Organization Science

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://pubsonline.informs.org

Misaligned Meaning: Couples' Work-Orientation Incongruence and Their Work Outcomes

Winnie Y. Jiang, Amy Wrzesniewski

To cite this article:
Winnie Y. Jiang, Amy Wrzesniewski (2021) Misaligned Meaning: Couples' Work-Orientation Incongruence and Their Work Outcomes. Organization Science

Published online in Articles in Advance 30 Mar 2021

. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2021.1453

http://pubsonline.informs.org/journal/orsc

ORGANIZATION SCIENCE
Articles in Advance, pp. 1–25
ISSN 1047-7039 (print), ISSN 1526-5455 (online)

Misaligned Meaning: Couples' Work-Orientation Incongruence and Their Work Outcomes

Winnie Y. Jiang,[a] **Amy Wrzesniewski**[b]

[a] INSEAD, Singapore 138676; [b] Yale School of Management, New Haven, Connecticut 06511-3729

Contact: winnie.jiang@insead.edu, https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0385-0978 (WYJ); amy.wrzesniewski@yale.edu, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2633-4813 (AW)

Received: July 9, 2018
Revised: September 13, 2019; November 22, 2020
Accepted: January 28, 2021
Published Online in Articles in Advance: March 30, 2021

https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2021.1453

Abstract. This research investigates the relationship between couples' work-orientation incongruence—the degree to which romantic partners view the meaning of their own work differently—and their ability to succeed in making job transitions and experiencing satisfaction with the jobs they hold. We use a social information-processing approach to develop arguments that romantic partners serve as powerful social referents in the domain of work. By cueing social information regarding the salience and value of different aspects of work, partners with incongruent work orientations can complicate each other's evaluation of their own jobs and the jobs they seek. In a longitudinal study of couples in which one partner is searching for work, we find that greater incongruence in couples' calling orientations toward work relates to lower reemployment probability, a relationship that is mediated by an increased feeling of uncertainty about the future experienced by job seekers in such couples. Calling-orientation incongruence also relates to lower job satisfaction for employed partners over time. We contribute to the burgeoning literature on the role romantic partners play in shaping work outcomes by examining the effect of romantic partners' perception of the meaning of work, offering empirical evidence of the ways in which romantic partners influence key work and organizational outcomes. Our research also contributes to the meaning of work literature by demonstrating how work-orientation incongruence at the dyadic level matters for individual work attitudes and success in making job transitions.

Funding: This research was supported by grant #5 R10 MH52913-02 from the National Institutes of Health and the National Institute of Mental Health.

Keywords: meaning of work • work orientation • couples • social information processing • uncertainty • employment transition • job satisfaction

The impact of romantic partners on individuals' work outcomes has received a surge of interest from organization and management scholars in recent years (Reina et al. 2017, Petriglieri and Obodaru 2018, Wilson et al. 2018, Crawford et al. 2019, Oelberger 2019, Petriglieri 2019). This line of research reveals two primary pathways through which romantic partners influence individuals' attitudes and experiences in the work domain. First, from a psychological perspective, romantic partners can become boosters (or stressors) for each other. As the most intimate and important relationship that many working adults have, romantic partners can provide emotional and instrumental support; reduce conflicts and improve balance between work and family; facilitate the development of one's professional identity; and subsequently enhance job satisfaction and decrease odds of turnover (Michel et al. 2011, Greenhaus et al. 2012, Huffman et al. 2014, Petriglieri and Obodaru 2018, Oelberger 2019). In a less intentional way, romantic partners' emotional experience at work, and their stress, crosses over to influence each other's affect and work outcomes (Bakker et al. 2008, Song et al. 2008, Green et al. 2011). Second, from a sociological perspective, romantic partners may reinforce (or subvert) traditional gender roles and stereotypes at work, particularly in heterosexual couples (Bielby and Bielby 1992, Desai et al. 2014, Byrne and Barling 2017). For example, research found that men whose wives are not employed tend to show stronger bias against women in the workplace (Desai et al. 2014).

Although existing studies using a psychological perspective focus on romantic partners' emotional and behavioral expressions, and those with a sociological perspective focus on their employment status and gender roles, the effects of romantic partners' cognitions about work have been largely missing in this literature. This is an important omission, as one's romantic partner is arguably the most physically and psychologically central person in life, and his or her perceptions, values, or beliefs would likely exert a significant influence on one's work and life. In the domain of work, an important attribute pertains to how one views the meaning of

work. With recent evidence suggesting that people are placing more emphasis on the purpose and meaning of work (Achor et al. 2018, Cassar and Meier 2018), romantic partners are likely to engage in discussions about why they do their work; they are also likely to pay special attention when the other describes the purpose for working. Such interactions can increase the salience of whether and how romantic partners perceive the meaning of work differently, which may influence each partner's subjective and objective outcomes in the domain of work.

To assess the different kinds of meanings individuals derive from their work, Wrzesniewski and colleagues (1997) built on the work of Bellah et al. (1985) to develop the multidimension construct of work orientation, which constitutes three different ways in which individuals view their work: as a job (i.e., focusing on the financial aspect of work), a career (i.e., focusing on the advancement in status at work), and a calling (i.e., focusing on the fulfillment brought by work) (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997). The extent to which individuals endorse a job, career, or calling orientation varies. When romantic partners hold incongruent work orientations, whether and how they influence each other's attitudes and experiences in the domain of work become important questions. Understanding these questions will enrich our knowledge of how romantic partners can affect work outcomes in ways that move beyond the established psychological and sociological pathways of support, cross-over, and gender stereotypes. In this research, we examine how a couple's cognitive attribute—work-orientation incongruence—shapes both partners' attitudes about and experiences of work. In doing so, we shed light upon a third pathway—the cueing of social information—through which romantic partners, particularly their perceptions of work, influence each other's work outcomes.

Drawing upon research on social information processing (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978) and work orientation (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997), we build theory on how couples' work-orientation incongruence influences the work outcomes of both partners in a couple. We define work-orientation incongruence as the extent to which one's perception of the meaning of work as a job, career, or calling is incongruent with that of one's romantic partner. We conceptualize romantic partners as powerful social referents, who serve as a key source of social information regarding which attributes of work to attend to and how much they matter. When couples hold incongruent work orientations, the incongruence makes more salient alternative views of work and aspects of work that matter (e.g., pay, advancement opportunities, or fulfillment), which can challenge both partners' own views about work. Research suggests that in some relational contexts, exposure to diverse perspectives might be beneficial. For example, in their theory paper, Feldman and Kahn (2019) argue that when receiving divergent advice from mentors, protégés who effectively resolve the divergence experience personal growth. Compared with couples with congruent views about work, those having to grapple with incongruent views at close range are more likely to face ambivalence and uncertainty that could undermine the experience of work for both partners.

Our research contributes to organization and management theory in three key ways. First and foremost, we contribute to the burgeoning literature on the role romantic partners play in shaping work outcomes by examining the influence of their perceived meaning of work on key work and organizational outcomes. Second, our research challenges the primary focus on individuals in the study of the meaning of work by establishing the impact of work-orientation incongruence at the dyadic level on both partners in a couple. Finally, we contribute to research on unemployment and job attitudes by drawing attention to the role of work-orientation incongruence in predicting outcomes of central focus in both literatures. In what follows, we describe our theoretical foundation and arguments detailing how romantic partners become a source of influence by cueing social information reflecting their view on the meaning of work and subsequently affecting work outcomes for both partners.

Social Information Processing and the Role of Romantic Partner as Social Referent

Our research is grounded in the social information processing approach first introduced by Salancik and Pfeffer (1978). One of the key propositions underpinning their approach is that individuals use social information—that is, the opinions and attitudes of salient others—to develop their own attitudes and determine future actions in the domain of work (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978). Since its introduction, this approach has been adopted to explain a variety of work-related attitudes and behaviors, such as job satisfaction and performance (Zalesny and Ford 1990), intentions to quit (Pfeffer 1980), attitudes about the implementation of new technologies in organizations (Rice and Aydin 1991), filing of employment discrimination claims (Goldman 2001), and organizational citizenship behavior (Shen et al. 2019). According to Salancik and Pfeffer (1978), social information shapes individuals' job attitudes through two mechanisms. First, information about what others in the immediate social environment think provides cues about what attitudes and actions are considered socially acceptable. This often happens when individuals perceive social information from a group. Being congruent with what others in the same

group feel and believe facilitates a sense of belongingness and identification (Tajfel and Turner 1986, Baumeister and Leary 1995). Second, others' beliefs and attitudes, especially if they come from another individual that the employees care about, and are different from those of the employees themselves, enhance the salience of and direct attention to work-related attributes that might not be initially obvious or important to them. Others' attention to these attributes may challenge an individual's own expectations, feelings, thoughts, and job attitudes (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978, Zalesny and Ford 1990, Rice and Aydin 1991, Shetzer 1993, Staw et al. 1994, Schulte et al. 2012).

Prior organizational research adopting a social information processing approach has mainly focused on who employees interact with at work (e.g., colleagues, supervisors) or the social groups to which they belong as key sources of social information and influence (Zalesny and Ford 1990, Rice and Aydin 1991, Meyer 1994, Shen et al. 2019). In a study examining predictors of who files employment discrimination claims, friends and family were also included as sources of social influence, yet their influence was aggregated with that of coworkers, leaving their isolated effect unknown (Goldman 2001). For any person or group to be an influential and relevant social referent, they must fulfill two conditions: First, they must be proximate, such that the individual is exposed to the social information conveyed by their attitudes or behaviors; and, second, they have to be valued by the individual, such that the social information they display is attended to (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978). Outside of work, a central social referent that meets both conditions is one's romantic partner.

Research in social psychology has long suggested that romantic partners play a crucial role in shaping one's identity and attitudes, such as a sense of self, happiness, and self-esteem (Aron et al. 1991, Davis and Rusbult 2001, Feeney 2004, Gonzaga et al. 2007, Maio and Haddock 2009). For example, research has found that romantic partners feel pressure to align their attitudes to achieve congruence, especially when attitudinal differences are salient (Davis and Rusbult 2001). In romantic partnerships, people are more exposed and sensitive to each other's personalities and attitudes (Baxter and West 2003), which may enhance understanding of both partner and self (Aron and Aron 2000) or create division and uncertainty (Wood et al. 1994). Despite the potentially powerful role romantic partners may play as key social referents, few studies have examined how partners serve this role and influence one's experience in the domain of work. An exception is found in a recent study investigating couples' interrole conflict congruence, which finds that when employees and their significant others perceive more congruent family-to-work conflict, employees are likely to feel validation and comfort, experiencing higher satisfaction about their ability to meet both work and family demands and about their job (Wilson et al. 2018). In the present research, we focus on a key type of social information romantic partners are a source of—their perceived meaning of work, or work orientation.

Work Orientation

The meaning of work has drawn interest from many organizational scholars in recent years (Rosso et al. 2010, Chadi et al. 2017, Schabram and Maitlis 2017). However, most constructs used to assess the meaning of work are limited by their unidimensional focus on the importance of work in life in absolute terms, measuring the depth or strength of attachment people hold to their work (Rosso et al. 2010), rather than what comprises this attachment. For example, work centrality (Dubin 1956), work or employment commitment (Wanberg et al. 1999, Cooper-Hakim and Viswesvaran 2005), and work involvement (Kanungo 1982) focus on the closeness people feel with their work rather than what defines this closeness. Work orientation, in contrast, adopts a multidimensional approach to embody the multifaceted nature of work meanings, capturing what work signifies to the individual—as a job, career, or calling. Work orientation reflects people's understanding of their reasons for working, encompassing their values and beliefs about the role of work in life, and is revealed in work-related feelings and behaviors (Baumeister 1991, Wrzesniewski et al. 1997, Bunderson and Thompson 2009, Dobrow and Tosti-Kharas 2011, Rawat and Nadavulakere 2015). Work orientation is related to people's core values (Schwartz 1992). For instance, those with a stronger calling orientation endorse values that emphasize concern for others (e.g., benevolence); those with a stronger career orientation endorse self-enhancing values like achievement and reject prosocial values that emphasize acceptance of and concern for others (Gandal et al. 2005). Although values are general beliefs people hold about the importance of certain qualities, behaviors, or end states (Rokeach 1973, Schwartz 1992, Meglino and Ravlin 1998), work orientation is defined by a subjective view and experience of work that reflects a constellation of values people hold specifically about the meaning of work in life. In other words, whereas values involve people's general beliefs about what qualities, behaviors, or end goals are important, work orientation represents specifically their beliefs about what work means or what constitutes their purpose for doing the work.

Bellah et al. (1985) conceptualized job and calling orientations as representing contrasting extremes of the same dimension. Whereas a job orientation represents work that is done to make a living—a means to an

end—a calling orientation represents work that is done for the love of the work and its contribution to the greater good—an end in itself. Empirical research suggests that job and calling orientations anchor opposite ends of the statistical continuum, whereas a career orientation represents a distinct perceived meaning of work (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997, Wrzesniewski 2002). Thus, job and calling orientations represent sharply contrasting orientations toward work along the same dimension—strong calling orientations are accompanied by weak job orientations. In other words, a strong calling orientation suggests that individuals view their work as a calling much more than as a job, and vice versa. Career orientation, in contrast, lies on a separate dimension orthogonal to that of calling or job orientations. A strong career orientation represents a strong focus on achieving advancement through the job, whereas a weak career orientation reflects a weak focus on moving up in the job. Thus, one might endorse a strong career orientation together with either a job or calling orientation toward their work. In earlier research, individuals were often classified into one orientation (e.g., Wrzesniewski et al. 1997 and Bunderson and Thompson 2009), but a more robust approach involves assessing the strength of calling and career orientations separately. Given that individuals vary in the extent to which they view their work as a calling or career, measuring calling and career orientations separately would allow for a more precise examination of incongruence along different work orientations.

Thus far, scholars have largely focused on work orientation and its effects at the individual level (Berg et al. 2010, Dobrow and Heller 2015, Rawat and Nadavulakere 2015), suggesting that work orientation matters for individual outcomes such that calling-oriented employees tend to report higher job satisfaction and stronger organizational attachment (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997, Cardador et al. 2011). This focus on the individuals leaves unexamined the fact that individuals are embedded in social systems that expose them to incongruent work orientations. A romantic partnership is perhaps the most important social relationship in which individuals are embedded. Based on the theoretical foundation of social information processing and conceptual framework of work orientations, in the following sections, we develop theory on how romantic partners' work orientations, especially when they are incongruent, relate to both partners' work outcomes. We elaborate on our theoretical rationale for the dynamics and implications of work-orientation incongruence by examining a unique sample—couples in which one partner is transitioning in their employment. This sample and context allow us to examine two key outcomes—reemployment likelihood and job satisfaction, which are arguably the most studied outcomes in research on unemployment and job search (Wanberg et al. 2002, 2005), and organizational psychology (Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller 2012), respectively.

