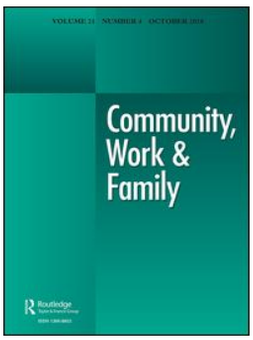

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Gender, type of higher education institution, and faculty work-life integration in the United States

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ABSTRACT

Although many academics in the United States assume that work-life balance, especially for women, is better at teaching-intensive colleges than at research-intensive universities, there is no systematic data to support this belief. We analyzed survey data from 909 faculty at a research-intensive public university, a masters-level public college, and two private colleges to test this assumption. Consistent with their reputation, faculty at the three teaching-intensive colleges reported family/personal life-friendlier departments. Yet we found no difference in work-life integration between faculty at the research university and those at the colleges. After we introduced having a family/personal life-friendly department as a mediator, the faculty at the research university reported more work-life integration than those at the colleges. The assumption that teaching-intensive colleges offer better work-life balance constitutes one layer in the leaky pipeline that reduces the number of women academics working at research universities, thereby reproducing the gender hierarchy in US higher education.

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Academic career; gender; higher education; work-life integration; work-family conflict

Globally, universities increasingly conform to neoliberal expectations that academic staff prove their worth through research productivity that increases the market value of their institutions. Yet in the United States, research universities are not the most common institution type. The Carnegie Foundation (2018) identified 334 research-intensive doctoral universities, 763 master's institutions, and 572 baccalaureate colleges. Master's institutions focus regionally to educate surrounding populations as a public investment in human capital (Morse et al., 2017). Baccalaureate colleges, especially private liberal arts colleges, emphasize the intrinsic value of higher education. According to Angervall and Beach (2017), the emphasis on research and devaluation of teaching increased the separation between teaching and research within and between institutions. In many countries, including the United States, women have been overrepresented in teaching-intensive institutions and in positions with higher teaching responsibilities, particularly contingent

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ones, while men have been overrepresented in research-intensive institutions and in positions with lower teaching responsibilities, creating a gendered prestige hierarchy between and within colleges and universities (Angervall, 2018; Heijstra et al., 2017). Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2017) suggested that one reason for women's overrepresentation in less prestigious institutions and in teaching-oriented positions is their desire to have families as well as academic careers.

According to Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2017), graduate school socialization taught students the work norms at research universities. They have learned that the neoliberal expectation for faculty[1] to be engaged constantly in research requires the 'ability and willingness to transgress boundaries between working and non-working time by de-prioritising anything or anyone that impinges upon the first and eliminating the latter altogether' (Amsler & Motta, 2017, pp. 8–9). The relative dearth of mothers promoted to the highest rank at most US research universities (full professor) has signaled that having a family was incompatible with successful university careers. In the US, faculty and graduate students at research universities have tended to assume that teaching-intensive institutions offer better work-life integration, especially for mothers (Anderson et al., 2014; Mason et al., 2013; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). This graduate school socialization shaped career choices. The faculty interviewed by Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2017, p. 235) believed that 'community colleges, liberal arts colleges, and comprehensive institutions, generally, were … "good" places to have a family and thereby "good" choices for people who want to combine a family with a career'.[2]

Women's greater caring responsibilities have made it harder for them to hold faculty positions designed for unencumbered workers (Misra et al., 2012). While the number of women has increased, Ollilainen (2019, p. 2) observed that higher education retains its 'masculine work culture that demands a sole focus on one's career at the expense of family'. Nikunen (2014) argued that the entrepreneurial university has arranged tenure-track positions as if faculty had no responsibilities beyond scholarship. Not surprisingly, women assistant professors reported experiencing 'stress over rising expectations for productivity, and spouses who did not understand why they worked all of the time' (O'Meara & Stromquist, 2015, p. 353). Globally, people 'whose lives do not conform to hegemonic models of the bourgeois, entrepreneurial white, male scholar' have struggled to gain access to the best jobs at the best universities (Amsler & Motta, 2017, p. 3).

With faculty jobs based on the ideal worker norm, gender has been a basic constitutive element across institution type (Acker, 1990; Sallee, 2012). This norm assumes an 'idealised striving individual subject focused on their own career advancement' (Breeze & Taylor, 2018, p. 12), a worker free to devote himself to a job because someone else, typically a woman, cares for his personal needs. Amsler and Motta (2017, p. 11) explained that the ideal worker is autonomous, flexible, 'always on call, de-gendered, de-raced, declassed and careless of themselves and others'. As a result, in Finland, for example, the university was not 'responsible for arranging a family-friendly work environment', instead, the employee was 'responsible for organizing her/his family life in a "work-friendly way"' (Nikunen, 2014, p. 131). US colleges and universities have left it 'up to individual women to use their job autonomy and flexibility to create a "balance"' between their work and personal lives (Anderson et al., 2014, p. 56). This lack of support for family/personal life-friendly work environments is one means by which institutions remain gendered.

