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# THE ROLE OF STRESS IN EMPLOYEE PREFERENCES FOR FAMILY-FRIENDLY BENEFITS: TESTING AN INTEGRATED MODEL

presented by

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# THE ROLE OF STRESS IN EMPLOYEE PREFERENCES FOR FAMILY-FRIENDLY

BENEFITS: TESTING AN INTEGRATED MODEL

Ву

Beverly Jeanne DeMarr

#### A DISSERTATION

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#### ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF STRESS IN EMPLOYEE PREFERENCES FOR FAMILY-FRIENDLY
BENEFITS: TESTING AN INTEGRATED MODEL

By

# Beverly Jeanne DeMarr

Research in the area of work-family conflict has increased steadily as the number of women working outside of the home continues to rise and men begin to take on more family and dependent care responsibilities. At the same time increasing numbers of employers are offering various programs to help employees cope with both child and elder care responsibilities, yet little is known about what kinds of programs are actually valued by employees. While such programs are implicitly assumed to ameliorate stress between work and family, both the dependent care and work-family conflict literatures remain separate and have yet to be integrated. Especially in the area of dependent care, there is a general lack of empirical research, and studies typically focus on employees with either child or elder care responsibilities, not both.

In an effort to begin to bridge the gap between these two literatures this study investigated the relationship between employees' work and non-work characteristics, and attitudes toward employer-sponsored family-friendly benefits and perceptions of work productivity. The general research question that this study seeks to answer is whether the relationship is direct, or fully- or partially-mediated by the

amount of stress experienced. To answer this question no-mediation, full-mediation, and partial-mediation models were developed based on a review of the literature. The models were tested using a Lisrel VII path analysis on responses from 5273 employees of a large financial services organization.

The results show that for all of the dependent variables, the partial-mediation model provides the best fit providing support for spillover theory, as well as Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) contention that there is a positive reciprocal relationship between family stress and work stress. The results highlight the importance of measuring the direct effects of work and non-work characteristics, as well as their indirect effects through stress. This study also provides insight for practitioners in the development of programs to help employees balance their work and personal lives.

Copyright by Beverly Jeanne DeMarr 1996 To my children, Melita May and Eric Steven Cioe.

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#### CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

This chapter provides an introduction and overview of the entire dissertation. The introduction and overview include: a) why it is important to investigate work-family stress and dependent care issues, b) the research strategy, c) the key assumptions and limitations of this research, d) contributions of this research, and e) an outline of the subsequent chapters in the dissertation.

# Importance of the Topic

Changing workforce demographics, in particular the dramatic rise in the number of working mothers and the reduction in the number of traditional two-parent families (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994), have resulted in a great deal of interest in work-life and dependent care issues over the past decade. The media frequently reports on the child care crisis in this country, as well as issues that affect the elderly. Public policy makers debate the breakdown of the family, and with the passage of the Family Medical Leave Act in 1993 the United States finally has legislation requiring employers to allow employees to take unpaid parental leaves. Businesses are getting more involved in employees' personal lives (Friedman, 1990; Zedeck & Mosier, 1990) and many offer a variety of dependent care assistance programs. While employers today are more likely to offer such programs, there is still a great deal yet to be learned about the dynamics involved in the interaction and balancing of work and family roles (Zedeck & Mosier, 1990), and what types of benefits are most desirable.

The early research in the relationship of work and family was based on a segmentation approach and focused primarily on the incompatibility of work and family responsibilities and gender differences (cf. Burke, Weir, & Duwors, 1979, 1980a, 1980b; Jones & Butler, 1980; Locksley, 1980). The basic assumptions were that for men unemployment had detrimental effects on the family, while for women employment was presumed to have a negative impact on the family, and especially the children (Voydanoff, 1988a). These assumptions reflected societal beliefs and stereotypes of the 1950s and 1960s. The stereotypical family included two parents. The father worked during the day in an office, and where family was not to intrude, and the mother spent her days at home cooking, cleaning, and tending to family matters. Thus, work and family were segmented with men and women filling distinct, separate roles that were determined by gender. These assumptions were implicitly, if not explicitly, carried forward into both research and practice, where to some extent, they are still alive and well today. This is evidenced by the preponderance of work-family and dependent care research done on populations that are predominately female (cf. Aryee, 1992; Kossek & Nichol, 1992; Rosin & Korabik, 1990; Williams, Suls, Alliger, Learner, & Wan, 1991)

Over the last few decades our society has considerable change. People are marrying later, having fewer children, are more likely to divorce, and are living longer and with more serious medical conditions. In 1970, 71.7% of people in the United States were married, while by 1993 this number had dropped to 61.2%, with only 55% of households headed by a married person whose spouse was present (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). The trend is the same even when there are minor children in the household. In 1970, 87% of family groups with children under age 18 were two-parent families, while by 1993 that number had dropped to 70% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). Not only has there been a decline in the number of two-parent families, but among two-parent families more women are working outside of the home to help support the family. Between 1975 and 1993 the labor force participation rate for wives with husbands present and children under age 18 increased from 44.9% to 67.5% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). The rates of change are similar regardless of the age of the children. In 1992, 54% of women who had a child under one year of age were in the labor force compared to only 38% in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). The net effects of these changes are that more children today are in some type of daycare arrangement, and more parents are having to cope with stresses between work and family.

At the same time with advances in medical technology,

life expectancies have increased. A child born in 1970 has a life expectancy of 70.8 years, while a child born in 1990 has a life expectancy of 75.4 years, a trend which is projected to continue well into the 21st century (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). The trend has had an impact on those providing assistance for elder dependents, which historically have been women who were not employed outside of the home. The fact that more women are working outside of the home, combined with increased life expectancies, means that there are fewer traditional caregivers for more elderly persons. While many believe the myth that children today do not care for their elders as they once did, the fact is they do, regardless of other work and family responsibilities (Brody, 1985). Thus, elder care responsibilities serve as another contributor to work-family stress, and are yet another facet of dependent care.

Although work-family stress and dependent care are clearly intertwined, research in these areas is not. The dependent care research has tended to be directed more toward human resource practitioners and lacks solid theoretical models. This literature typically focuses on the types of dependent care assistance programs offered by organizations or utilization rates of specific programs. While theoretical models explaining certain aspects of how an individual experiences work-family stress have been developed, a great deal remains to be done. The models typically do not address

a variety of predictors and outcomes of work-family stress, and most of the studies are conducted with homogeneous, white, middle class subjects. Strickland (1992) asserts that the scope of work-family research needs to be broadened relative to minority, single-parent, working-class, chronically unemployed, and truly upper class families, and maintains that greater depth is also needed. Because these streams of research have evolved in large part independently of one another, there is no integrated model and nothing that links the two empirically.

# Research Strategy

A fundamental goal of this dissertation is to begin to integrate the more theoretical work-family literature and the more practitioner-oriented dependent care literature by developing and testing three versions of an integrated model that considers the effects of individual, work organizational characteristics on employees' perceived productivity and attitudes toward benefits. The work-family literature (cf. Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Lambert, 1991; Lobel, 1991) has tended to take a more psychological approach focusing on the individual level of analysis. Most of the models that have been developed and tested in this area focus on the causes of work-family stress, which is often referred to as work-family conflict, and often either stop there, or link conflict with some form of psychological distress or measures of job or marital satisfaction. The

assumption is that work-family conflict is bad, but in large part only affects the individual. Further, most of the research ignores the influence of the work group and the organizational culture as it relates to work and family.

The dependent care literature tends to be more Human Resource focused, as today more employers are offering some type of dependent care assistance programs. In general, the programs start as initiatives to help employees cope with child care responsibilities and over time are expanded to include eldercare. Many of these programs have been adopted without a formal needs assessment (Kossek, 1990). Even when employers have done a needs assessment they often stop after implementation and do not evaluate the effectiveness of the program to see if it truly serves the needs of their employees. Not surprisingly, the utilization rates of these programs tend to be quite low.

There have been a few studies that have looked at absenteeism and some that have looked at utilization rates, however, little or no research has looked at whether employees see various benefits as attractive (an exception is Kossek, 1990). Similarly, studies have generally focused on either child or elder care responsibilities, not both. Most studies in this area are based on relatively small, homogeneous samples. They typically do not use rigorous data analysis techniques, but instead report simple descriptive statistics (e.g., what percent of employees prefer which option, or use

a particular program). With the exception of Goff, Mount, and Jamison (1990), and Kossek and her colleagues (Kossek, 1990; Kossek, DeMarr, Backman, & Kollar, 1993; Kossek & Nichol, 1992) most of this research is not based on theoretical models.

It is believed that this dissertation will fill some of these gaps by developing and testing three versions of a model that considers the impact of various work and non-work characteristics on perceptions of productivity and attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. The independent variables include various family, child care, and elder characteristics, the amount of control one has over his/her schedule, perceptions of career penalties, supervisor support, and organizational work-family culture. The model will be tested using a Lisrel VII path analysis to determine whether the independent variables have a direct effect, or are fully or partially mediated by work and family stress. The sample includes a large, heterogeneous group of respondents.

#### Key Assumptions and Limitations

This dissertation is based on a resource allocation view that in today's complex world individuals face demands from a variety of sources, the major of which are work and family. For success, both typically require time, energy, and emotional commitment, all of which are fixed resources. As fixed resources the individual must allocate them between the two domains. When there are not enough resources to satisfy

both work and family roles the individual experiences role conflict.

It is assumed that ultimately the type and level of stress that one experiences is influenced by a complex set of work. and organizational individual. dependent care. characteristics. In other words, there is no single predictor or level of predictors of work and family stress. Consistent with the work of Kopelman, Greenhaus, and Connolly (1983), Greenhaus and Beutell (1985), Gutek, Searle and Klepa (1991), Frone, Russell, and Cooper (1992), and Edwards and Rothbard (1995), it is also believed that there is a reciprocal relationship between work stress and family stress and together they result in psychological distress.

Finally, it is assumed that the amount of psychological distress a person experiences affects his/her perceptions of productivity in the workplace and attitudes toward employer assistance in coping with his/her dependent care responsibilities. For example, a person experiencing a high level of psychological distress may be more prone to illnesses that would result in absence, or s/he may be distracted while at work resulting in lower work productivity. Further a person who is having difficulty coping with his/her dependent care responsibilities may be more likely to place a higher value on employer-sponsored dependent care assistance programs than an individual who is already coping effectively with his/her responsibilities.

Work and family stress and dependent care are relatively new areas of study, and as such this work should be considered exploratory, especially with respect to the extent that the model deals with employee views toward family-friendly benefits. In that area existing theory on which to base a model is very scarce. Further, unlike some other areas of study, there are no well established standard measures and scales.

While this study is quite broad in scope, there are also limitations as to how much can be accomplished in any one study. As a practical matter, this study does not consider all sources of demands on an individual (e.g., clubs, social organizations, friends, non-dependent relatives). Similarly, there may be other family or work-related characteristics not captured by this study (e.g., the mental or physical health of the individual).

# Contributions

While as with any study there are limitations, this study is also expected to make a number of both theoretical and practical contributions. First, the model will be used to test a variety of variables that influence family and work stress and psychological distress which has rarely been done. This is important to assess the relative impact of each variable and begin to sort out which are the most important predictors. While all of the variables may not prove to be significant, assuming that other plausible alternative explanations can be

ruled out, this too would provide guidance for future research and theory development.

This study also provides a link between the work-family and dependent care literatures which has yet to be done. By using a large heterogeneous dataset, this study also overcomes some of the limitations in generalizability in much of the prior research.

The study makes a number of practical contributions for both employers and employees as well. Studying the influences on employee attitudes toward family-friendly benefits will provide insight for employers who wish to develop proactive programs to help employees balance their work and personal lives. To the extent that attitudes toward family-friendly benefits can be predicted, the study will help employers get the largest return on their investment in dependent care programs. To the extent that employers utilize the information provided by this study to develop policies and programs to help employees cope with dependent care responsibilities, employees will be better able to balance work and family responsibilities.

# Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter one, thus far, has provided a broad overview of the goals, scope, and potential contributions of this dissertation.

Chapter two includes a review of the existing work-family and dependent care literatures, focusing on current

alternative theories. The purpose of this review is to provide a general background and highlight the need for more theoretical work to integrate the two areas of study.

Chapter three presents the model and related hypotheses on which this study is based. The model is based on a combination of the work by Kopelman, et al (1983), Higgins, Duxbury, and Irving (1992), and Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1986), which has been expanded to include a variety of specific antecedents. The model considers the relationship between a number of work, family, and dependent care characteristics, stress, and employee views toward family-friendly benefits and perceived work productivity. It is offered as an early step in the development of a more theoretical body of literature on the dependent care issues faced by employed parents and those providing care to elder dependents.

Chapter four presents the methods of investigation. It includes the organization under study, the subjects of the study, the data collection procedure, the operationalization of the variables, and the data analysis strategy.

Chapter five contains the results of the data analysis for the model and the hypotheses. Descriptive statistics are also provided.

Chapter six includes a discussion of the results of the analyses focusing on the study's support for spillover theory and the importance of measuring both the direct and indirect

effects of individual variables. Implications for theory and practice, as well as limitations of the study and suggestions for future research are also presented.

effects of individual variables. Implications for theory and practice, as well as limitations of the study and suggestions for future research are also presented.

### Chapter 2

#### Review of the Literature

This chapter will review the literature and theories related to work-family conflict and dependent care after providing a more general overview of the relationship between the work and non-work domains.

# The Relationship Between Work and Non-Work.

Research on the relationship between the work and non-work aspects of people's lives has evolved over time from the role conflict literature. While various authors have used differing terminology to describe what is essentially the same construct (Higgins, et al, 1992), the most commonly used term thus far is "work-family conflict" (for a summary of studies that use different terms interchangeably see Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985, p. 79). Formally, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985, p. 77) define work-family conflict as "a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" whereby participation in one role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the other.

The earliest view of the relationship between work and home was that they are segmented and independent (Lambert, 1990). Indeed, "work" and "family" have typically been studied separately by scholars in the various branches of psychology and sociology, as well as economics, organizational behavior,

and human relations. In large part the early research was lacking in theoretical frameworks for understanding the phenomenon. More recently the focus has been broadened from "work-family" to "work-life" to include other aspects of individuals' personal lives which recognizes the diversity of demands on individuals today.

While much of the existing research uses the term "conflict", there are often at least implicit links to stress. Several researchers have drawn from stress research (cf. Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1986; Higgins, et al, 1992; Kopelman, et al, 1983) bringing theoretical rigor to the study of work-family issues. Greenhaus (1989) suggested that viewing work-family research from a stress perspective is useful because it allows researchers to draw from an established paradigm. More explicit links to stress are made by Edwards and Rothbard (1995) in their recently proposed cybernetic model of stress, coping, and well-being within and between work and family domains. Thus, it appears there is a shift to more integrated approaches for studying the relationship between work and nonwork domains.

While researchers have more recently begun to develop theories explaining work-life stress and study the effectiveness of various dependent care programs, significant gaps in the literature still remain. Lambert (1990) argues that a fuller understanding of the processes linking work and family life is necessary to adequately evaluate the effectiveness of the family supportive policies currently being implemented by many U. S. firms, as well as to identify additional strategies for helping workers find satisfaction in both their work and personal roles. The existing literature typically falls into one of two general categories. The first type of research, which is more theoretical in nature, focuses on explaining how work-family conflict operates from a psychological standpoint. This type of research may study levels of work-family conflict, often with respect to gender, but generally does not consider what can be done to ameliorate it.

The second type of research, which is more practitioner oriented, tends to focus on specific dependent care programs, usually onsite day care facilities or parental leave programs, offered by employers. Most of this type of research looks at either child or elder care, not both. It is also usually limited to a fairly narrow range of occupational levels, and hence doesn't reflect the diversity in income levels, work schedules, and household configurations that is often found in large organizations. While this type of research offers some specific guidance for employers, it lacks a more general framework for viewing the broader picture.

Both areas of research have made significant contributions to the body of knowledge surrounding the integration of work and nonwork, however, this is still a

relatively new area of study and there is much yet to be learned. To date there have not been any major empirical studies that link the two domains. In addition, there is a lack of research that includes the effects of having both elder and child care responsibilities. This is a serious void in the research given the changing demographics noted earlier and the growing trend for employers to offer benefit programs to help employees manage their elder care responsibilities. Typically such programs are modeled after programs to help employees manage their child care responsibilities, yet without research the efficacy of these programs remains unknown. In the following sections I will review the existing literature and theories in the areas of both work-family conflict and dependent care, beginning with the existing research on work-family conflict.

# Work-Family Literature and Theories

There are a number of frameworks and theories that have been used over the last decade to help further the understanding of various aspects of work-family conflict. Each makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on the relationship between work and non-work domains. Some have considered the forms of conflict (cf. Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Gutek, et al, 1991), while others have focused on the processes that link work and family (cf. Lambert, 1990). Yet other research has sought explanations for differences between men and women in work-family conflict (cf. Lambert, 1991;

Lobel, 1991). Finally, researchers have also considered the sources of work-family conflict, specifically work interference with family and family interference with work (cf. Frone, et al, 1992, Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, Gutek, et al, 1991). Each of these frameworks and theories will be reviewed in the following pages.

# Forms of Work-Family Conflict.

One of the earliest models of work-family conflict was developed by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) who maintained that work-family conflict has three major forms: time-based conflict, strain-based conflict, and behavior-based conflict. Time-based conflict is based on the premise that time spent on activities within one role cannot be devoted to activities within another role. This may result from the physical constraint that a person can not be in two places at one time, or the psychological constraint that if a person is preoccupied with one role they may not be able to adequately fill the needs of a second role even though they are physically present. Pressures resulting in time-based conflict may arise from the work domain (e.g., long hours, inflexible work schedules, and shiftwork) or the family domain (e.g., young children, spousal employment and large families).

Strain-based conflict exists when strain in one role affects one's performance in another role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). The roles are incompatible in that the strain produced by one role makes it difficult to comply with the

demands of another role. Pressures in the work domain that may result in strain-based conflict include role conflict, role ambiguity, and boundary-spanning activities. From the family domain, family conflict and low levels of spousal support are believed to contribute to strain-based conflict. Behavior-based conflict results when specific patterns of role behaviors are incompatible with expectations regarding behavior in another role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). For example, the work domain may hold expectations for a manager to be objective and maintain confidentiality, while the family domain may hold expectations for openness and warmth.

Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) model proposes that conflict between two roles can be produced by any role characteristic that affects a person's time involvement, strain, or behavior within a role. The model also posits that work-family conflict is intensified via role pressures when work and family roles are salient to a person's self-concept. As individuals become more motivated and ego-involved in a role they are more likely to spend more of their time and energy on that role at the expense of the other. Finally, the model holds that work-family conflict will be strongest when there are strong negative sanctions for noncompliance with role demands. The rationale is that the absence of strong negative sanctions for noncompliance reduces the pressure to comply with role demands.

A takeoff on the time component of Greenhaus and

Beutell's (1985) framework is what Gutek, et al (1991) describe as the rational view. The rational view holds that the amount of conflict that an individual experiences rises in proportion to the amount of time spent in both work and family domains (Keith & Schafer, 1984; Staines, Pleck, Shepard, & O'Connor, 1978). Specifically, the rational view predicts that as adults increase the amount of time spent in paid employment relative to family work they will experience more work interference with family (WIF) than family interference with work (FIW; Gutek, et al, 1991). Thus, the amount of WIF rises with the number of hours spent in work activities, while the amount of FIW increases with the number of hours spent in family activities (Gutek, et al, 1991).

Since women on average spend more time in family work than men, and men spend more time in paid employment than women (Pleck, 1985), the rational view predicts that women will experience more FIW than men, while men will experience more WIF than women (Gutek, et al, 1991). Although the rational view is quite simplistic, it does seem quite logical that the less free time one has available, the more conflict will be experienced. The rational view does not, however, fully account for the gender differences that are often found in this type of research, nor does it account for any individual differences in the type of work being performed or a person's perceived ability to cope with stress. Gender differences are specifically addressed by the gender role

framework.

The gender role framework for understanding work-family conflict posits that gender both directly influences perceived work family conflict, and moderates the relationship between time spent in paid and family work, and perceived work-family conflict (Gutek, et al, 1991). Central to this framework are the traditional gender roles, with men being primarily focused on work and women focused primarily on family matters. The gender role framework holds that gender role expectations may distort the rational view such that the level of conflict men and women report will depart from the rational view in a manner consistent with gender role expectations (Gutek, et al, 1991). According to this view additional hours spent in one's own sex role domain (e.g., more housework for women or more time spent on paid employment for men) are perceived to be less of an imposition and create less conflict for the role holder than additional time spent in the other sex role domain. Specifically, the gender role framework predicts that men will be more sensitive to the amount of time spent in family work, while women will be more sensitive to the amount of time spent in paid employment. Further, the gender role framework predicts that with hours of paid employment held constant, women will report more WIF and men more FIW (Gutek, et al, 1991), which is exactly the opposite of the rational view's prediction.

In a study of psychologists and managers, Gutek, et al,

(1991) found some support for both the rational and gender role explanations for work-family conflict. The results, which provided support for the rational perspective, showed that there was a fairly high correspondence between hours spent in a particular domain and conflict originating in that domain, while hours spent in one domain were not associated with conflict originating from the other domain. The gender role perspective received some support as well in that people did seem to interpret their perceptions of conflict in accordance with traditional gender role expectations. There was no support for the gender role prediction that women are oblivious to the amount of family demands placed on them and men are equally oblivious to work demands. Gutek and her colleagues (1991) concluded that researchers need to look at an individual's perceptions as well as the actual amount of time one spends in work and family activities.

