

Antecedents and Consequences of Perceived Family Responsibilities Discrimination  
in the Workplace

Christine E. Dickson

Foresight Management

*Published in the Psychologist Manager Journal (2008)*

Abstract

Family responsibilities discrimination (FRD) is a fast-developing trend in employment law with the number of successful lawsuits brought by family caregivers doubling since 2000. Although the legal field has tracked FRD for over eight years, very little is known about how this form of discrimination impacts the workplace. As a result, the following research examined the antecedents (e.g. family supportive organization perceptions, family supportive supervisors, and family supportive benefits) and consequences (e.g. employee and organizational outcomes) of perceived FRD among a sample of 496 employees. Research findings revealed that family supportive organization perceptions and family supportive supervisors had the strongest impact on perceived FRD over and above the number of family supportive benefits offered by the organization. Perceived FRD was also associated with lower job satisfaction, lower organizational attachment, higher turnover intentions, higher work-family conflict, and lower benefit use. Implications for managers are discussed.

## Antecedents and Consequences of Perceived Family Responsibilities Discrimination in the Workplace

Family responsibilities discrimination (FRD) is a fast-developing trend in employment law with the number of successful lawsuits brought by family caregivers doubling since 2000 (Williams & Thomas, 2006). In the past decade, there has been a 419% increase in the number of lawsuits brought by family caregivers with 67 cases out of 600 filed resulting in settlements over \$100,000 (Williams & Thomas, 2006). On May 23, 2007, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) issued enforcement guidelines regarding the unlawful disparate treatment of employees with care-giving responsibilities in the workplace. Although no federal law prohibits FRD, a variety of legal theories have been used to protect caregivers (Williams & Cooper, 2004; Williams & Thomas, 2006). According to Williams and Thomas (2006), claims of disparate treatment, disparate impact, harassment, failure to promote, retaliation, and discrimination based on gender stereotypes have all been used under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to protect caregivers. In addition, anti-retaliation provisions and denial of leave under the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 and the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1975 have also been used (Williams & Thomas, 2006).

Although the legal field has tracked FRD for over eight years (Williams, 2000), very little is known about how this form of discrimination impacts the workplace or how managers can impact employee perceptions of FRD. The following research examines the antecedents and consequences of this form of discrimination and seeks to provide a guide for managers. Since FRD is a relatively new form of employment discrimination, it is important for managers to understand how FRD occurs in the workplace. In a recent article in the *Women's Lawyer Journal*, Williams and Thomas (2006) provided examples of FRD from U.S. court cases. For

example, a police officer is told that his wife would have to be “dead or in a coma” before he would qualify for Federal Family Medical Leave to care for his newborn infant (Knussman v. Maryland, 272 F.3d 655 4th Cir 2004); A top salesperson with outstanding reviews experienced increased workload, increased scrutiny of work, loss of schedule flexibility, and hostility from her supervisor after returning from maternity leave (Walsh v. National Computer Systems, Inc No. 00-CV-82, 2002); A school psychologist is not considered for promotion because her supervisor assumes she would not be willing to work additional hours now that she has “little ones at home” (Back v. Hastings on Hudson Union Free School District, 365 F.3d 107 (2d Cir 2004); An automobile salesperson is harassed by her supervisor because he believes she should “do the right thing” and stay home with her children and that “a woman with a family would always be at a disadvantage at the dealership” (Plaetzer v. Borton Automotive, Inc., 2004 WL 2066770 (D. Minn. 2004); A male maintenance worker is fired for taking intermittent leave to care for his elderly father with Alzheimer’s disease and his ill mother, who later died (Schultz v. Advocate Health & Hospitals Corp., No. 01C0702 (N.D. 111. 2002).

These U.S. court cases reveal how family caregivers are subject to a variety of stereotypes and bias in the workplace such as prescriptive and descriptive stereotyping, and cognitive bias or competency assumptions. Prescriptive stereotyping occurs when organizations insist men and women follow traditional gender roles such as men have primary responsibility at work and women have primary responsibility at home (Burgess & Borgida, 1999). In the case of Knussman v. Maryland (2004), the organization denied the male plaintiff his right to Federal Family Medical Leave for the birth of his child because work was considered his primary responsibility (Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams & Thomas, 2006). In addition, descriptive stereotyping occurs when organizations assume that employees will follow traditional gender

roles (Burgess & Borgida, 1999). For example, in *Back v. Hastings* (2004) the organization assumed that the female plaintiff would not be interested in working additional hours because family was assumed to be her primary responsibility (Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams & Thomas, 2006;). Finally, cognitive bias or competency assumptions occur when organizations assume that family caregivers are no longer competent, committed, or dedicated workers (Heilman, 1995). For example, in *Plaetzer v. Borton Automotive, Inc.* (2004), the female plaintiff was told by her manager that “a woman with a family would always be at a disadvantage at the dealership” and that mothers should stay home with her children (Williams & Thomas, 2006). This example reveals how motherhood can trigger cognitive bias or competency assumptions (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Ridgeway and Correll (2004) explained that motherhood as a status characteristic could shape assumptions about task related behavior and competence. Using expectation states theory, Ridgeway and Correll (2004) revealed that when the traditionally low status role of motherhood became salient in the workplace, conflicts arose between the role of the ideal worker (e.g. workers who can provide the organization with full time, continuous employment without taking time off for family care-giving responsibilities) and the primary caregiver (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Thus, the low status role of motherhood biased assumptions about competency and the ability to handle positions of authority. In addition, experimental research revealed a similar pattern in which parents in the workplace were considered less competent and less agentic than non-parents (Fuegen, Biernat, & Haines, 2004). These stereotypes and biases specific to family caregivers reveal how ideal worker norms marginalize caregivers in the workplace (Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004; Lewis, 1997; Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams, 2000).

Williams and Segal's (2003) legal work on maternal wall discrimination and Drago's et al. (2006) research on bias avoidance strategies of caregivers lends further support for the contention that family caregivers are marginalized in the workplace when they violate ideal worker norms. Williams and Segal (2003) coined the term maternal wall discrimination to describe a documented pattern of workplace discrimination against caregivers, especially mothers who seek work-family balance and are pushed out of the workplace. Williams and Segal (2003) explained that maternal wall discrimination arose from a male model of work. This male model designed around an "ideal worker with male biology and men's traditional immunity from family care-giving discriminates against women – and also those men who participate in the traditionally feminine care-giving role" (Williams & Segal, 2003, p. 13). The ideal worker can provide the organization with full-time, continuous employment from the end of education until retirement, without any time-off for family responsibilities (Cook, 1992; Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004; Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams, 2000;). Employees who violate ideal worker norms by attempting to integrate work and family life (e.g. using family supportive benefits and devoting time to family responsibilities) may become marginalized as part of the out-group (Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004; Lewis, 1997; Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams, 2000;).

Drago's et al. (2006) research on bias against caregivers in academia supports Williams and Segal's (2003) legal work on maternal wall discrimination. For example, Drago et al. (2006) examined bias avoidance strategies used by faculty members to avoid career penalties such as being denied promotion and tenure. More specifically, faculty members with family care-giving responsibilities "strategically minimized or hid family commitments" (p. 1222) by avoiding the use of family supportive benefits such as reduced work schedules, paid maternity leave, and dependent-care leave (Drago et al., 2006). In this way, caregivers used bias avoidance strategies

to decrease the likelihood of being marginalized as part of the out-group and losing opportunities for promotion and tenure.