To explain this gender hierarchy in higher education, some scholars have used the leaky pipeline metaphor. According to Blickenstaff (2005), the leaky pipeline consists of layers within a gender-based filter, each reducing the number of women. The assumption that teaching-intensive colleges offer better work-life balance forms one such layer reducing the number of women faculty working at research universities. Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2017, p. 240) concluded that 'the choices women make, especially career choices to accommodate family needs, are made within the confines of traditional academic and family norms dictated by gendered roles'. Women exercise agency 'in gendered contexts that contain certain assumptions about what it means to be a mother and what it means to be an academic' (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2017, p. 241).

This study examined whether faculty work-life integration differs by institution type as well as by gender. To do so, we analyzed data from surveys conducted as part of federally funded ADVANCE grants at four US institutions: a research-intensive public university, a comprehensive masters-level public college, and two private liberal arts colleges.

Work-life integration

We use the term *work-life integration* to subsume work-life conflict and work-life balance (Bailyn, 2003), recognizing what has been called a 'life-friendly perspective' (Philipsen et al., 2017, p. 623). It encompasses diverse professional and personal lives, including people with or without partners and/or children. A non-directional and holistic approach, it does not imply an even division of time or energy between work and home. *Work-family conflict* involves role conflict caused by competition between these two domains' different sets of demands (Deutsch & Yao, 2014). *Work-life balance* refers to a positive relationship between work and personal life with minimal role conflict (Clark, 2000; Rantanen et al., 2011).

Work can have negative consequences for personal life and vice versa (cf. Keene & Quadagno, 2004; Voydanoff, 2005a). Research rarely investigates how families support work life and how work supports home life. The few exceptions found traditional family arrangements benefited employed men (King et al., 1995; O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005). Similarly, workplace support for personal lives reduced the interference of work with a life outside of work (Greenhaus & Powell, 2012; Lapierre & Allen, 2006) and fostered the perception that tenure expectations are reasonable (Lisnic et al., 2019). Thus, academics with work-supportive personal situations should report better work-life integration, particularly less family-to-work conflict, and academics in life-friendly departments should report better work-life integration, particularly less work-to-family conflict.[3]

Institution type and work-life integration

Graduate school socialization in the US has given the impression that teaching-intensive institutions foster work-life integration, especially for women. Mason et al. (2013) found doctoral candidates rejected 'fast track' university careers because they were worried about work-life balance. According to Van Anders (2004), women were more likely than men to indicate concerns about balancing work and personal obligations and to cite those concerns as a reason for not pursuing an academic career. Indeed, twice as many women as men opted out of research careers for this reason (Sears, 2003). Furthermore,

when accepting an academic appointment, more women prioritized institutional family-friendliness (Flynn et al., 2011), which may be one reason why more women work at teaching-intensive colleges.

Yet the limited data comparing work-life integration across institution type did not support the assumption that work-life balance is better at US teaching-intensive colleges than at research-intensive universities. The 2010–2011 Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) Faculty Survey revealed no difference in percentages of university faculty and college faculty who reported a healthy balance between their personal and professional lives (Hurtado et al., 2012). Wolf-Wendel and Ward's (2006) qualitative research concluded that the only difference by institution type was the source, not the amount, of work-family conflict: university faculty experienced greater conflict between research expectations and their personal lives, while college faculty experienced greater conflict between teaching/service expectations and their personal lives.

Lower research expectations may account for the widespread belief that teaching-intensive colleges allow for better balance. Yet lower research expectations have come with higher teaching and service demands as well as more ambiguous performance standards (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2017; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). Faculty care-work at teaching-intensive institutions, such as advising undergraduates and organizing department events, was time-consuming (Angervall, 2018). Clark and Hill (2010) concluded that lowered research expectations alone did not produce more family-friendly environments.

Often, universities have had more resources to allow faculty to devote time to research (e.g. graduate assistants and research leaves). In fact, Drago et al. (2006) found that, compared to college-employed peers, women university faculty were more likely to ask for parental leave or to stop the tenure clock, and less likely to miss important children's events or return to work sooner than desired after having a child. With lighter teaching loads, research university faculty may have more flexibility to organize personal and work time than teaching-intensive college faculty.

Hollenshead et al. (2005) found that universities offer twice as many formal work-life policies as other institution types. Zippel et al. (2016) concluded that universities adopt such policies to attract productive researchers in an increasingly global job market. Even so, Lewis (1997) found that family-friendly policies did not promote work-life balance if organizational culture did not value personal responsibilities. Faculty may not feel able to take advantage of family-friendly policies if their department discourages them from doing so (Berheide & Linden, 2015; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2017). In contrast, departments that 'support flexible work schedules' may be more supportive of faculty combining their personal and professional responsibilities (Ollilainen, 2019, p. 13).

