on family responsibilities." Responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Control Variables
Recognizing that stated values may be influenced by perceived desirable responses, the study controlled for social desirability using a short version (Fischer & Fick, 1993) of the original scale. Respondents selected either "True" or "False" for this scale; a sample item is "I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable" (a response of "true" indicates a high level of social desirability). Also, it was important to control for other variables that may be correlated with the independent and dependent variables, such that their exclusion may result in biased results. These additional control variables were: age, gender, marital status, number of children living at home, age of youngest child at home, work status, household income, number of hours worked per week, current position level, job sector, and education level. Age is related to postmaterialistic values according to Inglehart's (1990) theory of generational replacement. Meanwhile, family demands can vary due to marital status, number of children at home, and age of the youngest child at home (Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005). Moreover, one's income may affect postmaterialism, as such goals become more important after basic needs are satisfied (Inglehart, 1990). Lastly, work status, hours worked per week, and position level likely affect one's level of work demands (van Rijswijk, Bekker, Rutte, & Croon, 2004).

RESULTS

A correlation analysis showed that materialism was significantly correlated with both forms of work-family conflict (.31 for FIW and .33 for WIF). However, postmaterialism was not significantly correlated with either form of work-family conflict. Lastly, the correlation between FIW and WIF was quite high (.63), a finding often seen in previous research (Byron, 2005). Reliability levels of the scales were high:

The Materialism measure had a Cronbach's alpha of .86; for Postmaterialism it was .87. The two work-family conflict measures both had a Cronbach's alpha of .90.

Separate regressions were then run on the two outcome variables, FIW and WIF (Tables 1 and 2). The predictor variables were added in steps, consistent with study hypotheses: Step 1 included only the control variables; Step 2 added the materialism and postmaterialism scores; and Step 3 added the postmaterialism x materialism interaction.

TABLE 1
REGRESSION RESULTS ON FAMILY INTERFERENCE WITH WORK

	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
	coeff.	s.e.	coeff.	s.e.	coeff.	s.e.
Constant	3.84 ***	(.51)	2.83 ***	(.70)	2.82 *	(1.33)
Control variables						
Social desirability	-.53 **	(.19)	-.35 *	(.20)	-.35 *	(.20)
Age	-.07 *	(.04)	-.04	(.04)	-.04	(.04)
Marital status	-.16	(.12)	-.12	(.12)	-.12	(.12)
No. of children	.02	(.07)	.00	(.07)	.00	(.07)
Youngest child	-.01	(.05)	.00	(.04)	.00	(.04)
Work status	.08	(.14)	.08	(.14)	.08	(.14)
Work hours	-.01	(.01)	-.01	(.01)	-.01	(.01)
Income	-.02	(.03)	-.03	(.03)	-.03	(.03)
Public	-.02	(.18)	-.09	(.17)	-.09	(.17)
Private	.01	(.18)	.00	(.17)	.00	(.17)
Current position	-.07 *	(.04)	-.05	(.04)	-.05	(.04)
Education	.04	(.04)	.06	(.04)	.06	(.04)
Gender	-.09	(.10)	-.03	(.11)	-.03	(.11)
Materialism			.30 ***	(.09)	.30	(.43)
Postmaterialism			-.09	(.08)	-.08	(.30)
Postmat. x Mat.					.00	(.11)
R^2	.11		.17		.17	
Model F	1.90 *		2.48 **		2.32 **	
ΔR^2			.06 **		.00	
p-value for ΔR^2			.001		.991	

Values are unstandardized coefficients; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Family Interference with Work as Dependent Variable

In Step 1, three control variables were significantly associated with FIW: social desirability, age, and position level. The control variables accounted for 11% of the variance in FIW. Step 2 (adding the materialism and postmaterialism scores) accounted for an additional six percent of variance explained in FIW. This increase in R^2 was largely due to materialism, which had a positive association with FIW ($p < .001$). Thus Hypothesis 1a received strong support. However, postmaterialism was not significantly related to FIW and so Hypothesis 2a was not supported. Step 3, which added the postmaterialism x materialism interaction, added little to variance explained and so, in regard to Research Question 3a, materialism did not moderate the relationship between postmaterialism and FIW.