Although Drago's et al. (2006) study appears to be the first to identify bias avoidance strategies used by caregivers to avoid career penalties, the work-family literature reveals numerous examples of how family caregivers have experienced or perceived negative career and/or social consequences for using family supportive benefits or devoting time to family responsibilities. These career and/or social consequences include negative performance evaluations (Butler & Skattebo, 2004; Judiesh & Lyness, 1999), decreased opportunities for promotions (Drago et al., 2006; Judiesh & Lyness, 1999), lower pay (Glass, 2004; Judiesh & Lyness, 1999; McGinnity & McManus, 2007), decreased opportunities for rewards and recognition (Allen & Russell, 1999; Butler & Skattebo, 2004), harm to career advancement (Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly, 2002; Finkel, Olswn, & She, 1994, Lyness, Thompson, Francesco, & Judiesch, 1999; Perlow, 1995; Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999), less supervisory and coworker support (Butler et al., 2002), and negative attitudes by others (Anderson et al., 2002; Butler, Gasser, & Smart, 2004; Lyness et al., 1999; Thompson et al., 1999).

### *Present Research*

Very little work-family research has placed negative career and/or social consequences for work-family balance in the framework of discrimination. The present is exploratory and seeks to further examine this newly identified form of discrimination by examining the antecedents and consequences of perceived FRD in the workplace among a diverse sample of participants employed full-time in a variety of organizational and occupational settings. Since FRD potentially affects millions of employees across the U.S., it is essential to examine how this form

of discrimination impacts employee outcomes and how family supportive work environments can impact perceptions of FRD. For example, which family supportive policies and practices impact perceptions of FRD and what are the consequences of this form of discrimination on employee outcomes? The present research hopes to answer these questions and provide a guide for researchers and managers interested in preventing FRD in the workplace.

The present study also sought to adapt and test a measure of perceived FRD in the workplace. Perceptions of FRD rather than actual reports were assessed. Since FRD is a newly identified form of workplace discrimination, employees may lack the institutional support to report FRD but may still perceive it in their work environments. As a result, assessing perceptions of FRD were key. In addition, it was essential to select a suitable measure of FRD and properly define family responsibility, since no psychometrically sound measure of FRD exists. Therefore, the present research defined family responsibility broadly to include responsibility for dependent children and/or adults living with or not living with caregivers and adapted a measure of racial discrimination developed and validated by James, Lovato, and Cropanzano (1994) to assess FRD. James' et al. (1994) measure was selected for this study because it was adapted successfully in prior research examining perceptions of sexual orientation discrimination (e.g. Ragins & Cornwell, 2001) and assessed both individual and global perceptions of workplace discrimination, which allowed the present research to include employees with and without family responsibilities in the sample.

#### *Antecedents to Perceived FRD*

Since it appears that no prior research has identified the antecedents to perceived FRD, this study examined research conducted by Drago et al. (2006), Fitzgerald et al. (2002), and Ragins and Cornwell (2001) to guide the selection of antecedent variables. Drago's et al. (2006)

research on bias against caregivers in academia found three important variables negatively associated with bias avoidance strategies among caregivers: inclusive work environments, family supportive supervisors, and the number of family supportive policies offered by the organization such as reduced work schedules, paid maternity leave, and dependent-care leave. Research conducted by Fitzgerald et al. (2002) examined antecedents to sexual harassment reporting and found support for two antecedent variables: organizational climates that supported sexual harassment reporting and organizational remedies such as sexual harassment policies. Finally, research conducted by Ragins and Cornwell (2001) on antecedents to perceived sexual orientation discrimination found support for three antecedent variables: family-friendly gay workplace cultures, supportive supervisors, and domestic partnership benefits. Although sexual harassment reporting and perceived sexual orientation discrimination may be different from perceived FRD, the underlying in-group/out-group bias arising from a hostile work environment may be quite similar (James et al., 1994). Therefore, this study contends that a family supportive work environment can significantly impact perceptions of FRD in the workplace. A comprehensive review of the work-family literature points to three possible antecedent variables that may impact perceptions of FRD: family supportive benefit availability, family supportive organization perceptions, and family supportive supervisors.

*Family supportive benefit availability.* Family supportive benefits such as flexible work schedules, assistance with childcare and eldercare, telecommuting, job sharing, and parental leave of absence have been instituted by many organizations to challenge unsupportive policies and practices that prevent work-family integration (Mitchell, 1997). The availability of family supportive benefits may signal to employees that the organization is concerned about their family responsibilities (Grover & Crooker, 1995) and is therefore less likely to engage in discrimination

against family caregivers. Drago et al. (2006) found that bias avoidance strategies used by caregivers were negatively associated with the number of family supportive benefits offered by the organization. In addition, the number of family supportive benefits available to employees has also been associated with favorable family supportive organization perceptions (Allen, 2001) as well as lower work-family conflict, higher job satisfaction, higher organizational attachment, and lower turnover intentions (Allen, 2001; Thompson, Beauvais, and Lyness, 1999). These research findings suggest that the number of family supportive benefits offered by the organization may not only decrease bias avoidance strategies among caregivers but also improve employee outcomes. As a result, the number of family supportive benefits available may be negatively associated with employee perceptions of FRD.

*Hypothesis 1:* The number of family supportive benefits available will negatively correlate with perceived FRD.

*Family supportive organization perceptions.* Although the availability of family supportive benefits can positively impact bias avoidance strategies (Drago et al., 2006) and employee outcomes (Allen, 2001; Thompson, Beauvais, and Lyness, 1999), many employees are reluctant to use these benefits (Butler et al., 2004; Perlow, 1995, Thompson et al., 1999) and fear their careers will be jeopardized (Bond, Galinsky, Kim, & Brownfield, 2005). Lobel and Kossek (1996) suggested that simply offering family supportive benefits without challenging the organizational norms and values that support the separation of work and family life would not meet the needs of family caregivers. As a result, Thompson et al. (1999) developed the work-family culture measure to assess the norms and values of an organization toward work-family integration. They found that employees would not use family supportive benefits unless they perceived a supportive work-family culture. In addition, a supportive work-family culture was

associated with higher organizational attachment, lower turnover intentions, and lower work-family conflict over and above the availability of family supportive benefits (Thompson et al., 1999). Building on Thompson's et al. (1999) measure, Allen (2001) developed the family supportive organization perceptions (FSOP) scale to disentangle managerial support for family from organizational support for family. Allen (2001) found that FSOP or the global beliefs employees formed regarding the extent to which the organization was family supportive was significantly related to work-family conflict over and above the availability of family supportive benefits. FSOP was also associated with greater benefit usage, greater job satisfaction, greater organizational attachment, and lower turnover intentions. In line with the work conducted by Allen (2001), Behson (2005) found that informal means of support such as family supportive work environments were associated with improved employee outcomes over and above formal means of support such as family supportive benefits. Finally, Drago et al. (2006) found that inclusive work environments that valued the diversity, lifestyle, and background of all employees were negatively associated with bias avoidance strategies among caregivers.

These findings suggest that supportive work environments can positively impact employee work and personal outcomes, and may decrease bias avoidance strategies among caregivers. As a result, organizational support for family or the global beliefs employees form regarding the extent to which the organization is family supportive may be negatively associated with employee perceptions of FRD. The current research uses the FSOP scale developed by Allen (2001) to measure organizational support for family.

*Hypothesis 2:* Family supportive organization perceptions will negatively correlate with perceived FRD.

*Family supportive supervisors.* Organizations with family supportive work environments also tend to employ family supportive supervisors who are sympathetic to the employees' need to integrate work and family life and make efforts to accommodate their employees' work and family responsibilities (Allen, 2001). The family supportiveness of the supervisor may play an important role in determining whether or not employees' perceive FRD. For example, a family supportive supervisor may encourage employees to use family supportive benefits and make efforts to accommodate their family responsibilities (Allen, 2001; Thompson et al., 1999). In contrast, an unsupportive supervisor may actively discourage employees from using family supportive benefits (Perlow, 1995; Starrels, 1992, Thompson, Thomas, & Maier, 1992) and may apply the benefits unevenly to make them appear to be rewards rather than entitlements (Fried, 1998). Drago's et al. (2006) study of bias against caregivers in academia found that the family supportiveness of the supervisor was negatively associated with bias avoidance strategies used by faculty. These findings suggest that family supportive supervisors may impact bias avoidance strategies of family caregivers and may be negatively associated with employee perceptions of FRD.

