ON DUTY OR DIAPER DUTY?
IMPACTS OF JOB SATISFACTION, PERCEPTIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT,
STIGMA, AND LEADER-MEMBER EXCHANGE ON PATERNITY LEAVE-TAKING
INTENTIONS

By

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ABSTRACT

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Given the mounting social and governmental support for better paternity leave options in the United States, it is surprising that less than 50% of fathers who are offered paid paternity-specific leave choose to take it (Cruickshank, 2019). Social scientists have thoroughly examined family-supportive policy and culture, yet the social mechanisms and influences surrounding paternity leave (as distinguished from general parental leave) and the decision to take or not take it have yet to be understood. Regulatory barriers that have risen due to the basic nature of the Family and Medical Leave Act and barriers rising from factors in the social environment (stigma, leader-member exchange (LMX), job satisfaction, perceptions of organizational support (POS), perceptions of organizational family support (POFS)) may help explain this statistic. We build hypotheses from the social exchange perspective, emphasizing the role of communication as the primary facilitator of relational development, and viewing relational development as facilitated by social-exchange, or, "a two-sided, mutually contingent, and mutually rewarding process involving 'transactions' or simply 'exchange,'" (Emerson, 1976, p. 336). Data gathered from 92 fathers employed at a large midwestern university indicated that there is a relationship between perceived paternity leave-related stigma and paternity leave intentions, and that fathers with high LMX perceived less stigma from their supervisors than those with low LMX. Implications and findings for future research are discussed.

Keywords: Paternity Leave; LMX; Stigma; Work-Family Policy; Perceptions of Organizational Support; Perceptions of Family Support; Job Satisfaction

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

FMLA Family and Medical leave Act

LMX   Leader-Member Exchange

POS   Perceptions of Organizational Support

POFS Perceptions of Organizational Family Support

INTRODUCTION

According to the National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW) (an ongoing, nationally representative survey that has been tracking emerging US trends in work engagement and talent retention for over three decades) 46% of men experience work-family conflict on a regular basis (SHRM, 2016). Although researchers have generated a sizable amount of literature regarding work-family balance and family-friendly organizational policies, paternity leave (a prominent policy that promotes work-family balance) has limited representation within this body of research. Despite the public embrace of paternity leave at a number of large U.S. organizations such as Bank of America, Coca-Cola, and Facebook (Rodgers, 2019), it is unclear if fathers actually feel comfortable asking for and taking paternity leave. Even fathers who have the option to take paid paternity leave are unlikely to use it. According to a Deloitte study, less than half of fathers employed at organizations offering paid parental leave take more than a week off (Cruickshank, 2019). Given the growing body of research confirming the benefits of taking paternity leave as well as mounting social pressure for organizations to offer more paid parental leave to mothers and fathers alike, this statistic indicates that there is a disconnect somewhere between the fathers' desire for more family-friendly work policies and the decision to take paternity leave.

Regarding paternity leave, the United States Federal Government has taken a rather hands-off approach. The Family and Medical Leave Act ("FMLA") of 1993 requires companies with 50+ full time employees to offer 12 weeks unpaid, job-protected family leave to eligible workers (full-time with 1+ years full-time organizational tenure) following the birth or adoption of a child (FMLA, 2012). The basic nature of FMLA provisions leaves eligible fathers with the daunting task of navigating and negotiating a largely open-ended process, a feat made even more difficult for ineligible new or part-time employees and those working for the approximately 5

million U.S. firms with less than 50 employees (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). Financial concerns may also be of note to both eligible and ineligible employees, as no U.S. employers are required to offer paid paternity leave.

Together, these issues raise institutional barriers to utilizing parental leave that affect both men and women. Fathers, however, are free from the physical complications of pregnancy and childbirth – eliminating any physical demand for time off after the birth. The inherently optional nature of paternity leave opens up the father's leave-taking decision to the influences of his social environment in the workplace and interpersonal relationships within the organization. Therefore, barriers within the social workplace context may further explain why fathers may forgo a paternity leave.

Because this study seeks to address the paternity leave decision as influenced by the workplace cultural environment (a broad term), we seek to address a variety of possible influencing variables from a variety of theoretical perspectives that may create social barriers to taking leave. These variables include: leader-member exchange (LMX), perceptions of organizational support (POS), perceptions of organizational family support (POFS), perceptions of stigma, and job satisfaction. To build and support our hypotheses, we view these constructs through the lens of the social-exchange perspective (LMX and POS), social support theory (POFS), stigma research, and job satisfaction research, while emphasizing the role of communication as the process which facilitates relational development.

Social exchange theory is better defined as a perspective, viewing relational development as facilitated by social exchanges (Emerson, 1976). Social exchanges hinge on reciprocity; when one individual does another a favor, they expect this favor to be returned in some form or another, although it may be unclear when exactly it may occur (Gouldner, 1960). Continuation of the pattern of reciprocity over time develops what is referred to as an exchange relationship. In

the organizational context, this development determines the perceived "score" or balance of exchanges (Blau,1964; Rousseau, 1989). The balance of exchanges between an employee and their employing organization is referred to as perceived organizational support (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchinson, & Sowa, 1986). Between an employee and his or her supervisor, the balance of exchanges is referred to as leader-member exchange (Scandura & Graen, 1987).

Social support theory defines social support as the resources available from others who assist an individual in managing stress (McIntosh, 1991). Regarding work-family conflict, social support is an important resource for coping with work-family conflict (Parasuraman, Greenhaus, & Granrose, 1992). Social support is generally assumed to be provided by friends and family, but the tendency of employees to seek and expect social support from the work domain has been observed and supported in empirical research (Erera, 1992; Hochschild, 1983). Like LMX and POS, perceptions of organizational family support (POFS) is conceptualized as a "balance"; it attempts to capture employees' perceptions regarding the organization's interest in helping them achieve work-life balance (Jahn, Thompson, & Kopelman, 2003).

Regarding stigma, empirical research on work-family policies and parental leave has identified the negative impacts that parental leave can have on the work environment, such as increased workload on co-workers, perceptions of injustice, and resentment of leave-takers (Allen & Russell, 1999; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Miller, Jablin, Casey, Lamphear-Van Horn, & Ehington, 1996; Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013, Wayne & Cordiero, 2003). Over time, these impacts have created a stigma surrounding parental leave. In addition to this stigma, taking paternity leave specifically violates the traditional male gender role expectation of breadwinner first and everything else following (Hodges & Budig, 2010; Vandello et al., 2013). Lack of regulations only magnifies these social pressures and

stigmas, making fathers more vulnerable to their influence when deciding to take or forego a paternity leave.

      A review of relevant literature pertaining to paternity leave, LMX, POS, perceived stigma, POFS, job satisfaction, and a brief discussion of job-status differences will be presented below along with four hypotheses and three research questions. Methods and results will be presented, followed by discussion of findings, limitations, and suggestions for future research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Paternity Leave

There are two salient arguments in favor of paternity leave that appear across both the popular press and the academic literature. First, bonding with children during their first few weeks of life allows fathers the opportunity to step into the role of caregiver at an early age, paving the way for high levels of parental engagement and life satisfaction for the years to come. (Huerta, Adema, Baxter, Han, Lausten, Lee, & Waldfogel, 2014: Neponmyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007: Pragg & Knoester, 2017: Aumann, Galinsky, & Matos, 2011; Harrington, Van Duesn, & Humberd, 2011; Rehel, 2014). For example, Pragg & Knoester (2017) found that fathers' leave-taking behaviors were associated with fathers' engagement at one and five years after the births of their new children. Second, paternity leave appears to benefit women, as it "levels the playing field" regarding the missed opportunities for career advancement that women have reported as a result of maternity leave (WorldatWork, 2016). Additionally, it is theorized that women also benefit from paternity leave when it leads to increased engagement from fathers because fathers are more willing and capable of shouldering household responsibilities that have previously fallen mainly on mothers, sometimes resulting in their departure from the workforce (Clark, 2001).

Fathers and the FMLA. Under the FMLA, all fathers employed by a covered employer (any public agency or any person employing 50 or more full-time employees) are entitled to no more than 12 weeks of job-protected FMLA leave during the 12-month period starting the day of the birth or adoption of a child (FMLA, 2012). The FMLA does not specify when or how these 12 weeks should be taken (e.g. immediately following birth or a few weeks after, consecutively or as a shortened work week, etc.), only that "bonding leave" to be taken beyond the 12-month period does not qualify as FMLA leave.

There are a couple of additional considerations included in FMLA provisions that fathers may attend to when deciding if they will take a paternity leave. First, it is within the rights of employers to require fathers who work for the same covered employer as their spouse to split their 12 weeks of leave between themselves and their spouse (FMLA, 2012). In cases where both parents are employed by the same organization and the mother needs a full 12 weeks of leave for health reasons, the father would have to give up his portion of FMLA leave. Second, an intermittent or reduced schedule leave in which the father uses up his 12 weeks incrementally throughout the course of the 12 months in which he is eligible for paternity leave must be approved by the employer (FMLA, 2012). For fathers who need or desire to utilize an intermittent or reduced schedule, the fear of non-approval or a lengthy approval process could deter them from taking an extended leave.

On paper, these provisions are clear and concise, and compliance seems easy enough. A closer look, however, reveals that parental leave - and paternity leave specifically - is anything but a clear-cut, routine process. While the FMLA is clearly written, its provisions are basic. The details of the leave such as the length, format (lump sum or intermittent), work coverage during the leave, return, etc. must all be determined between the employer and employee. Therefore, the outcomes of these discussions or negotiations can vary greatly between organizations, departments, workgroups, and even between individuals working under the same supervisor. This uncertainty and inconsistency, even for FMLA eligible fathers, can make paternity leave a risky undertaking, making the leave-taking decision all the more difficult.