While a few studies have examined work-family conflict at teaching-intensive institutions (Bates & Borland, 2014; Berheide & Anderson-Hanley, 2012; Borland & Bates, 2014; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012), most have been conducted at research-intensive universities (e.g. Elliott, 2003; Ollilainen & Solomon, 2014; Watanabe & Falci, 2016). Research on work-family conflict typically studied a single university (e.g. Amelink & Creamer, 2007; Deutsch & Yao, 2014; Gatta & Roos, 2004) or compared a few universities (e.g. Fox et al., 2011; Solomon, 2010). Analysis of faculty data by institution type tended to focus on other topics such as marriage and fertility (Perna, 2005a), hours (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Winslow, 2010), salary (Kelly & Grant, 2012), and tenure and promotion (Perna,

2005b). Unfortunately, there is limited systematic empirical basis from which to develop a gendered theory of how institution type affects work-life integration.

Our research begins to fill this gap by using new data to develop two inter-related arguments about work-life integration in US higher education. First, we argue that supportive homes and workplaces mediate the gendered experience of work-life integration for faculty. Second, we posit that work-life integration varies by institution type. Specifically, we expect to find that faculty at the research university will report *lower* levels of work-life integration than their colleagues at teaching-intensive ones.

Methods

Samples

To explore these arguments, survey data were gathered from four US institutions. Three were teaching-intensive colleges, accounting for 365 of the sampled faculty. Two of these were neighboring selective private liberal arts colleges, each with about 180 tenure-line faculty and 2,300 students. Faculty taught five courses per year at one and six at the other. With student–faculty ratios of 10:1, class sizes averaged 17. A single survey was administered electronically to all full-time, tenure-line faculty at both colleges in spring 2012. In total, 180 faculty completed the survey (52%), 95 from one college and 85 from the other. The third institution was a selective master's level public college with about 325 tenure-line faculty and 7,350 students (including 700 graduate students). The teaching load was six courses per year with an average class size of 21 and a student–faculty ratio of 13:1. All full-time, tenure-line faculty from the public college were electronically surveyed in fall 2012. Of 318 faculty, 185 completed the survey (58%). For all three colleges, tenure and promotion was based on excellence in research as well as teaching and service, albeit with lower performance expectations for research productivity than at a research university.

The fourth institution, a large public research-intensive university, had over 24,000 students, including 5,000 graduate students and about 1,100 tenure-line faculty. Tenure and promotion decisions focused almost exclusively on research productivity. The average class size (37) and faculty–student ratio (20:1) was about double that of the teaching-intensive colleges. Faculty were contracted to teach three to four courses per year but averaged 2.5 with grant buyouts. All full-time, tenure-line faculty in science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) and social science departments were surveyed in spring 2011.[4] Of 744 surveyed, 544 responded (73%), about half online and half by mail.

After administration, data from all four surveys were pooled and harmonized to allow comparisons (Granda & Blasczyk, 2010; Griffith et al., 2013). The primary difference between surveys was in response choices, so we devised multiple editing strategies and ran sensitivity analyses that found the same conclusions. We used the strategy that maintained the most original data. (Complete harmonization details are available upon request.)

Table A1 (see Appendix) provides descriptive statistics for the entire sample (n = 909). Each survey had minimal non-response bias. Consistent with US patterns, women were significantly more likely to work at the colleges than the university. Academic rank and parental status also varied by gender and institution type, with women and college

faculty more likely to be at lower ranks and to have younger children compared to men and university faculty (results not shown).

Independent variables

Gender and institution type were the key variables for this study. Women were coded as 1, as was the research-intensive university.[5]

Dependent variables

Work-family conflict was measured in both directions. Survey items were adapted from the work-family conflict index measuring strain- and time-based negative spillover developed by Carlson et al. (2000). *Work-to-family conflict* was measured using a 2-item index (alpha = .79): 'Being emotionally drained after work prevents me from enjoying my family/personal time' and 'The time I must devote to my job keeps me from family activities more than I would like'. *Family-to-work conflict* was also measured with a 2-item index (alpha = .56[6]): 'Due to stress in my family/personal life, I am often preoccupied with personal matters at work' and 'The time I spend with family often keeps me from spending time on work activities that could be helpful to my career'. Response choices were on a 6-point agreeability scale with 'strongly agree' coded 6.

Work-life balance was measured using a single item that asked about satisfaction with the balance between professional and personal or family time (on a 6-point scale with 'very satisfied' coded 6).

Mediating conditions

We employed mediators to measure supportive home environments and supportive work environments. The *work-supportive family* variable was a single item that taps into instrumental support – 'If I need to work nights or on the weekends, I can count on someone to take care of things at home' (on a 6-point agreeability scale) – and comes from King et al.'s (1995) family support index.