*Hypothesis 3:* The perceived family supportiveness of supervisors will negatively correlate with perceived FRD.

#### *Consequences of Perceived Workplace Discrimination*

A comprehensive review of the work-family literature points to five outcome variables associated with perceived negative career consequences for using family supportive benefits or devoting time to family: job satisfaction, organizational attachment, turnover intentions, work-family conflict, and benefit usage. For example, Thompson et al. (1999) found that employees who perceived negative career consequences for using family supportive benefits or devoting

time to family responsibilities reported greater work-family conflict and greater turnover intentions. Anderson, Coffey, and Byerly (2002) also found that employees who perceived negative career consequences for work-family balance reported greater work-family conflict as well as lower job satisfaction and greater turnover intentions. Although Thompson et al. (1999) did not find a relationship between perceived negative career consequences and organizational attachment, it is important to re-examine this relationship. Lastly, Butler et al. (2004) found that employees who perceived negative career and social consequences for using family supportive benefits were less likely to currently use or intend to use family supportive benefits. In summary, work-family research has found a direct relationship between perceived negative career and/or social consequences, and employee outcomes. As a result, perceived FRD may be significantly related to employee outcomes.

*Hypothesis 4:* Employees who perceive FRD will report lower job satisfaction, lower organizational attachment, higher turnover intentions, higher work-family conflict, and lower benefit usage.

#### *Perceived FRD as a Mediator*

Employee perceptions of FRD may mediate the relationship between family supportive policies and practices, and employee outcomes. Prior research supports this contention suggesting that workplace discrimination acts as a mediator variable (Fitzgerald et al., 2002; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). For example, Ragins and Cornwell (2001) found that perceived sexual orientation discrimination mediated the relationship between antecedents (e.g. organizational policies and practice) and outcomes (e.g. job attitudes and organizational outcomes) while Fitzgerald et al. (2002) found that sexual harassment reporting mediated the relationship between antecedents (e.g. organizational climate and remedies), and outcomes (e.g.

work satisfaction and organizational commitment). Since it appears that no prior research to date has tested the mediating effects of perceived FRD, it is essential that the present research examine this relationship.

*Hypothesis 5:* Perceived FRD will mediate the relationship between antecedents (e.g. family supportive policies and practices) and outcomes (e.g. job satisfaction, organizational attachment, turnover intentions, work-family conflict, and benefit use) (See Figure 1).

## Methods

### *Participants*

Participants consisted of 498 working adults enrolled in one evening, college course per semester at a large university in Southern California. Two surveys were discarded because of significant missing data resulting in a final sample of 496. The sample was recruited from 16 undergraduate classes and 19 graduate classes in education (29%), social science (28%), management (24%), humanities (16%), and science (3%). The overall sample consisted of 325 females and 171 males, 78% were between 21 – 40 years old, 55% were White/non-Hispanic, 39.7% had some graduate work, and 47% worked for organizations with over 500 employees. The average organizational tenure was 5.43 years ( $SD= 5.61$ ) and the average number of hours worked per week 42.18 hours ( $SD= 9.62$ ). A total of 234 were married living with a partner and 285 reported responsibility for dependents such as children and/or elderly parents.

### *Procedures*

The investigator received Institutional Review Board approval before proceeding with data collection at the University. After approval was granted, instructors teaching undergraduate and graduate courses at campuses in Southern California were randomly contacted. Instructors

agreeing to participate in the study were asked to provide the investigator with approximately 25 minutes of classroom time for survey administration. With the instructor's approval, the investigator introduced the research and asked subjects to volunteer to complete a 15-minute anonymous survey during class time. Subjects were not compensated for their participation.

### *Measures*

*Demographics.* Participants responded to a number of demographic controls, including gender, age, relationship status, education, ethnicity/race, annual salary, total annual household income, job level, organizational size, organizational type, organizational tenure, number of hours worked per week, number of hours per week spent on housework or childcare, family responsibility, past experience using family supportive benefits, and employer information about their legal rights to the federal Family and Medical Leave Act, 29 U.S.C. § 2611 (1993) and to California State: Paid Family Care Leave, Cal Gov Code § 3300 (2002). Allen (2001), Clark (2001), and Thompson et al. (1999) also controlled for a combination of the above demographic variables in their empirical research on family supportive policies and practices.

*Family supportive organization perceptions (FSOP).* A 15-item scale developed by Allen (2001) was used to assess organizational support for family. The FSOP scale was selected for this study because it disentangled managerial support for family from organizational support for family unlike the work-family culture measure developed by Thompson et al., (1999). Participants were asked to determine the extent to which each item represented the philosophy or beliefs of their organization rather than their own personal beliefs (e.g. "Long hours inside the office are the way to achieving advancement" "It is best to keep family matters separate from work"). The response scale was from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Coefficient

alpha in the present study was .88. Higher scores indicated a greater degree of organizational support for family.

*Family supportive supervisors.* A nine-item scale was used to assess supervisor support for family (Shin, Wong, Simko, & Ortiz-Torres, 1989). This scale assessed multiple dimensions of social support such as emotional, informational, and instrumental. Participants were asked to determine how often in the past two-months their supervisor had engaged in supportive behaviors (e.g. “Listened to my problems about my family responsibilities”). The response scale was (1) never to (5) very often. Coefficient alpha in the present study was .81. Higher scores indicated a greater degree of supervisor support for family.

*Family supportive benefit availability and use.* Allen (2001) identified ten family supportive benefits commonly offered by organizations and grouped them into two categories: flexible work arrangements (e.g. flexible scheduling, part-time work, telecommuting, compressed work week) and dependent care supports (e.g. on-site childcare centers, subsidized local child care, eldercare/childcare information and referral services, eldercare assistance, paid maternity leave, and paid paternity leave). In addition, Butler et al. (2004) included four additional benefits: Employee Assistance Programs, leave of absence, sick leave for family care/bereavement, and job sharing. As a result, a 14-item family supportive benefits scale was used to assess benefit availability and use (Butler et al., 2004; Allen 2001). Benefit availability was assessed with (1) yes, (2) no, and (3) unsure, and benefit use was assessed from (1) never to (5) very often with a not applicable response included. Higher scores indicated an increased number of family supportive benefits offered by the organization and increased use of family supportive benefits.

*Family responsibility.* Rothausen (1999) developed the Responsibility for Dependents Scale in an effort to consider the diversity of today's families. This scale assesses the dependent responsibility of an individual by weighting the number of dependents of varying ages with different living arrangements. Elderly parents, dependent adults, and children are factored into this scale. Rothausen (1999) calculated item weights on a continuum from no family responsibility to highest level of family responsibility. The participants' family responsibility score was determined using a chart of item weights developed and tested by Rothausen (1999). For example, a participant who has a child less than one years-old, living with him would receive a score of 7= highest level of family responsibility while a participant who has a child 18-years-old, not living with him would receive a score of 1= low level of family responsibility. In addition, participants reporting no responsibility for dependents received a score of 0.

*Perceived family responsibilities discrimination (FRD) inventory.* A comprehensive review of the literature revealed no psychometrically established measure of perceived FRD. Therefore, an adapted version of the Workplace Prejudice/Discrimination Inventory developed and validated by James et al. (1995) was used to assess perceived FRD. This inventory assesses a social identity based theory of workplace discrimination, which is well suited for the examination of perceived FRD in the workplace. This inventory has also been successfully adapted in prior research to assess perceived sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace. (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). James et al. (1995) 15-item scale was originally developed to assess racial discrimination. In the current study, the term race was replaced with the term family responsibility. Participants were asked to rate their current work environment (e.g. "At work employees with family responsibilities receive fewer opportunities" "I have sometimes been unfairly singled out because of my family responsibilities"). The response scale was from (1)

completely disagree to (7) completely agree. In the present study, coefficient alpha was .94 while the results of a principal components factor analysis revealed a single factor accounting for 57% of the variance in item scores (See Table 1). Higher scores indicated greater perceptions of FRD.

