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Gender Differences in Work Values in China

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN WORK VALUES IN CHINA

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Applied Sociology

by
Lulu Nie
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Accepted by:
Dr. Ye Luo, Committee Chair
Dr. William Wentworth
Dr. Douglas Sturkie

ABSTRACT

Based on a nationally representative sample of 10,332 adults from the China General Social Survey 2005 (CGSS2005), this study examines gender differences in work values in China, the mediating effects of marriage and family status, the mediating effects of SES and occupational characteristics and the interaction between gender and family status. Results from ordinal logistic regressions show that women are more likely to rank high earnings, job security, short work time and job autonomy higher, while men are more likely to rank job prestige, job authority, job interest, job promotion, serving others and sense of achievement higher. Marriage and family status only help explain gender differences in ranking job interest. However, the data provides support for the hypothesis that SES and occupational characteristics can in part explain gender differences in work values. SES and occupational characteristics have fully mediating effects on gender differences in ranking high earnings and job security, and also help explain gender differences in other work values. Interaction effects of gender and family status show that the effects of marital status differ for men and women in ranking high earnings, job authority, job interest, short work time and sense of achievement, but the marital status effects do not differ on other work values for men and women.

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INTRODUCTION

According to Hofstede, values are socialized tendencies "...to prefer certain states of affairs over others (1984: 18)." The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology (1973: 309) states that values are ideas about the *relative* desirability of "virtually anything." That is, values allow persons to rank environmental attributes, and values "influence how people choose" to relate to their surroundings. The seminal work of Milton Rokeach (1973; and cf., Brown 2002) described values as internal reference points whose relative ranking formed attitudes and informed beliefs and behaviors. Values were not studied empirically in sociology until the mid-1960s (Fallding 1965). By sociological usage, work-related values are those attributes of occupations that allow workers to judge and choose which jobs to seek and to evaluate their present job in terms of satisfaction, broadly interpreted (Kalleberg 1977; Judge and Bretz 1991).

Work is commonly understood as the central and most time-consuming activity linking individuals to modern industrial society. Thus, work values are an important component of personal values. Studies on work values gained momentum during the 1970s, but focused on men. Only infrequently were women studied as workers (Feldberg and Glenn 1979). During the 1980s, more women entered the workforce in the vast majority of the world's economies. The proportion of female workers grew along with popular media reports of male and female differences in the workplace. Their emerging status as workers and their growing importance to the labor force evoked an increasing volume of studies. Investigations of male-female work value differences have been growing since the middle of the 1980s in western countries (Roe and Ester 1999).

Just as colonization spurred cultural anthropology, the internationalization of western economies combined with the advent of globalization drew scholars' attention to national differences in work values. Generally, the discovered national dissimilarities were attributed to historical, cultural and economic causes (Ralston, Gustafson, Terpsta and Holt 1995; Dulnik 2004). Focusing on China, Chow and Ngo (2002) argued that the unique Chinese social, cultural tradition and its formerly strict socialist system greatly affected extant work values. The latter greatly liberalized women as workers, encouraged initiative, and provided state-run day care facilities and food services (Granrose 2007; Zhang, Hannum and Wang 2008).

After the economic restructuring and "opening" began in 1978, China's economy became the fastest growing major economy in the world. It is the second largest, after the U.S. Further, the nature, composition and international orientation of the Chinese economy has undergone deep-seated change from a socialist command economy to a mixed economy that includes private ownership of capital. Privatization has mixed effects for women. It increases the range of job choices and opportunities. However, support declines for women-as-mothers as features such as free daycare disappear under capitalistic pressure for larger profit margins (Zhang et al. 2008). The economic landscape was altered further by a massive rural to urban migration that began in the mid-1980s. Perhaps 145 million migrants (11% of the Chinese population) have displaced themselves seeking work, many only temporarily, but still making China about 50% urban (Fix, Papademetriou, Batalova, Terrazas, Lin and Mittelstadt 2009: 45-50). Women

comprise perhaps 30% of the migrants, with young, unmarried and educated women more likely to migrate than other females (Luo 2006; Lu and Song 2006).

China has a huge labor force of nearly .8 billion workers and a very high labor force participation rate. Women make up only 45% of Chinese workers, partly because the Chinese economy is still very reliant on heavy industry and mining (historically male-work, in all industrial countries) and partly because of a very high sex ratio in the population. Notwithstanding, there has been great growth in light industry and in technical and professional occupations that worldwide employ higher percentages of women. The proportion of women in the labor force has increased from 38% in 2002 to its current 45% (Wei 2011). Given the size of the labor force, this 7% increase over a mere five years represents an enormous shift of women into formal employment. Education is increasingly important for the Chinese labor force. The ratio of female to male students in tertiary education is 107/100. The university-age sex ratio is about 100 females per 110 males (U.S. Bureau of the Census, International Database, 2010). Thus, China's women are producing an unexpectedly large share of educated workers and an overall wage gap of 69%, slightly smaller than that of the U.S. at 66% (Hausman, Tyson and Zahidi 2011).

The work values of China's labor force are complicated. Simultaneously present in the culture are traditionally held gender inequalities, deeply cross-cutting rural-urban differences, lingering socialist pressures for equality, the high sex ratio (a conservative pressure toward marriage), the relative new mix of public and private employment with its different sets of expectations, the greater opening of China to the world, and by the

turmoil of social change described above. Women's increasing importance to the Chinese economy intensifies the need to investigate gender-specific work values. Throughout the world's economies, when larger numbers of women enter and disperse throughout a work force, their issues change the nature of work.

This thesis explores male-female differences in work values and the underlying mediating conditions that influence those values. The data source is the 2005 China General Social Survey (CGSS). Prior inquiries, though important, have relied on small or specialized samples that are not generalizable to the population of working adults.¹ Using a sample of the general adult population, the 2005 CGSS provides a comprehensive and generalizable picture of gender differences in work values. Moreover, compared to many preceding inquiries, the 2005 CGSS examines a broad array of work values. This resource permits the first analysis of the underlying social mechanisms that bring about gender variation. By considering the intervening effects of family and socioeconomic status, the current study can contribute to the research in an important area.

The four main research questions are:

- (1) Are there any gender differences in work values?
- (2) Are gender differences in work values in part explained by gender differences in family roles and status?
- (3) Are gender differences in work values in part explained by gender differences in socioeconomic status and occupational characteristics?

¹ As examples we find the following studies on college students: Jin and Li 2005; Ling, Fang and Bai 1999; Wang, Ma and Yao 2003; Zheng and Dou 1999, managers: Lo and Ralston 2003; Guo 2009, nursing staff: Wang, Li, Yang and Cao 2009; Cheng, Han, Chu, Pan and Shi 2011), and teachers: Xu and Zhang 2011; Qiu 2010.

(4) Do family roles and status have difference effects on work values for men and women?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

Research on gender differences in attitudes and behaviors are grounded on the fundamental ideas of socialization and self-formation. These perspectives tell us that individuals become particular expressive, feeling, behaving and thinking persons through their ongoing and lifelong interaction with the social environment. Socialization is a lifelong process of introduction to society. During socialization the effects of society are internalized. That is, the individual accommodates to the conditions of sociality. Internalization brings about, but does not determine, the formation of mind and self (Wentworth 1980: 85, 45, 67-68).

Gender socialization teaches each sex what society expects of that sex, through the lens of particular social conditions and interactions. Gender is, in short, what society “makes” of sex, and by being everywhere applicable gender is an individual’s master identity (Wentworth 2011:1-39).

Socialization, further, provides the opportunity to internalize and habituate to those expectations. Socialization “fits” us into various “places” in society. In each of those places, persons perform certain kinds of behaviors, exhibit particular attitudes, thoughts and values and express specific emotions at acceptable intensity and for suitable duration (Wentworth and Ryan 1992: 35). The combination of “fit” and (structural) “place” is

called a social role. Gender roles introduce specific, functional aspects of gender through socialization. Put differently, there are various expected roles attached to the genders.