The leave-taking decision. While supporters of paternity leave herald its benefits, the decision itself is made in the real-time, socio-cultural context. Even where family-friendly work policies (e.g. paternity leave) are in place, organizational culture and attitudes surrounding their utilization have a significant influence on potential leave-takers (Hammer et al., 2007; Kirby &

Krone, 2002; Cordiero, 2006). Kirby & Krone (2002) observed perceptions of "special treatment" of workers with families (e.g. less travel time, flexible work schedule, etc.). They also observed that in most situations, supervisory influence appeared to be an important factor when employees were navigating work-family conflict. Supervisor-employee employee relationships also appear as significant influencers across family-policy research (Buttler & Skatebo, 2004; Clark, 2001; Cordiero, 2006; Hammer et al., 2007; Hammer et al., 2009; Harrington et al., 2014; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Miller et al., 1996; Pragg & Knoester 2019, Wayne, Shore, & Liden, 1997), but very few have directly identified or measured this relationship as a single construct. Rather, they focus on relational dimensions like emotional support (Hammer et al., 2007) or outcomes like promotions and pay (Allen & Russell, 1999; Berdahl & Mood, 2013; Clark, 2001; Haataja, 2009; Hodges & Budig, 2010), which are single complonents of the larger supervisor-employee relationship.

Therefore, to gain a fine-grained understanding of why fathers may or may not choose to utilize paternity leave – a family policy – it appears that the employee-supervisor relationship is a logical place to start. Leader-member exchange (LMX) theory has been widely used in organizational research to characterize and measure the quality of supervisor-employee relationships. While the LMX theory framework has been studied and utilized by a large number of researchers, there is little to no known literature examining the relationship between LMX and paternity leave usage. LMX theory is grounded in role theory and exchange theory, both of which are directly relevant to work-family research. This well-developed framework is the perfect context in which to examine the social components of the paternity-leave decision.

Leader-Member Exchange

Theory overview. The LMX theory of leadership has received considerable attention from organizational communication scholars, who have amassed a substantial body of research

dedicated to clarifying the LMX construct, its antecedents, and outcomes. When first introduced, LMX theory was novel in that it focused on separate, dyadic leader-member relationships rather than leader-group relationships. Viewing leader-member relationships as dyadic examines both parties as independent actors within the relationship and yields richer data than simple measures of leadership styles (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975). LMX theory also specified that leaders develop different types of exchange relationships with each of their followers – hence the need to examine dyadic relationships.

This process, called "LMX differentiation" is the central premise of LMX theory (Henderson, Liden, Glibkoski, & Chaudhry, 2009). This differentiation is important because the quality of an exchange relationship (assessed through measurement of the LMX construct) affects various leader and member attributes and behaviors (Gerstner & Day, 1997; Liden, Wayne, & Stillwell, 1993; Sparrowe & Liden, 1997). Three published meta-analyses have provided support for a wide variety of relationships between LMX and important attitudinal and behavioral antecedents and outcomes (Dulebohn, Bommer, Liden, Brouer, & Ferris, 2012; Gerstner & Day, 1997; Ilies, Nahrgang, & Morgeson, 2007), demonstrating the value of LMX theory as framework to study workplace attitudes and behaviors.

Lack of attention to relationships between low LMX and employee outcomes also seems to be a consistent gap in LMX literature. In their 2001 meta-analysis on the LMX dimension of self and other effort, Maslyn & Uhl-Bien identify a need for more research regarding antecedents and outcomes of low LMX. This was still an issue 10 years later in Martin, Guillaume, Thomas, Lee, & Epitropaki's (2016) meta-analysis, which found evidence supporting a negative relationship between LMX and counterproductive behaviors. Low LMX relationships could cut followers off from opportunities and resources that are available to their in-group peers (Martin

et al., 2016). This indicates that not only does LMX maintenance and growth produce desired effects, it also could counteract negative effects.

Regarding positive organizational outcomes, Dulebohn et al. (2012) report positive, significant relationships between LMX and organizational commitment ($r = .41$), job satisfaction ($r = .42$), satisfaction with supervisor ($r = .57$), empowerment ($r = .58$), and job performance ($r = .34$). This meta-analysis also reports negative, significant relationships between LMX and both turnover intentions and actual turnover ($r = -34$ and $r = -.15$, respectively).While researchers continue to debate the relative merits of various operationalization methods and dimensions of measurement of the LMX construct, the general impact remains relatively the same: the quality of leader-member relationships impacts organizational behaviors and outcomes, and higher quality relationships lead to more desirable behaviors and outcomes.

Because LMX has received so much empirical attention, the attitudes and behaviors that characterize high and low LMX relationships have become relatively salient. These characteristics underpin our proposed research and are outlined below.

Characteristics of high and low LMX relationships. High-quality LMX relationships are characterized by deep trust and loyalty, strong mutual respect and support, and large negotiation latitude (Jian, Shi, & Dalisay, 2014). These characteristics, however, are relatively intangible and raise questions about construct validity. Additionally, definitions of concepts like trust, loyalty, respect, and support differ between individuals. To contribute easily applicable findings for practitioners, our research seeks to measure and identify variables that are tied to specific behaviors. Therefore, it may be more useful to ask what communication behaviors are indicative of high quality LMX. Jian et al.'s (2014) scale (see Appendix C) transfers three dimensions of communication dynamics (communication efficiency, coordination, and accuracy) into measurable communication behaviors.

Communication efficiency refers to efficiency in both meaning interpretation and information exchange (Jian et al., 2014). The idea here is that as relationships develop, social distance between individuals decreases and dyads communicate more expertly and effectively; they are able to say more and mean more using fewer words and symbols (Barry & Crant, 2000). Individuals in these dyads are also able to receive and comprehend messages more effectively, despite a relative lack of words and symbols. Communication efficiency is exemplified by terse storytelling, or "an abbreviated and succinct simplification of the story in which parts of the plot, some of the characters, and segments of the sequence of events are left to the hearer's imagination" (Boje, 2001; p. 115).

Coordination refers to the level of synchrony present during a dyadic interaction. This synchrony is facilitated through prior experience, communication behaviors, and understanding of relationally relevant perceptions, norms, attributions, and expectancies (Jian et al., 2014). While behaviors related to coordination are less tangible, the concept of easy conversation flow, the alignment of ideas, and being "in sync" is relatively easy to observe and identify when it occurs. Finally, "accuracy" refers to accuracy in meaning interpretations (Jian et al., 2014). Accuracy is especially important in organizational settings, as not only LMX quality but also task completion depend on accurate message interpretation.

As discussed, out-group (low LMX) members are more likely to be cut off from the opportunities and resources that are available to their in-group peers (Martin et al., 2016). Based on the previous discussion, it follows that low LMX relationships are characterized by low levels of trust, loyalty, professional respect, and professional support.

Additionally, some researchers claim that low LMX is also characterized by the presence of few, if any, benefits outside of the formal employee contract (Dienesch & Liden, 1986; Harris, Harris, & Brouer, 2009). This claim is best explained by comparing the communication goals

and behaviors of high LMX dyads with low LMX dyads. High LMX relationships reach beyond the formal job contract, where communication goals are oriented around both task efficiency and increasing the follower's ability and motivation to perform at a higher level (Martin et al., 2016). In comparison, communication in low LMX relationships is centered around the employment contract and consists primarily of economic exchanges that are focused on the completion of work tasks (Martin et al., 2016). The high formality and job contract-centered communication goals in these interactions leaves little room for informal, rapport-building conversations. While task efficiency is a desirable employee trait, it is evident that social exchange processes are what create the types of working relationships and partnerships that are characteristic of high quality LMX relationships.

Individual differences mediate, moderate, and confound the majority of human communication. The breadth and depth of these differences often leave large (sometimes undetected) gaps in research that are difficult to account for. In the LMX context, Cropanzano, Dasborough, & Weiss (2017) propose a theoretical model integrating affective events theory with existing work on LMX relationships. Essentially, they predict that (1) employee and leader affect impact the employee socialization process, (2) changes in this affect will impact LMX, and (3) both initial affect and changes to affect will predict LMX (Cropanzano et al., 2017). This model can be used to examine a wide variety of affective processes, events, and personal differences in affect as they relate to LMX relationships (Cropanzano et al., 2017).

The importance of affect to LMX cannot be understated. Sears & Hackett (2011) found that member perceptions of LMX were largely explained by their affect towards leaders – even more so than role clarity. These perceptions are constructed through a series of affective events that build on each other as the relationship develops (Cropanzano et al, 2017). As Cropanzano et al. demonstrate, the effect of affect on the relationship between supervisor-subordinate

communication activities and trust, loyalty, and professional respect and support (characteristics of high LMX) emphasizes the importance of informal communication to build positive effective perceptions among followers toward their leaders. If employees' perceptions of affect rely solely on formal communication events with their supervisor, even relatively few negative affective events could have a strong, negative impact on followers' affective perceptions.

Returning to Jian's three-part conceptualization of the communication behaviors measuring LMX, lack of informal communication is clear indicator of a low-quality LMX relationship. Leader-member dyads who do not communicate frequently and informally miss opportunities to increase their communication efficiency, reach communication synchrony, and practice message interpretation to increase accuracy. To summarize, while there are a number of behaviors that could indicate a low-quality LMX relationship, lack of informal communication is arguably the primary cause and indicator under rooting them all.

LMX and paternity leave. A large body of research suggests that work-family culture is important in determining whether employees will utilize family-supportive policies (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutten, 2000; Clark, 2001; Galinsky, Bond, & Friedman, 1993; Grandey, Cordeiro, & Cronin, 2005, April; Lyness, Judiesch, Thompson, & Beauvais, 2001, August; Thomas & Ganster, 1995; Thompson et al., 1999). Although these studies, when combined, examine a wide variety of components of work-family culture, all include some dimension of supervisor support. Additionally, empirical evidence suggests that supervisor support is a key dimension of broader organizational culture (Thompson Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999; Korabik, Rosin, & Kelloway, 2002).

Given the connection between supervisor support and utilization of family-supportive policies, we expect that the supervisor-employee relationship and paternity leave-taking intentions are also connected. Underlying LMX theory is the assumption that supervisors

develop a unique exchange relationship with each of their employees. These relationships are categorized by differing levels of exchange quality, loyalty, trust, support, etc. Because a father does not experience the physical demands of childbirth, his paternity leave-taking decision is more vulnerable to relational influences. In these conditions, we predict that the influence of LMX we be especially salient.