## Processes Linking Work and Family.

Another group of competing frameworks that are sometimes used to explain the processes that link work and family life are segmentation, compensation, spillover, and accommodation (Lambert, 1990). The earliest of these frameworks is segmentation, which holds that work and home lives are independent and do not affect one another. Thus, an individual's subjective reactions, whether they are positive or negative, to objective conditions in one domain do not affect outcomes in the other domain. This view is consistent

with the traditional two-parent family structure where the husband is the sole provider and the wife has primary responsibility for home and family matters. The presence of an at-home spouse to tend to non-work matters allows an employed spouse to focus solely on work. Thus, in the days when the majority of families were "traditional", segmentation is likely to have occurred naturally. Today, however, most families do not consist of two-parents with a stay-at-home mom and segmentation is unlikely to occur naturally (Lambert, 1990). Today, segmentation is more likely to occur because workers "actively attempt to separate work and family life in order to deal with work-related stresses" (Piotrkowski, 1979, p. 98).

The compensation model holds that individuals may compensate for a lack of satisfaction in one domain by trying to find more satisfaction in the other (Lambert, 1990; Staines, 1980). The result of trying to find more satisfaction in a particular domain often leads to a higher level of involvement. This theory has been used primarily to explain why some individuals who are engaged in unsatisfying and uninvolving work often become more active in nonwork activities such as clubs, groups, or their children's activities. With respect to working class men it has been said that they "look to their homes as havens", and "look to their families of satisfaction lacking sources the occupational sphere" (Piotrkowski, 1979, p. 98). The

compensation model may also be used to explain why some individuals become more involved in their work when they experience family problems, such as divorce. In this case work may become an escape from the problems at home.

Consistent with the compensation model is the utilitarian approach to role investment that holds the more often an activity is rewarded, and the more valuable the reward of an activity is to a person, the more likely a person is to engage in the activity (Homans, 1976). A primary difference is that compensation model focuses on role investment counterbalance a deficiency in the other role, while the utilitarian view focuses on role investment to maximize net rewards. In our culture, women have traditionally received greater recognition, and hence rewards, for household and family activities, while for men rewards have been primarily associated with work related activities. Thus, the traditional sex-role stereotypes have been reinforced. With the utilitarian view competition between work and family roles is viewed as inevitable, and a particular role gains acceptance only at the expense of the other. Thus, with this view a person's sense of balance increases only as an individual's role investments become more unequal (Lobel, 1991). The corollary is that the highest degree of work-family conflict occurs when pressures to participate in both roles are equal (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

The spillover framework (Staines, 1980; Zedeck & Mosier,

1990) holds that the effects of each domain, both positive and negative, carry over to the other. Research has suggested that individuals transfer the attitudes, behaviors, emotions, and skills established at work to the family environment (Belsky, Perry-Jenkins, & Crouter, 1985; Crouter, 1984; Kelly, & Voydanoff, 1985; Piotrkowski, 1979), and vice versa (Belsky, et al, 1985; Crouter, 1984). The spillover framework has been used for much of the existing research on work-family issues. This is particularly true for research on both elder and child care where the emphasis is placed on the spillover from family roles and obligations to the caregiver's employment (cf. 1990; Kossek, et al, 1993). Spillover can be classified as either direct or indirect. Direct spillover occurs when objective conditions in one domain have a direct impact on the other regardless of how the person subjectively experiences the conditions (Lambert, 1990). An example of this would be the parent who must stay at home with his sick child or the employee who misses her child's ball game because she has to work.

Indirect spillover occurs when an individual's subjective reactions to objective conditions in one domain affect the other domain (Lambert, 1990). An example of this would be a working parent or caregiver who is anxious about his or her dependent(s) while at work, or the parent who is preoccupied with work while at his/her child's school play. Certain job and family characteristics may operate directly, indirectly,

or both (Lambert, 1990). However, the impact of indirect spillover may be more difficult to ascertain since employees seldom mention family responsibilities in general for fear their employer will not understand (Winfield, 1987), and may not see their employer as a source of support (Creedon, 1988).

While the processes of segmentation, compensation, and spillover have frequently been viewed as competing, independent theories, Lambert (1990) arques that these processes may occur simultaneously and proposes that the accommodation model may also help to explain the processes linking work and family. The process of accommodation is characterized by individuals limiting their involvement in one domain so they may better accommodate the demands of the other (Lambert, 1990). An example of this is a woman who opts for part time work to allow her to be available to the children before and/or after school. The accommodation model holds that a high involvement in one domain leads to low involvement in the other, which is the reverse of the compensation model. This may be in part due to the fact that the accommodation model was conceived on the basis of women's experiences, while compensation was initially based on men's experiences. Because of our traditional gender role stereotypes many employer sponsored work-family programs have been implicitly, if not explicitly, designed to help women accommodate their family responsibilities. While this approach certainly may provide some degree of assistance to employed caregivers, it does not take into consideration men's increasing level of participation in family responsibilities and the diversity of family structures in today's society. As such employers may not be getting the maximum return on their investment in family-friendly benefit programs.

### Gender Differences in Work-Family Conflict.

Employers often hope that by offering dependent care assistance programs and other family-friendly benefit programs, employees will experience higher levels of job involvement, intrinsic motivation, and job satisfaction. In an attempt to better understand the relationship between such outcomes and job and family characteristics, Lambert (1991) compared the expectation and value hypotheses. Both hypotheses attempt to explain why women generally appear to be more satisfied than men under similar work situations.

The expectation hypothesis postulates that while women and men are equally attracted to certain job features, women have lower expectations of the workplace than men. Mottaz (1986) argues that these differences reflect adjustments to the workplace, in other words, women are more likely to turn to social satisfactions when other workplace satisfactions are lacking. The value hypothesis holds that women and men are attracted by different job features and that satisfaction depends on whether or not one receives what one values. Men and women are believed to value different job features because of differences in gender-role socialization (Lambert, 1991).

Traditionally in our culture women have been socialized to value relationships while men have been socialized to place a higher value on achievement.

Lambert (1991) in a study that used data from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (QES), found that men and women job satisfaction levels of and reported similar involvement even though women receive fewer intrinsic and This seems to support the extrinsic rewards than men. expectation hypothesis proposition that because women have lower expectations they are able to obtain levels of satisfaction similar to men. This result may be due to the fact that women's jobs may be less stressful than men's and that women find coworker and supervisory relationships more supportive than men do (Lambert, 1991). When stressful job conditions and social rewards were controlled there were no significant differences between the levels of job satisfaction of men and women which did not support the expectation hypothesis. She did, however, find that women report greater intrinsic motivation even after controlling for intrinsic and extrinsic job characteristics, which is consistent with the expectation hypothesis.

Lambert (1991) found only moderate support for the value hypothesis as well. In short, there were more similarities in the relationships between job characteristics and work responses than differences. The study found that regardless of gender, skill variety and task significance promote job

satisfaction, intrinsic motivation, and job involvement, while stressful work is negatively related to job satisfaction and intrinsic motivation, but positively related to job involvement. The opportunity for promotion was significant in explaining job satisfaction for both men and women, however, the effect was significantly larger for men than women. Support was found for the value hypothesis's assertion that women value the social aspects of work, and may be more sensitive to social rewards than men. Supportive coworker relationships were positively related to women's job satisfaction and supportive supervision was positively related to women's intrinsic motivation. For men, job autonomy was positively related to intrinsic motivation.

Limited support was found for Pleck's (1977) contention that the boundaries between work and family are asymmetrically permeable for men and women, although there was not support for the contention that women's work responses are more sensitive to family responsibilities than men's. The study found that characteristics of the spouse's employment did influence work responses of both men and women although in different ways. The number of hours a spouse spends in paid employment was related to job involvement for both men and women. Wives' income was related to both men's intrinsic motivation and job involvement, while husband's job security was related to women's job satisfaction. The study found, however, that parenting responsibilities do not help explain

why some workers are more or less involved, motivated and satisfied in their jobs than others. This may be due to the fact that this study only considered the presence of parenting responsibilities as opposed to the type of responsibilities which can vary dramatically from family to family. Another explanation for the nonsignificance of parenting responsibilities may be found in Cooke and Rousseau's (1984) finding that children are a source of both stress and reward. The value of such rewards is a focus of the social identity approach to work and family role investment.

The social identity approach holds that individuals identify themselves as members of various social groups, and the more salient a particular identity is for a person the more they will invest in that role (Lobel, 1991). Group identification results from an individual's perceptions, and unlike the utilitarian view discussed earlier, does not strive to maximize net rewards. The results of an individual's identification with a group include: selection of identities congruent with the salient social identity; loyalty to the group despite negative attributes; conformity to group norms and attribution of typical characteristics to oneself; and reinforcement of the group's prestige, values, and practices (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Individuals typically identify with several groups (e.g., employee, parent, child, alumni, civic organization member, etc.), and the enactment of a particular identity is triggered by situational cues (Lobel, 1991). For

example, a phone call from one's superior would trigger the employee role, while a call from a one's child care provider concerning a sick child would trigger the parent role.

The social identity view posits that conflict between work and family roles can be minimized in one of two ways. The first is by keeping identities either physically, psychologically, or temporally separate (Allen, Wilder, & Atkinson, 1983; Lobel, 1991). This is consistent with the notion of intentional segmentation discussed earlier where an individual actively strives to keep their family and work lives separate to minimize conflict. Unfortunately, complete segmentation may not always be possible. A second way that an individual can minimize conflict according to the social identity view is to maintain consistent personal values across identities (Allen, et al, 1983; Lobel, 1991). For example, an individual that works for an organization that values people, openness, and concern for others, and whose family has those same values, would not be faced with enacting roles based on different values in each setting. Thus, the social identity approach maintains that balance between work and family roles is possible, and increases as the overlap in underlying values increases (Lobel, 1991).

Lobel and St. Clair (1992) found support for social identity theory in their study that tested the effects of career identity salience, as well as gender and family responsibilities, on work effort and merit increases. Their

study found that the direct effect of career identity salience was both positive and significant. With respect to the effect of career identity salience on merit increases, the findings suggested that merit increases may be allocated based on congruence to gender role stereotypes. More specifically, family-oriented women with preschoolers received higher merit increases than family-oriented men with preschoolers, and career-oriented women with preschoolers received lower merit increases than career-oriented men with preschoolers. This study also tested predictions based on both human capital theory which holds that home and family responsibilities lead to less effort at work, and gender discrimination which asserts that women do not have equal access to opportunities and rewards. Neither of those theories received support.

# Sources of Work-Family Conflict.

Much of the existing research on work-family conflict does not explicitly make the distinction between work interference with family (WIF) and family interference with work (FIW) noted earlier. Researchers from different disciplines have, however, tended to implicitly focus on one or the other. Sociologists and developmental psychologists generally focus on the effect of work on family life (cf. Aldous, 1969; Piotrkowski, Rapaport & Rapaport, 1987). On the other hand, organizational behaviorists tend to focus on the effects of family responsibilities on work (cf. Cooke & Rousseau, 1984; Lobel & St. Clair, 1992). Researchers are now

beginning to recognize that the conflict relationship between work and family is bidirectional (cf. Frone, et al, 1992; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Gutek, et al, 1991), and are making a distinction between FIW and WIF. Research has shown that WIF and FIW do in fact operate differently, are clearly separable, that the amount of time spent in paid employment and the amount of time spent in family work are relatively independent of one another, and that the amount of time spent in one domain was not associated with conflict originating from the other domain (Gutek, et al, 1991).

Frone, et al (1992) expanded on the notion of difference between WIF and FIW with the development of a model that views the relationship between the two to be a positive reciprocal one. Their argument is that if one's work (or family) related responsibilities and problems begin to interfere with the accomplishment of one's family (work) obligations, the unfulfilled family (work) obligations may begin to interfere with one's functioning at work (home). Thus, there can be a snowball effect with respect to the total level of work-family conflict. The results of their study supported the argument that the relationship between work and family is bidirectional or reciprocal (Frone, et al, 1992). Further, the results replicated the findings of others that job stressors and job involvement were positively related to the frequency of WIF conflict, and conversely, that family stressors and family involvement were positively related to the frequency of FIW conflict. While research has generally provided support for a reciprocal relationship, a study by O'Driscoll, Ilgen, and Hildreth (1992) found that the relationship between time pressures in one domain and interference with activities in the other domain was asymmetrical.

While some researchers have stated that FIW has been understudied or even that it has not been studied at all (Frone, et al, 1992), I would argue that a major component of FIW has received attention in a number of studies under the guise of dependent care. More specifically, the impact of having child or elder care responsibilities on an employed caregiver's paid employment. It is with that in mind that I shift the focus to the dependent care literature.

### Dependent Care Literature and Theories

Unlike the work-family literature, the dependent care literature is still in the early stages of development and tends to be fairly narrow in focus. Much of this literature is oriented toward practitioners and deals with specific employer-sponsored dependent care programs and effectiveness in helping employees meet their dependent care obligations. In general, there are few models and little theory in this literature. The few models that have been developed usually focus on demographic characteristics as either direct or indirect predictors of work related outcomes such as absenteeism (cf. Goff, et al, 1990; Kossek, 1990;

Kossek, et al, 1993; Kossek & Nichol, 1992). A few studies have sought to evaluate employer-sponsored dependent care programs in terms of perceived fairness (Grover, 1991), workfamily conflict (Goff, et al, 1990), performance (Kossek & Nichol, 1992), absenteeism (Goff, et al, 1990; Kossek & Nichol, 1992), and employees' assessment of the program's effectiveness (Kossek, et al, 1993). More often what is published are accounts of what various organizations are doing to help their employees cope with dependent care responsibilities (cf. Denton, Love, & Slate, 1990; Friedman, 1990; Mattis, 1990; Zedeck & Mosier, 1990), or what employees need in the area of employer-sponsored dependent care assistance programs (cf. Anastas, Gibeau, & Larson, 1990; Kossek, 1990; Miller, Stead, & Pereira, 1991; Scharlach & Boyd, 1989; Sizemore & Jones, 1990). Each of these areas will be reviewed in the following pages.

### Dependent Care Problems and Programs.

Kossek (1990) developed a model that holds that an employed caregiver's demographic characteristics such as gender, household employment configuration (e.g., single parent, dual-career, or traditional family), use of familial care, and dependent care profile, can be used to predict problems with dependent care. Problems with dependent care, including the quality, cost and availability of care, subsequently predict an employee's attitude toward managing work and dependent care responsibilities (e.g., the level of

stress experienced at work as a result of family responsibilities). Attitudes toward managing work and dependent care responsibilities in turn predict absence due to dependent care responsibilities. The more problems with dependent care that an employee experiences, the less positive their attitudes, and the more likely they will be absent. The general framework has received empirical support in both the context of child care (Kossek, 1990; Kossek & Nichol, 1992) and eldercare (Kossek, et al, 1993).

In one study (Kossek, 1990) that tested this model as it relates to child care responsibilities found that demographic characteristics were significant predictors of problems with In particular, those who used total dependent care. nonfamilial care experienced the most problems with care, followed by those who used a combination of familial and non familial care. Those who relied solely on familial care were found to have the fewest problems with care. The study also found that women and those who experienced problems with dependent care were significantly more likely to hold negative attitudes toward managing work and family responsibilities. Further, those who held more negative attitudes (but not necessarily women) were more likely to be absent due to dependent care responsibilities.

A subsequent study (Kossek & Nichol, 1992) found that the greater the number of hours that an employee uses off-site nonfamilial care or the lower the degree to which an employee

could rely on family members to care for a sick child, the greater the problems with care. As in the previous study, having problems with care was associated with negative attitudes toward managing work and child care responsibilities. Unlike the previous study, this study used supervisor's perceptions of child care related absenteeism. Significant relationships were found between gender and the extent to which an employee can rely on family members to care for a sick child and supervisor's perceptions. In short, supervisors perceived that women and those without familial support were absent more due to child care responsibilities. The relationship between an employee's attitude toward managing work and child care responsibilities and supervisor's perceptions of child care related absence was not significant, however, the relationship between a supervisor's perceptions of child care related absence and the employee's performance rating was. In other words, the more a supervisor perceived an employee was absent due to child responsibilities, the more likely they were to assess the employee's performance as lower.

One study has also used the same general model in the context of eldercare (Kossek, et al, 1993). In that study the employed caregiver's demographic characteristics included: household employment configuration, form of adult dependent care (e.g., familial, paid companion/nurse, adult care facility, or nursing home), living arrangements (e.g., another

town, the elder's own residence locally, a special care facility, or living with the employee), and gender. Parallel to the child care studies, this study found that the more employees experienced problems with elder care arrangements the less favorable their attitudes toward managing work and eldercare responsibilities, and that absence was significantly related to both problems with eldercare arrangements and less favorable attitudes. Specifically, employees using a paid companion or nurse in the home, or employees whose parents are living with them are significantly more likely to hold negative attitudes toward managing work and eldercare responsibilities.

Goff, et al (1990) developed a similar model that held that an employee's use of an on-site day care center, the number of children under 5 years old, providing care for an ill child, having primary responsibility for child care, satisfaction with care arrangements, and the level of supervisor support directly influenced work-family conflict. Work-family conflict, as well as use of an on-site center, supervisor support, and pre-treatment absenteeism were subsequently believed to provide a direct influence on absenteeism. Due to sample size limitations they were not able to test the complete model simultaneously, and instead split the model to examine the predictors of work-family conflict and absenteeism separately. They found that supportive supervision and satisfaction with child care arrangements were

significantly related to lower work-family conflict, and lower work-family conflict was related to lower absenteeism. Surprisingly, they found that supportive supervision was weakly related to higher absenteeism.

The models that address dependent care issues tend to be fairly narrow in scope, however, other models that have been developed tend to focus either on the more general concept of work-family conflict which was reviewed earlier or specific work related factors. This is the case with Brett and Yogev's (1988) model that considers the effect of a married couple's characteristics (i.e., family stage, number of children, the use of paid help, and financial power) along with his and her work and nonwork factors on the level of his and her work restructuring. Not surprisingly the study found that both men and women are restructuring work to accommodate family, although women restructure more than men do, and that restructuring is systematically related to conditions of work and nonwork.

Grover (1991) studied perceptions of the fairness of a hypothetical parental leave policy and attitudes toward parental leave takers. Specifically, he considered the effects of one's attitudes toward women, gender, whether or not one has children or is of childbearing age, and the likelihood of having children and taking a parental leave. The study, which supported social justice theory, found that individuals who would either benefit directly from parental leave or who were

similar to those who would benefit perceived the parental leave policy as more fair, and held more positive attitudes toward leave takers than those who would not benefit and were not similar to leave takers (Grover, 1991). While these types of studies provide very limited insight on the relationship between work and family, they do not offer a comprehensive theory. One exception is a recently developed model that considers the effect of individual and organizational contextual influences on the work and family orientations, and the work and family outcomes of employed caregivers (Kossek & DeMarr, 1996).

That model holds that the characteristics of the employed caregiver (i.e., household employment configuration, gender, job characteristics, and access to familial care) and the characteristics of the dependent(s) (i.e., relationship to the caregiver, living arrangements, time spent on care, and limitations in activities of daily living) determine an individual's orientation toward the management of the boundaries between work and family, and influence the employee's perception of the attractiveness of family supportive policies. This perception is also influenced by variables indicative of the work context (e.g., formal family supportive policies, organizational climate regarding work and family integration, and peer and supervisor social support). How attractive an employee views various policies influences his/her decision to use a benefit. An individual's orientation

toward work and family boundary management (i.e., whether s/he prefers to segment or integrate work and family) and an employee's use of a benefit determine his/her perceived level of work-family conflict which in turn influences both psychological and behavioral work and family outcomes. Psychological outcomes include things such as organizational commitment, turnover intent, burnout, life and satisfaction, and depression. Behavioral outcomes include: turnover, absenteeism, work quality, willingness to accept work assignments, substance abuse, and withdrawal. While this model has yet to be tested it does hold promise as a link between the work-family conflict and dependent care literatures.

### Dependent Care Preferences and Needs.

The remaining studies in the area of dependent care have primarily considered employees' preferences and need for dependent care assistance, and the effectiveness of specific programs. Overall these studies have shown that employees' needs are diverse, multifaceted, and changing (Kossek, 1990) and suggest that demographic characteristics may also play a role in employee preferences. Women are more likely to prefer job sharing or part time work (Kossek, 1990; Kossek, et al, 1993), while men are more likely to prefer referral services (Kossek, et al, 1993). Overall employees often rank sick care as the most desirable form of employer sponsored assistance (Kossek, 1990; Kossek, et al, 1993). One study also found that

is highly ranked near-site child care as onor employer-sponsored form of care, especially among single parents (Kossek, 1990). Other studies have found that onsite day care is unrelated to performance (Kossek & Nichol, 1992), and does not reduce work-family conflict (Goff, et al, 1990) or absenteeism (Goff, et al, 1990, Kossek & Nichol, 1992). Kossek and Nichol (1992) concluded that child care benefits, such as onsite day care, provide the most help in attracting and retaining employees. They did, however, note the presence of a "frustration effect" for people on a waiting list for onsite care that involved the lowering of their perceptions of the fairness and attractiveness of employer sponsored child care.