Gender roles are: (1) social structural “places” that pre-exist the individual; (2) are lived into reality by persons’ attempts to “fit”; (3) conjoined in reciprocal role sets to form institutional arrangements of gender-appropriate interactions; and, (4) the means by which gender functions in society, including its social control (Wentworth 1980: 21).

Gender is thus patterned and located within the workings of society (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 54; Wentworth and Yardley 1994: 51, n. 25). Simultaneous with its institutionalization, gender is typified. That is, gender is given the stable meanings called stereotypes, and thereby placed into culture. As social creations, gender stereotypes are external to individuals (Durkheim 1964: 19; Lukes 1985:10-12). Stereotypes are the social means to evaluate and control individuals who are treated as representatives—good or bad—of their genders. Of course, exposure to cultural stereotypes is part of socialization and thus an influence on self-formation and social self-control (Wentworth 2002: 129, 144).

As the underlying structural and institutional frameworks of society change—historically or cross-culturally—gender, gender roles and gender stereotypes are altered. In so far as structural changes within a society occur unevenly, or their effects are disproportionately imperative across the demographics of a population, changes in gender will create degrees of anomie, dissonance, resistance and conflict (Wentworth 2011: 41-68). Additionally, changes in the individual’s experiences in society and of its institutions can effect changes in gender. Such changes occur by childhood development,

biographical experiences, migration or career development. Whether structural, individual or both, change reverberates throughout one's master identity and may alter work values. Given the depth and scope of China's current transformations we must understand that gendered work values are subject to the same shifts, discordance and tensions that face society itself (Kahle 1983; Inglehart 2003; Broadbent and Brockman 2010).

Conception of Work Values

Since the 1970s, researchers have been discussing the definition, structure and influential factors of work value from different angles. The individual's conception of work values was given by Kalleberg who defined work values as individual "conceptions of the desirable" regarding work (Kalleberg 1977). Other researchers such as Brown, Knoop and Schwartz, all believed that work values are what individuals expect to attain from work (Brown 2002; Knop 1994; Schwartz 1999). Knoop (1994) referred work values to the degree of worth, importance and desirability that employees attach to the work. Ros, Schwartz, and Shoshana (1999) saw work values as goals or rewards individuals achieve through work and the embodiment of individuals' values in the work life.

Gender Differences in Work Values

Men and women internalize different roles and values that are seen as expected of them respectively (Marini, Fan, Finley and Beutel 1996). Men are more likely to engage in breadwinning activities, but women emphasize the role of family life. Females' double role (housewives and career women) has been considered as the main reason for

women's low work involvement (Beutell and Greenhaus 1982). Samuel and Hall (1977) have pointed out that because men and women have different perceptions and identifications in traditional cultures, women's paid work involvement is lower than men's. Government policies and support (labor force participation) also play a very strong role in women's labor force participation (Misra, Budig and Moller 2007). Such policies tend to support the more conservative elements of a country's culture.

There are many studies on the relationship between gender and work values in the West. The results from workers' responses to attitudinal surveys in the Hawthorne studies from 1927 to 1932 showed that men cared more about pay and working conditions than women; men considered these two factors as the vital aspects of their work. By comparison, women cared more about social relations with colleagues than men (Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939/1975, p. 245; Tolbert and Moen 1998). The findings of some later studies are consistent with the earlier studies (Tolbert and Moen 1998). For example, women were more likely to prefer pleasant coworkers than men, while men preferred to get more opportunities to increase earnings (Schuler 1975). Jozefowicz, Barber, Eccles (1993) conducted a survey on adolescent work-related values and beliefs among 603 female and 439 male twelfth-grade students from 10 schools in Michigan. The results showed that male students had greater preference for high status, competitiveness and material wealth than female students; female students were more likely to put family and friends above work (Jozefowicz et al. 1993). A meta-analysis on men and women in the U.S. between 1970 and 1998 found men placed greater importance on earnings, leadership opportunities, promotion opportunities, power and

influence. Women placed greater importance on working with people, opportunity to help others, and feelings of accomplishment (Konrad, Ritchie, Lieb and Corrigan 2000). From 1976-1991, Marini et al. (1996) conducted a study of work value differences of U.S high school seniors. They found that women cared more about being helpful to others and the chance to make friends; men cared more about leisure activities, freedom from supervision and wanted more than two weeks vacation.

Studies of Europeans showed somewhat different results on gender-related issues of working time. Krings, Nierling, Pedaci and Piersanti (2009) looked at the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 2007 data. The authors discovered that in Europe long working hours is a largely male phenomenon, and part-time work is predominantly a female phenomenon. For instance, 22% men versus 20% women work full-time jobs, but 45% women versus 15% men work part-time jobs (Krings et al. 2009). Additionally, as compared to men, women participate more in flexible or discontinuous work to reconcile work with family responsibilities (Krings et al. 2009).

There are socio-cultural differences between Western countries and China, especially in terms of individualism and Confucianism. In individualist societies, such as most Western countries, people are more likely to think of themselves as “I” rather than as part of “We” (Wong 2002). They are more concerned about their own interests, and act as individuals rather than members of groups (Hofstede 1994). In Confucian societies (e.g. China, Japan, Korea), people are more collective. They learn to value the society as a whole and respect to the group that they belong to, usually the family (Wong 2002). As

a result, Chinese workers display different work values from American and other western workers (Shenkar and Ronen 1987; Cheung and Scherling 1999). Researchers from Taiwan studied gender differences in work values among Taiwanese. They revealed that, contrary to what was found in most Western studies, Taiwanese men more than women placed greater importance on some work-quality values. These included self-accomplishment, sense of achievement, variety and self-improvement (Chen, Wang, Liu, Ou and Li 1987; Chiu 1993; Chou and Ngo 2002; Lee 2003; Hu 2006). Further, among male Chinese young professionals the top three job attributes were personal interest, aspiration for applying the knowledge and starting salary (Chow and Ngo 2002). Chen et al. (1987) found that female college students in Taiwan attached more importance to relations with superiors, work environment, sense of accomplishment and variability, whereas male college students emphasized authority, prestige, creativity and intellectual stimulation. Hu (2006) discovered that female college students placed more importance on interpersonal relationships than male college students. Huang's findings showed that men were more concerned with pursuing self-improvement, sense of achievement, wealth and sense of superiority, whereas women were more concerned with job security (Huang 2004). Bu and McKeen (2001) compared the work goals of male and female business students in Canada and China. They found that Chinese male students emphasized career success, while Chinese female students emphasized work environment and moral congruence. Chen and Lee (1995) showed that men tended to value achievement more highly than women.

A review of the previous literature suggests that gender differences in work values do exist. A summary of major studies is provided in Table I. Research has yet to explore the social origins of such gender differences, however. Human beings don't exist separately from the society, and every human being has multiple roles (e.g., spouse, parent and employee) differentiated by gender. A direct examination of these factors is necessary for understanding different work values between men and women.

Table I: Summary of literature on gender differences in work values

	Men	Women
Western Studies	Job security, Job authority, High earnings, Promotion, (Tolbert and Moen 1988; Schuler 1975; Jozefowicz et al.1993)	Social relations, Job autonomy, Serving people, Short work time, Sense of achievement, (Tolbert and Moen 1988; Schuler 1975; Konral et al. 2000; Marini et al. 1996)
Chinese Studies	Sense of achievement, High earnings, Job authority, Job interests, Job prestige, (Chen et al.1987; Chiu 1993; Chow and Ngo 2002; Chen and Lee 1995)	Social relations, Job autonomy, Job security, (Huang 2004; Chen et al.1987; Hu 2006; Bu and McKeen 2001)

Gender Differences in Work Values and Marriage and Family Status

Research on gender differences in work values often attributes some of the differences (e.g., work time, job autonomy, and earnings) to gendered roles in society (Marini et al. 1996; Tolbert and Moen 1998). Eagly (1987) suggested that gender roles are strongly connected with gender stereotypes: men are expected to bear financial responsibility; women are expected take care of household labor. Johnson (2005) argued that the transition to parenthood compels men and women to live more gender-specific roles. Women perform the majority of childcare tasks and share disproportionately the

household labor; men, on the other hand, are the main financial provider of the family (Johnson 2005). Since the demands that are associated with marriage and children have historically differed for men and women, they may play a role in producing gender differences in work values.

