

# The Gendered Effect of the Organizational Work-devotion Norm on Turnover Intention of Employees with Children: A Case of South Korea

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*Although many young South Korean women are entering the labor market, married women often quit their jobs after they give birth. While work-family conflicts have been attributed as the main cause of such a career interruption, recent scholarship has pointed to the organizational norm that demand devotion to work as a key factor. We argue that firms with a strong work-devotion norm stigmatize female employees with children as less devoted, resulting in increasing their turnover intention. Using data from the 2018 Korean Women Manager Panel, we applied a multi-level fixed-coefficient random-intercept model. The results indicated that the work-devotion norm had a positive association with turnover intention only for working mothers, not fathers. The findings suggest that, in addition to organizational policies such as flexible work arrangements, the work-devotion norm has important implications for gender inequality within organizations.*

**Keywords:** *organizational norm, cultural schema, overwork, turnover intention, gender in organizations*

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## Introduction

South Korea, hereafter Korea, is presently experiencing persistent gender inequality in terms of economic participation. The phenomenon is extraordinary considering the high level of educational attainment and the continuously increasing number of women entering the labor market at early ages. The share of women entering college had well surpassed that of men by 2005, and recent years have seen a surge of women entering professional careers. However, despite their entrance into the labor market, these highly educated, capable women are constantly being pushed away from the market when they hit prime birth-giving and child-rearing age. This exit of women from the labor market results in the peculiar M-shaped economic participation pattern that characterizes Korean women's labor force participation rate across age groups.

The persistence of such an M-shaped pattern has been a puzzle attracting the attention of various academic scholarship. Many studies have attributed the problem to the lack of supportive policies for female workers (Park and Liu 2020; Lee, Lee, and Kim 2014; Jung, Sung, and Kim 2013). Therefore, practical approaches have focused on adopting family-friendly practices, such as flexible work practices (FWPs), which allow work arrangements that make room for childcare for those with familial responsibilities. However, these FWPs have not generated as much improvement as expected; despite their institutionalization, people generally do not utilize these policies (Perlow and Kelly 2014; Leslie et al. 2012; Ko and Kim 2017; Kim 2018). Various studies have pointed to the organizational norms that discourage people from engaging in these practices.

Understanding organizational norms is crucial as they are lenses through which one comprehends and maneuvers reality (Blair-Loy 2001; 2003). Understanding the norms in firms is necessary for understanding the experience and behavior of the workers. Studies have addressed the importance of the normative schema in explaining the persistent gender inequality in firms in the form of the wage gap and occupational segregation (Cha 2013; Cha and Weeden 2014; Stone 2007). Despite the scholarly interest in these norms, no empirical work has tested their gendered effect on employees' intention to quit.

In this study, the researchers focus on testing the effect of the normative expectation of work-devotion on employee turnover intention in the context of Korea. The study especially focuses on the gendered effect of the work-

devotion norm on employees with at least one child. The researchers argue that due to the gender stereotype that defines a woman's place as the private realm, working mothers are most likely to be perceived as deviants of the organizational work-devotion norm. Since the work-devotion norm is institutionalized in firms, working mothers are stigmatized and disillusioned, which leads to increased intention to quit working. However, working fathers do not experience such negative consequences because they are less likely to be perceived as deviating from the norm.

The study connects insights from previous literature on the cultural schema with gender inequality in organizations. The following sections describe the typical explanations of the labor market participation pattern of Korean women, illustrate the two dimensions of the work-devotion norm based on previous qualitative studies, and present a quantitative test of the gendered effect of the work-devotion norm on the turnover intention of working parents in Korean firms.

## Previous Literature

### *A One-Sided Explanation for Female Worker Turnover: Work-Family Conflict*

Work-family conflict is defined as “a form of inter-role conflict where the pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible” (Greenhaus and Beutell 1985). In other words, women in their early 30s enter a period in which they must prove their work-related abilities, but at the same time, be responsible for their children as mothers. This conflict between roles results in psychological stress and strain that ultimately results in turnover (Allen et al. 2000; Nohe and Sonntag 2014).

Previous studies have identified work-family conflict as the primary factor that leads to the drastic exit of Korean women starting in their early 30s. Belief in the traditional division of labor is persistent in Korea, putting working mothers at risk of serious role conflict. Such work-family conflict is known to decrease organizational engagement and life satisfaction while increasing turnover intention (Kang and Choi 2001; Ahn and Shin 2010; Baik, Park, and Chung 2019; Lee and Jeong 2013). Despite academic and social attention on ensuring work-life balance for working women, progress has been sluggish. This is because in spite of the adoption of flexible work arrangements, actual usage of such arrangements has been lagging (Kossek, Lautsch, and Eaton 2006; Ko and Kim 2017).

Alarmed by such low usage of flexible work policies, recent studies have proposed an alternative explanation, pointing to the logical deficiency in the narrative of the work-family conflict. These studies have revealed that workers who use flexible work arrangements for familial matters experience career penalties (Cohen and Single 2001; Leslie et al. 2012), lower wage growth (Glass 2004), and worse performance evaluation (Wharton, Chivers, and Blair-Loy 2008). It has been claimed that the negative effects of FWP usage derive from the fact that such usage signals deviance from the organizational norm of work-devotion (Bourdeau, Ollier-Malaterre, and Houllfort 2018). In support of these findings, feminist studies have addressed how such a work-family conflict narrative might be simply used as a social defense to protect the hegemony of male workers in the organizational hierarchy (Reid 2015; Padavic, Ely, and Reid 2019; Ely and Meyerson 2000). In other words, the status hierarchy is strongly protected by an organizational norm that defines a good worker as one who is fully devoted to work (Padavic, Ely, and Reid 2019; Williams, Blair-Loy, and Berdahl 2013; Munsch 2016). These studies imply that simply attempting to diminish the work-family conflict might not prevent working mothers from quitting work.

#### *Another Side of the Story: The Work-Devotion Norm*

Organizational norms bind members by defining the boundaries between adequate and inadequate behaviors (Jacobson, Mortensen, and Cialdini 2011). Furthermore, organizational norms are crucial as they are a lens through which one comprehends and maneuvers reality (Blair-Loy 2001; 2003). Understanding the organizational norm that shapes the expectations and belief systems of its members is crucial for understanding the experience of the workers. In this context, a particular organizational norm that is relevant is the *work-devotion norm*. The term was first coined by Blair-Loy (2011), who defined the work-devotion norm as an organizational norm that demands the primacy of work over other life interfaces. Various qualitative studies have investigated the composition, effect, and mechanism by which the work-devotion norm formulates organizational lives (Blair-Loy and Cech 2017; Blair-Loy 2001, 2003). However, there has been a lack of studies both assessing and measuring the components of work-devotion norm in quantitative analysis. Based on the previous qualitative literature, we provide a tentative schema of two defining components of the work-devotion norm, which are particularly relevant to Korea.