Work-Orientation Incongruence in the Context of Unemployment: Job Seekers' Feelings of Uncertainty and Reemployment Likelihood

As one of the most intimate and important relationships in one's life, romantic partners are likely to explore, share, and discuss with each other why they do their work. They may also indirectly convey the purpose they intend to achieve via their work. Through these interactions, romantic partners discover whether they share similar or different views about the meaning of work, or hold congruent or incongruent work orientations. Given that close others' views and attitudes are likely to influence our own (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978, Davis and Rusbult 2001) and that people are sensitive to the attitudes of their romantic partners (Baxter and West 2003), the extent to which a couple's work orientations are incongruent is likely to influence both partners' experience of work. To enhance our understanding of how couples' work-orientation incongruence relates to their work outcomes, we first consider the context of unemployment and examine couples in which one partner has recently become unemployed and is searching for a new job. For clarity and consistency, we refer to the unemployed job-seeking member of the couple as the "job seeker" and the other member as the "partner."

For couples in which one partner is searching for work, we argue that their partner's work orientation, especially when it is incongruent with the job seeker's, matters for the search process and reemployment outcomes. Specifically, we suggest that partners' incongruent work orientations can influence job seekers' reemployment by provoking within them a sense of uncertainty about how best to proceed and what the future might hold. Prior research has found that job seekers' work orientations guide their focus during a job search, such that those with a stronger calling orientation focus less on pay and more on the content of the work in a new job (Wrzesniewski 1999). When partners share congruent calling and career orientations, job seekers should feel more certain about what kinds of work to pursue and what they expect in their future career, which could facilitate their job search and reemployment.

Incongruence in job seekers' and partners' calling or career orientations, however, may lead job seekers to feel a greater sense of uncertainty about what work to pursue and, as a result, what their future would hold (Witt 1998, Edwards and Cable 2009). Research has long suggested that the divergent views of others

exert a powerful social influence that decreases individuals' certainty and confidence in their own opinions and beliefs (e.g., Asch 1955, Cialdini and Goldstein 2004, Griskevicius et al. 2006, and Lorenz et al. 2011). Specifically, as suggested by social information-processing research, individuals are influenced by cues from others about what attributes to attend to about work and how to evaluate them (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978, Wrzesniewski et al. 2003). In the context of employment transitions, work-orientation incongruence with romantic partners can similarly cue the importance of different work attributes and challenge job seekers' certainty about what kinds of work to pursue and what awaits them on the path ahead. Consider the following example. When partners hold stronger job orientations, they are primarily interested in the material benefits from work (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997). The work is not an end in itself, but a means for acquiring resources to support and enjoy time away from the job. A job orientation reflects Plant's (1996) "wage earner" value system, in which work is a job and leisure is separate from work. As such, these partners would value finding work that offers higher pay and generous vacation packages. In contrast, job seekers with stronger calling orientations find that their work is inseparable from the rest of life and that their work is a deeply fulfilling end in itself and makes the world a better place (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997, Dik and Duffy 2007, Dobrow and Tosti-Kharas 2011, Duffy et al. 2011, Dobrow et al. 2019). As such, they would focus on finding work that is psychologically fulfilling and provides opportunities to make a social impact. When calling-oriented job seekers sense strong job orientations in their partners, they are prompted to pay attention to the financial aspects of work in their search process and may struggle with which attributes to prioritize. Given that different occupations have their own distinctive work attributes, these job seekers might experience increased uncertainty about what kinds of work they should look for, questioning whether to keep to their original path as they endure the stressful experience of a job search (Price et al. 1998, Wanberg et al. 2010). The same effect holds when partners' calling orientations are stronger than those of the job seekers. In this case, partners cue the importance of gaining fulfillment from and making social contributions through work. Further, when career orientations are incongruent, partners would cue divergent views on the importance of opportunities for advancement, as the career-oriented wish to achieve higher social standing, prestige, and increased power (Bellah et al. 1985, Baumeister 1991).

It is worth noting that romantic partners would not necessarily want or pressure each other to have the same work orientations as themselves. In the above cases, by simply noticing that what makes work meaningful is different within the couple, job seekers would realize there are aspects of work that hold more significance for their partners than the ones on which they themselves are focused. The resulting salience of these contrasting attributes and the exposure to alternative evaluations of the same work via the cues provided by their partners may prompt job seekers to reconsider their lens for evaluating possible jobs and the kinds of work they might pursue. Couples' incongruent work orientations could thus provoke a sense of uncertainty for job seekers about what it is they should most value, what kind of work to pursue in their job search, and what that work would mean for their future. In other words, as partners' incongruent work orientations prompt job seekers to consider a different set of work attributes in addition to what they have been prioritizing, job seekers could face what is akin to a "value crisis"—the disorganization or destabilization of one's value system (Hermans and Oles 1996), leading them to experience greater uncertainty about what work to pursue and what the future in general might hold. Therefore, we hypothesize that couples' calling or career-orientation incongruence would relate to stronger feelings of uncertainty among job seekers.

Hypothesis 1. *Job seekers sharing more incongruent calling or career orientations with their partners will experience stronger feelings of uncertainty about the future.*

Feelings of uncertainty are likely to hurt, or at least delay, a job seeker's success in finding reemployment (Leana and Feldman 1988). Research suggests that feelings of uncertainty constitute a basic threat (Epstein 1972), which sparks anxiety and helplessness in the face of an unknown future (Greco and Roger 2003). During a job search, anxiety brought about by a sense of uncertainty can inhibit the search process by undermining the focus, motivation, or effort of the search (Wanberg et al. 1999), which could prolong the search and limit eventual options. As well, feeling uncertain about the future and what to do might instead increase the breadth of the job search, as job seekers might apply for a large variety of jobs without focus. This increased breadth of search means reduced focus on each potential path pursued. A lack of strategic selection of potentially suitable jobs and insufficient investment in the search could also hurt reemployment success (Van Hooft et al. 2012). As couples' calling or career-orientation incongruence is related to stronger feelings of uncertainty for job seekers, we further hypothesize that this incongruence is associated with lower reemployment likelihood for job seekers—an association that is mediated by job seekers' feelings of uncertainty.

Hypothesis 2(a). *Job seekers sharing more incongruent calling or career orientations with their partners are less likely to become reemployed.*

Hypothesis 2(b). *Job seekers' feelings of uncertainty mediate the negative relationship between calling or career-orientation incongruence and reemployment likelihood.*

Work-Orientation Incongruence in the Context of Employment: Job Satisfaction

Next, we turn to the context of employment and examine how work-orientation incongruence may influence job satisfaction of the employed partners of a couple. According to the social information-processing approach to job attitudes, individuals form attitudes about their jobs based in part on what others think (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978, Rice and Aydin 1991, Shetzer 1993, Staw et al. 1994, Schulte et al. 2012). Although job satisfaction has been largely treated as an individual-level construct, evidence that external parties influence job satisfaction has been marshaled in a number of studies, suggesting that job satisfaction is partly a function of job attitudes held by those who are closest to the individual (e.g., Salancik and Pfeffer 1978 and Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller 2012). A partner with an incongruent work orientation has different criteria than oneself on which to base job satisfaction. For instance, to experience high job satisfaction, the work needs to be viewed as providing psychological fulfillment and a chance to make social contributions for the calling-oriented, competitive instrumental rewards for the job-oriented, and attractive advancement opportunities for the career-oriented. Partners' incongruent work orientations make salient their different criteria for job satisfaction, likely leading them to question their own criteria. As such, incongruent work orientations could challenge both employed partners' evaluation of and undermine satisfaction with their jobs (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978). We hypothesize that couples' calling or career-orientation incongruence would relate to lower job satisfaction for both employed partners.

Hypothesis 3(a). *Employed individuals sharing more incongruent calling or career orientations with romantic partners will experience lower job satisfaction.*

Specifically with respect to calling orientations, although a romantic partner's incongruent calling orientations can challenge the basis for and undermine the other partner's job satisfaction, for those who hold stronger calling orientations than their partners, their job satisfaction is likely to decrease less compared with those with weaker calling orientations than their partners. Previous research has found consistent evidence supporting that people with stronger calling orientations have higher job satisfaction in general (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997, Hall and Chandler 2005, Cardador et al. 2011, Duffy et al. 2011). When one's calling orientation is stronger than that of their romantic partner, the higher job satisfaction they experience compared with their partner's suggests that their bases for job satisfaction are more robust. In this case, sensing that their partner uses different criteria, but also experiences lower job satisfaction, would render them to question their own criteria less. In other words, although calling-orientation incongruence may undermine job satisfaction, we suggest that employees with a stronger calling orientation than their partners would be affected less, because their partners, holding weaker calling orientations and experiencing lower job satisfaction, might appear to have less credible challenges to employees' own views of work. Therefore, the relationship between couples' calling-orientation incongruence and job satisfaction is likely asymmetrical, such that employees holding stronger calling orientations than their partners are likely to experience higher job satisfaction compared with those who hold weaker calling orientations than their partners.

Hypothesis 3(b). *When couples share incongruent calling orientations, employed individuals who hold stronger calling orientations than their partners will experience higher job satisfaction than individuals who hold weaker calling orientations than their partners.*

Methods

To test our proposed hypotheses, we used data from a longitudinal field study conducted in 1998 by a team of researchers, including the second author of the current study. The original field study focused on examining the reemployment outcomes of unemployed individuals in marital or cohabiting relationships. Heterosexual couples, in which one partner had recently become unemployed and was searching for work (job seekers), and their spouses or cohabiting partners were included. Our study variables draw from data provided by job seekers and their partners at three time points: shortly after job seekers became unemployed (T1), three months after T1 (T2), and six months after T1 (T3).

Participants

Respondents were recruited from nine state unemployment offices in and around major urban areas in southeastern Michigan and northeastern Maryland. Trained interviewers approached and screened 44,781 potential respondents (job seekers) as they waited to file unemployment claims. Study criteria required that respondents be (1) unemployed for 15 weeks or less;[1] (2) seeking reemployment, but not on strike or expecting to be recalled; (3) not planning to retire within two years; (4) at least 18 years old; and (5) married or living with a partner in a romantic relationship for at least six months.[2] Among potential respondents approached, 28,050 (62.6%) were excluded because they were employed and not seeking employment (most were on temporary layoff or were accompanying others to the

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Coefficient Alphas for Study Variables

	Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
	Job seeker																															
1	*Sex*[a]	0.44	0.50																													
2	*Age*	38.25	9.92	−0.20																												
3	*Education*[b]	2.89	1.16	0.01	0.05																											
4	*Race*[c]	0.68	0.47	0.02	0.13*	0.14*																										
5	*Financial Strain*	2.67	1.10	−0.11*	−0.07	−0.25***	0.04	(0.83)																								
6	*Reason Unemployed*[d]	0.48	0.50	−0.15*	0.18**	0.03	−0.10*	0.07																								
7	*Uncertainty*	2.19	0.73	−0.05	0.01	−0.04	0.16**	0.38***	−0.04	(0.72)																						
8	*Work Attachment*	3.92	0.75	−0.17**	0.16**	0.02	−0.02	0.10*	0.04	0.07	(0.73)																					
9	*Social Undermining*	1.73	0.70	−0.04	−0.10*	−0.10*	0.09	0.25***	−0.01	0.25***	−0.04	(0.89)																				
10	*Job Search Efficacy*	4.08	0.74	0.01	0.09	0.24***	−0.06	−0.20**	−0.01	−0.29***	0.24***	−0.21***	(0.85)																			
11	*Job Search Motivation*	5.95	1.13	−0.19**	0.07	0.10*	0.10*	0.16**	−0.01	0.06	0.25***	0.01	0.18**	(0.91)																		
12	*Job Search Intensity*	3.35	0.88	−0.22***	0.18**	0.11*	−0.02	0.11*	0.01	0.04	0.34***	0.02	0.28***	0.32***	(0.77)																	
13	*Calling Orientation*	2.40	0.70	−0.03	0.11	0.12*	−0.12*	0.04	0.06	−0.14*	0.39***	−0.07	0.23***	−0.01	0.18**	(0.73)																
14	*Career Orientation*	2.96	0.94	−0.11*	−0.34***	0.05	−0.26***	0.01	−0.06	−0.14*	0.10	0.03	0.22***	0.15*	0.13	0.09	(0.77)															
15	*Reemploy. Status*[e]	0.79	0.40	−0.16**	0.07	0.15*	0.15*	−0.01	0.02	−0.12*	0.04	−0.13*	0.15*	0.25***	0.04	−0.09	0.03															
16	*Job Satisfaction* (T3)	5.02	0.99	0.01	−0.02	0.12*	0.07	−0.18**	−0.01	−0.13*	0.09	−0.12*	0.17**	−0.08	−0.01	0.11*	0.05	0.10*	(0.86)													
17	*General Disagreement*	2.39	0.73	−0.01	−0.00	−0.14*	−0.03	0.14*	0.03	0.18**	−0.01	0.43***	−0.13*	−0.10	−0.01	−0.04	0.03	−0.01	0.03	(0.91)												
	Partner																															
18	*Sex*	0.56	0.50	−1.00***	0.20**	−0.01	−0.02	0.11*	0.15*	0.05	0.17**	0.04	0.00	0.19*	0.22***	0.03	0.11	0.16**	−0.01	0.01												
19	*Age*	38.07	10.42	−0.01	0.87***	0.01	0.11*	−0.10*	0.13*	−0.02	0.08	−0.07	0.08	−0.01	0.08	0.05	−0.33***	0.04	−0.03	−0.02	0.01											
20	*Education*	2.84	1.17	0.02	0.01	0.46***	0.07	−0.22***	0.02	−0.05	−0.01	−0.07	0.09	0.04	−0.06	0.06	0.02	0.12*	0.06	−0.10	−0.02	0.03										
21	*Race*	0.67	0.47	−0.04	0.11*	0.13*	0.78***	0.02	−0.08	0.11*	−0.08	0.02	−0.01	0.08	−0.05	−0.15*	−0.21***	0.12*	0.09	−0.05	0.04	0.09	0.06									
22	*Financial Strain*	2.53	1.10	−0.18**	0.06	−0.18**	0.06	0.52***	0.02	0.31***	0.05	0.20**	−0.13*	0.11	0.16**	−0.01	−0.08	0.07	−0.08	0.20**	0.18**	0.02	−0.17**	0.03	(0.84)							
23	*Work Attachment*	3.69	0.79	−0.01	0.13*	−0.02	−0.08	0.04	0.11*	0.05	0.14**	0.00	0.01	−0.05	0.10*	0.08	−0.06	−0.02	−0.01	−0.11	0.01	0.16**	0.12*	−0.13*	0.10	(0.75)						
24	*Calling Orientation*	2.41	0.69	−0.07	0.08	0.07	−0.03	−0.10*	−0.07	−0.08	0.05	−0.07	0.01	−0.04	0.06	0.07	−0.10*	0.06	0.02	−0.11	0.07	0.09	0.19**	−0.06	0.08	0.49***	(0.74)					
25	*Career Orientation*	2.70	1.03	0.06	−0.37***	−0.03	−0.38***	0.01	−0.09	−0.10*	0.04	−0.05	0.04	−0.05	0.00	0.03	0.19*	−0.10*	−0.04	−0.05	−0.06	−0.39***	0.06	−0.32***	−0.02	0.11*	0.09	(0.81)				
26	*Job Satisfaction* (T1)	5.14	0.93	−0.01	0.01	0.08*	0.13*	−0.18**	0.00	−0.08	0.02	−0.12*	0.08*	0.00	−0.05	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.09*	−0.11*	0.01	0.00	0.10*	0.12*	−0.16**	0.32***	0.50***	0.03	(0.85)			
27	*Job Satisfaction* (T3)	5.02	0.96	0.08	0.01	0.10*	0.00	−0.18**	0.03	−0.07	0.06	−0.04	0.19**	−0.03	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.02	0.18**	−0.14*	−0.08	0.02	0.11*	−0.05	−0.16**	0.19**	0.31***	−0.04	0.55***	(0.85)		
28	*General Disagreement*	2.33	0.70	−0.03	−0.07	−0.11*	0.10*	0.23***	−0.02	0.23***	−0.04	0.64***	−0.15*	0.02	0.05	−0.12*	−0.05	−0.05	−0.15*	0.36***	0.03	−0.06	−0.09	−0.02	0.14*	−0.06	−0.04	−0.02	−0.20**	−0.02	(0.91)	
	Incongruence[f]																															
29	*Calling Incong.* (|*JS-PR*|)	0.75	0.40	−0.07	−0.02	0.07	−0.10*	0.05	0.02	0.04	−0.05	−0.09	0.02	0.02	−0.05	0.08	0.03	−0.10*	−0.01	−0.04	0.07	−0.04	0.00	−0.14*	0.02	0.05	0.06	−0.04	−0.02	−0.20**	0.04	
30	*Career Incong.* (|*JS-PR*|)	0.98	0.56	−0.02	0.14*	−0.03	0.25***	0.02	0.06	0.00	0.05	0.02	0.03	−0.03	−0.01	0.08	−0.01	0.04	0.16*	−0.04	0.02	0.13*	−0.06	0.13*	−0.02	−0.04	−0.01	−0.42***	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.10*

Note. Cronbach's alpha is reported in parentheses for all scales.