The *family-friendly department* variable was a 3-item index (alpha = .82), which included 'My colleagues are respectful of my efforts to balance work and home responsibilities', 'My colleagues do what they can to make family obligations and an academic career compatible', and 'In my department, faculty may comfortably raise personal or family responsibilities when scheduling work activities or meetings'.[7] The first two items were from the Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education (COACHE) survey while the third was inspired by research on supervisor and co-worker support (Thomas & Ganster, 1995), including on departments and department chairs (Lester, 2013; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011).

Family and work demands, and other controls

Family- and work-related control variables accounted for family and work demands (Voydanoff, 2005b). Marital status was a dichotomous variable where married/partnered = 1. Parental status was a four-category variable including: (a) parents with at least one

child under five at home, (b) parents with youngest child between 5 and 18 at home, (c) 'other parents' are non-residential parents or empty-nesters, and (d) non-parents.[8]

For work, we controlled for weekly hours. Two other work demand variables – research-time dedication and teaching-time dedication – were measured using the statements 'I have been able to dedicate enough work time to my (research/teaching)' (on a 6-point agreeability scale).

Academic rank had three categories (assistant, associate, and full professor). Discipline and race were dichotomized variables (STEM = 1, people of color = 1). Age was a continuous variable measured in years.

Results

Preliminary bivariate analyses revealed that gender affected faculty work-life integration. While there was no gender difference in hours worked, women reported lower satisfaction with work-life balance as well as more work-to-family conflict and more family-to-work conflict than men.[9] Second, we found two institutional differences in work-life integration. University faculty reported *higher* work-life balance satisfaction and *lower* family-to-work conflict than college faculty.[10] These two institutional differences were the opposite of what we expected.

We complicated this bivariate model by testing whether having work-supportive home lives and/or life-friendly departments varied by gender and institution type (see Table A2 in Appendix). Consistent with expectations, women reported less work-supportive personal situations than men, but there were no gender differences in the family/personal life-friendliness of departments. Research-intensive faculty reported less family/personal life-friendly departments, but more work-supportive families. Thus, gender was related to the work-supportive family mediator, whereas institution type was related to the 'family-friendly department' mediator.

Work-life integration

First, we analyzed how gender and institution type affected work-life conflict, measured in both directions: work-to-family (see Table A3 in Appendix) and family-to-work (see Table A4 in Appendix). In no model was institution type statistically significant. Women reported significantly more work-to-family conflict than men regardless of institution type, home and work demands, race, age, rank, and discipline. Having family/life-friendly departments reduced the effect of gender on work-to-family conflict. The gender effect disappeared once work-supportive families was included in the regression model. What appeared to be a gender difference in family-to-work conflict turned out to be a difference in family support for work, with women faculty getting less support at home than men did.

Similarly, accounting for marital status, parental status, work demands, race, age, rank, or discipline, women faculty reported less satisfaction with work-life balance, and yet satisfaction did not vary by institution type (see Table A5 in Appendix). Conflict between work and family in either direction lowered satisfaction, while support from either work or family increased it. Gender differences disappeared when we included any of the four mediating conditions: family-to-work conflict, work-to-family conflict, work-supportive families, or family-friendly departments. The mediators fully explained gender differences in work-

life balance satisfaction.[11] Overall, women experienced less balance satisfaction than men *because* they had higher levels of work-to-family conflict and less work-supportive families.

In contrast, when all mediators were included, university faculty reported significantly *higher* satisfaction than college faculty. While initial analyses showed no differences in work-life balance satisfaction across institution types, we found significant institutional differences after including department 'family-friendliness' in the regression model. Thus, family/personal life-friendly departments uncovered a suppression effect (Masseen & Bakker, 2001; Schieman, 2010). There was a *negative* association between the research-intensive university and the 'family-friendly department' mediator – the research institution had less family/personal-life-friendly departments – but a *positive* association between having a 'family-friendly department' and balance satisfaction. Family/personal life-friendly departments increased balance satisfaction, so the suppression effect indicated the research university faculty would report significantly more satisfaction with work-life balance *if* they had the same level of department 'family-friendliness' as the college faculty. Among faculty in family/personal life-friendly departments, research university faculty probably have better work-life balance than the college faculty.

Discussion

This paper developed a model for how gender and institution type affect faculty work-life integration in the US. The socialization that graduate students experience in research universities may lead them to mistakenly assume that the lower research expectations at teaching-intensive colleges offer women (and men) more opportunity to achieve work-life integration (Anderson et al., 2014; Mason et al., 2013; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012, 2017). In contrast to this assumption and consistent with results from a single item in a national survey (Hurtado et al., 2012), we found no difference in work-life integration between faculty surveyed at a research university and those at the three teaching-intensive colleges. Like Drago et al. (2006) and O'Laughlin and Bischoff (2005), we found family/personal life-friendly workplaces reduced work-family conflict when department culture supported personal lives (Lundquist et al., 2012). When we introduced 'family-friendly departments' as a mediator, we found *research universities*, not colleges, offered greater work-life integration.