### **(1) Normative Expectation to Overwork**

The work-devotion norm comprises a strong expectation towards workers to overwork. Such concept has been captured through other terms such as the *ideal worker norm*—good workers are those who can fully devote themselves to the job and willingly overwork (Williams 2000). Studies on the ideal worker norm in the US have been especially focused on the professional industry, such as legal and consulting services in the US. Workers in these industries work 60 or more hours per week due to the demanding workload (Epstein et al. 2013; Reid 2015).

However, such overwork is valorized across all industries in Korea, because such a culture still strongly grasps the belief systems of the Korean people. The Korean economy achieved its boom in the last decades of the twentieth century, based on a strong drive for diligence and long work hours (Park 2012). Despite the reduction of the statutory working hours from 48 hours per week to 40 hours in 2003, the average hours of work of Korean workers still highly exceed the OECD average. According to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development statistics from 2020, Korea has the fourth-longest average working hours among the 37 OECD countries (OECD 2021).

While various institutional/legal factors have been addressed as the cause of such overwork, relatively little research has been conducted regarding normative forces. Yet, the few studies that have taken place hint at the strong normative pressure toward overwork in Korean organizations. Kim (2016) has pointed out that the current Korean leave system is structured to be heavily reliant on the approval of an individual's immediate manager, making it difficult to freely utilize legally ensured leaves. Such approval is difficult to obtain because when a team member takes leave or clocks out on time, his or her work is given to another team member to be done (Song and Lee 2018). The typical culture in Korean organizations that demands individual sacrifice for the collective good makes workers willingly give up on their statutory vacations when there is work to be done (Sohn 2005; Ryu 2014).

### **(2) Institutionalized Pressure**

The work-devotion schema comprises an institutional pressure, as a time norm is inscribed in the appraisal system in modern organizations (Blair-Loy 2003). The lagging reduction in the work hours in Korea largely derives from the mode of production in Korea that has been traditionally reliant on the

input of long hours of work of many unskilled laborers, rather than high labor productivity (Park 2012). Furthermore, the difficulty in defining the labor quality of white-collar workers itself makes white-collar workers more reliant on face time, rather than the actual quality of the work done (Shin 1999; Sohn 2005; Kelly et al. 2010; Reid 2015). Being at work for a long time is thought of as signaling productivity and engagement (Bae 2012). Being available for last-minute requests is also perceived as a sign of dedication. Therefore, long working hours are accepted as the norm and convention to strive for promotion in Korean firms (Brinton and Oh 2019; Sohn 2005; Park 2012; Moon and Kwon 2019). The reward and promotion system of an organization forces workers to internalize the belief that good workers are those who are ready to willingly devote themselves to work. Under such institutionalized pressure, workers intentionally extend their face time to procure a better appraisal from the bosses (Sohn 2005). Workers are hesitant to use flexible work policies and changes in work hours out of the fear that they might negatively affect their performance appraisal (Song and Lee 2018). Those who are unable to fulfill this criterion are portrayed as less devoted, receiving lower performance appraisals—this eventually leads them to be relegated to sinecure (Shin 1999). Therefore, overwork is not only a common practice, but the expectation to overwork turns into an institutional pressure for workers to abide by through the performance evaluation system.

### *The Gendered Effect of the Work-Devotion Norm*

Based on gendered organization theory, the researchers claim that the seemingly gender-neutral work-devotion norm that imposes strong expectation for overwork through institutionalized pressure has a gendered effect on working mothers (Acker 1990; Calás, Smircich, and Holvino 2014). Gendered organization literature has emphasized that the norms and institutions of modern capitalist organizations are structured in a way that reproduces the gender hierarchy within firms. The traditional gender ideology based on assumed gender differences is transformed into status differences and unequal treatment of women. This belief is inscribed and reproduced through the social process at the workplace in the form of a norm that celebrates qualities that only men with full-time housekeeping wives can fulfill. In such a way, the gender hierarchy embedded in the relational practices is legitimized (Acker 1990; Berger et al. 1998).

### **(1) Female Employees and the Work-Devotion Norm**

In a society in which the gender stereotype of the male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model is still prevalent, working mothers in organizations with strong work-devotion norms are stigmatized, ultimately leading them to quit work.

Research has shown that long hours of work disproportionately disadvantage working mothers in various career outcomes due to stigmatization. *Stigmatization* is composed of “labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination resulting from the difference in one’s social category that ultimately affects the distribution of life chances” (Link and Phelan 2001). Studies have shown that the stigmatization that mothers are less competent leads them to be thought of as less promotable (Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007). Furthermore, working mothers are perceived as unqualified for crucial decision-making and value-generating projects because it is feared that special accommodations should be made for mothers due to familial responsibilities (Padavic, Ely, and Reid 2019; Blair-Loy 2003). Such stigmatization leads working mothers to end up in part-time jobs (Blair-Loy 2001; 2003; Epstein et al. 2013) and receive lower wages (Cha and Weeden 2014).

Despite the numerous previous studies, none have directly tested the effect of work-devotion norm on women’s career outcomes. Turnover intention is particularly relevant for Korean working mothers, as the labor market participation of Korean women is characterized by a drastic drop in the early 30s. Korean working women are also strongly bound by the traditional gender role expectation to be the primary caregiver, despite their active economic participation (Kang 2009; Lee and Eun 2005; Moon 2017). It has been reported that due to such traditional gender role expectations, women in male-centered organizational cultures are more likely to experience gender discrimination in cases of job assignment, wage, promotion, and evaluation (Kim 2018). In other words, working mothers in Korea are highly likely to be subjected to stereotypes and stigmatization at critical turning points at workplaces.

Despite the lack of quantitative studies that test the direct relationship between stigmatization and turnover intention, studies have shown that employees respond to stigmatization through various strategies, one of which is withdrawal (Boyce et al. 2007; Link and Phelan 2001). Boyce and his colleagues have shown that the stronger the stigmatization that temporary workers experience as secondary citizens within firms, the more likely they

are to quit. Working mothers, disillusioned by the diminished prospects of promotion and proper treatment in their previously prestigious jobs, are also likely to choose this path (Blair-Loy 2003). It has been reported that under the ideal worker norm, pregnant women are stigmatized as not being able to “do their part” and potentially not coming back on track after giving birth (Fox and Quinn 2014). An increase in this experienced stigma of pregnant women has a direct, positive effect on their turnover intention.