With the exception of Alaska, California, New York, Rhode Island, Hawaii, and the city of San Francisco (these locations have implemented state or city laws requiring some form of paid leave for qualifying organizations) (Milkman & Appelbaum, 2013), qualifying US employers are only required to offer a minimum of 12 weeks of parental leave to eligible employees following the birth or adoption of a child. This lack of regulation leaves a large latitude of possible policies related to parental leave that are up to the discretion of the organization and even more possibilities for uneven distribution of leave between employees. Even in organizations that have detailed policies, parents must still negotiate the terms of their leave and return with their supervisor and work group (Miller et al., 1996), if they take leave at all.

In their discussion of the negotiation of maternity leave, Miller et al. (1996) hypothesize that LMX could influence negotiation strategies employed by mothers taking leave. An in-group leave-taker is likely to have a deeper understanding of her supervisor's needs, giving her insight into probable reactions to a request for leave. She also will have frequent access to actual feedback from her supervisor regarding the impact of her leave (Miller et al., 1996). Conversely, an out-group leave-taker and her supervisor may avoid informal discussions about maternity leave due to the low levels of mutual support and trust that often characterize low LMX relationships (Miller et al., 1996).

These hypotheses also have significant implications for fathers deciding whether to take a paternity leave, especially since freedom from the physical demands of pregnancy and childbirth complicates parental leave for fathers, creating a vulnerability to social influence from both supervisors and peers that mothers do not experience by default.

When fathers are looking to take a paternity leave, they must communicate on a level that moves beyond the employment contract and into their personal lives. Because high LMX relationships are characterized by informal, personal communication, in-group fathers should feel more comfortable discussing paternity leave with their supervisors. These fathers will have a better understanding of their supervisor's attitudes towards paternity as well as his/her needs and/or concerns. Additionally, high LMX relationships are also indicative of a ready willingness between both parties to go above and beyond the work contract for each other. Even if the supervisor is not supportive of paternity leave, he/she may be more willing to negotiate rather than fight it. Therefore, in-group fathers should be more likely to take paternity leave.

Conversely, fathers in low-LMX relationships will be unaccustomed to discussing personal matters with their supervisors because their communication goals are centered around task completion rather than personal growth and development. When this is the case, not only will out-group fathers' communication surrounding their leave request be less adept, but they may less willing to bring it up in informal contexts. The inability to informally discuss leave could further hinder out-group fathers from requesting leave because they will be unable predict how their request will be received.

H1a: Fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher LMX-7 scores than fathers who would not.

H1b: Fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher LMCQ scores than fathers who would not.

Perceived Organizational Support

Like LMX, organizational support theory (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986; Shore & Shore, 1995) is rooted in social exchange theory. Unlike LMX, however, it addresses the exchange relationship at the organizational level. Underlying organizational support theory is the assumption that employees develop global beliefs regarding their organization's commitment to them (i.e. the organization's concern and contributions toward their general well-being). These beliefs are developed and influenced by perceptions of organizational support (POS) (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

Organizational support theory asserts that POS development is facilitated by the employee tendency to personify their organization through the actions and decisions of their supervisor (Eisenberger et al, 1986). In other words, employees tend to view supervisor actions and decisions as indications of the organization's intent, rather than attributing them to that individual's personal motives (Levinson, 1965). This personification is facilitated by organization's overarching responsibility for the actions of its supervisors, its policies, norms, and cultures, and the power its agents hold over employees (Levinson, 1965). "On the basis of the organization's personification, employees view their favorable or unfavorable treatment as an indication that the organization favors or disfavors them," (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002, p. 698).

Because POS is facilitated by personification of the organization through the supervisor, it is an important communication variable. POS is built through the same kinds of affective events that facilitate LMX development. These affective events, however, are facilitated through communication. When supervisors communicate with employees, even at the informal level, they are still communicating as representatives of the organization. They also are communicating as people in immediate power positions over employees, which is both legitimized and

strengthened by their representation of the organization. Therefore, every element of the communication context is important. Employees will interpret every sigh at a request off, every smile at a job well done, every gentle reminder to tidy their work space as indications of both supervisor and organizational support (or lack thereof).

POS also serve as assurance that the organization will aid employees in circumstances where extra support is needed to meet job expectations and/or in stressful situations (cf. George, Reed, Ballard, Colin, & Fielding, 1993). This function of POS may be especially salient to the paternity leave-taking decision because by taking leave, a father would be putting himself in a situation that requires his organization to provide extra support in the form of being granted a job-protected leave of absence so that he can support his family and continue to meet his job expectations. Additionally, many fathers may feel additional stress related to birth or adoption if the mother and/or child experience health issues, parents are confronted with issues related to adoption procedures, etc. Any number of things related to birth or adoption could cause fathers to experience additional stress and/or require extra support from their organization. Fathers who have low levels of POS may be less likely to take leave because they do not believe that they will receive the necessary support from their organization to fulfill their job obligations while successfully supporting their families.

H2: Fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher POS than fathers who would not.

Stigma

A second factor that could impact paternity leave intentions is stigma. Empirically, fatherhood generally appears not to harm, and even to benefit professional men (Correll, Bernard, & Paik, 2007; Cuddy, Fisk, & Glick., 2004, Glauber, 2008; Knoester & Eggebeen, 2006; Millimet, 2000). This is attributed to the stereotype that having children will motivate a

man to work harder because he is the breadwinner (Hodges & Budig, 2010). Some studies

indicate that recruiters and managers view fatherhood as a positive trait when considering career

advancement and long-term loyalty to a firm (Correll et al. 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004, Glauber,

2008; Knoester & Eggebeen, 2006; Millimet, 2000). It would seem, however, that this

"fatherhood benefit" is neutralized and even reversed for fathers whose active involvement in

raising their children includes taking time off work, missing work, or missing meetings and/or

work functions that take place outside of business hours for family-related reasons (Berdahl &

Moon, 2013; Rudman & Mescher, 2013).

Although corporate America is slowly embracing paternity leave (Rodgers, 2019),

traditional gender roles and expectations are deeply rooted in the culture and structure of the

American workplace (Butler and Skattebo, 2004; Hodges & Budig, 2010; Rudman & Mescher,

2013). In 2013, the Wall Street Journal asked Facebook users if they thought that paternity leave

carries a stigma at the office. The responses were varied. Some users stated that there was no

stigma and described positive experiences before, during, and after their leave. Others

complained about the USA's lack of family friendly policies and indicated their intentions to

take full advantage of paternity leave. Still others took a middle-of-the road stance,

acknowledging the stigma but describing their willingness to accept consequences for taking a

paternity leave. One father even stated, "In reality I am more committed to my son than my

career, so if my career suffers I guess I don't really care," (Eichert, 2014).

Despite a number of positive and neutral opinions, many users expressed strong belief

that the stigma is real, and some made derogatory comments about family leave in general. One

woman said, "I don't understand why people get maternity and paternity leave but I don't get

leave when I get a new horse or dog," (Styna, 2014). Another wondered about "generous leave"

options for those without children (Canterbury, 2014). Finally, one man summed his perspective

on paternity leave in just six words: "Not medically required. Get to work," (Gonzalez, 2014). Interestingly, his profile picture is of himself in the hospital with a woman and a brand-new baby. Perhaps he took paternity leave after all…

A significant source of this stigma is the inconsistency between taking paternity leave and traditional male sex roles (Butler & Skattebo, 2004; Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Although about 70% of married US women with children under age 18 participate in the workforce (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018), stereotypes of men as primary providers and women as primary caregivers persist (Butler & Skattebo, 2004; Berdahl & Moon, 2013; Hodges & Budig, 2010; Vandello et al., 2013) Berdahl & Moon (2013) suggest that employees are both judged and treated according to how well they conform to traditional family roles (i.e. mother is primary caregiver, father is breadwinner). When fathers take actions that prioritize family over work (e.g. paternity leave), they violate these stereotypes.

Additionally, Rudman & Mescher (2013) found that men who request family leave also suffer from poor worker stigma and femininity stigma. These men were rated higher on feminine traits like weakness and uncertainty, and these perceptions of weakness predicted a greater risk for job-related penalties like demotion or layoff. A two-part study asked undergraduate student to evaluate hypothetical employees who were either seeking a flexible schedule following the birth of a child or had declined a flexible schedule in favor of a traditional work schedule following the birth of a child. The researchers found that both male and female employees seeking a flexible schedule were rated more negatively on job characteristics and recommendations for a raise than those who sought a more traditional schedule (Vandello et al., 2013). Additionally, all flexibility seekers were rated higher on traditionally feminine characteristics than traditional schedule seekers (Vandello et al., 2013). This indicates that while both men and women flexibility seekers were rated poorly on work characteristics and rated as more feminine, the

impact is greater for men because they are being perceived as gender deviant in a circumstance where women are perceived as gender normative.

Aside from explaining the impact of work flexibility stigma on men, Vandello et al.'s (2013) finding is important to understanding the paternity leave stigma at work because it underscores the presence of work-flexibility stigma in young educated people about to enter the workforce – the same demographic that in first study ranked work flexibility and work-life balance in their future careers second only to financial compensation. Although these young people entering the workforce may view paternity leave from a more normalized standpoint than older workers, this study indicates that even they are subject to what seems to be a pretty deep-rooted response to a coworker taking time off for something other than an emergency.