*Work-family conflict.* A four-item scale was used to assess work to family conflict (Kopelman, Greenhaus, & Connolly, 1983) (e.g. “My family dislikes how often I am preoccupied with my work while I’m at home”). The response scale was from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Coefficient alpha in the present study was .86. Higher scores indicated a greater degree of work-family conflict.

*Job satisfaction.* A three-item scale was used to assess overall job satisfaction (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1979) (e.g. “In general, I don’t like my job”). The response scale was from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree. Coefficient alpha in the present study was .94. Higher scores indicated a greater degree of job satisfaction.

*Organizational attachment.* An eight-item scale was used to assess organizational attachment (Allen & Meyer, 1990) (e.g. I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organization”). The response scale was from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Coefficient alpha in the present study was .88. Higher scores indicated a greater degree of organizational attachment.

*Turnover intentions.* A three-item scale was used to assess intentions to leave the organization (Allen, 2001) (e.g. I am seriously thinking about quitting my job). The response scale was from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Coefficient alpha in the present study was .90. Higher scores indicated a greater degree of intentions to turnover.

## Results

*Analyses*

Hypotheses 1-4 were tested by examining zero-order correlations between variables. As expected, family supportive organization perceptions ( $r = -.762, p < .01$ ), family supportive supervisors ( $r = -.620, p < .01$ ), and the number of family supportive benefits available ( $r = -.096, p < .05$ ) negatively correlated with perceived FRD. As expected, perceived FRD also significantly correlated with job satisfaction ( $r = -.624, p < .01$ ), organizational attachment ( $r = -.592, p < .01$ ), turnover intentions ( $r = .564, p < .01$ ), work-family conflict ( $r = .580, p < .01$ ), and benefit usage ( $r = -.134, p < .01$ ). Correlations for key study variables are presented in Table 2.

Hypothesis 5 was tested using hierarchical multiple regression. James and Brett (1984) suggested that the following conditions must hold to establish mediation: (1) a significant relationship must be found between the independent variable and mediator variable, (2) a significant relationship must be found between the mediator variable and dependent variable, (3) a non-significant relationship must be found between the independent variable and dependent variable when holding the mediator variable constant.

*1<sup>st</sup> condition.* To test for the first condition of mediation perceived FRD was regressed onto the independent variables. At step 1, control variables significantly correlated with perceived FRD were entered (See Table 3). At step 2, three independent variables were entered. Note the percentage of variance accounted for was based on  $\Delta R^2$ . Three independent variables: family supportive organization perceptions ( $\beta = -.614, p < .001$ ), family supportive supervisors ( $\beta = -.235, p < .001$ ), and the number of family supportive benefits available ( $\beta = .068, p < .05$ ) were significant predictors of perceived FRD and accounted for 46.4% of the variance associated with perceived FRD ( $F = 101.251, p < .001$ ). Although the number of benefits available was a

significant predictor of perceived FRD, the relationship was weak and not in the predicted direction. As a result, no further tests were conducted on benefit availability.

*2<sup>nd</sup> condition.* To test for the second condition of mediation each dependent variable was regressed onto the mediator variable. For the hierarchical regressions, control variables significantly correlated with each dependent variable were entered at step 1 (See Table 3). At step 2, the mediator, perceived FRD was entered. Note the percentage of variance accounted for was based on  $\Delta R^2$ . First, job satisfaction was regressed onto perceived FRD. Perceived FRD was a significant predictor ( $\beta = -.545, p < .001$ ) accounting for 23.8% of the variance associated with job satisfaction ( $F = 40.800, p < .001$ ). Second, organizational attachment was regressed onto perceived FRD. Perceived FRD was a significant predictor ( $\beta = -.513, p < .001$ ) accounting for 21.4% of the variance associated with organizational attachment ( $F = 52.086, p < .001$ ). Third, turnover intentions were regressed onto perceived FRD. Perceived FRD was a significant predictor ( $\beta = .491, p < .001$ ) accounting for 19.9% of the variance associated with turnover intentions ( $F = 50.661, p < .001$ ). Fourth, work-family conflict was regressed onto perceived FRD. Perceived FRD was a significant predictor ( $\beta = .507, p < .001$ ) accounting for 20.9% of the variance associated with work-family conflict ( $F = 47.981, p < .001$ ). Fifth, benefit usage was regressed onto perceived FRD. Perceived FRD was a significant predictor ( $\beta = -.115, p < .01$ ) accounting for 1.3% of the variance associated with benefit usage ( $F = 9.362, p < .001$ ).

*3<sup>rd</sup> condition.* In order to test for the third condition of mediation, perceived FRD was allowed to vary in Regression 1 and was held constant in Regression 2. For Regression 1, control variables were entered at step 1 and three independent variables were entered at step 2. For Regression 2, control variables were entered at step 1, and three independent variables plus the mediator were entered at step 2. Five dependent variables were entered: job satisfaction,

organizational attachment, turnover intentions, work-family conflict, and benefit usage.

Standardized beta weights and significance levels were compared for each regression. Table 4 presents the regression results for mediation. Findings indicated that standardized beta weights became non-significant in two equations providing evidence of complete mediation. That is, the beta weights associated with family supportive supervisors were significant when entered with turnover intentions and work-family conflict as dependent variables, but became non-significant when the mediator was held constant. In addition, standardized beta weights became smaller, but remained significant in six equations providing evidence of partial mediation. Lastly, beta weights increased in two equations providing evidence of no mediation between family supportive organization perceptions and benefit usage, and family supportive supervisors and benefit usage (See Figure 2 and Table 4).

#### *Post Hoc Analyses*

Post hoc analyses were conducted to further examine the relationship between key variables and perceived FRD. The first post hoc analysis examined the relationships between specific types of family supportive benefits available and perceived FRD. The second post hoc analysis examined differences between employees with and without family responsibilities on antecedent variables and perceived FRD.

*Family supportive benefit availability.* Since the number of family supportive benefits available was not a significant predictor of perceived FRD, it was important to re-examine this relationship and determine specifically, which benefits were associated with perceived FRD. Zero order correlations were used to examine the relationship between variables. The results of the post hoc analysis indicated that the availability of flexible work arrangements such as flexible scheduling ( $r = -.215, p < .01$ ), part-time work ( $r = -.166, p < .01$ ), and job sharing ( $r = -.093, p <$

.05) were negatively correlated with perceived FRD. In addition, the availability of paid paternity leave ( $r = -.097, p < .05$ ) and sick leave for family care/bereavement ( $r = -.088, p < .05$ ) also had a significant, but weak correlations with perceived FRD. In contrast, the availability of dependent care supports such as on-site childcare centers, subsidized local child care, eldercare/childcare information and referral services, paid maternity leave, and eldercare assistance was unrelated to perceived FRD. In addition, the availability of compressed work week, telecommuting/work from home, leave of absence, and employee assistance programs was unrelated to perceived FRD.

*Family responsibility.* Since this study is exploratory and appears to be one of the first studies to date to examine perceived FRD among a diverse sample of participants, a post hoc analysis was conducted to examine differences between employees with and without family responsibilities on key antecedent variables. Family responsibility (e.g. responsibility for dependents) was dummy coded (0, 1) for the analyses. First, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to examine differences between groups on perceived FRD. The results indicated that employees with family responsibilities perceived significantly more FRD than employees without family responsibilities ( $F = 4.724, p < .05$ ). Second, hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the moderating effects of family responsibility on the relationship between family supportive policies and practices, and perceived FRD. Family responsibility was dummy coded (0, 1) for the analyses. Three regressions were conducted to examine the impact of family supportive policies and practices on perceived FRD for employees with and without family responsibilities. Control variables significantly correlated with perceived FRD were entered at step 1 (See Table 4). At step 2, the independent variable was entered.