In the area of eldercare, research tends to focus predominantly on the impact of caregiving on the caregiver's well-being and employment (cf. Barnes, Given, & Given, 1992; Brody, Kleban, Johnsen, Hoffman, & Schoonover, 1987; George & Gwyther, 1986; Pratt, Schmall, & Wright; 1987; Scharlach & Boyd, 1989; Stone, Cafferata, & Sangl, 1987), the types of programs offered by employers (cf. Sullivan & Gilmore, 1991), and employee preferences for employer-sponsored assistance programs (cf. Anastas, et al, 1990; Scharlach & Boyd, 1989; Sizemore & Jones, 1990). Specifically, Scharlach and Boyd (1989) found that a majority of caregivers experienced emotional, physical, and financial strain and some degree of conflict between work and family as a result of their

caregiving responsibilities. Similarly, Brody, et al (1987) found that among daughters who were caring for an elderly parent, those who either had quit, considered quitting, or reduced their hours of work to provide care had the most impaired elders and experienced the most lifestyle disruptions and caregiving strain.

George and Gwyther (1986) found that caregivers have substantially more stress symptoms and considerably lower levels of affect balance and life satisfaction, and are less able to pursue social activities at preferred levels. Pratt, et al (1987), focusing on the ethical concerns of family caregivers to dementia patients, reported that caregivers were concerned with the ethical dilemmas arising from conflicts between caregiving and other commitments to family, career, or personal well-being. Evidence of competing demands that resulted in the caregivers having to alter their work schedules in some fashion was also found by Stone, et al (1987). Based on the existing research it appears that providing care for an elder dependent is likely to have an impact on employees. Unfortunately, the current research merely scratches the surface.

This is also true in the study of employee needs and preferences for employer-sponsored eldercare assistance programs. Studies typically find the programs most favored by employees providing eldercare are flexible hours, family illness hours, and information or referral services (cf.

Anastas, et al, 1990; Scharlach & Boyd, 1989). Kossek, et al, (1993) found that employees ranked sick care assistance (i.e., improved leave policies for care of elder dependents), a companion program (i.e., home visitors organized by the employer), and eldercare referral assistance to be the top three options for employer-sponsored eldercare assistance programs. Sizemore and Jones (1990) found that the topics for informational seminars most desired by employees were: legal considerations, coping with mental illness in the older relative, changes as a relative grows older, and family decision making. While these studies identify some general needs, they do not address what types of employees are more likely to prefer certain types of programs.

Overall the dependent care research, both child and elder, is more applied than theoretical in nature. While practitioners may find it helpful to some extent, a more holistic approach is needed to fully capture the intricacies of the work-family nexus and bridge the gap between the work-family conflict and dependent care literatures. This study attempts to fill gaps and overcome deficiencies in the existing work-family and dependent care literatures by developing and testing competing models of the relationship between an employee's work and non-work characteristics, and his/her attitudes toward employer-sponsored benefits and perceptions of work productivity.

#### CHAPTER THREE

#### MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

As noted in the introduction, the work-family and dependent care literatures have not been integrated, and a comprehensive model that includes both predictors and outcomes of work and family stress has yet to be developed and tested, leaving gaps in the existing literature. The general research question that this dissertation seeks to answer is whether the relationship between an employee's work and characteristics, and his/her attitudes toward employersponsored benefits and perceptions of negative productivity is direct, or fully or partially mediated by the amount of stress experienced.

#### MODELS OF THE ROLE OF STRESS IN EMPLOYER ATTITUDES

Three competing models have been developed and will be tested to determine which model provides the best fit. The first, the no-mediation model (Figure 1a) shows only direct effects from variables in each domain to domain specific outcome variables. In other words, family and dependent care characteristics will influence attitudes toward benefits, but productivity, not perceptions of work while work characteristics will influence perceptions of work productivity but not attitudes toward benefits. Implicit in this model is the assumption that the work and family domains are segmented and do not influence one another. The second,

Figure 1a. No-Mediation Model.

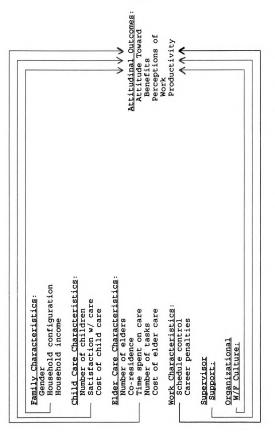


Figure 1b. Full-Mediation Model.

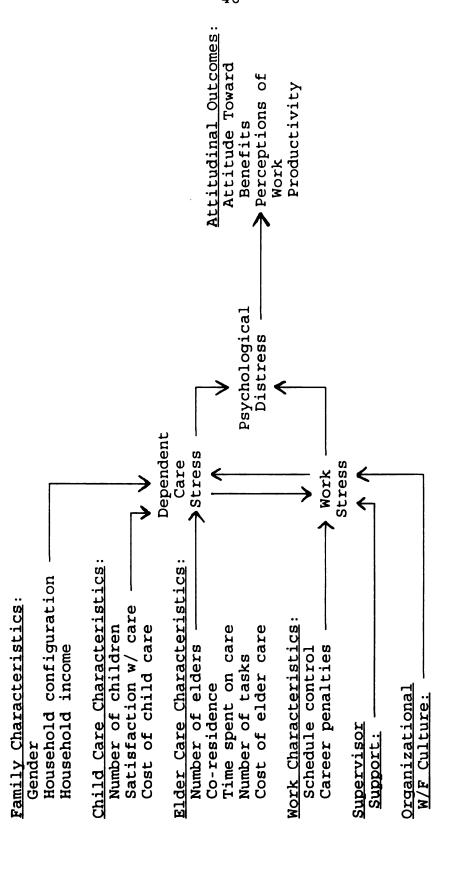
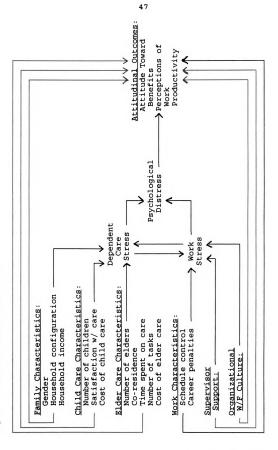


Figure 1c. Partial-Mediation Model.



the full mediation model (Figure 1b) shows only indirect effects on the outcome variables through the stressvariables. Thus, stress is the cross-over point between the work and family domains. The third, the partial-mediation model (Figure 1c) shows an employee's work and non-work characteristics having both direct and indirect effects on the outcome variables. Both the full- and partial-mediation models are grounded in spillover theory which holds that the work and family domains influence one another.

In addition to considering whether a no-mediation, full-mediation, or partial mediation model best explains the relationship between the variables, this dissertation will also evaluate the impact of the individual variables in the models. Thus, each variable included in the models is discussed below and competing hypotheses are presented for each of the three models.

### Family Characteristics:

### Gender

Gender has long been one of the most studied variables in both the work-family and dependent care literatures. Typically, research has shown that women spend more time on family responsibilities (Galinsky, 1989; Pleck, 1985), and experience more role conflict (Wiersma, 1990) and work-family conflict (Glass & Camarigg, 1992) than men. Demands of the home have been found to affect women more strongly than men, regardless of their employment status (Broman, 1991).

Similarly, spillovers of distress and fatigue from work to family, and from family to work have been reported to be stronger for women than for men (Williams & Alliger, 1994). Stress, however, may manifest itself in different ways for men and women.

Jick and Mitz (1985) found that women are more likely to experience psychological and emotional stress, while men are more likely to suffer from physical illness. Indeed, women have been found to be less likely to hold favorable attitudes toward managing work and family responsibilities (Kossek, 1990; Kossek & Nichol, 1992), however, merely being female did not directly predict absence (Kossek, 1990). It is interesting to note, however, that being female was negatively related to supervisor perceptions of child care related absenteeism (Kossek & Nichol, 1992). This suggests that traditional notions that women are less reliable employees due to family obligations are alive and well despite research to the contrary.

Wolf & Soldo (1994) found that among employed married women, caring for an elderly parent is not associated with any reduction in hours of work. In other words, married women who accept parental care responsibilities do not make compensating reductions in their hours of paid work. Finley (1989) found that while females are more involved in elder caregiving than males, males do feel responsible to take care of their elderly parents but they do not actually fulfill this responsibility

to the extent that females do. It is also important to note that differences in levels of education and working status did not account for those differences (Finley, 1989). One study (Anastas, et al, 1990) that used a rather broad definition of caregiving found that although 48% of elder care providers were male, women provided nearly twice as many hours of care per week as men and reported more strain.

Women are significantly more likely to restructure their work to accommodate family needs than men (Brett & Yogev, 1988). Specifically, flexible work arrangements are far more likely to be utilized by female than male employees (Mattis, 1990). Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1994) arque that wives' work accommodations tend to be ongoing, whereas husbands' accommodations represent "special arrangements" to acute family stresses. When men do make work accommodations they may not be as obvious as women's. It has been reported that many men do take time off from work after the birth of a child, but they do so by piecing together other forms of leave (e.g., vacation, personal leave, sick leave) that they see as more acceptable (Pleck, 1989, cited in Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989). This suggests that impression management tactics may color employer perceptions of the true impact of family and dependent care responsibilities on their employees.

In a study of gender differences in work-family conflict Duxbury & Higgins (1991) found some support both for Pleck's (1977) theory of asymmetrically permeable role boundaries for

as well as Hall's (1972) concept and women, simultaneous (for women) versus sequential (for men) role Specifically, the relationship between demands. involvement and work-family conflict was stronger among women and the relationship between family involvement and workfamily conflict was stronger for men. This suggests that high levels of involvement in nontraditional roles is problematic for men and women in dual career families. Significant gender differences were also found in the relationship between work conflict and family conflict in that men were more likely to allow work conflict to spill over into the home environment (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991). Significant differences were also found in the relationship between family expectations and family conflict, leading Duxbury and Higgins (1991) conclude that work and family roles are not mutually supportive for women and that women have less control given the same demands as they relate to family.

Conversely, there were no gender differences in the relationship between work expectations and work conflict, which suggests that men and women in managerial or professional jobs are more similar (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991). Similarly, there were no gender differences between work involvement and work conflict, and family involvement and family conflict (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991). In other words, women were not more likely to have a higher relationship between family involvement and family conflict than men, and

men were not more likely to have a higher relationship between work involvement and work conflict than women. For the most part, the gender differences found by Duxbury and Higgins (1991) were attributed to societal expectations and behavioral norms.

While traditional gender role stereotypes have in large part been supported by research, the results of some studies suggest that the differences may not be as great as once thought. Gutek, et al (1991) found no support for the hypothesis that women would report more FIW than men and men would report more WIF than women. As part of a larger study of the relationship between work and family stressors and psychological distress, Frone, Russell, and Cooper (1991) conducted a set of exploratory moderated regression analyses to examine whether gender influenced the magnitude of the relationship and found that none of the stressor by gender interactions were statistically significant. Similarly, Rice, Frone, and McFarlin (1992) found that gender did not moderate the relationship between work-family conflict and family satisfaction, job satisfaction, and leisure satisfaction.

The conflicting results with respect to gender differences may be a result of the types of studies done and/or the assumptions made. Much of the existing research has only studied women (cf. Brody, et al, 1987; Katz & Piotrkowski, 1983; Rosin & Korabik, 1990; Schwartzberg & Dytell, 1988; Williams, et al, 1991; Wolf & Soldo, 1994) or

organizations that have a high proportion of women such as hospitals (cf. Kossek & Nichol, 1992). The conflicting results may also be a result of the way variables are defined and/or stereotypes that people in our society hold, whether conscious or subconscious. This is especially true in the case of elder care research where the statistics that show a larger proportion of women proving care may be due to definitions of care that focus on personal care (Anastas, et al, 1990) or a man's view that providing assistance for an elderly person is simply "helping out", as opposed to "eldercare".

Some research also suggests men are and will be doing more with respect to family responsibilities. While women historically have been more likely to have a larger burden of direct care even if they do work, there appears to be a value shift in our culture toward greater family involvement by men (Pleck, 1985) and a shift toward more egalitarian attitudes and a corresponding movement away from beliefs in traditional roles for men and women (Deaux, 1985). It has also been noted that as children get older fathers often tend to become increasingly involved in family responsibilities (Galinsky, 1991). In two studies at DuPont, Rodgers and Rodgers (1989) found that men's reports of certain family-related problems nearly doubled from 1985 to 1988. Indeed, the more that men take on the responsibility for balancing work and family life the more likely they are to report higher levels of depression and stress (Burden & Googins, 1986).

Although values are beginning to shift and men are beginning to take on a larger proportion of family responsibilities, it is believed that at this point women still shoulder the majority of dependent care responsibilities. Thus, the following hypotheses are offered for the no-mediation (NM), full-mediation (FM), and partial-mediation (PM) models respectively.

- H 1-NM: Gender will have only a direct effect on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. Women will have more favorable attitudes toward family-friendly benefits than men.
- H 1-FM: Gender will have only indirect effects through stress. Women will experience more dependent care stress than men.
- H 1-PM: Gender will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

### Household Configuration

There has been limited research on the effect of household employment configuration on work-family stress and dependent care issues. This is in spite of calls for a greater focus from both researchers and organizations on family structure (Schneer & Reitman, 1993). The research that does consider household employment configuration tends to focus specifically on the types and levels of work-family conflict in dual-career or dual-income families (cf. Brett & Yogev, 1988; Falkenberg & Monachello, 1990; Greenhaus, 1988; Higgins, et al, 1992) or considers the effect of spousal support (cf. Granrose, Parasuraman, & Greenhaus, 1992; Greenhaus &

Parasuraman, 1994; Schwartzberg & Dytell, 1988). With few exceptions (cf. Higgins & Duxbury, 1992; Strickland, 1992) researchers typically don't consider differences among and within dual career and traditional (two-parents with a nonworking spouse) households. This also true for single parent and single person households. With the exception of Schneer and Reitman (1993), studies that examine differences involving alternative family structures are almost nonexistent. This is surprising given the considerable media and public attention that has been devoted to the decline in the number of two-parent households in our society.

Research on dual career or dual income families has generally shown that when wives are employed, the percentage of housework and child care done by the husbands increases not due to his doing more work, rather it is a result of the wife spending less time in housework than before and less time than her non-employed counterparts (Pleck, 1985). This is supported by Barnett and Baruch's (1987) finding that fathers spent more proportional interaction time, performed more child-care tasks alone, and did more feminine home chores when their wives were however, with total interaction time employed, as the dependent variable the only significant predictor was the number of hours the wife worked. Aryee (1992) also found the greater the hours worked by the spouse, the more job-parent conflict.

In general there are two opposing views on the impact of

dual career status on work-family conflict. The first is that it generally has a negative impact. Higgins and Duxbury (1992) in a study comparing dual career and traditional family men, found the relationships between work conflict and family conflict, and work-conflict and work-family conflict were significantly stronger for men in dual-career families. Wife's employment has also been found to be significantly negatively related to husband's job satisfaction and quality of life (Parasuraman, Greenhaus, Rabinowitz, Bedeian, & Mossholder, 1989), as well as quality of work life (Higgins & Duxbury, 1992). Parasuraman, et al (1989) found that husbands of employed women were also less satisfied with child care arrangements than were husbands of housewives. In contrast, Goff, et al (1990) found that employees whose spouse cared for the children did not experience less work-family conflict and absenteeism than those whose spouse was employed and child care occurred outside the home.

A second view posits that advantages associated with having a working spouse results in a weaker relationship between family conflict and work-family conflict (Higgins & Duxbury, 1992). One of the advantages is an increased family income which affords both spouses more career autonomy and independence since the responsibility for providing for the family does not rest entirely on one person. Rosin (1990) concluded that wives' income allowed husbands the option to leave unsatisfactory employment, reject excessive demands for

travel or overtime, refuse disruptive relocations, participate in high risk startup ventures, or start their own businesses. Another advantage that dual career status may afford both partners is that the more they become involved in nontraditional roles the greater their opportunity for gratification and the better able they are to cope.

Lambert (1991) found limited support for the contention that family responsibilities play a major role in determining the work responses of both men and women. The study found that characteristics of the spouse's employment did influence work responses of both men and women although in different ways. The number of hours a spouse spends in paid employment was positively related to job involvement for men, however it was negatively related to job involvement for women. In contrast, the presence or absence of a husband was not a significant predictor of role strain among employed black women (Katz & Piotrkowski, 1983). It may be that the relationship between spousal employment and work-family conflict is moderated by the level of support one receives from his/her spouse.

Spousal support can be either emotional (i.e., moral support) or physical (i.e., help with housework or dependent care). Emotional support is especially important in dual-career marriages because stressful work events tend to carry over into family life through "negative emotional spillover" (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Studies that have considered the effects of spousal support have found positive effects on

family satisfaction (Parasuraman, Greenhaus, & Granrose, 1992) in that the more spousal support, the less job-spouse and job-parent conflict (Aryee, 1992). Lack of spousal support is significantly correlated with lower self-esteem among employed women (Schwartzberg & Dytell, 1988).

Monachello (1990), acknowledging Falkenberg and differences within dual-earner households, hypothesized that spouses in dual-career households will exhibit similar levels of work-family involvement and that men in dual-career households will provide more support to their wives than men in dual-income households. Strickland (1992) argues that instead of a simple dichotomy (e.q., housewife vs. career wife), wives' achievement roles actually comprise a continuum from lesser to greater direct achievement. It follows that there would also be a range in the need for organizational supports, child care and housekeeping needs, marital power structures, and degrees of role conflict and overload (Strickland, 1992).

While there appear to be differences within two-earner families related to the amount of spousal support, this study instead focuses on the differences between family structures, as it is believed that these differences are more substantial. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of research on the effects of alternative family structures work-family conflict and dependent care. One small exploratory study found that single parents and dual career parents were more likely to experience

problems with their eldercare arrangements, hold less favorable attitudes toward managing work and eldercare, and be absent more than two-parent households with only one spouse working or households without child dependents (Kossek, et al, 1993). While the results of that study were not highly significant, they do suggest that a variety of family structures should be studied.

Schneer and Reitman (1993) have proposed a threedimensional family structure topology with dimensions for marital status, parental status, and the employment status of the spouse. Combinations of the dimensions allow for six different family structures: (1) single, no children; (2) single, children; (3) married, no children, one income; (4) married, no children, dual-income; (5) married, children, one (6) married, children, dual-income. Using their income; topology, Schneer and Reitman (1993) found that family structure was related to both income and career satisfaction for both men and women. Specifically, they found that men in post-traditional families are less rewarded than men traditional families, but this was not true for women (Schneer & Reitman, 1993). This suggests that men are still expected to fit the traditional managerial model. If this is true, a logical extension in the area of work-family conflict is that dual-earner households will experience more work-family conflict than traditional households. This is consistent with the contention that members of two-earner families, one-parent families, and families with young children are likely to experience work-family conflict and job tension (Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985; Voydanoff, 1988b; Voydanoff & Kelly, 1984).

Although there has not been significant empirical research on the impact of single parent status on work-family conflict, it is expected that single parents will experience the highest levels of work-family conflict. This is due to having to shoulder the burden of household responsibilities and dependent care without the benefits of physical or emotional spousal support discussed earlier. Indeed, Kossek (1990) concluded that single parents appear to be a special employee group that is high on child care assistance needs. Clearly, a major shortcoming in the work-family and dependent care literatures is the lack of attention given to household configuration. Based on the preceding review, the following hypotheses are offered:

- H 2-NM: Household configuration will have direct effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. Single parents, and those in dual earner families will have more favorable attitudes toward benefits than those with a nonworking spouse or single persons.
- H 2-FM: Household configuration will have only indirect effects through stress. Single parents will experience the most dependent care stress, followed by those in a dual-earner families. Persons with a nonworking spouse and single persons will experience the least dependent care stress.
- H 2-PM: Household configuration will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of work productivity.

#### Income

Income is another understudied variable as it relates to work-family conflict, even though an adequate income appears to be integral to a fulfilling family life (Piotrkowski & Katz, 1982; Pleck, 1985). The level of disposable income available in a household will clearly be affected by the amount of money spent on dependent care. Low-income families spend a much greater proportion of their budgets on child care than wealthier families do, often as much as they pay for housing (Hofferth, 1988). In 1992, 14.5% of the people in the United States were below the poverty level, which for a family of four was \$14,335 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). According to Ellen Galinsky of the Families and Work Institute, those who pay a higher proportion of their family income for child care have more conflict (Solomon, 1994).

Conceptually this can be extended to additional expenses associated with eldercare. One study found that 54% of respondents with eldercare responsibilities reported some degree of financial strain associated with their caregiving responsibilities (Scharlach & Boyd, 1989). Barnes, et al (1992) found that currently employed caregiver daughters had more personal and material resources in terms of money, than did other groups of caregiving daughters. Similarly, Brody, et al, (1987) found that women who had quit work due to eldercare responsibilities had lower family incomes and received the least amount of paid help. Stone, et al (1987) also found that

eldercaregivers who shared care responsibilities with paid helpers reported higher incomes than those who did not.

Higher household incomes also allow for additional flexibility in dealing with dependent care issues and strains, which should help the caregivers to better cope with their dependent care responsibilities. For example, an individual who is experiencing considerable stress related to their elder or child care responsibilities can hire a babysitter or nurse/companion to allow them some time away, provided they can afford it. Higher income may also reflect flexibility in scheduling where and when the work gets done. In other words, individuals in higher income jobs are less likely to have to "punch a clock", and more likely to have work that can be made up by taking work home or coming in early or staying late than lower income jobs. Indeed after using management versus nonmanagement status to tap the concept of flexibility, Kossek (1990) concluded that using salary data might be a better indicator of the level and importance of an employee's position, the probable freedom to juggle one's schedule for care, and the amount of resources the employee has with which to purchase quality care.

