THE FAMILY-FRIENDLY ADVANTAGE: EVALUATING THE EFFECTS OF INSTRUMENTAL AND SYMBOLIC ORGANIZATIONAL ATTRIBUTES ON EFFORTS TO ATTRACT THE EMERGING WORKFORCE

by

KATELYN MARIE CONLEY

(Under the Direction of Nathan T. Carter)

ABSTRACT

Shifting demographics are driving speculation about changes in organizational recruitment strategies. In this paper, I investigate the potential competitive advantage for companies communicating family-friendly signals to attract an emerging workforce by extending the instrumental-symbolic attraction framework to applicant work-family social identity needs. I hypothesize that employer instrumental (i.e., family-friendly policies) and symbolic (i.e., family-friendly image) signals will increase organizational attractiveness to the degree that signals address individual concerns for anticipated work-family conflict and work-family social identity, respectively. Hypotheses are tested using an experimental approach in which participants evaluate manipulated job ads from real companies. Results support several hypothesized relationships including the moderating effect of work-family social identity needs. Findings inform practical implications for family-friendly recruitment efforts and contribute to the understanding of symbolic attraction and applicant social identity needs.

INDEX WORDS: Organizational Attractiveness, Family-friendly Employer, Instrumental-Symbolic Framework
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KATELYN MARIE CONLEY

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by

KATELYN MARIE CONLEY

Major Professor: Nathan T. Carter
Committee: Lillian T. Eby
Brian J. Hoffman

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this Master’s Thesis to Willowbee James Conley.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

In the ongoing war for talent, shifting workforce demographics and speculation around their implications are driving major changes in organizational recruitment and retention policies (Cappelli & Keller, 2014; Ployhart, 2006). By the late 2000s, dual-earner couples represented the modal family household and were working a cumulative average of 30 hours more per week than in 1989 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009; Kossek, 2006). In addition to increasing work demands, familial demands are increasing in response to rising rates of caretakers ‘sandwiched’ between needs of aging parents and children under 18 – a phenomenon shown to predict heightened levels of work-family conflict and subsequent burnout for both sexes (Pines, Neal, Hammer, & Icekson, 2011). Perhaps, because of these unique challenges, concerns regarding work-life balance and flexibility, beyond concerns for pay and career advancement, are evident among workforce entrants now more than ever (Klun, 2008; Thompson, Payne, & Taylor, 2014). Therefore, researchers have questioned the strategic value of integrating family supportive workplace initiatives in human resource policies (Galinsky, 1990; Bloom, Kretschmer, & Van Reenen, 2011), particularly in efforts to attract job applicants (e.g., Bourhis & Mekkaoui 2010; Carless & Wintle, 2007; Honeycutt & Rosen, 1997; Rau & Hyland, 2002).

Despite these trends, our understanding of the family-friendly advantage with respect to organizational attraction is incomplete in two ways. First, the scope of work-family research has primarily focused on the advantageous effects of tangible, or instrumental, family-friendly policies (FFPs) – human resource practices that provide time, services and/or financial-related
assistance for managing employees’ work and family demands (Glass & Finley, 2002). Although critical for addressing the utilitarian needs of employees to reduce work-family conflict, the parallel literature on organizational attraction suggests there are other important, less tangible, social identity needs that influence applicant attraction to organizations (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003). Therefore, in addition to instrumental signals, job seekers make inferences from symbolic image cues in accordance with their social identity needs (Highhouse, Thornbury & Little, 2007). These findings suggest there could also be family-friendly symbolic attributes appealing to job seekers early in the recruitment process beyond family-friendly instrumental policies. Second, there are lingering questions around the mechanisms by which job seekers are attracted to family-friendly organizations. Some counterintuitive findings indicate that the availability of FFPs has a greater effect on positive employee outcomes than the actual use of these policies (Butts, Casper & Yang, 2013). For instance, it seems surprising that job applicants prefer organizations offering FFPs even when they are not currently benefiting from or taking advantage of them (Grover & Cooker, 1995).

Addressing these ambiguities around the existence of a family-friendly advantage in the recruitment process is essential, not only in determining how employers can stay competitive in attracting the current workforce, but also in bringing the study of family-friendly employer initiatives up to speed with recent theoretical advancements in our understanding of organizational attraction. According to the instrumental-symbolic framework (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003), the advertisement of FFPs is an instrumental signal interpreted as an indication of utilitarian support from the organization. Alternatively, symbolic signals are used to shape individual perceptions of company image and are interpreted in relation to applicant social identity needs. Symbolic signals generally take the form of logos, product images,
advertisements, and word-of-mouth descriptions that contribute to the overall impression that each individual holds of potential employers. The need to investigate inferences job seekers make on the basis of symbolic signals is evident from prior empirical support demonstrating incremental effects of symbolic attributes on organizational attraction over instrumental signals (Highhouse, Zickar, Thorsteinson, Stierwalt, & Slaughter, 1999; Turban, Forret, & Hendrickson, 1998; Tsai & Yang, 2010; Wayne & Casper, 2012). Furthermore, symbolic signals are found to increase participants’ ability to differentiate between potential employers (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003; Van Hoye & Saks, 2011; Van Hoye, Bas, Cromheecke, & Lievens, 2013). Therefore, assessing the comparative value of both instrumental and symbolic signals of organizations is necessary for a complete understanding of the family-friendly advantage in recruitment.

Present Study

In the current study, I conduct a comprehensive investigation of both instrumental and symbolic family-friendly signals. I draw from the functional theory of attitudes (Katz, 1960) to demonstrate how instrumental and symbolic family-friendly signals trigger attraction based on work-family related utilitarian and social identity needs. Building on previous research, I posit that organizations projecting a family-friendly image serve individual self-presentation motives to appear to others as a family-oriented person. For example, a “family man” would perceive Disney as a more attractive employer than Lockheed-Martin because Disney appeals to his family values and desire to communicate a family-oriented image to his social group. Although symbolic impressions of the organization would have less impact on reducing work-family conflict and in turn, seem irrelevant to job seekers, the limited research on symbolic family-friendly organizational attributes (e.g., a supportive culture) shows increased attraction and job pursuit intentions beyond that of family supportive policies (Wayne & Casper, 2016). Therefore,
it remains unclear whether organizations benefit from projecting a family-friendly symbolic image and how this compares to other factors known to enhance attraction, such as FFPs, high pay and benefit packages.

Additionally, this research exposes the need to better understand the individual mechanisms of attraction to family-friendly employers. To do so, I examine the moderating role that individual differences serve in the relationship between family-friendly signals and ratings of organizational attractiveness. In particular, I propose that anticipated work-family conflict – expectations that future work demands to interfere with family and vice versa – will influence individual preference for organizations offering FFPs. I argue that social identity concerns specific to work and family orientation, introduced here as work-family social identity consciousness, will influence individual preferences for organizations with a family-friendly image. To test my hypotheses, I used a policy-capturing design to assess the weighted value of each instrumental and symbolic family-friendly signal in comparison to other factors known to enhance attraction. These include above-average pay and flexible benefits (instrumental comparison cues) and broad employer image perceived as either more impressive or more respectable (symbolic comparison cues).

The purpose of this study is to gain a more complete understanding of the competitive advantage family-friendly organizations have for recruiting the emerging workforce and how both symbolic and instrumental signals independently contribute to this advantage. By integrating literatures, I demonstrate how the functional approach to attitudes can be harnessed to investigate more specific aspects of employer image and applicant needs that enhance organizational attraction. Specifically, I extend the instrumental-symbolic framework to the work-family domain and contribute to a contemporary understanding of organizational attraction.
as a dual-purpose functional attitude. In doing so, I am introducing the concept of the symbolic family-friendly image and further integrating the salient work-family considerations into the organizational signaling literature. Additionally, I add clarity to the individual characteristics that influence the weighted value of family-friendly signals to further explain within-subject variation in attraction to family-oriented employers, particularly in the development of a work-family social identity consciousness measure.

In the following sections, I provide an overview of the instrumental-symbolic framework, including its origins in the functional approach to attitudes, and its role in the recruitment literature. From there, I demonstrate how the work-family domain presents a valuable application of the framework and introduced the dichotomized symbolic and instrumental family-friendly organizational signals. I then discuss how bridging these literatures informs our understanding of the early recruitment process, specifically in the attraction of a changing workforce. Finally, I provide detail on how the current study plans to investigate the degree to which organizations have a family-friendly advantage by marketing toward future worker utilitarian and social identity needs.
CHAPTER 2
THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

Advancements in the organizational attraction literature have included an adoption of the functional approach to attitudes (Katz, 1960), a notion successfully leveraged by marketing researchers to explain consumer attitudes and behaviors (Shavitt, 1989; Shavitt, 1990). The functionalist approach posits that attitudes serve a variety of psychological needs that can be categorized in distinct forms. At the most general level, every attitude aids in cognitive efficiency throughout daily life through the knowledge, or object appraisal function (Fazio, 2000). The knowledge function of attitudes suggests that individuals can quickly and easily respond to their environment by calling on previous interactions with and evaluations of an object. It involves a continuous process of classifying objects and events to better orient the self in complex surroundings for future ease in decision-making and adaptation. Thus, by simply holding an attitude, regardless of its valence, individuals can better navigate situational cues.

By understanding the associated valence, attitudes can serve more specific functions beyond the knowledge function, two of which are pertinent to this study: utilitarian and social identity. Under the utilitarian function, attitudes facilitate behaviors that help individuals gain rewards and avoid costs by classifying objects as helpful and harmful. Of greater interest is the social identity function of attitudes in which attitudes guide social goals to gain approval and acceptance from others. The expression of attitudes aligned with self-presentation or impression management motives is an outward projection of self-image. This is because public acceptance of ideas, people, places and things can relay personal values (Maio & Olson, 2000), attract others
through similarity (Byrne et al., 1971), and gain status among others (Hogg & Smith, 2007). Affiliating with social groups, such as accepting employment with an organization, also conveys information about the self to others (Carter & Highhouse, 2014). Group membership with an organization is generally displayed or visible to others and can provide means for both utilitarian motives (e.g., need for a salary) and social identity motives (e.g., desire for high status).

Organizational attraction, a positive cognitive and affective evaluation toward an organization that can be construed as an attitude, has been thoroughly examined as a product of job applicant perceptions of job characteristics that serve utilitarian needs such as pay, benefits, location, and promotion opportunities (Aiman-Smith, Bauer, & Cable, 2001; Lievens, Decaesteker, Coetsier, & Geirnaert, 2001; Schwab, Rynes, & Aldag, 1987; Turban & Keon, 1993). In more recent decades, organizational scholars have considered the less tangible social identity functions that organizational attraction serves for potential job seekers, such as the need for affiliation (Ashforth and Mael, 1989), social acceptance, and value expression (Highhouse et al., 2007). Both streams of research have incorporated theoretical foundations that explain the influence of unique utilitarian or social identity concerns involved in perceptions of organizational attractiveness (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003). The examination of utilitarian and social identity attitude functions in separate studies also occurred in consumer research as marketing scholars noted a lack of “multi-attribute models” in their field and responded with findings that suggest both utilitarian and image-based attributes contribute to brand attitudes (Mangleburg et al., 1998, p. 112). The current study mirrors this approach to suggest that attraction to organizations in the recruitment process serves both utilitarian and social identity motives simultaneously.
The Instrumental-Symbolic Framework and Family-Friendly Signals

Rooted in Katz’s (1960) functional approach to the study of attitudes and adapted from marketing scholarship, Lievens and Highhouse (2003) introduced the instrumental-symbolic framework – a model depicting the mechanisms in which various signals are interpreted by individuals to form these utilitarian- and social identity-based attitudes – to recruitment research (Keller, 1993; Keller, 1998; Shavitt, 1990). In comparison to manifestations of Spence’s (1974) signaling theory focusing solely on sender signals, the instrumental-symbolic attraction framework extends to the distinct inferences job seekers make about instrumental and symbolic organizational features (Highhouse et al., 2007). Inferences made from instrumental signals result from individual utilitarian needs (i.e., maximizing benefits and minimizing costs), whereas symbolic signals elicit inferences that appeal to social identity concerns of expressing values or preserving social status.