[a]Female = 1; Male = 0.

[b]Part of High School = 1; High School = 2; Part of College = 3; College = 4; Post College = 5.

[c]White/Caucasian = 1; Non-White/Non-Caucasian = 0.

[d]Voluntary = 0; Involuntary = 1.

[e]Reemployed = 1; Not reemployed = 0.

[f]Incongruence here is calculated as the absolute difference between job seeker's (JS) and partner's (PR) work orientations for displaying correlations.

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

Table 2. Results for Calling Orientation

Variables	Uncertainty (T2)		Ln(Full-time reemployment likelihood ratio) (T3)[e]		Job satisfaction			
	Job seeker				Job seeker (T3)		Partner (T1)	Partner (T3)
Constant			−2.75†	(1.66)				
Sex[a]	0.09*	(0.06)	−1.16***	(0.32)	−0.04	(0.10)	−0.03 (0.05)	−0.03 (0.06)
Age	0.03	(0.00)	−0.01	(0.02)	−0.08	(0.01)	−0.09** (0.03)	−0.06† (0.00)
Education[b]	0.12**	(0.03)	0.20	(0.14)	0.03	(0.05)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
Race[c]	0.09*	(0.06)	1.07**	(0.34)	0.12*	(0.12)	0.12*** (0.06)	0.02 (0.07)
Financial Strain	0.34***	(0.03)	0.11	(0.16)	−0.16**	(0.05)	−0.12*** (0.03)	−0.14*** (0.03)
Reason Unemployed[d]	−0.04	(0.05)	0.20	(0.31)	−0.01	(0.10)		
Work Attachment	0.13**	(0.04)	0.09	(0.25)	0.08	(0.08)	0.06† (0.03)	0.09* (0.04)
Job Search Efficacy	−0.22***	(0.04)	0.58*	(0.23)				
Job Search Motivation	−0.04	(0.03)	0.48**	(0.16)				
Job Search Intensity	0.09*	(0.04)	−0.51*	(0.21)				
Couple's Age Difference	0.01	(0.01)	−0.01	(0.04)	−0.03	(0.01)	−0.01 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.01)
Couple's Education Difference	−0.04	(0.03)	0.23	(0.19)	−0.06	(0.06)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)
Couple's Race Difference	0.01	(0.08)	0.52	(0.51)	−0.06	(0.16)	−0.02 (0.09)	−0.09** (0.11)
General Disagreement	0.04	(0.05)	0.10	(0.30)	−0.11†	(0.10)	−0.06† (0.03)	−0.05 (0.06)
Social Undermining	0.14**	(0.05)	−0.56*	(0.27)	−0.03	(0.10)	−0.08* (0.03)	−0.05 (0.06)
Weeks in New Job					−0.03	(0.01)		
JS Calling Orientation (JSCI)	−0.08†	(0.04)	−0.37	(0.25)	0.07	(0.08)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)
PR Calling Orientation (PRCI)	−0.02	(0.04)	0.30	(0.23)	−0.02	(0.08)	0.46*** (0.03)	0.27*** (0.05)
JS Calling Orientation^2	0.12**	(0.05)	0.06	(0.27)	0.08	(0.09)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.04 (0.05)
PR Calling Orientation^2	−0.01	(0.05)	−0.18	(0.27)	0.02	(0.09)	−0.11*** (0.02)	−0.12*** (0.05)
JS × PR Calling Orientation	−0.06†	(0.05)	0.90**	(0.34)	0.05	(0.11)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.06)
Chi-square/*F* (3 calling quadratic terms)	4.25**		8.48*		1.36		6.15***	5.15**
Calling Congruence Line (JSCI = PRCI)								
Slope	−0.10		−0.07		0.05		0.49***	0.29***
Curvature	0.05		0.78		0.15		−0.07†	−0.12†
Calling Incongruence Line (JSCI = −PRCI)								
Slope	−0.06		−0.67		0.09		−0.43***	−0.25***
Curvature	0.17*		−1.02**		0.05		−0.14**	−0.20**
Model Chi-square/*F*	12.33***		64.71***		2.28**		35.98***	10.03***
Cox & Snell R^2/adjusted R^2	0.28		0.16		0.06		0.30	0.15

Note. Values listed in the first column are regression coefficients for ln(odds ratio); others are standardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]Female = 1; Male = 0.
[b]Part of High School = 1; High School = 2; Part of College = 3; College = 4; Post College = 5.
[c]White/Caucasian = 1; Non-White/Non-Caucasian = 0.
[d]Voluntary = 0; Involuntary = 1.
[e]Reemployed = 1, Not reemployed = 0.
†$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

unemployment office). A total of 2,328 (5.2%) remaining others were excluded because their length of unemployment exceeded 15 weeks. Respondents were excluded for other reasons, including being uninterested in responding to the screening survey (n = 1,719; 3.8%), not being married or living with a partner for at least six months (n = 7,366; 16.4%), being less than 18 years old, expecting to retire within two years, or speaking a language other than English (n = 1,805; 4.0%). Trained research staff then gave a short, self-administered screening survey to those job seekers who met all screening criteria (n = 3,513; 7.8%) and sent one to their romantic partners as well in order to more fully determine eligibility and provide a baseline measure of depression. Couples in which the job seeker or partner had a score indicative of a clinically significant depression episode (Derogatis and Melisaratos 1983) were excluded and referred for mental health support, due to the impact that unemployment can have on individuals suffering such episodes. In all, 2,719 couples were eligible for the study. At T1, trained research staff sent two surveys to all 2,719 eligible couples, one survey each for the job seeker and the partner. In total, 1,487 couples (55%) participated by completing their surveys. The 1,487 couples were contacted again to complete a follow-up survey three months later (T2, 1,292 participants, 87% response rate) and again six months later (T3, 1,257 participants, 85% response rate; effective response rate 46.2%). Data were collected through mailed surveys with payments of $15. We consider those who did not

Table 3. Results for Career Orientation

Variables	Uncertainty (T2)		Ln(Full-time reemployment likelihood ratio) (T3)[e]		Job satisfaction					
	Job seeker				Job seeker (T3)		Partner (T1)		Partner (T3)	
Constant			−1.93	(1.54)						
Sex[a]	0.08*	(0.06)	−1.04**	(0.31)	−0.03	(0.11)	0.05	(0.06)	−0.02	(0.06)
Age	−0.05	(0.00)	−0.00	(0.02)	−0.06	(0.01)	−0.06	(0.04)	−0.05	(0.00)
Education[b]	0.12**	(0.02)	0.13	(0.14)	0.05	(0.05)	0.04	(0.03)	0.04	(0.03)
Race[c]	0.05	(0.06)	1.04**	(0.36)	0.08	(0.13)	0.13***	(0.07)	0.05	(0.08)
Financial Strain	0.36****	(0.03)	0.07	(0.15)	−0.15**	(0.05)	−0.13***	(0.03)	−0.14***	(0.03)
Reason Unemployed[d]	−0.04	(0.05)	0.13	(0.30)	−0.00	(0.10)				
Work Attachment	0.12**	(0.04)	−0.03	(0.23)	0.10†	(0.07)	0.33***	(0.03)	0.21***	(0.04)
Job Search Efficacy	−0.22***	(0.04)	0.48*	(0.23)						
Job Search Motivation	−0.03	(0.03)	0.45**	(0.16)						
Job Search Intensity	0.09*	(0.04)	−0.44*	(0.20)						
Couple's Age Difference	0.01	(0.01)	−0.01	(0.04)	−0.02	(0.01)	0.00	(0.03)	0.00	(0.01)
Couple's Education Difference	−0.02	(0.03)	0.21	(0.18)	−0.06	(0.06)	0.01	(0.03)	0.02	(0.04)
Couple's Race Difference	0.02	(0.08)	0.52	(0.50)	−0.06	(0.16)	−0.01	(0.10)	−0.09*	(0.11)
General Disagreement	0.03	(0.05)	0.19	(0.30)	−0.13*	(0.10)	−0.11**	(0.04)	−0.09*	(0.06)
Social Undermining	0.13***	(0.05)	−0.58*	(0.27)	−0.03	(0.09)	−0.04	(0.04)	−0.03	(0.06)
Weeks in New Job					−0.04	(0.01)				
JS Career Orientation (JSCr)	−0.44*	(0.18)	−0.05	(0.21)	−0.05	(0.34)	0.01	(0.04)	−0.08	(0.19)
PR Career Orientation (PRCr)	−0.14	(0.16)	−0.03	(0.17)	0.61*	(0.30)	0.01	(0.03)	−0.19	(0.18)
JS Career Orientation^2	0.32	(0.03)	−0.22	(0.19)	0.40	(0.06)	−0.04	(0.03)	0.08	(0.04)
PR Career Orientation^2	0.02	(0.03)	0.11	(0.17)	−0.24	(0.06)	0.03	(0.03)	0.13	(0.03)
JS × PR Career Orientation	0.06	(0.03)	0.11	(0.17)	−0.56*	(0.06)	0.04	(0.03)	0.09	(0.03)
Chi-square/*F* (3 career quadratic terms)	0.87		1.97		2.41†		1.38		0.45	
Career Congruence Line (JSCr = PRCr)										
Slope	−0.58*		−0.08		0.56†		0.01		−0.27	
Curvature	0.40†		0.00		-0.40		0.04		0.30	
Career Incongruence Line (JSCr = -PRCr)										
Slope	−0.30		−0.02		−0.66		0.00		0.11	
Curvature	0.28†		−0.22		0.72		0.04		0.12	
Model Chi-square/*F*	12.18***		52.96***		2.42**		16.67***		5.71***	
Cox & Snell R^2/adjusted R^2	0.28		0.13		0.06		0.16		0.08	

Note. Values listed in the first column are regression coefficients for ln(odds ratio); others are standardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]Female = 1; Male = 0.

[b]Part of High School = 1; High School = 2; Part of College = 3; College = 4; Post College = 5.

[c]White/Caucasian = 1; Non-White/Non-Caucasian = 0.

[d]Voluntary = 0; Involuntary = 1.

[e]Reemployed = 1, Not reemployed = 0.

†$p < 0.10$;

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

return their surveys at T1 as indicating that the couple had recently moved (relocations are not uncommon following job loss; see Leana et al. 1998) or that either the job seeker or partner was not interested in participating.

The demographic characteristics of job seekers participating at T1 resembled those of the U.S. unemployed population at the time (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1998). Of job seekers participating at T1, 44% were women, 68% were white or Caucasian, 27% had bachelor's or more advanced degrees, and they were, on average, 38 years old (standard deviation (SD) = 9.92). During the same period, data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1998) showed that 46% of the unemployed were women, 84% were white, and their median age was 31 years. Of all partners participating at T1, 56% were women, 67% were white, and 25% had bachelor's or more advanced degrees, with an average age of 38 years (SD = 10.42). The demographic characteristics of job seekers and partners responding at T2 and T3 were similar to those at T1.[3]

Job seekers had worked in a variety of occupations. Prior to unemployment, 42% worked as professionals or managers; 26% did clerical or sales work; 21% were craft or operative workers; and 11% held service jobs. Among partners, 78% were employed at T1; 36% were professionals or managers; 27% did clerical or sales work; 21% were craft or operative workers; and 16% worked in service jobs. Six months later (T3), 79% of job seekers were working full-time again. Of the reemployed, 38% were professionals or managers; 30% located clerical or sales jobs; 20% found craft or operative work; and 12% entered a service job. Among partners responding at T3, 80% were employed: 39% as professionals or managers, 26% as clerical or sales workers, 21% in craft or operative jobs, and 14% in service jobs.

Measures

Work Orientation. Work orientation was measured at T1 with a 10-item scale (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997) designed to assess the strength of each orientation for recently unemployed job seekers and their partners. To assess their orientation toward work in general, respondents indicated how well each item described how they felt about the kind of work they usually did, rather than about the specific job they had previously held. Responses were recorded on a four-point Likert-type scale (ranging from 1 = Not at All to 4 = A Lot). For job and calling orientation, the subscales were subjected to confirmatory factor analysis, with the expectation that job and calling orientations would represent extremes of the same dimension (Bellah et al. 1985). In the measurement model used to confirm the factor structure of the measure, fit was significantly improved when the seven job and calling items were scored in the same direction and collapsed into a single subscale of calling. Thus, measures of job and calling orientation were combined to form a single calling scale. A higher calling score indicates a stronger calling orientation, whereas a lower calling score indicates a stronger job orientation. Furthermore, because work orientation was measured at T1, when job seekers were already unemployed, we worried that their unemployed status might have skewed their responses to two items in the calling-orientation scale. The two items are "My main reason for working is financial—to support my family and lifestyle" and "I am eager to retire." Research suggests that individuals deem work's financial function as far more important while they are unemployed (Jahoda 1982, Frasquilho et al. 2016), as they have lost a stable source of income. Relatedly, they are likely to react very differently to the prospect of retirement—a permanent separation from work—when unemployed. Leaving a job means losing an income, and considering the prospect of not working again (i.e., retiring) is likely to appear far less attractive to those who are grappling with the financial implications of unemployment. In other words, these two items, which anchor job seekers in thoughts about their financial situation and retirement during unemployment, may tap anxieties about their current state rather than accurately capture their calling orientation. Indeed, confirmatory factor analysis shows that fit of the model was significantly improved after these two items were removed; a pattern not found in prior research with employed samples (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997). Their poor fit was consistent with our speculation that these two items evoked different reactions in unemployed samples than in employed samples, reflecting an unusually strong emphasis on financial aspects of work and a reluctance to retire. Thus, we retained five of the seven items to measure job seekers' calling orientation. Sample items include 'I enjoy talking about my work to others' and 'My work makes the world a better place.' Responses were averaged to form a calling-orientation score.