*Family supportive organization perceptions.* A significant interaction was found between family responsibility and family supportive organization perceptions on perceived FRD ( $\beta = -.188$ ,  $p=.001$ ,  $\Delta R^2= .013$ ,  $\Delta F= 16.840$ ,  $p=.001$ ). These findings indicated that family supportive organization perceptions had a significantly greater impact on perceived FRD for employees with family responsibilities than employees without family responsibilities.

*Family supportive supervisors.* Support was found for a significant interaction between family responsibility and family supportive supervisors on perceived FRD ( $\beta = -.188$ ,  $p=.001$ ,  $\Delta R^2= .013$ ,  $\Delta F= 16.840$ ,  $p=.001$ ). These findings indicated that family supportive supervisors had a significantly greater impact on perceived FRD for employees with family responsibilities than employees without family responsibilities.

*Family supportive benefit availability.* The results of the regression analysis found no support for an interaction between family responsibility and the number of benefits available on perceived FRD ( $\beta = .084$ ,  $p= .214$ ,  $\Delta R^2= .003$ ,  $\Delta F= 1.548$ ,  $p= .214$ ). These findings indicated that benefit availability did not differentially impact perceived FRD for employees with and without family responsibilities.

## Discussion

The major purpose of this study was to explore the antecedents and consequences of perceived FRD in the workplace among a diverse sample of participants employed in a variety of occupational and organizational settings. Very few studies have explored how organizations can impact employee perceptions of FRD and how perceptions of this form of discrimination may negatively impact employee outcomes. Since no psychometrically sound measure of perceived FRD exists, this study adapted and tested a measure. Findings indicated that the adapted measure of perceived FRD was reliable and measured a single global construct. In addition, findings

indicated that the family supportiveness of the work environment was a significant predictor of perceived FRD and that perceived FRD was negatively associated with employee outcomes. As a result, organizations interested in improving business outcomes and avoiding legal costs associated with FRD should carefully consider this research and similar studies identifying the importance of family supportive work environments (Allen, 2001; Behson, 2005, 2002; Clark, 2001; Drago, et al. 2006; Thompson et al., 1999).

Recent changes in U.S. EEOC enforcement guidelines regarding the unlawful disparate treatment of caregivers in the workplace (2007), makes this research timely and of key importance to managers, organizations, and policy makers. Although work-family research has documented, for over a decade, the negative career and/or social consequences experienced or perceived for work-family balance (Allen & Russell, 1999, Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly, 2002; Butler, Gasser, & Smart, 2004; Butler & Skattebo, 2004; Drago et al., 2006; Finkel, Olswn, & She, 1994; Glass, 2004; Judiesh & Lyness, 1999; Lyness, Thompson, Francesco, & Judiesch, 1999; McGinnity & McManus, 2007; Perlow, 1995; Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999) identifying these consequences as employment discrimination is relatively new (Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004; Williams & Cooper, 2004; Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams & Thomas, 2006). Changes in workforce demographics, generational shifts, economic pressures, and globalization have caused many caregivers to question their current work environments (Williams & Segal, 2003). The work environment that many employees experience today was developed during the industrial age. In order to be effective in this work environment, the roles of men and women were split down the middle with men having primary responsibility at work and women having primary responsibility at home (Lewis, 1997; Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams, 2000). This 20<sup>th</sup> century

model of work did not calculate caregiving into the equation. As a result, organizations and jobs were designed around an ideal worker who could prioritize work over family, keep family matters separate from work, spend long hours in the office, and maintain 24/7 availability (Allen, 2001; Lewis, 1997; Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams, 2000). Therefore, employee effectiveness and commitment was evaluated based on face time. Employees who could not fit into this model of work became marginalized as part of the out-group and subject to a variety of stereotypes and bias that limited their opportunities for promotion, advancement, and employment (Crosby et al, 2004; Drago et al., 2006; Fuegen et al., 2004; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Williams & Cooper, 2004; Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams & Thomas, 2006). For generations, millions of caregivers have traded their employment opportunities for their families accepting the reality of the workplace (Crosby et al, 2004; Williams & Cooper, 2004; Williams & Segal, 2003; Williams, 2000). However, today's non-traditional worker is no longer accepting this reality and seems to be challenging the underlying norms and values of their organization that support the separation of work and family life by making claims of FRD. The following section reveals how findings from the present research can guide managers interested in impacting employee perceptions of FRD and developing a competitive work environment for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### *Implications for Managers*

*Organizational support for family.* Organizational support for family was a significant predictor of employee perceptions of FRD. Findings from the present research indicated that informal workplace practices such as organizational support for family were more important than official policies such as the number of family supportive benefits offered by the organization in impacting employee perceptions of FRD. In addition, findings from a post hoc analysis revealed that organizational support for family had a more positive impact on perceived FRD for

employees with family responsibilities than employees without family responsibilities. These findings suggest that employees are aware of the family supportiveness of their work environments and that organizations should not underestimate the impact of this environment on their employees. As a result, managers should seek to carefully develop family supportive work environments by conducting a culture audit to identify how “unwritten rules” such as expecting employees to prioritize work over family life and evaluating performance based on face time may interfere with the development of a family supportive work environment (Dickson, 2007; Williams & Thomas, 2006). Managers should then develop action plans to manage these “unwritten rules.” In addition, managers and employees should be held accountable for the successful implementation of family supportive work environments. Managers’ performance evaluations should be tied to the effective development of a supportive work environment (Dickson, 2007; Williams & Thomas, 2006) and continuous process improvement (CPI) teams should be used to empower employees to evaluate their work environment and to provide continuous feedback and suggestions to management (Cutcher-Gershenfeld, Kossek, & Sandling, 1997; Dickson, 2007).

*Managerial support for family.* Managerial support for family was a significant predictor of employee perceptions of FRD. For example, the current findings revealed that the family supportiveness of the supervisor was negatively associated with employee perceptions of FRD. In addition, perceived FRD completely mediated the relationship between family supportive supervisors and employee outcomes such as turnover intentions and work-family conflict. Results from a post hoc analysis also showed that managerial support for family had a more positive impact on perceived FRD for employees with family responsibilities than employees without family responsibilities. These findings suggest that employees are aware of the family

supportiveness of their supervisors and that supervisors only impacted turnover intentions and work-family conflict through perceptions of FRD. As a result, organizations should provide individual coaching and trainings sessions for managers on how to effectively respond to employee's work and family concerns (Dickson, 2007; Williams & Thomas, 2006). Managers should be coached on how to set appropriate limits and boundaries with their employees. This will help managers more effectively balance the needs of the organization with the needs of the employee preventing managers from becoming overly flexible or rigid in their decision making and reducing the possibility of bias (Dickson, 2007; Williams & Thomas, 2006). In addition, management trainings should address the underlying biases managers may hold about the separation of work and family life that unintentionally lead to stereotyping and discrimination against family caregivers in the workplace (Dickson, 2007; Williams & Thomas, 2006).

*Family supportive benefits.* The availability of flexible work arrangements may signal to employees that the organization is truly concerned about work-family integration. Findings revealed that flexible work arrangements such as the availability of flexible scheduling, part-time work, and job sharing were negatively associated with perceived FRD as well as sick leave for family care/bereavement and paid paternity leave. In contrast, dependent care supports such as on-site day care and childcare/eldercare referral services as well as the number of family supportive benefits offered by the organization were not significant predictors of perceived FRD. Findings also revealed that employees who reported positive experiences using family supportive benefits reported significantly less FRD. As a result, managers should actively promote flexible work arrangements offered by their organization in employee orientations and staff meetings. In addition, organizations should make flexible work arrangements available to all employees to avoid "family-friendly backlash" in which single employees are not given the same rights as

parents or other family caregivers in the workplace (Rothausen, Gonzalez, Clarke, & O'Dell, 1998; Williams & Thomas, 2006;). Organizations should also create tip sheets for managers to include a list of do's and don'ts for effective communication for when employees return from family leave or request family leave and flexible work arrangements. This will help ensure employees have a positive experience using these benefits (Dickson, 2007).