Based on that rationale, the following hypotheses are offered.

H 3-NM: Household income will have direct effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. The lower an individual's household income the more favorable his/her attitudes toward employer-sponsored benefits.

H 3-FM: Household income will have indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits through stress. The higher an individual's household income the less dependent care stress.

H 3-PM: Household income will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceived work productivity.

# Child Care Characteristics:

# Number of Children Under Age 14

In 1993, 35% of all households in the United States had children under age 18 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). Research has shown that parents experience conflict between work and family more often than other workers (Pleck, Staines, & Lang, 1980), and the greater the parental demands the more job-parent conflict (Aryee, 1992). Larger families are likely to place more demands on a person's time than small families (Cartwright, 1978; Keith & Schafer, 1980), and result in more strain (Katz & Piotrkowski, 1983). These findings are likely associated with the additional time required by additional children. This is consistent with Barnett and Baruch's (1987) finding that fathers' individual and proportional interaction time with the children was greater when there were more children in the family.

One study found that each child under age six reduced weekly hours of work by about four and one half, while children age 6-12 reduced hours of work by about three per week (Wolf & Soldo, 1994). Logically, the more children a person has, the more visits to the doctor and dentist, and the

more school and social events to attend or for which to provide transportation. Having more children also increases the likelihood of having to make multiple dependent care arrangements which has been hypothesized to have a negative influence on the problems with child care arrangements experienced by a parent (Kossek, 1990). The greater the likelihood of having to deal with multiple child care arrangements, the greater the likelihood of subsequent breakdowns in those arrangements.

There is, however, some level of disagreement in the literature on the relationship of family size to work-family conflict. Goff, et al (1990) found the number of children under age five was not significantly related to the level of work-family conflict. Similarly, Lobel and St. Clair (1992) found that neither increasing numbers of children nor the presence of preschoolers had a significant direct effect on work effort. The presence and number of children in the household may have other effects as well.

Kirchmeyer (1992) found that time spent in parenting was significantly positively related to both job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Conversely, Lambert (1991) found the effects of the number of children, presence of children, and the age of the youngest child in the household to be nonsignificant in relation to job involvement, job satisfaction, and intrinsic motivation. While it appears there are some potential work-related benefits of having children,

based on the literature I argue that when considering the relationship between number of children under age 14 in the household, and the level of stress and one's views toward benefits, that the relationship will be positive.

- H 4-NM: The number of children under age 14 will have a direct effect on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. The more children one has the more favorable one's attitudes toward benefits.
- H 4-FM: The number of children under age 14 will have only indirect effects through stress. The more children for whom one is responsible the higher the dependent care stress.
- H 4-PM: The number of children under age 14 will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

#### Satisfaction with Care

While there is not a tremendous amount of research on a working parent's satisfaction with child care arrangements, the research that has been done has produced fairly consistent results. In short, a person who is less satisfied with their child care arrangements can reasonably expect to have it affect them at work. Rosin and Korabik (1990) reported that women MBAs who had left paid employment cited difficulty finding good quality child care as a reason for leaving. Goff, et al (1990) found that employees who were more satisfied with the quality of their child's care experienced less work-family conflict.

Problems with child care arrangements have been found to be significantly negatively related to holding favorable attitudes toward managing work and child care responsibility (Kossek & Nichol, 1992). Problems with child care arrangements may be more common with younger children who are not yet in school all day. While school age children might need before and after school care depending on their age, the fact is that schools provide adult supervision for children for a large part of the day. Rosin and Korabik (1990) found women MBAs who had left paid employment and those working part time were most likely to be married, with multiple preschoolers, and husbands in the top income bracket. The heavy demands associated with the rearing of preschool children were the most important determinants of the career decisions made by these women (Rosin & Korabik, 1990).

Based on the literature the following hypotheses are offered.

- H 5-NM: The degree to which an employee is satisfied with child care arrangements will be directly related to his/her attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. Individuals who are less satisfied with their child care arrangements will have more favorable attitudes toward benefits.
- H 5-FM: Satisfaction with child care arrangements will have only indirect effects through stress. Those who are less satisfied will experience more dependent care stress and have more favorable attitudes toward benefits and perceive themselves as less productive due to their personal responsibilities.
- H 5-PM: Satisfaction with child care arrangements will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

# Cost of Child Care

The cost of child care is likely to vary dramatically depending on the source of care (e.g., relative vs. formal daycare facility), as well as the geographic region of the country. As was noted in the discussion of the income variable, those who pay a higher proportion of their family income for child care have more conflict (Solomon, 1994). Although it might be argued that the more one spends on child care the higher the quality of the care, it could also be argued that low or no cost child care (i.e., familial care) is of higher quality. Since research has not specifically addressed the issue of the relationship between the cost of child care, the amount of stress one experiences, and subsequently the degree to which an employee needs or values employer-sponsored dependent care benefits, the following hypotheses are offered based on the premise that the higher the cost of child care the more of a burden it becomes.

- H 6-NM: The cost of child care will be directly related to attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. Employees who incur higher costs for child care will have more favorable attitudes toward benefits.
- H 6-FM: The cost of child care will have an indirect effect on attitudes toward benefits through stress. Those who incur higher costs for child care will experience more dependent care stress and subsequently have more favorable attitudes toward benefits and perceive themselves as less productive due to their personal responsibilities.
- H 6-PM: The cost of child care will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

# Elder Care Characteristics:

### Number of Elders

Unlike the child care research that shows both positive and negative employment-related outcomes associated with minor dependents, the research on eldercare overwhelmingly finds only negative outcomes. When caring for an infant or child, the future holds promise of a gradual reduction in dependency, while caring for an impaired older person typically presages continuing or increasing dependence (Brody, 1985). It has also been said that eldercare needs may be more complex than child care (Friedman, 1990) and that for many women, parent care is not a single time-limited episode in the life course (Brody, 1985). For some time now there has been a common myth that children in the U.S. are more self-centered today and do not provide the same level of care for their elders that they once did. The fact is that nowadays adult children provide more care and more difficult care to more parents over much longer periods of time than they did in the "good old days" (Brody, 1985). Surprisingly, only 22% of people over 85 are in nursing homes (Winfield, 1987), and it has been estimated that for every elderly person in a nursing home there are at least two others with an equivalent level of disability that are not institutionalized (Brody, 1985). Approximately 80% of their care is provided by members of their family (U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1985-86).

The negative consequences of caregiving for the

caregivers themselves include: the emotional stresses of coming to terms with the changing role and capability of the older person; the restrictions on time and freedom; economic burdens, including loss or curtailment of employment; and detrimental effects on the caregiver's marital, family, and social relationships (Horowitz, 1985). In a study of spouses and adult children with and without siblings, all caregiver groups reported a negative impact on health, reported receiving less affective support, and expressed feelings of abandonment over time (Barnes, et al, 1992). A study by Pratt, et al (1987) reported that 29% of caregivers identified ethical dilemmas that arose from conflicts between caregiving and obligations to family, career, or personal well-being. George and Gwyther (1986) found that caregivers average nearly three times as many stress symptoms as noncaregivers from community-based samples, and are less able to pursue social activities as preferred levels. In addition to their caregiving responsibilities, many caregivers are employed outside of the home.

Overall, employees who are assisting an elder dependent are likely to experience increased stress and related health problems, less leisure time, greater work-family conflict, and more frequent instances of coming in late and leaving early (Galinsky, 1991). Scharlach and Boyd (1989) found that 23% of nearly 2000 respondents of an employee survey were assisting an elderly person. Caregivers were more likely to experience

interference between their jobs and family responsibilities and were more likely to miss work than the noncaregivers. Specifically, 80% reported some degree of emotional strain, 60% cited physical strain, 54% identified financial strain, and 40% reported interference with their work activities as a result of their caregiving responsibilities (Scharlach & Boyd, 1989). Similarly, in a study among working women, 58% reported that parent care made them miss work, 47% reported work interruptions, 18% said it made them lose pay, 17% indicated it robbed them of the energy to do their work well, 15% had limited their job choices, and 17% said caregiving made them wish they did not work (Brody, et al, 1987). Employees with responsibility for the oldest old (age 85 and older) must also contend with the length, diversity, and intensity of their needs (Friedman, 1986).

The 1982 National Long-Term Care Survey by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reported that 31% of all caregivers were employed outside of the home (Stone, et al, 1987). While many may assume that working caregivers spend less time on eldercare, studies have indicated that employment status is not related to the overall amount of help provided to elderly persons (Brody, 1981). The amount of time spent on eldercare varies considerably. Surveys have reported that on average employees who provide eldercare assistance spend from as little as six to ten hours per week (Azarnoff and Scharlach, 1988) to as much as four hours per day, seven days

a week (Stone, et al, 1987; U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau, 1986). Scharlach (1987) found that employed daughters did not provide significantly less contact and assistance than those daughters who were not employed. Among caregivers in the 1982 national survey, 9% had quit work to provide care, and of those who were working outside of the home, 20% were conflicted, 21% worked fewer hours, 29% rearranged their schedule, and 19% took time off without pay (Stone, et al, 1987). Bunting (1989) proposed that caregivers facing increased requirements for care of an older family member will, when choosing between this dependent care and care of themselves, perform fewer self-care actions.

Despite the aging population, the number of working caregivers, and the potential impact on the business community, relatively little empirical research has been done on the effects on employees of caring for elder dependents. Not only has there been little interest in this area in the academic community, there has also been little interest shown by the business community with relatively few U.S. employers having formally addressed the issue of employees' needs concerning eldercare. A survey of personnel executives revealed that 70% believed that some percentage of their employees were affected by eldercare, yet most of these employers had done little or nothing to help employees who have eldercare responsibilities (Magnus, 1988). Overall, companies have identified excessive stress and physical

complaints, and a decrease in productivity and quality of work as problems for employees providing eldercare (Friedman, 1986). More specifically, employers have cited: absenteeism, tardiness, visible signs of stress, excessive phone calls, unavailability for overtime work, requests for reduced hours, turnover, health problems, decreased quality of work and increased work accidents as problems related to eldercare responsibilities (Bureau of National Affairs, 1989).

The problems that have been cited by employers thus far may only be the tip of the iceberg. Since most of the growth in the female workforce involves comparatively younger women whose parents are not yet old enough to require daily assistance, the workplace has probably not yet felt the full effects of elder care problems (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989). It is also likely that over time employees will be providing assistance for multiple elderly dependents. As with the number of children for whom one is responsible, the number of elders for whom one is providing care is likely to influence the amount of time and the logistical complexity for the caregiver. Thus, it is believed that the relationship between the number of elder dependents and the level of family-stress will be positive.

- H 7-NM: The number of elders for whom one is providing care will have a direct effect on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. The more elders for whom one is providing care the more favorable one's attitudes toward benefits.
- H 7-FM: The number of elders for whom one is providing care will have only indirect effects through stress. The

more elders for whom one is providing care the higher the dependent care stress.

H 7-PM: The number of elders for whom one is providing care will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

# Co-Residence With Elder Dependents

Unlike the number of elders for whom one is providing care, research has considered the role of living arrangements, and in particular, living with an elder dependent. Overall, the research has shown that shared households are a strong predictor of strain (Brody, 1985). This is not to say that other living arrangements do not produce stress. For example, it has been reported that anxieties about final separation usually occur when a parent enters a nursing home (Shaw, 1987). However, caregivers who reside with their dependents are most likely to use psychotropic drugs, report the highest level of stress symptoms, significantly lower household incomes, and the lowest levels of affect, life satisfaction. and participation in and satisfaction with their social participation (George & Gwyther, 1986). This is likely a result of having to deal with the situation on a continuous basis. In other words, the caregivers can not simply go home for a break to get away from the caregiving situation.

Shared households may be more common than one may think. One study found that of adult children providing care for an elderly parent, 80% lived with their elderly parents (Barnes, et al, 1992). It has been suggested in the caregiver

literature that shared households become a more common phenomenon as the health of the older person deteriorates (Noelker and Poulshock, 1982; Troll, 1971). This is supported by the finding of Stone, et al (1987) of a positive relationship between the level of disability among elders and shared living arrangements. Assuming that shared households reflect poorer health of the elderly person and increased assistance required, combined with the more continuous nature of the care, it is expected that caregivers who live with the elderly person will experience a greater impact on their paid employment than those with other living arrangements.

- H 8-NM: Living with an elder dependent will have a direct effect on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. Those who live with an elder dependent will hold more favorable attitudes toward benefits.
- H 8-FM: Living with an elder dependent will have only indirect effects through stress. Those who live with an elder dependent will experience higher levels of dependent care stress than those who do not share a household.
- H 8-PM: Living with an elder dependent will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

# Time Spent on Care

The amount of time involved in providing care for an elder dependent can vary considerably. One caregiver may spend a few hours each week helping with household or financial matters while another may spend several hours each day providing meals and personal care. As noted earlier the average time spent providing eldercare assistance can vary

considerably (Azarnoff and Scharlach, 1988; Stone, et al, 1987; U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau, 1986). In one study of employed caregivers, the median amount of assistance given was six hours per week, with 6% of the respondents providing 40 hours per week or more (Scharlach & Boyd, 1989).

Another study of a group of married daughters providing care to their mothers found that over 50% had helped during only two or fewer days during the week prior to the survey, yet about 36% provided help all seven days of the pre-survey week indicating tremendous variability in the actual intensity of caregiving (Wolf & Soldo, 1994). Thus, it seems that even when living arrangements is included as a variable, that the time spent providing care to an elderly dependent must also be assessed to determine the impact of caregiving. Further, caregivers may be "on call" making adjusting the volume or timing of paid employment more difficult (Wolf & Soldo, 1994). Barnes and her colleagues (1992) reported that caregiver daughters who had terminated employment indicated that caregiving activities had a greater impact on their schedule than did daughters who had never been employed. Thus, the following hypotheses are offered.

- H 9-NM: The amount of time a caregiver spends providing care for an elder dependent will have a direct effect on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. The more time spent on caregiving the more favorable one's attitudes toward benefits.
- H 9-FM: The amount of time a caregiver spends providing care for an elder dependent will have only indirect effects through stress. The more time spent providing care the higher the dependent care

stress.

H 9-PM: The amount of time a caregiver spends providing care for an elder dependent will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

## Number of Tasks

The most frequently cited type of eldercare assistance is help with shopping and transportation (Stone, et al, 1987), however, there is also a great deal of variation in the type and number of tasks with which a caregiver may be assisting. A caregiver may be assisting with activities of daily living (ADLs) such as eating, dressing, bathing, toileting, transference, and mobility, as well as instrumental activities of daily living (IADLs) such as shopping, housecleaning, or transportation. A national study of caregivers found 80% helped with household tasks, 67% provided assistance with one or more personal hygiene functions, 46% assisted with indoor mobility, 50% administered medication, and 50% helped with financial matters (Stone, et al, 1987).

Clearly, the more tasks with which a caregiver is providing assistance the more time required, however, it is also believed that the more tasks the greater the perception of burden and the more stress experienced. George and Gwyther (1986) found the more serious the patient's symptoms, the lower the self-rated health, the higher the level of stress symptoms, and the less time the caregiver spends relaxing. Another study found that daughters who had terminated

employment were more involved in ADL tasks than were employed daughters (Barnes, et al, 1992). Similarly, Wolf and Soldo (1994) report that the number of ADL limitations reduce a woman's propensity to be employed, but do not deter her from providing parent care. Thus, the following is offered.

- H 10-NM: The number of tasks with which a caregiver is providing assistance will have a direct effect on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. The more tasks for which one is providing assistance the more favorable one's attitudes toward benefits.
- H 10-FM: The number of tasks with which a caregiver is providing assistance will have only indirect effects through stress. The more tasks the greater the dependent care stress.
- H 10-PM: The number of tasks with which a caregiver is providing assistance will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

#### Cost of Elder Care

While the caregiver's income is sometimes included as a variable in elder care research (cf. Barnes, et al, 1992; Stone, et al, 1987; Wolf & Soldo, 1994), most studies have not considered the additional expense incurred by caregivers. These costs can vary dramatically and can be substantial. One study reported that the amount of financial assistance provided by employed caregivers ranged from \$20 to \$3,000 per month, with a median of \$200 (Scharlach & Boyd, 1989). While the perception may be that the cost of eldercare is shouldered by either the elderly persons themselves or the government, 45% of the respondents in a study of employed caregivers were

providing direct financial assistance to their elder dependents (Scharlach & Boyd, 1989).

Providing financial assistance to elder dependents may result in financial strain on the caregivers. Scharlach and Boyd (1989) found that over half of the caregivers reported degree of financial strain associated with their caregiving responsibilities. In a study of the ethical concerns of family caregivers to dementia patients, discussed inequities in health care financing (Pratt, et al, 1987). It is believed that the greater the cost involved, the more stress experienced, and subsequently the more employees need and value employer-sponsored dependent benefits. This is supported by George and Gwyther's (1986) finding that a caregiver's household income and perceived economic status were related to the need for more social support. Thus, the following hypotheses are offered based on the premise that the higher the cost of elder care the more of a burden it becomes.

- H 11-NM: The cost of elder care will be directly related to attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. Employees who incur higher costs for elder care will have more favorable attitudes toward benefits.
- H 11-FM: The cost of elder care will have an indirect effect on attitudes toward benefits through stress. Those who incur higher costs for elder care will experience more dependent care stress and subsequently have more favorable attitudes toward benefits and perceive themselves as less productive due to their personal responsibilities.
- H 11-PM: The cost of elder care will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work

productivity.

#### Work Characteristics:

#### Schedule Control

In addition to the effects of individual and dependent care characteristics, it is believed that characteristics of the work situation also influence an employee's perceptions of stress. The first of which is characteristics of the job, specifically the amount of control one has over his/her work schedule. Work schedule inflexibility may create structural interference between work roles and family roles (Pleck, et al, 1980; Quinn & Staines, 1978).

Lack of flexibility in one's work schedule induces workfamily conflict in that it limits the time or freedom one has to attend to family matters (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, Granrose, Rabinowitz, & Beutell, 1989; Keith & Schafer, 1980; Pleck, et al, 1980). In developing a model of social support provided by two-earner couples, al (1992)hypothesized that schedule Granrose. et inflexibility would be negatively related to both instrumental and emotional support provided by wives and husbands. Glass and Camarigg (1992) found a significant negative relationship between flexibility and ease of work, and work-family conflict.

It has been suggested that the greatest stress may be caused by the rigidity of the work day and one's inability to handle emergencies, or to schedule needed appointments

(Friedman, 1990). In 1991, only 15.1% of all workers had schedules that allowed them to vary the time they begin and end their work day (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). What this does not reveal is how much flexibility one actually has in starting or ending his/her work day. In a study by Rodgers & Rodgers (1989), one-third to one-half of parents said they do not have the workplace flexibility to attend teacher conferences and important school events. In a study of employed black women, Katz and Piotrkowski (1983) found that autonomy was a much stronger predictor of family role strain than number of hours worked. Similarly, Aryee (1992) found the more task autonomy the less job-spouse, job-parent, and jobhomemaker conflict. Feelings of personal control, with respect to having the ability to choose when and how to complete an activity and having personal control over the activity, have been associated with higher levels of calmness and lower levels of distress (Williams & Alliger, 1994). Friedman (1990) reported that of all the benefit options or policy changes a company might contemplate, employees seem to overwhelmingly prefer ways to make their work schedules more flexible (i.e., large windows of start and stop times).

In the area of schedule control, the following hypotheses are offered.

H 12-NM: The amount of control one has over his/her schedule will have a direct effect on perceptions of work productivity. The more control one already has the less likely one is to perceive his/her productivity to be lower due to personal responsibilities.

- H 12-FM: The amount of control one has over his/her schedule will have only indirect effects through stress. Having more control will be related to lower levels of work stress.
- H 12-PM: The amount of control one has over his/her schedule will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

### Career Penalties

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) proposed that work-family conflict would be strongest when there are negative sanctions for noncompliance with role expectations. The basic premise is that if strong negative sanctions are absent, there will be less pressure to comply with role demands (Gross, Mason, & McEachern, 1958). For example, if employees perceive that they are likely to "get in trouble" with their boss for calling home to check on their children after school they have two basic choices - either make the call or not. If they make the call they are likely to do it in a covert manner to avoid trouble with the boss, which may leave them feeling quilty for not being up front. If they opt not to make the call they are likely to worry more about their children. Regardless of the choice they make their level of work stress is likely to be higher than if they could simply make a quick call without concern for any negative impact on their employment situation. While the Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) article is generally considered to be a seminal piece in the work-family conflict literature and is widely cited by others, research testing that particular proposition is scant. That may be due to a

reluctance on the part of organizations (and the researchers studying them) to leave themselves open to the possibility that employees may perceive the organization to be unsupportive.

The lack of research does not mean that employees do not believe that career penalties are real. One study that evaluated the effectiveness of flexible spending accounts and leave of absence program found a majority (75%) of the respondents felt that there was a subtle pressure not to take a leave of absence, and 40% felt that those who had taken a leave were less likely to get promoted than an equally qualified person who had not taken a leave (Kossek, et al, 1993). Thus, it should come as no surprise that only about 9% of the respondents had actually taken a leave under the program (Kossek, et al, 1993). This suggests that employee perceptions of career penalties do influence their behavior.