Combined, these findings suggest that there is indeed a stigma associated with paternity leave that is still prevalent in US workplaces. However, fathers who are making a leave-taking decision in real time may not be aware of this and other research on the long-term outcomes of paternity leave (financial stability, parental engagement, etc.) and cannot use it to inform their decision. Understanding the relationship between taking parental leave and long-term outcomes like promotions, financial stability, family involvement, and life satisfaction is worthwhile and demonstrates the importance of the decision to take parental leave. It does not, however, explain why fathers may or may not choose to take paternity leave. Given the growing body of research confirming the benefits of taking paternity leave as well as mounting social pressure for organizations to offer more paid parental leave to mothers and fathers alike, the low number of fathers choosing to take paternity leave indicates that there is a disconnect somewhere between the fathers' desire for more family-friendly work policies and the decision to take paternity leave. Berdahl & Moon (2013) suggest that employees are both judged and treated according to how well they conform to traditional family roles (i.e. mother is primary caregiver, father is

breadwinner). If a man feels that he will be mistreated and penalized at work for taking parental leave because it is incongruent with others' perceptions of traditional family roles, then it follows that he will be less likely to take paternity leave.

H3: Fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months perceive less paternity leave-related stigma in the workplace than fathers who would not.

The impact of LMX on perceptions of paternity leave stigma has gone largely unstudied in empirical research. Employees in high LMX relationships often receive benefits and considerations from their supervisors that fall outside of the employee contract. Employees in high LMX relationships also engage in frequent informal communication with their supervisors. Supervisors who have negative feelings or opinions about paternity leave may not perpetuate the stigma to in-group members who have discussed their leave intentions due to the positive affect and wide negotiation latitude that characterizes high LMX relationships. However, it is also possible that LMX may not influence perceptions of stigma at all. Even if supervisors are inclined to do an in-group father a "favor" despite their negative feelings and opinions about paternity leave, they could still be perpetuating stigma. The same informal conversations that could change supervisor behavior could also serve to reinforce employee perceptions of stigma and discourage them from requesting leave because they are able to predict a negative response.

RQ1: Will "in-group" fathers perceive less paternity leave stigma from their supervisors than "out-group" fathers?

Perceived Organizational Family Support

Perceptions of organizational family support (POFS) may further account for variance in leave-taking behaviors. While not as widely measured as perceived organizational support (POS), POFS is directly relevant to this research as it "encompasses all the work-family policies and practices offered by an organization – the totality of which convey a message regarding the

organization's interests in helping employees achieve a viable balance between work and family life," (Jahn, Thompson, & Kopelman, 2010, p. 125). This "message" and the resulting perceptions of organizational family support are a direct indication of how well an organization has been able to build a work-family supportive culture, a direct predictor of utilization of family-friendly policies (Hammer et al., 2007; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Cordiero, 2006).

POFS is also an important communication variable, as it is the culmination of many messages between an organization and its employees regarding the social support they may or may not receive in their pursuit of work-life balance. If we take a social-exchange perspective to this variable, POFS is a very clear demonstration of reciprocity in a very specific context. If employees personify the organization in their supervisors, then the way that supervisors communicate about paternity leave directly contributes to POFS. Given the inherent stigma surrounding any leave of absence previously discussed, negative attitudes and lack of enthusiasm during discussions about family issues or about coworkers who have previously prioritized family over work may have a strong impact on POFS.

Family support is a directly relevant topic to leave-takers as they look to their organization to support them personally and professionally through a time of personal change and professional adjustment to new familial priorities. Therefore, the memories and affective communication events that make up POFS may be more salient and directly accessible.

H4: Fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher POFS than fathers who would not.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction, defined by Williams & Hazer (1986) as "the affective orientation of individuals to the work roles they occupy and characteristics of their jobs" (p. 222), may further explain variation in paternity leave-taking intentions. The antecedents of job satisfaction are

extremely varied and significantly dependent on the juxtaposition of individual differences and job characteristics (Fournet, Distefano, & Pryer, 1966). The job characteristics that may impact job satisfaction, however, are closely related to the other constructs contributing to this research. Among others, Fournet, et al. (1966) identify immediate supervision, social environment, and communication as job characteristics influencing job satisfaction. Given these relationships, job satisfaction should be related to paternity leave intentions to a similar extent that the other variables such as LMX, POS, and POFS also are.

H5: Fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher job satisfaction scores than fathers who would not.

Job Status Difference

Beyond differences in social influences and organizational culture, it is possible that the job status differences (e.g. salaried vs. unsalaried) that are often associated with access to paid paternity leave will account for some of the differences in leave-taking behaviors. In a national survey conducted by the Department of Labor (2000), over 50% of leave-takers reported concern about paying their bills during leave. In conjunction, just 12% of U.S. private sector workers have access to paid parental-specific leave (United States Department of Labor, 2015), and SHRM (2015) data suggest that workers in "low-prestige" positions (hourly or factory work) are the least likely to have access to paid leave. Additionally, some evidence suggests that paternity leave is especially stigmatized among low-wage workers and fathers in low-prestige jobs (Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl., 2013).

Regarding LMX, however, there is little conclusive evidence to suggest that LMX relationships function differently in white-collar/salaried vs. blue-collar/hourly settings, as the question itself has not been examined empirically. Additionally, LMX meta-analyses do not compare studies with blue-collar/hourly samples to those using white-collar/salaried samples.

Given the lack of evidence to suggest otherwise, it is reasonable to predict that we might see the same size effects of LMX on paternity leave intentions in both groups of fathers, even if the hourly works have a lower tendency to take leave.

RQ2: Will job status differences be related to paternity leave-taking intentions?

METHODS

Participants

Participants were 92 fathers employed at a large midwestern university. Participant demographics are as follows: average age was 40 years (SD = 7.65); average organizational tenure was 2.75 years (SD = 1.26); average of 2 children (SD = 1.02); they were employed as either unionized support staff (67.7%) or non-unionized academic faculty/staff (32.3%). Per university policy, FMLA-eligible fathers categorized as faculty or academic (non-union) staff are entitled to 6 weeks paid paternity leave with additional unpaid leave available in accordance with FMLA. FMLA-eligible fathers categorized as support staff (union) may receive up to 12 weeks of unpaid paternity leave in accordance with FMLA. Per union agreements, unionized FMLA-eligible employees may receive pay during an FMLA paternity leave by using accrued sick and/or vacation time.

Procedure

A link to an online survey was distributed via email though the university's Work-Life Office to its parent listserv. Recipients were also encouraged to share the survey with other fathers employed at the university who have not opted into the parent listserv prior to survey distribution. The Work-Life Office also distributed the survey link to fathers who had previously shared their email addresses as part of a Fatherhood Forum held at the university. It is difficult to determine a precise response rate, as some participants reported forwarding the survey to other fathers within the university who were not on the parent listserv. Additionally, the link was distributed to the listserv several times over the course of two weeks, during which time the number of fathers on the listserv could have changed. At the conclusion of the survey, fathers were given the opportunity to engage in a live interview about their paternity leave experience.

Nine such interviews were conducted. These interviews, although not part of the study, will be used to inform discussion and future research.

Independent Variables

Complete scales for each variable can be found in Appendix A.

LMX. LMX was measured using the LMX-7 (Scandura & Graen, 1984) and the LMCQ (Jian et al., 2014) scales. Gerstner & Day (1997) recommended researchers use the LMX-7 (α = 0.88) measure because it exhibited higher reliability and stronger validity correlations than other LMX measures. LMCQ is included because it measures common, quantifiable communication behaviors that contribute to LMX development (Jian et al., 2014). A reliability analysis was carried out on the LMCQ. Cronbach's alpha showed the questionnaire to reach acceptable reliability, α = .97.

POS. Perception of organizational support were measured using the 16-item version (originally 36) of Eisenberger, et al.'s (1986) POS scale (α = .96). Sample items from this shortened scale include: "My organization values my contribution to its well-being," and, "If the organization could hire someone to replace me at a lower salary, it would do so."

Perceptions of stigma. Perceptions of stigma were measured using an adapted version of a stigma scale developed by Jones et al., 2009. The adapted version of the scale scale measured perceptions of stigma as perpetuated by both supervisors and coworkers combined into a single score. Sample items from the adapted scale include: "When my coworkers knew that I am/was considering/taking a paternity leave, they treated me differently," and, "Paternity leave is perceived as unnecessary by my supervisor." The intent of the scale is to measure stigma at a high level in the interest of examining the workplace social environment as inclusively as possible. A reliability analysis was carried out on the modified stigma scale. Cronbach's alpha showed the questionnaire to reach acceptable reliability, α = .87.

To address RQ2 (Will "in-group" fathers perceive less paternity leave stigma from their supervisors than "out-group" fathers?), it was necessary to isolate perceptions of stigma perpetuated by supervisors alone. Items from the stigma scale specifically related to supervisor behaviors were computed into a single variable. Cronbach's alpha showed that the supervisor-specific questions calculated as a separate scale each acceptable reliability, $\alpha = .90$.

Job category. Job categories included (1) academic faculty and staff and (2) general support staff. This was measured by single item: "Please select your organizational classification: a) Academic – Faculty, b) Academic – Staff, c) Support Staff, d) Not sure." Two categories emerged from the four response options (excluding "d) Not sure") due to the structuration of the University's parental leave policies. One parental policy applies specifically to employees categorized as "academic faculty" or "academic staff", and the other to all other University employees, categorized as "support staff". FMLA-eligible academic faculty and staff may take up to six weeks paid parental leave with additional unpaid leave available in accordance with FMLA. FMLA-eligible support staff may take up to 12 weeks unpaid leave. An additional distinction between these two groups is union status. Support staff are unionized, academic faculty and staff are not.

POFS. Perceptions of organizational family support were measured using a nine item POFS scale ($\alpha = .96$) developed by Jahn, et al. (2010). Sample items from this scale include: "My organization has many programs and policies designed to help employees balance work and family life," and, "My organization makes an active effort to help families when there is a conflict between work and family life."

Job satisfaction. Job satisfaction was measured by a single item: "Taking everything into consideration, how do you feel about your job as a whole?" Use of this single item measure to assess overall job satisfaction has received substantial empirical support (Dolbier, Webster,

McCallister, Malon, & Steinhardt, 2005; Nagy, 2002; Wanous & Reichers, 1996; Wanous, Reichers, & Hurdy, 1997).