The instrumental-symbolic framework conceptualizes the meanings associated with potential employers inferred from signals in determining applicant attraction to organizations early in the recruitment process (Van Hoye & Saks, 2011). The framework posits that instrumental factors partially account for initial attraction to the organization due to their utility, but do not fully explain attraction without including symbolic inferences made about the employer. In applications of the instrumental-symbolic framework in the recruitment literature, both instrumental and symbolic signals influence organizational attraction independently from each other, in that inferences about symbolic attributes explained additional variance in attraction ratings (Highhouse et al., 1999; Turban et al., 1998; Tsai & Yang, 2010; Van Hoye & Saks, 2011; Van Hoye et al., 2013). Investigation of family-friendly organizational signals provides an appropriate and timely application of the instrumental-symbolic attraction framework with clear
instrumental (e.g., FFPs) and symbolic attributes (e.g., family-friendly organizational image perceptions).

**Instrumental Signals and Organizational Attraction**

Instrumental signals serve a cost-benefit function in shaping attitudes – they communicate a way to maximize reward, minimize costs or both. They are tangible, objective, and generally perceived similarly among individuals as they serve common utilitarian functions. Instrumental features of an employer (e.g., salary, benefits, location) are concrete attributes that provide benefit to employees (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003). Cable and Judge (1994) recognized that organizations purposely use money, in the form of salary, as a signaling device used by organizations to attract job seekers. In particular, advertisement of above average pay and flexible benefits signal instrumental support that directly meet utilitarian needs by providing monetary reward, reducing costs (e.g., healthcare) and increasing the ability for financial planning to maximize rewards in the future. Research findings point to pay level as the primary factor influencing organizational attractiveness (Cable & Judge, 1994; Jurgensen, 1978). Additionally, Cable and Judge (1994) found a preference for flexible, compared to fixed, benefit plans. Although universal necessities, subsequent research demonstrates evidence for individual differences in preferences for pay level, compensation types, and flexible benefits (Cable & Judge, 1994). Therefore, I expect high pay and flexible benefits (referred to collectively as “compensation” for clarity throughout the remainder of the paper) to enhance ratings of organizational attractiveness and replicate these previous findings. The expected compensation-attraction relationship is not included as a formal hypothesis because it does not provide novel insight in the current study. Rather, it is in Figure 1 to illustrate a comparative assessment with judgment of FFPs.
Family-Friendly Policies. The advertisement of FFPs, another instrumental organizational signal, is a clear family-friendly counterpart to salary. Family-friendly policies serve employee utilitarian needs by minimizing costs associated with work-family conflict (e.g., daycare costs, decreased job performance) by providing time, services and/or financial-related aid (Glass & Finley, 2002). Referenced by various names (e.g., family-responsive human resource policies, work-family policies, work-life balance programs), FFPs most often address four common generous policy types: flextime, extended personal leave, dependent care assistance and telecommuting. The generosity of these policies refers to the allotment of FFPs extending beyond common practice or that required by FMLA (Family and Medical Leave Act, 1993). For example, in the U.S., employers may choose to offer maternity leave that extends past the current regulations of 6-weeks unpaid.

Expectedly, FFPs are related to lowered stress and improved employee well-being (Thompson & Prottas, 2005). They have also been linked to positive organizational outcomes. Meta-analytic findings highlight the beneficial relationships between the availability and use of FFPs and key employee attitudes including job satisfaction, affective commitment, and intentions to quit (Butts et al., 2013). In attraction efforts, family-friendly human resource initiatives are positively related to applicant perceptions of organizational attractiveness and job pursuit intentions (Bourhis & Mekkaoui 2010; Carless & Wintle, 2007; Honeycutt & Rosen, 1997; Rau & Hyland, 2002). The advertisement of FFPs in recruitment materials provides applicants with instrumental cues about the organization’s supportiveness and approach to employee well-being (Casper & Buffardi, 2004). Using a policy-capturing approach with all four family-friendly practices, Bourhis and Mekkaoui (2010) found distinct positive effects of each
FFP on organizational attractiveness, with the greatest weight placed on flextime and generous personal leaves.

The perceived attractiveness of FFPs is not limited to individuals who need them most, such as parents of young children. In a comparison between parents and non-parents (Grover & Cooker, 1995), participants’ appreciation of FFPs influenced their attraction regardless of whether they currently benefited from them or not (i.e. childless employees were influenced by childcare assistance offerings). This is supported by meta-analytic findings in which the availability of FFPs had a greater effect on work outcomes than the actual use of FFPs (Butts et al., 2013). Additionally, in efforts to attract and retain the emerging workforce, it has been recommended that organizations communicate availability of FFPs to stay competitive when planning for generational shifts (Crumpacker & Crumpacker, 2007). No research to date has examined the value of FFPs in relation to the weight of pay and benefits. Therefore, I expect to find a preference among new job seekers for organizations advertising FFPs beyond the effects of above average compensation packages (see Figure 1).

Hypothesis 1: The advertisement of family-friendly policies will be positively related to organizational attraction over and above the influence of compensation (H1).

The Moderating Role of Utilitarian Needs

Inherent to the functional approach to attitudes, individual needs and previous experiences moderate the accessibility of attitudes in making evaluative judgments of signals (Fazio, 2000). Individual differences in utilitarian motives influence the strength of instrumental organizational signals on evaluative ratings of attractiveness in making job choice decisions. Scholars in the recruitment literature have long emphasized an interactionist, person-organization fit perspective between individual characteristics and organizational factors in job choice
decisions (Edwards, 1991; Turban & Keon, 1993). This includes evidence for individual
differences in fit with human resource policies (Bretz & Judge, 1994) as well as organizational
values (Judge & Bretz, 1992). Accordingly, I expect utilitarian needs to moderate the
relationship between instrumental signals and organizational attractiveness. Specifically, I
anticipate individual differences in concern for money and anticipated work-family conflict will
interact with instrumental Compensation and FFP signals, respectively, to explain variance in
organizational attractiveness.

**Concern for Money.** Need for money is a pervasive utilitarian concern, yet, beliefs about
money are multi-dimensional and vary across individuals (Mitchell & Mickel, 1999).
Differences in the way people think about money and the importance placed on money can be
attributed to numerous environmental and societal pressures (e.g., cost of living), but also
individual characteristics (e.g., desire for wealth). Age, education and work ethic also relate to
differences in money beliefs (Furnham, 1984). The importance placed on money reflects
individual differences in inclination to having and spending money as it relates to power or
prestige, retaining money over time, doubt or hesitation toward spending money, and financial
anxiety (Yamauchi & Templer, 1982). Understanding individual evaluations of money can be
useful in predicting a number of organizational events (Mitchell & Mickel, 1999). In the context
of evaluating potential employers, individuals who place high value on money prefer
organizations offering higher compensation.

Because of the spending power afforded by higher compensation, concern for money is a
pervasive utilitarian need that most job seekers carry when evaluating potential employers
(Aiman-Smith et al., 2001). However, research suggests individuals vary in attitudes toward
money and materialism indicating that some people value pay-level more than others when
evaluating potential employers (Highhouse et al., 2007; Mitchell & Mickel, 1999). In a study of individual differences in compensation preferences, job seekers’ preference for high pay and flexible benefits is attributed to desires for greater purchasing power and control of spending (Cable & Judge, 1994). For example, materialistic job seekers are more attracted to organizations who offer high pay levels as compared to non-materialistic job seekers (Cable & Judge, 1994). Research on buying behavior of college students suggest relationships between money attitudes and compulsive consumption has been magnified by the increasing use of credit cards among young adults (Roberts & Jones, 2001). Therefore, I expect participants’ materialism and money beliefs to influence their perceptions of instrumental signals of Compensation.

**Hypothesis 2a:** Concern for money will moderate the positive relationship of Compensation with organizational attractiveness, such that individuals with greater concern for money will place greater value on the signal of Compensation in their attractiveness ratings than on other signals¹ (H2a).

Variation in concern for money is one example of how utilitarian needs moderate the relationship between instrumental signals and attraction. Organizations uniformly use money to attract employees, yet money beliefs and behaviors vary across individuals. In a review of the individual-differences perspective of money, Mitchell and Mickel (1999) suggest, “a good match between a prospective employee’s evaluation of money and the pay package should result in better job choices” (pp. 575). Subsequently, I expect to find greater interest in high paying organizations from individuals with high concern for money whereas individuals with lower

¹ The expected moderation is not depicted in the conceptual model (Figure 1) because it is not novel to the current study and therefore, is not a primary hypothesis.
concern for money may shift greater importance to other utilitarian needs (e.g., finding convenient childcare) and be willing to sacrifice higher compensation for FFPs.

**Anticipated work-family conflict.** Attraction to organizations offering FFPs can depend on the family and career goals of job seekers and their beliefs of the compatibility for both. The majority of the emerging workforce have yet to experience dependent family demands when they begin their career. Therefore, it may seem irrelevant to advertise a family-friendly image and FFPs to the graduating workforce. In actuality, university students consider both family and career goals when planning for future roles (Basuil & Casper, 2012; Friedman & Weissbrod, 2005). These young adults are aware of incompatible work and family roles prior to entering the workforce or starting a family (Chait Barnett et al. 2003; Cinamon, 2006; Peake & Harris, 2002; Weer, Greenhaus, Colakoglu, & Foley, 2006). Westring & Ryan (2011) introduced anticipated work-family conflict as a construct that captures this foreseeable conflict between expected career demands and family goals.

Anticipated work-family conflict is defined as, “the belief that participation in one's future work-role will interfere with participation in one's future family-role (and vice versa)” (Westring & Ryan, 2011, p. 597) – a derivation from the classic definition of work-family conflict from Frone and colleagues (1992). The future tense of this definition emphasizes the inherent sense of anticipated conflict, and not something that individuals are currently facing. Undergraduate students preparing for the job market are prime candidates for examining this expected future conflict. Although much of the recruitment literature makes use of undergraduate student samples, no one has yet to consider the influence of students’ anticipated work-family conflict in their ratings of organizational attractiveness. There is evidence that the relationship between advertisement of FFPs and ratings of organizational attractiveness is enhanced for those
experiencing high levels of work-family conflict (Bretz & Judge, 1994; Bourhis and Mekkaoui 2010; Rau & Hyland, 2002). Therefore, I expect that higher levels of anticipated work-family conflict will similarly magnify the perceived value for FFPs among students (see Figure 1).

Hypothesis 2b: Anticipated work-family conflict will moderate the positive relationship of family-friendly policies with organizational attractiveness, such that individuals with greater anticipated work-family conflict will place greater value on the FFPs signal in their attractiveness ratings than on other signals (H2b).