While they did not specifically consider employee perceptions of negative sanctions, Lobel and St. Clair (1992) did investigate the effects of family responsibilities and career identity salience on merit increases. They found that family-oriented women with preschoolers received higher merit increases than family-oriented men with preschoolers, and career-oriented women with preschoolers received lower merit increases than career-oriented men with preschoolers. This lead them to conclude that merit pay increases may be allocated on the basis of conformity to gender role

stereotypes (Lobel & St. Clair, 1992). In a similar vein, Powell and Mainiero (1992) suggested that the relationship between success in career and success in relationships with others may be positive when organizations place minimum constraints on women's opportunities for career success and offer programs that help working mothers to handle their family responsibilities, and negative when organizations place considerable constraints on women's opportunities and offer no such programs.

- H 13-NM: Employee perceptions of career penalties will have a direct effect on perceptions of work productivity. The more one perceives there to be career penalties the more likely one is to perceive his/her productivity to be lower due to personal responsibilities.
- H 13-FM: Employee perceptions of career penalties will have only indirect effects through stress. Perceptions of more penalties will be related to higher levels of work stress.
- H 13-PM: Employee perceptions of career penalties will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

# Supervisor Support

Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1994) identify three roles of social support in the stress process. The first is referred to as a "health sustaining" function which reflects a positive main effect of support on well-being. The second, identified as a "stress prevention" function, exhibits a negative main effect of support on the stressor in that social support reduces the environmental pressures that produce the stress in

the first place. The third, called the "buffering" function, reflects a moderating effect of support on the relationship between stress and well-being in that social support attenuates the negative relationship between stress and well-being, thereby protecting the individual from the severe consequences of stress. Research has found a negative association between perceived burden and social support (Zarit, Reever, & Bach-Peterson, 1980). More specifically as it relates to this study, a more negative work setting and less social support are significantly related to work-family conflict (Burke, 1988) in that low levels of leader support and interaction facilitation appear to produce work-family conflict (Jones & Butler, 1980).

It has been said that all the policies and programs in the world don't mean much to an employee who has to deal with an unsupportive boss (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989). Friedman (1986) maintains that midlevel management is often unaware that the company has identified a particular problem and is interested in a more compassionate response from supervisors. Thus, a boss may often be unsupportive because of mixed signals from above (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989). Even without mixed signals supervisors must simply be aware of formal With respect programs established programs. to organizations to provide assistance to employees with elder dependents, companies say that without that knowledge, managers might be reluctant to give employees the release time to participate in seminars, or the flexibility to take personal leave time, even though it is sanctioned by the company (Friedman, 1986).

Rodgers and Rodgers (1989) maintain that given the lack of government regulation dealing with work-family issues, we leave decisions about flexibility and the organization of work to individual companies, which means that the decisions of first-line managers in large part create our national family policy. Thus, even when there is no formal organization policy, work restructuring can and is being done informally, by agreement between employee and manager (Hall, 1989). Anastas and her colleagues (1990) found that many survey respondents received informal support in the workplace, with 54% reporting that their immediate supervisors knew of their caregiving responsibilities. Conversely, another study found that only 26% of respondents felt their supervisor supported a flexible spending account program, and only 25% perceived supervisor support for a leave of absence program (Kossek, et al, 1993).

Supportive coworker relationships have been found to be positively related to women's job satisfaction, and supportive supervision positively related to women's intrinsic motivation (Lambert, 1991). Galinsky (1988) maintains the relationship with the supervisor is a particularly important and powerful predictor of work-family problems. Taken to an extreme, a poor relationship with one's supervisor can ultimately lead to

turnover. Rosin and Korabik (1990) found the working relationship with supervisor was in fact a significant reason for women to leave employment.

While women tend to receive more co-worker support than men, both men and women have been found to receive similar levels of support from their supervisors (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1994). Such work support has significant main effects on the job satisfaction of both men and women (Parasuraman, et al, 1992). While on the surface it appears that supervisor support is highly desirable for employees, there may be other considerations. One study found that while supportive supervision was related to less work-family conflict, it was also related to increased absenteeism at a marginally significant level (Goff, et al, 1990). Further, not all studies have come to the same conclusions concerning the effects of supervisor support.

Frone, et al (1991) found that social support did not buffer the stressor-distress relationship. Similarly, Kossek and Nichol (1992) found the relationship between the amount of supervisor support for work-family conflict was not a significant predictor of an employee's attitude toward managing work and child care responsibilities. Despite these conflicting results, it is believed that overall there is an inverse relationship between supervisor support and work-family conflict. Thus, the following hypotheses are offered.

H 14-NM: Employee perceptions of supervisor support will have a direct effect on perceptions of work

productivity. The more one perceives his/her supervisor to be supportive the less likely one is to perceive his/her productivity to be lower due to personal responsibilities.

- H 14-FM: Employee perceptions of supervisor support will have only indirect effects through stress. Having a more supportive supervisor will be related to lower levels of work stress.
- H 14-PM: Employee perceptions of supervisor support will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

## Organizational Work-Family Culture

Just as a supervisor can be supportive about work-family issues, an organization's culture can also be supportive. Galinsky (1991) identifies three common stages in evolution of corporate responses to help employees balance their work and family lives. The first is termed "overcoming resistance", a stage in which organizations recognize child care as a legitimate business issue. The second stage is identified as "developing an integrated approach" where the focus on child care becomes broadened to include eldercare. The third stage is "mainstreaming work and family" where workfamily concerns are viewed as just another facet of diversity. In this final stage companies work to assure that the programs they have implemented are, in fact, utilized, and the culture change efforts begun are effective in permitting flexibility while retaining or enhancing productivity (Galinsky, 1991).

Organizations today vary considerably on how they see and deal with work-family issues. While some organizations are

willing to help but are uncertain how to respond to work-family issues, other organizations are unwilling to address work-family issues (Hall & Richter, 1988). Milliken, Dutton, and Beyer (1990) argue that the amount of organizational attention devoted to work-family issues, and the interpretation of current demographic trends (e.g., more working women with dependents) depends on the characteristics of the organizational context (e.g., managerial values), and on how work-family issues are framed.

Kossek, Dass, and DeMarr (1994) found three components of an overall management orientation or dominant logic of employer-sponsored child care. In other words, the reasons organizations adopt dependent care programs. The first component is "management control" which reflects the notion that providing dependent care assistance helps productivity, efficiency, and morale which results increased management control over workers. The component is termed "environmental" which basically amounts to organizations adopting programs to mimic what others who are considered to be "leading edge" are doing. The third component, termed "coercive", reflects the belief that organizations should only adopt dependent care programs when the government or society demands it. Kossek and her colleagues (1994) further found that the extent of adoption of employer-sponsored child care was positively related to the strength of human resource manager's own orientation toward employer-sponsored child care, and his/her interpretations of favorable executive attitudes toward employer-sponsored child care.

How work-family issues are framed by an organization is also an important factor to consider. Hall (1989) asserts that when top management's basic values and experiences are very much those of the traditional one-earner family with an enabling spouse (i.e., wife) at home, and when those values remain unexamined, true progress on the advancement of women and work-family issues will be blocked by top management. For example, when policies such as parental leave and part-time work are perceived as appropriate only for women, their use is accompanied by decreased opportunities for some types of advancement (Voydanoff, 1988a). Thus, the way an organization implements an option is likely to influence its acceptance (Kossek, et al, 1993). Although more employers are offering benefits to assist employees with dependent care responsibilities, when it comes to work-family balance corporate cultures are still largely inflexible (Solomon, 1994). Galinsky (1991) maintains that most company policies have been built on the assumption that there is a spouse at home to manage family responsibilities, and the common notion seems to be that competent workers can handle work-family problems and employees who can't manage them shouldn't work.

Miller, et al (1991) studied the differences between the perceptions of top managers and middle or supervisory managers

and found that the top managers, who were typically male and not personally involved in caregiving, believed that job performance was not significantly affected by dependent care responsibilities, and that firms have little responsibility in helping to alleviate the dependent care burdens of employees. Conversely, the middle and supervisory managers, who were predominately female and were personally involved in daily caregiving, believed that job performance was significantly influenced by dependent care responsibilities, and that firms do have a responsibility to help alleviate employees' dependent care burdens (Miller, et al, 1991). If a person's basic beliefs differ significantly from that of management, they may be more likely to keep those beliefs to themselves to appear to others to fit in. Wharton and Erickson (1993) have proposed that the more dissimilar the display norms emphasized at work and home, the higher the level of work-family conflict.

Organizations should therefore be able to help reduce the level of work-family conflict experienced by making their culture more family-friendly. The notion of an organization's culture being more family-friendly goes well beyond offering a few dependent care assistance programs. Greenhaus (1988) argued that organizations must also consider more fundamental changes in their structure, reward systems, and culture to be truly responsive to contemporary work-family issues. While current thought typically favors a greater integration of the

work and home domains, Hall and Richter (1988) argue that there is a greater need for separation of work and families, and that organizations need to legitimize the boundaries between work and home. Focusing on daily transitions between work and home, they maintain that an organization can make the transitions easier by things such as not scheduling breakfast meetings, and that boundaries can be legitimized by placing constraints on work-related phone calls (e.g., no calls between 5 & 7 pm or after 10 pm) and not expecting weekend travel (Hall & Richter, 1988).

While most of the current literature seems to favor either integration or segmentation of the work and family roles, Kossek and DeMarr (1996) argue that the appropriate approach depends on the individual, and propose that workfamily conflict will be higher when an individual's orientation does not fit with that of the organization. Basically, an employee's orientation toward work and family matters is just another aspect of diversity with some employees preferring to integrate, while others will prefer to segregate the work and family domains. Similarly, within an organization there is thought to be a climate regarding work and family integration which is reflected in the type of dependent care assistance programs that are offered.

Overall the culture within an organization can provide varying degrees of support for work-family issues. Thus, the following hypotheses are offered.

- H 15-NM: Employee perceptions of a supportive organization culture will have a direct effect on perceptions of work productivity. The more one perceives the culture to be supportive the less likely one is to perceive his/her productivity to be lower due to personal responsibilities.
- H 15-FM: Employee perceptions of a supportive organization culture will have only indirect effects through stress. The greater the extent to which an employee perceives the organization culture to be supportive the less work conflict will be experienced.
- H 15-PM: Employee perceptions of a supportive organization culture will have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity.

# <u>Dependent Care Stress</u>, <u>Work Stress</u>, <u>and Psychological</u> <u>Distress</u>.

People today seem to experience higher levels of stress than in the past. A survey of lifestyles reported that 81% of respondents suffered from stress at least once a week, and 48% reported feeling stressed every day (Stamp, 1989). Symptoms of stress can be physical (e.g., headaches and stomach problems) or mental (e.g., depression, fatigue, and irritability). Both work and family responsibilities have been identified as sources of stress in individuals (Stamp, 1989). Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) maintain the reason for this is that various work and family characteristics can place extensive time demands on an individual to participate in activities within one domain that can create role overload and conflict within that domain, and conflict with simultaneous demands in the other domain. For example, work demands can lead to work-conflict, which in turn can lead to family-conflict, and

family demands can lead to family-conflict, which can also spill over into the work place. Thus, the relationship between work conflict and family conflict is reciprocal, with the highest degree of work-family conflict occurring when pressures to participate in both roles are equal (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Much of the early research on work-family conflict treated it as a single general construct, not making a distinction between family-conflict and work-conflict. There have, however, been some studies that have made this distinction. Frome, et al (1991) found that job stressors, family stressors, and work-family conflict each independent contributions to the prediction of psychological distress. In considering the effects of having to manage one's emotions in the work and family domains, Wharton and Erickson (1993) have suggested that work-family role overload may depend as much on the source of emotion management as its overall degree of occurrence. Taking a stronger stand Gutek, et al, (1991) concluded that the two types of perceived workclearly separable and family conflict are independent of one another.

In support of the notion of separate constructs, Williams and Alliger (1994) found that juggling work and family tasks adversely affected feelings of distress and calmness, and that distress and fatigue were found to spill over from both work to family and family to work. Another study investigating the

relationship between multiple role juggling and daily mood states found that juggling tasks from different roles resulted in significantly less enjoyment, and greater negative affect than either not juggling tasks or juggling different tasks from the same role (Williams, et al, 1991). This suggests that stress is more of a problem when it spills over into the other domain, setting the reciprocal relationship in motion.

Another way that this has been viewed is with the constructs of family interference with work (FIW) and work interference with family (WIF). Gutek, et al (1991) found that the more hours a person spent in work activities the more they experienced WIF, and the more hours a person spent in family activities the more they experienced FIW. Frone, et al (1992) found significant positive relationships between job stressors and WIF, and family involvement and family stressors and FIW, as well as a significant positive reciprocal relationship between WIF and FIW. Similarly, Higgins, et al (1992) found that job involvement and work expectations predicted work conflict, and family involvement and expectations predicted family conflict, although they were unable to test for a reciprocal relationship due to limitations in the statistical technique used. Williams and Alliger (1994) found that an individual's perceptions that family interferes with work were positively related to the level of distress experienced in their family roles, family intrusions into their workplaces and their levels of family involvement, while perceptions that

work interferes with family was related to high levels of job involvement.

Studies have found both FIW and WIF to be related to negative outcomes for individuals. Both types of work-family conflict have shown a similar pattern of relationships to alcohol use/abuse (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1993). In another study, Frone, et al, (1992) found that FIW conflict led to both job distress and depression. While both FIW and WIF can have negative effects on an individual, some studies have found that individuals report more WIF than FIW regardless of gender (Gutek, et al, 1991; Williams & Alliger, 1994). In other words, people generally see work as interfering more with family than family interfering with work.

Overall, both work conflict and family conflict have been found to be significant predictors of work-family conflict regardless of gender (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Higgins & Duxbury, 1992; Higgins, et al, 1992; Kopelman, et al, 1983). Duxbury and Higgins (1991) found that work conflict was an equally important determinant of work-family conflict for both men and women, however they did find that family-conflict was a more powerful determinant of work-family conflict for women than men.

Because both types of within-domain conflict have been found to influence between-domain (i.e. work-family) conflict this study also treats them as separate constructs. Family conflict is reflected in the amount of dependent care stress

experienced and work conflict is reflected in the amount of work stress experienced. Psychological distress is a measure of a person's overall well-being.

- H 16-NM: Employee perceptions of work and dependent care stress, and psychological distress will not mediate the relationship between domain specific characteristics and outcomes.
- H 16a-FM: Employee perceptions of work and dependent care stress, and psychological distress will completely mediate the relationship between domain specific characteristics and outcomes.
- H 16b-FM: There will be a positive reciprocal relationship between work and dependent care stress.
- H 16c-FM: Both work and dependent care stress will be positively related to psychological distress.
- H 16a-PM: Employee perceptions of work and dependent care stress, and psychological distress will partially mediate the relationship between domain specific characteristics and outcomes.
- H 16b-PM: There will be a positive reciprocal relationship between work and dependent care stress.
- H 16c-PM: Both work and dependent care stress will be positively related to psychological distress.

### Attitude Toward Benefits

More employers today are offering formal dependent care benefits, and some benefits such as flextime, flexplace and leaves of absence are often offered informally (Denton, et al, 1990). Despite the increase in the number of employers offering such programs, very little is known about how employees view these initiatives. Denton, et al (1990) maintain that many employers who offer benefits adaptable to elder care-related needs do not define, organize, or promote

their benefits as viable options for employees providing elder care. If this is the case, employees would be unlikely to see these programs as valuable. In a study that evaluated the perceived fairness of a hypothetical parental leave policy, Grover (1991) identified an egocentric bias. In other words, individuals would benefit directly, or who were similar to those who would benefit from parental leave, perceived the policies as more fair and held more positive attitudes toward leave takers than those who would not benefit and were not similar to the leave takers.

There has been some research that has linked employee's demographic characteristics with preferences for employer-sponsored dependent care assistance. Typically these studies investigate the effect of gender, and find that women are more likely to prefer part time work or job sharing than men (Kossek, 1990; Kossek, et al, 1993). The problem with this is that today many employees with dependents simply can not afford to work less than full time. Understandably, those that can afford it are likely to be married women whose spouse is the primary breadwinner. This is supported by the finding that men were more likely than women to prefer elder care referral services, and that overall, leave of absence programs were not ranked high by employees (Kossek, et al, 1993). Similarly, single parents, who presumably would require a full time income, rated information and referral assistance higher than other employee groups (Kossek, 1990).

Other research has found a direct link between gender and preference for employer-sponsored parental support programs (e.g., flextime, sick child days, company daycare center) in that women have higher preferences for all such programs than men (Wiersma, 1990). Single parents and employees using nonfamilial child care have been found to have higher preferences for sick care assistance (Kossek, 1990). With respect to elder care, employees with elders already in a special care facility had significantly higher preferences for an employer-sponsored adult care center, while flexible or dependent care spending accounts were not ranked high by employees (Kossek, et al, 1993).

Unfortunately, although demographic characteristics are convenient to use they may not tell the whole story. In addition to the direct link between gender and preference for parental support programs cited above, Wiersma (1990) also found an indirect link through role conflict. While it has yet to be studied empirically, it is believed that the level of stress one is experiencing may be a better predictor of an employee's need for employer-sponsored dependent care benefits. Specifically, the greater the psychological distress the more employer assistance will be desirable.

- H 17-NM: Employee attitudes toward family-friendly benefits will be predicted directly by characteristics related to the family domain, and will not be influenced by characteristics of the work domain.
- H 17-FM: Psychological distress will be the best predictor of employee attitudes toward family-friendly benefits. High levels of psychological distress

will be associated with more favorable attitudes toward benefits.

H 17-PM: Employee attitudes toward family-friendly benefits will be predicted by psychological distress as well as work and non-work characteristics.

# Perceived Work Productivity

While research has generally not directly assessed the influence of work-family conflict on work productivity, a number of studies have identified negative consequences for individuals experiencing high levels of work-family conflict which may indirectly affect productivity. Work-family conflict has been shown to have a significant negative influence on an individual's quality of work life (QWL) and quality of family life (QFL; Higgins, et al, 1992). Further, work-family conflict has been found to be related to life satisfaction through QWL and QFL (Higgins & Duxbury, 1992). Frone, et al (1991) found that job and family stressors contributed to psychological distress as measured by depression and somatic symptoms.

Work-family conflict is also a significant predictor of job satisfaction, leisure satisfaction, and family satisfaction, which in turn predict global life satisfaction (Rice, et al, 1992), marital satisfaction (Aryee, 1992), burnout (Bacharach, Bamberger, & Conley, 1991), quality of work (Aryee, 1992), and both drinking to cope and frequency of intoxication (Frone, et al, 1993). Companies have identified excessive stress and physical complaints, and a decrease in

productivity and quality of work as problems for employees providing elder care (Friedman, 1986).

Work-family conflict can negatively influence employee productivity in a number of ways, one of which is through its effect on absenteeism (Anastas, et al, 1990; Brooke & Price, 1989). Burke (1988) found that police officers reporting greater work-family conflict had more psychosomatic symptoms, were more likely to engage in negative life style behaviors, and report poorer health. It has been estimated that the average worker loses between seven and nine work days a year, and approximately half of these absences may be due to family problems (Solomon, 1994). Goff, et al (1990) found that workfamily conflict was significantly positively related to levels of absenteeism. Similarly, Kossek (1990) found that holding favorable attitudes toward managing work and family responsibilities was negatively related to missing work.

In a national survey of working caregivers to the elderly, the average number of hours of work missed in the past year was 13.5 or about one and a half days, however, 15% reported missing a week or more of work because of caregiving (Anastas, et al, 1990). The same study reported that conflict between work and caregiving was related to the hours of work time missed, in that those with no conflict missed only 6 hours, those with conflict missed 20 hours, and those who had considered quitting work because of their caregiving responsibilities had averaged 36 hours of work missed in the

past year. Kossek, et al (1993) found that dual career and single parents, and those using a paid companion or nurse in the home were more likely to be absent due to eldercare responsibilities.

The absence figures may reflect only a portion of the impact of work-family conflict and dependent responsibilities on employee productivity. Research has found that many employees use existing benefits such as vacation time and personal leave to adapt to the demands of caregiving, and that those with high levels of conflict are more likely to make adjustments than those with no conflict (Anastas, et al, 1990). Even though employees do appear to make adjustments, companies have identified absenteeism as a problem for employees providing eldercare (Friedman, 1986). One potential bright spot for employers is that the effects of flextime on absence have been highly positive (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989). Flexibility in the structuring of work and family interaction is implicitly viewed as enhancing productivity by reducing stress, turnover, absenteeism, and increasing satisfaction and commitment (Families and Work Institute, 1993; Lambert, 1990).

As is the case with absence, family responsibilities may intrude into the work domain and increase the likelihood of an employee being late for work (Crouter, 1984) or having to leave early. While studies that consider the relationship between work-family conflict and a reduction in an employee's work day are rare, the research that has been done suggests

that it does happen. There have been a few studies that have found that work-family conflict can have a negative effect on tardiness (Magid, 1983; Burud, Aschbacher, & McCroskey, 1984), and that parents who are not satisfied with aspects of their child care arrangements are also more likely to be late (Galinsky, 1991). As is the case with absence, the effects of flextime on lateness have also been highly positive (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989).

Research also suggests that work-family conflict can have a negative effect on turnover (Hock, Christman, & Hock, 1980; Curry, Wakefield, Prince, Mueller, & McCloskey, 1985). Ayree (1992) found that job-spouse and job-parent conflict predicted an individual's intention to withdraw from the labor force. Even if an individual does not intend to withdraw completely from the labor force they may plan to leave their line of work or at least their present employer. This is evidenced by Burke's (1988) finding that police officers reporting greater work-family conflict had greater intentions to leave police work. While we currently do not know how many people this may apply to overall, Barnes, et al (1992) report that the proportion of caregivers who terminate employment to care for an elderly dependent ranges from about 12 percent to 21 percent. It is also known that firms that offer flexible work arrangements are more likely to retain their employees than those who do not (Mattis, 1990).