Department culture is key. Consistent with their reputation for better work-life integration, the faculty at teaching-intensive colleges reported more family/personal life-friendly departments than their research university counterparts. Having a 'family-friendly department' was a strong predictor of work-life integration, so in this way, the teaching-intensive colleges might seem a better for work-life integration. Yet the research university faculty reported more satisfaction with work-life balance than teaching-intensive college faculty, after accounting for the fact that they were in less family/personal life-friendly departments. This difference by institution type was confounded with gender and rank because the research-intensive institution had more men and more full professors than the teaching-intensive ones, and the men and the full professors reported more positive work-life integration. We thus conclude that research-intensive universities have great potential to promote work-life integration if their work-life policies can be reinforced by departmental and institutional climates that encourage faculty to use them. In general, department culture was important for reducing work-family conflict, so leaders should

work to make academic departments more accommodating of personal lives (see Anderson & Solomon, 2015).

This study's limitations offer opportunities for future research. First, data were not collected from a nationally representative sample of institutions or faculty, and at the research university we only studied STEM and social science faculty. Future research can test these variables using national or international samples, including all disciplines – data that do not currently exist. Second, the purpose of this research was not to compare faculty with and without partners and/or children. We did not collect data on the employment status of spouses/partners, which may affect how much support they can provide. Future research could delve deeper into the role of partners, and include a broader definition of family (e.g. parents, siblings, friends) that might especially affect single faculty and non-parents. Finally, this analysis could not adjust for selection into institution type, and more research is needed to understand the job selection process. Scholars could examine whether single faculty or those with stay-at-home partners differentially chose university careers in previous generations. In today's tight academic labor market, graduate students may have little choice about where they get hired, but they do have a choice about whether to apply to research intensive institutions or teaching intensive ones. Future research could investigate how graduate school socialization plays a role in constraining this selection process, and how this might be affected by the degree of competition in the labor market in different fields.

Conclusion

Across institution type, men in this study reported better work-life integration than women. Consistent with Lapierre and Allen (2006), how much support faculty received at home and at work mediated this gender difference. Men reported more supportive homes, which explains their higher work-life integration. Thus, pursuing careers at teaching-intensive colleges will not enable women to attain work-life integration comparable to men, but gender equity at home might. When women (and men) pursue academic careers at teaching-intensive institutions because they value teaching or because they want a more life-friendly and less competitive environment, they need to know that even when teaching-intensive colleges are more family/personal life-friendly, as they were in this sample, they make demands on faculty time that rival research demands, but often with less flexible schedules. In fact, when women pursue careers at teaching-intensive institutions rather than research-intensive ones because socialization in graduate school has led them to believe that teaching-intensive colleges will offer better work-life balance, the current gender hierarchy in higher education continues to be reproduced. Thus, the assumption that teaching-intensive colleges offer better work-life balance helps explain one leak in the pipeline that decreases the number of women academics at research universities, thereby reducing the involvement of women in knowledge production in US higher education.

As a result, what the prestige economy (Angervall & Beach, 2017) considers the best academic positions may continue to go to men with work-supportive personal lives. Given that such positions often come with not just greater prestige but more resources in support of scholarly work and fewer expectations for service or teaching (especially of undergraduates), it can further reinforce gendered academic hierarchies where men

research and publish more, putting them in a better position to generate knowledge and influence policy. It can also have broader effects on the research topics that scholars will pursue and can advance certain kinds of research agendas over others. Such renewed gendered hierarchies would reinforce gender inequality in the expectations for doing scholarship, teaching, and service, and how they are valued (or not) in the increasingly neoliberal context of higher education.