For career orientation, the original scale contains three items: 'I expect to be in a higher level job in five years,' 'I view my job as a stepping stone to other jobs,' and 'I expect to be doing the same work in five years' (reverse coded). We removed the last item, as it would be less relevant to career orientation for the unemployed as they were trying to find work and might not know what work it would be yet. Fit of the career-orientation measurement model was significantly improved after this item was removed, a pattern not found in employed samples (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997). Thus, the first two items were retained to assess job seekers' career orientation. Responses were averaged to form a career-orientation score. We applied the same adjustment to measure partners' calling and career

orientation in order to maintain consistency. The coefficient alpha of the calling-orientation scale was 0.73 for job seekers and 0.74 for partners; for the career-orientation scale, it was 0.77 for job seekers and 0.81 for partners. Every job seeker and partner received a calling-orientation and a career-orientation score, each having a value ranging from one to four, with higher scores reflecting stronger calling or career orientations.[4]

Uncertainty. Job seekers' feelings of uncertainty were assessed at T2 with four items, each beginning with "As a job seeker I feel" followed by "uncertain about the future," "unable to react and to know what to do," "active in getting what I want" (reverse coded), and "optimistic and motivated" (reverse coded). Job seekers indicated on a four-point Likert scale how much each statement described their situation. Responses were averaged with higher scores reflecting stronger uncertainty ($\alpha = 0.72$).

Reemployment Status. Job seekers' reemployment status was measured by whether job seekers worked at least 40 hours per week at T3.[5] Job seekers not meeting this criterion were classified as not employed and coded as 0; otherwise they were considered reemployed and coded as 1.

Job Satisfaction. Job satisfaction was assessed at T3 for reemployed job seekers and at both T1 and T3 for employed partners using a nine-item Quality of Work measure based on scale measures developed by Andrews and Withey (1976). This measure assessed individuals' satisfaction with three dimensions of their current job, including (1) the content of the work itself (e.g., "Thinking about your current job, how do you feel about the work that you do on the job, that is, the work itself?"), (2) the material rewards and advancement opportunities (e.g., "Thinking about your current job, how do you feel about the benefits provided to you?"), and (3) the people and organization (e.g., "Thinking about your current job, how do you feel about the people you work with, that is, your coworkers?"). Participants rated their feelings using a seven-point Likert-type scale (1 = Terrible, 7 = Delighted); the average of all items represents a person's overall job satisfaction. The coefficient alpha was 0.86 for job seekers and 0.85 for partners.

We controlled for variables that have been shown to affect our outcomes of interest, as well as key demographics. For example, reason for unemployment (Waters 2007), job search self-efficacy (Wanberg et al. 1999, Saks 2006), motivation to seek reemployment (Wanberg et al. 1999, Vinokur and Schul 2002), financial strain, work attachment, intensity of job-search behaviors (Wanberg et al. 1999, Kanfer et al. 2001), and social undermining from partners (Vinokur et al. 1996) all relate to reemployment likelihood. We also controlled for couples' general level of disagreement and differences in demographics that could confound our independent variable of work-orientation incongruence. The inclusion of these control variables bolsters our confidence in the findings regarding our focal variables of interest.

Work Attachment. Two items asked at T1 measured the attachment a job seeker or partner has toward work in general: "How important is work to you as part of your daily life?" and "In general how much satisfaction in your life would you say comes from working at a job?". A five-point Likert-type scale was used to record responses to each question ranging from 1 = Not at all important/No satisfaction to 5 = Extremely important/A great deal of satisfaction. This construct is similar to the concept of employment commitment examined by Wanberg et al. (1999). Although employment commitment, defined as the amount of importance individuals place on work, does not predict finding reemployment, it has a significant positive effect on job search intensity, which in turn increases the likelihood of reemployment (Wanberg et al. 1999). Work attachment reflects the strength or depth of attachment people feel toward work and relates positively to job satisfaction (Tziner et al. 2014). However, it does not capture the different types of meaning work provides as work orientations do. In a recent review on callings, Thompson and Bunderson (2019) noted that "only a handful of calling studies have controlled for the effect of theoretically related variables in examining the effects of calling on work outcomes" (p. 435). They suggested that "more work is needed to establish robustly that calling is not just conceptually and psychometrically distinct but also helps us to better explain variance in constructs of central interest in the field" (p. 436). We answer this call by controlling for work attachment in predicting reemployment status and job satisfaction. The scale coefficient alpha was 0.73 for job seekers and 0.75 for partners.

Job-Search Self-Efficacy. Defined as the level of self-confidence for being able to engage effectively in activities associated with a job search, job-search self-efficacy is related to becoming reemployed faster (Kanfer et al. 2001). Thus, we included job-search self-efficacy as a control variable in the model predicting reemployment status at T3. Job-search self-efficacy was measured at T1 with a six-item scale (Vinokur et al. 1995) for job seekers, who indicated on a five-point Likert scale how confident they felt about performing a series of tasks to find a job. Examples included "completing a good job application and resume" and "contacting and persuading potential employers to consider you for a job" ($\alpha = 0.85$).

Job-Search Motivation. Because motivation to search for job has been shown to influence job-search intensity and reemployment success (Caplan et al. 1989, Wanberg et al. 2012), we controlled for job-search motivation in the model predicting job seeker's reemployment status at T3. We assessed job-search motivation for job seekers at T1 by combining scales of two related, motivation-based constructs: *attitude toward job seeking* and *job search intention*. Attitude toward job seeking was measured with three items, gauging the degree to which respondents felt it was useful, beneficial, and wise to try hard to find a job in the next four months on a seven-point scale (α = 0.90). For example, one item asks, "How useful or useless is it for you to try hard in the next four months to get a job?" Responses range from 1 = Extremely useless to 7 = Extremely useful. Job-search intention was assessed with two items, including "In the next four months, how hard do you intend to try to find a job?" and "In the next four months, how likely is it that you will try hard to get a job?" Responses to these two items were recorded on a five-point scale using ranges from "Not at all hard" to "Extremely hard" and "Not at all likely" to "Extremely likely," respectively (α = 0.80). Principal components analysis showed that the five items loaded onto a single-factor and confirmatory-factor analysis revealed a CFI of 0.96 and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of 0.07, indicating a model fit superior to the two-factor model (Hu and Bentler 1999). Because of the two different scale anchors, responses were converted to scores on a seven-point scale and were averaged to indicate job-search motivation (α = 0.91).

Job-Search Intensity. Job-search intensity refers to the extent to which individuals engage in various activities related to a job search. Prior research has found that job-search intensity is associated with higher probability of reemployment and more job offers received (Kanfer et al. 2001). Therefore, we controlled for job seekers' job search intensity when predicting their reemployment likelihood at T3. We measured job-search intensity for job seekers at T1 with a nine-item scale developed by Vinokur and Caplan (1987). This scale assessed frequency of job-search behaviors in the past month. Participants read the question "During the past month, how often have you … " followed by different job-search activities. The original scale contained 10 items. We omitted one item that assessed how often job seekers had gone for job interviews because it was more indicative of search outcomes than efforts. Sample behaviors from the remaining items included reading the newspaper for job opportunities, checking with employment agencies, and completing job applications. Responses were recorded on a six-point scale ranging from 1 = Not at all to 6 = Every day, and were averaged to form a job-search intensity score (α = 0.77).

Social Undermining. Social undermining refers to behavior directed toward others that shows negative affect, hurtful evaluation, and is destructive to others in implementing their intended plans (Abbey et al. 1985). We controlled for social undermining because perceiving social undermining from a romantic partner will likely hinder the job-search process and negatively affect reemployed partners' experiences at their new jobs (Vinokur et al. 1996). We measured perceived social undermining experienced by both partners at T1 with seven items (Abbey et al. 1985, Vinokur et al. 1996), including, "How much does your spouse/partner act in an unpleasant or angry manner toward you?" and "How much does your spouse/partner criticize you?" Responses were recorded on a six-point Likert scale and averaged; higher scores indicate perceptions of more social undermining (α = 0.89 for both job seekers and partners).

Financial Strain. Higher levels of financial strain have been associated with faster reemployment for job seekers, likely due to a pressing need for income (Kanfer et al. 2001). It has also been found to relate to lower satisfaction at work, particularly about pay (Kim and Garman 2004). Thus, we included perceived financial strain as a control variable in all analyses. Financial strain was assessed at T1 for both job seekers and partners with three items (Vinokur and Caplan 1987). Respondents reported on a five-point Likert scale how difficult it was to live on their current total household income and how much they anticipated experiencing financial hardship and having to reduce living standards to bare necessities. A sample item asks, "In the next two months, how much do you anticipate that you and your family will experience actual hardships such as inadequate housing, food, or medical attention?" Responses were averaged with higher scores indicating more strain (α = 0.83 for job seekers and α = 0.84 for partners).

Reason for Unemployment. Whether a job seeker left the previous job voluntarily or involuntarily likely poses different challenges when searching for new jobs and may affect reemployment outcomes (Leana and Feldman 1988, Waters 2007). Thus, we controlled for whether job seekers were voluntarily or involuntarily unemployed. At T1, job seekers indicated their reasons for becoming unemployed. Respondents who selected "Quit" (52%) were categorized as voluntarily unemployed (= 0), and those who selected "Laid Off" (20%), "Fired" (8%), "Job/Contract Ended" (14%), or "Other" (6%) were categorized as involuntarily unemployed (= 1) because they did not consider themselves to have voluntarily left the job.

Perceived General Disagreement. Couples can disagree on a variety of issues beyond how they see the

meaning of their work. It is possible that work-orientation incongruence is simply a proxy for a couple's general level of disagreement over various aspects of life. To affirm that it is a couple's incongruence in work orientation and not their general level of disagreement that is associated with our outcomes of interest, we controlled for the extent to which each reports disagreement on various aspects of life. Couples' general disagreement was measured at T1 for both job seekers and partners; both reported the extent of their agreement or disagreement about 14 different areas in life. These issues covered a wide range of areas, including handling household finances, religious matters, friends, and ways of dealing with parents and in-laws. Responses were recorded on a six-point Likert scale and averaged, with higher scores indicating higher disagreement in the relationship ($\alpha = 0.91$ for both job seekers and partners).

Demographics and Demographic Differences. We controlled for job seeker's and partner's sex (1 = Female, 0 = Male), age, education level, and race (1 = White/Caucasian, 0 = Non-White/Non-Caucasian). Education was measured by using a five-category scale ranging from "Part of High School" to "Post College". We controlled for couple's differences in age, education level, and race. Age and education differences were calculated by using absolute differences between each job seeker and partner. Racial differences were captured by a categorical variable with mixed-race couples coded as one.[6]

Analyses

Before testing our hypotheses, we performed a confirmatory factor analysis of the perceptual variables for job seekers and partners, respectively. For job seekers, we examined an 11-factor model with a total of 66 items, including factors representing calling and career orientations, feelings of uncertainty, job satisfaction, work attachment, job-search self-efficacy, motivation, and intensity, social undermining, financial strain, and perceived general disagreement. Results showed a goodness-of-fit index of 0.94 and an RMSEA of 0.08 (nonnormed fit index (NNFI) = 0.98, CFI = 0.97, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = 0.06). The *t*-values were all significant. A seven-factor model with 42 items was examined for partners (calling and career orientations, T3 job satisfaction,[7] work attachment, social undermining, financial strain, and perceived general disagreement). We attained similar results with the goodness-of-fit index = 0.95, the RMSEA = 0.07, and all *t*-values were significant (NNFI = 0.99, CFI = 0.99, SRMR = 0.04). These results indicated strong model fit (Hu and Bentler 1999).

Logistic regression was used for hypothesis testing when predicting reemployment status, as this variable is dichotomous (one = reemployed full-time, zero = not reemployed full-time). Where outcomes are continuous (i.e., T2 uncertainty and T1 or T3 job satisfaction), ordinary least squares regression was used. To assess the effects of couples' work-orientation incongruence, we conducted polynomial regression analysis and visualized the results using response surface modeling. This approach, as recommended by congruence scholars (Edwards and Parry 1993, Edwards 1994, Jansen and Kristof-Brown 2005, Krasikova and LeBreton 2012, Zhang et al. 2012), enables more precise analysis than the use of difference scores (e.g., algebraic, absolute, or squared difference between two measures) and provides tools to examine the influence of incongruence on outcome variables in a three-dimensional way. Specifically, in addition to the control variables, we entered into each regression five polynomial terms for calling orientation—that is, job-seeker calling orientation, partner calling orientation, job-seeker calling orientation squared, partner calling orientation squared, and the interaction term of job seeker calling orientation being multiplied by partner calling orientation. The same procedure was used for career orientation. We centered the individual calling and career-orientation scores around their mean before constructing the second-order terms to reduce multicollinearity.

After each regression, we performed response surface analysis to test whether the slopes and curvatures of the contours along two critical lines were significantly different from zero. One critical line is the congruence line, on which job seekers' and partners' calling or career orientations are perfectly aligned; the other critical line is the incongruence line, where the two partners' calling or career orientations reflect a perfect negative linear correlation. The slopes and curvatures were obtained by substituting the equation of each critical line into each regression equation, respectively. For example, assume the regression equation for reemployed job seekers' job satisfaction (JSS) is the following:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{JSS} = {} & \beta_0 \boldsymbol{C} + \beta_1 \text{JSCl} + \beta_2 \text{PRCl} + \beta_3 \text{JSCl}^2 \\ & + \beta_4 \text{PRCl}^2 + \beta_5 \text{JSCl} \times \text{PRCl}, \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

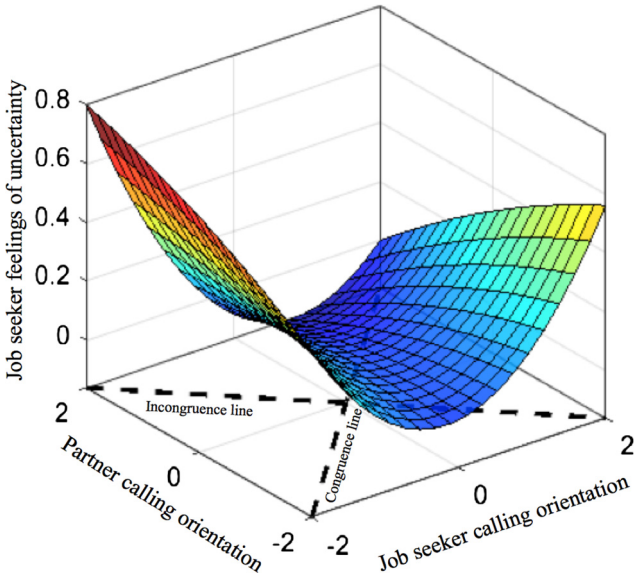
in which β is the coefficient; $\boldsymbol{C}$ represents the control variables; and JSCl and PRCl stand for job seeker's and partner's calling orientation. Substituting the congruence line JSCl = PRCl into the regression equation yields the following:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{JSS} = {} & \beta_0 \boldsymbol{C} + \beta_1 \text{JSCl} + \beta_2 \text{JSCl} + \beta_3 \text{JSCl}^2 + \beta_4 \text{JSCl}^2 \\ & + \beta_5 \text{JSCl} \times \text{JSCl} \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{JSS} = \beta_0 \boldsymbol{C} + (\beta_1 + \beta_2)\text{JSCl} + (\beta_3 + \beta_4 + \beta_5)\text{JSCl}^2, \quad (2)$$

where $(\beta_1 + \beta_2)$ is the slope and $(\beta_3 + \beta_4 + \beta_5)$ is the curvature along the congruence line. Similarly,

Figure 1. (Color online) Incongruence Effects of Job Seeker–Partner Calling Orientation on Job Seekers' Feelings of Uncertainty



substituting the incongruence line JSCl = − PRCl into the regression equation yields the following:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{JSS} &= \beta_0 \boldsymbol{C} + \beta_1 \text{JSCl} - \beta_2 \text{JSCl} + \beta_3 \text{JSCl}^2 \\ &\quad + \beta_4 \text{JSCl}^2 \ \ \beta_5 \text{JSCl} \times \text{JSCl} \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{JSS} = \beta_0 \boldsymbol{C} + (\beta_1 - \beta_2)\text{JSCl} + (\beta_3 + \beta_4 - \beta_5)\text{JSCl}^2, \qquad (3)$$

where $(\beta_1 - \beta_2)$ is the slope and $(\beta_3 + \beta_4 - \beta_5)$ is the curvature along the incongruence line.