Although such a mechanism has not specifically been tested in the context of Korea, it has been shown that firms with longer work hours tend to have a lower proportion of female managers (Shin and Han 2016). Although research has measured the effect of the actual average hours of overwork in each firm, it is presumable that such a convention of overwork is engrained in the definition of who is considered to be a good worker. In other words, not only the practice of overwork but also the belief that those who can overwork are ideal, promotable workers, may discourage working mothers from continuing to work. Therefore, it is important to examine how the work-devotion norm is shared and internalized in the form of normative pressure.

Hypothesis 1: Working mothers in firms with a stronger firm work-devotion norm have a higher probability of having turnover intention

## **(2) Male Employees and the Work-Devotion Norm**

According to previous studies, male and female employees experience different normative expectations from gender stereotypes. Under the traditional gendered division of labor, men are traditionally expected to fulfill the work-devotion schema (Blair-Loy 2003). Long work hours to fulfill such a work-devotion norm has long been a practice of masculinity under Korea's organizational culture molded by Confucianism (Kim 2018; Ryu 2014). Furthermore, men are often able to justify their long working hours by defining new masculinity and good fatherhood as earning enough money to raise children (Cooper 2000; Damaske et al. 2014). Therefore, men experience less psychological tension because their role expectations as an ideal worker and a breadwinner align with one another (Williams, Berdahl, and Vandello 2016). Consequently, fatherhood does not signal deviance from the work-devotion norm, but rather, motivates men to valorize the virtue of being an ideal worker.

Secondly, male workers are less affected by the stressful pressures of the work-devotion norm. Reid (2015), in her field study of a consulting firm,



demonstrated how both male and female workers manage their professional identities differently to respond to the ideal worker norm that demands 24/7 availability. According to the study, male workers were more likely to pass as fulfilling the expectations of an ideal worker and were more likely to be highly rewarded later on. Yet, female workers were more likely to reveal their deviance to the norm by openly asking for accommodations, and therefore received lower ratings come evaluation time. These results indicate that even in an organizational environment with a high level of shared work-devotion norm, male workers are more likely to successfully conceal their deviance, while female workers are more likely to be stigmatized for revealing them.

A potential reason why such passing is possible for working men is because they manage to separate their affection and attachment to their families from their expectations as ideal workers and project familial responsibilities onto women (Padavic, Ely, and Reid 2019). Doing so is possible because the narrative is hegemonic enough in their workplace for them to undo the psychological damage of not spending enough time with their children. Therefore, working fathers are less likely to be stigmatized by the shared work-devotion norm of their co-workers.

Hypothesis 2: A firm's work-devotion norm would not have a substantial effect on working fathers' turnover intention.

To summarize, working mothers in Korea experience high organizational pressure to be devoted to work, which makes them perceived as unqualified to meet such demands because of gender stereotypes. Therefore, Korean working women are highly likely to experience stigmatization and disillusion at work, making them more likely to quit. Although numerous qualitative works have addressed the normative conflict that women are experiencing, few studies have quantitatively tested the effect of such stigmatization from organizational norm. This study fills in the research gap by examining the effect of the organizational norm that demands the primacy of work on employees' intention to quit their job with a special focus on its gendered effects.

## Data and Method

### *Data*

This study utilized the Korean Women Manager Panel (KWMP). The KWMP is the most comprehensive survey that incorporates various dimensions of female workers' experience at workplaces. The survey includes a nationally representative sample of firms with more than 100 employees in Korea. The survey has been conducted every other year since 2007; the most recent survey available at the time of this study was the seventh follow-up survey, conducted in 2018. While female workers have been surveyed every other year, supplementary surveys for male workers have also been conducted in 2008, 2010, and 2018. Therefore, the researchers used data from the 2018 survey, which was the most recent follow-up survey including both female and male samples.

In 2018, a total of 3,405 workers were surveyed. Among them, the sample for the study was restricted to 1,096 workers who were of the relevant age range (from 25 to 50) and had at least one child. To ensure that enough variation was created for the firm-level work-devotion norm variable, only the data from firms with at least five responding workers were included in the sample. After dropping observations that were not linked to any firm ID or had missing data, a total of 888 workers (536 female workers and 352 male workers) and 137 organizations were included as the final sample.<sup>1</sup> On average, there were about 6.48 workers answering from each firm.

### *Variables, Measurements, and Method*

#### **(1) Dependent Variable**

The dependent variable of this study is the turnover intention of employees in Korean firms. The survey question asks whether the respondent intended to quit their job within a year and the respondents were asked to reply either "yes" or "no." As the question specifies the intention to leave the firm within a year, it could be inferred that only those with a relatively strong intention and concrete plan to quit would have indicated "yes" to the question. The turnover intention has previously been addressed as a strong predictor of

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<sup>1</sup> 35 observations from the finance industry were dropped because there was a lack of variation in the dependent variable among those in the finance industry.

actual turnover (Tett and Meyer 1993; Currivan 1999; Griffeth, Hom, and Gaertner 2000). As shown in Table 1, about 4.1% of the female workers and 10.9% of the male workers in the sample intended to leave within a year, and the difference was statistically significant.<sup>2</sup>

**TABLE 1**  
**DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF THE VARIABLES BY GENDER**

	Female (N=536)		Male (N=352)		t-test/ ANOVA p-value <sup>1)</sup>
	Mean (Percentage)	S.D.	Mean (Percentage)	S.D.	
<i>Firm-level Variables</i>					
Firm Work-Devotion Norm	2.563	0.360	2.518	0.319	0.040
Number of FWPs	2.179	1.989	2.058	1.930	0.340
Private (Public=0)	(77.7%)		(88.1%)		0.000
Industry					0.003
Manufacture	(2.01%)		(6.22%)		
Wholesale/retail	(13.71%)		(3.24%)		
Service	(10.42%)		(2.70%)		
Others	(73.86%)		(87.84%)		
Firm size					0.008
100~299 workers	(5.21%)		(4.05%)		
300~999 workers	(28.91%)		(41.27%)		
1,000~1,999 workers	(33.65%)		(31.39%)		
More than 2,000 workers	(32.23%)		(23.30%)		

<sup>2</sup> There are three possible explanations for such gender discrepancy in turnover intention. First, this partially reflects the tendency of male workers to quit jobs more frequently for career advancement or move to jobs that offer higher wage (Moynihan and Landuyt 2008). Second, this might reflect the selection bias that this sample pertains—working mothers who are discouraged from work would have already been selected out of the panel. Lastly, despite pressures from work, working mothers might wish to continue working to secure a second breadwinner's income to sustain the family.

The particularly low percentage of women with turnover intention might pose a potential risk of small-sample bias in the estimation model. Various approaches to correct for the bias have been suggested in previous literature (Lee, 2020). In this research, we conducted rare event logistic regression analysis as a robustness check, as the methodology allows for the clustering of the data into two levels (King and Zeng 2001). The results of the rare event logistic regression were consistent with the main results of the paper, even after eliminating the small sample bias.