*Consequences of FRD.* Findings indicated that perceptions of FRD have negative consequences for employee outcomes and may impact the organizations bottom-line. More specifically, when employees perceived FRD they reported lower job satisfaction, lower organizational attachment, higher turnover intentions, higher work-family conflict, and lower benefit usage. Findings also indicated that perceived FRD partially mediated the relationship between family supportive policies and practices (e.g. organizational support and managerial support for family), and employee outcomes (e.g. job satisfaction, organizational attachment, turnover intentions, and work-family conflict). These findings suggest that organizations will not necessarily achieve positive business outcomes from family supportive policies and practices unless they manage employee perceptions of FRD. Organizations should offer trainings and educational seminars to managers on how to prevent FRD in the workplace as well as include FRD in their anti-discrimination policies (Williams & Thomas, 2006). Managers should also ensure that family supportive policies and practices are properly implemented in the workplace. Just offering family supportive benefits without changing the work environment or ensuring supportive supervisors may lead to a contradictory workplace culture in which employees are afraid to use family supportive benefits (Lewis, 2003). As a result, this contradictory culture may increase employee perceptions of FRD.

*Limitations & Directions for Future Research*

The first limitation of this study is that perceptions and subjective reports of family responsibilities discrimination were assessed rather than objective reports of family responsibilities discrimination. Perceptions of workplace discrimination are different from actual patterns and practices of workplace discrimination and may not reflect actual forms of workplace discrimination (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). For example, employees may perceive workplace discrimination when it is intended or not intended. Future research should examine objective reports of FRD. Organizational records should be examined for documented patterns of family responsibilities discrimination and 360-degree interviews could be conducted in organizations to assess objective reports of family responsibilities discrimination.

A second limitation of this study involved relying on participant reports of the number of family supportive benefits offered by the organization (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Participants may be mistaken about the number of family supportive benefits offered by their organizations. As a result, inaccurate information regarding the number of family supportive benefits could lead to inaccurate accounts of the use of family supportive benefits. Future research should attempt to track benefit availability and use by contacting human resource professionals from each participant's organization. This will provide a more precise examination of the relationship between benefit availability and perceived family responsibilities discrimination, and the relationship between perceived family responsibilities discrimination and benefit use.

Third, generalizability is limited to working adults attending evening, college classes. Although the participants in this sample worked full-time, they did not represent the typical employee. Adults who work full-time and attend college part-time may have higher levels of work-family conflict than adults who work full-time and do not attend college. In addition,

working adults enrolled in college may be less committed to their current occupations and organizations, and view their employment as transient. They may also be less involved in their work and may become targets of unfair treatment not because of their family responsibilities but because of their lack of commitment to their work and organization. As a result, working adults attending college may perceive family responsibilities discrimination in their workplace when it is not intended. Future research should retest this model on a sample of working adults who do not attend college to determine whether or not these findings will hold for employees in general.

*Future research.* The present research is part of a much larger study. Due to the length constraints of the current paper, only the core hypotheses could be addressed. Therefore, future research on perceived FRD will examine gender differences, family responsibility, and flexible work arrangements in more detail. The analysis of gender differences will be of considerable interest since experimental research has shown that men may be subject to more severe negative career consequences for work-family balance than women (Allen & Russell, 1999; Butler & Skattebo, 2004). Williams and Segal (2003) suggested that fathers who took on the role of primary caregiver not only violate their gender role stereotype but also their role as an ideal worker, which may put them at greater risk for FRD than mothers who violate the ideal worker role.

Next, future studies will examine differences between employees with childcare and eldercare responsibilities as well as those in the “sandwich generation” who simultaneously care for children and elderly parents (Ingersoll-Dayton, Neal, & Hammer, 2001). In addition, breaking down the sample by the child’s age and whether or not the child is living with the parent will be key. For example, parents with children under 5 years old may be more likely to perceive FRD than parents with children who are teenagers while comparing parents with young

children who are living with them vs. parents with children who are not living with them will also be informative.

Finally, future studies will examine flexible work arrangements in more depth. For example, does perceived FRD mediate the relationship between the availability of flexible work arrangements and employee outcomes? The present study found that perceived FRD did not mediate the relationship between the number of family supportive benefits available and employee outcomes. However, post hoc results indicated that flexible work arrangements such as flexible schedule, part-time work, and job share were significantly correlated with perceived FRD. As a result, further examining this relationship appears valuable.

### Conclusion

Family responsibilities discrimination (FRD) is a fast developing trend in employment law now recognized by the U.S. EEOC. The present research takes a first step to measure employee perceptions of FRD and examine the antecedents and consequences of this form of discrimination in the workplace. Findings revealed that informal means of support for family such as organizational and managerial support had the greatest impact on employee perceptions of FRD over and above formal means of support such as the number of family supportive benefits offered by the organization. Organizations should seek to create family supportive work environments that value work-life integration and should coach and train managers to support their employees' family responsibilities. In addition, employee perceptions of FRD can have negative consequences for bottom-line results. Managers should not underestimate the impact of the work environment on their employees and should carefully consider how this environment impacts employee perceptions of FRD.

## References

- Allen, T. D. (2001). Family-supportive work environments: The role of organizational perceptions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 58*, 414-435.
- Allen, T. D. & Russell, J. E. (1999). Parental leave of absence: Some not so family-friendly implications. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 29*(1), 166-176.
- Allen, N. J., & Meyer, J. P. (1990). The measurement and antecedents of affective, continuance, and normative commitment to the organization. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 63*, 1-18.
- Anderson, S. E., Coffey, B. S. & Byerly, R. T. (2002). Formal organizational initiatives and informal workplace practice: Links to work-family conflict and job-related outcomes. *Journal of Management, 173*, 1-24.
- Back v. Hastings on Hudson Union Free School District, 365 F.3d 107 (2d Cir 2004)
- Behson, S. J. (2002). Which dominates? The relative importance of work-family organizational support and general organizational context on employee outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 61*, 53-72.
- Behson, S. (2005). The relative contribution of formal and informal organizational work family support. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 66*, 487-500.
- Bond, J., Galinsky, E., Kim, S., & Brownfield, E. (2005). *2005 National Study of Employers*. New York, NY: Families and Work Institute.
- Burgess, D. & Borgida, E. (1999). Who women are, who women should be: Descriptive and prescriptive stereotyping in sex discrimination. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 5*(3), 1-28.
- Butler, A. B., & Skattebo, A. (2004). What is acceptable for women may not be for men:

- The effect of family conflicts with work on job performance ratings. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 77, 553-564.
- Butler, A., Gasser, M. & Smart, L. (2004). A social cognitive perspective on using family-friendly benefits. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 65, 57-70.
- Cammann, C., Fichman, M., Jenkins, D., & Klesh, J. (1979). *Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire*. Unpublished manuscript. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan.
- Clark, S. C. (2001). Work cultures and work/family balance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 58, 348–365.
- Cook, A. (1992). Can work requirements change to accommodate the needs of dual-earner families? In H. Lewis, D. Izraeli, and H. Hootsmans (Eds.). *Dual-Earner Families: International Perspectives*. London: Sage Publications.
- Crosby, F., Williams, J., Biernat, M. (2004). The maternal wall. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(4) 675-682.
- Cutcher-Gershenfeld, J., Kossek, E., Sandling, C. (1997). Managing concurrent change initiatives: Integrating quality and work-family strategies. *Organizational Dynamics*, Winter, 21- 37.
- Dickson, C. E. (2007). Building a legal case for work-life balance policies. *EAP Digest*, Summer, 16-19.
- Drago, R., Colbeck, C., Stauffer, K.D., Pirretti, A., et al. (2006). Bias against caregivers, *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 49(9).
- Family and Medical Leave Act, 29 U.S.C. § 2611 (1993).
- Fuegen, K., Biernat, M., Haines, E. (2004). Mothers and fathers in the workplace: How gender