The effects of marriage and childbearing have been closely linked with work-family role conflict (David and McAllister 1991; Wiersma 1990; Zhang et al. 2008). Zhang et al. (2008) mentioned that being a mother, in a sense, means that women would confront with some challenges such as career breaks after childbirth, low-status jobs and a disproportionate share of family responsibility. Women's family responsibilities, especially after marriage and childbirth, were found to be greater than men's (Zhang et al. 2008). Similarly, Beauregard (2007) summarized previous research showing that married men, particularly those who have children, often advanced more in their careers than unmarried men because organizations used marriage as a proxy for stability and responsibility to allocate wages and status. By comparison, married women, particularly those who have children, often engage in less demanding and lower income jobs so that they can successfully manage to combine family life with their career. It is important to understand that men and women hold strong values that support this parental division of labor (Wentworth 2011). Johnson and Mortimer (2000) argued that marriage increases men's financial responsibility but reduces women's. Thus, husbands become wage slaves and wives become economically dependent on their husbands.

Some Chinese studies showed that family responsibilities reduced women's job involvement (Cao and Hu 2007; Cong 2001; Lou 2008; Fan, Feng and Wu 2009). They

found also that marriage and childbearing reduced the competitiveness of women in the labor market, and impacted women's career development. In urban areas of China, Cao and Chai (2007) collected data from 261 households in the city of Shenzhen to analyze gender differences in household work time. They found that the presence of children under 18 years old had more impact on women than men. That is, women need to take more household responsibilities than men. Likewise, in rural areas of China, Yang, Li and Veeman (2004) discovered that women had more parenting responsibilities and lost work opportunities and decreased their income.

However, these studies mainly illustrate the relationship between marriage and family status and work activities from women's perspective. Studies on how work values are related to marriage and family status and how these relationships differ by gender are rare, and thus we need to examine these relationships based upon more research evidence.

Gender Differences in Work Values and Socioeconomic Status and Occupational Characteristics

Gender differences in socioeconomic status and occupational achievements have been well studied in the western countries (Dunne, Elliott and Carlsen 1981; Johnson and Mortimer 2002; Rojewski and Kim 2003; Lee and Rojewski 2009). Bozgeyikli, Eroglu and Hamurcu (2009) cited previous studies and stated that socioeconomic background affects individual's occupational aspirations and their vocational development. When education is used as an indicator of socioeconomic status, research found that people with higher education: (1) have higher demands for self-improvement and self realization in work, (2) place greater attention on intrinsic work values such as decision-making power,

(3) desire the achievement of personal goals through work, (4) take the initiative to seek opportunities for development. These work values are different from those held by people with less education (Johnson and Elder 2002).

For both men and women, more education leads to higher expectations for better paying jobs and career advancement (Fuchs 1971; Mannheim 1988). Domenico and Jones (2006) supported the idea that education is positively associated with career success and increased salary for women, which means that the more education women receive, the more they get paid. Laura Perna analyzed the data from U.S. Department of Education's National Educational Longitudinal Study (more than 9,000 1992 graduates) and found that men received the majority of first-professional degrees and doctorates, while women receive the majority of associate's, bachelor's and master's degrees (Troumpoucis 2004). With regard to the relationship between occupation characteristics and gender, Brief, Rose and Aldag (1977) found that there were no gender differences in work values when people were in the same occupation in the U.S. Gomez-Mejia (1990) also found no differences between female and male managers, but differences between production workers and managers. They claimed that production worker were more likely to care about high earnings and job security; managers were more likely to care about promotion and sense of accomplishment.

Chinese studies have showed somewhat similar results to Western studies. Liu and Zhao (2001) found that people with higher education generally had higher demand for self-improvement and self-realization. They placed greater attention to achieve personal growth, and took the initiative to seek opportunities for development. Li, Liu and Wan

(2008) conducted a survey of employees from different enterprises in North China to analyze the relationship between education and work values. They found that work values were closely related to educational levels. The higher education the employees received, the higher ranking on social relations and sense of achievement. Huang (2004)'s study also discovered that quality control staffs with higher education were more achievement-oriented, wealth-oriented, and had stronger sense of superiority. She claimed that highly educated employees had a clear goal in mind that their purposes of work were not only to earn, but also to pursue self-realization and successful careers. However, these studies haven't clearly illustrated the work value differences of men and women with different educational levels. According to the China Educational Statistics in 2010, except for Doctor's Degrees and Employed People Enrolled in Doctoral and Master's Degree Programs, the percentage of female students in higher education is slightly higher than that of male students (Educational Statistics in 2010, Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China). Thus, it is important to explore whether there are gender differences in work values when Chinese women are receiving higher education today.

In terms of occupational characteristics, Nielsen and Symth (2008) used data from the China Mainland Marketing Research Company survey, which was conducted from 10,716 respondents across 32 cities of China about their occupations and the rewards people seek when looking for a job. They found that there were significant differences between blue-collar and white-collar workers. The blue-collar workers with less education and lower income cared more about job security and job stability and less

about income and promotion. The white-collar workers with higher education and higher income were more likely to be concerned with sense of achievement and job prestige. More importantly, Ngo (2000)'s analyses of the 1991 and 1996 Hong Kong Census discovered that female workers were predominantly in office clerks, customer services clerks and shop sales workers, while male workers were more represented in skilled, crafts and managerial positions. Similar to Hong Kong, mainland China is still characterized by a noticeable gender division of labor in the workplace. Thus, it is reasonable to explore the work value differences of men and women in different occupations.

HYPOTHESES

Based on the theories and literature reviewed above, I derive a conceptual model of the relationships among gender, family status, socioeconomic status and occupational characteristics, and work values. Figure 1 illustrates this model. This study tests four hypotheses specified in this model.

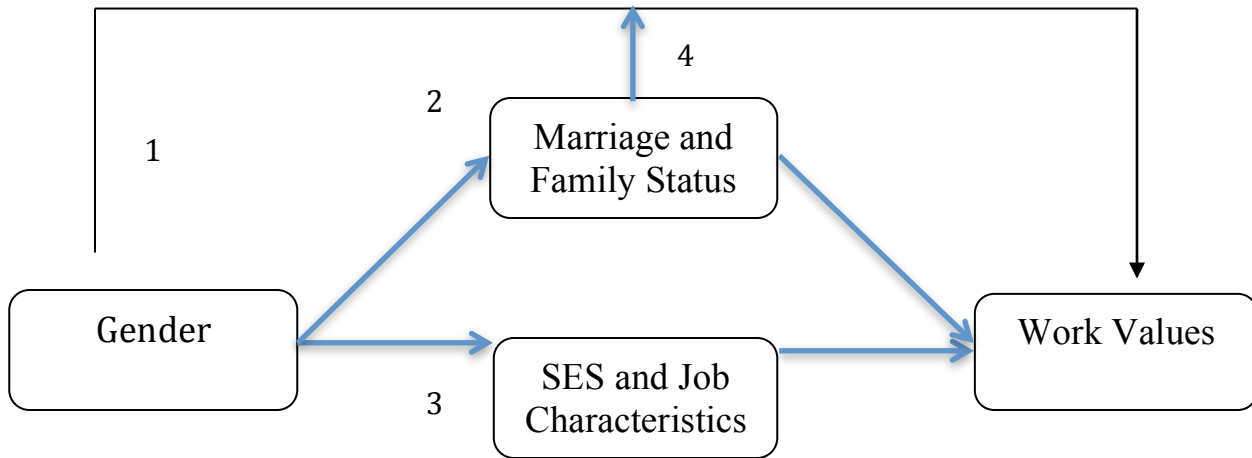
Hypothesis 1: Men place more importance on job characteristics of high income, prestige, authority, personal interest, sense of achievement, and promotion opportunities than women, whereas women place more importance on short hours, autonomy, job security, social relations, and opportunity to help others. Gender role socialization theory suggests that men and women learn the behaviors and attitudes that a culture defines as appropriate for their gender during the socialization process, and they tend to conform to gender roles (Chow and Ngo 2002).