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

	Female (N=536)		Male (N=352)		t-test/ ANOVA p-value <sup>1)</sup>
	Mean (Percentage)	S.D.	Mean (Percentage)	S.D.	
<i>Individual-level Variables</i>					
Turnover intention	(4.1%)		(10.9%)		0.000
Job satisfaction	3.680	0.587	3.718	0.677	0.346
Work-Family conflict	2.767	0.740	2.474	0.839	0.000
Organizational dedication	3.730	0.892	3.722	0.973	0.888
Career aspiration	2.415	1.055	2.091	1.031	0.000
Monthly wage (10,000won)	395.000	171.193	411.745	130.048	0.096
Educational attainment					0.000
High school	(8.85%)		(2.78%)		
2-years of college	(17.85%)		(9.37%)		
4-years of college	(50.71%)		(62.78%)		
Master's Degree	(19.75%)		(18.48%)		
Ph.D. Degree	(2.84%)		(6.58%)		
Tenure (years)	16.796	7.992	13.896	7.833	0.000
Career level					0.283
Deputy section chief ( <i>daeri</i> )	(36.33%)		(37.47%)		
Section chief ( <i>gwa-jang</i> )	(26.38%)		(28.86%)		
Deputy head ( <i>cha-jang</i> )	(24.01%)		(22.03%)		
Department head ( <i>bu-jang</i> )	(10.58%)		(10.13%)		
Executive ( <i>im-won</i> )	(2.69%)		(1.52%)		
Number of children	1.675	0.594	1.230	0.499	

1) T-test was conducted for continuous variables, while ANOVA was conducted for ordinal/categorical variables.

For a robustness check, to overcome the relatively low variation in the dependent variable, we utilize job satisfaction as a proxy variable to turnover intention (Holtom et al. 2008; Lee and Mowday 1987). Job satisfaction is known as one of the strongest predictors of turnover intention—the higher the job satisfaction, the lower the intention to quit the job (Tett and Meyer 1993; Griffeth, Hom, and Gaertner 2000). An employee's job satisfaction is measured by taking the mean of job satisfaction for six items, namely peer workers, wage level, boss, the job itself, work environment, and work hours. A multi-level linear regression model is estimated for the robustness check analysis.

## **(2) Independent Variable**

The independent variable of the study is the firm-level work-devotion norm. Four questions that reflect the strength of the firm-level work-devotion norm were selected from the data as shown in Appendix Table A1. The first two questions measure the expectation to overwork, as they ask the emotional pressure that respondents experience when leaving work on time and taking time off due to familial duties. The last two items, “overworking is a means to get better work appraisal” and “it is crucial to prioritize work to survive at the workplace” reflect the degree to which such a time norm is incorporated in the organizational promotion system and maintaining a career within the organization. In sum, these survey items touch upon the prevalence of the expectation to overwork, and the degree to which such norms function as institutional pressure, influencing survival and promotion within the organization.

Each organizational norm item is measured on a five-point Likert scale for which “strongly disagree” is coded as 1 and “strongly agree” is coded as 5. First, the average of these four items was calculated for each worker. Then, the firm-level average work-devotion norm was calculated by taking the mean score for employees sharing a firm ID, implying that the measure can be interpreted as the work-devotion norm experienced by co-workers within a firm. The average firm work-devotion norm of working mothers was 2.56, while that of working fathers was about 2.52.

A careful conceptual distinction should be made between the items for the work-devotion index and the work-family conflict index. First, based on previous research, we claim that items of “work-devotion norm” and “work-family conflict” are indexes measuring concepts at two separate levels. On the one hand, the work-devotion norm describes the perceived culture or the normative pressure from the organization. The work-devotion norm items

were often used as indicators of “work-oriented culture” (Sohn and Park 2014a), “inefficient work culture” (Sohn and Park 2014b), “male-centered organizational culture” (Kim 2018), or an “overwork norm” (Moon and Kwon 2019) or “ideal worker norm” (Minnotte and Minnotte 2021) in previous literature. Furthermore, items that measure the degree to which excessive work, inefficient work process, and the overwork culture are prevalent in an organization were classified items indicating “inefficient work culture,” separate from a set of other items defined as “work and life balance culture” (Sohn and Park 2014b).

On the other hand, “work-family conflict” describes the psychological role conflict that an individual experiences. The firm work-devotion norm may be one of the many precedents to psychologically experienced work-family conflict. Yet, other formal work variables such as flexible work policies, and individual-level traits—the presence of a child, satisfaction with household work division, self-belief—strongly predict work-family conflict (Sohn and Park 2014b). Therefore, while work-family conflict might moderate the relationship between organizational work-devotion norm and an individual’s turnover intention, the two concepts are separable. Furthermore, as observed empirically, the correlation between the two indices is only moderate (0.240) as shown in Table 2.

### (3) Control Variables

Numerous variables were controlled in the model, and the detailed measurements are described in Appendix Table A1. Several firm-level variables were controlled for. First, the *number of FWP*s was controlled to account for the degree to which flexibility practices had the intended effect of preventing employees from quitting. The *firm form*, whether it is a public or private firm, was controlled since public sector jobs are generally thought to have a lower turnover rate. The *industry* of the firm and *firm size*, in terms of the number of employees, were also controlled for. Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics of the variables by gender used from the data.

Several individual-level variables were also controlled for. First, the degree to which one experienced *work-family conflict* was controlled. Work-family conflict has been known to increase the turnover intention of workers (Allen et al. 2000; Kelly et al. 2014; Lee, Lee, and Kim 2014; Nohe and Sonntag 2014). The study attempted to estimate the effect of the normative pressure imposed at the firm level. Therefore, we controlled for the degree to which one had internalized the work-devotion norm by controlling for organizational dedication (Blair-Loy and Cech 2017). The *organizational*

*dedication* item asked the respondents “I consider the firm’s problems my own” and the respondents were asked to answer on a scale of 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 5 (“strongly agree”). The more one internalizes the work-devotion norm and dedicated oneself to the firm, the less willing he/she would be to quit the job. Moreover, workers with promotion-oriented career aspirations are known to have a lower turnover intention (Tschopp, Grote, and Gerber 2014). Therefore, *career aspiration* (measured by the item that asked the career level that the respondent wished to reach) was controlled for. Other individual-level variables such as monthly wage, educational attainment, tenure, career level, and the number of children were also controlled for (Griffeth, Hom, and Gaertner 2000).