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study was paternity leave-taking intentions, which were measured by two to three survey items. These items were designed to capture participants' past, present, and (hypothetical) future leave-taking behaviors. First, if a participant reported that he and his spouse or partner are expecting the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months, he was asked to indicate his intention or non-intention to take paternity leave following said birth or adoption. All participants including expectant fathers received the questions: "Have you taken a paternity leave at any point in your career?" and "If you were to have or adopt another child in the next 12 months, would you take a paternity leave?"

RESULTS

The analyses undertaken to test hypotheses and research questions regarding the intention to take a leave in the future were conducted using one survey item that asked about hypothetical leave intentions (reported willingness or unwillingness to take a paternity leave if participant were to have a child in the next 12 months). Very few (7 of 92) respondents reported actual leave intentions within the next year. Additionally, fathers who took leave in the past may not be working in professional environments comparable between the time when they took a paternity leave(s) and where they are presently employed. Therefore, the hypothetical leave intention variable was used because it yielded more valid cases (79) and were more relevant to measurement of participants' current organizational cultural environment.

The results presented below may be influenced by a small sample size (92 total, 79 completed the entire survey). A Cohen's *d* power analysis indicated that a total sample of 140 participants would be needed to detect medium effects (d=.5) with 90% power using a t-test between means with alpha at .05. Additionally, comparison groups would need to total at least 60 cases each to detect medium effects at the same power and alpha levels.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for All Variables

Variables	M	SD	n	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. LMX-7[a]	3.03	0.68	77						
2. Stigma[b]	1.98	0.85	69	-.39**					
3. POS[b]	3.49	1.00	78	.60**	-.45**				
4. Job Satisfaction[c]	5.51	1.50	83	.48**	-.38**	.75**			
5. LMCQ[b]	4.07	0.95	76	.80**	-.39**	.46**	.38**		
6. POFS[b]	3.33	1.22	67	.47**	-.42**	.64**	.53**	.37**	

Note. s.d.=standard deviation. 1=strongly agree.

**p < .01, *p < .05, [a] 4 point scale, [b] 5 point scale, [c] 7 point scale

H1a predicted that fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher LMX-7 scores than fathers who would not. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare LMX measured with the LMX-7 for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions. Mean differences between LMX-7 for affirmative and negative paternity leave-taking intention scores were higher for affirmative intentions (M = 3.06, SD = 0.66) than negative intentions (M = 2.97, SD = 0.94). However, difference in the scores for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions did not reach statistical significance; $t(74)=0.49$, $p > .05$.

H1b predicted that fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher LMCQ scores than fathers who would not. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare LMX measured with the LMCQ for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions. Mean differences between LMCQ for affirmative and negative paternity leave-taking intention scores were higher for affirmative intentions (M = 4.12, SD = 0.94) than negative intentions (M = 3.90, SD = 0.96). However, the difference in the scores for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions did not reach statistical significance; $t(68)=0.82$, $p > .05$.

H2 predicted that fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher POS than fathers who would not. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare POS for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions. The difference in the scores for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions (M = 3.50, SD = 0.92) and negative paternity leave-taking intentions (M = 3.51, SD = 1.21) did not reach significance; $t(58)=0.16$, $p > .05$.

H3 predicted fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months perceive less paternity leave-related stigma in the workplace than fathers who would not. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare stigma for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions. The results provided support for this hypothesis. Those who reported that they would take leave if they were to have or adopt another child in the next year perceived less stigma related to paternity leave (M = 1.85, SD = .86) than those who would not (M = 2.35, SD = .61). This difference was significant; $t(69)=2.51$, $p < .05$.

RQ1 asked if *"in-group"* fathers perceive less paternity leave stigma from their supervisors than "out-group" fathers. The results indicated that "in-group" fathers do indeed perceive less stigma than their "out-group" counterparts. In the analysis, "in-group" is identified as an aggregate LMX score greater than the mean of 3.0. To identify stigma from supervisors, items from the stigma scale specifically related to supervisor behaviors were computed into a single variable ($\alpha = .90$). Results of an independent samples t-test indicated that "in-group" perceptions of stigma from supervisor (M = 1.48, SD = .61) were lower than "out-group" perceptions of stigma from supervisor (M = 2.33, SD = 1.48). This test was found to statistically significant $t(67)=2.70$, $p < .01$.

Table 2

Results of t-test and Descriptive Statistics for Supervisor Stigma by LMX Status

| | LMX Status | | | | | | 95% CI for Mean | | | |
| | In-Group* | | | Out-Group | | | | | | |
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	Difference	t	df	Sig.
Sup. Stigma	1.72	0.76	44	2.28	1.06	25	0.07, 1.04	2.30	67	.03

Note. M=Mean. s.d.=standard deviation. df=degrees of freedom. Sig.=significance.
*LMX scores ≥ 3, used mean split

H4 predicted that fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher POFS than fathers who would not. An independent

samples t-test was conducted to compare POFS for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions. Mean differences between POFS for affirmative and negative paternity leave-taking intention scores were higher for affirmative intentions (M = 3.52, SD = 1.09) than negative intentions (M = 3.97, SD = 1.63). However, there the difference in POFS scores for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions did not reach significance; $t(67)=0.96$, $p > .05$.

Table 3
Results of t-test and Descriptive Statistics for Continuous Variables by Leave Intentions

| | Hypothetical Leave Intentions | | | | | | 95% CI for | | | |
| | Would Take Leave | | | Would Not Take Leave | | | Mean | | | |
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	Difference	t	df	Sig.
LMX-7[a]	3.06	0.66	54	2.97	0.69	16	-.31, .50	0.49	74	.94
LMCQ[b]	4.12	0.94	52	3.90	0.96	17	-.33, .78	0.82	68	.84
POS[b]	3.50	0.92	55	3.51	1.21	16	-.69, .67	0.03	58	.16
Stigma[b]	1.85	0.86	47	2.35	0.61	15	-.92, -.10	2.51	69	.02
POFS[b]	3.52	1.09	46	3.07	1.63	14	-.54, 1.43	0.96	67	.35
Job Sat.[c]	5.68	1.306	59	5.06	1.95	17	-.42, 1.67	1.23	60	.23

Note. M=Mean. s.d.=standard deviation. df=degrees of freedom. Sig.=significance. 1=strongly disagree.
**$p < .01$, *$p < .05$, [a] 4 point scale, [b] 5 point scale, [c] 7 point scale

H5 asked if fathers who would take paternity leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months have higher job satisfaction than fathers who would not. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare job satisfaction for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions. Mean differences between job satisfaction for affirmative and negative paternity leave-taking intention scores were higher for affirmative intentions (M = 5.68, SD = 1.31, 7-point scale) than negative intentions (M = 5.06, SD = 1.95). However, there the difference in job satisfaction scores for affirmative paternity

leave-taking intentions and negative paternity leave-taking intentions did not reach statistical significance; $t(60)=1.23$, $p > .05$.

RQ2 asked if job status differences are related to paternity leave-taking intentions. A chi-square test of independence was conducted to assess the relation between job status and leave-taking intentions. The relation between these variables was not significant $X^2(1) >= .612$, $p > .05$.

DISCUSSION

Findings in empirical research and popular press have revealed a disconnect between a burgeoning societal interest in increasing employee work-life balance through paternity leave and fathers' actual leave behaviors. The purpose of this study was to identify reasons why this might be the case. While we acknowledge that financial concerns and job status differences may decisively determine leave-taking behaviors, it does not explain how a national study found that less than 50% of fathers with access to paid paternity leave chose to take it. (Cruickshank, 2019) This study seeks to explore and identify possible social constructs grounded in various theories and bodies of research that may explain this finding. Results highlight the impact of stigma and access to paid leave on paternity leave-taking behaviors and raise a number of interesting points of discussion.

Paternity Leave Use

Our rationale for studying the paternity leave-taking decision in relation to social factors and pressure in the workplace began with identification of an apparent disconnect between the societal push for better work-family balance and paternity leave-taking behaviors (Browning, 2016). For our sample to have reflected this disconnect, less than 50% of our respondents would have reported taking leave in the past and/or reported intentions to take leave if they were to have a child in the next year. In our sample, however, 72% of fathers with access to paid paternity-specific leave would chose to take it, and 78% have already taken leave in the past. This finding is contrary to what we had expected to find based on national surveys and popular press.

The findings did not reflect an unwillingness of fathers to take paternity leave. However, the attitudes towards paternity leave displayed by the fathers in this sample were reflective of the increasing support that paternity leave is receiving globally. Although this reduces the power of

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our sample to explain why fathers may choose not to take leave, it is a positive finding regarding the health and happiness of the lives of our participants.

Are Paternity Leave Intentions Related to Social-Exchange and Support?

As previously discussed, we did not see significant mean differences in paternity leave-taking intentions for five of the six variables. More specifically, quality of LMX, POS, POFS, job satisfaction, and job status differences were not particularly connected to paternity leave-taking behaviors in our sample. Taken as a whole, this seems to indicate that 1) social-exchange relationships at the employee-supervisor (LMX) and employee-organization (POS) levels do not significantly influence paternity leave-taking intentions; 2) the social support (or lack of) associated with POFS does not significantly influence paternity leave-taking intentions; 3) job satisfaction does not significantly influence paternity leave-taking intentions; and 4) job status differences do not significantly influence paternity leave-taking intentions.

One explanation for these unexpected findings is that the hypothesized effects are present, but due to small sample size, these effects were too small to be significant. Hypotheses 1a, 1b, and 4 predicted higher means for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions for LMX, LMCQ, and POFS (respectively). Although mean differences were not significant, they were higher for affirmative paternity leave-taking intentions. Additionally, higher means between affirmative and negative leave intentions were found for job satisfaction, and the percentage of fathers without access to paid paternity-specific leave who would take leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next year was 10% lower than those with access to paid paternity-specific leave.