This hypothesized moderation parallels that of concern for money in the signal-attraction relationship because anticipated work-family conflict illustrates a similar utilitarian concern. Anticipated conflict is a tangible cost, often in the form of lost time, financial strain and physical energy, that employees wish to reduce. As a utilitarian need, instrumental attributes signaling support for reducing this cost would trigger positive attitudes toward the organization. Individuals anticipating low levels of future work-family conflict will be less interested in available FFPs when evaluating employer job ads. As depicted in Figure 1, Anticipated work-family conflict moderates the relationship between instrumental signal of FFPs and organizational attractiveness. For purposes of clarity, the hypothesized moderation of concern for money in the relationship between salary and attraction is not depicted.

Symbolic Signals and Organizational Attraction

As compared to the relatively objective nature of instrumental signals, symbolic signals are subjective, intangible cues that trigger inferences about the image of organizations (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003). Symbolic inferences are shaped by company attributes such as logos, advertisements, public relations, employees or customers and the way others talk about the company (Slaughter, Zickar, Highhouse, & Mohr, 2004). Highhouse, Brooks and Greguras
distinguish company image from reputation as an individual mental representation of the company rather than a more general collective impression. Because image perceptions are not determined by the company but by the individual, organizations can be assigned multiple images depending on specific individual needs and goals. For example, consumers of the company’s products will hold an image of the organization based on the products and services it offers (i.e., market image).

Highhouse and colleagues (2009) suggest that symbolic inferences made specifically about company employment and HR policies can be considered as an organization’s, “employer image”. Cues that influence the employer image that individuals hold of companies, such as, “Fortune’s Top 100 Employers to Work for” list, help potential job applicants make employment decisions by evaluating organizations by employer attributes (e.g., credibility). For example, Highhouse and colleagues (2009)’s proposed framework conveys how employer image inferences are made up of impressions of respectability and impressiveness (Highhouse et al., 2007) stating that like the employees within, organizations are “social actors, intent on enhancing their respectability and impressiveness in the eyes of constituents” (p. 1481). As social actors, organizations project purposeful cues to signal prestige and honor in an effort to enhance the images held about them by job seekers.

**Family-Friendly Image.** Taking a parallel strategy, I argue that employer image can be further broken down into types of organizations characterized as either more work- or family-oriented and these organizations purposefully emit cues to signal work ethic and family-support, respectively. Unlike the vast literature of FFPs, there is a lack of empirical investigations of symbolic family- or work-oriented employer perceptions. Yet, many companies are known as work-oriented (e.g., PricewaterhouseCoopers), based on a reputation of long working hours, or
as family-oriented (e.g., State Farm Insurance), evident by numerous google search results such as the, “Top 100 family-friendly companies”. Additionally, internal employees carry perceptions of the extent to which their current employer is family-oriented, as opposed to strict expectations to prioritize work over family and commit to long hours at the office (Allen, 2001). This research on family supportive organizational perceptions (FSOP; Allen, 2001) depicts internal employee reports of family-friendly organizational characteristics (e.g., supervisor support and use of FFPs), but does not encompass external perceptions of family-friendly employer image by job seekers.

Family-friendly image is defined as an impression held by an individual toward an organization as family-oriented and contributes to the overall employer image held by external stakeholders (e.g., job seekers, consumers, shareholders). An organization with a family-friendly image can be described as caring and supportive of families, is known for promoting happy, healthy families within its core values and culture, and/or is recognized as providing products and services beneficial to family well-being. Symbolic inferences drawn by job seekers about a family-friendly company could be shaped by a gamut of features that signal employer support of families, including public knowledge of the company’s family-oriented values or internal culture. Family-friendly image perceptions could also be the result of family-oriented leaders, products, services or branding such as educational services or family healthcare.

Despite a lack of empirical attention, family-friendly image is a logical symbolic counterpart to instrumental FFPs in a comprehensive assessment of the instrumental-symbolic framework. Compared to the broader image perceptions of respectability and impressiveness laid out by Highhouse et al. (2007), family-friendly image is a narrower symbolic organizational feature similar to how FFPs represent a smaller subset of HR support. Yet, little is known about
symbolic perceptions of family-friendly employer image nor how this image influences applicant decision-making.

However, there are similar constructs that lend to the understanding of family-friendly image such as informal work-family culture. Wayne and Casper (2016) define a supportive family-friendly culture as, “the degree to which shared assumptions, beliefs, and values support the integration of employees’ work and family lives” (p. 460). Organizational culture is most commonly conceptualized by experiences of internal employees, but can be made known to external constituents by word of mouth and other public communications. Public knowledge of or reputation for having a family-supportive culture would then act as a symbolic signal used by job applicants in creating their image of the company. Consequently, there is cause to say a more specific family-friendly image exists as a form of employer image and could include distinct family-oriented features such as company culture.

It is also important to distinguish family-friendly image as a component of employer image distinct from similar components incorporated within corporate social responsibility image. Highhouse et al. (2009) designate corporate social responsibility as another image type that is shaped by symbolic inferences of ethical behavior, positive public relations and responsiveness to social crises. Cues that contribute to an organization’s family-friendly employer image could also contribute to its corporate social responsibility image (e.g., announcements made by organizational leaders that reflect family-values may send signals that the company behaves ethically toward its employees and community). The distinction here lies in the individuals who hold the employer image – for employer image, potential applicants interpret the family-friendly cues in regard to how the company would be as an employer whereas other stakeholders beyond the scope of the current study (e.g., shareholders, consumers)
might consider the family-friendly cue in terms of subsequent financial success or brand affiliation.

Findings in relation to these similar organizational characteristics indicate an incremental advantage in attracting applicants beyond instrumental rewards. For example, potential applicants in one study preferred an organizational culture known to be supportive (rather than competitive) even when instrumental signals of pay were lower (Catanzaro, Moore & Marshall, 2010; Wayne & Casper, 2012). More specifically, family-supportive cultures were related to higher ratings of organizational attractiveness than non-family-supportive cultures and rated as more important than FFPs in making job choices (Wayne & Casper, 2016). Additionally, researchers find that internal perceptions of organizational family support made by those already employed positively influence employee retention, indicated by negative relationship between FSOP and turnover intentions (Hill, Matthews & Walsh, 2016). As shown in the model (see Figure 1), I expect external family-friendly image perceptions to attract emerging job seekers and explain incremental variance to previously examined symbolic signals of impressiveness and respectability.

Hypothesis 3. Family-friendly image perceptions will be positively related to organizational attractiveness beyond the influence of traditional impressive and respectable image perceptions (H3).

The Moderating Role of Social Identity

As with variation in individual utilitarian needs, individuals also differ in social identity needs and therefore, differentially weight symbolic impressions of organizations. Social identity, the projection of one’s self-concept to others, is reflected in judgements and decisions driven by self-presentation concerns (Tetlock, 1991). Accordingly, individuals consider how others will
view them when evaluating companies they wish to work for and in making job choice decisions (Carter & Highhouse, 2014). According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), this is because an individual’s social identity is reflected by affiliation with social groups (e.g., organizations, political, religious, educational entities), in which group members are viewed as having similar personal values, goals or status. Identification with an employer organization, specifically, informs one’s social identity as a reflection of shared company values and organizational status (e.g., financial status). Therefore, the extent that individuals identify with organizations can form a positive impression of themselves to others and increase self-esteem (Ashforth and Mael, 1989).

**Social Identity Consciousness.** In the recruitment process, attitude formation resulting from evaluation of organizational symbolic features involves a simultaneous reflection of self-concept (Katz, 1960). The expression of positive attitudes toward potential employers derives from individual social identity needs that could be met by gaining employment there. Social identity needs have been characterized by two prominent need-based constructs in the attitude literature: a) social adjustment; and b) value-expression needs. Social adjustment needs are characterized by a desire to impress others, whereas value-expression needs involve a desire to express values to others – both of which can prompt acceptance or approval by others. Although individuals can express both social adjustment and value expression needs, it is suggested that individuals place more importance on one or the other in different contexts (Highhouse et al., 2007).

Social identity consciousness is the degree to which job seekers differ in the self-presentation concern (either social adjustment or value expression needs) that is more dominant when evaluating potential employers in efforts to gain social approval through affiliation with an
organization (Highhouse et al., 2007). Conceptually, social identity consciousness reflects the individual characteristic component that coincides with Highhouse et al.’s (2007) conceptualization of organizational image. In other words, the impressions made about companies as being either more impressive (i.e., prestigious) or more respectable (i.e., honorable) appeal to different individuals.

In previous research, individuals perceived organizations as exhibiting human-like traits (e.g., honorable) that appealed to potential applicants who wished to reflect similar traits to others (Slaughter et al., 2004). Similarly, job applicants who want to project impressions of integrity and honor versus impressions of success and prestige would want to work for more respectable and impressive companies, respectively. Highhouse and colleagues (2007) found evidence for the alignment between the social identity concerns and symbolic organization perceptions in that organizations viewed as more impressive (e.g., IBM) attract individuals with high social-adjustment concerns and organizations viewed as more respectable (e.g., Johnson & Johnson) attract individuals with high value-expression needs. Thus, I expect individual differences in social identity consciousness to interact with symbolic image perceptions of impressiveness and respectability to explain variance in organizational attractiveness.

*Hypothesis 4a:* Social identity consciousness dimensions of social adjustment and value expression will moderate the relationship between impressive and respectable image perceptions and organizational attractiveness, such that individuals with greater social adjustment concerns, as opposed to value-expression concerns, will place greater value on companies perceived to be impressive, as opposed to respectable² (H4a).

² The expected moderation is not depicted in the conceptual model (Figure 1) because it is not novel to the current study and therefore, is not a primary hypothesis.
**Work-family Social Identity Consciousness.** Extending the conceptualization of social identity consciousness (Highhouse et al., 2007), I recommend a more specific application of social identity concerns defined by individual work-family identities. The need for workers to balance work and family roles extends beyond the management of time, strain and behavior-based conflict, to needs in balancing self-presentation concerns of being viewed as family-oriented (e.g., a good parent) and as career-driven (e.g., a high performing employee). Social identity theory suggests that individuals are placed into more than one social category, but are arranged hierarchically in the self-concept by the emotional salience of each (Stryker, 1968). Therefore, people typically have either a more central career or family identity, evident by the common descriptors, ‘career-oriented’ and ‘family-oriented’ (Honeycutt & Rosen, 1997). Despite direct evidence, salient family identity has been shown to influence job choice decisions when assessing organizations who offer flexible career paths (Honeycutt & Rosen, 1997).

Complementing the social identity framework, work-family social identity consciousness is a new construct that captures the career- and family-specific social adjustment and value expression concerns of job seekers. I define work-family social identity consciousness as the degree to which individuals differ in the more salient motive to project a more career-oriented or family-oriented self-image to others when assessing potential employers. Inherent to the acknowledgement of work-family social identity consciousness, I posit that career and family goals largely contribute to individual identity, including social identity. In line with the social identity function of attitudes, attraction to family-oriented organizations will enhance individual identity as a family-oriented person and gain social approval from others carrying strong family values. Accordingly, organizations perceived as having a family-friendly image will address
more specific work-family related social identity concerns of job seekers, such as the desire to be associated with a company that makes a difference for community families.