### *Method*

The data of the study were sampled in two steps. First, firms with at least 100 employees were selected from the Korean Investors Service (KIS) Corporate Information Data as the sampling framework. Then, because the information on the distribution of firms with workers and that of the workers by gender within firms is unavailable, the sampling framework was estimated from data from other panel surveys and pilot calls. Based on the estimation of the population of firms with female workers and the number of female employees in the firms, about 300 firms were randomly sampled and 2,300 female employees were systematically sampled according to the probability proportional to size. Industries with firms with fewer than five employees and those that are usually public enterprises—transportation, public health, and education—were left out in the final sampling process.

Therefore, the data is structured so that each female employee is nested within a firm. Since the dependent variable is binary—only “yes” or “no” are possible—a logit regression model is required. However, the adoption of logit regression is not possible due to the violation of the three assumptions of the regression analysis—homoskedasticity of the error term, no autocorrelation between the error terms, and linear independence between the error term and the covariates (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2012; Son, Chung, and Joo 2013; Kang 2016). In other words, the turnover intention of individuals working in the same organizations might be correlated even after estimating the individual-level model due to organizational factors that they jointly experience. Such data structure is commonly encountered in organizational studies that estimate the association between covariates at two levels.

The most widely adopted estimation method to overcome such

limitations is multi-level analysis, also known as the hierarchical linear model (Raudenbush and Bryk 2002). Based on the researchers' conceptual and methodological distinction of the levels of the variables, separate error terms are estimated for each level—in this case, level 1 is the individual level and level 2 is the firm level. Separate functions are built for each level of analysis, taking the researchers' conceptual assumption regarding the characteristic of the parameters and intercepts into consideration. Then, parameters in the multi-level model are estimated most often by iterating the maximum likelihood model.

Various multi-level sub-models are possible depending on the researchers' assumption on the randomness (or the fixedness) of the parameters and the intercept in the model. In this case, we conduct a multi-level fixed-effect random-intercept logit regression analysis. The effects of the firm-level work-devotion norm variable and other covariates on the individual and the firm level were assumed to be fixed, while the firm variance that was unexplained by these covariates was assumed to be random following previous studies (Min 2010; Kim and Shin 2014; Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002).

The model below is the function estimated in the analysis.  $Y_{ij}$  is defined as the event of a given individual  $i$  in organization  $j$  having turnover intention and  $\psi_{ij}$  is defined as the probability that  $\eta_{ij} = \Pr(Y_{ij} = 1)$ , given  $\eta_{ij} = [0,1]$ . The link function that allows the distribution of Bernoulli distribution in the range of real numbers can be defined as the function below.

$$\eta_{ij} = \log\left(\frac{\psi_{ij}}{1-\psi_{ij}}\right) \quad (1)$$

By taking log transformation, function (1) can be transformed into function (2).

$$\Psi_{ij} = \frac{1}{1+\exp(-\eta_{tij})} \quad (2)$$

Then, the two-level fixed-effect random-coefficient logistic regression model can be specified as the following.

$$\text{Level 1 Model : } \eta_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(X_{ij} - \bar{X}_{..}) + e_{ij}, \quad e_{ij} \sim N(0, \sigma^2) \quad (3)$$



$$\text{Level 2 Model : } \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(W_j - W) + u_{0j}, \quad u_{0j} \sim N(0, \tau_{\beta_0}) \quad (4)$$

The  $X_{ij}$  in function (3) is the individual-level covariate matrix of the  $j^{\text{th}}$  firm, centralized by the overall mean, while  $\bar{X}$  and  $\beta_{1j}$  is the coefficient vector for those in  $j^{\text{th}}$  organization.<sup>3</sup>  $\beta_{0j}$  is the intercept term vector at level 1 for  $j^{\text{th}}$  organization, or the average log odds of having turnover intention. To estimate how much of this average log odds of having turnover intention is explained by firm-level, or level 2 covariates, a separate level 2 model is constructed for  $\beta_{0j}$ . In function (4) The  $W_j$  is the firm-level covariate matrix of the  $j^{\text{th}}$  firm, centralized by the overall mean,  $W$ . The vector of interest is  $\gamma_{01}$ , as it is the coefficient vector including the effect of the organizational level norm on an individual's turnover intention.  $e_{ij}$  is the residual variation in  $\eta_{ij}$ , left unexplained even after controlling for the effects of individual-level covariates and the firm-level covariates on the individual-level intercept term. Both  $e_{ij}$  and  $u_{0j}$  are assumed to be normally distributed.

Table 2 demonstrates the correlation table of the variables used in the model. The turnover intention was found to be moderately negatively correlated with organizational dedication and tenure. The firm-level work-devotion norm had a positive correlation with being a private firm and work-family conflict and a negative correlation with the number of FWPs.

## Results

Table 3 presents the results of the estimation based on the entire sample of employees. As the coefficients are presented as log odds, or  $\log(p/(1-p))$ , to interpret the effect as percentage growth with a unit increase, the coefficients should be transformed by subtracting 1 and then taking the exponential of the coefficient value. Model 1 presents the sole effect of firm work-devotion norm on employees' odds of having turnover intention. One unit increase in a firm's work-devotion norm was associated with a 211.12% ( $=[\exp(1.135)-1]*100$ ) increase in the odds that one would have a turnover intention. Model 2 presents the results when controlling for the effect of the control variables. In Model 2, the effect of firm work-devotion norm increases to a 234.68%

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<sup>3</sup> It is assumed that the coefficient vector  $\beta_{1j}$  of the individuals in  $j^{\text{th}}$  organization does not change randomly according to changes in level 2. In other words, the estimated coefficient vector  $\beta_{1j}$  is equal across all organizations.

TABLE 2  
CORRELATION TABLE OF THE VARIABLES

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
(1) Turnover Intention	1															
(2) Firm Work-devotion Norm	0.089*	1														
(3) Number of FWPs	-0.050	-0.203*	1													
(4) Private (Public=0)	0.093*	0.110*	-0.447*	1												
(5) Industry	0.072*	-0.087*	0.000	0.070*	1											
(6) Firm size	-0.069*	0.081*	0.258*	-0.024	-0.139*	1										
(7) Job satisfaction	-0.209*	-0.217*	0.177*	-0.053	-0.009	0.105*	1									
(8) Work-Family conflict	0.113*	0.240*	-0.066*	0.027	-0.061	0.013	-0.388*	1								
(9) Organizational dedication	-0.161*	-0.138*	0.118*	-0.055	-0.054	0.100*	0.382*	-0.083*	1							
(10) Male (Female=0)	0.129*	-0.061	-0.049	0.140*	0.107*	-0.100*	0.038	-0.189*	0.006	1						
(11) Career aspiration	0.014	0.078*	0.026	-0.043	-0.064*	0.023	-0.073*	0.105*	-0.021	-0.149*	1					
(12) Monthly wage (10,000won)	-0.107*	0.075*	0.056	-0.062	-0.150*	0.208*	0.080*	-0.001	0.170*	0.035	0.088*	1				
(13) Educational attainment	0.050	-0.103*	0.046	0.035	0.027	0.138*	-0.012	0.073*	0.025	0.144*	0.068*	0.236*	1			
(14) Tenure (years)	-0.141*	0.057	0.086*	-0.352*	-0.115*	0.212*	-0.012	0.038	0.175*	-0.370*	0.026	0.349*	-0.120*	1		
(15) Career level	-0.013	-0.005	-0.079*	0.162*	-0.064*	0.072*	-0.042	0.049	0.175*	-0.047	0.123*	0.310*	0.162*	0.228*	1	
(16) Number of children	-0.101*	-0.002	0.091*	-0.198*	-0.079*	0.050	0.020	0.032	0.067*	-0.371*	0.053	0.023	-0.068*	0.227*	-0.043	1