Notes

1. We used American terminology, including 'faculty' for what is elsewhere called 'academic staff'. US academics on the tenure track face a rigorous review after 4 – 7 years to receive tenure and usually promotion to associate professor. Increasing numbers of faculty are not on the tenure-track; they are typically hired on a contingent basis.
2. In the competitive contemporary environment for academic positions, candidates may not have as much choice as they used to; candidates on the job market rarely had multiple offers (see Fernandes et al., 2019). Even so, candidates targeted applications to one type of institution over another (Mason et al., 2013; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2017).
3. We used 'family-to-work conflict' throughout as a shorthand to refer to the way that home/personal/family life can impact work life, which is common in the literature on this topic. Following Bailyn (2003) and Philipsen et al. (2017), we intended to be inclusive of varied home lives, including those without partners and/or children.
4. In a sensitivity analysis, we dropped arts and humanities faculty from teaching-intensive college samples ($n = 129$), resulting in a loss of statistical power, but the substantive interpretation was unchanged.
5. We tested a statistical interaction between gender and institution type for each dependent measure of work-life integration but found no significant effects, so all models included gender and institution type separately.
6. Given the relatively low Cronbach's alpha for the family-to-work conflict index, we considered combining all four work-life conflict items into one index, but a factor analysis showed a two-factor solution based on spillover direction. Regression analyses using the two items as separate measures of family-to-work conflict replicated the results of the 2-item index.
7. While we labeled this variable 'family-friendly department', the index items employed an inclusive approach to work-life integration that recognized faculty have personal responsibilities that go beyond family obligations.
8. While we included marital and parental status as control variables in all analyses, the comparison of faculty with or without partners and with or without children was not the focus of this article. Therefore, we did not explore the results in the following sections.
9. Women's mean satisfaction with work-life balance ($\bar{x} = 3.59$) was lower than men's ($\bar{x} = 4.01$, $F = 20.4$; $p < .001$). Their mean work-to-family conflict ($\bar{x} = 3.89$; $F = 17.6$; $p < .001$) and family-to-work conflict ($\bar{x} = 2.96$; $F = 18.2$; $p < .001$) scores were both higher than men's ($\bar{x} = 3.50$, 2.64 respectively).
10. University faculty had *higher* mean work-life balance satisfaction ($\bar{x} = 4.03$; $F = 21.5$; $p < .001$) and *lower* mean family-to-work conflict ($\bar{x} = 2.65$; $F = 13.2$; $p < .001$) than college faculty ($\bar{x} = 3.60$, 2.92 respectively).
11. Sobel Tests based on Model 6 (not shown) indicated that only work-to-family conflict ($z = 3.10$, $p < .001$) and work-supportive families ($z = 2.66$, $p < .001$) significantly mediated gender differences in balance satisfaction (see Sobel, 1982).

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Appendix

Table A1. Sample descriptive statistics.

Focal Demographics	mean	std.	min	max
Research Intensive	.60		0	1
Women	.37		0	1
Dependent Variables				
Work-to-Family Conflict	3.64	1.3	1	6
Family-to-Work Conflict	2.75	1.1	1	6
Work-Life Balance	3.86	1.4	1	6
Mediator Variables				
Work-Supportive Family	4.15	1.6	1	6
Family-Friendly Department	3.94	.9	1	5
Work Demands				
Weekly Work Hours	48.75	13.0	0	80
Research-Time Dedication	3.67	1.5	1	6
Teaching-Time Dedication	3.51	1.6	1	6
Family Demands				
Married/Partnered	.90		0	1
Parental Status				
Children under 5 at Home	.15		0	1
Children 5–18 at Home	.26		0	1
Other parent	.29		0	1
Non-parent	.30		0	1
Control Variables				
People of Colour	.17		0	1
Age	50.64	11.2	28	84
Rank				
Assistant Professor	.24		0	1
Associate Professor	.32		0	1
Full Professor	.44		0	1
STEM Discipline	.53		0	1
N	909			

Note: $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

Table A2. Imputed OLS regression of work-supportive family and family-friendly department.

	Work-supportive family		Family-friendly department	
Focal Demographics	b/se	beta	b/se	beta
Research Intensive	.200*	.10	−.509***	−.28
	[.10]		[.09]	
Women	−.277***	−.13	−.099	−.05
	[.07]		[.07]	
Family Demands				
Married/Partnered	1.130***	.33	.227*	.08
	[.12]		[.11]	
Children under 5 at Home[a]	−.552***	−.19	.048	.02
	[.08]		[.10]	
Children 5–18 at Home[a]	−.317***	−.14	.036	.02
	[.08]		[.09]	
Other Parent[a]	.059	.03	.124	.06
	[.10]		[.09]	
Work Demands				
Weekly Work Hours[b]	.00	−.03	−.01*	−.08
	[.01]		[.00]	
Research-Time Dedication	.00	.00	.01	.01
	[.02]		[.02]	
Teaching-Time Dedication	.01	.01	.09**	.16
	[.03]		[.03]	
Control Variables				
People of Colour	−.15	−.05	−.14	−.06
	[.09]		[.08]	
Age[b]	.00	.04	−.01**	−.15
	[.00]		[.00]	
Assistant Professor[c]	.19	.08	−.12	−.06
	[.11]		[.11]	
Associate Professor[c]	.00	.00	−.22**	−.11
	[.09]		[.08]	
STEM Discipline	−.04	−.02	−.01	.00
	[.07]		[.07]	
Intercept	3.31***		4.41***	
	[.31]		[.29]	
R^2	.266		.077	

Note: Standard errors in brackets. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.
[a]Non-parents are the omitted reference category.
[b]Mean-Centered.
[c]Full professors are the omitted reference category.

Table A3. Imputed OLS regression of work-to-family conflict.