Family responsibilities and concerns can also affect an

employee's willingness to work long hours, travel extensively, accept greater job responsibilities, and seek promotions (Greenhaus, 1988; Hall & Hall, 1978). Rodgers and Rodgers (1989) reported that up to 35% of working men and women with young children have told their bosses they will not take jobs involving shift work, relocation, extensive travel, intense pressure, or a large amount of overtime. Typically these types of job changes mean an employee receives some form of additional compensation. This is especially true when the job in question involves a promotion. Surprisingly though today some parents are turning down promotions that they believe might put a strain on family life (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989).

While women traditionally have been more likely to move to accommodate their spouse's job changes and transfers than men are (Voydanoff, 1988a), one study found nearly 25% of men with young children had told their bosses they would not relocate (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989). Employees, however, do more than turn down promotions or relocation opportunities for their families. More employees are restructuring work to accommodate family needs by limiting the evenings or weekends they work, limiting travel, and structuring work hours to provide a better fit with their family responsibilities. Overall, women still report more trade-offs than men, but even the numbers for males are significant and appear to be increasing (Rodgers & Rodgers, 1989).

While it seems that both men and women are restructuring

their work to accommodate family to some extent, it may be that women are simply more open about it. Hall (1989) argued that a significant proportion of fathers make significant accommodations in their careers for the sake of family, but they do it in nonpublic ways. For example, they may turn down an occasional job assignment because it involves too much travel, yet give some other reason for their refusal. Similarly, they may refrain from aggressively going after a particular promotion because it means relocating (Hall, 1989). Thus, corporations misunderstand the motives may for employees' behaviors. They may believe that members of twocareer families are resisting relocation for economic reasons, while the real motivator behind the refusal may well be spouse or family concerns (Zedeck & Mosier, 1990).

While the above studies do not directly deal with work productivity as an outcome variable, their findings certainly imply lower productivity. Employees who are tardy, absent, considering quitting, or refusing job changes or work assignments will be less likely to have high levels of productivity. Thus, based on an extension of the results of existing research, the following hypotheses are offered.

- H 18-NM: Employee perceptions of work productivity will be predicted directly by characteristics related to the work domain, and will not be influenced by characteristics of the family domain.
- H 18-FM: Psychological distress will be the best predictor of employee perceptions of work productivity. High levels of psychological distress will be associated with perceptions of low productivity.

H 18-PM: Employee perceptions of work productivity will be predicted by psychological distress as well as work and non-work characteristics.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

#### METHOD

This chapter describes the organization under study, the sample of subjects, the data collection procedure, the operationalization of the variables discussed in Chapter Three, and the method of data analysis.

## The Organization Under Study

The organization that served as the site for this study is a major financial services organization. The data were collected by the Families and Work Institute as part of a study to identify issues that are most important to employees in trying to balance their work and personal lives to aid the company in developing appropriate responses. Data were collected from a broad range of employees working in the United States during late 1994 and early 1995. A broad range of employee groups participated in the survey including; officers, tellers, collectors, customer service representatives, professionals (e.g., supervisor, accountant, financial/credit analyst, paralegal, etc.), technical employees (e.g., information and data processor, programmer, etc.), secretaries/administrative assistants, and other clerical and administrative personnel.

### The Sample

A total of 11369 surveys were distributed to employees.

A total of 5273 responses were received representing a

response rate of 46%. As is usually the case not all of the participants responded to every question. Of the respondents who identified their sex, 3349 (64.4%) were females and 1849 (35.6%) were males. With respect to marital status, 3385 (63.2%) of those responding reported they currently lived with a spouse or partner. Of the those that identified themselves as full-time verses part-time employees, 4857 (92.7%) reported they worked full-time, while 383 (7.3%) reported part-time employment. Of the respondents who identified themselves as officers or non-officers, 1749 (33.6%) were officers and 3463 (66.4%) were non-officers. The average age reported was 36.1 (S.D. 10.2) years and the reported average tenure with the organization was 6.5 (S.D. 6.7) years. Of those who reported their racial/ethnic background 3985 (77.9%) were White (non-Hispanic), 460 (9.0%) were Black/African American, 349 (6.8%) were Latino/Hispanic, 151 (3.0%) were Asian/Pacific Islander, 70 (1.4%) were American Indian/Native American, and 100 (2.0%) reported "Other". The highest level of education completed was reported as follows: less than high school, 11 (.2%); high school degree or equivalent, 810 (15.6%); some college or 2year college, 1987 (38.2%); bachelor's degree, 1341 (25.8%); some graduate school, 369 (7.1%); and graduate or professional degree, 682 (13.1%).

Respondents were also asked to identify the total combined income of those with whom they shared expenses. The results revealed a diversity of household income levels and

were as follows: less than \$15,000, 144 (2.8%); \$15,000 to \$24,999, 846 (16.6%); \$25,000 to \$34,999, 725 (14.2%); \$35,000 to \$44,999, 694 (13.6%); \$45,000 to \$54,999, 600 (11.8%); \$55,000 to \$64,999, 439 (8.6%); \$65,000 to \$74,999, 352 (6.9%); \$75,000 to \$99,999, 578 (11.3%); \$100,000 to \$199,999, 600 (11.8%); \$200,000 or above, 127 (2.5%). The survey also posed the question "Do you work extra (or overtime) hours on a regular basis for The Company, whether or not you get paid for it and whether or not you do it in the office?". Of those responding to the question, 3613 (69.5%) indicated they did, while 1586 (30.5%) indicated they did not.

The survey contained a number of questions concerning employees' dependent care responsibilities. A total of 2450 (47.1%) of the respondents indicated they had children for whom they are at least partially financially responsible. When asked if they thought they would have children (or additional children) within the next five years (biological or adopted) 2221 (43.2%) indicated they did. A total of 844 (16.0%) respondents indicated they currently provide care for an elderly person or another adult dependent, while 1154 (22.2%) indicated that they had experienced a period of intense responsibility for the care of an elderly person or other adult within the last five years. These figures underestimate the potential impact of elder care. When asked if they expected to have responsibility or continue to have responsibility for an elderly person or another adult dependent person within the next five years, 591 (11.5%) indicated they definitely would, and 1540 (30.0%) responded they probably would. While 2232 (43.6%) indicated they probably would not have such responsibilities, only 762 (14.9%) indicated they definitely would not.

The demographic composition of the respondents in any study is important in assessing the generalizability of the results to other populations, such as a particular industry or employed persons in general. Since this study was conducted at a large organization in the financial services industry, there is little reason to doubt that the results would be representative of the entire industry. However, with respect to employed persons in general, the respondents in this study were more likely to be female, married, white, employed full-time, college degreed, to have children and higher household incomes, and less likely to have elder dependents (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). Thus, some caution in generalizing the results to all employed persons is warranted.

# Data Collection Procedure

Prior to developing the instrument used in this study, 25 focus groups were conducted by the staff of the Families and Work Institute with nearly 250 employees of The Company. Participants representing a range of work and personal life situations were selected by Institute staff from the responses to sign-up sheets that had been distributed to all employees in five company locations. Two basic questions were addressed

in the confidential 90-minute sessions: "What is it like to work for The Company and have personal responsibilities?" and "What could The Company do to help employees manage their work and personal obligations more effectively?". In addition, Institute staff conducted individual interviews with 29 managers and Human Resource representatives from several locations to explore management's view of work-personal life issues. Using input from the focus groups and interviews, a structured questionnaire (all items from the survey used in the scales are shown in Appendix A) was developed and administered in December of 1994 by the staff of the Families and Work Institute. The survey which was completely anonymous was distributed to participants via company mail. To reduce the likelihood of participants providing socially desirable responses surveys were returned directly to the Families and Work Institute via the U.S. mail.

### Operationalization of Variables

Gender. Gender is based on the employee's response to a
single question. Specifically, are you: 1. female 2. male.

Household Configuration. Household configuration is operationalized using Schneer and Reitman's (1993) topology and is based on the responses to two questions: "With whom are you currently living?" and "Is your spouse or partner working or a student?" Respondents were classified as single persons if they reported living alone, with roommates or friends, or with their adult children or parents/in-laws and did not

report living with a spouse or partner. Respondents were identified as single parents if they reported living with their children who were under age 18 and did not report living with a spouse or partner. Respondents were identified as a single earner couple if they reported living with their spouse or partner who did not work either full or part time and did report living with their children under age Respondents were classified as dual earner couples if they reported living with their spouse or partner who was working either full or part time and did not live with their minor children. Respondents were identified as traditional families if they reported living with their spouse or partner who did not work either full or part time and who had minor children living with them. Lastly, respondents who reported living with their spouse or partner who was working either full or part time and who lived with their minor children were classified as dual earner families. As categorical variables each classification was dummy coded.

Household Income. Respondents were given ten income ranges and were asked to identify the category which reflected total combined income of those they share expenses, including their own income.

Number of Children. The number of children under age 14 was determined based the answers to a question that asked respondents to identify the ages of the four youngest children under age 14 living with the respondent all or most of the

time.

Satisfaction with Care. Using a four point scale ranging from very dissatisfied to very satisfied respondents were asked to identify their level of satisfaction with the main child care arrangement they currently had for their youngest child. The aspects assessed were: convenience of location; safety; attention; general quality of care; educational content; and their relationship with caregiver(s). The alpha reliability was .90 for the six item scale.

Cost of Child Care. Respondents were asked to identify how much they pay each week for child care for each of their four youngest children under age 14. These amounts were then summed to determine the total weekly child care cost.

Number of Elders. A single question was posed to determine the number of elderly people and adult dependents for whom the respondent was providing care and assistance.

Co-Residence. To determine if the respondent shared a residence with any of his/her elder dependents s/he was asked to identify where each of up to three elder or adult dependents lived. If the respondent indicated that any of his/her elder or adult dependents lived with them they were dummy coded as having shared living arrangements.

Time Spent on Care. The total amount of time spent providing care was determined by summing the number of hours each week employed caregivers spent caring for and assisting each of up to three elderly people or adult dependents.

Number of Tasks. Respondents with elder dependents were asked to indicate which types of care and assistance that s/he has provided for an elder or adult dependent in the last six months. The categories were as follows: taking someone to doctors or other services; arranging medical or other appointments; providing meals; visiting in person or over the telephone; helping around the house; personal care (e.g., bathing or dressing); filling out legal or insurance forms; helping the person look for a new home; giving medications; shopping; providing emotional support; providing financial assistance; or other. The number of categories identified was subsequently used as the measure of the number of tasks with which the respondent is providing assistance.

Cost of Elder Care. Participants who provided care for an elder dependent were asked to identify their total weekly direct, out-of-pocket (not covered by insurance) expenses for the care and assistance of all the elderly people and adult dependents for whom they provide care.

Schedule Control. All participants were asked to indicate the amount of control over the scheduling of their work where a response of 1 represented no control, 2 indicated not much control, 3 was some control, and 4 indicated a lot of control. It should be noted that multi-item scales are far superior to single-item measures. Thus, results associated with this variable should be interpreted with caution.

<u>Career Penalties.</u> The three item career penalties scale

reflects the extent to which a person believes that the use of alternative or flexible work arrangements will produce negative consequences in various aspects of his/her employment such as being perceived as less committed, being resented by their co-workers, and that their career would be hurt. The four point scale ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The alpha reliability for this scale is .76.

Supervisor Support. A six item scale was used to measure the extent to which a respondent's immediate manager or supervisor provided support to the employee in managing their work and personal life responsibilities. Respondents indicated their level of agreement with each item using a four point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree The items assessed the extent to which the manager/supervisor: treats everyone fairly in responding to employees' personal needs; is helpful when the respondent has a personal emergency; is helpful when the respondent has to take care of a routine personal matter; appears to know a lot about company employees policies that help manage their responsibilities; generally lets the respondent make and receive important personal telephone calls at work; and actively involves the work group in figuring out how to balance the needs of the business with people's personal responsibilities (e.g., scheduling issues). The reliability for this scale is .85.

Organizational Culture for Work-Personal Life. The

organization's culture for work and personal life was measured with a six item scale. Using a four point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, respondents were asked to identify their level of agreement with the following items: The Company is concerned about the well-being of employees and their families; The Company has a "workaholic culture" (reverse scored); employees have to choose between advancing in their jobs or devoting attention to their personal lives (reverse scored); employees are judged more on the quantity (e.g., how many hours they work) than the quality of their work (reverse scored); there are managers at The Company who set good examples of how to balance work and personal life; and there are some employees (e.g., men, single employees, childless employees) who are expected to do more work because it is thought they do not have outside commitments (reverse scored). The alpha reliability for this scale is .73.

Work and Dependent Care Stress. Respondents were asked to identify whether various issues had caused them; (1) no stress, (2) some stress, or (3) a lot of stress in the previous three months. Scales were then created for dependent care stress and work stress. Dependent Care Stress is a three item scale that measures the level of stress within the family domain caused by child care issues, teen issues, elder/dependent care issues. The alpha reliability is .87. Work Stress is a six item scale that measures stress within the work domain related the to respondent's manager/supervisor, worries about losing his/her job, work schedules, work load, daily commute, and meeting monthly expenses. The alpha reliability for this scale is .81.

Psychological Distress. Psychological distress, which reflects the respondent's overall well-being, was measured with a five item scale (alpha = .84). Using a four point scale (never, not often, sometimes, very often), respondents were asked "During the past three months, how often have you...": been bothered by minor health problems such as headaches, insomnia, or upset stomach; felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life; felt nervous and stressed; found that you could not cope with all the things you had to do; and felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them.

Attitude Toward Family-Friendly Benefits. The survey instrument presented a number of ideas (see Appendix A for individual scale items) to help employees manage their work and personal life and asked respondents to indicate whether: the idea would be helpful to them personally; if they would support The Company developing the option, even if it would not be helpful to them personally; if they thought The Company should not develop the option; or if they had no opinion about the option, if the option was not applicable to them, or if the option was already available. Three categories of options will be used in the analysis. The first group identified 15 child care options, ranging from referral services to

financial assistance to sick child care to transportation services. The alpha reliability for the child care options is .94. The second group contained options to help employees' deal with elder or adult dependent care needs. The six item scale contained options ranging from resource and referral services to case management to financial assistance and has an alpha reliability of .87. The third group contained three items (alpha = .80) dealing with training and evaluating managers in their handling of employees' work-personal life issues.

Perception of Work Productivity. Perceived work productivity was measured with a three item scale where respondents were asked to indicate whether or not in the previous three months as a result of his/her personal responsibilities, s/he had produced lower quality work, made errors or had on-the-job accidents, and been distracted so that productivity declined. The alpha reliability for this scale is .62. While this scale has an internal consistency less than the .7 guideline suggested by Nunnally (1978) for exploratory research, it will be retained in the analysis for purposes of completeness. However, caution is advised in interpreting results involving this construct.

### Data Analysis Strategy

Alpha reliabilities for all scale variables, as well as correlations, means, and standard deviations for each measure were computed. All items used in the stress scales were also

factor analyzed to insure that the items measure separate constructs. All results are presented in table form in the results chapter. The primary data analysis was done as a path analysis using Lisrel VII (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1989) which allows for testing of the reciprocal relationship between dependent care stress and work stress. The analysis evaluated the no-mediation, full-mediation, and partial-mediation models on two levels. The first level considers the "goodness of fit" of each model, and addresses the general question as to which of the three models provides the best fit with the data. The difference in chi-square will be used to determine if the partial-mediation model's fit is significantly better than that of the no-mediation or full-mediation models which are nested within it. Because trivial differences between the predicted and observed matrices may lead to a significant chisquare when large samples are used (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1994), other measures of overall fit will also be examined. Those measures are goodness-of-fit index (GFI), adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI), and root mean squared residual (RMSR; Joreskog & Sorbom, 1989).

The second level of analysis examined individual parameter estimates for each of the paths specified in the models with respect to significance and magnitude, thus testing the specific hypotheses identified in Chapter Three.

Maximum Likelihood (ML) parameter estimates were used in the analysis since they are most precise in large samples

(Joreskog & Sorbom, 1989) as they simultaneously estimate all parameters in a model. The ML estimates are obtained by means of an iterative procedure which minimizes a particular fit function by successively improving the parameter estimates (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1989). When using ML, all free parameters in a model require "starting" or "initial values". The initial values were determined by Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS).

#### CHAPTER FIVE

### RESULTS

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for all independent and dependent variables used in this study are shown in Table 1. The correlation matrix was computed based on pairwise deletion of missing variables since the intent of the study was to include those who do, as well as those who do not, have child and/or elder care responsibilities. For clarity, the correlations between the dummy variables for household configuration have been omitted. Alpha reliabilities for the scale variables are shown on the diagonal.

Table 2 shows the results of a principle components analysis with varimax rotation of the items used in the dependent care stress, work stress, and psychological distress scales. As predicted three factors with Eigenvalues greater than 1 emerged indicating the items do measure separate constructs.

# Overall Fit of the Model

Recall that the first level of analysis in this study considers the "goodness of fit" of the no-mediation, full-mediation, and the partial-mediation models, and addresses the general question as to which of the three models provides the best fit with the data. Each model was tested separately for attitudes toward child care benefits, elder care benefits, work environment flexibility training, and perceived work

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of all variables.

62

\* - Signif. LE .05 \*\* - Signif. LE .01 (2-tailed) (Alpha reliabilities for scales are shown in parentheses.)

continued Table 1

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Correlation Coefficients - continued. Table 1

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Correlation Coefficients
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- continued

Table 1

Table 2. Results of Factor Analysis of Work Stress, Psychological Distress, and Dependent Care Stress Scale Items.

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	
In the last three months, have any of the following caused you stress?  Work schedules  Work load  Worries about losing your job  Your daily commute  Meeting monthly expenses  Your manager/supervisor	.81666 .75275 .72695 .68403 .64122			
During the past three months, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them? felt nervous and stressed? found that you could not cope with all the things you had to do? felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life? been bothered by minor health problems such as headaches, insomnia, or upset stomach?		.81051 .81051 .80540 .75104	125	125
In the last three months, have any of the following caused you stress? Teen issues Elder/dependent care issues Child care issues			.90784 .85743 .85590	
Eigenvalue Percent of Variance	3.88007 27.7	2.82796 20.2	1.84272 13.2	

\* Principal components analysis with varimax rotation.

productivity. Convergence of the Lisrel routine was achieved for each of the three models for each of the four dependent variables. A summary of the goodness of fit measures is provided in Table 3.

The chi-square test assesses the extent to which the structure of the observed covariances corresponds to those predicted by the model. The null hypothesis is that the covariance structure predicted by the model is significantly different the observed from covariance structure. Thus, nonsignificant chi-square values indicate the model provides a good fit with the observed data. The chisquare statistic is, however, seriously inflated by larger sample sizes and departures from normality (Baldwin, 1989). Mulaik, James, VanAlstine, Bennett, Lind, and Stilwell (1989) recommend using the goodness-of-fit indices when the sample is at least 200. Given the large sample used in this study (n=5273), the chi-square statistic may not be the most appropriate statistic to use to evaluate model fit.

The GFI and AGFI both measure the relative amount of variance and covariance accounted for by the model, with the AGFI adjusted for the degrees of freedom. These indices have a range of .00 to 1.00, with higher values indicating a better fit. Both measures are independent of sample size and relatively robust over nonnormality (Keats & Hitt, 1988). The RMSR is a measure of the average variance unaccounted for by the model. Lower values correspond to a better fit. The

Table 3. Goodness of fit measures for all models.

Dependent Variable	d/f	x <sup>2</sup>	GFI	AGFI	RMSR	R <sup>2</sup>
Child Care Benefits: Partial-mediation						
model	41	540.02	.992	.940	.018	.605
Full-mediation model	61	1651.26	.977	.885	.040	.526
No-mediation model	66	6871.30	.901	.551	.085	.204
Rlder Care Benefits: Partial-mediation						
model	41	576.01	.991	.936	.018	.560
Full-mediation						
model	61	1026.04	.985	.925	.032	.526
No-mediation model	66	6900.65	.901	.550	.084	.092
Work Environment Flexibility Training: Partial-mediation						
model	41	549.89	.992	.938	.018	.545
Full-mediation model	61	793.11	.988	.942	.025	.526
No-mediation model	66	6909.32	.901	.549	.085	.075
Perceived Productivity: Partial-mediation model		603.47	.991	.932	.019	.538
	41	505.27	. , , , ,		.019	. 550
Full-mediation model	61	749.11	.988	.943	.023	.526
No-mediation model	66	7212.22	.896	.529	.087	.066

coefficient of determination, shown as  $R^2$  in the table, is the total percent of variance explained by the structural equations. Ideally, the chi-square would be small and nonsignificant, the GFI and AGFI would be at least .90, the RMSR would be small, and  $R^2$  would be large.

As Table 3 shows, the chi-square values are significant for each of the models which indicates a poor fit with the data, however, this is likely due to the large sample size. Based on the GFI, AGFI and RMSR, the no-mediation model provides the worst fit with the data, while the full- and partial-mediation models both appear to be virtually identical in terms of fit. Because the full-mediation model is nested within the partial-mediation model, a chi-square difference test (Long, 1987, p. 48) can be used to test the statistical significance of the difference in fit between the two models.