Hypothesis 2: Gender differences in work values are partially mediated by gender differences in marriage and family status. For example, due to gender roles, women are more likely to take on the primary responsibility for housework and childcare, and men tend to be responsible for providing financial support to the family. Thus, women may value short hours and job autonomy more because such jobs would allow them to better shoulder their family responsibilities. Men, on the other hand, place greater value on earnings to better support their families.

Hypothesis 3: Gender differences in work values can be explained in part by gender differences in socioeconomic status and job characteristics. For example, Ngo (2000) found that women were more likely to engage in low income and low status jobs, and they may have higher demand of job security. In contrast, men tend to receive higher status jobs, and they may have a higher demand of sense of achievement.

Hypothesis 4: The effects of marriage and family status on work values will differ for men and women. Married men may increase the ratings of some work values, such as income, prestige, and promotional opportunity more than married women because marriage and childbearing increase men's financial responsibility and reduce women's (Johnson and Mortimer 2000). Married women, on the other hand, may increase the ratings of other work values, such as short hours and job autonomy, more than married men.

Figure I. Conceptual Model of the Relationships among Gender, Family Status, Socioeconomic Status, Occupational Characteristics and Work Values



DATA AND METHODS

Data

The data come from the Chinese General Social Survey 2005 (CGSS2005), which was jointly conducted by the Division of Social Science of the Hong Kong University and the Department of Sociology of Renmin University of China. CGSS2005 is a biannual survey of China's urban and rural households. Although CGSS2003, CGSS2006 and CGSS2008 are available to the public, only CGSS2005 investigated Chinese people's work values. The purpose of the survey was to track economic, political, social, cultural changes, the positions of social groups and their relative roles, and public opinions. It has been widely used to study social stratification and its consequences in China.

The sampling frame of CGSS2005 came from China's fifth population census in 2000. The survey used the multistage stratified sampling method with probability proportionate to size (PPS) for selecting samples. PPS in CGSS2005 contained four main stages, including selecting district (county) as the primary sampling units, street (town) as the secondary sampling units, Residents and Villagers Committee as the third sampling units and households as the ultimate sampling units. If there was only one person living in the household, the resident was the respondent. If there were two or more persons living in the household, those people who were over eighteen years old and having lived in this household more than one week were asked to provide their age, gender and relationship with the householder. Afterwards, the interviewers used their own sampling table to randomly select one respondent from them.

CGSS2005 covered 125 districts (counties) in 28 provinces of mainland China. 10,372 Chinese adults aged 18 years or over were interviewed in person. Among them, 6,098 (about 58.8% of total sample) were urban residents; the other 4,274 (about 41.2% of total sample) were rural residents. The response rate was 53% (Wu 2009). The survey consisted of 8 sections, which listed detailed information on household members, basic personal status, family, mental health, economic attitudes and behavior evaluation, community life and governance, rural governance and villager committees. Because only CGSS2005 investigated people's work values, it is appropriate to use this data to explore the basic direction of work values of Chinese people. Because the survey used a complex sampling design, the CGSS investigators provided weighting variables which can be used to weight the analysis results so that the findings can be generalized to the larger Chinese adult population. The weighting variable provided by CGSS2005 is used to weight the data that are estimated in this thesis. After deleting 2 cases who are missing on marital status, 11 cases who are missing on education and 27 cases who are missing on occupational characteristics, those who said "I don't know" or refused to answer questions, there were 10,332 respondents, 4,897 men and 5,435 women in the analytical sample.

Measures

Work Values

The question on work values asked: "People want to get some benefits or rewards from their work. In the following work rewards, which one do you want to get first, second and third? Please select the first three." The choices were: (a) high income; (b)

long-term job security; (c) social prestige and respect; (d) more authority; (e) satisfy personal interest; (f) opportunity for promotion; (g) short working hours; (h) extend personal social network; (i) serve the public and society; (j) display personal intelligence and attain sense of achievement; and (k) more free time.

Three variables included in the data file recorded respondents' first, second and third ranked work values. Based on this information, I created one variable for each work value item with four categories: not ranked, first ranked, second ranked and third ranked. For regression analyses, each variable was coded ("not ranked"=1; "third ranked" = 2; "second ranked"=3; and "first ranked"= 4). Higher values indicate higher rankings.

Gender

Respondents chose from two categories: men and women. A variable "female" was coded "1" for women and "0" for men.

Marriage and Family Status

Family status is measured by marital status and the number of children. The respondent was asked: "Which of the following is your current marital status?" The response options included: unmarried, married, divorced and widowed. Marital status was coded into three dummy variables with being married as the reference category. Based on the household listing information provided by the respondent, a variable was created to indicate the number of children, which includes both children living inside and outside the household. The number of children ranged from 1 to 9. Because previous literature suggests that the presence of children under 18 years old in the household has a

great impact on women's time allocation (Cao and Chai 2007), I also created a variable indicating the number of children under 18 years old living in the households.

Socioeconomic Status and Occupational Characteristics

Measures of SES and job characteristics include education, party membership, type of occupation, work hours, earnings and job benefits. Since the only political party in China is the Communist Party of China, it plays a leading role in governing Chinese society. Communist party membership is an important status indicator. Respondents were asked, "Are you a Communist Party member?" and a variable was created to indicate party membership ("Yes"= 1; "No"= 0).

Education was measured with the question "What is the highest level of education you have completed?" The original response categories are: primary school (grade 1 to 6), junior school (grade 1 to 3, similar to 7, 8, 9 in U.S.), senior school (grade 1 to 3, similar to high school 10, 11, 12 in U.S), vocational senior school, secondary specialized school, associated degree (part-time and full-time), bachelor degree (part-time and full-time) and master or higher degree (domestic and abroad). This variable was converted into highest years of education completed and ranges from 0 to 20.

For occupational characteristics, two questions were used. The first one was "What is your current occupation?" For those who were not currently working, the question asked about their last job. Occupation was grouped into six categories: professional, manager and technician; clerical and service; skilled labor; semiskilled and unskilled labor; people who never worked; and farmer. Respondents who never worked or were students when being interviewed didn't need to answer this question, and they were

treated as never worked. This variable was dummy coded with professional, manager and technician as the reference category. The second question was “On average, how many hours do you work per week?” and the answers ranged from 0 to 168 hours. “0” was assigned to those who never worked.

In order to understand respondents’ economic status, their earnings and job benefits were measured. For earnings, respondents were asked, “How much is your total income in 2004 including salary, bonus, allowance, dividends, insurance, pension and interest on banking accounts?” If respondents who said, “I don’t know” or refused to answer this question, they were treated as missing data. Mean substitution is used to replace all the missing data in this variable. The new mean is ¥ 7,716 (RMB) and a dummy variable is created to indicate these missing cases and included in regression analysis. For job benefits, the question “Does your agency/company provide the following insurance and allowance?” was asked. The benefits included free medical care, medical insurance, retirement insurance, unemployment insurance and housing allowance. The interviewees selected “Yes” or “No” for each benefit, and a total count of available benefits was calculated.

Control Variables

Age was measured by years since birth, ranging from 18 to 94 years old. For residency, the urban resident was coded 1 and the rural resident was coded 0. Ethnicity was coded 1 for Han ethnicity, which is the China’s main nationality, and 0 for others.

Statistical Procedures

Analyses were conducted using SPSS to examine gender differences in work values in China. All results were weighted so that the findings can be generalized to the larger Chinese adult population.

First, descriptive statistics (mean/standard deviation for interval/ratio variables and frequency distribution for categorical variables) stratified by gender for each variable are analyzed. T-test and Chi-square test are used to see whether gender differences are significant. Cross tabulations of each work value item by gender are provided along with Chi-square tests to see if there are significant gender differences in each work value item.