increase in the odds of intending to quit. In terms of the control variables, none of the organization-level variables were found to have a statistically significant effect on turnover intention. On the individual level, work-family conflict, being a male had a positive association with the odds of having turnover intention. Organizational dedication and wage had a negative association with the odds of having turnover intention. Compared with those in the deputy section chief rank, executives were more likely to have a turnover intention. These results, in general, aligned with the results reported in the previous research.

Model 3 is the model including the interaction effect between the firm work-devotion norm and being a male. The interaction term was negative but not statistically significant—this indicates that the difference between working mothers’ and fathers’ turnover intentions do not statistically significantly vary according to the strength of the firm’s devotion norm.

**TABLE 3**  
**THE TWO-LEVEL FIXED-EFFECT RANDOM-INTERCEPT LOGIT REGRESSION ON THE LOG ODDS OF HAVING TURNOVER INTENTION**

	(1) Turnover Intention	(2) Turnover Intention	(3) Turnover Intention
Firm-level Variables			
Firm Work-devotion Norm	1.135* (0.483)	1.208* (0.506)	1.380* (0.546)
Number of FWP		0.059 (0.090)	0.059 (0.090)
Private (Public=0)		1.172 (0.712)	1.202 (0.714)
Industry (Others=0)			
Manufacture		-0.488 (0.792)	-0.445 (0.791)
Wholesale/retail		-1.501 (1.056)	-1.494 (1.054)
Service		0.677 (0.582)	0.723 (0.586)
Firm size (More than 2,000=0)			
100~299 workers		1.244 (0.661)	1.262 (0.661)
300~999 workers		0.246 (0.498)	0.317 (0.506)

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Turnover Intention	Turnover Intention	Turnover Intention
1,000~1,999 workers		0.201 (0.500)	0.289 (0.510)
Individual-level Variables			
Male × Firm Work-devotion Norm			-0.798 (0.956)
Work-Family conflict		0.600** (0.187)	0.595** (0.187)
Organizational dedication		-0.532*** (0.152)	-0.543*** (0.153)
Male		1.094** (0.357)	1.118** (0.361)
Career aspiration		0.031 (0.133)	0.031 (0.134)
Monthly wage (10,000 won)		-0.003** (0.001)	-0.003** (0.001)
Educational attainment		0.322 (0.198)	0.338 (0.199)
Tenure (years)		-0.019 (0.027)	-0.02 (0.027)
Career level (Deputy section chief=0)			
Section chief		0.194 (0.367)	0.179 (0.368)
Deputy head		-0.681 (0.539)	-0.699 (0.539)
Department head		0.755 (0.520)	0.753 (0.520)
Executive		1.393* (0.695)	1.369 (0.701)
Number of children		-0.273 (0.298)	-0.281 (0.298)
Constant	-2.912*** (0.216)	-3.351*** (0.269)	-3.374*** (0.272)
Random-effect			
Constant	0.658 (0.395)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)

**TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Turnover Intention	Turnover Intention	Turnover Intention
Observations	888	888	888
Log-likelihood	-225.152	-180.783	-180.433

Further investigation was conducted through estimating the same model using sub-divided samples according to gender, as presented in Table 4. Model 1 is the result of the estimation using working mothers as the sample. A unit increase in the work-devotion norm of a firm was associated with a statistically significant 910.47% ( $=[\exp(2.313)-1]*100$ ) increase in the odds that an organization's working mother would have turnover intention. Therefore, hypothesis 1, which stated that a stronger work-devotion norm at the workplace would lead more female workers to have turnover intention, was confirmed.

**TABLE 4**  
**THE TWO-LEVEL FIXED-EFFECT RANDOM-INTERCEPT LOGIT REGRESSION ON THE LOG ODDS OF HAVING TURNOVER INTENTION DIVIDED BY GENDER**

	(1)	(2)
	Working Mothers	Working Fathers
<b>Firm-level Variables</b>		
Firm Work-devotion Norm	2.313** (0.857)	0.475 (0.702)
Number of FWP	0.363* (0.162)	-0.057 (0.118)
Private (Public=0)	1.568 (1.033)	1.551 (1.157)
Industry (Others=0)		
Manufacture	0.000 (0.000)	-0.573 (0.831)
Wholesale/retail	-0.529 (1.126)	-0.432 (1.237)
Service	1.137 (0.806)	-0.482 (1.229)
Firm size (More than 2,000=0)		
100~299 workers	2.887**	0.215

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)

	(1) Working Mothers	(2) Working Fathers
	(1.118)	(0.968)
300~999 workers	1.715	-0.442
	(0.964)	(0.678)
1,000~1,999 workers	1.096	-0.188
	(0.901)	(0.704)
Individual-level Variables		
Work-Family conflict	0.690	0.637**
	(0.381)	(0.235)
Organizational dedication	-0.513*	-0.522**
	(0.259)	(0.202)
Male	-0.449	0.208
	(0.267)	(0.179)
Career aspiration	-0.566	-0.262
	(0.481)	(0.422)
Monthly wage (10,000 won)	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)
Educational attainment	0.362	0.290
	(0.352)	(0.273)
Tenure (years)	-0.011	-0.018
	(0.041)	(0.043)
Career level (Deputy section chief=0)		
Section chief	0.548	-0.042
	(0.695)	(0.484)
Deputy head	-0.862	-0.582
	(1.192)	(0.653)
Department head	1.082	0.203
	(0.780)	(0.862)
Executive	2.532**	0.000
	(0.937)	(0.000)
Number of children	-0.566	-0.262
	(0.481)	(0.422)
Constant	-4.135***	-2.368***
	(0.506)	(0.301)
Random-effect		
Constant	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)

	(1) Working Mothers	(2) Working Fathers
Observations	536	352
Log-likelihood	-66.44015	-104.0238

Note: † p<0.1; \* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.005; \*\*\* p<0.001

Figure 1 provides the substantive size of the effect on working mothers by illustrating the predicted probability of having turnover intention for each quantile of the firm-level work-devotion norm when all other variables are controlled based on Model 1 of Table 4. For Q1 of the work-devotion norm, the average predicted probability of having turnover intention was about 4%, while that for Q4 was about 12% when keeping all variables at the mean level. Figure 1 implies that the high devotion to work that is shared in the workplace has a distinct effect of increasing the turnover intention of working mothers.