The work-family social identity consciousness facets do not replace social adjustment and value expression concerns, but rather coincide well. Individuals who are high in family-oriented social identity consciousness can carry either social adjustment needs or value expression needs. Similarly, those high in career-oriented social identity consciousness can exhibit either more dominant social adjustment or value expression needs. For example, an individual high in family-oriented social identity consciousness and high in value expression needs would feel strongly about projecting wholesome family values and may prefer to work for a company like the YMCA. On the other hand, someone similarly high in family social identity consciousness but high in social adjustment needs, may be attracted to a company like Johnson and Johnson to be revered as a “good” parent by the other parents in the neighborhood.

Therefore, I hypothesize that organizations with a family-friendly employer image will attract individuals who want to express family values or be viewed in a favorable light by others as family-oriented. Individuals who score highly on work-oriented social identity consciousness will be more attracted to organizations with a prestigious image to express values of hard work ethic or be seen as career-focused. Therefore, I expect an interaction between family-friendly image and work-family social identity consciousness on ratings of attractiveness (see Figure 1).

**Hypothesis 4b:** Work-family social identity consciousness will moderate the relationship between family-friendly image and organizational attractiveness, such that individuals with greater family-oriented social identity concerns will place greater value on organizations perceived to be more family-oriented than those perceived to be more work-oriented (H4b).
Figure 1. Proposed Conceptual Model.

Note. ¹Instrumental signals manipulated in policy capturing stimuli.

²Symbolic signals attributed to real organizations determined by a proxy sample in two pilot studies. Symbolic image represents a general impression of the company perceived to be either more impressive or more respectable, as demonstrated by Highhouse et al. (2007).
CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Policy Capturing

To assess the relative importance of each signal in ratings of organizational attractiveness, I conducted a within-subject, policy capturing experimental design (Zedeck, 1977). Policy capturing is a commonly used application of social judgment theory that is designed from Brunswik’s (1952) lens model (Doherty & Kurz, 1996). The complete lens model illustrates the linkage between environmental criterion and a judgment made by way of assessing and relying on available cues (Cooksey, 1996b). Under a policy capturing design, the second half of the lens model is used (i.e., a single system design; Cooksey, 1996a) to examine the cues referenced and weighted in making judgments regardless of situationally-validated criterion to make comparisons in the “policies” followed for making individual decisions (Dalal et al., 2010). This provides a values-based approach to why individuals or groups might make different decisions regardless of a correct or most optimal decision.

Policy capturing is most frequently applied toward studying decisions that do not pertain to an ultimate objective criterion (Cooksey, 1996a). Whereas informational cues predictive of performance used for selection can be assessed as valid, there is no validated most optimal criterion for values-based judgments such as organizational attractiveness because the “best choice” can vary for each individual. Additionally, a policy capturing approach provides the most accurate weighted estimates when considering non-compensatory decision-making, as the attributes that are most important to applicants for making ratings of attractiveness will be better
captured with policy capturing as compared to direct estimates (Slaughter, Richard & Martin, 2006). By directing participants to take a non-compensatory approach to rating the organizations, I address the main consideration of how central family-friendly attributes are to individual utilitarian and social identity needs.

In the current study, I leveraged a policy capturing design to determine which instrumental and symbolic cues are more important for making judgments about organizational attractiveness when considering individual and group-level differences. To do so, participants were exposed to stimuli with all possible experimental conditions. This within-person design can limit the study’s realism and external validity, but advanced examinations have indicated that these limitations are minimal in comparison to the benefits of policy capturing methodology (Tomassetti, Dalal & Kaplan, 2016). Particularly, Tomassetti and colleagues (2016) found that using policy capturing to assess a variety of job characteristics (including sensitive information such as pay) results in lesser evidence of social desirability bias, as compared to traditional self-report methodologies (e.g., Likert-based scales). Additionally, the realism of the current study is enhanced through use of real organizations.

Design and Procedure

Data were collected in a two-part procedure consisting of an online baseline survey and an online experimental survey separated temporally by one week to reduce potential for biased responses. Participants first completed a baseline survey to gather all individual characteristics assessed in the person-level of Figure 1. This survey was conducted prior to participation in the lab simulated survey to avoid potential priming effects that may have resulted from thinking about social identity and family values directly before or after reviewing organizations. Participants were emailed one week after completing the baseline survey with an invitation to
participate in the second survey. The second online survey included the policy capturing portion of the study with a 2 (Compensation & Benefits: High vs. Low) × 2 (FFPs: High vs. Low) × 2 (Impressive/Respectable: More I vs. More R) × 2 (WF Image: Work vs. Family) experimental design. Thus, each participant reviewed all 16 organizational job ads containing all possible combinations of the instrumental and symbolic signals. The instrumental signals were manipulated in descriptions of Compensation and FFPs (see Figure 2). The symbolic signals were embedded within the company name and logo on the job ad. As discussed, symbolic signals are more subjective, intangible and pervasive through every-day company presence. Therefore, to maximize generalizability and capture the influence of symbolic signals, I used real organizations selected through use of a pilot study described subsequently. Participants received both auditory and written instructions prior to rating the job ads that guided them through a job search scenario. A transcript of the instructions is provided in Figure 3.

**Determination of Levels for Symbolic Organizational Attributes.** To determine the companies to be used in manipulating the experimental factors relating to symbolic attributes, I followed a procedure similar to those used in Highhouse et al. (2007) by having an independent sample calibrate the degree to which real companies’ images communicated: (a) respectability; (b) impressiveness; (c) family-oriented, and (d) work-oriented. Using 4-point scales (e.g., “Not Respectable at All”, “Somewhat Respectable”, “Respectable”, and “Very Respectable”), 26 upper-level students rated 65 real companies on perceived impressiveness, respectability, family-orientation and work-orientation. To ensure raters were assessing the companies based on my hypothesized employer image signals, I included a brief description and the bolded phrase, “as an employer” at the end of each question. For reference, the work-orientation item stated, “using the scale below, rate how work-oriented (i.e., how focused on productivity and performance)
you think the organization is as an employer” and the family-orientation item stated, “rate how family-oriented (i.e., how understanding of family demands) you think the organization is as an employer.”

Although past research (e.g., Highhouse et al., 2007) has employed a forced-choice method (i.e., is the company “More Impressive than Respectable” versus “More Respectable than Impressive) to categorize companies to be used in experimental manipulation, I utilized independent Likert-type scales. Participants showed high interrater agreement for ratings of respectability (ICC = .89), impressiveness (ICC = .89), family-orientation (ICC = .91), work-orientation (ICC = .93) across companies. To determine which companies fit the categories defined, I averaged responses for each company and calculated their z-scores for all four dimensions. For each company, I then took the differences in z-scores between work-orientation and family-orientation of a given company as well as the differences in impressiveness and respectability of each company. These differences were then multiplied to obtain an index to determine companies with the most distinct symbolic perceptions. The four most distinct companies were selected for each pair - (a) more impressive and more work-oriented, (b) more impressive and more family-oriented, (c) more respectable and more work-oriented and, (d) more respectable and more family-oriented. The final companies were randomly assigned levels of the instrumental attributes (high vs. low FFPs and Compensation) manipulations using a random number generator. Table 1 contains the final companies used in the current study as well as their rated symbolic and manipulated instrumental signals.

Sample

Data were collected from undergraduate students in the United States. Undergraduate students represent the emerging workforce facing increased work-family demands and provide
an unbiased sample having little to no direct experience with family-friendly employer policies or image concerns. Thus, undergraduate students provided an appropriate sample for the current research. One hundred and forty-two participants completed the part 1 survey, of which 102 participants completed part 2, resulting in a 71.8% retention rate. Data were cleaned for incomplete responses and missed attention checks resulting in 93 usable pairs of responses. Of the final 93 students, 78.5% were females and the average age of students was 19.28 (SD = 1.61). Students represented a variety of academic majors, with 11.8% majoring in Psychology.

This sample size in the $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ within-subject design provides an adequate number of observations to conduct multi-level analyses. Maas and Hox (2005) conducted a series of simulations to determine the adequate number of level-two units (in this case, individual participants) for multi-level regression models by assessing the accuracy of the standard errors of the regression coefficients at a 95% confidence interval. Based on their findings, I expected a sample of at least 75 participants would provide unbiased coefficients, variance components, and standard errors (Maas & Hox, 2005).

**Measures**

**Concern for Money.** Concern for money was assessed with Yamauchi and Templer’s (1982) 29-item money attitude scale and Goldberg and colleagues’ (2003) 8-item measure of materialism. The money attitude scale contains dimensions of (1) power/prestige – the status that comes with money, (2) retention-time – the saving planning aspect of money, (3) distrust – the suspicions of spending money, and (4) anxiety – the worry over financial security. The composite measure demonstrated strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .85$). Items are provided in Appendix A.
**Anticipated Work-family Conflict.** I used Westring and Ryan’s (2011) 18-item anticipated work-family conflict scale to measure anticipated work-family conflict. The items are adapted from Carlson, Kacmar and Williams’ (2000) work-family conflict measure and modified to future tense. Internal consistency of the composite measure is excellent ($\alpha = .91$). An example item reads, “The time I will have to devote to my job will keep me from participating equally in household responsibilities and activities.”

**Social Identity Consciousness.** Highhouse and colleagues’ (2007) 10-item measure of social identity consciousness is used to capture the individual self-presentation function of attitudes toward companies. Social identity consciousness is comprised of two dimensions – concern for social adjustment ($\alpha = .75$) and concern for value expression ($\alpha = .82$) with five items each. Example items of each dimension respectively include, “I want to work for a company that is perceived to be impressive” and, “I want to be proud of the company I work for.”

**Work-family Social Identity Consciousness.** Mirroring the item wording of the Highhouse et al. (2007) measure, I wrote 10 work-oriented and 12 family-oriented items to develop a work-family-related measure of social identity consciousness. The purpose of this measure is to assess the degree to which individuals view working for family-oriented and work-oriented organizations as influential in projecting their self-image to others. An example item reads, “I would be proud to work for a company that values family above all else.” Item content is reported in Appendix A. My developed measure demonstrates good internal consistency for work-oriented ($\alpha = .85$) and family-oriented ($\alpha = .95$) dimensions. Due to the sample size being much smaller than the preferred 200 for confirmatory factor analysis (Kline, 2005), I conducted an exploratory factor analysis to ensure the measure reflected the intended internal structure.
Using principal axis factoring extraction with promax rotation, the two-factor solution demonstrated approximate simple structure (see Table 2, Figure 4). Additionally, the interfactor-correlation between the family-oriented and work-oriented factors indicates the two dimensions are relatively independent ($\phi = .16$). Therefore, I concluded that the work-family social identity consciousness measure shows the expected two-factor structure.

**Other Individual Characteristics.** I also assessed demographic and other characteristics including personality (mini IPIP; Donnellan, Oswald, Baird & Lucas, 2006), gender, age, academic year and academic major. Additionally, I included measures of work-family involvement (Frone & Rice, 1987), career centrality (Lobel & St. Clair, 1992) and family centrality (Eddleston et al., 2006) to confirm the development of work-family social identity consciousness as a distinct construct from these work-family role salience measures. All measures were adapted to future tense with the prefix, “once I establish my [family/career]…” to reflect the fact that the majority of college students mostly have not begun their careers and/or families. Appendix B shows evidence for the uniqueness of the work-family social identity consciousness construct and its measure as compared to the similar work-family role salience construct and measures.