Second, ordinal logistic regression models are used to examine gender differences in work values. For each of the eleven work values, potential mediating variables are placed seriatim in four succeeding models. The first model includes gender and all control variables. Model 1 will determine if men and women differ on each work value when controlling for age, Han ethnicity, and urban/rural residency. The second model adds marital status and number of children to model 1. Model 2 will determine if the gender effect on each work value is mediated by family status. The third model adds socioeconomic status and job characteristics to model 2. Model 3 will determine if the gender effect on that work value is mediated by socioeconomic and job characteristics. The fourth model adds two interaction variables to model 3. Model 4 includes the product of each marital status and gender and the product of number of children and gender to see whether the effects of marital status and number of children on work values differ for men and women.

Finally, all the analyses above will be repeated with dichotomous work value items. This is performed because for some work value items, the number of respondents who ranked them as their top three choices is too small, and results from ordinal regressions may not be robust. As a sensitivity test, the first, second, third ranks were combined to create a new variable “ranked” for each work value item, and binary logistic regression models are estimated to compare respondents who ranked it as one of the top three choices (“ranked”) and those who didn’t rank it as one of the top three choices (“not ranked”).

RESULTS

Table II presents descriptive statistics by gender for the variables. There are significant differences between men and women in marriage and family status, socioeconomic status and occupational characteristics. For marital status, a higher percentage of women than men are married (87.5% vs. 84.4%) and widowed (5.3% vs. 3.1%). However, a higher percentage of men than women are never married (11.0% vs. 6.3%) and divorced (1.5% vs. 0.9%). The total number of children is greater for women than for men ($M=1.58$ vs. 1.50), though the difference is very small. Also, the total number of children under 18 years old living in the household is greater for women than for men ($M=.73$ vs. $.66$). For socioeconomic status, the percentage of men being party members is higher than their female counterparts (16.9% vs. 4.5%). Men receive more education than women ($M=8.69$ vs. 7.03). Men are more likely to have a professional, managerial or technical job and have a skilled, semi skilled or unskilled job. At the same

time, women are more likely to have a clerical or service job, be a farmer, or have never worked. What's more, men tend to work longer hours (M=51.09 vs. 47.02), have higher income (M= ¥ 9,620 vs. ¥ 5,990), and get more job benefits than women (M=1.24 vs. .81).

Table II. Descriptive statistics by gender

	Man (N=4897)		Women (N=5435)		P
	Mean/Percent	Std	Mean/Percent	Std	
<i>Marriage and Family Status</i>					
Marital status					***
Married	84.4		87.5		
Never married	11.0		6.3		
Divorced	1.5		0.9		
Widowed	3.1		5.3		
Number of children (0-9)	1.50	(1.14)	1.58	(1.11)	***
Number of children under 18 in HH (0-7)	.66	(.81)	.73	(.79)	***
<i>Socioeconomic Status and Occupational Characteristics</i>					
Party (Yes)	16.9		4.5		***
Education (0-20)	8.69	(4.50)	7.03	(4.82)	***
Occupation type					***
Prof/managerial/tech	18.2		13.0		
Clerical/service	14.0		16.0		
Skilled/labor	14.1		12.5		
Semi/unskilled labor	13.9		5.6		
Farmer	36.7		44.0		
Not work	3.0		8.9		
Weekly working hours (0-168)	51.09	(18.38)	47.02	(21.48)	***
Total income in 2004 (in ¥ 1000)	9.62	(14.21)	5.99	(10.16)	***
Missing income	2.2		3.4		***
Job benefits (0-7)	1.24	(2.05)	.81	(1.70)	***
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Age (18-94)	45.42	(15.06)	43.53	(14.05)	***
Urban	51.3		52.0		
Han	92.9		93.5		

Note: N=10,332. All results are weighted.

p indicates significance of gender differences from t-test and Chi-square test: * p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Gender Differences in Work Values

Table III presents the distribution of the ranking of each work value item by gender. The general ranking patterns are quite similar for men and women. For both men and women, high earnings is ranked as the first choice by most respondents, followed by job security, and job prestige. However, there are gender differences in the percentage distributions. A higher percentage of women than men rank high earnings (51.7% vs. 49.0%) and job security (24.7% vs. 22.9%) as first, but a lower percentage of women than men rank job prestige (5.0% vs. 6.8%) as first. Although the numbers of respondents choosing the other work value items are small, and thus the results on them may not be robust, there are statistically significant gender differences in ranking job authority, job promotion, short work time, serving people, sense of achievement and job autonomy. A higher percentage of men than women choose job authority, job promotion, serving people or sense of achievement as the top three work values. A slightly lower percentage of women than men rank short work time as the first choice, but a much higher percentage of women rank it as a second or third choice. For job autonomy, the percentage of ranking it as the first choice is the same for men and women. Men are slightly more likely than women to rank it as the second choices, but they are less likely than women to rank it as the third choice, and overall a higher percentage of men than women do not rank it as the top three choices (86.0% vs. 83.1%). There are no significant gender differences in ranking job interest and social relations.

Table III. Cross tabulation for the new job reward variables

	Men				Women				<i>P</i>
	1st ranked	2nd ranked	3rd ranked	not ranked	1st ranked	2nd ranked	3rd ranked	not ranked	
High earnings	49.0 (2398)	17.9 (875)	8.7 (425)	24.5 (1199)	51.7 (2809)	18.5 (1003)	7.8 (424)	22.1 (1199)	***
Job security	22.9 (1120)	25.8 (1265)	9.1 (445)	42.2 (2067)	24.7 (1340)	27.8 (1509)	8.5 (460)	39.1 (2126)	**
Job prestige	6.8 (333)	11.8 (580)	12.4 (609)	68.9 (3375)	5.0 (270)	10.6 (570)	11.2 (607)	73.3 (3982)	***
Job authority	2.4 (118)	7.1 (348)	7.4 (360)	83.1 (4071)	1.9 (102)	6.1 (333)	6.3 (341)	84.5 (4659)	***
Job interest	4.7 (232)	9.8 (481)	11.3 (555)	74.1 (3629)	3.9 (213)	9.7 (529)	11.1 (604)	75.2 (4089)	
Job promote	.8 (37)	2.8 (137)	4.8 (235)	91.6 (4488)	.6 (34)	2.3 (126)	3.9 (212)	93.2 (5063)	+
Short work time	1.3 (65)	4.6 (224)	8.1 (398)	86.0 (4210)	1.3 (68)	7.0 (383)	11.7 (638)	80.0 (4346)	***
Job social relations	.7 (32)	2.4 (119)	4.7 (232)	92.2 (4514)	.4 (21)	1.8 (99)	4.4 (239)	93.4 (5076)	
Serving people	2.3 (112)	4.0 (195)	6.6 (324)	87.1 (4266)	1.5 (82)	2.6 (143)	5.4 (295)	90.4 (4915)	***
Sense of achievement	4.2 (206)	5.6 (275)	11.5 (562)	78.7 (3854)	2.8 (152)	4.0 (220)	9.7 (529)	83.4 (4534)	***
Job autonomy	1.8 (86)	3.5 (173)	8.7 (425)	86.0 (4213)	1.8 (96)	3.2 (174)	11.9 (647)	83.1 (4518)	***

Note: for male, N=4897; for female, N=5435. Numbers are percentages with the numbers of respondents in parentheses. p indicates significance of gender differences: + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Gender Differences in Work Values

Results from ordinal logistic regressions of work values on gender and control variables are presented in Table IV. After controlling for age, urban/rural residency and ethnicity, gender differences in work values are still significant. The most substantial gender differences are in the ranking of short work time and sense of achievement; women's odds of ranking short work time higher are 58% more than men's, while their odds of ranking sense of achievement higher are 35% less than men's. In addition, the

odds for women to rank high earnings, job autonomy and job security higher are 15%, 14% and 10% respectively more than the odds for men. On the other hand, women are less likely than men to have higher ranking on serving others (OR=.74), job authority (OR=.76), job promotion (OR=.78) and job prestige (OR=.80). There is no significant gender difference in the ranking of social relations and the gender difference in the ranking of job interest only approaches significance.