Essentially, the chi-square difference test involves performing a second chi-square analysis using the chi-square values from the models, even though they were significant, to see if they are statistically different. The differences in the chi-square values for the full- and partial-mediation models with 20 degrees of freedom were 111.24, 450.03, 243.22, and 145.65, for attitude toward child care benefits, elder care benefits, work environment flexibility training, and perceived work productivity, respectively. All were significant at the .001 level. Thus, the chi-square difference tests show that the partial-mediation model provides a

significantly better fit with the data than the full-mediation model for each of the dependent variables.

The analysis of each of the partial-mediation models revealed large GFI and AGFI, and small RMSR values. With attitude toward child care benefits as the dependent variable, the model accounts for 60.5% of the variance. The GFI of .992, AGFI of .940, and the RMSR of .018 all indicate a very good fit.

Substituting attitude toward elder care benefits as the dependent variable, the results are similar. The GFI is .991, the AGFI is .936, the RMSR is again .018, and the R<sup>2</sup> is 56.0%. With work environment training as the dependent variable, the R<sup>2</sup> is 54.5%, the GFI is .992, the AGFI is .938, and the RMSR remains at .018. Lastly, with perceived work productivity as the dependent variable, the GFI is .991, the AGFI is .932, and the RMSR is .019. This model, however, had the lowest coefficient of determination at 53.8%. Overall, the results indicate that the partial-mediation model can effectively be used for a number of dependent variables.

# Results of the Causal Model's Hypotheses

The second level of analysis in this study considers the magnitude and significance of the individual variables in the models. The path coefficients for the partial-mediation models with attitudes toward child care benefits, elder care benefits, work environment flexibility training, and perceived work productivity as the dependent variable are shown in

figures 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. Since the partial-mediation model provided the best fit with the data for each of the dependent variables the path coefficients for only those models are given. It should, however, be noted that the path coefficients for the no-mediation and full-mediation models were very similar in many instances.

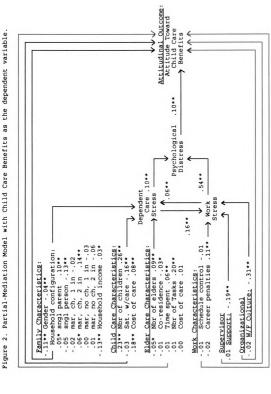
# Family Characteristics:

## <u>Gender</u>

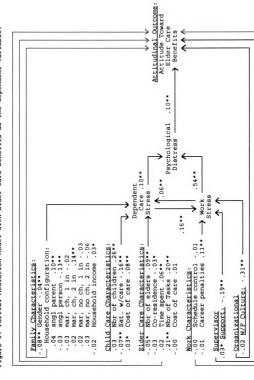
It was hypothesized that gender would have both direct effects, and indirect effects through stress, on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity. Specifically, that women would experience more dependent care stress, have more favorable attitudes toward family-friendly benefits, and perceive themselves to be less productive than men. This variable was significant in all cases, although as the path coefficients indicate, the direct effects are larger for all dependent variables. As expected, women hold more favorable attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and experience more dependent care stress than men. Surprisingly, however, women see themselves as more productive than men.

## Household Configuration

The partial-mediation model posited that household configuration (i.e., whether or not one has children or is married, and if married, whether it is a one or two income household) would have both direct and indirect effects on



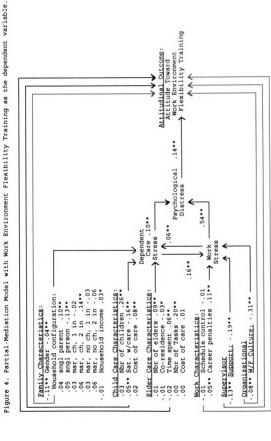
\* = p < .05, \*\* = p < .01, two-tailed



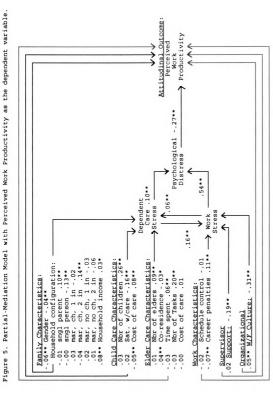
\*\* = p < .01, two-tailed

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Figure 3. Partial-Mediation Model with Elder Care Benefits as the dependent variable.



\* = p < .05, \*\* = p < .01, two-tailed



\* = p < .05, \*\* = p < .01, two-tailed

attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of negative work productivity. Limited support was found for this hypothesis in that single parents and those in dual earner families experienced significantly more, and single persons significantly less, dependent care stress than those without children or those with a nonworking spouse. A direct effect was found on employer-sponsored child care benefits in that single parents and those in dual earner households were also significantly more likely to value such benefits. Household configuration, however, did not have significant direct effects on attitude toward elder care benefits, work environment flexibility training, or perceived work productivity.

## Income

It was predicted that lower household incomes would be related to more favorable attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and higher levels of dependent care Surprisingly, there was a small, but significant, positive relationship between household income and dependent care stress. In other words, those with higher incomes are likely to experience more, not less, dependent care stress than those with lower incomes. With respect to the direct effects on the variables, expected income as displayed significant negative effect on attitude toward child care benefits such that those with lower incomes placed more value on child care benefits. Income did not have a significant

effect on attitude toward elder care benefits or work environment flexibility training. It did, however, have a significant positive effect on perceived work productivity in that those with higher incomes see themselves as more productive.

## Child Care Characteristics:

# Number of Children Under Age 14

The partial mediation model predicted that the number of children under age 14 would have both direct and indirect effects on attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceptions of work productivity. The path coefficients do indeed show that the number of children has a significant positive effect on both the level of dependent care stress experienced and the value placed on child care benefits. The number of children does not, however have a direct effect on one's attitude toward elder care benefits, work environment flexibility training, or perceived productivity.

## Satisfaction with Care

The degree to which an employee is satisfied with child care arrangements was predicted to be negatively related to dependent care stress, attitudes toward benefits, and positively related to perceived work productivity. Satisfaction with child care arrangements was significantly negatively related to dependent care stress and the degree to which one values both child and elder care benefits. There was a significant, albeit small, direct positive effect on

attitude toward work environment flexibility training which was opposite of the predicted relationship. Finally, with perceived work productivity as the dependent variable, there were no significant direct effects.

## Cost of Child Care

The partial-mediation model predicted that those who incurred higher costs for child care would exhibit higher dependent care stress and more favorable attitudes toward benefits, and lower perceived productivity at work. The hypothesis is supported by the path coefficients except when attitude toward work environment flexibility training was the dependent variable when no significant direct effect was found.

# Elder Care Characteristics:

# Number of Elders

The number of elders for whom one is providing care was predicted to be significantly positively related to dependent care stress and attitudes toward benefits, and negatively related to perceived productivity. As with the number of children, there was a significant although smaller, positive relationship with dependent care stress. Surprisingly, there was a significant, but negative, direct effect on attitude toward child and elder care benefits. This indicates that those with fewer elder dependents actually place a higher value on such benefits than those who are caring for more elders. With attitude toward work environment flexibility

training and perceived productivity as the dependent variables the number of elders did not display significant direct effects.

# Co-Residence With Elder Dependents

It was hypothesized that those who share a residence with an elder dependent would experience higher levels of dependent care stress, hold more favorable attitudes toward family-friendly benefits, and perceive themselves to be less productive than those who do not share a household. This hypothesis did not receive support. While there was a significant, but small relationship with dependent care stress it was negative instead of positive. Also contrary to the hypothesis was a small positive direct effect on perceived work productivity. There were no significant direct effects when attitude toward child care or elder care benefits, or work environment flexibility training was the dependent variable.

## Time Spent on Care

Similarly, the amount of time a caregiver spends providing care for an elder dependent did not prove to be a strong predictor. As expected, the more time one spends providing care the more dependent care stress experienced. While this relationship was significant, the path coefficient of .06 was quite small. While the amount of time spent providing care was predicted to be positively related to one's attitude toward family-friendly benefits and negatively

related to perceived productivity, it did not exhibit significant direct effects in any of the analyses.

## Number of Tasks

Compared to co-residence with an elder dependent and the amount of time spent providing care, the number of tasks with which a caregiver is providing assistance had a much larger (.20) effect on the amount of dependent care stress experienced. Also consistent with the hypothesis was a positive direct effect on the value one places on elder care benefits. However, the direct effects on attitude toward child care benefits, work environment flexibility training, and perceived work productivity were not significant.

## Cost of Elder Care

Unlike the cost of child care, the cost of elder care was not significantly related to dependent care stress. Further, there were no significant direct effects on any of the dependent variables. The fact that all path coefficients for this variable were either zero or very near zero suggests that the cost of elder care has no predictive value in this type of model.

## Work Characteristics:

# Schedule Control

The partial-mediation model predicted that the amount of control one has over his/her work schedule would be negatively related to work stress and positively related to perceived productivity. However, none of the relationships, either

direct or indirect, were significant for this variable. As with the cost of elder care, all path coefficients for this variable were either zero or very near zero. The results could be due to the way the variable was operationalized. Given that this variable was based on the response to a single question, it may be premature to dismiss the amount of control one has over his/her work schedule as an unimportant variable.

## Career Penalties

As hypothesized, employee perceptions of career penalties was significantly positively related to work stress. While it did not have a direct effect on one's attitude toward child or elder care benefits, there was a significant positive direct effect on one's attitude toward work environment flexibility training. Also consistent with the hypothesis, was a significant negative direct effect when perceived work productivity was used as the dependent variable.

## Supervisor Support

The degree to which an employee believes his/her supervisor is supportive was predicted to be negatively related to the level of work stress experienced, and positively related to perceptions of work productivity. Consistent with the hypothesis, the path coefficients indicate that the less supportive one's supervisor the more work stress will be experienced. A significant negative direct effect was also found with attitude toward work environment flexibility training as the dependent variable. No direct effects were

found, however, for attitude toward child or elder care benefits, or perceptions of work productivity.

# Organizational Work-Family Culture

Similarly, organizational work-family culture displayed a significant negative effect on work stress, which indicates that the less supportive the culture, the more stress will be experienced. A significant negative direct effect was found when attitude toward work environment flexibility training was the dependent variable. This suggests that the less supportive the culture, the more employees see value in such training. A small, but significant, positive direct effect was found for perceived work productivity, suggesting that employees see themselves as more productive when they believe the culture is supportive. Organizational work-family culture did not exhibit significant direct effects on employee attitudes toward either child or elder care benefits.

# <u>Dependent Care Stress</u>, <u>Work Stress</u>, <u>and Psychological</u> Distress.

As noted earlier, employee perceptions of work and dependent care stress, and psychological distress partially mediate the relationship between domain specific characteristics and all of the outcome variables. As hypothesized, the path coefficients indicate that there is a significant positive reciprocal relationship between work and dependent care stress. Dependent care stress has a larger effect on work stress (.16) than work stress has on dependent

care stress (.06). Also as expected, there is a positive relationship between both work and dependent care stress and psychological distress, although the relationship is stronger for work stress (.54) than dependent care stress (.10).

## Attitude Toward Benefits

Employee attitudes toward child and elder care benefits and work environment flexibility training are influenced by work and nonwork characteristics both directly, and indirectly through stress as predicted by the partial-mediation model. With attitude toward child care benefits as the dependent variable, there were significant positive effects from psychological distress (.10), single parents (.05), those in a dual earner family (.06), number of children (.23), and cost of child care (.18). There were significant negative effects for household income (-.13), and gender (-.11) such that women hold more favorable attitudes toward employer-sponsored child care benefits than men.

When attitude toward elder care benefits was used as the dependent variable, there were significant positive effects from psychological distress (.10), cost of child care (.03), the number of tasks for which one is providing assistance to the elder(s) (.21), and the level of supervisor support (.03). Significant negative effects were found for satisfaction with child care (-.07), number of elders (-.05), and gender (-.08) which again indicates that women are more likely to value elder care benefits.

Lastly, with attitude toward work environment flexibility training as the dependent variable, psychological distress (.14), satisfaction with child care (.05), and career penalties (.05) all displayed significant positive effects. Conversely, significant negative effects were found for both supervisor support (-.13) and gender (-.11).

# Perceived Work Productivity

As predicted by the partial-mediation model, employee perceptions of work productivity are predicted well as work and non-work psychological distress as characteristics. With path coefficient of -.27, a psychological distress appears to have the strongest influence, although several other work and nonwork characteristics display significant direct effects.

Specifically, women, and those with higher household incomes, lower child care costs, and who live with their elder dependents perceive themselves as more productive. Conversely, those who believe there are strong career penalties or a less supportive organizational work-family culture perceive themselves as being less productive.

## CHAPTER SIX

## DISCUSSION

This dissertation investigated the relationship between employees' work and non-work characteristics, and attitudes employer-sponsored family-friendly benefits toward perceptions of work productivity in an effort to provide a link between the study of work and family stress and dependent care. There were two basic objectives. The first was to determine if the relationship was direct, or fully- or partially-mediated by the amount of stress experienced, and to assess the impact of individual variables. The second was to provide insight for practitioners in the development of programs to help employees balance their work and personal lives. With those objectives in mind, this chapter will discuss the results of the analyses focusing on the study's support for spillover theory and the importance of measuring both the direct and indirect effects of individual variables. Implications for managers will then be presented, as well as limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

# Support for Spillover Theory

Path analysis using Lisrel VII was used to test no-mediation, full-mediation, and partial-mediation models. Recall that the no-mediation model is based on the segmentation approach which holds that the work and home domains are separate or segmented, and conditions in one

domain do not affect outcomes in the other. In contrast, both the full- and partial-mediation models are based on the spillover approach which holds that conditions in the work (home) domain spillover to affect outcomes in the home (work) domain. Each model was tested separately with attitudes toward child care benefits, elder care benefits, work environment flexibility training, and perceptions of work productivity as the dependent variable.

The strongest support was found for the partial-mediation model for each of the four dependent variables. These findings discount the argument that home and work domains are separate, and supports Lambert's (1990) contention that given today's changing gender roles, segmentation is unlikely to occur naturally. Indeed the results of this study showed that the no-mediation model provided the worst fit and explained the least amount of variance for each of the dependent variables. Thus, in order to effectively analyze employee needs future research must include stress as a mediator of the relationship between nonwork and work characteristics and employee attitudes toward benefits.

The results of this study also support Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) contention that there is a positive reciprocal relationship between family stress and work stress, and is consistent with other research findings (cf. Frone, et al, 1992; Gutek, et al, 1991; Williams & Alliger, 1994). Given that stress spills over from the family domain to the work

domain, it seems that employers do have a vested interest in helping employees cope with their dependent care needs. Similarly, since stress from the work domain spills over to the family domain, employees need to try to manage that spillover if they wish to protect their families from negative consequences such as lower family satisfaction (Rice, et al, 1992), marital satisfaction (Aryee, 1992), and quality of family life (Higgins, et al, 1992), and higher levels of drinking (Frone, et al, 1993) and depression (Frone, et al, 1991). Both dependent care stress and work stress also displayed significant positive effects on psychological distress, although work stress had a much larger impact.

Psychological distress in turn influences employee attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceived work productivity such that employees who are experiencing higher levels of psychological distress hold more favorable attitudes toward family-friendly benefits and perceive themselves to be less productive. It appears that as employees become more distressed the more likely they are to look to their employer support. Given that distressed employees also themselves as less productive they may believe it is in the employer's best interest to help employees cope with stressful conditions. It may also be that employees see their employers as having the resources available to provide services. These importance of findings highlight the including stress variables in research on employee needs for family-friendly benefits, in addition to the obvious practical implications for employers.

The importance of the mediating role of stress is emphasized by the large difference in the amount of variance explained between the partial-mediation model and the nomediation model. The amount of variance explained by the partial-mediation model was 60.5%, 56.0%, 54.5%, and 53.8%, for attitudes toward child care benefits, elder care benefits, work environment flexibility training, and perceived work productivity, respectively. In contrast, the amount of variance explained by the no-mediation model was only 20.4% for attitudes toward child care benefits, 9.2% for attitudes toward elder care benefits, 7.5% for attitudes toward work environment flexibility training, and 6.6% for perceived work productivity.

Clearly, demographic characteristics do a better job of predicting attitudes toward child care benefits than they do as predictors of the other dependent variables. This may explain why some research has found significant differences in employee preferences for employer-sponsored child care assistance based on demographic characteristics (cf. Kossek, 1990). While the full-mediation model did not hold up as well as the partial-mediation model, it too explained substantially more of the variance (52.6% for each of the dependent variables) than the no-mediation model.

The fact that the partial-mediation model is robust

across the four dependent variables used in this study is significant in several respects. First, it highlights the stability of the predictive value of the model with the coefficient of determination ranging only from 60.5% for child care benefits to 53.8% for perceived work productivity. It also suggests that the model could be used with a wide variety of dependent variables, which means that there is not a need to develop a unique model for every individual benefit program or other outcome variable of interest. While some of the individual variables were not significant in one or more of the analyses, or had very small effects indicating that in the future some minor revisions could be made to the model, overall the model held up well. With that in mind I turn the focus to the importance of measuring the indirect as well as direct effects of individual variables.

## The Importance of Direct and Indirect Effects

The independent variables used in this study encompass a variety of work and nonwork characteristics of employees. While most of these variables have been used to some extent in other studies, no one study as yet has used such a wide variety. A summary of the direct and indirect effects of the independent variables is shown in Table 4. The results show that work and non-work characteristics exhibit both indirect effects through stress, as well as direct effects on each of the dependent variables. The implication is that assessing employees' needs for employer-sponsored family-friendly

Table 4. Direct Versus Indirect Effects of all Independent Variables

Independent Variable	Child Care Ben.	-	Flex.	able Perceived Work Productivity
Family Characteristics: Gender Household configuration Household income	D/I D/I D/I	D/I I I	D/I I I	D/I I D/I
Child Care Characteristic Number of children Satisfaction w/ care Cost of child care	s: D/I I D/I	I D/I D/I	I D/I I	I I D/I
Elder Care Characteristic Number of elders Co-residence Time spent on care Number of tasks Cost of elder care	S:  D/I  I  I  none	D/I I I D/I none	I I I none	I D/I I I none
Work Characteristics: Schedule control Career penalties	none I	none I	none D/I	none D/I
Supervisor Support	I	D/I	D/I	I
Organizational W/F Cultur	e I	I	D/I	D/I

benefit programs is more complex than simply using demographic characteristics to predict needs. Although simple models based on employees' demographic characteristics are more convenient to use than complex, integrated models which also require more sophisticated methods of analysis, the information they provide is not as robust.

All of the family characteristics had both direct and indirect effects on at least one of the dependent variables with gender displaying both types of effects for each of the dependent variables. Gender is a commonly used variable in both the work-family conflict and dependent care literatures. Consistent with most other research, this study found that women hold more favorable attitudes toward all of the employer-sponsored benefit programs and experience more dependent care stress than men. The direct effects were, however, much stronger, suggesting that in today's environment men and women are experiencing more similar levels of dependent care stress. Surprisingly, the study found that women actually perceive themselves as being more productive than men do. When considering both work and nonwork responsibilities women are often responsible for more in total than men. If a woman sees herself as being productive over a multitude of nonwork responsibilities, that sense productivity may spillover to the work environment. This is consistent with Barnett's (1994) finding that positive experiences in nonwork roles can buffer the effects of job experiences.

Employees' household configuration for the most part had only indirect effects highlighting the need to include stress as a moderator. Indeed the only direct effects that were found were on employee attitudes toward child care benefits, such that single parents and parents in a dual income household were more likely to favor such benefits. Surprisingly, there were no significant negative direct effects for other household configurations discounting the popular notion that those who do not benefit directly from work-family programs (e.g. employees who do not have children) resent them. Also surprising was that parents in dual-earner households experienced slightly more dependent care stress than single parents.

In addition to a small, yet positive indirect effect, household income displayed direct effects on attitudes toward child care benefits and perceived work productivity. Those with lower household incomes were more likely to favor child care benefits suggesting they have a special need for child care assistance, while those with higher incomes perceived themselves as more productive. It may be that those in higher income brackets are more likely to be salaried and to work additional hours for which they are not compensated, which may lead them to believe that they are more productive. Conversely, it may be that those with higher incomes have a need to justify their income, and thus convince themselves

that they are more productive which is consistent with equity theory (Adams, 1965).

All of the child care characteristics also displayed both types of effects for at least one of the dependent variables. Having responsibility for more children under age 14, being less satisfied with child care arrangements, and incurring larger costs for child care all contributed to higher levels of dependent care stress. The fact that the number of children had the strongest influence is consistent with the notion that larger families place more demands on a person's time (Cartwright, 1978; Keith & Schafer, 1980), and result in more strain (Katz & Piotrkowski, 1983).

Of the elder care characteristics, only the cost of elder care did not have either direct or indirect effects on any of the dependent variables. This is surprising since one study (Scharlach & Boyd, 1989) found that 45% of employed caregivers were providing from \$20 to \$3,000 per month in direct financial assistance, and over half of all caregivers reported some degree of financial strain. One explanation for the nonsignificant results is that this study included all employees and not just those with eldercare responsibilities. Thus, the effects would be diluted. Among those providing care for an elder dependent, the weekly out of pocket costs ranged from \$1.00 to \$999.00, and 35.5% of caregivers reported that it was either difficult or very difficult to pay those expenses.

In contrast, the number of elders for whom one is providing care, co-residence with an elder dependent, the amount of time spent on care, and the number of tasks with which one is assisting all had indirect effects through stress. By far the strongest of these effects was for the number of tasks, which indicates that assisting with a wide variety of tasks is far more stressful than spending more time on fewer tasks or even providing care for more elders. This may be a result of simply having to keep track of and juggle Surprisingly, co-residence with an elder more things. dependent resulted in slightly less stress. This is contrary to previous research which has shown co-residence to be a strong predictor of strain (Brody, 1985; George & Gwyther, 1986). It may be that when a caregiver lives with their elder dependent(s) s/he has greater access to the elder and therefore is more aware of the elder's condition, reducing the amount of anxiety over how well the elder is doing.