Alternatively, our nonsignificant results could be explained by our sample's exclusive employment at a university. As part of a larger study, the researchers had the opportunity to meet with participants for live individual interviews regarding their thoughts and experiences with

paternity leave. Several fathers who participated in live interviews expressed the view that as employees of a university, they experience a certain type of privilege when it comes to their ability to take paternity leave. While some faculty members associated this privilege with guaranteed paid leave, the majority of fathers who expressed this view were support staff (i.e. they do not have access to paid paternity-specific leave). Rather, they associated this privilege with working on a university schedule (slow summers) and/or in a collaborative office environment where it is feasible to cover for coworkers on leave. Additionally, several interviewees stated that their perceptions of this privilege created a sense of obligation to take paternity leave. They felt that because they could take leave, they owed it to the less fortunate fathers to do so.

Our non-significant results may also be an indication that employees in our sample are not experiencing the kind of issues related to social exchange, support, and job satisfaction that we anticipated would negatively impact leave intentions. Generally speaking, interviewees were able to identify one or more individuals in their office or department who supported their decision to take leave and/or guided them through the leave-taking process. This kind of individual-specific support could have bolstered fathers' confidence in their desire to take leave. However, our results indicate that mean LMX, LMCQ, POS, POFS, and job satisfaction were generally high across affirmative and negative leave-taking intentions. Our university-wide sample was not experiencing the low levels of these variables that were predicted to negatively impact the leave-taking decision.

What is the Role of Stigma in the Leave-Taking Decision?

In this study, stigma was measured using a scale that was adapted from Jones et al.'s (2009) stigma scale measuring stigma related to a different workplace issue. Our version asked respondents to answer most items twice, once as the item related to supervisors (e.g. "Paternity

leave is/was perceived as unnecessary by my supervisor") and again as the item related to coworkers, (e.g. "Paternity leave is/was perceived as unnecessary by my coworkers"). This allowed our analyses to differentiate between stigma perpetuated by the supervisor and stigma perpetuated by coworkers. Stigma surrounding parental leave in general is magnified in the paternity leave context, as fathers are violating traditional male gender roles by taking time off work to care for their families. This creates a sort of "super-stigma", which we hypothesized would be connected to leave-taking behaviors.

This hypothesis was supported, and stigma was the only measure significantly related to leave intentions. The relative mental accessibility of perceptions of stigma may explain why stigma was the only variable of our set that yielded significant results. Our measures of LMX, POS, POFS and job satisfaction require respondents to retrieve and access memories and attitudes that they may not deliberately consider when making their leave decision. Our measure of stigma, however, asked participants to retrieve memories and attitudes towards coworker and supervisor attitudes and actions directly connected to paternity leave. Not only might these memories and attitudes have been more easily accessible while completing the survey due to their specific nature, but they also might be more accessible during the leave-taking decision in general.

Additionally, perception of stigma regarding paternity leave might indicate to a father that serious and immediate consequences are on the horizon if he should choose to take a paternity leave. Although the men in our sample were employed by an FMLA-eligible organization, some still seemed to believe that they would experience negative career consequences upon their return to work. One survey respondent indicated that he would not take leave at the birth or adoption of a child in the next year because, "[My department] is a hostile environment to take extended time away in. Also for new parents. You are told you don't work

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hard enough if you take time. [My department] hunts down people that take sick time." In the subsequent study, one interviewee stated, "If I were to take leave, my job would be different when I came back." He then went on to explain that he believed if he were to take leave, his title would remain the same upon his return, but his job duties would be reduced, and his responsibilities would be slashed.

Results also indicated that fathers with higher LMX perceived significantly less stigma from their supervisors than those with low LMX. While LMX was not related to leave intentions, this finding indicates the LMX is connected to perceptions of stigma in the paternity leave-taking decision context. Interviewees also provided indirect support for this finding. Many of those who did not perceive any negative career consequences to taking a past paternity leave cited supervisor support as one of the main reasons why this was the case. One interviewee who cited his supervisor as someone who guided and encouraged him to take leave later expressed admiration for this supervisor's leadership skills and indicated that he was proud to work under this supervisor. On the flip side, another interviewee described a situation in which his supervisor singlehandedly created a work environment that was hostile towards parents in general.

To conclude, the story of this data truly lies in the findings related to stigma. Stigma stole the spotlight as the only variable with significant results, but there is also something to be said regarding it uniqueness among the other variables. Compared to LMX, POS, POFS, and job satisfaction, stigma specifically regarding paternity leave and participants' experiences relating to it are extremely accessible, both while taking the survey and during the leave-taking decision process. Interviewees who had experienced stigma seemed to spend the most time and became the most animated when discussing experiences with stigma, further indicating its ready accessibility and relevance to the leave-taking decision. These attitudes and experiences are also

indications to fathers of how they will be treated upon their return to work and are also influenced by the amount of stigma or, conversely, support perpetuated by their supervisor.

What is the Role of the Availability of Paid Leave to the Leave-Taking Decision?

Based on available research, we anticipated that job status (i.e. the availability of paid paternity leave designated specifically as paid leave for birth or adoption of a child) would impact the leave-taking decision. However, 81% of respondents who reported no access to paid paternity leave (leave specifically designated as parental leave) indicated that they would take paternity leave if they were to have or adopt another child in the next year. At first glance, this would suggest that many fathers are willing to take unpaid paternity leave.

However, according to open-ended survey responses and our interviews, it also became clear that access to paid leave in some form is extremely important to the leave-taking decision. Of the 17 survey respondents who indicated that they would not take leave if they were to have or adopt a child in the next year, five cited financial concerns as the main reason they would not take leave. Additionally, of the fathers who indicated that they would take leave, five more indicated that their willingness and/or ability to take leave is dependent on their ability to cover the missed work with paid sick or vacation time. During interview discussions, several fathers expressed the same view. One even stated, "If I didn't have [paid leave], I would have left [my organization]."

We also learned that it is common practice for fathers in this sample to take accrued vacation and sick time instead of unpaid FMLA leave. For these men, it seems that FMLA parental leave is rarely not supplemented by paid sick or vacation time. Indeed, only 34% indicated that they used FMLA parental leave, and we suspect that this number may be even lower in reality, as several fathers in interview discussions were under the misconception that paid paternity leave is considered FMLA leave. Therefore, we conclude that fathers who want to take leave are not easily deterred by lack of paid leave that is paternity-specific.

Revisiting LMX Measurement

Although LMX is a widely used construct in organizational communication, organizational psychology, and other organizational research, scholarly debate regarding LMX measurement has been heated for many years. While the general consensus to the LMX-7 and LMX-MDM scales (unidimensional and multi-dimensional scales, respectively), our results indicate that the debate may not be over yet.

Our study measured LMX using the LMX-7 (Scandura & Graen, 1984) and the LMCQ (Jian, et al., 2014) – a scale developed to measure communication quality within an exchange relationship. Our results showed a very strong and statistically significant correlation between the LMX-7 and the LMCQ ($r = .80$, $N = 75$, $p < .001$). This further supports Jian et al's (2014) assertion that communication quality - as measured by communication efficiency, coordination, and accuracy – makes a significant contribution to LMX development and should be included in LMX measurement. Additionally, in our sample, mean LMCQ ($M = 4.07/5.0$, $SD = .95$) was a little over one point higher than mean LMX-7 ($M = 3.02/4.0$, $SD = .67$, respectively).

Our live interviews seemed to confirm Jian et al.'s (2014) assertions regarding efficiency, coordination, and accuracy in addition to the scale measure included in the survey. Interviewees were asked to discuss the process by which they asked for paternity leave (whom they talked to, when, etc.). In answering this question, many interviewees described conversations with their supervisors that were easy, low-stress, efficient, and helpful. Many of these same interviewees also went on to either complement their supervisor or give an explanation as to why their supervisor may not have been as helpful, (e.g. He/she doesn't have children, so they didn't know the process).

Additionally, LMX literature asserts that high LMX is often characterized by high degrees of trust and that communication goals are related to personal and professional growth,

rather than strictly task oriented. Regarding trust, several interviewees described their leave request as an event they did not prepare for. They went into this communication event already trusting their supervisor to give them unbiased, important information without reservation. Regarding communication goals, several respondents reported that their supervisors even encouraged them to take leave, citing the personal and professional benefits that they would receive by taking leave.

While current standard scales for LMX measurement may be somewhat solidified, it is clear that communication precedes affective events and is also the mechanism by which they occur. To gain a richer picture of the LMX and to truly get at the heart of leader-member exchange relationships, communication and organizational psychology researchers would do well to measure communication - through both survey scales and interviews - as an essential component to LMX.

Implications

Organizations that are looking to increase commitment and retention by meeting the needs of their workforce more effectively should first consider offering paid paternity leave. Both our quantitative and qualitative data indicate that with access to some form of paid leave, motivated fathers will take time off at the birth or adoption of a child. If their sick/vacation pay is used for paternity leave, fathers may end up skipping work or becoming run down and/or resentful of their organization for not supporting their need for work-life balance. Offering paternity leave that is separate from sick or vacation time could not only offer a solution to absenteeism due to family priorities, but could also increase perceptions of organizational support, leading to increased commitment and retention.

Additionally, although LMX was not shown to be related to leave-taking intentions, it was related to perceptions of stigma, which was directly related to leave-taking intentions.

Organizations that are looking to increase both paternity-leave usage and commitment should consider the ability of their managers to create an environment that does not stigmatize pursual of work-family balance. While most managers will naturally generate an in-group and out-group among followers, it is possible for out-groups to be small, and out-group members may still enjoy relatively good LMX. Organizations should seek to develop leadership skills in middle managers so that "out-group" does not automatically indicate a bad exchange relationship.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The most obvious limitation to this research was its small sample size. Completed surveys totaled to 96 responses, and large numbers of missing responses on several of our variables led to n's as low as 67, just under 70% of the already limited sample. This limitation could also explain why only one variable yielded significant results, even though several variables did show mean differences consistent with our hypotheses. Low complete response rates may be due to survey fatigue. Survey software recorded over 60 incomplete responses that were terminated after approximately two minutes of activity. Future research should allow more time for the survey to be available online to boost sample size.