Thus, the results partially support the first hypothesis. That is, there are gender differences in work values in China. Men place more importance on job prestige, job authority, sense of achievement and job promotion, while women place more importance on short working hours, job autonomy and job security. However, the results are not all consistent with our predictions. For example, we predict that men value high earnings and job interest more than women and the results show that they value them less. Also, we predict that women value serving people more than men, but the results show that they value less. Finally, we predict that women value social relations more than men but the results show no difference.

Table IV. Odds ratios from ordinal logistic regressions of work values on gender and control variables (Model 1)

	High earnings	Security	Prestige	Authority	Interest	Promotion	Short work time	Social relations	Serving people	Sense of achievement	Autonomy
Women	1.15***	1.10**	0.80***	0.76***	0.92+	0.78**	1.58***	0.88	0.74***	0.65***	1.14*
Age	0.98***	1.00**	1.02***	1.00*	0.99***	0.98***	1.00	0.98***	1.02***	0.98***	1.00*
Han	0.89	1.15+	0.96	1.57***	0.91	1.04	0.95	1.80**	1.21	1.51***	0.99
Urban	0.71***	1.29***	0.92+	1.32***	1.17**	1.57***	0.70***	1.22*	0.99	1.42***	1.05

Note: results are weighted. + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Gender Differences in Work Values and Marriage and Family Status

Results from regressions of work values on gender, measures of marriage and family status, and control variables are presented in Table V. The results show that when marital status, number of children, and number of children under 18 in the household are added to the models in Table IV, the associations between gender and work values do not change much. Only the gender difference in ranking job interest becomes non-significant. Marriage and number of children do seem to mediate the relationship between gender and valuing job interest, because Table II shows that women are more likely to be married and having more children than men. Table V shows that people who are married and with more children have a lower ranking on job interest than those who are never married and have fewer children.

In addition, the largest noticeable attenuation in gender differences in work values is in the ranking of job security; the odds ratio only approaches significance when marital and family status variables are added. Women are more likely to be married than men (see Table II) and married people are more likely to value job security than those who have never married (see Table V). Thus marital status does seem to mediate the relationship between gender and valuing job security. Marital status also affects the importance placed on earnings. Those who are currently married rank earnings higher than those who are widowed or never married, but this does not seem to explain much of the effect of gender on valuing earnings. Similarly, the number of children under 18 years old in the household increases the ranking of short hours, but it does not seem to explain much of the effect of gender on valuing short work hours.

Table V. Odds ratios from ordinal logistic regressions of work values on gender, marriage, family status and control variables (Model 2)

	High earnings	Security	Prestige	Authority	Interest	Promotion	Short work time	Social relations	Serving people	Sense of achievement	Autonomy
Women	1.14**	1.07+	0.80***	0.78***	0.96	0.78**	1.57***	0.89	0.73***	0.66***	1.13*
Age	0.98***	0.99***	1.02***	1.00	1.00*	0.98***	1.00	0.99**	1.01***	0.98***	0.99**
Han	0.89	1.14	0.97	1.57**	0.89	1.04	0.96	1.83**	1.19	1.49**	0.99
Urban	0.72***	1.29***	0.96	1.29***	1.10*	1.61***	0.70***	1.23*	1.03	1.37***	1.07
Marital status (ref=Married)											
Divorced	1.13	0.94	1.20	1.26	0.68+	1.05	0.96	0.67	0.98	0.55*	1.10
Widowed	0.78*	1.06	0.98	0.75+	0.76*	0.79	0.98	1.10	0.76+	0.76	1.11
Never married	0.72***	0.54***	1.08	1.10	1.34**	1.09	0.90	1.32+	0.86	1.06	0.97
Children	0.97	0.95*	1.08**	0.96	0.94*	1.09	0.96	1.01	1.09**	0.96	1.06+
Children under 18	1.04	0.98	1.01	1.03	0.96	0.96	1.09*	1.05	0.92+	0.94	0.96

Note: results are weighted. + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Gender Differences in Work Values and Socioeconomic Status and Occupational Characteristics

Table VI presents the results from adding socioeconomic status and occupational characteristics to the models in Table V. In these models, the associations between gender and work values change much more substantially. Gender differences in the rankings of high earnings and job security become non-significant. This attenuation is because women receive less education, are less likely to be a Chinese Communist Party member, are more likely to have a clerical or service job, and are more likely to be a farmer (see Table II), having less education, not being a party member, having a clerical, service or farming job are all associated with placing greater value on high earnings (see Table VI). Lower income and fewer job benefits are significantly associated with ranking higher on job security which explains the further attenuation of gender differences in valuing job security.

Substantial attenuations in gender differences also occurs in the rankings of serving others and sense of achievement. Since education, party membership and having a

professional, managerial or technical job are significantly associated with ranking higher on serving others, women's lower ranking on serving others can be explained by women's lacking these characteristics. Education, party membership, and earning are positively associated with the ranking of sense of achievement which helps explain the attenuation of gender difference in valuing sense of achievement when SES and occupational characteristics are added. In addition, gender differences in the rankings of prestige, promotion, and short hours also decreases, but to a lesser extent. Therefore, the results provide strong support for the third hypothesis that gender differences in work values can be explained in part by gender differences in socioeconomic status and job characteristics.

Table VI. Odds ratios from ordinal logistic regressions of work values on gender, marriage, family status, SES, occupational characteristics and control variables (Model 3)

	High earnings	Security	Prestige	Authority	Interest	Promotion	Short work time	Social relations	Serving people	Sense of achievement	Autonomy
Women	1.04	1.04	0.84***	0.75***	1.02	0.80*	1.53***	0.94	0.82**	0.80***	1.14*
Age	0.98***	0.99***	1.02***	1.00	1.00	0.97***	1.00	0.99*	1.01***	0.99***	0.99*
Han	0.94	1.15+	0.95	1.55**	0.85+	1.02	1.00	1.75**	1.12	1.34*	0.99
Urban	0.99	1.19**	1.01	1.19*	0.95	1.49**	0.95	0.87	0.71**	0.83*	0.89
Marital status (ref=Married)											
Divorced	1.08	0.92	1.25	1.21+	0.66+	1.07	0.97	0.68	1.03	0.56*	1.10
Widowed	0.76**	1.02	1.04	0.75	0.80+	0.79	0.95	1.11	0.81	0.86	1.11
Never married	0.74***	0.55***	1.17	1.09	1.37**	1.17	0.91	1.22	0.88	1.16	0.91
Children	0.96+	0.95*	1.09***	0.98	0.95+	1.10+	0.94*	1.02	1.10**	1.00	1.06+
Children under 18	1.02	0.98	1.01	1.02	0.98	0.96	1.08*	1.07	0.94	0.9	0.97
Education	0.98***	1.00	1.01+	1.00	1.05***	0.99	0.98**	1.02	1.04***	1.08***	1.00
Party member	0.67***	0.99	1.21**	0.64***	0.81*	1.18	1.15	1.10	1.40***	1.23*	0.95
Occupation (ref=Professional/managerial/tech)											
Clerical/Service	1.17*	1.24**	0.80**	1.23*	0.85*	1.14	1.22+	0.88	0.83+	0.87	0.96
Skilled/labor	1.12	1.35***	0.84*	1.29*	0.93	1.22	1.21+	0.77+	0.58***	0.93	0.85
Semi/unskilled labor	1.15+	1.33***	0.71***	1.03	0.91	1.04	1.32*	0.83	0.61***	0.99	0.95
Farmer	1.39***	0.84*	1.03	1.04	1.00	0.96	1.42**	0.62**	0.57***	0.76*	0.85
Not worked	0.83	0.83	0.55***	0.73	1.10	0.66+	1.43*	1.13	0.68+	0.95	1.59**
Income	1.00	0.98***	1.00	1.01+	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.01*	0.99+	1.01*	1.01**
Missing income	1.06	0.82+	0.96*	0.77**	0.84	0.31**	1.02	1.32	1.11	1.75***	1.36*
Weekly work hours	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.99***	1.00	1.00	1.01**	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00+
Job benefits	0.99	0.97*	1.01	1.01	1.04*	1.02	0.96*	0.98	1.00	1.02	1.04*