	Work-to-family conflict							
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Focal demographics	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta
Research Intensive	.053	.02	.108	.04	−.165	−.06	−.124	−.04
	[.14]		[.14]		[.13]		[.13]	
Women	.314	.11	.238*	.08	.271**	.10	.232*	.08
	[.10]		[.10]		[.10]		[.10]	
Mediators								
Work-Supportive Family			−.275***	−.21			−.080*	−.15
			[.05]				[.03]	
Family-Friendly Department					−.428***	−.28	−.403***	−.26
					[.05]		[.05]	
Family Demands								
Married/Partnered	.10	.02	.41**	.09	.20	.04	.37*	.09
	[.15]		[.16]		[.15]		[.16]	
Children under 5 at Home[a]	.19	.05	.04	.01	.22	.06	.20	.03
	[.15]		[.15]		[.14]		[.14]	

(*Continued*)

Table A3. Continued.

	Work-to-family conflict							
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Focal demographics	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta
Children 5–18 at Home[a]	.00	.00	−.09	−.03	.02	.01	.01	−.01
	[.12]		[.12]		[.12]		[.12]	
Other Parent[a]	−.23	−.08	−.21	−.07	−.17	−.06	−.16	−.06
	[.13]		[.13]		[.13]		[.13]	
Work Demands								
Weekly Work Hours[b]	.02***	.21	.02***	.21	.02***	.19	.02***	.19
	[.00]		[.00]		[.00]		[.00]	
Research-Time Dedication	−.04	−.05	−.04	−.05	−.04	−.04	−.03	−.04
	[.03]		[.03]		[.03]		[.03]	
Teaching-Time Dedication	−.10*	−.11	−.10*	−.11	−.06	−.07	−.06	−.07
	[.04]		[.04]		[.04]		[.04]	
Control Variables								
People of Colour	−.28*	−.08	−.32**	−.09	−.34**	−.10	−.34**	−.10
	[.12]		[.12]		[.11]		[.11]	
Age[b]	−.01	−.06	−.01	−.06	−.01*	−.11	−.01*	−.10
	[.01]		[.00]		[.01]		[.01]	
Assistant Professor[c]	.08	.03	.13	.04	.03	.01	.04	.02
	[.16]		[.16]		[.15]		[.15]	
Associate Professor[c]	.32**	.11	.32**	.11	.23*	.08	.24*	.08
	[.12]		[.12]		[.11]		[.11]	
STEM Discipline	.24**	.09	.23*	.08	.24**	.09	.23**	.08
	[.09]		[.09]		[.09]		[.09]	
Intercept	4.11***		5.02***		5.35***		5.43***	
	[.41]		[.43]		[.28]		[.28]	
R^2	.117		.134		.192		.198	
Sobel Test z−value[d]			3.31***		1.42			

Note: Standard errors in brackets. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.
[a]Non-parents are the omitted reference category.
[b]Mean-Centered.
[c]Full professors are the omitted reference category.
[d]Testing for significant mediation of women coefficent.

Table A4. Imputed OLS regression of family-to-work conflict.

	Family-to-work conflict							
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Focal demographics	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta
Research Intensive	−.072	−.03	.013	.01	−.192	−.08	−.110	−.03
	[.12]		[.11]		[.12]		[.11]	
Women	.227**	.10	.109	.05	.204**	.09	.125	.04
	[.08]		[.05]		[.08]		[.08]	
Mediators								
Work-Supportive Family			−.426***	−.38			−.159***	−.36
			[.04]				[.03]	
Family-Friendly Department					−.235***	−.19	−.184***	−.12
					[.04]		[.04]	
Family Demands								
Married/Partnered	.19	.05	.59***	.18	.24*	.07	.58***	.18
	[.13]		[.14]		[.13]		[.14]	
Children under 5 at Home[a]	.62***	.20	.59***	.12	.63***	.20	.60***	.13
	[.13]		[.12]		[.13]		[.12]	
Children 5–18 at Home[a]	.48***	.20	.46***	.13	.48***	.19	.47***	.14
	[.10]		[.10]		[.10]		[.10]	
Other Parent[a]	−.03	−.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	.02	.01
	[.11]		[.11]		[.11]		[.11]	
Work Demands								
Weekly Work Hours[b]	.00	−.01	.00	−.02	.00	−.02	.00	−.03
	[.00]		[.00]		[.00]		[.00]	

(*Continued*)

Table A4. Continued.

	Family-to-work conflict							
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Focal demographics	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta
Research-Time Dedication	.02	.01	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03
	[.03]		[.03]		[.03]		[.03]	
Teaching-Time Dedication	.00	.01	.00	.01	.02	.03	.02	.03
	[.03]		[.03]		[.03]		[.03]	
Control Variables								
People of Colour	−.31**	−.10	−.31**	−.12	−.34***	−.11	−.34***	−.13
	[.10]		[.10]		[.10]		[.10]	
Age[b]	−.01	−.11	−.01	−.08	−.01*	−.12	−.01	−.10
	[.14]		[.01]		[.01]		[.01]	
Assistant Professor[c]	−.06	−.05	−.05	.01	−.09	−.03	−.07	.00
	[.14]		[.13]		[.13]		[.13]	
Associate Professor[c]	.17	.07	.17	.07	.12	.05	.13	.06
	[.10]		[.10]		[.10]		[.10]	
STEM Discipline	−.03	−.02	−.04	−.02	−.03	−.01	−.04	−.02
	[.08]		[.08]		[.08]		[.08]	
Intercept	2.78***		4.19***		3.81***		3.35***	
	[.35]		[.19]		[.24]		[.23]	
R^2	.126		.174		.158		.193	
Sobel Test z-value[d]			3.57***		1.38			