**Organizational Attractiveness.** Organizational attractiveness was measured with the general attractiveness items from Highhouse, Lievens and Sinar’s (2003) three factor measure of organizational attraction (general attractiveness, intentions to pursue, and prestige). To tap into the social identity function of attractiveness, two items from the prestige dimension were included – “Employees are probably proud to say they work at this company” and “I would find this company a prestigious place to work.” The final scale consisted of 7 items measured on a 5-
point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree) and demonstrated high internal consistency across ratings of companies ($\alpha = .90 - .96$).

**Analyses**

The hypothesized model (Figure 1) was tested using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM; Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992) with the ‘lme4’ package (Pinheiro et al., 2016) in R (R Core Team, 2017) using restricted maximum likelihood estimation (REML). The application of HLM to policy capturing data allows for testing of cross-level effects in nested data without having to conduct list-wise deletions for missing data points. The hypothesized model consisted of two levels, with stimuli (i.e., companies) nested within persons (level 2). The stimulus level (level 1) consisted of the four experimental factors and their interactions, and the corresponding outcome of organizational attractiveness scores.

Experimental factors were dummy coded for all four signals – FFPs, Compensation, Symbolic Image and Family-friendly Image, and interaction terms were calculated to account for the full experimental design, although no hypotheses regarding these interactions were made. The individual level (level 2) contained standardized measures of the moderator variables – money attitudes, social identity consciousness, anticipated work-family conflict and work-family social identity consciousness. To examine the hypothesized main effects and two-way cross-level interactions, I conducted a progressive series of HLM models in a manner consistent with hierarchical regression analyses.
Tesla is hiring!
We are seeking talented graduates across academic majors to fill open positions in many of our business units.

Did you know?

Tesla offers above market compensation and is ranked in the top 10% of firms in the industry for starting salary. In addition, generous healthcare and flexible retirement benefit packages are provided.

At Tesla, several family-friendly HR policies are available for employees including flextime, telecommuting, dependent care assistance, and extended personal leave. Employees are encouraged by organizational leaders to take advantage of these supports to better manage work and family responsibilities.

Did you know?

Tesla is an equal opportunity employer, and all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, genetic information, national origin, protected veteran status, disability status, or any other characteristic protected by law.

Figure 2. Example Job Ad Stimuli.

"Hi, thank you for participating in this study. We ask that you listen to these full instructions before continuing on.

Now, imagine you have recently attended the University’s career fair in anticipation of your upcoming graduation and job search. As you walked around, you picked up recruitment materials from several organizations that had openings for the job position you are interested in. When you returned home, you summarized the company benefits and policies from each job ad on a notecard to help you decide which organizations you would like to work for. These notecards will be displayed on the following pages with company logos and the summary information.

Please read the summaries carefully and respond to the questions following each company. You do not need to rank the companies in any order so please think about each company independently. You will not be able to return back to previous pages.

Thank you for listening. You may now select next to continue to the study or listen to these instructions again by pressing the replay button."

Figure 3. Transcript of the Experimental Survey Audio Instructions.
Figure 4. Scree Plot Depicting the EFA of Work-family Social Identity Consciousness.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Assigned Experimental Condition</th>
<th>Symbolic Signal</th>
<th>Instrumental Signal</th>
<th>Symbolic Employer Image Perceptions (z-scores)</th>
<th>Note</th>
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<td>Respectability</td>
<td>Work-orientation</td>
<td>Family-orientation</td>
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Table 2
*Rotated Structure Matrix Depicting the Work-family Social Identity Consciousness Factors.*

<table>
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<th>Items</th>
<th>Family-oriented SIC</th>
<th>Work-oriented SIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>WSIC 1</td>
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<td>0.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSIC 2</td>
<td>0.084</td>
<td>0.536</td>
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<td>WSIC 3</td>
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<td>FSIC 2</td>
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<td>0.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSIC 3</td>
<td>0.811</td>
<td>0.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSIC 4</td>
<td>0.773</td>
<td>0.108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSIC 5</td>
<td>0.501</td>
<td>0.052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSIC 6</td>
<td>0.849</td>
<td>0.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSIC 7</td>
<td>0.797</td>
<td>0.233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSIC 8</td>
<td>0.856</td>
<td>0.210</td>
</tr>
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<td>FSIC 9</td>
<td>0.842</td>
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<td>FSIC 10</td>
<td>0.762</td>
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<td>FSIC 11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSIC 12</td>
<td>0.770</td>
<td>0.109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. N = 93. Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization. SIC = social identity consciousness, FSIC = family-oriented social identity consciousness, WSIC = work-oriented social identity consciousness. Item content is reported in Appendix A.*
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

Level 2 variable means, standard deviations and correlations are reported in Table 3. Table 4 details results of the progressive series of HLM tests of the hypothesized effects on organizational attractiveness. Similar to hierarchical regression analyses, variables were entered in steps to account for change in variance explained and model fit. Table 5 shows the variance explained at each level for the relevant within- and between-person predictors at each step.

First, I examined the null, or unconditional, model. As expected, the intraclass correlation (ICC) suggested that only 8.3% of variance in organizational attraction was between persons, and that 91.7% was within-persons. Although it is often cited that for HLM analyses there should be a large amount of variance at Level 2, in this case I would not expect large differences between persons’ average attractiveness ratings across organizations as all experimental manipulations were within-person.

Next, to test the hypothesized positive, incremental effects of FFPs (H1), I first estimated a model including the main effect of instrumental signals of Compensation (High/Low), and the effect of the Impressiveness/ Respectability signal (Model 1), which have both been found in prior research to have strong influence on organizational attraction. Results supported these prior findings with a main effect of Compensation, $b = 1.40, p < .01$ and Impressiveness/ Respectability signals, $b = -1.15, p < .001$, on organizational attractiveness. These effects significantly improved model-data fit from the null model, $\Delta \chi^2 (8) = 916.89, p < .001$, and explained 53% of within-person variance. I then estimated Model 2, which adds the effect of the
FFPs signal. In comparing Model 1 and Model 2 (Step 1), it can be seen that the addition of the FFPs signal did indeed improve model fit, $\Delta \chi^2(df) = 193.79$, $p<.001$, explaining 17.9% of within-person variation in organizational attractiveness, such that higher FFPs resulted in higher organizational attraction, lending full support to H1.

Next, I assessed the moderating effects of the level-two individual utilitarian concerns: concern for money (H2a; Model 4) and anticipated work-family conflict (H2b; Model 5). Gender was also added in level-two to control for potential gender differences in the moderating individual characteristics. Counter to my hypothesis and previous research, concern for money did not interact with Compensation signals in predicting organizational attractiveness, $b = -0.001$, $p = .85$. In Step 3, a test of the change in variance accounted for by Compensation before and after adding in concern for money supports this null finding ($\Delta \tau 11 = 0.00$, Table 5). Therefore, H2a was not supported.

Results showed a significant cross-level interaction between anticipated work-family conflict and the FFPs signal on organizational attractiveness, $b = -0.13$, $p < .05$. The addition of the anticipated work-family conflict and FFPs signal interaction accounted for 7.5% of variance in the relation between FFP signals and organizational attractiveness. However, the relationships between anticipated work-family conflict, FFPs and organizational attractiveness were not in the expected direction such that participants with higher levels of anticipated work-family conflict were slightly more attracted to organizations advertising a lack of FFPs and participants with lower levels of anticipated work-family conflict were more attracted to organizations advertising FFPs (Figure 5). Therefore, H2b is not supported.

Next, I examined the effects of Work-family Image signals (Model 3) to test the expected positive, incremental effect of family-friendly employer image on organizational attractiveness
(H3) beyond that of Impressiveness/ Respectability signals. Controlling for symbolic image effects and instrumental FFPs, there was no main effect of Work-family Image signals on organizational attractiveness ($b = -0.11$, $p = .40$). Thus, H3 was not supported.

Next, I examined the moderating effects of the level-two individual social identity needs: social identity consciousness (Model 4) and work-family social identity consciousness (Model 6). First, I tested whether the relationships between Impressiveness/Respectability signals and organizational attractiveness are moderated by social adjustment and value expression needs, respectively (H4a). Results replicate those of Highhouse et al. (2007) with significant cross-level interactions between Impressiveness signals and social adjustment ($b = -0.11$, $p = .058$) and Respectability signals and value expression ($b = 0.14$, $p < .05$) on ratings of organizational attractiveness. The interactions (Figure 5) depict expected relationships, such that participants who are higher in value expression concerns are slightly more attracted to organizations perceived to be more respectable and much less attracted to companies perceived to be more impressive. Participants with higher social adjustment concerns are more attracted to organizations perceived to be more impressive than those with lower social adjustment concerns.

Furthermore, in Step 3, I compared the within-person variance accounted for by Impressiveness/ Respectability signals before adding the interactions (Model 3) and after adding the social identity consciousness interactions (Model 4). The addition of social adjustment and value expression social identity concerns results in an extra 19.7% of variance in organizational attractiveness explained by Impressiveness/ Respectability signals ($\Delta r^2 = 0.197$, Table 5), lending full support to H4a.

---

3 Due to the directional nature of my hypothesis, I can conclude this estimate to be significant with a one-tailed test.
Finally, I assessed the moderating effects of work-family-specific social identity concerns on the relationship between Work-family Image signals and organizational attractiveness (H4b). Results support the hypothesized effects as Work-family Image signals interacted with family-oriented social identity concerns ($b = 0.08, p = .089$) and work-oriented social identity concerns ($b = -0.12, p < .05$) to predict organizational attractiveness. These interaction effects resulted in an additional 15.5% of within-person variation in organizational attractiveness explained by Work-family Image signals as indicated by a comparison of Model 5 and Model 6 ($\Delta \tau^2 = 0.155$, Table 5). Thus, the results support H4b.

Plotted interactions of H4b (Figure 5) show that participants who are higher in family-oriented social identity needs are more attracted to organizations with a family-oriented employer image than those lower in family-oriented social identity needs. Additionally, participants who are higher in work-oriented social identity needs were less attracted to organizations with a family-friendly image than those lower in work-oriented social identity needs. Ratings of companies perceived to have more of a work-oriented image than family-oriented image appear to be affected less by work- and family-oriented social identity concerns.