Note: results are weighted. + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Interactions of Gender with Marriage and Family Status on Work Values

Table VII presents the regression results when interaction terms between gender and marital status, between gender and number of children, and between gender and number of children under 18 years old in the household are added to the models in Table VI. To ease interpretation, Table VIII illustrates the different effects of family status measures on work values for men and women. Very few interaction terms are statistically significant. For example, none of the interaction terms between gender and number of children under 18 years old in the household are significant and of the eleven interaction terms between gender and total number of children, only one is approaching significance. Net of all other variables, including number of children under 18 years old in the household, the total number of children negatively affects women's ranking of short work time, but it does not affect men's ranking of short work time. Of the 33 interaction terms between gender and marital status variables, six are significant or approaching significance (see Table VIII). These interaction effects show that for men, those who are divorced or never married are not significantly different from those who are married on the ranking of high income. However, women being divorced increases the odds of valuing high income while those who never married value high income less. For men, the widowed are more likely to rank short work time higher than married men. For women, the widowed are less likely to rank short work time higher. For men, those who are never married are not different from those who are married in the ranking of sense of achievement. For women, those who never married rank sense of achievement higher than those who are married. Two additional interaction terms approach significance

showing that being never married increases men's ranking of job authority, but decreases women's, and it affects women's ranking of job interest more than men's.

However, these interactions do not show significant effects on other work value items. Thus, the fourth hypothesis is partially supported that the effects of marriage and parental status on work values differ for men and women.

Table VII. Odds ratios from ordinal logistic regressions of work values on gender, marriage, family status, occupational characteristics, SES, interactions of gender with marital status and number of children and control variables (Model 4)

	High earnings	Security	Prestige	Authority	Interest	Promotion	Short work time	Social relations	Serving people	Sense of achievement	Autonomy
Women	1.06	1.03	0.83*	0.79+	1.07	0.79	1.91***	0.93	0.78+	0.72**	1.04
Age	0.98***	0.99***	1.02***	1.00	1.00	0.97***	1.00	0.99*	1.01***	0.98***	0.99*
Han	0.94	1.15+	0.95	1.54**	0.85+	1.02	1.01	1.76**	1.12	1.34*	0.98
Urban	0.98	1.19**	1.01	1.19+	0.96	1.49**	0.96	0.87	0.70**	0.83*	0.89
Marital status (ref=Married)											
Divorced	0.81	0.77	1.17	1.54	0.84	1.02	0.72	0.34	1.11	0.55+	1.19
Widowed	0.70*	0.93	0.97	0.73	1.00	1.12	1.48+	1.06	0.72	0.74	1.19
Never married	0.86	0.50**	1.18	1.27+	1.22	1.21	0.95	1.16	0.93	0.96	0.86
Children	0.96	0.96	1.09**	0.98	0.97	1.09	1.00	1.02	1.07	0.98	1.04
Children under 18	1.02	0.98	1.02	1.03	0.98	0.96	1.12*	1.06	0.97	0.99	0.93
Education	0.98**	1.00	1.01+	1.00	1.04***	0.99	0.98**	1.02	1.04***	1.08***	1.00
Party member	0.67***	0.99	1.21**	0.64***	0.80**	1.18	1.14	1.09	1.41***	1.23*	0.94
Occupation (ref=Professional/managerial/tech)											
Clerical/Service	1.17*	1.25**	0.80**	1.22*	0.84*	1.13	1.22+	0.88	0.83+	0.88	0.96
Skilled/labor	1.11	1.35***	0.84+	1.28*	0.93	1.22	1.21+	0.77+	0.58***	0.93	0.86
Semi/unskilled labor	1.15+	1.34***	0.71***	1.03	0.91	1.04	1.33*	0.83	0.61***	0.99	0.95
Farmer	1.39***	0.84*	1.03	1.03	1.00	0.95	1.43**	0.63**	0.57***	0.77*	0.84
Not worked	0.83	0.83	0.55	0.74+	1.09	0.67	1.42*	1.12	0.68+	0.94	1.60**
Income	1.00	0.98***	1.00	1.01**	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.01*	0.99+	1.01*	1.01**
Missing income	1.05	0.82+	0.96	0.76	0.85	0.30**	1.03	1.33	1.11	1.76***	1.36*
Weekly work hours	1.00	1.00	1.00+	0.99***	1.00	1.00	1.01**	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00+
Job benefits	0.99	0.97*	1.01	1.01	1.04*	1.02	0.96*	0.98	1.00	1.02	1.04*
Women*divorced	1.68+	1.19	1.37	0.77	0.41	1.15	1.32	1.26	0.87	0.57	0.97
Women*widowed	0.80	1.08	1.09	0.76	0.69	0.62	0.75*	1.15	0.86	0.94	1.07
Women*never married	0.58*	0.63	1.13	0.81+	1.64+	1.09	0.91	1.29	0.76	1.52*	0.96
Women*children	0.96	0.94	1.09	0.98	0.93	1.12	0.91*	1.01	1.14	1.01	1.07
Women*children under 18	1.02	0.98	1.01	1.02	0.97	0.97	1.04	1.07	0.91	0.97	1.01

Note: results are weighted. + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table VIII. Illustration of the different effects of family status on work values for men and women

		High earnings	Job authority	Job interest	Short work time	Sense of achievement
Divorced	Men					
	Women	↑				
Widowed	Men				↑	
	Women				↓	
Never married	Men		↑			
	Women	↓	↓	↑		↑
Children	Men					
	Women				↓	
Children under 18	Men					
	Women					

Sensitivity Tests

Because there are a large proportion of respondents who did not rank each of the work value items, I repeat the above analyses using binary logistic regressions of work values (“ranked” vs. “not ranked”) on gender and other variables. Table IX presents results from this analysis. The results from binary logistic regression are similar to those from ordinal logistic regression. Gender differences in ranking work values in all the four models are still statistically significant. However, gender differences in ranking job security in model 2 and ranking authority and sense of achievement in model 4 only approach significance.

Table IX. Odds ratios from binary logistic regression of work values on gender, marriage, family status, occupational characteristics, SES, interactions of gender and marital status and number of children and control variables

	High earnings	Security	Prestige	Authority	Interest	Promotion	Short work time	Social relations	Serving people	Sense of achievement	Autonomy
Model 1											
Women	1.13*	1.13**	0.81***	0.78***	0.92+	0.78**	1.60***	0.89	0.74***	0.66***	1.17**
Model 2											
Women	1.12*	1.09*	0.84***	0.78***	0.96	0.79**	1.59***	0.90	0.73***	0.68***	1.15*
Model 3											
Women	1.03	1.05	0.83***	0.74***	1.01	0.80*	1.54***	0.94	0.82**	0.81***	1.16*
Model 4											
Women	1.10	1.08	0.81*	0.79*	1.06	0.80	1.92***	0.94	0.78+	0.74*	1.06
Marital status (ref=Married)											
Divorced	0.75	0.71	1.19	1.41	0.86	1.04	0.72	0.34	1.17	0.56	1.18
Widowed	0.66*	0.88	0.96	0.71	1.03	1.14	1.40	1.06	0.72	0.72	1.20
Never married	0.80	0.46	1.12	1.28+	1.20	1.22	0.95	1.15	0.93	0.97	0.85
Children	0.95	0.96	1.08*	0.97	0.96	1.09	0.99	1.03	1.06	0.99	1.05
Children under 18	1.08	0.97	1.00	1.04	0.99	0.96	1.12*	1.06	0.98	0.98	0.93
Women*divorced	2.50+	1.69	1.28	0.55	0.49	1.12	1.83	3.70	0.78	1.03	0.79
Women*widowed	1.22	1.23	1.13	1.06	0.67	0.54	0.52*	1.08	1.19	1.30	0.90
Women*never married	0.62*	1.19	0.96	0.62*	1.27	0.87	0.94	1.09	0.82	1.62*	1.14
Women*children	0.99	0.96	1.02	1.00	0.97	1.02	0.91+	0.97	1.07	1.02	1.02
Women*children under 18	0.96	1.00	1.00	0.98	0.98	1.02	0.93	1.01	0.93	1.00	1.09

Note: results are weighted. + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Age, Han and urban are also included in model 1, but the results on them are not showed in the table.