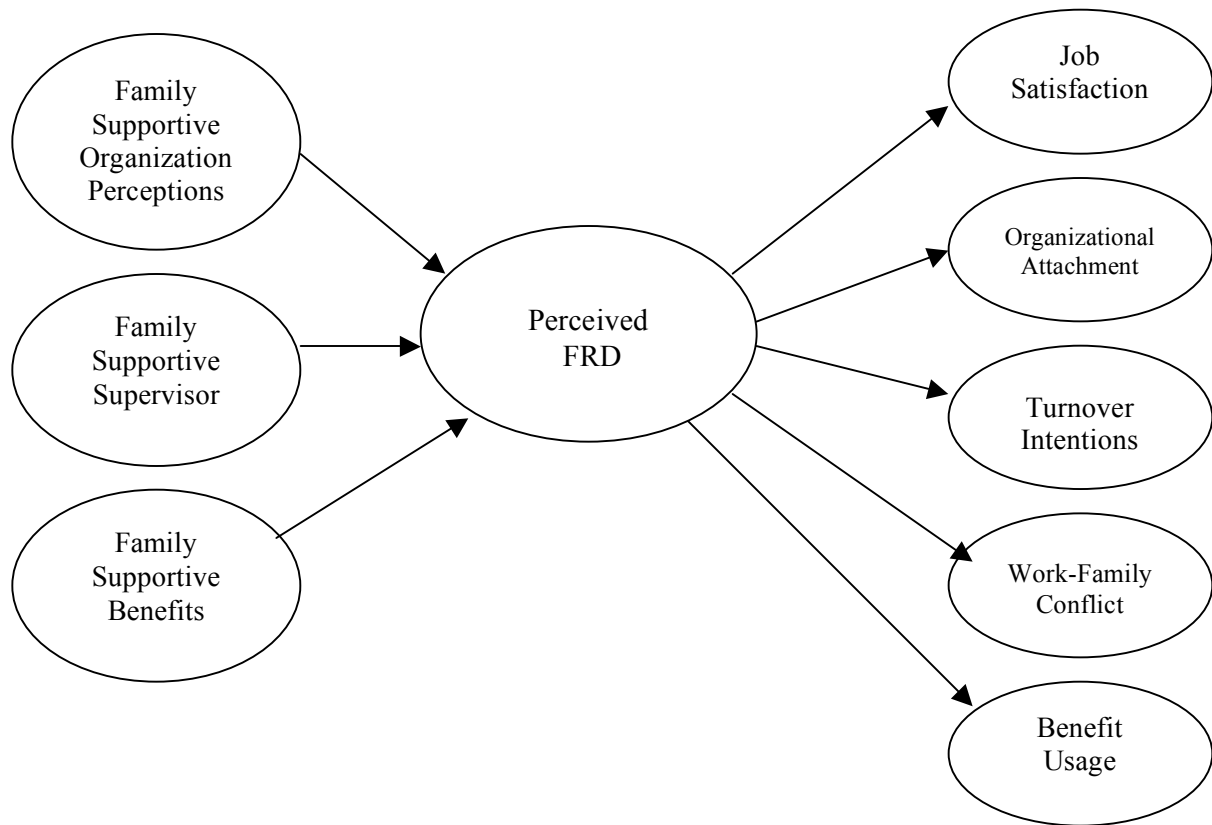
- and parenting status influence judgments of job related competence. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(4), 737-754.
- Finkel, S. K., Olswang, S., & She, N. (1994). Childbirth, tenure, and promotion for women faculty. *Review of Higher Education*, 17, 259–270.
- Fitzgerald, L., Bergman, M., Langhout, R.D., Palmieri, P.A., Cortina, L. (2002). The unreasonableness of reporting: Antecedents and consequences of reporting sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(2), 230- 242.
- Fried, M. (1998). *Taking time: Parental leave policy and corporate culture*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Glass, J. (2004). Blessing or curse? Work-family policies and mother's wage growth. *Work & Occupation*, 31(3), 367-394.
- Grover, S. L., & Crooker, K. J. (1995). Who appreciates family-responsive human resource policies: The impact of family-friendly policies on the organizational attachment of parents and nonparents. *Personnel Psychology*, 48, 271–288.
- Heilman, M. (1995). Sex Stereotypes and Their Effects in the Workplace: What We Know and What We Don't Know. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 10(6), 3-26.
- Ingersoll-Dayton, B., Neal, M. B., & Hammer, L. B. (2001). Aging parents helping adult children: The experience of the sandwiched generation. *Family Relations*, 50, 262-271.
- James, K., Lovato, C., & Cropanzano, R. (1994). Correlational and known-group comparison validation of a workplace prejudice/discrimination inventory. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 24(17), 1573-1592.
- James, K., Lovato, C., & Cropanzano, R. (1994). Correlational and known-group

- comparison validation of a workplace prejudice/discrimination inventory. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 24(17), 1573-1592.
- James, L.R. & Brett, J. M. (1984). Mediators, moderators, and tests for mediation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 69, 307-321.
- Judiesch, M. K. & Lyness, K. S. (1999). Left behind? The impact of leaves of absence on managers' career success. *Academy of Management*, 4, 167-185.
- Knussman v. Maryland, 272 f.3d 655 4th Cir, (2004)
- Kopelman, R. E., Greenhaus, J. H., & Connolly, T. F. (1983). A model of work, family, and interrole conflict: A construct validation study. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 32, 198–215.
- Lewis, S. (1997). Family Friendly Employment Policies: A route to organizational change or playing about the margins. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 4 (1), 13-23.
- Lewis, S. (2003). Flexible work arrangements: Implications, outcomes, and management. In Cooper, C. L. & Robertson, C. E. (Eds.). *International Review of Industrial-Organizational Psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Lobel, S. A., & Kossek, E. E. (1996). Human resource strategies to support diversity in work and personal lifestyles: Beyond the “family-friendly” organization. In E. E. Kossek & S. A. Lobel (Eds.). *Managing diversity: Human resource strategies for transforming the workplace* (pp. 221–244). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Lyness, K. S., & Thompson, C. A., Francesco, A. M., & Judiesch, M. K. (1999). Work and pregnancy: Individual and organizational factors influencing organizational commitment, timing of maternity leave, and return to work. *Sex Roles*, 41 (7), 485-508.
- McGinnity, F., & McManus, P. (2007). Paying the Price for Reconciling Work and Family Life:

- Comparing the Wage Penalty for Part-Time Work in Britain, Germany and the United States. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 9(2), 115 – 125.
- Mitchell, O. S. (1997). Work and family benefits. In F. D. Blau & R. G. Ehrenberg (Eds.), *Gender and family issues in the workplace* (pp. 269-276). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Paid Family Care Leave, Cal Gov Code § 3300 (2002).
- Perlow, L. A. (1995). Putting the work back into work/family. *Group and Organization Management*, 20, 227-239.
- Plaetzer v. Borton Automotive, Inc., 2004 WL 2066770 (D. Minn. 2004)
- Ragins, B. R. & Cornwell, J. M. (2001). Pink triangles: Antecedents and consequences of perceived workplace discrimination against gay and lesbian employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86(6), 1244-1261.
- Ridgeway, C., & Correll, S. J. (2004). Motherhood as a status characteristic. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(4), 683-700.
- Rothausen, T. J. (1999). “Family” in organizational research: A review and comparison of definitions and measures. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 20, 817-836.
- Rothausen, T. J., Gonzalez, J. A., Clarke, N. E., & O’Dell, L. L. (1998). Family-friendly backlash—Fact or fiction? The case of organizations’ onsite child care centers. *Personnel Psychology*, 51, 685-705.
- Schultz v. Advocate Health & Hospitals Corp., No. 01C0702 (N.D. 111. 2002).
- Shin, M., Wong, N.W., Simko, P. A., & Ortiz-Torres, B. (1989). Promoting the well-being of working parents: Coping, social support, and flexible job schedules. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 17, 31–55.