To test the mediation effects of job seekers' feelings of uncertainty, we used the block-variable approach recommended by Edwards and Cable (2009). A block variable was constructed by calculating the weighted linear composite of the five polynomial terms with the respective weights being their regression coefficients. For example, the block variable for calling orientation based on Equation (1) is:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Block} &= \beta_1 \text{JSCl} + \beta_2 \text{PRCl} + \beta_3 \text{JSCl}^2 + \beta_4 \text{PRCl}^2 \\ &\quad + \beta_5 \text{JSCl} \times \text{PRCl}. \end{aligned} \qquad (4)$$

The block variable was then entered into the regressions for the mediator as well as the regressions for job seekers' reemployment status, either including or not including the mediator. To calculate the indirect effect of work-orientation incongruence on job seekers' reemployment probability through their feelings of uncertainty, we multiplied the coefficient of the block variable predicting the mediator and that of the mediator predicting reemployment status when the direct incongruence effect estimated by the block variable was included. Finally, we tested the significance of the indirect effect (to assess mediation) using bootstrapping techniques (Preacher and Hayes 2008).

Results

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, scale reliabilities, and zero-order correlations for all study variables. To examine the correlations between calling and career incongruence with other variables, we also calculated the absolute difference scores of job seekers' and partners' calling and career orientations, respectively. Note that job seekers' calling- and career-orientation scores both correlate negatively with their feelings of uncertainty. Both job seekers' and partners' calling-orientation scores are positively correlated with their job satisfaction, consistent with prior research (e.g., Wrzesniewski et al. 1997).[8] Calling incongruence, in terms of absolute difference, is negatively related to job seekers' reemployment status and employed partners' job satisfaction at T3.

We also used the difference in each job seeker's and partner's calling orientation and career orientation (i.e., job seekers' minus partners' orientation scores) to understand the distribution of incongruence in our sample. Of the 1,257 couples, 125 (10%) share perfectly congruent calling orientations; 245 (19%) share perfectly congruent career orientations. With respect to calling orientation, the majority of couples differ from each other by 0.01 to 0.99 points (58%), while with respect to career orientation, the majority of couples differ from each other by 1 to 3 points (54%).[9]

According to Edwards and Parry (1993), for a congruence or incongruence effect to be significant, two conditions must be met. First, the coefficients for the three second-order polynomial terms must be jointly significant; second, the curvature of the contour along the congruence or incongruence line must be significantly different from zero. We report results of our tested congruence and incongruence effects in Table 2 for calling orientation and Table 3 for career orientation.

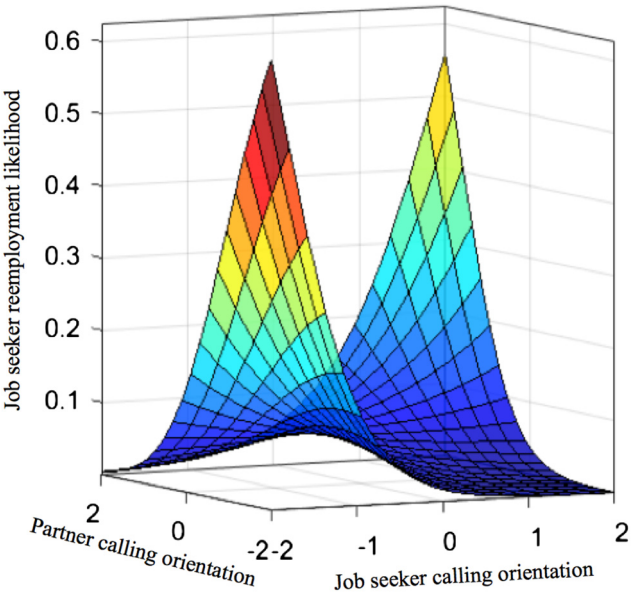
Hypothesis 1 predicted that job seekers having more incongruent calling or career orientations from their partners would experience stronger feelings of uncertainty. As shown in Tables 2 and 3, the three second-order polynomial terms for calling orientation were jointly significant ($F = 4.25$, $p < 0.01$), but those for career orientation were not ($F = 0.87$, not significant (n.s.)). Furthermore, the curvature on the incongruence line for calling orientation was significantly positive (0.17, $p < 0.05$), suggesting a convex curve. Figure 1 provides a visual illustration of the response surface based on the regression coefficients of the calling-orientation terms. The convex contour along the incongruence line shows that the level of uncertainty is lower at the center, where a couple's calling orientation is more congruent. As the incongruence of a couple's calling

orientation increases in *either* direction (i.e., when the job seeker has either a stronger or weaker calling orientation than the partner), job seekers' uncertainty increases. Hypothesis 1 was thus supported for calling orientation, but not for career orientation.

We predicted that job seekers sharing more incongruent calling or career orientations with their partners would be less likely to find full-time reemployment (Hypothesis 2(a)) and that this relationship would be mediated by job seekers' feelings of uncertainty (Hypothesis 2(b)). We found that in predicting reemployment status at T3, the three polynomial terms for calling orientation were jointly significant ($\chi^2 = 8.48$, $p < 0.05$), but those for career orientation were not ($\chi^2 = 1.97$, n.s.). The curvature of the contour along the calling-orientation incongruence line is significantly negative (−1.02, $p < 0.01$), suggesting a concave curve. As presented visually in Figure 2, in which the vertical axis represents reemployment likelihood that is converted from the log of odds ratio given by the logistic regression, decreases in reemployment probability were observed from the contour on both ends of the calling-orientation incongruence line. Therefore, job seekers with *either* a stronger or weaker calling orientation than their partners were less likely to find full-time employment at T3 compared with those with more congruent calling orientations with their partners, supporting Hypothesis 2(a) for calling orientation.

Because no significant effect was found for career orientation, we examined the mediating effect of uncertainty on the relationship between calling-orientation incongruence and reemployment likelihood. First, using the regression coefficients of the five calling-orientation polynomial terms obtained from the model predicting uncertainty, we constructed the first block variable (BLOCK_1 = $-0.08 \times$ JSCl $- 0.02 \times$ PRCl $+ 0.12 \times$ JSCl^2 $- 0.01 \times$ PRCl^2 $- 0.06 \times$ JSCl $\times$ PRCl) and reran the regression with the new block variable in place of the polynomial terms to obtain a coefficient for the combined direct effect of calling-orientation incongruence on job seekers' feelings of uncertainty (see Table 4). This direct effect was significant ($\beta = 0.12$, $p < 0.001$). Second, we added the uncertainty variable to the original logistic regression with calling-orientation polynomial terms and constructed the second block variable with the new coefficients (BLOCK_2 = $-0.45 \times$ JSCl $+ 0.29 \times$ PRCl $+$ $0.17 \times$ JSCl^2 $- 0.24 \times$ PRCl^2 $+ 0.90 \times$ JSCl $\times$ PRCl). When both the second block variable and uncertainty were entered into the regression to predict reemployment likelihood, the combined direct effect of calling-orientation incongruence was marginally significant ($\beta = -0.41$, $p < 0.10$), and the effect of uncertainty was significant ($\beta = -0.85$, $p < 0.01$). The indirect effect of calling-orientation incongruence on reemployment likelihood via uncertainty was calculated by multiplying the coefficient

Figure 2. (Color online) Incongruence Effects of Job Seeker–Partner Calling Orientation on Job Seekers' Reemployment Likelihood



of the first block variable when predicting uncertainty ($\beta = 0.12$) and the coefficient of uncertainty when the second block variable was included in predicting reemployment likelihood ($\beta = -0.85$). The indirect effect was significant, as bootstrapping with 2,000 samples indicated a 95% confidence interval of [−0.14, −0.04]. These results suggest that job seekers' feelings of uncertainty mediated the relationship between calling-orientation incongruence and reemployment probability, supporting Hypothesis 2(b) for calling orientation.

We hypothesized that reemployed job seekers and employed partners with more incongruent calling or career orientations would experience less job satisfaction (Hypothesis 3(a)). For job seekers, we tested our model with those who were reemployed at T3, regardless of partners' employment status ($n = 993$, 79% of the sample). For partners, we tested our model with the full sample of employed partners at both T1 and T3, including employed partners of job seekers who were reemployed and those who were not ($n = 1{,}002$, 80% of the sample). As presented in Tables 2 and 3, neither calling nor career incongruence significantly predicted job seekers' job satisfaction with their new jobs ($F = 1.36$, n.s. for calling; and $F = 2.41$, $p < 0.10$ for career). However, for employed partners, greater calling incongruence at T1 was associated with lower job satisfaction at both T1 and T3, indicated by a significant joint effect of the three calling polynomial terms ($F = 6.15$, $p < 0.001$ for T1; $F = 5.15$, $p < 0.01$ for T3) and a significant negative curvature of the contour along the calling incongruence line (−0.14, $p < 0.01$ for T1; −0.20, $p < 0.01$ for T3), whereas career incongruence

Table 4. Mediation Results for Calling Incongruence

			Ln(*Full-time reemployment likelihood ratio*) (T3)[e]			
Variables	Uncertainty		Polynomial terms		Block variable	
Constant			−2.24	(1.70)	−0.80	(1.41)
Sex[a]	0.09*	(0.05)	−1.12**	(0.33)	−0.99***	(0.27)
Age	0.00	(0.00)	−0.00	(0.02)	0.00	(0.02)
Education[b]	0.11**	(0.02)	0.24	(0.15)	0.22†	(0.13)
Race[c]	0.10**	(0.05)	1.21**	(0.35)	0.98**	(0.30)
Financial Strain	0.32***	(0.02)	0.26	(0.17)	0.18	(0.14)
Reason Unemployed[d]	−0.03	(0.05)	0.12	(0.32)	0.19	(0.27)
Work Attachment	0.11**	(0.04)	0.20	(0.25)	0.13	(0.20)
Job Search Efficacy	−0.22***	(0.04)	0.45†	(0.24)	0.30	(0.20)
Job Search Motivation	−0.02	(0.02)	0.47**	(0.16)	0.28*	(0.13)
Job Search Intensity	0.07†	(0.03)	−0.51*	(0.21)	−0.23	(0.17)
Couple's Age Difference	0.03	(0.01)	−0.00	(0.04)	−0.04	(0.03)
Couple's Education Difference	−0.02	(0.03)	0.21	(0.19)	0.02	(0.16)
Couple's Race Difference	−0.01	(0.07)	0.62	(0.52)	0.46	(0.42)
General Disagreement	0.03	(0.04)	0.16	(0.31)	−0.10	(0.25)
Social Undermining	0.15***	(0.04)	−0.53†	(0.28)	−0.31	(0.23)
Block for Calling Incongruence (i.e., direct effect ϕ)	0.12***	(0.27)			−0.41†	(0.21)
JS Calling Orientation (*JSCI*)			−0.45†	(0.26)		
PR Calling Orientation (*PRCI*)			0.29	(0.23)		
JS Calling Orientation^2			0.17	(0.28)		
PR Calling Orientation^2			−0.24	(0.27)		
JS × PR Calling Orientation			0.90**	(0.34)		
Uncertainty (γ)			−0.58*	(0.25)	−0.85**	(0.25)
Indirect Effect of Calling Incongruence via Uncertainty ($\phi \times \gamma$)					−0.10*	
95% Bootstrapped Confidence Interval for the Indirect Effect					[−0.14, −0.04]	
F/Model Chi-Square	17.31***		59.11***		62.58***	
Adjusted R^2/Cox & Snell R^2	0.25		0.12		0.12	

Note. Values listed in the first column are standardized beta coefficients; others are regression coefficients for ln(odds ratio); standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]Female = 1; Male = 0.
[b]Part of High School = 1; High School = 2; Part of College = 3; College = 4; Post College = 5.
[c]White/Caucasian = 1; Non-White/Non-Caucasian = 0.
[d]Voluntary = 0; Involuntary = 1.
[e]Reemployed = 1, Not reemployed = 0.
†$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

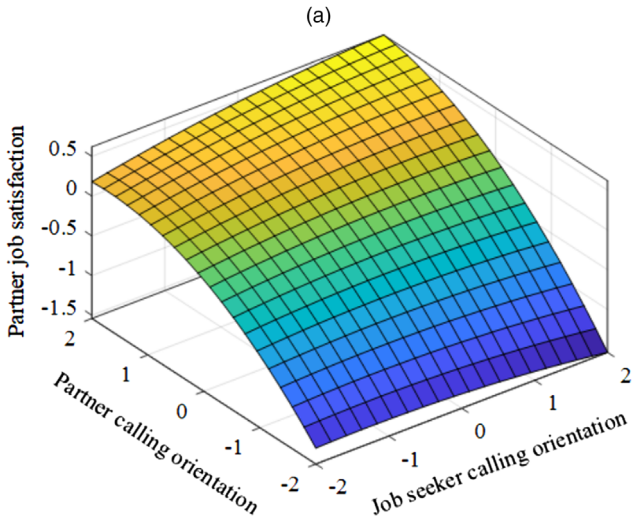
showed no significant effect.[10] Figure 3, (a) and (b), shows the response surface depicting the relationship between job seekers' and partners' calling orientations and employed partners' job satisfaction at T1 and T3. The concave curve along the incongruence line suggests that employed partners' job satisfaction decreased as their calling orientation became more incongruent with that of their job-seeking partners. Therefore, Hypothesis 3(a) was supported for employed partners.

Finally, we predicted that the calling incongruence effect would be asymmetrical, such that employed partners' job satisfaction would be greater if they had stronger calling orientations than their partner (Hypothesis 3(b)). As suggested by the slope of the calling-incongruence line, the asymmetrical effect was significant for job satisfaction at both T1 ($\beta = -0.43$, $p < 0.001$) and T3 ($\beta = -0.25$, $p < 0.001$). To examine the asymmetrical calling-incongruence effect for employed partners, we followed the approach introduced by Edwards and Harrison (1993) and calculated the quantity that determined the magnitude and direction of the lateral shift of the response surface along the incongruence line. For job satisfaction at T1, this quantity is −1.54, calculated by dividing the negative value of the slope (i.e., 0.43) by two times the curvature (i.e., −0.28) of the incongruence line. The same calculation with the negative value of the slope (i.e., 0.25) and the curvature (i.e., −0.40) of the incongruence line yields a quantity of −0.625 for job satisfaction at T3. A negative quantity indicates a shift toward the region where partners' calling orientation exceeds that of job seekers. As shown in Figure 3, (a) and (b), employed partners' job satisfaction is significantly higher at the left corner of the incongruence line, where they have a stronger calling orientation than their job-seeking or reemployed partners, compared with the right corner of the incongruence line. Thus, Hypothesis 3(b) was also supported for partners.