Results in Model 6 depict the test of the full model proposed in Figure 1. With all experimental signals and cross-level interaction terms in the model, I find support for many of my hypotheses. To determine whether there is a family-friendly advantage, I examined the amount of variance explained by the family-friendly signals and by the moderating work-family utilitarian and social identity needs. I compared the level-one residual variance explained between the model with the control signals only (Model 1) against the model with both family-friendly signals (Model 3). Results indicate that the two models are different ($\Delta \chi^2 (21) = 391.03, p < .001$) with the addition of family-friendly signals accounting for 31.3% of variance.
Post-Hoc Analyses

Despite the lack of a main effect of Work-family Image signals on organizational attractiveness, there was a significant improvement in model-data fit in Step 2 with the addition of Work-family Image signals ($\Delta \chi^2 (8) = 197.25, p < .001$). In comparing Model 2 and Model 3, the addition of Work-family Image signals explained 16% of within-person variation in organizational attractiveness. Therefore, I examined whether or not there were interaction effects accounting for the improved fit and found there were several significant three-way interactions that emerged. The three-way interactions include multiplicative effects of Compensation, Impressiveness/Respectability and Work-family Image signals on organizational attractiveness ($b = 1.64, p < .001$), of Compensation, FFPs and Work-family Image signals on organizational attractiveness ($b = -0.66, p < .05$), and of Impressiveness/Respectability, FFPs and Work-family Image signals on organizational attractiveness ($b = 1.44, p < .001$). The interaction patterns (Figure 6) suggest that companies perceived to be work-oriented and impressive are particularly attractive, especially when they offer FFPs. Also, companies perceived to be family-oriented and respectable are generally rated as less attractive, but participants rated these companies as more attractive when offered high compensation or high FFPs as compared to low compensation and no FFPs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Concern for Money</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>(.85)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Anticipated WFC</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.28**</td>
<td>(.91)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Value Expression SIC</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>(.75)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Social Adjustment SIC</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.35**</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.35**</td>
<td>(.82)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Family-oriented SIC</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.40**</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>(.95)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Work-oriented SIC</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.29**</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.42**</td>
<td>0.47**</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>(.85)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Family Involvement</td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>0.39**</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.52**</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>(.78)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Work Involvement</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.34**</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>(.72)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Family Centrality</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.28**</td>
<td>0.38**</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.60**</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.82**</td>
<td>-0.25*</td>
<td>(.88)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Career Centrality</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.43**</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-0.29**</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.22*</td>
<td>0.69**</td>
<td>-0.39**</td>
<td>(.77)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** N = 93. WFC = Work-family Conflict, SIC = Social Identity Consciousness. Numbers in parentheses are coefficient alphas.

*p < .05. **p < .01.
Table 4
HLM Results Predicting Organizational Attractiveness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 0</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th>Model 5</th>
<th>Model 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unconditional &amp; Image Effects (L1)</td>
<td>Family-Friendly Policies (L1)</td>
<td>Work-Family Image (L1)</td>
<td>CFM &amp; SIC Interactions (L2)</td>
<td>Anticipated WFC (L2)</td>
<td>Work-Family SIC (L2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>4.12** (0.06)</td>
<td>3.83** (0.11)</td>
<td>3.53** (0.14)</td>
<td>3.59** (0.16)</td>
<td>3.59** (0.16)</td>
<td>3.59** (0.16)</td>
<td>3.59** (0.16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1 = Male)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for Money (CFM)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.03 (0.09)</td>
<td>0.05 (0.09)</td>
<td>0.05 (0.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Adjustment</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.07 (0.08)</td>
<td>0.08 (0.08)</td>
<td>0.13 (0.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value Expression</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-0.11 (0.08)</td>
<td>-0.12 (0.08)</td>
<td>-0.12 (0.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipated WFC</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.03 (0.08)</td>
<td>0.08 (0.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family-oriented SIC</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.09 (0.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-oriented SIC</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensation (1 = High)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.40** (0.13)</td>
<td>1.85** (0.15)</td>
<td>1.92** (0.17)</td>
<td>1.93** (0.17)</td>
<td>1.92** (0.17)</td>
<td>1.92** (0.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensation × CFM</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-0.001 (0.10)</td>
<td>-0.02 (0.10)</td>
<td>-0.02 (0.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic Image (1 = Respectable)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-1.15** (0.08)</td>
<td>-1.05** (0.11)</td>
<td>-0.52** (0.14)</td>
<td>-0.52** (0.13)</td>
<td>-0.52** (0.13)</td>
<td>-0.52** (0.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic Image × Social Adj.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-0.11* (0.05)</td>
<td>-0.12* (0.05)</td>
<td>-0.12* (0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic Image × Value Exp.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.14* (0.05)</td>
<td>0.14* (0.05)</td>
<td>0.14* (0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family-Friendly Policies (1 = High)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.59** (0.12)</td>
<td>0.73** (0.15)</td>
<td>0.73** (0.15)</td>
<td>0.73** (0.15)</td>
<td>0.73** (0.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FFP × AWFC</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-0.13* (0.07)</td>
<td>-0.14* (0.07)</td>
<td>-0.14* (0.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-family Image (1 = Family)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-0.11 (0.13)</td>
<td>-0.11 (0.13)</td>
<td>-0.11 (0.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-family Image × FSIC</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.08* (0.05)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-family Image × WSIC</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-0.12* (0.05)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variance Components

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept (τ00)</td>
<td>0.226</td>
<td>0.889</td>
<td>1.401</td>
<td>1.674</td>
<td>1.658</td>
<td>1.645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensation (τ11)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.991</td>
<td>1.040</td>
<td>1.078</td>
<td>1.088</td>
<td>1.089</td>
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<tr>
<td>Symbolic Image (τ22)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.117</td>
<td>0.157</td>
<td>0.126</td>
<td>0.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family-friendly Policies (τ33)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.389</td>
<td>0.429</td>
<td>0.429</td>
<td>0.397</td>
<td>0.396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-family Image (τ44)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1 Residual (σ^2)</td>
<td>2.429</td>
<td>1.139</td>
<td>0.935</td>
<td>0.783</td>
<td>0.783</td>
<td>0.782</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. N = 1,488 observations (Level 1), N = 93 individuals (Level 2). Unstandardized estimates are reported with standard errors in parentheses. All level 1 signals were entered as uncentered dummy-coded variables. All level 2 individual characteristic variables were entered as standardized mean scores. CFM = Concern for Money, Social Adj. = Social Adjustment, Value Exp. = Value Expression, AWFC = Anticipated Work-family Conflict, FSIC = Family-oriented Social Identity Consciousness, WSIC = Work-oriented Social Identity Consciousness

† p < .10  *p < .05  **p < .01.
Table 5  
*Model Comparison Results of Progressive HLM Analyses.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Step 0</th>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
<th>Step 3</th>
<th>Step 4</th>
<th>Step 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compensation &amp; Image Effects</td>
<td>FFPs</td>
<td>WFI</td>
<td>CFM &amp; SIC Interactions</td>
<td>AWFC</td>
<td>WFSIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Delta \sigma^2)</td>
<td>0.531</td>
<td>0.179</td>
<td>0.162</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Delta \tau_{11})</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Delta \tau_{22})</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.197</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Delta \tau_{33})</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Delta \tau_{44})</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Delta \chi^2)</td>
<td>916.89** (8)</td>
<td>193.79** (8)</td>
<td>197.25** (13)</td>
<td>9.55 (7)</td>
<td>4.15 (2)</td>
<td>13.35* (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Step 0: Compares Model 0 to Model 1; Step 1: Compares Model 1 to Model 2; Step 2: Compares Model 2 to Model 3; Step 3: Compares Model 3 to Model 4; Step 4: Compares Model 4 to Model 5; Step 5: Compares Model 5 to the full model, Model 6. Control Effects = Compensation and Symbolic Image effects; FFPs = Family-Friendly Policies; WFI = Work-family Image; Control Interactions = Gender, Concern for Money, Social Adjustment, and Value Expression; AWFC = Anticipated Work-family Conflict; WFSIC = Work-Family Social Identity Consciousness.

*\(p < .05\).*  **\(p < .01\).*
Figure 5: Visualization of Cross-Level Interactions on Organizational Attractiveness.

Family-friendly Policies × Anticipated Work-family Conflict

Symbolic Image × Value Expression Social Identity Consciousness

Symbolic Image × Social Adjustment Social Identity Consciousness
Figure 5 (cont.): Visualization of Cross-Level Interactions on Organizational Attractiveness.
Figure 6. Visualization of Level 1 Three-way Interactions on Organizational Attractiveness
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

Targeted recruitment efforts that address job seekers’ individual needs are crucial for organizations to stay competitive in their efforts attract workers. Instrumental FFPs have been established as an attractive organizational feature to job seekers with a range of utilitarian work-family concerns (Grover & Cooker, 1995). Yet, recent research in organizational attraction suggests social identity motives are also served by attraction to employers by way of symbolic organizational attributes (Highhouse et al., 2007). In this paper, I championed the multi-attribute instrumental-symbolic framework of organizational attraction and extended it to the work-family social identity needs of emerging job seekers. As such, attraction to potential employers served not only utilitarian concerns for work-family conflict but also extended to serve work-family social identity concerns. My results support this position, allowing me to make the case below that the assessment of work-family employer image is meaningful in targeted recruitment efforts. I also discuss unforeseen findings, practical implications and considerations for future research.

Study Findings

The instrumental-symbolic distinction in attitude objects provides a promising approach to reaching a comprehensive understanding of targeted organizational attraction strategies (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003; Carter & Highhouse, 2014). In my investigation into the work-family needs of emerging job seekers, I illustrated the value of the framework by providing evidence for the unique influence of instrumental and symbolic organizational attributes on the positive attitude of attraction, simultaneously underscoring the influence of the corresponding
psychological needs that are served by the attitude. Accordingly, my findings lend support to my primary research question: do work-family organizational signals extend beyond instrumental features to address domain-specific social identity needs?

In confirmation, the current findings indicated there are unique work-family social identity concerns that are satisfied by job seekers’ appreciation of matching organizational image signals. Organizations with distinct work- and family-oriented employer images attracted individuals with greater work- and family-oriented social identity needs, respectively. These relationships suggest that organizations with a family-friendly employer image do indeed have an advantage when targeting recruitment efforts toward individuals who wish to project a family-oriented impression to others. Also, these findings support the introduction of work-family social identity consciousness – a novel construct that was differentiated from similar work-family role salience constructs (i.e., work-family involvement and career-family centrality). The distinctness of these constructs was evident from latent variable perspective with an exploratory factor analysis (Appendix B) and from supplemental analysis in which substituting the role salience measures into the tested model failed to produce the same moderating effect on the relationship between Work-Family Image and organizational attractiveness (Appendix C).

The findings of corresponding work-family employer image and social identity concerns make two contributions to the organizational attraction literature. First, they inform the shift in the organizational attraction literature to examine the symbolic images that organizations exude in further depth (Ployhart, Schmitt & Tippins, 2017). Despite a plethora of research examining the value of instrumental signals in organizational recruitment literatures, the impact of symbolic signals on organizational attractiveness has only been recently introduced (Lievens & Highhouse, 2003) and deserves greater attention. My results demonstrate the impact of more
nuanced symbolic image perceptions (i.e., Work-family Image) beyond that of instrumental attributes (i.e., FFPs). In addition to the relationship between Work-family Image signals, work-family social identity consciousness and organization attraction, results also replicated prior work in which symbolic image perceptions of impressiveness and respectability predicted organizational attractiveness, particularly when accounting for individual social identity concerns of social adjustment and value expression, respectively (Highhouse et al., 2007).

Secondly, the confirmation of work-family social identity concerns expands the notion that “job choices serve a social identity function” (Carter & Highhouse, 2014, pp. 454). Indeed, the current study demonstrated that job choices may actually serve a variety of domain-specific social identity functions, paralleling the perspective that individuals carry multiple self-presentation personas tailor able to the target (Leary & Allen, 2011). Due to these implications, my findings reaffirm the necessity for organizational attraction researchers to consider the symbolic organizational signals that satisfy social identity needs beyond those of instrumental signals. Taken together, the moderating roles of all the social identity consciousness concerns assessed – social adjustment, value expression, work-oriented and family-oriented concerns – in the symbolic signal-attraction relationships provide additional support for person-organization fit according to symbolic organizational and applicant character traits (Carter & Highhouse, 2014).