- Starrels, M. E. (1992). The evolution of workplace family policy research. *Journal of Family Issues* 13, 259-278.
- Thompson, C. A., Beauvais, L. L., & Lyness, K. S. (1999). When work-family benefits are not enough: The influence of work-family culture on benefit utilization, organizational attachment, and work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 54, 392-415.
- Thompson, C. A., Thomas, C. C., & Maier, M. (1992). Work-family conflict and the bottom line: Reassessing corporate policies and initiatives. In U. Sekaran & F. T. Leong (Eds.), *Women-power: Managing in times of demographic turbulence* (pp. 59-84). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2007). *Enforcement Guidance: Unlawful Disparate Treatment of Workers with Caregiving Responsibilities*. Section 615, Vol. II: Compliance Manual.
- Walsh v. National Computer Systems, Inc, No. 00-CV-82, D. Minn., (2002).
- Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, J., & Segal, N. (2003). Beyond the maternal wall: Relief for family caregivers who are discriminated against on the job. *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, 26, 1-206.
- Williams, J. & Cooper, H. G. (2004). The public policy of motherhood. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(4), 840-865.
- Williams, J., & Thomas, C. (2006). The growing concern of family responsibilities discrimination. *Women's Lawyer Review*, 91(2), 25 -29.

*Figure 1: Proposed Mediating Effects of Perceived Family Responsibilities Discrimination*



*Figure 2: Revised Mediating Effects of Perceived Family Responsibilities Discrimination*

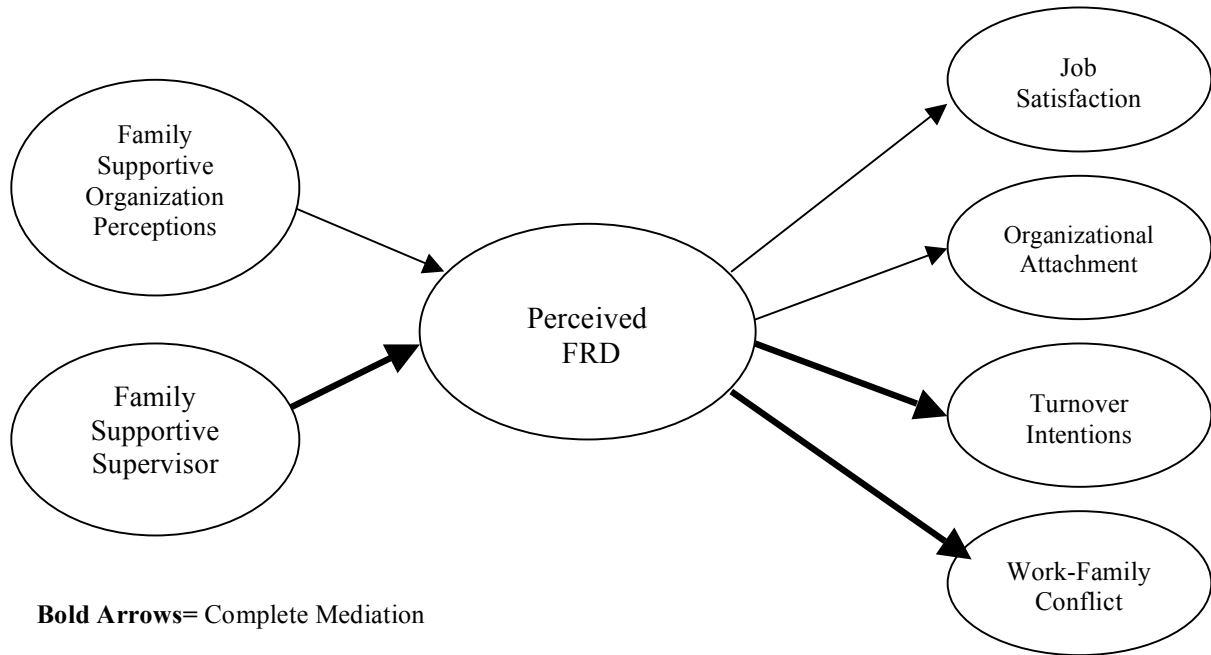


Table 1

Results of Principal Components Factor Analysis for Perceived FRD Inventory (N= 496)

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squares Loading		
	Total	% of Variance	Cum.%	Total	% of Variance	Cum.%
1	8.555	57.031	57.031	8.555	57.031	57.031
2	.999	6.659	63.691			
3	.811	5.405	69.095			
4	.668	4.585	73.681			
5	.610	4.064	77.745			
6	.596	3.974	81.718			
7	.486	3.237	84.955			
8	.459	3.062	88.017			
9	.380	2.532	90.584			
10	.332	2.214	92.762			

11	.263	1.745	94.516
12	.253	1.686	96.203
13	.219	1.459	97.662
14	.191	1.273	98.935
15	.160	1.065	100.000

---

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation among Study Variables (N= 496)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. FRD	1.00								
2. FSOP	-.762**	1.00							
3. Supervisor Support	-.620**	.610**	1.00						
4. Benefit Availability	-.096*	.187**	.163**	1.00					
5. Job Satisfaction	-.624**	.596**	.536**	.183**	1.00				
6. Org. Attachment.	-.592**	.610**	.542**	.246**	.798**	1.00			
7. Turnover Intentions	.564**	-.536**	-.430**	-.194**	-.741**	-.681**	1.00		
8. Work-Family Con.	.580**	-.603**	-.446**	-.127**	-.501**	-.391**	.467**	1.00	
9. Benefit Usage	-.134**	.147**	.241**	-.079	.169**	.133**	-.017	-.058	1.00
Mean	2.81	3.19	3.03	6.05	4.77	4.04	2.75	2.94	1.87
SD	1.48	.739	.769	2.62	1.95	1.54	1.37	1.19	.827

Note. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

Table 3

*Correlation Matrix Relating Key Control Variables to Criterion Variables (N= 496)*

Variables	FRD.	JobSat	AffCom	Turnover	W-F Con.	Benefit Use
Hrs. Worked/Week	.089*	-.076*	.062	-.015	.307**	-.141**
Past Benefit Use	-.377**	.388**	.426**	-.382**	-.306**	.053
Family Respon.	.199**	.088*	.031	.008	.106**	.088
Federal Leave	-.201**	.286**	.279**	-.268**	-.217**	-.080
CA State Leave	-.161**	.250**	.277**	-.250**	-.152**	-.022
Salaried Work	-.133**	.156**	.158**	-.148**	-.030	-.032
Hourly Work	.078	-.144**	-.159**	.127**	-.107*	-.005
1 <sup>st</sup> Level Sup.	.059	-.099*	-.047	.057	.040	-.006
Dep. Head	-.038	.188**	.147**	-.061	.018	.076
Tenure	.073	.045	.095*	-.023	.017	.037
Single	-.022	-.004	-.022	.008	-.097*	.001
Org. Size 1-50	-.081	.049	.012	.001	-.041	.190**

Org. Size over 500	.033	-.023	-.050	.015	-.012	-.098*
--------------------	------	-------	-------	------	-------	--------

Note. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

Table 4

Mediator Regression Results for Perceived FRD

Predictors	Regression 1	Regression 2 (Mediator held constant)
	$\beta$	$\beta$
Dependent Variable: Job Satisfaction		
FSOP	.371**	.180**
Supervisor Support	.255**	.182**
Dependent Variable: Organizational attachment		
FSOP	.357**	.209**
Supervisor Support	.261**	.205**
Dependent Variable: Turnover Intention		

FSOP	-.361**	-.145*
Supervisor Support	-.144**	-.062

Dependent Variable: Work-Family Conflict

FSOP	-.471**	-.311**
Supervisor Support	-.105**	-.045

Dependent Variable: Benefit Usage

FSOP	-.024	.013
Supervisor Support	.256**	.269**

---

Note: \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01    **FSOP**= Family Supportive Organization Perception