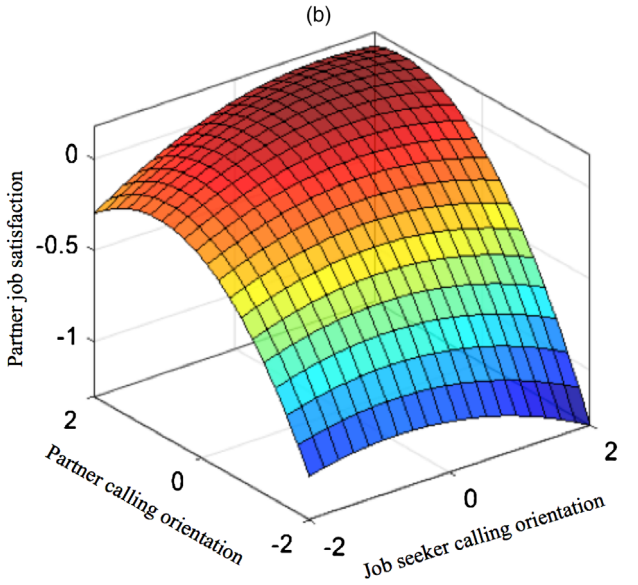
Discussion

In this study, we focused on work orientation at the dyadic level and examined the relationships between

Figure 3. (Color online) Calling-Orientation Incongruence and Employed Partners' Job Satisfaction



Calling Orientation Incongruence and Employed Partners' Job Satisfaction at T1



Calling Orientation Incongruence and Employed Partners' Job Satisfaction at T3

Notes. (a) Calling-orientation incongruence and employed partners' job satisfaction at T1. (b) Calling-orientation incongruence and employed partners' job satisfaction at T3.

couples' work-orientation incongruence and both partners' work outcomes. We theorized that romantic partners' incongruent work orientations would signal contrasting information regarding what attributes of work to attend to and the value of these attributes, which would relate to diminished work outcomes for both partners of a couple. Using longitudinal data from job seekers and their romantic partners, we tested the associations between calling- and career-orientation incongruence and job seekers' feelings of uncertainty, their reemployment probability, and reemployed job seekers' and employed partners' job satisfaction. Our results suggested that greater incongruence in calling orientation was related to stronger feelings of uncertainty for job seekers, which, in turn, related to lower likelihood of finding full-time reemployment six months later. Further, calling-orientation incongruence was associated with lower job satisfaction for employed partners, and this negative effect was attenuated for those with stronger calling orientations than their partners.

The majority of our findings are consistent with our hypotheses or with prior research. For example, we found support for the mediating role of job seekers' feelings of uncertainty on the negative relationship between calling-orientation incongruence and reemployment probability, consistent with findings from prior work on multiple motives that a sense of confusion and decreased commitment can result from attempting to hold different motives over time (Kasser et al. 2007). In the couples we studied, the presence of multiple motives existed at the dyadic level, yet our results are suggestive that even being exposed to a markedly different view of why one works, and what work means, could drive similar effects. However, there are surprising findings (or nonfindings) that merit further examination. For instance, we found that greater calling incongruence was associated with less job satisfaction only for employed partners. We suspect that for job seekers, the honeymoon effect of having found reemployment (Boswell et al. 2005, Bianchi 2013) could have raised job satisfaction on its own, thus dampening the anticipated negative effect of calling incongruence.[11]

It is also somewhat surprising that all of our significant findings stemmed from incongruence in couples' calling orientations, and not career orientations. There may be several explanations for this. First, incongruence between partners regarding their focus on advancement, as reflected by career orientation, may be experienced as less threatening than incongruence regarding whether work is seen as a fulfilling pursuit in its own right or as a means to a financial end. The job/calling contrast represents a more fundamental tension that features far deeper contrasts in motivational type (Amabile et al. 1994), even implicating a deeply moral connection to work (Bunderson and Thompson 2009), rather than contrasts in levels of ambition. Second, the salience of achieving advancement through one's work—the primary focus of a career orientation—may be subordinated during a period of unemployment when job seekers are focused on finding *any* work, or work they feel somewhat fulfilled by, rather than work that meets a particular threshold for title or level (Saks and Ashforth 1997, Wrzesniewski 1999). This relative lack of salience of job seekers'

and partners' career orientations could decrease the likelihood that incongruence on this dimension would have an impact during the time frame of our study. Career-orientation incongruence is likely more salient and influential during periods in which one partner is being considered for a promotion or taking a similarly impactful career-advancement step (Petriglieri and Obodaru 2018) and less relevant in a period of unemployment. Third, the contrast in findings might be due to the different nature of calling and career orientations. Calling orientation is defined by a distinctive feature that sets it apart from career orientation. In particular, job and calling orientations represent the opposite extremes of the same spectrum (Bellah et al. 1985). Whereas one's level of calling orientation reflects the relative strength of emphasis on work as a calling versus as a job, essentially representing how people weigh these two competing views, one's level of career orientation reflects only one's focus on the advancement dimension of work. When one places little importance on advancement at work, exposure to a partner's incongruent career orientation represents a contrast in strength, but not necessarily the presence of a different orientation altogether. In short, incongruent career orientations seem less likely to increase the salience of any additional work attributes or undermine one's certainty about the future, and thus may be less likely to show a relationship to our work outcomes of interest. Of course, more research is needed to corroborate these possibilities, and we hope our proposed explanations spark future studies to explore the differential natures and effects of calling- and career-orientation incongruence during employment transitions and in other employment contexts.

Further, we found surprising the lack of main effects of work orientation on reemployment outcomes. The main effects of work orientation might have been undermined by the incongruence effects, given our argument that couples' incongruence in work orientations could expand both partners' focus onto additional aspects of work. This expanded scope of focus and its associated feelings of uncertainty or dissatisfaction with work might have overridden the main effects of individual work orientations.

Finally, some of our control variables could conceptually serve as potential mediators linking work-orientation incongruence and reemployment, but we did not find empirical evidence for this. Job-search intensity and social undermining are two examples. We find that calling-orientation incongruence was not significantly related to job-search intensity. This might be because, as calling-orientation incongruence provoked greater uncertainty, some job seekers engage in more intense, but aimless search, whereas others are demotivated and search less, thereby offsetting the effect. Future research could examine what might determine different behavioral responses to uncertainty. Furthermore, in a departure from prior research, we find that job-search intensity was negatively related to reemployment six months later. Meanwhile, greater job-search intensity at T1 was related to stronger feelings of uncertainty three months later at T2 for job seekers, suggesting that intensive searching might reflect a sense of uncertainty, subsequently decreasing the likelihood of securing a full-time offer. The relationship between job-search intensity and reemployment potentially depends on job seekers' clarity about what kinds of jobs to seek and what actions to take to seek them. Intensive job-search behaviors might best facilitate reemployment when individuals have a clear goal. However, future studies are needed to test this proposition.[12] Another potential mediator that was not empirically supported by our data is social undermining. Although social undermining perceived by job seekers related to lower likelihood of reemployment success and less job satisfaction after reemployment, it was not significantly related to calling- or career-orientation incongruence. This suggests that work-orientation incongruence does not necessarily undermine couples' relational dynamics; it simply introduces a different perspective about the meaning of work that introduces uncertainty for job seekers and lower job satisfaction for their employed partners.

Theoretical Contributions

Our research makes several theoretical contributions. First and foremost, our study draws attention to the neglected role of romantic partners as a powerful social referent, whose perceptions serve as a source of social influence in shaping individual work outcomes. Drawing upon the social information-processing approach (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978), we suggest that romantic partners can influence work experiences and attitudes by cueing perspectives about work reflected by their work orientations. In addition to the established mechanisms of partner influence reflected in their emotional or behavioral expressions and employment status or gender roles, romantic partners may also affect work outcomes through their perceptions of work.

Second, because work orientations are reflections of one's values, our findings about work-orientation incongruence suggests the potentially important impact of sharing incongruent values with significant others in shaping work experiences and outcomes. Researchers have long acknowledged the role that value congruence between managers and coworkers or between employees and organizations plays in influencing everything from employees' perceptions of support (e.g., Hunt and Michael 1983, Turban and Dougherty 1994, Higgins and Kram 2001, and Wanberg et al.

2003) to their interpretations of the job itself (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978, Rice and Aydin 1991, Shetzer 1993). However, research on value congruence has not taken a broader view of the set of individuals that exists *outside* of work contexts, but affects work outcomes nevertheless. More recently, Petriglieri and Obodaru (2018) (see also Petriglieri 2019) suggested that differences in working values and goals have the potential to seriously undermine or aid the employment trajectories of couples. Their results suggest that shared work values provide important support to both partners in a couple. Our research suggests that shared values might also help to reinforce couples' certainty about their future, their motivation, and facilitate their career development. By examining the degree to which romantic partners hold incongruent work orientations, we find that this relationship is consequential in its own right in its influence on both partners' work outcomes—whether one partner is employed or unemployed, and even when the work is done in different occupations and organizations. Given that many adults live in committed romantic relationships, the impact of incongruence within couples on their work is important to understand.

Third, we provide a constructive challenge to meaning-of-work researchers by highlighting the possibility that work meanings may not function solely at the level of individuals or in their organizations. The vast majority of research on the meaning of work has treated meaning and its effects as occurring on either the level of the individual employee or the employment contexts in which employees work (Bunderson and Thompson 2009, Rosso et al. 2010, Grant 2012, Schabram and Maitlis 2017, Carton 2018). Our findings substantially broaden this focus by showing that for both reemployment success and job attitudes, the meaning of work at the dyadic level matters, even after considering established individual-level predictors of these outcomes, such as motivation, attachment to work, and individual work orientation. We highlight the importance of locating an individual's work orientation in its relational context because others' work orientations, especially very close others, can affect individual work outcomes. As such, the relational context in which people are embedded deserves greater attention in meaning-of-work research. Relational context may include not only romantic partners, but also other important social referents, such as close friends and colleagues.

Fourth, our research suggests a novel explanation for why the meaning of work that individuals hold may not consistently predict their reemployment outcomes. Prior work has established a variety of relationships between the meanings ascribed to work and the experience of transitions between jobs (e.g., Kaufman 1982 and Wrzesniewski 1999). Although some of this research suggests that those holding more calling-oriented meanings of work fare better in job transitions (Wanberg et al. 1999), other work finds the opposite (Kaufman 1982). In our study, we find no direct impact of individual work orientation on reemployment outcomes. Rather, the impact operates through the incongruence of work orientation at the level of the job seeker–partner dyad, an effect that may explain these conflicting results. Thus, our work contributes to calls for the inclusion of more context in micro-oriented research (Cappelli and Sherer 1991), specifically shining light on the power of the relational context in shaping individual outcomes.

Finally, we see our work as bridging micro and macro perspectives on employment transitions by focusing on the job seeker–partner dyad. Although job seekers and their partners have been a focus in previous research intended to unpack relational dynamics during unemployment that reflect the support or undermining exchanged in romantic relationships (Vinokur et al. 1996), our study suggests that the impact of partners moves beyond the provision of support or undermining. By demonstrating that the impact of calling-orientation incongruence influences the partner as well as the job seeker, we hope to establish early evidence of the value of examining attributes such as perceptions, values, or beliefs in the relational context to address questions on employment transitions that have been either understood as the province of the individual (i.e., micro) or studied within the broader labor-market context (i.e., macro).

Practical Implications

Our study provides practical implications for job seekers and those who aid them in making job transitions. Coaches and employment counselors who support unemployed individuals can help them probe both their own and their partners' work orientations in order to provide deeper understanding of the meanings driving their work, while not necessarily aligning them. They can also help job seekers clarify their reemployment goals to ameliorate feelings of uncertainty resulting from calling-orientation incongruence. In this way, the negative effects of calling-orientation incongruence may be mitigated through improving certainty, clarity, and determination of both job seekers and their partners.

In addition, our research has practical implications for any organization that employs individuals with partners. As suggested by our findings, job satisfaction is undermined when partners hold incongruent calling orientations, making salient contrasting aspects of work or criteria for job satisfaction that are meaningful to the partner, but not the self. It may be possible to help couples focus on the ways in which, together, they gain a full-spectrum experience of work.

Facilitating an appreciation for this diversity of views could ameliorate the influence that calling-orientation incongruence has on individual job satisfaction. Thus, one potential remedy for couples with incongruent calling orientations might be to highlight for them the potential benefits of incongruence. Although our research finds that calling-orientation incongruence is associated with negative work outcomes for both partners, an intervention that trains couples to view their incongruence as complementarity might counteract these negative effects. Although an intervention is beyond the scope of the current study, it can be an opportunity for future research, which we turn to discussing in detail in the next section.

Limitations and Future Research

Our contributions are qualified by the limitations of our study, which should be addressed in future research. First, the data we used were collected about 20 years ago; people's relationships with their work, with their romantic partners, and their experience of employment transitions might have changed over this time period, calling into question whether our findings still hold in the current era. Given that this is an important concern, we have considered some key changes over the past 20 years and speculated how they might affect our findings. We conclude that our findings are likely still relevant for several reasons. First, people are placing more emphasis on doing purposeful work (Achor et al. 2018, Cassar and Meier 2018); thus, conversations between partners about the meaning of work are likely to become more frequent; incongruent work orientations, if present, and their effects are also likely to become more salient. Second, it is true that as employment transitions, either voluntary or involuntary, become more common and the use of alternative work arrangements in the gig economy increase (Kalleberg 2009, Spreitzer et al. 2017), unemployment might represent less of a disruption now than it did 20 years ago. Nevertheless, increasingly unstable employment relationships also produce a stronger sense of precariousness among employees (Kalleberg 2009, Kalleberg and Vallas 2017), as reflected in recent findings that psychological distress has increased among adults over time (National Center for Health Statistics 2017). Given that feelings of uncertainty about the future are an important cause of psychological distress (Kessler et al. 2002, Mirowsky and Ross 2017), the mediator we identified is likely to remain relevant for employees in the modern workforce. Furthermore, unstable and more distant employment relationships suggest that people's interactions and relationships with colleagues (or former colleagues) likely become weaker, potentially making their romantic partner a more important source of influence. Although we believe that our findings have important implications for contemporaneous dynamics of work orientations, romantic relationships, and employment, we acknowledge the age of our data set and encourage future research to test our theoretical propositions with current data.