Additionally, future research in this area should also include a multi-source sample. The sample used in this study was from a single source, limiting perspectives to fathers and employees. A sample that also includes spouses/partners and supervisors would serve to provide a richer picture of the workplace social environment (LMX in particular) and shed more light on the entire paternity leave decision-making process. These additions also have the potential to help relieve the issues related to sample size discussed in the paragraph above.

Another limitation to this research is related to the channel through which the survey link was distributed. The link was sent to all parents, regardless of sex, but the messaging was directed to fathers specifically. Several surveys denoted in open-ended response options that the respondent was female. These responses were excluded from the analysis, but the issue could have been avoided by adding a qualifying question at the beginning of the survey to ensure that the respondent was male. More importantly, the link was distributed via a university email listserv specifically for parents as well as email list of fathers who had participated in a fatherhood forum. Several interviewees also indicated that they had forwarded the survey to fathers whom they knew would be interested. This means at that the survey link was probably

only distributed to fathers who are more likely to be engaged towards parenting, increasing the likelihood that they would take leave in the first place.

Another limitation could be the four items LMX-7 response scale. Each scale item had four response options, meaning that average LMX-7 scores were out of four. Mean LMX-7 was over 3.0, which could indicate that a ceiling effect (majority of values obtained for LMX-7 approach the upper limit of the scale) occurred for this variable. This could have negatively impacted the validity of the LMX-7 results.

Finally, our survey failed to address what could possibly be a determining variable in the paternity leave-taking decision: attitudes toward fatherhood. Considering the non-significance of social-exchange, support, and job satisfaction combined, it would seem that motivated fathers will take leave regardless of organizational culture and social norm pressures. Additionally, many interviewees and survey respondents expressed a firm conviction that paternity leave was and/or would be a priority for them due to the benefits they had experienced and would expect to experience with a future paternity leave. These benefits extended not only to themselves, but also to their spouses and children Future research on the paternity leave-taking decision should address father's attitudes towards fatherhood.

One avenue for future research based on the findings of this study could be investigation of a "union effect" on paternity leave-taking behaviors. RQ2 asked about the influence of job status differences on paternity leave-taking behaviors. University policy highlights a clear distinction between academic faculty/staff and support staff, and the differences between parental leave policies for these two groups are significant. One offers paid paternity-specific leave, and the other does not. These distinctions create what could be taken as a clear status difference. However, one missing piece of information here is that university employees

categorized as support staff are also part of one of several unions on campus and employees categorized as academic faculty or staff are not union members.

While the survey data did not present any statistically significant evidence to support differences in paternity leave-taking intentions between the two groups, it should be acknowledged that representation of the non-union group was relatively low (18 out of 55) and the number of participants who actually indicated their organizational classification was also low (55 out of 92). Bearing this caveat in mind, we report that the chi-square test performed to address RQ2 did indicate that a higher percentage of union members indicated that they would take leave if they were to have a new child in the next 12 months than non-union employees (81% and 72%, respectively). Given this, as well as the significance of union vs. non-union status to paternity leave options for this sample, future research should investigate a potential "union effect".

CONCLUSION

The current study extended paternity leave research by combining the social-exchange perspective, social support theory, stigma research, and job satisfaction research to examine the paternity leave-taking decision according to a variety of social processes and functions. Instead of focusing on antecedents and consequences of paternity leave, this study examined the leave-taking decision itself. Other research has failed to examine paternity leave-taking behaviors apart from other forms of family leave.

In this study, we identified a connection between perceived stigma regarding paternity leave and leave-taking intentions. Additionally, we also identified a connection between LMX and perceptions of stigma. The combination of these two findings suggest that stigma is an important player in the paternity leave-taking decision. A better understanding of this relationship could have an important impact on future manager training programs and paternity leave utilization rates.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SCALES WITH RELIABILITIES

Job Satisfaction* (Wanous & Reichers, 1996)

Taking everything into consideration, how do you feel about your job as a whole?

*This single item measure is scored on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

LMX-7 (Scandura & Graen, 1984) $\alpha = 0.88$

Do you usually feel that you know where you stand? Do you usually know how satisfied your immediate supervisor is with what you do?
   a. Always know where I stand
   b. Usually know where I stand
   c. Seldom know where I stand
   d. Never know where I stand

How well do you feel that your immediate supervisor understands your problems and needs?
   a. Completely
   b. Well enough
   c. Some but not enough
   d. Not at all

Regardless of how much formal authority your immediate supervisor has built into his or her position, what are the chances that he or she would be personally inclined to use power to help you solve problems m your work?
   a. Certainly would
   b. Probably would
   c. Might or might not
   d. No chance

Again, regardless of the amount of formal authority your immediate supervisor has, to what extent can you count on him or her to "bail you out" at his or her expense when you really need it?
   a. Certainly would
   b. Probably would
   c. Might or might not
   d. No chance

I have enough confidence in my immediate supervisor that I would defend and justify his or her decisions if he or she were not present to do so.
   a. Certainly would
   b. Probably not
   c. Maybe
   d. Probably not

How would you characterize your working relationship with your immediate supervisor?
   a. Extremely effective

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b. Better than average
c. About average
d. Less than average

LMCQ* (Jian et al., 2014)   α = 0.97

When discussing work-related matters, my supervisor and I can convey a lot to each other even in a short conversation.
When talking about work tasks, the conversations between my supervisor and I are often smooth.
When talking about how to get things done, the conversations between my supervisor and I usually flow nicely.
When talking about how to get things done at work, my supervisor and I usually align our ideas pretty easily.
When talking about how to get things done at work, my supervisor and I are usually in sync with each other.
My supervisor and I usually have accurate understanding of what the other is saying when trying to get things done at work.
When we discuss how to get things done at work, my supervisor and I usually have no problem correctly understanding each other's ideas.
My supervisor and I interpret each other's ideas accurately when discussing work-related matters.

*Responses scored on a 5 point Likert-type rating scale

POFS* (Jahn et al., 2010)   α = 0.96

My organization has may programs and policies designed to help employees balance work and family life.
My organization makes an active effort to help employees when there is a conflict between work and family life.
My organization puts money and effort into showing its support of employees and families.
It is easy to find out about family support programs within my organization.
My organization provides its employees with useful information they need to balance work and family.
My organization helps employees with families find the information they need to balance work and family.
My organization is understanding when an employee has a conflict between work and family.
In general, my organization is very supportive of its employees with families.

POS* (Eisenberger et al., 1986)   α = .96

My organization values my contribution to its well-being.
If my organization could hire someone to replace me at a lower salary it would do so.[a]
My organization fails to appreciate any extra effort from me.[a]
My organization strongly considers my goals and values.
My organization would ignore any complaint from me.[a]
My organization disregards my best interests when it comes to decisions that affect me.[a]

Help is available from my organization when I have a problem.
My organization really cares about my well-being.
Even if I did the best job possible, my organization would fail to notice.[a]
My organization is willing to help me when I need a special favor.
My organization cares about my general satisfaction at work.
If given the opportunity, my organization would take advantage of me.[a]
My organization shows very little concern for me.[a]
My organization cares about my opinions.
My organization takes pride in my accomplishments at work.
My organization tries to make my job as interesting as possible.

*Responses scored on a 5-point Likert-type rating scale
[a] Item is reverse scored

Stigma* Adapted from Jones et al., 2009 $\alpha = 0.87$

I keep/kept my intention to take a paternity leave hidden from my coworkers because they will treat me differently.
Paternity leave is/was perceived as unnecessary by my coworkers.
I did/do not feel I can be as open about my decision to take a paternity leave as I'd like to be with my supervisor.
I did/do not feel I can be as open about my decision to take a paternity leave as I'd like to be with my coworkers.
My supervisor does/did not have much knowledge about paternity leave.
My coworkers do/did not have much knowledge about paternity leave.
My supervisor was/is not interested in hearing about my involvement in my family.
My coworkers are/were not interested in hearing about my involvement in my family.
When my supervisor knew that I am/was considering/taking a paternity leave, he or she treated me differently.
When my coworkers knew that I am/was considering/taking a paternity leave, they treated me differently.
My supervisor does/did not understand when I have/had to make changes to plans to take care of my spouse and or child(ren).
My coworkers do/did not understand when I have/had to make changes to plans to take care of my spouse and or child(ren).
I worry/worried that my supervisor would pass me over or limit my opportunities if they knew I am/was considering taking a paternity leave.

*Responses scored on a 5-point Likert-type rating scale

APPENDIX B: FULL LENGTH SURVEY

<u>Study Title</u>: On Duty or Diaper Duty? The Impacts of LMX and Stigma on Paternity Leave-Taking Intentions
<u>Researcher and Title</u>: Kenneth J. Levine
Department and Institution: Department of Communication, Michigan State University
Contact Information: Kenneth J. Levine 517-342-1124

BRIEF SUMMARY You are being asked to participate in a research study. Researchers are required to provide a consent form to inform you about the research study, to convey that participation is voluntary, to explain risks and benefits of participation including why you might or might not want to participate, and to empower you to make an informed decision. You should feel free to discuss and ask the researchers any questions you may have. You are being asked to participate in a research study of your perceptions and behavior regarding the utilization of paternity leave in the United States. Your participation in this study will take about 15 minutes. There are no foreseeable risks associated with participating in this study. You will not directly benefit from your participation in this study. However, your participation in this study may contribute to the understanding of the use of paternity leave in the United States.

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH The purpose of this research study is to identify social influences that might encourage or deter fathers from taking a paternity leave.

WHAT YOU WILL BE ASKED TO DO You will be asked to complete a survey where you will be asked to respond to a series of questions regarding paternity leave as well as various social influences in your workplace. There are no physical or psychological risks involved in your participation. Further, your participation is strictly voluntary. Should you feel uncomfortable for any reason, you may discontinue the experiment at any time. Feel free to skip any questions you would prefer not to answer.

PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY Your responses will not connected to your identity and the data will be kept in a secure location on the campus of Michigan State University. No specific comments will be linked to a participant – all information is anonymous. You have the right to say no or to withdraw from the research at any time.