Age, Han, urban, marital status, number of children and number of children under 18 years old are also included in model 1, but the results on them are not showed in the table.

Age, Han, urban, marital status, number of children, number of children under 18 years old, party member, education, occupational characteristics, income, missing income, weekly work hours and job benefits are also included in model 1, but the results on them are not showed in the table

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study aims to examine gender differences in work values in China and the factors that mediate the relationship between gender and work values, including marriage, family status, socioeconomic status, and occupational characteristics. By using CGSS2005, which contains rich information on work values in a large and representative sample of Chinese adults, this study overcomes some of the limitations of existing literature and makes contributions in this area.

The first hypothesis that there are gender differences in work values in China is supported by CGSS2005 data. The results corroborate those of previous Chinese studies using other samples (e.g., Chow and Ngo 2002; Chen et al. 1997; Hu 2006), and indicate that men attach more importance to job prestige, job authority, sense of achievement, and job promotion. Women attach more importance to job autonomy, job security and shorter work hours. One of the reasons may be that society generally prescribes that men succeed in their career. Seen as a key pillar of economic security in most families, men's success is largely measured by the degree of their career development. Women may also hope for career development, but the majority of Chinese women would ultimately put family first, and reduce the pursuit of work accomplishments in order to balance work-life conflicts.

As gender roles assign men the financial responsibility for the family, it might be presumed that men should value high earnings more than women. But contrary to my hypothesis, the results show that Chinese women value high earnings more than men. One of the possible explanations is that the implementation of economic reform in China not only leads market economy to gradually replace the planned economy but also causes

increasing gender income gap in the last two decades (Zhang et al. 2008). Women become more likely than men to have low income and face gender income inequality. However, with the increase of labor force participation of Chinese women and their awareness of employment inequality, they may have become to desire higher earnings and more equal job opportunities.

The second hypothesis that gender differences in work values are partially mediated by gender differences in marriage and family status is not strongly supported. Based on gender role socialization theory which suggests that women take the majority of the responsibilities for housework and child bearing after getting married and they may want more flexibility in their jobs in order to balance work-family conflicts, I hypothesize that marriage and family status mediate gender effects on ranking job security, short work time and job autonomy. However, the results do not support the mediating effects of marriage and family status on gender differences in ranking these work values. Similarly, though it is hypothesized that men are associated with the traits of achievement, aggression and dominance (Konrad et al. 2000) and the role of the breadwinner for the family and thus should value earnings, authority and achievement more, the results do not support for the mediating effects of marriage and family status on gender differences in these work values. The failure of marital and family status to mediate the relationship between gender and work values can be attributed to the lack of consistent associations between marital and family status and work values. Perhaps with China's economic and social development, especially in the high-tech and network postindustrial society, the traditional opinions of "Man is superior to woman" or "Man work outside the home,

women inside” have been broken; a large number of housewives go out to work. Also, men may begin to accept women assisting them in playing the provider role (Konrad et al. 2000).

After adding the interactions between gender and marriage and family status, findings lend some support to my fourth hypothesis that the effects of marital and family status on work values differ for men and women. For example, the results show that women who are married place greater importance on high earnings and job authority than those who are never married, but this difference is only significant among women. Those who are married place less importance on authority than those who have never been married, but this is the case only for men. In addition, only for women, those who are married place less importance on interest and sense of achievement than those who have never been married. However, since only a few interactions between gender and marital and family status variables are statistically significant, cautions need to be exerted when drawing any conclusions from these findings.

The third hypothesis that gender differences in work values can be explained in part by gender differences in socioeconomic status and job characteristics is supported. SES and occupational characteristics fully mediate the relationship between gender and valuing high earnings and between gender and valuing job security, because gender differences in ranking high earning and job security are no longer significant. Women may now value high earnings more because they have received lower education, are not a communist party membership or have a clerical or service job. Women value job security more may because they have a clerical or service job, earn lower income or have fewer

job benefits. One of the possible explanations is that blue-collar jobs such as clerical and service positions are generally low paid and have low skill requirements (Nielsen and Symth 2008; Ngo 2000). Those low skill, low paid and low social status jobs were mostly featured as heavy working hours, lack of safety and security, and low trust (Lin 2003). Therefore, women may place greater importance on high earnings and job security.

In terms of Chinese Communist Party membership, Zhang et al. (2008) mentioned it as one of the reasons causing gender gap in labor market outcomes in China. Although political background is not as important and helpful for reward and promotion in China today, career advancement and income attainment are still linked with Chinese communist party membership. Being communist party members in China is almost a prerequisite to work in government agencies and be promoted, especially for people who desire power. If people work in state owned enterprises, being a communist party member helps them further their careers and receive more job benefits. Beside, many Chinese college students apply to join the party today, because it is one of the considerations for recruiters in the job market. Recruiter may think students who are communist party members more capable. However, women's political awareness is not always as strong as men's, especially those rural residents or farmers, they seldom consider joining the Chinese Communist Party. First, they don't have sufficient or equal opportunities; and second they are more concerned about improving their standard of living (Lin 2003). It should also be noted that communist party members place less importance on earnings. This may be attributed to socialist moral education which places

greater emphasis on serving the country and serving others than on personal material gains.

Additionally, men value serving others and sense of achievement more are associated with receiving higher education, being a communist party member, having a professional or managerial job or earning higher income. It is possible because people from higher socioeconomic status such as high educated and white-collar occupations report a stronger work orientation on sense of achievement, self-realization and the meaning of work (Zhao 2001; Huang 2004; Nielsen and Symth 2008). Nevertheless, the result that higher education is negatively associated with higher ranking in high earnings is somewhat unexpected. Perhaps since the expansion of college enrollment of China in 1999, more students have the opportunity to go to college (Li and Xing 2010). However, the value of a college degree may have declined with increased employment pressure. It is not easy for students with a Bachelor or even a Master degree to find a decent job (Wu and Zheng 2008). Most of graduates are not looking for the high-income jobs. They become to accept low-income jobs with low requirements, or jobs that are thoroughly deviated from their own majors.

It is not surprising to see men placing greater importance on sense of achievement and serving others, because women's educational level was lower than men's in CGSS2005. However, since new cohorts of Chinese women are receiving higher education as compared to men today (U.S. Bureau of the Census, International Database, 2010; Educational Statistics in 2010, Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China), further research is needed to understand work values among younger generations

of Chinese men and women. For example, will women with higher education have different career expectations which results in the convergence of work values for men and women?

Although the findings of current study on gender differences in work values are generally consistent with previous research, the current study has several limitations. First, because the survey was conducted in 2005, the data may be a little outdated. Perhaps people have changed their work values when facing the rapidly developing Chinese economy. Second there are many other measures that can be taken into consideration, such as family SES and ownership enterprise types (Xie and Li 2009; Lo and Ralston 2003). Also, people would have different career perceptions and expectations under different work environments. For example, people working in foreign-invested enterprises are more concerned about job interest, while people working in state-owned enterprises are more concerned about job security. What's more, the impact of China's market-oriented reform on gender inequality needs further research. Third, due to the cross-sectional nature of the data, the causal directions between the theorized mediating factors, such as marital and family status, SES and occupational characteristics, and work values cannot be ascertained. The relationships between them are reciprocal. For example, marriage, family status and occupations can determine work values, but it is also possible that work values affect individual's family life and career choice. Future research needs to collect longitudinal data on these variables in order to gain a better understanding of the causal relationships among these variables.

In conclusion, this study provides a comprehensive investigation on gender differences in work values in China. It shows that these differences do exist and they are mainly explained by gender differences in SES and occupational characteristics rather than by marriage and family status. Since gender roles and stereotypes are the root causes of gender differences in work values, greater effort should be made to change gender stereotypes and promote more equal gender roles, which in turn, will facilitate men and women realizing their full potentials.

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