Our second limitation concerns the nature of our sample and the challenges it can bring to the generalizability of our findings about the effects of calling-orientation incongruence on job satisfaction. Although we theorized and hypothesized that, in general, couples' incongruent work orientations would relate to lower job satisfaction for both partners, we tested the hypothesis with participants who either had recently experienced unemployment themselves or whose romantic partners were experiencing unemployment. It is plausible that the salience of unemployment might prompt individuals to appreciate their employment more, thus attenuating the negative effect of calling-orientation incongruence on job satisfaction, making it a more conservative test for our theorizing. However, the salience of unemployment in our sample could also influence participants' job satisfaction in ways that we are unaware of, making our findings less generalizable to other settings. Future research should test the relationship between couples' work-orientation incongruence and job satisfaction among participants who are gainfully employed, and not beset by recent experiences of unemployment.

Third, the mediator we identified driving the relationship between calling-orientation incongruence and job seekers' work outcomes reflects the cognitive and emotional state of uncertainty. However, there may be other concurrent or subsequent mediators. Further studies are needed to identify the presence and strength of other possible mechanisms, especially behavioral mechanisms, in relation to the effects we found. For example, as calling-orientation incongruence increased uncertainty about the future among job seekers, it is possible that their uncertainty scattered the focus of the job search itself, leading job seekers to apply for work that is a poor fit for their interests or qualifications, thus undermining reemployment outcomes. In addition, future research could investigate potential moderators, such as the extent to which romantic partners communicate about their work orientations and how open individuals are to partners holding different views of work.

Fourth, our study utilized data from job seeker and partner self-reports and, thus, suffers from the known shortcomings of data collected in this manner. Although work orientation is best assessed by using data provided by participants themselves, future research on work orientation and reemployment outcomes could seek independent employment data to ascertain reemployment status and quality without relying on self-reports. Further, additional data-collection waves and response

formats should be employed to better separate predictor and criterion variables (Podsakoff et al. 2003).

Finally, our study only considered the impact of dyadic-level dynamics between romantic partners in the context of employment transitions. Future research on work orientations should continue to investigate this construct at the dyadic level, assessing its effects in other contexts, thus further revealing the role it plays in individuals' experiences working in or transitioning between organizations. The impact of incongruent calling orientations on job seekers' reemployment probability and partners' job satisfaction suggests that there is interesting work to be done to understand the ways in which incongruence affects other employment processes as well. For example, might calling (or career) incongruence in couples affect the rate at which promotions are accepted? Might calling (or career) incongruence create less employment stability over time, with couples finding it more likely that they voluntarily seek job changes in an effort to find more satisfaction with their work? Taking an even longer view, might children of incongruent partnerships struggle more with developing an understanding of what work does, or should, mean? Furthermore, to the extent that colleagues, compared with romantic partners, might be more relevant social referents for work orientations, given their shared experience of the same work domain, examining romantic partners might have provided us with a conservative test of the influences of work-orientation incongruence. In other words, if significant associations between work-orientation incongruence and work outcomes are found among romantic couples, it is possible that similar dyadic dynamics could also occur between individuals and their closest colleagues at work. We encourage future research to examine similar dyadic dynamics among colleagues.

Conclusion

Our research suggests that when individuals and their romantic partners share incongruent calling orientations, they can be influenced, perhaps unknowingly, by their significant others and experience negative effects in the work domain. The congruence that couples experience in their views of work as a calling is associated with job seekers making successful transitions and partners' experience of job satisfaction. Our research suggests that, at the heart of our experience of work, our closest relational partners can serve as powerful social referents. Their cues about what meaning they focus on from their work matter for the experiences we have of our own work, suggesting another important way in which romantic partners shape our work outcomes.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Senior Editor Steven Blader and three anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments and clear guidance. The authors are grateful to Sue Ashford, Jim Baron, and Teresa Cardador for feedback on the previous version of this manuscript. They are also grateful for the feedback provided by attendees at the 2016 East Coast Doctoral Conference, 2016 Academy of Management Annual Meeting, Yale University, the University of Massachusetts Amherst, the University of Southern California, University of California-Berkeley, Oxford University, and INSEAD.

Endnotes

[1] According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Bregger and Haugen 1995), being unemployed for more than 15 weeks indicates long-term unemployment. Individuals in this category are likely to manifest significantly different attitudes toward work (e.g., focusing more on financial aspects of work).

[2] Marital status was not a significant predictor in our analyses, and thus was not included as a control variable.

[3] We conducted independent-sample *t*-tests to compare respondents with nonrespondents at both time points on the demographic and work-orientation variables measured at T1 to examine whether respondents at T2 and T3 differed significantly from nonrespondents. Job seekers responding at T2 and T3 were more likely to be female and white (while partners responding were more likely to be male and white) than nonrespondents. Partners responding at T2 were older, and those responding at T3 had lower career-orientation scores than nonrespondents.

[4] Using confirmatory factor analysis, we established a measurement model of the work-orientation subscales, using the comparative fit index, or CFI, to estimate the fit of the measurement model to the data. A fit score greater than 0.90 is indicative of an acceptable fit of the model to the data. The CFI for this measurement model of work orientation was 0.96, the Lisrel AGFI (adjusted goodness-of-fit index) was 0.95, and RMSEA is 0.07, indicating that the item structure of the subscales was satisfactory and that this model was superior to the one-factor model. The same two factors of job/calling orientation (factor 1) and career orientation (factor 2) emerged in a principal components factor analysis using varimax rotation and retaining factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0. In addition, we also ran the analyses with all items from the work-orientation scale (i.e., without adjustments) and found that retaining all items in the calling-orientation and the career-orientation scales did not change the overall pattern of our findings.

[5] As a robustness check, we conducted our analyses using reemployment status with 35 hours as the criterion and obtained similar results. We also calculated the length of unemployment—that is, the number of days between the unemployment date and new job start date. Results show that among job seekers who were reemployed at full-time jobs (i.e., 40 hours or more) at T3, calling incongruence was associated with a longer period of unemployment.

[6] We also included job seekers' and partners' occupations and whether they held different occupations as control variables. Because this had no significant effect on the outcome variables in this study and did not change the significance of other variables in all regressions, we excluded these variables from our analyses.

[7] Results are largely similar when T1, instead of T3, job satisfaction is included (NNFI = 0.98, CFI = 0.98, and SRMR = 0.04).

[8] We also measured work orientations at T3 and examined their stability over six months. For job seekers, the correlation between calling orientation at T1 and T3 was $r = 0.54$; the correlation between career orientation at T1 and T3 was $r = 0.50$. For partners, the correlation between calling orientation at T1 and T3 was $r = 0.65$; the correlation between career orientation at T1 and T3 was $r = 0.68$. Test–retest stability is constrained by the reliabilities of the scales at both time points (Nunnally 1978). For job seekers, calling- and

career-orientation score had reliabilities of 0.73 and 0.77 at time 1 and reliabilities of 0.75 and 0.80 at time 3, respectively. As a result, the stability of calling score and career score can be no higher than 0.73 and 0.77, respectively, and such a stability would indicate very little to no change in true score from time 1 to time 3. Although it is likely that the employment transition experienced by the respondents accounted for some of the change in work-orientation scores over the course of the study, the level of stability is quite high when reliabilities of the measures are considered. In addition, at T1, the correlation between job seekers' and partners' calling orientation was $r = 0.08$; the correlation between job seekers' and partners' career orientation was $r = 0.21$. At T3, the correlation between job seekers' and partners' calling orientation was very close to T1, at $r = 0.09$, while the correlation between job seekers' and partners' career orientation was the same as it was at T1, $r = 0.21$.

[9] The distribution of the difference in calling orientation between job seekers and partners is as follows: −3 ~ −1 (N = 199, 16%), −0.99 ~ −0.01 (N = 348, 28%), 0 (N = 125, 10%), 0.01 ~ 0.99 (N = 380, 30%), and 1 ~ 3 (N = 205, 16%). The distribution of the difference in career orientation between job seekers and partners is as follows: −3 ~ −1 (N = 267, 21%), −0.99 ~ −0.01 (N = 144, 11%), 0 (N = 245, 19%), 0.01 ~ 0.99 (N = 190, 15%), and 1 ~ 3 (N = 411, 33%).

[10] In a separate analysis, we included job seekers' reemployment status at time 3 as a control variable to test whether it affects their employed partners' job satisfaction at time 3. Results show that it had no significant effect on the outcome variable and the model; therefore, we did not include job seekers' reemployment status in the regression.

[11] We tested this possibility by examining the relationship between how long reemployed job seekers had been in their new jobs and their job satisfaction. At T3, reemployed job seekers indicated how many weeks they had worked in their new jobs. Those in the job longer reported less job satisfaction ($r = -0.24$, $p < 0.001$), suggesting that those who had more recently started their new jobs experienced more job satisfaction, reflective of a honeymoon effect.

[12] We tested and found support for the proposition that uncertainty would moderate the relationship between job-search intensity and reemployment probability. The negative effect of job-search intensity on reemployment likelihood was stronger when job seekers reported stronger feelings of uncertainty ($\beta = -0.38$, $p < 0.05$).

References

Abbey A, Abramis DJ, Caplan RD (1985) Effects of different sources of social support and social conflict on emotional well-being. *Basic Appl. Soc. Psych.* 6:111–129.

Achor S, Reece A, Kellerman GR, Robichaux A (2018) 9 out of 10 people are willing to earn less money to do more-meaningful work. *Harvard Bus. Rev.* November 6, 2018. Available at: https://hbr.org/2018/11/9-out-of-10-people-are-willing-to-earn-less-money-to-do-more-meaningful-work.

Amabile TM, Hill KG, Hennessey BA, Tighe EM (1994) The Work Preference Inventory: Assessing intrinsic and extrinsic motivational orientations. *J. Personality Soc. Psych.* 66(5):950–967.

Andrews FM, Withey SB, (1976) *Social Indicators of Well-Being: American Perceptions of Quality of Life* (Plenum, New York).

Aron A, Aron E (2000) Self-expansion motivation and including other in the self. Ickes W, Duck S, eds. *The Social Psychology of Personal Relationships* (Wiley, New York), 109–128.

Aron A, Aron EN, Tudor M, Nelson G (1991) Close relationships as including other in the self. *J. Personality Soc. Psych.* 60:241–253.

Asch SE (1955) Opinions and social pressure. *Scientific American* 193(5):31–35.

Bakker AB, Demerouti E, Dollard MF (2008) How job demands affect partners' experience of exhaustion: Integrating work-family conflict and crossover theory. *J. Appl. Psych.* 93(4):901–911.

Baumeister RF (1991) *Meanings of Life* (Guilford Press, New York).

Baumeister RF, Leary MR (1995) The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psych. Bull.* 117(3):497–529.

Baxter LA, West L (2003) Couple perceptions of their similarities and differences: A dialectical perspective. *J. Soc. Personal Relationships* 20(4):491–514.

Bellah RN, Madsen R, Sullivan WM, Swidler A, Tipton SM (1985) *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Harper & Row, New York).

Berg JM, Grant AM, Johnson V (2010) When callings are calling: Crafting work and leisure in pursuit of unanswered occupational callings. *Organ. Sci.* 21(5):973–994.

Bianchi EC (2013) The bright side of bad times: The affective advantages of entering the workforce in a recession. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 58(4):587–623.

Bielby WT, Bielby DD (1992) I will follow him: Family ties, gender-role beliefs, and reluctance to relocate for a better job. *Amer. J. Sociol.* 97(5):1241–1267.

Boswell WR, Boudreau JW, Tichy J (2005) The relationship between employee job change and job satisfaction: The honeymoon-hangover effect. *J. Appl. Psych.* 90(5):882–892.

Bregger JE, Haugen SE (1995) BLS introduces new range of alternative unemployment measures. *Monthly Labor Rev.* October 1995: 19–26.

Bunderson JS, Thompson JA (2009) The call of the wild: Zookeepers, callings, and the double-edged sword of deeply meaningful work. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 54:32–57.

Byrne A, Barling J (2017) When she brings home the job status: Wives' job status, status leakage, and marital instability. *Organ. Sci.* 28(2):177–192.

Caplan RD, Vinokur AD, Price RH, van Ryn M (1989) Job seeking, reemployment, and mental health: A randomized field experiment in coping with job loss. *J. Appl. Psych.* 74(5):759–769.

Cappelli P, Sherer PD (1991) The missing role of context in OB: The need for a meso-level approach. Cummings LL, Staw BM, eds. *Research in Organizational Behavior* (JAI Press, Greenwich, CT), 55–110.

Cardador MT, Dane E, Pratt MG (2011) Linking calling orientations to organizational attachment via organizational instrumentality. *J. Vocational Behav.* 79(2):367–378.

Carton AM (2018) "I'm not mopping the floors, I'm putting a man on the moon": How NASA leaders enhanced the meaningfulness of work by changing the meaning of work. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 63(2):323–369.

Cassar L, Meier S (2018) Nonmonetary incentives and the implications of work as a source of meaning. *J. Econom. Perspect.* 32(3): 215–238.

Chadi A, Jeworrek S, Mertins V (2017) When the meaning of work has disappeared: Experimental evidence on employees' performance and emotions. *Management Sci.* 63(6):1696–1707.

Cialdini RB, Goldstein NJ (2004) Social influence: Compliance and conformity. *Annu. Rev. Psych.* 55(1):591–621.

Cooper-Hakim A, Viswesvaran C (2005) The construct of work commitment: Testing an integrative framework. *Psych. Bull.* 131(2): 241–259.

Crawford WS, Thompson MJ, Ashforth BE (2019) Work-life events theory: Making sense of shock events in dual-earner couples. *Acad. Management Rev.* 44(1):194–212.

Davis JL, Rusbult CE (2001) Attitude alignment in close relationships. *J. Personality Soc. Psych.* 81(1):65–84.

Derogatis LR, Melisaratos N (1983) The Brief Symptom Inventory: An introductory report. *Psych. Med.* 13:595–605.

Desai SD, Chugh D, Brief AP (2014) The implications of marriage structure for men's workplace attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors toward women. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 59(2):330–365.

Dik BJ, Duffy RD (2007) Calling and vocation at work: Definitions and prospects for research and practice. *Counseling Psych.* 37(3): 424–450.

Dobrow S, Heller D (2015) Follow your heart or your head? A longitudinal study of the facilitating role of calling and ability in the pursuit of a challenging career. *J. Appl. Psych.* 100(3):695–712.

Dobrow SR, Tosti-Kharas J (2011) Calling: The development of a scale measure. *Personality Psych.* 64(4):1001–1049.

Dobrow SR, Weisman H, Heller D, Tosti-Kharas J (2019) Calling attention to 20 years of research: A comprehensive meta-analysis of calling. *Acad. Manag. Proc.* 2019:199.

Dubin R (1956) Industrial workers' worlds: A study of the "central life interests" of industrial workers. *Soc. Problems* 3(3):131–142.

Duffy RD, Dik BJ, Steger MF (2011) Calling and work-related outcomes: Career commitment as a mediator. *J. Vocational Behav.* 78(2):210–218.

Edwards JR (1994) The study of congruence in organizational behavior research: Critique and a proposed alternative. *Organ. Behav. Hum. Decision Processes* 58(1):51–100.

Edwards JR, Cable DM (2009) The value of value congruence. *J. Appl. Psych.* 94(3):654–677.

Edwards JR, Harrison RV (1993) Job demands and worker health: Three-dimensional reexamination of the relationship between person-environment fit and strain. *J. Appl. Psych.* 78(4):628–648.