Work Interference with Family as Dependent Variable

Results from analyses using WIF as the dependent variable largely mirrored results seen with WIF. In Step 1, three control variables were significantly associated with WIF: social desirability, age, and income. Step 1 accounted for 14% of the variance in WIF. Step 2 accounted for an additional eight percent of variance explained. As with FIW, the increase in R^2 was primarily due to materialism's association with WIF ($p < .001$). Thus, Hypothesis 1b was supported. Again, postmaterialism was not significantly related to WIF so Hypothesis 2b was not supported. Step 3, which added the interaction term, added little variance explained in FIW.

TABLE 2
REGRESSION RESULTS ON WORK INTERFERENCE WITH FAMILY

	Step 1		*Step 2*		*Step 3*	
	coeff.	s.e.	coeff.	s.e.	coeff.	s.e.
Constant	3.87 ***	(.57)	1.81 **	(.77)	.86	(1.46)
Control variables						
Social desirability	-.68 **	(.22)	-.49 *	(.21)	-.47 *	(.22)
Age	-.10 *	(.05)	-.07	(.05)	-.06	(.05)
Marital status	.07	(.13)	.11	(.13)	.11	(.13)
No. of children	.01	(.07)	.00	(.07)	.00	(.07)
Youngest child	.02	(.05)	.03	(.05)	.04	(.05)
Work status	.21	(.16)	.22	(.15)	.23	(.15)
Work hours	.00	(.01)	.00	(.01)	.00	(.01)
Income	-.07 *	(.03)	-.09 **	(.03)	-.09 **	(.03)
Public	.06	(.20)	-.01	(.19)	-.01	(.19)
Private	.00	(.20)	.00	(.19)	.01	(.19)
Current position	-.01	(.04)	.02	(.04)	.02	(.04)
Education	.06	(.04)	.07 *	(.04)	.07 *	(.04)
Gender	-.19	(.12)	-.19	(.12)	-.19	(.12)
Materialism			.42 **	(.10)	.78	(.47)
Postmaterialism			.10	(.09)	.34	(.33)
Postmat. x Mat.					-.10	(.13)
R^2	.14		.22		.22	
Model F	2.44 **		3.40 **		3.23 **	
ΔR^2			.08 **		.00	
p-value for ΔR^2			.000		.447	

Values are unstandardized coefficients; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to determine whether the individual values of materialism and postmaterialism were associated with perceived conflict between one's work and family roles. The results supported two of the four study hypotheses and provided data to answer the two additional research questions. Specifically, the hypotheses concerning the relationship between materialism and both directions of work-family conflict (FIW and WIF) were strongly supported. However, no support was seen for the predicted association between postmaterialism and work-family conflict. Further, the interaction between materialism and postmaterialism was not significant for either FIW or WIF. An interpretation of these findings leads to several intriguing possibilities.

This study builds on burgeoning research in the work-family literature that is just beginning to address the issue of how values are connected to the work-family interface (Carlson & Kacmar, 2000). Results suggest that the examination of role conflict can be enhanced by assessing personal values. They also confirm findings from prior work that connected materialism to work-family conflict (Promislo et al., 2010). Specifically, materialistic individuals tend to focus more of their efforts on work because that is where they can satisfy desires for money and possessions. Not only do materialistic people appear to view family as interfering with work, but at the same time they recognize that their work presents conflicts with family.

This latter association between materialism and WIF is less intuitive – why would materialists report that work interferes with family? One possibility is that materialistic individuals sense that work is getting in the way of other parts of their lives, but feel helpless to do anything about it. For example, organizational cultures that emphasize long work hours can make it difficult to escape from demanding work schedules. Further, perceiving conflict does not mean that an individual necessarily cares about that conflict or wants to take actions to reduce it. For example, Hochschild (1997) explains how work can sometimes offer opportunities for socialization and achievement that may not exist at home.

While the hypotheses concerning postmaterialism were not supported, its potential links to work-family conflict were more speculative than those concerning materialism. This is because the basis for much of the literature on postmaterialism is the World Values Survey, which is used to assess global trends in values (Inglehart, 1990). Beyond the limitations of the current research (discussed below), a couple of possibilities exist for the lack of association between postmaterialism and work-family conflict.