Note: Standard errors in brackets. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.
[a]Non-parents are the omitted reference category.
[b]Mean-Centered.
[c]Full professors are the omitted reference category.
[d]Testing for significant mediation of women coefficent.

Table A5. Imputed OLS regression of work-life balance.

	Work-life balance											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Focal demographics	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta
Research Intensive	.224	.08	.200	.07	.260**	.09	.155	.05	.466***	.17	.321**	.11
	[.14]		[.13]		[.11]		[.14]		[.13]		[.11]	
Women	−.231**	−.08	−.155	−.05	−.018	−.01	−.135	−.05	−.184	−.06	.020	.01
	[.10]		[.10]		[.07]		[.10]		[.09]		[.08]	
Work-Family Conflict Mediators												
Family-to-Work Conflict			−.334***	−.27							.037	.03
			.04								[.04]	
Work-to-Family Conflict					−.680***	−.66					−.636***	−.62
					[.03]						[.03]	
Work-Family Support Mediators												
Work-Supportive Family							.347***	.26			.152***	.11
							[.05]				[.04]	
Family-Friendly Department									.476***	.31	.180***	.12
									[.05]		[.04]	
Family Demands												
Married/Partnered	.25	.05	.31*	.07	.31**	.07	−.15	−.03	.14	.03	.09	.02
	[.16]		[.15]		[.12]		[.16]		[.15]		[.13]	
Children under 5 at Home[a]	−.14	−.04	.07	.02	−.01	.00	.05	.01	−.17	−.04	.03	.01
	[.15]		[.15]		[.11]		[.15]		[.14]		[.11]	
Children 5–18 at Home[a]	.08	.03	.24*	.08	.08	.03	.19	.06	.06	.02	.11	.03
	[.13]		[.12]		[.09]		[.12]		[.12]		[.09]	
Other Parent[a]	.34**	.11	.33**	.11	.18	.06	.31*	.10	.28*	.09	.16	.05
	[.14]		[.13]		.10		[.13]		[.13]		[.10]	
Work Demands												
Weekly Work Hours[b]	−.02***	−.20	−.02***	−.20	−.01*	−.05	−.02***	−.19	−.02***	−.17	−.01*	−.05
	[.00]		[.00]		[.00]		[.00]		[.00]		[.00]	
Research-Time Dedication	.02	.02	.03	.03	−.01	−.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	−.01	−.01
	[.03]		[.03]		[.02]		[.03]		[.03]		[.02]	
Teaching-Time Dedication	.08	.09	.08*	.09	.01	.00	.07	.09	.03	.04	.00	.00
	[.04]		[.04]		[.03]		[.04]		[.04]		[.03]	
Control Variables				.								
People of Colour	.30**	.08	.19	.05	.11	.02	.35**	.10	.36**	.10	.18*	.05
	[.12]		[.12]		[.09]		[.11]		[.12]		[.09]	
Age[b]	.01	.10	.01	.07	.01	.03	.01	.09	.02**	.14	.01	.07
	[.01]		[.01]		[.00]		[.01]		[.01]		[.00]	

(*Continued*)

Table A5. Continued.

	Work-life balance											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Focal demographics	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta	b/se	beta
Assistant Professor[c]	.16	.05	.14	.04	.22	.05	.10	.03	.22	.07	.21	.06
	[.16]		[.16]		[.12]		[.16]		[.15]		[.12]	
Associate Professor[c]	−.20	−.07	−.14	−.05	.02	.00	−.20	−.07	−.09	−.03	.04	.01
	[.12]		[.12]		[.09]		[.12]		[.11]		[.09]	
STEM Discipline	−.16	−.06	−.17	−.06	.00	.00	−.15	−.05	−.16	−.06	.00	.00
	[.10]		[.09]		[.07]		[.09]		[.09]		[.07]	
Intercept	2.59***			5.39***		.50***						
	[.42]		[.42]		[.34]		[.46]		[.28]		[.42]	
R^2	.120		.185		.509		.170		.210		.532	
Sobel Test z-value[d]			−2.55***		−3.30***		−3.33***		−1.42			

Note: Standard errors in brackets. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.
[a]Non-parents are the omitted reference category.
[b]Mean-Centered.
[c]Full professors are the omitted reference category.
[d]Testing for significant mediation of female coefficent.