Edwards JR, Parry ME (1993) On the use of polynomial regression equations as an alternative to difference scores in organizational research. *Acad. Management J.* 36(6):1577–1613.

Epstein S (1972) The nature of anxiety with emphasis upon its relationship to expectancy. Spielberger CD, ed. *Anxiety: Current Trends in Theory and Research* (Academic Press, New York), 291–337.

Feeney BC (2004) A secure base: Responsive support of goal strivings and exploration in adult intimate relationships. *J. Personality Soc. Psych.* 87(5):631–648.

Feldman E, Kahn W (2019) When developers disagree: Divergent advice as a potential catalyst for protégé growth. *Organ. Sci.* 30(3):509–527.

Frasquilho D, de Matos MG, Marques A, Gaspar T, Caldas-de-Almeida JM (2016) Distress and unemployment: The related economic and noneconomic factors in a sample of unemployed adults. *Internat. J. Public Health* 61(7):821–828.

Gandal N, Roccas S, Sagiv L, Wrzesniewski A (2005) Personal value priorities of economists. *Hum. Relat.* 58(10):1227–1252.

Goldman BM (2001) Toward an understanding of employment discrimination claiming: An integration of organizational justice and social information processing theories. *Personality Psych.* 54: 361–386.

Gonzaga GC, Campos B, Bradbury T (2007) Similarity, convergence, and relationship satisfaction in dating and married couples. *J. Personality Soc. Psych.* 93(1):34–48.

Grant AM (2012) Leading with meaning: Beneficiary contact, prosocial impact, and the performance effects of transformational leadership. *Acad. Management J.* 55(2):458–476.

Greco V, Roger D (2003) Uncertainty, stress, and health. *Pers. Individual Differences* 34(6):1057–1068.

Green SG, Bull Schaefer RA, MacDermid SM, Weiss HM (2011) Partner reactions to work-to-family conflict: Cognitive appraisal and indirect crossover in couples. *J. Management* 37(3):744–769.

Greenhaus JH, Ziegert JC, Allen TD (2012) When family-supportive supervision matters: Relations between multiple sources of support and work–family balance. *J. Vocational Behav.* 80(2):266–275.

Griskevicius V, Goldstein NJ, Mortensen CR, Cialdini RB, Kenrick DT (2006) Going along vs. going alone: When fundamental motives facilitate strategic (non)conformity. *J. Personality Soc. Psych.* 91(2):281–294.

Hall DT, Chandler DE (2005) Psychological success: When the career is a calling. *J. Organ. Behav.* 26(2):155–176.

Hermans HJM, Oles PK (1996) Value crisis: Affective organization of personal meanings. *J. Res. Personality* 30(4):457–482.

Higgins MC, Kram KE (2001) Reconceptualizing mentoring at work: A developmental network perspective. *Acad. Management Rev.* 26(2):264–288.

Hu L, Bentler PM (1999) Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria vs. new alternatives. *Structural Equation Model.* 6(1):1–55.

Huffman AH, Casper WJ, Payne SC (2014) How does spouse career support relate to employee turnover? Work interfering with family and job satisfaction as mediators. *J. Organ. Behav.* 35(2): 194–212.

Hunt DM, Michael C (1983) Mentorship: A career training and development tool. *Acad. Management Rev.* 8(3):475–485.

Jahoda M (1982) *Employment and Unemployment: A Social-Psychological Analysis* (CUP Archive, Cambridge, UK).

Jansen KJ, Kristof-Brown AL (2005) Marching to the beat of a different drummer: Examining the impact of pacing congruence. *Organ. Behav. Hum. Decision Processes* 97(2):93–105.

Judge TA, Kammeyer-Mueller JD (2012) Job attitudes. *Annu. Rev. Psych.* 63:341–367.

Kalleberg AL (2009) Precarious work, insecure workers: Employment relations in transition. *Amer. Sociol. Rev.* 74:1–22.

Kalleberg AL, Vallas SP (2017) Probing precarious work: Theory, research, and politics. Kalleberg AL, Vallas SP, eds. *Precarious Work, Research in the Sociology of Work*, vol. 31 (Emerald Publishing Limited, Bingley, UK), 1–30.

Kanfer R, Wanberg CR, Kantrowitz TM (2001) Job search and employment: A personality-motivational analysis and meta-analytic review. *J. Appl. Psych.* 86(5):837–855.

Kanungo RN (1982) Measurement of job and work involvement. *J. Appl. Psych.* 67(3):341–349.

Kasser T, Cohn S, Kanner AD, Ryan RM (2007) Some costs of American corporate capitalism: A psychological exploration of value and goal conflicts. *Psych. Inquiry* 18(1):1–22.

Kaufman HG (1982) *Professionals in Search of Work: Coping with the Stress of Job Loss and Underemployment* (Wiley, New York).

Kessler RC, Andrews G, Colpe LJ, Hiripi E, Mroczek DK, Normand SLT, Walters EE, Zaslavsky AM (2002) Short screening scales to monitor population prevalences and trends in non-specific psychological distress. *Psych. Med.* 32:959–976.

Kim J, Garman ET (2004) Financial stress, pay satisfaction and workplace performance. *Compensation Benefits Rev.* 36(1):69–76.

Krasikova DV, LeBreton JM (2012) Just the two of us: Misalignment of theory and methods in examining dyadic phenomena. *J. Appl. Psych.* 97(4):739–757.

Leana CR, Feldman DC (1988) Individual responses to job loss: Perceptions, reactions, and coping behaviors. *J. Management* 14(3): 375–389.

Leana CR, Feldman DC, Tan G (1998) Predictors of coping behavior after a layoff. *J. Organ. Behav.* 19(1):85–97.

Lorenz J, Rauhut H, Schweitzer F, Helbing D (2011) How social influence can undermine the wisdom of crowd effect. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA* 108(22):9020–9025.

Maio G, Haddock G (2009) *The Psychology of Attitudes and Attitude Change* (Sage, London).

Meglino BM, Ravlin EC (1998) Individual values in organizations: Concepts, controversies, and research. *J. Management* 24(3): 351–389.

Meyer GW (1994) Social information processing and social networks: A test of social influence mechanisms. *Human Relations* 47(9):1013–1047.

Michel JS, Kotrba LM, Mitchelson JK, Clark MA, Baltes BB (2011) Antecedents of work-family conflict: A meta-analytic review. *J. Organ. Behav.* 32(5):689–725.

Mirowsky J, Ross CE (2017) *Social Causes of Psychological Distress* (Routledge, New York).

National Center for Health Statistics (2017) Serious psychological distress in the past 30 days among adults aged 18 and over. https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hus/2017/046.pdf.

Nunnally JC (1978) *Psychometric Theory*, 2nd ed. (McGraw Hill Company, New York).

Oelberger CR (2019) The dark side of deeply meaningful work: Work-relationship turmoil and the moderating role of occupational value homophily. *J. Management Stud.* 56(3):558–588.

Petriglieri J (2019) *Couples that Work: How to Thrive in Love and at Work* (Penguin, London).

Petriglieri JL, Obodaru O (2018) Secure-base relationships as drivers of professional identity development in dual-career couples. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 64(3):694–736.

Pfeffer J (1980) A partial test of the social information processing model of job attitudes. *Human Relations* 33:457–476.

Plant P (1996) Work values and counselling: Careerist, wage-earner or entrepreneur. *Internat. J. Advancement Counseling* 19(4):373–377.

Podsakoff PM, MacKenzie SB, Lee JY, Podsakoff NP (2003) Common method biases in behavioral research: A critical review of the literature and recommended remedies. *J. Appl. Psych.* 88(5):879–903.

Preacher KJ, Hayes AF (2008) Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. *Behav. Res. Methods* 40(3):879–891.

Price RH, Friedland DS, Vinokur AD (1998) Job loss: Hard times and eroded identity. Harvey JH, ed. *Perspective on Loss: A Sourcebook* (Taylor & Francis, Philadelphia, PA), 303–316.

Rawat A, Nadavulakere S (2015) Examining the outcomes of having a calling: Does context matter? *J. Bus. Psych.* 30(3):499–512.

Reina CS, Peterson SJ, Zhang Z (2017) Adverse effects of CEO family-to-work conflict on firm performance. *Organ. Sci.* 28(2): 228–243.

Rice RE, Aydin C (1991) Attitudes toward new organizational technology: Network proximity as a mechanism for social information processing. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 36(2):219–244.

Rokeach M (1973) *The Nature of Human Values* (Free Press, New York).

Rosso BD, Dekas KH, Wrzesniewski A (2010) On the meaning of work: A theoretical integration and review. *Res. Organ. Behav.* 30:91–127.

Saks AM (2006) Multiple predictors and criteria of job search success. *J. Vocational Behav.* 68(3):400–415.

Saks AM, Ashforth BE (1997) A longitudinal investigation of the relationships between job information sources, applicant perceptions of fit, and work outcomes. *Personnel Psychology* 50(2): 395–426.

Salancik GR, Pfeffer J (1978a) A social information processing approach to job attitudes and task design. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 23(2): 224–253.

Schabram K, Maitlis S (2017) Negotiating the challenges of a calling: Emotion and enacted sensemaking in animal shelter work. *Acad. Management J.* 60(2):584–609.

Schulte M, Cohen NA, Klein KJ (2012) The coevolution of network ties and perceptions of team psychological safety. *Organ. Sci.* 23(2):564–581.

Schwartz SH (1992) Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. *Adv. Exp. Soc. Psychol.* 25:1–65.

Shen Y, Schaubroeck JM, Zhao L, Wu L (2019) Work group climate and behavioral responses to psychological contract breach. *Front. Psych.* 10:1–13.

Shetzer L (1993) A social information processing model of employee participation. *Organ. Sci.* 4(2):252–268.

Song Z, Foo MD, Uy MA (2008) Mood spillover and crossover among dual-earner couples: A cell phone event sampling study. *J. Appl. Psych.* 93(2):443–452.

Spreitzer GM, Cameron L, Garrett L (2017) Alternative work arrangements: Two images of the new world of work. *Annu. Rev. Organ. Psych. Organ. Behav.* 4:473–499.

Staw BM, Sutton RI, Pelled LH (1994) Employee positive emotion and favorable outcomes at the workplace. *Organ. Sci.* 5(1):51–71.

Tajfel H, Turner JC (1986) The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. Worchel S, Austin WG, eds. *Psychology of Intergroup Relations, Key Readings in Social Psychology* (Nelson-Hall, Chicago, IL), 7–24.

Thompson JA, Bunderson JS (2019) Research on work as a calling... and how to make it matter. *Annu. Rev. Organ. Psych. Organ. Behav.* 6:421–443.

Turban DB, Dougherty TW (1994) Role of protégé personality in receipt of mentoring and career success. *Acad. Management J.* 37(3):688–702.

Tziner A, Ben-David A, Oren L, Sharoni G (2014) Attachment to work, job satisfaction and work centrality. *Leadership & Organization Development J.* 35(6):555–565.

US Bureau of Labor Statistics (1998) The Employment Situation: December 1998. https://www.bls.gov/news.release/History/empsit_010899.txt.

Van Hooft EAJ, Wanberg CR, van Hoye G (2012) Moving beyond job search quantity: Toward a conceptualization and self-regulatory framework of job search quality. *Organ. Psych. Rev.* 3(1):3–40.

Vinokur A, Caplan RD (1987) Attitudes and social support: Determinants of job-seeking behavior and well-being among the unemployed. *J. Appl. Soc. Psych.* 17(12):1007–1024.

Vinokur AD, Price RH, Caplan RD (1996) Hard times and hurtful partners: How financial strain affects depression and relationship satisfaction of unemployed persons and their spouses. *J. Personality Soc. Psych.* 71(1):166–179.

Vinokur AD, Price RH, Schul Y (1995) Impact of the JOBS intervention on unemployed workers varying in risk for depression. *Amer. J. Community Psych.* 23(1):39–74.

Vinokur AD, Schul Y (2002) The web of coping resources and pathways to reemployment following a job loss. *J. Occup. Health Psych.* 7(1):68–83.

Wanberg CR, Hough LM, Song Z (2002) Predictive validity of a multidisciplinary model of reemployment success. *J. Appl. Psych.* 87(6):1100–1120.

Wanberg CR, Kanfer R, Rotundo M (1999) Unemployed individuals: Motives, job-search competencies, and job-search constraints as predictors of job seeking and reemployment. *J. Appl. Psych.* 84(6):897–910.

Wanberg CR, Welsh ET, Hezlett SA (2003) Mentoring research: A review and dynamic process model. *Res. Personnel Human Resources Management* 22:39–124.

Wanberg CR, Zhu J, Van Hooft EA (2010) The job search grind: Perceived progress, self-reactions, and self-regulation of search effort. *Acad. Management J.* 53(4):788–807.

Wanberg CR, Glomb TM, Song Z, Sorenson S (2005) Job-search persistence during unemployment: A 10-wave longitudinal study. *J. Appl. Psych.* 90(3):411–430.

Wanberg CR, Zhu J, Kanfer R, Zhang Z (2012) After the pink slip: Applying dynamic motivation frameworks to the job search experience. *Acad. Management J.* 55(2):261–284.

Waters L (2007) Experiential differences between voluntary and involuntary job redundancy on depression, job-search activity, affective employee outcomes and re-employment quality. *J. Occup. Organ. Psych.* 80(2):279–299.

Wilson KS, Baumann HM, Matta FK, Ilies R, Kossek EE (2018) Misery loves company: An investigation of couples' interrole conflict congruence. *Acad. Management J.* 61(2):715–737.

Witt LA (1998) Enhancing organizational goal congruence: A solution to organizational politics. *J. Appl. Psych.* 83(4):666–674.

Wood JT, Dendy LL, Dordek E, Germany M, Varallo SM (1994) Dialectic of difference: A thematic analysis of intimates' meanings for differences. Carter K, Prisnell M, eds. *Interpretive*

Approaches to Interpersonal Communication (SUNY Press, New York), 115–136.

Wrzesniewski A (1999) Jobs, careers, and callings: Work orientation and job transitions. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Wrzesniewski A (2002) "It's not just a job": Shifting meaning of work in the wake of 9/11. *J. Management Inquiry* 11(3):230–234.

Wrzesniewski A, Dutton JE, Debebe G (2003) Interpersonal sensemaking and the meaning of work. *Res. Organ. Behav.* 25:93–135.

Wrzesniewski A, McCauley C, Rozin P, Schwartz B (1997) Jobs, careers, and callings: People's relations to their work. *J. Res. Personality* 31(1):21–33.

Zalesny MD, Ford K (1990) Extending the social information processing perspective: New links to attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions. *Organ. Behav. Human Decision Processes* 47:205–246.

Zhang Z, Wang M, Shi J (2012) Leader-follower congruence in proactive personality and work outcomes: The mediating role of leader-member exchange. *Acad. Management J.* 55(1):111–130.

Winnie Y. Jiang is assistant professor of organizational behavior at INSEAD. She received her PhD from Yale University. Her research interests include the dynamics of meaning-making at work, work as a calling, career mobility and transitions, and personal and professional development.

Amy Wrzesniewski is the Michael H. Jordan Professor of Management at Yale School of Management, Yale University. She received her PhD from University of Michigan. Her research interests include the experience and meaning of work, with a particular focus on settings where issues of meaning are difficult to negotiate and require agentic responses.