The confirmation of domain-specific social identity concerns also shifts more general thinking around the functional approach to attitudes. In particular, these findings contribute to the literature on social identity by introducing more specific facets of social identity consciousness that are communicated to others through group membership with an employer, beyond that of social adjustment and value expression (Highhouse et al., 2007). The detection of a unique work-family social identity construct invokes consideration that other, more precise
social identity needs might exist and may be influencing attitudes and decision-making in other areas. Subsequently, the successful adaptation of the instrumental-symbolic framework to the work-family domain gives promise to the flexibility of the functional approach to other areas of study. For example, diversity-related social identity concerns, beyond demographic characteristics, may influence attractiveness to employer advertised diversity management approaches (Olsen & Martins, 2016). If adaptable to many areas of study, there could be a number of signals that satisfy individual social identity motives including interactive perceptions of employer, marketing and other organizational image types (Highhouse et al., 2009).

Moreover, my results reinforced previous findings that FFPs are attractive instrumental features to the emerging job seekers (e.g., Bourhis & Mekkaoui 2010; Carless & Wintle, 2007; Honeycutt & Rosen, 1997; Rau & Hyland, 2002) by finding that FFPs influence attractiveness ratings even when salient cues of pay and benefits are taken into consideration. The results also reiterated the value of compensation cues (Cable & Judge, 1994) as strong predictors of attraction. Interestingly, among these instrumental signal-attraction relationships, individual differences in utilitarian needs were less influential. Above-market pay and flexible benefits were uniformly attractive despite differences in concern for money. Upon reflection, this result is logical when considering that above average compensation is a stark contrast in comparison to below average pay and no choice in benefit plans. Similarly, the unexpected result regarding anticipated work-family conflict suggests that FFPs are attractive features even to those that do not foresee conflicting work and family roles. These results stray from previous research that finds work-family conflict moderates the FFPs-attraction relationship (Bourhis and Mekkaoui 2010; Rau & Hyland, 2002), yet complement the findings that FFP availability has a greater effect on positive employee attitudes than actual use of the policies (Butts, Casper & Yang,
Such policies are attractive even when they are not a necessity for reducing work-family conflict (e.g., telecommuting is useful for employees who do not live close to the office) and are appealing to job seekers because they signal that the organization is modern, flexible, and caring in its approach to employee well-being (Casper & Buffardi, 2004).

Finally, I would also like to point out the study’s unexpected results on the emerging workers’ preferences. Contrary to misconceptions of the millennial generation, the current findings suggest the emerging workers do not differ from older generations in preferences for impressive, high paying employers. These results are in line with prior research that show few differences in work attitudes and preferences between the millennial generation and older generations (Costanza et al., 2012; Kowske, Rasch, & Wiley, 2010). I expected, but did not find, that the emerging job seekers had a greater preference for companies with a family-oriented and respectable image. Therefore, although the current and future workforce face unique work-nonwork challenges, findings from the current study contradict notions that these challenges drive consequential shifts in worker values and attitudes regarding what makes a potential employer attractive.

**Limitations and Future Research**

As with all research, the current study is not without limitations and potential areas of improvement providing opportunities for future research. One area for concern is the sample used. While the purpose of the research was to examine the attitudes of emerging job seekers by sampling college students, the current sample was characterized by a majority of underclassmen students. Students in their first two years of college may not be as informed about these well-known employers as current job seekers are. The participating older students could have had more contact with these companies at University job fairs, summer internships or through other
opportunities as they progress through their undergraduate career. Thus, it would be important to consider whether these results remain unchanged with a larger sample of older students who are closer to graduation and the job market.

Another potential limitation of the current study is that the sample size may not provide sufficient power to detect all of the hypothesized multi-level relationships. The model becomes increasingly complex when adding in multiple signals and level-two characteristics, and it is difficult to determine the sample size needed for multi-level experimental designs with an a-priori power analysis due to unknown estimated population effect size (Hox, Moerbeek & van de Schoot, 2017). A review of policy-capturing studies finds that small samples of less than 50 people are frequently used with this design, but recommend larger samples be used when interested in examining individual differences (Karren & Barringer, 2002). Additional data collection from more participants is recommended to increase confidence in the resulting relationships. Relatedly, there is a greater emphasis in policy-capturing design placed on the number of factors and situational cues or scenarios rather than the sample size. Due to potential confounds associated with use of real companies, this study could also be improved by using more companies and scenarios. Yet, participation fatigue must also be taken into consideration when increasing the number of scenarios to be rated.

Lastly, despite the use of real companies and their logos, there are generalizability concerns inherent to the experimental manipulation of company signals as compared to applicant evaluations of employers in field studies. In particular, some of the manipulations may have been harder for the participants to imagine if they are already familiar with the company’s reputation. For example, it can be difficult to think of receiving low pay and having no access to FFPs as a Facebook employee when Facebook has been publically recognized for generous paid parental
leave policies and hefty salaries on sites like “glassdoor.com”. Relatedly, there is potential systematic variance by company that I was unable to account for by the symbolic signals included in this study. Although interpretation of instrumental organizational attributes is largely consistent across individuals, interpretation of symbolic attributes is more variable. This is because employer image perceptions are largely based on individual experiences with the company. Although most individuals are expected to have similar interactions with these well-known companies, some students may have more experience or unique experience with the company as an employer (e.g., a parent works there) that may have biased attractiveness ratings.

There is opportunity for future research to improve upon these considerations and build from this study to better understand the value that job seekers place on family-friendly organizational attributes. In particular, more research is needed to understand the role of organizational image perceptions on attraction and recruitment efforts (Ployhart et al., 2017). Although multiple organizational image types have been reviewed (Highhouse et al., 2009), it remains unclear the degree of crossover that exists between marketing, corporate social responsibility and employer image perceptions and if these can differentially impact attraction. Company product awareness has been shown to affect job applicant decisions (Collins, 2007), but further empirical studies are needed to know if product or brand perceptions bleed over into employer image perceptions (e.g., presuming J&J has a family-oriented workplace culture because they make family-oriented products).

Additionally, there is more work to be done to determine the importance of family-friendly attributes in order to persuade organizations to provide more work-family supports. Rather than asking whether or not there is a family-friendly advantage in recruiting, perhaps researchers should ask, “to what extent do job seekers forgo attractive features like pay for
family-oriented employer attributes such as flextime or family-oriented image?”. One recommended approach to answer this question is to give students vignettes of job offers that require varying tradeoffs to be made between the organizational attributes examined in this study. For example, what is the max amount of starting salary students would be willing to forgo to have telecommuting abilities 2 days a week? Applying a monetary value on family-supportive policies can communicate the attractiveness of these attributes to organizational leaders in a more persuasive manner.

**Practical Implications**

The current study has clear practical implications for the recruiting practices of organizations looking to attract the emerging wave of workers. As discussed, workers continue to value instrumental monetary rewards in the form of high compensation and flexible benefits. Therefore, this study serves as a reminder to organizations that high pay and flexible benefits remain important features to attract talent. Results also reiterate the value of instrumental FFPs and provide further evidence that these policies are valued across individuals, not only by applicants who are experiencing or expecting higher work-family conflict (e.g., parents vs. non-parents; Grover & Cooker, 1995). Therefore, recruiters should emphasize these benefits to all job seekers.

The current study also provides information for employers who cannot always afford to compete in their geographic or industry compensation markets. Patterns of the significant post-hoc three-way interactions (Figure 6) suggest that offering FFPs to attract the emerging workforce can increase the company’s competitive advantage for talent when compensation is low. When compensation is high, the advertisement of FFPs has less of an impact on attraction. The availability of FFPs also provides an advantage for respectable and family-oriented
employers such that respectable and family-oriented companies are much more attractive when offering FFPs, as compared to those not offering FFPs.

Most notably, the present findings relay the importance of not only examining the influence of instrumental signals without regard to the influence of symbolic image signals. In a competitive environment, organizations competing for skilled talent can differentiate themselves to job seekers by leveraging, and possibly adapting, their symbolic image to target the types of employees they want to attract (Highhouse et al., 2007; Ployhart et al., 2017). The current study promotes this notion and provides practical insight on work- and family-specific employer image perceptions. For example, when distinguishing between employers who offer high pay and flexible benefits, participants were more attracted to employers with Respectable and Family-oriented Image signals than to employers with Work-oriented/Impressive, Work-oriented/Respectable and Family-oriented/Impressive signals. Results also remind employers to “walk the talk”, by considering the alignment between their instrumental policies and their perceived symbolic image. Organizations perceived to be respectable and family-oriented are less attractive when they do not back up this image with HR policies that help employees care for their families.

Conclusion

My findings make notable theoretical and practical contributions to the organizational attractiveness and attitude literatures. Through application to the work-family domain, this research demonstrated the merits of the multi-attribute instrumental-symbolic framework in the examination of organizational attraction as a functional, and key organizational, attitude. Findings underscored the importance of instrumental FFPs while being the first to detect work-family symbolic image perceptions and the domain-specific social identity needs they satisfy. In
practice, this experimental study guides family-friendly recruitment efforts of employers looking to attract the emerging workforce and informs organizations perceived to have work- and family-oriented images of the type of individuals they are likely to attract. These contributions provide a comprehensive understanding of the work-family considerations taken by emerging job seekers when evaluating potential employers and set the stage for future research on domain-specific symbolic organizational signals and social identity needs.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES

Appendix A - Measures

Money Attitude Scale – Yamauchi & Templer (1982)

1. I use money to influence other people to do things for me.
2. I must admit that I purchase things because I know they will impress others.
3. In all honesty, I own nice things in order to impress others.
4. I behave as if money were the ultimate symbol of success.
5. I must admit that I sometimes boast about how much money I make.
6. People I know tell me that I place too much emphasis on the amount of money a person has as a sign of his success.
7. I seem to find that I show more respect to people with money than I have.
8. Although I should judge the success of people by their deeds, I am more influenced by the amount of money they have.
9. I often try to find out if other people make more money than I do.
10. I do financial planning for the future.
11. I put money aside on a regular basis for the future.
12. I save now to prepare for my old age.
13. I keep track of my money.
15. I am very prudent with money.
16. I have money available in the event of another economic depression.
17. I argue or complain about the cost of things I buy.
18. It bothers me when I discover I could have gotten something for less elsewhere.
19. After buying something, I wonder if I could have gotten the same for less elsewhere.
20. I automatically say, "I can't afford it," whether I can or not.
21. When I buy something, I complain about the price I paid.
22. I hesitate to spend money, even on necessities.
23. When I make a major purchase, I have the suspicion that I have been taken advantage of.
25. It's hard for me to pass up a bargain.
26. I am bothered when I have to pass up a sale.
27. I spend money to make myself feel better.
28. I show signs of nervousness when I don't have enough money.
29. I worry that I will not be financially secure.
### Materialism – Goldberg et al. (2003)

1. The more money you have, the happier you are.
2. I admire people who dress well.
3. I would love to be able to afford to buy more things.
4. I would put up with a job that was less interesting if I was paid more money.
5. The things I own really make me happy.
6. I’d rather spend time shopping than doing almost anything else.
7. I enjoy just thinking about all the things I own.
8. I would be much happier if I had more money to buy more things for myself.