On the other hand, Model 2 of Table 4 provides the results of the estimation using working fathers as the sample. Unlike the case of working mothers, the firms' shared work-devotion norm was associated with a 60.80% increase in their working father's probability of intending to quit, but the effect was not statistically significant. Therefore, hypothesis 2 was confirmed. This indicates that the positive association between firm work-devotion norm and turnover intention in the full model in Table 3 was mainly driven by working mothers.

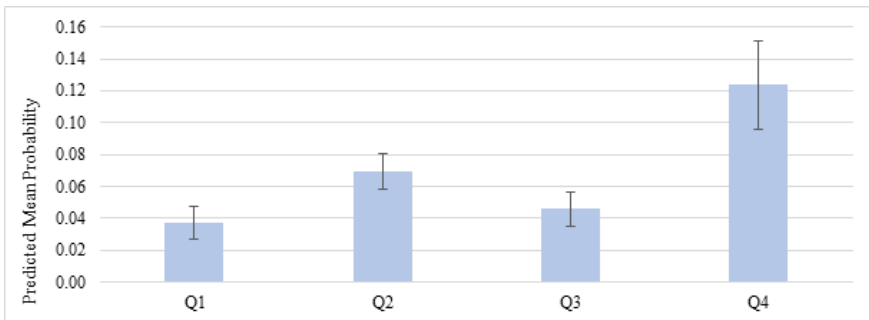


FIG. 1.—ADJUSTED PREDICTED PROBABILITY OF TURNOVER INTENTION WITH 95% CIs FOR EACH FIRM WORK-DEVOTION NORM QUANTILE

### Robustness Check: Job Satisfaction as a Proxy Dependent Variable

Due to the relatively small percentage of the respondents who intended to quit work in the sample, a robustness check was conducted to confirm whether the effects of the work-devotion norm were robust using a proxy dependent variable. The regression table of the multi-level OLS regression analysis is provided in Appendix Table A2.

Figure 2 demonstrates the magnitude of the gendered effect from the estimation model by depicting the linear prediction of job satisfaction for each level of a firm’s work-devotion norm by gender while keeping all other covariates at their mean value. While the predicted job satisfaction of a working father and a working mother in a firm with the lowest work-devotion were 3.80 and 3.89, respectively, those of a working father and a working mother in firms with the most demanding norm were 3.68 and 3.33, respectively. In other words, the job satisfaction of working mothers decreases by a larger magnitude than that of working fathers with the increase in a firm’s work-devotion norm. We can predict that such lower job satisfaction ultimately leads to increased intention to quit for working mothers. Therefore, the results for hypothesis 1 in the main model were also

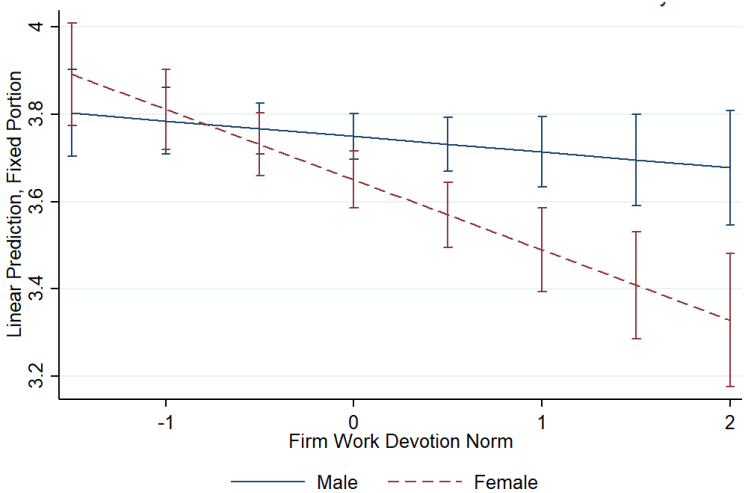


FIG. 2.—LINEAR PREDICTION OF THE EFFECT OF A FIRM’S WORK-DEVOTION NORM ON JOB SATISFACTION, DIVIDED BY GENDER



confirmed when using job satisfaction as a proxy variable for turnover intention.

## Discussion and Conclusion

While various interventionist measures including work-family initiatives and FWP's have been adopted to increase the retention of working mothers in organizations, many policies have fallen short of resolving the problem. Despite their adoptions in organizations, employees have been reluctant to use those policies, fearing the potential adverse career consequences. Scholarship has addressed the need to understand the normative forces at work behind working mothers' constant withdrawal from organizations. This study claims that the effect of a firm's work-devotion norm is gendered. As observed, working mothers are stigmatized as deviants of the work-devotion norm, even after controlling for the actual familial demands that they experience. As stigmatization leads to disillusion and lower fulfillment, working mothers become more likely to have turnover intention. In contrast, such an effect was not found for working fathers. This is because working fathers are perceived as legitimate enactors of the norm and are generally more able to find means to conceal the deviance from such excessive work.

Despite the significance of the findings, the study has several limitations. First, the approach of the study assumed traditional marital arrangements by restricting the sample to working parents. Recently, younger cohorts entering the labor market are more likely to reject such traditional marital arrangements by rejecting marriage and having a child. The implication of the study might not apply to these new career-oriented women in workplaces.

Secondly, there are a few limitations to the data. While the researchers created a firm-level work-devotion norm measure by generating the average score of female workers' work-devotion score in the same firm, a better measure that represents the firm-level norm should be devised. Another potential problem related to the data structure is left censoring. Considering the panel nature of the data, those experiencing the strongest stigmatization in the early surveys would have already quit the job and left the panel—this poses a selection bias in the sample because we have used only the latest panel data surveyed in 2018. The descriptive statistics indeed indicate that the sample of working mothers is older, more career aspiring, and have more children than the working fathers sample. In this case, the effect of the

normative pressure would have been underestimated in this study, because data from the latest survey was used. A future study using panel data should be conducted to incorporate the effect of such organizational norms on employees across time.