First, postmaterialism may not result in less work-family conflict because the set of demands faced by postmaterialistic individuals may not actually decrease. In fact, postmaterialists may encounter a *widening* range of demands because of their desire to connect with other people (leading to such activities as volunteering and mentoring.) These types of endeavors are personally rewarding but can also be time-consuming.

Also, postmaterialistic values, because they are people-oriented, apply both at work *and* at home. For example, postmaterialists would likely infuse their values into work, community, family, and overall quality of life. So perhaps there are no differences in work-family conflict because postmaterialistic values are embedded in choices made in one's career and with one's family. In contrast, materialism applies more clearly to solely the work domain.

Concerning the relationship between the two values themselves, no interaction between materialism and postmaterialism was found. Since previous research on dimensionality has been inconsistent (Giacalone et al., 2008), this question is still unresolved. One possibility is that the interaction may be important in predicting certain outcomes but not others.

The findings from this study have practical ramifications, especially for human resource professionals. Many organizations recognize the costs associated with work-family conflict among their employees, particularly in terms of mental health problems (Frone, 2000). If values such as materialism are helping to create greater levels of work-family conflict, organizations can take steps to alleviate its impact. The emergence of "family-friendly" policies and strategies such as flextime (Kelly & Moen, 2007) can help to some extent, but formal programs alone will not solve work-family conflict caused by materialism since the value is deeply embedded in our society (Kasser, 2002). To address the issue more effectively, firms can initiate changes in corporate culture (Thompson et al., 1999) and compensation practices. For example, reward systems can be overhauled so that extrinsic rewards are given less importance (Kasser, Vansteenkiste, & Deckop, 2006). To promote intrinsic rewards, employees can be rewarded with greater autonomy at work (Kasser, 2002). Such rewards help to promote time with family, thus potentially reducing WFC. Organizations can also downplay messages of social status since materialistic individuals are acutely aware of status and will likely engage even more in work to achieve it.

Although postmaterialistic values were not associated with WFC in this study, organizations still may wish to support employees' desires to help others. Charitable support by a company, particularly ongoing commitments, send a clear message that an organization is interested in more than just profits (Smith &

Sypher, 2010). Organizations can also give employees opportunities to perform work for local communities (Pajo & Lee, 2011). Such actions may also create an environment in which employees can better balance responsibilities at work and home, since they support the notion of caring for multiple stakeholders in one's life.

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of this research are not without limitations. First, the cross-sectional design of the study does not allow for causal inferences. The relationships among variables of interest were based on theoretical linkages, but there can be no definitive determination of the direction of influences. Further, as with all studies that use a self-report, questionnaire-based methodology, common method variance is a concern. In this study, collection of the independent and dependent variables occurred at two different times. This time split lessens (but cannot eliminate) worries about cognitive carryover among scales (Harrison & McLaughlin, 1993). Since the respondents in this study were recruited from a sample panel maintained by a third party, it is not possible to know the full range of organizations that the individuals worked for.

The findings from this study point to the need for future research in a number of areas. First, a fuller investigation into the types of conflict created by values such as materialism and postmaterialism is warranted. As noted previously, values may create certain conditions or actions that produce work-family conflict, but the mechanisms behind this process are not well understood. Once this information is obtained, organizations can put programs in place to better address specific factors leading to work-family conflict.

Second, researchers should consider other values beyond the ones in this study for a more robust examination of the antecedents of work-family conflict. One example is the six values in the Study of Values (Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1970), and the terminal and instrumental values in the Rokeach Value Survey (Rokeach, 1973). Including a wider range of values would help fill the gap in our understanding of the causes of work-family conflict.

One last question is whether values are associated with work-family enrichment, which is "the extent to which experiences in one role improve the quality of life in the other role" (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006: 73). Since postmaterialism was not related to work-family conflict in this study, one enticing question is whether it might facilitate *enrichment* between work and family. Values focused on collectivist ideas could transfer particularly well from home to work (and vice versa).

In summary, work-family conflict continues to be a pressing concern that seems at least partly driven by one's personal values. Further examination of this process will be useful for theoretical development, as well as for enabling organizations to reduce harmful levels of employees' WFC that are associated with a host of negative outcomes.

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