### Anticipated Work-family Conflict (AWFC) – Westring & Ryan (2011)

1. My work will keep me from my family activities more than I will like.
2. The time I will have to devote to my job will keep me from participating equally in household responsibilities and activities.
3. I will have to miss family activities due to the amount of time I will have to spend on work responsibilities.
4. The time I will spend on family responsibilities will often interfere with my work responsibilities.
5. The time I will spend with my family will often cause me not to spend time on activities at work that could be helpful to my career.
6. I will have to miss work activities due to the amount of time I will have to spend on family responsibilities.
7. When I get home from work I will often be too frazzled to participate in family activities/responsibilities.
8. I will often be so emotionally drained when I get home from work that it will prevent me from contributing to my family.
9. Due to all the pressures at work, sometimes when I come home I will be too stressed to do the things I enjoy.
10. Due to stress at home, I will often be preoccupied with family matters at work.
11. Because I will often be stressed from family responsibilities, I will have a hard time concentrating on my work.
12. Tension and anxiety from my family life will often weaken my ability to do my job.
13. The problem-solving behaviors I will use in my job will not be effective in resolving problems at home.
14. Behavior that will be effective and necessary for me at work will be counterproductive at home.
15. The behaviors I will perform that will make me effective at work will not help me to be a better parent and spouse.
16. The behaviors that will work for me at home will not be effective at work.
17. Behavior that will be effective and necessary for me at home will be counterproductive at work.
18. The problem-solving behavior that will work for me at home will not be as useful at work.
Social Identity Consciousness (SIC) – Highhouse et al. (2007)

1. It is important that the company be popular and prestigious.
2. Working for an impressive company would make me seem impressive to others.
3. I want to work for a company that is perceived to be impressive.
4. I would consider how impressive my family thinks working for the company would be.
5. I wonder if strangers would be impressed by where I work.
6. I want to be proud of the company I work for.
7. I would not work for a company with a bad image.
8. I would hope that the company has an honorable reputation in the community.
9. It is important to work for a company that is scandal-free.
10. I believe where you work is an important part of who you are.

Work-family Social Identity Consciousness (WFSIC) – Developed by current authors

Work-oriented Social Identity

1. I want to work for a company that is known for hard work.
2. I want to work for a company that hires employees who are dedicated to their work above all else.
3. I hope strangers see me as more of a "career focused person" because of where I work.
4. I would be proud to work for a company that is known for working long hours to achieve results.
5. I would not work for a company that has a reputation for slacking off.
6. I hope to work for a company that has a hard-working reputation in the community.
7. I believe working for a company that is driven by hard work is part of who I am.
8. I want to work for a company that advertises a strong work ethic.
9. I want people to think that I am career driven when I tell them where I work.
10. I would be proud telling others I work for a company known for 80-hour work weeks.

Family-oriented Social Identity

1. I want to work for a company that is known for supporting work-family balance.
2. I want to work for a company that is perceived to be family-oriented.
3. I hope strangers would see me as more of a "family person" because of where I work.
4. I would be proud to work for a company that values family above all else.
5. I would not work for a company that has a reputation for overworking their employees.
6. I hope to work for a company that is known in the community as family-friendly.
7. I believe working for a company that places importance on family is part of who I am.
8. I want to work for a company that advertises the importance of family.
9. I want people to think I put my family first when they hear where I work.
10. I want people to think I value work-family balance when they hear where I work.
11. I would be proud telling others I work for a company known for being family-friendly.
12. Others would not be surprised to hear that I work for a company known for work-family balance.
Organizational Attractiveness – Highhouse et al. (2003)

General attractiveness

1. For me, this company would be a good place to work.
2. I would not be interested in this company except as a last resort. (RS)
3. This company is attractive to me as a place for employment.
4. I am interested in learning more about this company.
5. A job at this company is very appealing to me.

Prestige

6. Employees are probably proud to say they work at this company.
7. I would find this company a prestigious place to work.

Personality (Mini IPIP) – Donnellan et al. (2006)

1. Am the life of the party.
2. Sympathize with others’ feelings.
3. Get chores done right away.
4. Have frequent mood swings.
5. Have a vivid imagination.
6. Don’t talk a lot. (RS)
7. Am not interested in other people’s problems. (RS)
8. Often forget to put things back in their proper place. (RS)
9. Am relaxed most of the time. (RS)
10. Am not interested in abstract ideas. (RS)
11. Talk to a lot of different people at parties.
12. Feel others’ emotions.
13. Like order.
15. Have difficulty understanding abstract ideas. (RS)
16. Keep in the background. (RS)
17. Am not really interested in others. (RS)
18. Make a mess of things. (RS)
19. Seldom feel blue. (RS)
20. Do not have a good imagination. (RS)
Work and Family Role Salience

Once I establish my career…
(Work Involvement; Frone & Rice, 1987)
1. I expect the most important things that will happen to me will involve my job.
2. I expect most of my interests will be centered around my job.
3. I expect I will be very much involved in my job role.
4. I expect my job will be only a small part of who I am. (RS)

(Career Centrality; Lobel & St Clair, 1992)
5. I expect that my career will be the major source of satisfaction in my life.
6. I expect that most of the important things that will happen to me will involve my career.
7. I expect that I will be very much involved personally in my career.
8. I expect that most of my interests will be centered around my career.

Once I establish my family…
(Family Involvement; Frone & Rice, 1987)
1. I expect the most important things that will happen to me will involve my role as a spouse/parent.
2. I expect most of my interests are centered around my family.
3. I expect I will be very much involved in my role as a spouse/parent.
4. I expect my family will be only a small part of who I am. (RS)

(Family centrality, Eddleston et al., 2006)
5. I expect that my family will be the major source of satisfaction in my life.
6. I expect that most of the important things that happen to me will involve my family.
7. I expect that I will be very much involved personally in my family.
8. I expect that most of my interests will be centered around my family.
Appendix B – Work-family Social Identity Consciousness and Work-family Role Salience

Correlational results address concerns for the potential overlap in the constructs of work-family social identity consciousness and other work-family salience measures. The relationships between work-oriented social identity consciousness and work involvement \((r = .15, p = .17)\) and career centrality \((r = .07, p = .53)\) are small and non-significant. The relationships were stronger between family-oriented social identity consciousness and family involvement \((r = .52, p < .001)\) and family centrality \((r = .60, p < .001)\). At the composite level, there is a moderate correlation between work-family social identity consciousness and work-family involvement \((r = .32, p < .01)\) as well as a between work-family social identity consciousness and work-family centrality \((r = .31, p < .01)\).

Due to strong correlations between the family-oriented salience measures, I conducted an exploratory factor analysis to determine whether or not the family facet of work-family social identity consciousness is unique from family role salience. The EFA tested whether or not family-social identity items and family involvement and family centrality items loaded onto two distinct factors with family involvement and family centrality measures loading on the same factor. Using principal axis factoring extraction and promax rotation, the rotated structure matrix illustrated a simple structure for the two-factor solution (Table 6). The scree plot (Figure 7) and loadings provide support for the two distinct factors with family involvement and family centrality items loading onto the second factor with loadings ranging between .389 to .877 and smaller “off” loadings onto the family and work social identity factors ranging from .122 to .599. As expected, the two factors were strongly correlated \((\phi = .62)\). Therefore, I can conclude that these work-family salience measures are strongly related constructs as expected, but distinct
enough when considering item content to move forward with the analyses using the work-family social identity consciousness measure.

*Figure 7.* Scree Plot Depicting the EFA of Family Social Identity Consciousness and Family Role Salience.
Table 6
*Rotated Structure Matrix Depicting Distinct Family Social Identity Consciousness and Family Role Salience Factors.*

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Items</th>
<th>Family-oriented SIC</th>
<th>Family Role Salience</th>
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<tr>
<td>FSIC1</td>
<td>0.623</td>
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<tr>
<td>FSIC2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>FSIC6</td>
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<td>FSIC8</td>
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*Note. N = 93. Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization. FSIC = family-oriented social identity consciousness, FAMINV = family involvement, FAMCENT = family centrality. Item content is reported in Appendix A.*
Appendix C - Supplemental Analyses

Family Role Salience. Due to the strong relationship between the family-oriented social identity consciousness facet of the work-family social identity consciousness measure and previously established family role salience measures (family involvement and family centrality), I tested the full HLM model with family role salience entered as the interaction term in place of family-oriented social identity consciousness. As expected, family role salience did not moderate the relationship between Work-family Image signals and organizational attractiveness (\(b = .03, p = .57\)). Thus, results suggest that family-oriented social identity consciousness diverges from other family involvement and identity measures despite the strong correlations between constructs in its moderating role in the work-family symbolic image and organizational attractiveness relationship.

I attribute the difference in moderating effects to the intentional language in the work-family social identity consciousness item content that is specific to how employers can affect one’s interpersonal identity as a family-person versus a career-person. For example, item 11 of family-oriented social identity consciousness states, “I would be proud telling others I work for a company known for being family-friendly” as compared to item 1 of the family centrality measure, “once I establish my family, I expect that my family will be the major source of satisfaction in my life.” The difference resides in the function of the construct – family-oriented social identity serves as an interpersonal trait that captures the degree of satisfaction one receives from others’ perceiving them to be family-oriented due to association with one’s employer. Alternatively, family centrality serves as an intrapersonal trait that captures the degree of satisfaction one receives from one’s family.
Anticipated Work-family Conflict. To determine whether the moderating influence of anticipated work-family conflict differs in regard to subfacets, I tested the HLM model with the subfacets entered as interaction terms in place of the composite measure. In other words, all six facets (Time WIF, Time FIW, Strain WIF, Strain FIW, Behavior WIF, Behavior FIW) were tested as separate interactions with FFPs signals.

I first tested an alternative Model 5 in Table 4 in which the anticipated work-family conflict interaction was first introduced into the model. I substituted in six facet-level interactions with the FFPs signal and removed the composite-level anticipated work-family conflict interaction. Results showed that none of the facets individually moderated the relationship between FFPs signals and organizational attractiveness ratings. Then, I ran the full model (Model 6 in Table 4) with the six facet-level interactions with the FFPs signals. As expected, none of the individual facets interacted with FFPs to influence attractiveness ratings.

I was also curious to know if the dimensions of anticipated work-family conflict would emerge as separate moderators. Therefore, I tested the same models described above but with three individual interactions between FFPs signals and time-based, strain-based, and behavior-based anticipated work-family conflict. As before, none of the individual dimensions emerged as moderators of the FFPs-attractiveness relationship in neither Model 5 nor the full model.

Lastly, I tested for potential distinct moderating effects of directional anticipated work-family conflict by entering in two interactions between FFPs and work-to-family (WIF) and family-to-work (FIW) facets. Results indicate distinct directional effects of anticipated work-family conflict such that anticipated work-to-family interference moderated the relationship between FFPs signals and ratings of attractiveness (model 5: $b = -0.25, p < .01$; full model: $b = -0.27, p < .01$). However, anticipated family-to-work interference was not found to moderate the
FFPs-attractiveness relationship (model 5: $b = 0.12, p = .21$; full model: $b = 0.12, p = .18$). The other relationships in the model did not change from what was found in Table 4. These findings are reasonable as organizations communicate the primary purpose of FFPs as resources for employees reduce the impact of work on family-life (e.g., extended leave from work to care for sick parent). However, there are instances where FFPs can also ensure family-life does not impede completion of work tasks (e.g., telecommuting into a meeting when home with sick child). Although interesting to consider, the results of these supplemental analyses do not diminish the study’s conceptual framework or findings.