Lastly, while the study proposed a hypothetical mechanism through which normative pressure leads to working women's increased intention to quit, empirical testing on the mechanism of stigmatization was limited. A direct investigation of the process by which women experience stigmatization in everyday work practices, evaluation, and promotion should be investigated to further understand how organizational norms lead women to quit work. Both qualitative and quantitative studies are further required to truly understand the social-psychological mechanism that women experience.

Despite the limitations, the study has several implications. First, the study provides an explanation of the low usage of flexible work policies and their limitation in preventing working women from quitting work. While flexible work arrangements have been understood as the primary means of preventing working women from opting out, this study suggests a more fundamental approach—the very work-devotion norm that has been sustaining Korean organizations should now be subjected to review. In particular, it should be questioned rather such norm has been disproportionately putting working mothers at a disadvantage. In more practical terms, various studies have already been addressing experimental practices composed of workshops to undo this culture and assessment that is reliant on time spent at work (Kelly et al. 2010; Perlow and Kelly 2014). These fundamental changes in the time norm are especially called for in the Korean context, as Korean firms are still highly reliant on overwork as a sign of productivity. The dissolution of the time norm in organizations, supported by measures to relieve women from traditional family responsibilities, would contribute to lifting the stigma imposed upon working mothers.

Furthermore, this study expands the realm of cultural schema studies by including male workers in the sample. Previous studies of cultural schema have tended to focus on the experience of working mothers. However, no prior study has analyzed how working fathers respond to the work-devotion norms at an organizational level. This study reveals that instead of experiencing conflicts between an organizational norm that demands undivided attention and a family devotion norm, working fathers embody the norms and become dedicated to them, which lowers their intention to quit work. Such findings reveal a mechanism through which the work-devotion norm results in gendered effects.

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## Appendix

**TABLE A1**  
**MEASUREMENTS**

Variables	Description	Cronbach's alpha
Firm-level Variables		
Firm Work-devotion Norm	To which degree do you agree with the following statement? (5-point Likert scale) (1: Strongly disagree; 5: Strongly agree) 1. It is difficult to leave work on time. 2. I don't feel free to take a day off for personal or familial reasons. 3. Overworking is a way to get a better performance appraisal. 4. It is hard to survive without prioritizing work.	0.778
Number of FWPs	Sum of the FWPs adopted in the firm as indicated by the human resource manager of the firm (HR Survey)	N/A
Private	What is the form of your firm? (HR Survey) 0. Public; 1. Private	N/A
Industry	What industry does your firm identify with? 1. Manufacture; 2. Wholesale/retail; 3. Finance <sup>4</sup> ; 4. Service; 5. Others	N/A
Firm size	How many workers does the firm employ as of the survey year? (HR Survey) 1. 100-299 Workers; 2. 300-999 Workers; 3. 1,000-1,999 Workers; 4. 2,000+ Workers	N/A
Individual-level Variables		
Turnover intention	'Do you intend to quit work within a year?' (1: Yes; 0: No)	N/A

<sup>4</sup> While the data includes observations from the finance industry, these observations were excluded from the sample due to the lack of variation in the dependent variable, turnover intention.

TABLE A1 (CONTINUED)

Variables	Description	Cronbach's alpha
Job satisfaction	To which degree are you satisfied with the following aspects of your job? (5-point Likert scale) (1: Very unsatisfied; 5: Very satisfied) 1. Co-workers; 2. Wage level; 3. Immediate manager; 4. Job itself; 5. Work environment; 6. Work hours	0.820
Work-family conflict	To which degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (5-point Likert scale) (1: Strongly disagree; 5: Strongly agree) 1. The long work hours interfere with family life. 2. The irregular work hours interfere with family life. 3. Stress from work continues even after work hours. 4. Leisure time is not possible because of work. 5. Self-development is not possible because of long work hours. 6. I feel physically drained because of work. 7. I have regretted marrying because of work. 8. I have delayed having a child because of work. 9. I can't spend sufficient time with my child because of work.	0.887
Organizational dedication	To which degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement? 'I consider the firm's problem as my own.' (5-point Likert scale) (1: Strongly disagree; 5: Strongly agree)	N/A
Male (female=0)	Which gender do you identify yourself with?	N/A
Career aspiration	'To which career level would you aspire to achieve?' (Reverse-coded) 1. Top management team (Including executive level) 2. Middle Managerial rank 3. Lower Managerial rank 4. I'm not interested in promotion	N/A
Monthly wage	What is your average monthly income (before tax deduction)?	N/A

TABLE A1 (CONTINUED)

Variables	Description	Cronbach's alpha
Educational attainment	What is your final educational attainment? 1. High-school; 2. 2-year Associate's Degree; 3. 4-year Bachelor's Degree; 4. Master's Degree; 5. Ph.D. Degree	N/A
Tenure (years)	(Survey year)-(Year of entrance)+1	N/A
Career level	What is your current career level in the organization? 1. Deputy Section Chief ( <i>daeri</i> ); 2. Section Chief ( <i>gwa-jang</i> ); 3. Deputy Head ( <i>cha-jang</i> ); 4. Department Head ( <i>bu-jang</i> ); 5. Executive ( <i>im-won</i> )	N/A
Number of children	How many children do you have?	N/A

**TABLE A2**  
**MULTI-LEVEL REGRESSION PREDICTING JOB SATISFACTION**

	(1) Job satisfaction
<b>Firm-level Variables</b>	
Firm Work-devotion Norm	-0.077** (0.024)
Number of FWP	0.030* (0.013)
Private (Pubic=0)	0.029 (0.070)
Industry (Others=0)	
Manufacture	0.068 (0.113)
Wholesale/retail	-0.061 (0.076)
Service	-0.223* (0.101)
Firm size (More than 2,000 workers=0)	
100~299 workers	-0.111 (0.121)
300~999 workers	-0.109 (0.069)
1,000~1,999 workers	-0.004 (0.068)
<b>Individual-level Variables</b>	
Male × Firm Work-devotion Norm	-0.125** (0.042)
Work-Family conflict	-0.219*** (0.024)
Organizational dedication	0.224*** (0.019)
Career aspiration	-0.03 (0.016)
Monthly wage (10,000won)	0.000 (0.000)

TABLE A2 (CONTINUED)

	(1) Job satisfaction
Educational attainment	-0.022 (0.021)
Tenure (years)	-0.007* (0.003)
Career level (Deputy section chief=0)	
Section chief	0.015 (0.044)
Deputy head	-0.105* (0.050)
Department head	-0.136* (0.066)
Executive	-0.226* (0.115)
Male (Female=0)	-0.099* (0.041)
Number of children	0.001 (0.029)
Constant	3.674*** (0.027)
Observations	888
Log-likelihood	-684.05496

Note: †p<0.1; \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.005; \*\*\*p<0.001