YOUR RIGHTS TO PARTICIPATE, SAY NO, OR WITHDRAW You have the right to say no to participate in the research. You can stop at any time after it has already started. There will be no consequences if you stop and you will not be criticized. You will not lose any benefits that you normally receive.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION FOR BEING IN THE STUDY You will not receive money or any other form of compensation for participating in this study.

RESEARCH RESULTS Aggregate findings from this study will be made available to interested participants.

CONTACT INFORMATION If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the researcher Kenneth J. Levine, Department of Communication Studies at Michigan State University, 482

Communication Arts and Science Building, 404 Wilson Road, East Lansing, MI 48824, 517-432-1124 or via email at levineke@msu.edu If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.eduor regular mail at 4000 Collins Rd, Suite 136, Lansing, MI 48910.

I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study
        ___ Yes
        ___ No

1. Are you and your spouse or partner expecting the birth or adoption of a child in the next 12 months?
   a) Yes
   b) No

2. Do you plan to take leave following the birth or adoption of this child?
   a) Yes
   b) No

3. Will this leave be considered a Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) leave?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Not sure

4. How long do you plan to take leave?
   a) Less than 1 week
   b) 1-3 Weeks
   c) 4-6 Weeks
   d) More than 6 weeks (please specify)

5. Which of the following considerations influenced your decision not to take leave? (select all that apply)
   a) Financial considerations
   b) Increased strain on co-workers
   c) Lack of information about leave options
   d) No real need to take off work
   e) Work obligations and responsibilities
   f) Spouse or partner is also taking leave
   g) Other (please specify) _____

6. Have you taken a paternity leave at any point in your career?
   a) Yes
   b) No

7. When did you last take a paternity leave (year)? _____

8. How long was your leave?
   a. Less than 1 week
   b. 1-3 weeks
   c. 4-6 weeks
   d. More than 6 weeks (please specify) _____

9. Which of the following considerations influenced your decision not to take a paternity leave? (select all that apply)

a) Financial considerations
b) Increased strain on co-workers
c) Lack of information about leave options
d) No real need to take off work
e) Work obligations and responsibilities
f) Spouse or partner is also taking leave
g) Other (please specify) _____

10. To what extent did you negotiate the terms of your leave with your supervisor?
a) None at all
b) A little
c) A moderate amount
d) A lot
e) A great deal

11. Were you satisfied with the outcome(s) of this negotiation?
a) Yes
b) No
c) Indifferent

12. Please briefly describe your supervisor's attitude regarding your negotiation (ex: willing to negotiate, unwilling to negotiation, indifferent, etc.).

_____

13. If you were to have or adopt another child in the next 12 months, would you take a paternity leave?
a) Yes
b) No

14. Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. Have you ever utilized any of your FMLA benefits?
a) Yes
b) No
c) Not sure

16. Which FMLA benefit(s) have you used? (check all that apply)
    a) Leave following the birth or adoption of a child
    b) Leave to care for spouse, child, or parent
    c) Leave to care for service member
    d) Leave for qualifying exigency due to spouse, child, or parent being military member on covered active duty

17. When your first child was born, did you qualify for FMLA leave?
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Not sure

18. Have you ever received information from your organization or individuals within your organization regarding your FMLA benefits?
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Not Sure

19. From which sources did you receive this information? (Select all that apply)
    a) Conversation with supervisor
    b) Conversation with co-worker(s)
    c) Conversation with Human Resources personnel
    d) Formal training - onboarding
    e) Formal training - other than onboarding
    f) Company website
    g) Paper literature
    h) E-mail
    i) Other (please specify) _____

20. Of the information sources you selected above, which was the most valuable in providing you with information about you FMLA benefits?
    a) Conversation with supervisor
    b) Conversation with co-worker(s)
    c) Conversation with Human Resources personnel
    d) Formal training - onboarding
    e) Formal training - other than onboarding
    f) Company website
    g) Paper literature
    h) E-mail
    i) Other (please specify) _____

Please answer the following questions as they apply to the interaction you indicated was the most valuable in providing information regarding your FMLA benefits.

21. This person/source gave me advice regarding my use of FMLA benefits
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don't remember

22. The advice this person/source gave me regarding my use of FMLA benefits was helpful.
   a) Strongly disagree
   b) Disagree
   c) Somewhat disagree
   d) Neither agree nor disagree
   e) Somewhat agree
   f) Agree
   g) Strongly agree

23. This person/source maintained a pleasant tone/demeanor during our conversation.
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don't remember
   d) N/A

24. This conversation was an informal interaction, not a scheduled meeting.
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don't remember
   d) N/A

25. Taking everything into consideration, how do you feel about your job as a whole?
   a) Extremely dissatisfied
   b) Moderately dissatisfied
   c) Slightly dissatisfied
   d) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
   e) Slightly satisfied
   f) Moderately satisfied
   g) Extremely satisfied

26. – 41. **Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement to the statements below using the following response scale:**

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Moderately disagree
3 = Slightly disagree
4 = Undecided

5 = Slightly agree
6 = Moderately agree
7 = Strongly agree

___ My organization values my contribution to its well-being.
___ If my organization could hire someone to replace me at a lower salary it would do so.
___ My organization fails to appreciate any extra effort from me.
___ My organization strongly considers my goals and values.
___ My organization would ignore any complaint from me.
___ My organization disregards my best interests when it comes to decisions that affect me.
___ Help is available from my organization when I have a problem.
___ My organization really cares about my well-being.
___ Even if I did the best job possible, my organization would fail to notice.
___ My organization is willing to help me when I need a special favor.
___ My organization cares about my general satisfaction at work.
___ If given the opportunity, my organization would take advantage of me.
___ My organization shows very little concern for me.
___ My organization cares about my opinions.
___ My organization takes pride in my accomplishments at work.
___ My organization tries to make my job as interesting as possible.

42. – 49. **Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement to the statements below using the following response scale:**

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Somewhat disagree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Somewhat agree
5 = Strongly agree

___ When discussing work-related matters, my supervisor and I can convey a lot to each other even in a short conversation.
___ When talking about work tasks, the conversations between my supervisor and I are often smooth.
___ When talking about how to get things done, the conversations between my supervisor and I usually flow nicely.
___ When talking about how to get things done at work, my supervisor and I usually align our ideas pretty easily.
___ When talking about how to get things done at work, my supervisor and I are usually in sync with each other.
___ My supervisor and I usually have accurate understanding of what the other is saying when trying to get things done at work.
___ When we discuss how to get things done at work, my supervisor and I usually have no problem correctly understanding each other's ideas.
___ My supervisor and I interpret each other's ideas accurately when discussing work-related matters.

50. Do you usually feel that you know where you stand? Do you usually know how satisfied your immediate supervisor is with what you do?
   a) Always know where I stand
   b) Usually know where I stand
   c) Seldom know where I stand
   d) Never know where I stand

51. How well do you feel that your immediate supervisor understands your problems and needs?
   a) Completely
   b) Well enough
   c) Some but not enough
   d) Not at all

52. Regardless of how much formal authority your immediate supervisor has built into his or her position, what are the chances that he or she would be personally inclined to use power to help you solve problems m your work?
   a) Certainly would
   b) Probably would
   c) Might or might not
   d) No chance

53. Again, regardless of the amount of formal authority your immediate supervisor has, to what extent can you count on him or her to "bail you out" at his or her expense when you really need it?
   a) Certainly would
   b) Probably would
   c) Might or might not
   d) No chance

54. I have enough confidence in my immediate supervisor that I would defend and justify his or her decisions if he or she were not present to do so.
   a) Certainly would
   b) Probably not
   c) Maybe
   d) Probably not

55. How would you characterize your working relationship with your immediate supervisor?
a) Extremely effective
b) Better than average
c) About average
d) Less than average

56. – 69. **Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement to the statements below using the following response scale:**

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

___ I keep/kept my intention to take a paternity leave hidden from my coworkers because they will treat me differently.
___ Paternity leave is/was perceived as unnecessary by my coworkers.
___ I did/do not feel I can be as open about my decision to take a paternity leave as I'd like to be with my supervisor.
___ I did/do not feel I can be as open about my decision to take a paternity leave as I'd like to be with my coworkers.
___ My supervisor does/did not have much knowledge about paternity leave.
___ My coworkers do/did not have much knowledge about paternity leave.
___ My supervisor was/is not interested in hearing about my involvement in my family.
___ My coworkers are/were not interested in hearing about my involvement in my family.
___ When my supervisor knew that I am/was considering/taking a paternity leave, he or she treated me differently.
___ When my coworkers knew that I am/was considering/taking a paternity leave, they treated me differently.
___ My supervisor does/did not understand when I have/had to make changes to plans to take care of my spouse and or child(ren).
___ My coworkers do/did not understand when I have/had to make changes to plans to take care of my spouse and or child(ren).
___ I worry/worried that my supervisor would pass me over or limit my opportunities if they knew I am/was considering taking a paternity leave.

70. – 77. **Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement to the statements below using the following response scale:**

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Moderately disagree
3 = Slightly disagree
4 = Undecided
5 = Slightly agree
6 = Moderately agree
7 = Strongly agree
___ My organization has may programs and policies designed to help employees balance work and family life.
___ My organization makes an active effort to help employees when there is a conflict between work and family life.
___ My organization puts money and effort into showing its support of employees and families.
___ It is easy to find out about family support programs within my organization.
___ My organization provides its employees with useful information they need to balance work and family.
___ My organization helps employees with families find the information they need to balance work and family.

___ My organization is understanding when an employee has a conflict between work and
     family.
___ In general, my organization is very supportive of its employees with families.

78. In what year were you born? _____

79. How many children do you have? _____

80. Please select your organizational classification:
    a) Academic - Faculty
    b) Academic - Staff
    c) Support Staff
    d) Not sure

81. Which college do you work in?

82. How long have you worked for your organization?
    a) Less than 1 year
    b) 1-5 years
    c) 6-10 years
    d) 11-15 years
    e) 16-20 years
    f) More than 20 years

83. Would you like to receive a summary of the results of this research?
    a) Yes, please send it to this email address: _____
    b) No, thanks

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