By far the strongest of the direct effects was the positive effect of the number of tasks with which one is assisting on attitude toward elder care benefits. This is not surprising given the large influence of this variable on dependent care stress. The number of elders for whom one is providing care displayed a direct effect on attitudes toward child and elder care benefits, while co-residence with an elder dependent had a direct effect on perceived work productivity. Surprisingly, providing care for more elders

resulted in slightly less favorable attitudes toward child and elder care benefits, and co-residence resulted in slightly higher perceived productivity. It may be that those caring for more elders may have been providing care for a longer period of time and be more familiar with outside services. Since the most common forms of employer-sponsored eldercare assistance are information and referral services, employees who care for more elders may see themselves as already having that knowledge and thus not needing their employer's assistance. That caregivers who live with their elder dependents perceive themselves to be slightly more productive may be related to the fact that with co-residence there is only one household for which to care. In other words, caregivers may think that their caregiving responsibilities would require even more time if they had a second household to maintain.

Of the remaining independent variables, only the amount of control one has over his/her work schedule did not display either direct or indirect effects. Given that previous research has found that lack of flexibility in, and control over, one's work schedule induces work-family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus, et al, 1989) and increases stress (Friedman, 1990; Williams & Alliger, 1994), it seems that the lack of significant effects for this variable are likely due to another cause. The probable cause is that this variable was measured with a single survey item which can lead to unreliable results. Thus, a psychometrically

sound scale should be developed and tested before any conclusions can be drawn.

In contrast, career penalties, supervisor support, and organizational work-family culture each provided strong indirect effects through stress. The finding that the more one believes s/he will be penalized for using flexible work arrangements increases work stress, is consistent with Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) proposition that work-family conflict will be strongest when there are negative sanctions for noncompliance with role expectations. That less supportive supervisors and cultures result in higher levels of stress is consistent with much of the research on social support (cf. Zarit, et al, Burke, 1988).

While career penalties, supervisor support, and organizational work-family culture did not have direct effects on attitude toward child care benefits, each had direct effects on the other dependent variables. Career penalties had direct effects on attitude toward work environment flexibility training and perceived work productivity such that respondents who believed that they would be penalized for using flexible work arrangements favored flexibility training for supervisors and managers and saw themselves as less productive.

Supervisor support had a positive direct effect on the value placed on work environment flexibility training suggesting that when a supervisor is not viewed as being supportive, their employees would like to have them trained to

become more flexible. While a small positive direct effect on attitude toward elder care benefits such that a more supportive supervisor was related to a more favorable attitude toward elder care assistance, the effect is too small to draw any firm conclusions. Somewhat surprising was the lack of a direct effect on perceived work productivity indicating that a supportive supervisor does not necessarily lead to higher productivity. This is similar to a finding of the Goff, et al (1990) study, that supportive supervision was weakly related to higher absenteeism.

As with supervisor support, a less supportive environment was directly associated with more favorable attitudes toward work environment flexibility training. However, unlike supervisor support, a supportive work-family culture did have a small direct positive effect on perceived work productivity suggesting that employers may realize productivity gains when they actively promote a work environment that is more supportive of employees' family responsibilities.

In sum, each category of independent variables displayed both direct and indirect effects that were significant for each of the dependent variables. Clearly, the common practice of relying strictly on direct effects to predict employee attitudes toward family-friendly benefits overlooks the important indirect influence of the independent variables through stress. Similarly, if research were to rely strictly on indirect effects, as is the case with the full-mediation

model, valuable information is also lost. Thus, to get a complete picture research must allow for both direct and indirect effects.

# Limitations of the Study

While this study makes а number of important contributions, there are weaknesses in virtually all research designs and methods. One criticism frequently cited by editors (Campbell, 1982) and reviewers (Spector, 1994) alike is that of using a self-report questionnaire to measure all the variables in a cross-sectional study as is the case in this study. It might even be argued that monomethod bias would predispose this study to finding the strongest support for the partial-mediation model in that method bias inflates correlations between all variables and the partial-mediation model relies on more of the variables being significantly correlated. Thus, some might be inclined to completely dismiss the results of this study as simply an artifact of the method used, however, more thoughtful consideration is needed for several reasons.

First, is that the endogenous variables are perceptual (e.g., stress, perceived work productivity) or attitudinal (e.g., attitudes toward benefits). Most would agree that the use of self-reports is appropriate when the constructs involved are attitudinal or perceptual (Schmitt, 1994). While one might argue that work productivity is not a perceptual construct, recall that this variable was operationalized with

scale items that asked respondents to assess their productivity as a result of their personal responsibilities. While a more objective global measure of work productivity might be obtained from organizational performance records, it would not be possible to determine whether any given level of productivity was a result of an employee's personal responsibilities or some other cause(s).

Several of the independent variables (e.g., satisfaction with child care, supervisor support, organizational workfamily culture) are also perceptual in nature. Other independent variables included in this study (e.g., family, child care, and elder care characteristics), although also based on self-reports, were demographic or factual. A metaanalytic study of percept-percept inflation in published research found that self-report methods are unlikely to increase the correlation between two variables when at least one of the variables is based on demographic data (Crampton & Wagner, 1994). The same study also considered the extent to which correlations among various nondemographic constructs were inflated. Specifically as it related to the present study, no significant evidence of inflation was found in correlations between stress or anxiety, performance, and organizational culture (Crampton & Wagner, 1994). It should also be noted that the survey was completely anonymous which reduces the potential for social desirability bias since individual responses could not be linked to any of the participants. Finally, with respect to minimizing the potential effects of method bias, the questions concerning the respondents' child and elder care responsibilities were positioned at the end of the questionnaire to avoid a priming effect on the dependent variables.

A weakness in this study can be found in the schedule productivity control and perceived work variables. Specifically, that schedule control was measured with a single item measure and that the productivity measure had relatively weak reliability (alpha = .62). Future research in this area should ensure that psychometrically sound multi-item measures are used. Instead of using the number of minor or elder dependents, future studies might employ a single measure of family responsibilities such as that recently developed by Rothausen (1995). Further, some of the variables in the model did not display significant effects. While many models used in this type of research do include variables that are not statistically significant, the results suggest that in the future the model could be refined.

A final weakness in this study may be that dependent care stress, work stress, and psychological distress were used instead of measures of family conflict, work conflict, and work-family conflict. Use of the more traditional measures of work-family conflict would better assess the directionality of the relationships in that such measures ask address more specifically the impact of home (work) responsibilities on

work (home). A drawback in those measures, however, is that they typically focus on the negative effects of spillover (e.g. the extent to which family responsibilities interfere with work or work responsibilities interfere with family) and ignore potential positive spillover effects.

# Implications for Employers

There is an increasing focus today on the practical significance of research and the results of this study do have a number of practical implications for employers. First, the study shows that the amount of work and dependent care stress experienced by employees does have an effect on how employees view employer-sponsored benefits. While some employers have been reluctant to get involved in employees' personal lives, the boundaries between the work and home domains are becoming increasingly blurred. By accepting this and providing benefits that are truly valued and needed by employees, employers will obtain greater value for their benefit dollars. Prudent allocation of benefit dollars is especially important in today's cost conscious business environment. While some have tried to achieve this by using demographic characteristics as predictors, this study shows that it is not that simple and that a more complex model such as the one used in this study is needed.

Similarly, the amount of work and dependent care stress experienced affects how employees view their productivity at work such that higher levels of stress were associated with

lower productivity. Thus, as stress decreases employee productivity is likely to increase. While this study used employee perceptions of productivity as opposed to more objective measures, given the strength of the relationship, other productivity measures would likely show similar results. As with insuring that benefit dollars are spent wisely, increasing employee productivity is also a major concern for employers today.

In testing the model with several dependent variables this study demonstrated that the model was robust across the four dependent variables suggesting that the model could also be used for other dependent variables. There is value for practitioners and researchers alike in having a generic model that can be used for a number of dependent variables instead of developing new models for every type of benefit program or outcome variable of interest. The use of a single model makes it easier for employers to survey employees about their benefit needs without the need to construct separate surveys. It also allows for a direct comparison of the need for various benefit programs.

The results also show that certain groups of employees may be more prone to stress than others. In particular, employees with many children or who are assisting an elder dependent with a number of tasks, as well as those who believe their supervisor or the organizational culture is not supportive. This is important since the stress experienced by

employees is likely to increase as more employees assume elder care responsibilities and organizations continue to expect more from employees to remain competitive. While employers typically do not and should not attempt to control an employee's family situation, they can and some would argue should, influence the level of support employees receive in the workplace. By training and encouraging supervisors to be more flexible, and promoting a more supportive work environment organizations can help minimize the stress levels of their employees.

This study also suggests that employers need to reconsider the allocation of their investment in benefit programs among various employee groups. In most organizations, higher income employees typically have more attractive benefit packages. Yet this study showed in the case of child care benefits, employees with lower incomes place a higher value on such benefits. The question for employers is how much value is there in providing additional benefits for higher income employees if those benefits are not as highly valued? It seems that employers would realize a greater return on their benefit dollars by offering such benefits to those employees who truly need them.

# Implications for Theory and Suggestions for Future Research

One of the key themes in the social sciences is the importance of individual differences in understanding various phenomenon. Ironically, the dependent care literature has thus

far implicitly dismissed individual differences by focusing almost exclusively on demographic characteristics to predict needs for benefits and ignoring what has been learned by workfamily conflict and stress researchers. The support this study found for the partial-mediation model indicates that individual differences in the way people experience work and dependent care stress do influence their attitudes toward employer-sponsored benefits. While some employees may find having children to be very stressful and have a greater need for employer assistance, others may find parenthood to be a source of rewards (Cooke & Rousseau, 1984) and be able to effectively shoulder their dependent care responsibilities without employer-sponsored dependent care assistance programs. Clearly, dependent care research can be enhanced integrating concepts from the work-family conflict and stress literatures.

At the same time work-family conflict and stress researchers have not yet extended their work to assess the effects of providing care for elder dependents or to investigate the impact of work-family conflict and stress on the need for employer-sponsored family-friendly benefits. As this study has shown the influence of work and family responsibilities extends beyond psychological distress and more research is needed to see just how far these effects go. Similarly, researchers should investigate the impact of various benefit programs on stress and work-family conflict.

If employers adopt family-friendly benefit programs that are truly needed by employees it may even be that the use of such benefits benefit programs will help to ameliorate the stress experienced by employees.

Although the work-family conflict and dependent care literatures have evolved separately, this study highlights the importance of integrating them. Clearly, when the two literatures begin to speak more clearly to one another each will be enhanced. Although, stress and employee attitudes toward family-friendly benefits appear to be an important link between the work-family conflict and dependent care literatures, there may also be others. Thus, while this study makes an important first step in the integration of the two literatures, much remains to be done.

Researchers who are interested in extending this line of work should consider using subjects from other industries. While this study involved a very large heterogeneous population, it was drawn from employees of a single large corporation in the financial services industry. Although the participants were from a variety of job classifications and geographic locations, there may be some questions of generalizabilty to employed persons in general. Based on the comparison of the respondents to all employed persons discussed in the methods chapter, these results are more likely representative of people who are above the national averages in terms of socioeconomic status.

There are also several ways in which the model might be broadened in the future. Using a measure of total nonwork stress instead of dependent care stress would allow for the inclusion of other independent variables such as time commitments related to community, religious, or social organizations, or even physical fitness. It may also be beneficial to include a measure of peer support that would reflect the degree to which a person has co-workers who are willing to help one another as a need arises. By using common measures of both child and elder care responsibilities, future studies would also be able to provide a direct comparison of the impact of elder versus care responsibilities on employed caregivers. Operationalizing child and elder care expenses as a proportion of household income would also provide more insight into the relative impact of these costs on individuals than using an actual dollar amount as was done in this study.

Future research could also test the model with a wider variety of dependent variables to examine the extent to which the basic model is generic. Some of the possibilities include: absence, tardiness, willingness to travel or relocate, turnover intentions, and actual productivity, as well as measures of family functioning and physiological well-being. Finally, as with any emerging area of study, longitudinal research is needed to assess the stability of the observed relationships over time.

In conclusion, while there is still much to be learned

about the work-family nexus in general, and in particular the mediating role of stress, this study makes several contributions. First, it provides a link between the more theoretical work-family conflict and stress literatures and the more practitioner-oriented dependent care literatures. Second, this study tested and assessed the impact of a wide variety of variables believed to influence stress and attitudes toward employer-sponsored family-friendly benefits. Finally, this study provides insight for employers who wish to develop programs to help employees balance their work and personal responsibilities while obtaining the largest return on their investment in employee benefits.

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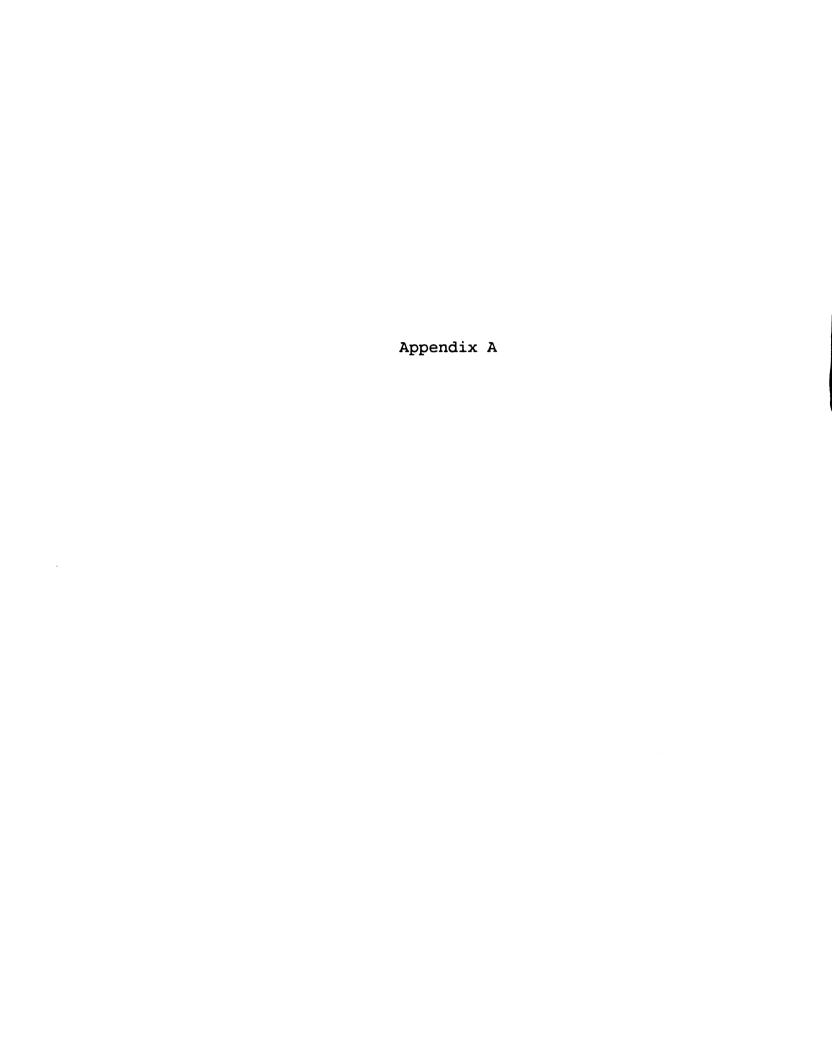
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#### APPENDIX A

### Satisfaction with Child Care Scalea

How satisfied are you with the following aspects of the main child care arrangement you currently have for your youngest child?

- 1. Convenience of location
- 2. Safety
- 3. Attention
- 4. General quality of care
- 5. Educational content
- 6. My relationship with caregiver(s)

### Number of Elder Care Tasks Scaleb

What kinds of care and assistance have you provided during the last 6 months?

- 1. Taking someone to doctors or other services
- 2. Arranging medical appointments or other kinds of appointments
- 3. Providing meals
- 4. Visiting in person or over the telephone
- 5. Helping around the house
- 6. Personal care (e.g., bathing or dressing)
- 7. Filling out legal or insurance forms
- 8. Helping the person look for a new home
- 9. Giving medications
- 10. Shopping
- 11. Providing emotional support
- 12. Providing financial assistance
- 13. Other (Please describe.)

a Responses ranged from "very dissatisfied" (1) to "very satisfied" (4).

b Respondents were asked to circle all that applied.

### Career Penalties Scale<sup>C</sup>

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about flexible or alternative work arrangements (e.g., flextime, part-time, job sharing) at The Company, whether or not these are currently available in your department?

- 1. Employees who use flexible work arrangements will be perceived as less committed to The Company.
- 2. Co-workers resent those who have flexible work arrangements.
- 3. Using a flexible work arrangement will hurt your career.

# Supervisor Support Scaled

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about your immediate manager or supervisor and your work-personal life responsibilities? (Please answer the questions with your immediate supervisor in mind.)

- 1. My manager/supervisor treats everyone fairly in responding to employees' personal needs.
- 2. My manager/supervisor is helpful when I have a personal emergency.
- 3. My manager/supervisor is helpful when I have to take care of a routine personal matter.
- 4. My manager/supervisor appears to know a lot about Bank policies that help employees manage their personal responsibilities.
- 5. My manager/supervisor generally lets me make and receive important personal telephone calls at work.
- 6. My manager/supervisor actively involves my work group in figuring out how to balance the needs of the business with people's personal responsibilities (e.g., scheduling issues).

C Responses ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (4).

d Responses ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (4).

### Organizational Work-Family Culture Scale<sup>e</sup>

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

- 1. "The Company" is concerned about the well-being of employees and their families.
- 2. "The Company" has a workaholic culture.
- 3. At "The Company", employees have to choose between advancing in their jobs or devoting attention to their personal lives.
- 4. Employees are judged more on the quantity (e.g., how many hours they work) than on the quality of their work.
- 5. There are managers at "The Company" who set good examples of how to balance work and personal life.
- 6. There are some employees (e.g., men, single employees, childless employees) who are expected to do more work because it is thought they do not have outside commitments.

# Dependent Care Stress Scalef

In the last 3 months, have any of the following issues caused you stress?

- 1. Child care issues
- 2. Teen issues
- 3. Elder/dependent care issues

e Responses ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (4).

 $<sup>^{\</sup>mathbf{f}}$  Responses ranged from "no stress" (1) to "a lot of stress" (3).

### Work Stress Scale<sup>9</sup>

In the last 3 months, have any of the following issues caused you stress?

- 1. Your manager/supervisor
- 2. Meeting monthly expenses
- 3. Worries about losing your job
- 4. Work schedules
- 5. Work load
- 6. Your daily commute

## Psychological Distress Scaleh

During the past three months, how often have you:

- 1. been bothered by minor health problems such as headaches, insomnia, or upset stomach?
- 2. felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?
- 3. felt nervous and stressed?
- 4. found that you could not cope with all the things you had to do?
- 5. felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?

h Responses ranged from "never" (1) to "very often" (4).

### Child Care Benefitsi

- 1. Offer (or improve existing) child care referral services to help parents find care
- 2. Sponsor a child care center at or near the worksite
- 3. Increase the supply and quality of community child care programs to make them more accessible to Company employees
- 4. Create a child care center for mildly ill children (on site or in the community)
- 5. Create an in-home service where trained nurses care for mildly ill children in your home
- 6. Provide a back-up child care center at the worksite for last-minute emergencies
- 7. Help expand or establish the supply of back-up or emergency child care services in the community
- 8. Increase the availability of early-morning and late evening child care in the community
- 9. Help expand or establish summer child care/camp options
- 10. Arrange for care of children during school holidays and vacations
- 11. Help expand or establish after-school care
- 12. Arrange for transportation for children to get from school to after-school activities
- 13. Provide financial assistance through vouchers or discounts at local programs to reduce child care costs
- 14. Offer seminars for parents with experts talking about specific topics
- 15. Encourage support groups for parents where employees serve as a resource to one another

i Responses ranged from "The Company should not develop this option" (1) to "this would be helpful to me personally" (4).

### Elder Care Benefits Scale j

### Elder/Dependent Care

- 1. Offer (or improve existing) elder care resource and referral (e.g., information to help employees identify services)
- Offer case management for long-distance caregiving (e.g., someone to arrange care for elderly or other dependents who live far away from employees)
- 3. Provide financial assistance through vouchers (or discounts at local programs to reduce elder or other dependent care costs)
- 4. Offer seminars for elder or other dependent care providers
- 5. Provide information for people who expect to provide care in the future to elderly or adult dependents.
- 6. Offer support groups for employees with elder or dependent care responsibilities

# Work Flexibility Training Scalek

- 1. Train managers/supervisors on how to deal with work-personal issues facing employees
- 2. Build managing flexibly into managers' and supervisors' performance evaluation
- 3. Provide managers and supervisors with written guidelines on managing flexibility

j Responses ranged from "The Company should not develop this option" (1) to "this would be helpful to me personally" (4).

k Responses ranged from "The Company should not develop this option" (1) to "this would be helpful to me personally" (4).

# Perceived Work Productivity Scale1

In the past 3 months, have you done any of the following because of your personal responsibilities?

- 1.
- Produced lower quality work
  Made errors or had on-the-job accidents
- 2.3. Been distracted so that productivity declined

Responses were "yes" or "no".

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