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An Examination of the Impact of Family-Friendly Policies on the Glass Ceiling

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United States Glass Ceiling Commission

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Executive Summary

- This monograph, prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor's Glass Ceiling Commission, explores the relationship between family-friendly[1] policies and the glass ceiling. Through a review of the relevant research and business literature, the following questions are examined:

  Where do family-friendly policies exist and who has access to them?

  What outcomes have been attributed to employee use of family-friendly policies?

  What impact does the use of family-friendly policies have upon career advancement?

- Family-friendly policies discussed in this monograph—leaves, flexible work arrangements, and dependent care benefits[2]—are most likely to be offered by large companies. Some forms of flexibility, however, are more prevalent in small companies of less than 50 employees. Overall, leave benefits are most prevalent, followed by flexible work arrangements and dependent care benefits.

- Research reveals a pattern of unequal access to family-supportive benefits. Employees with higher incomes, more education, and higher status jobs—managers, professionals, and technicians—report greater access to work-family benefits than other workers. While there are few significant differences by gender in access to family-friendly policies, an examination by race reveals non-minorities report greater access than minorities to flexible work schedule policies and leave benefits other than paid vacation. This may be attributed to the nature of the industries in which a greater proportion of minorities are concentrated, as well as to job level.

- Little research on the impact of family-friendly policies has been conducted. The dearth of evaluation research is attributable to lack of employer demand for this information, due to costs that would be incurred and the difficulty of obtaining quality data. Thus, this type of information is rarely used to make implementation decisions, which are often guided by senior management's intuitive confidence that family-friendly policies provide bottom-line benefits.

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[1] Throughout this monograph, the following terms will be used interchangeably: "family-friendly," "family-supportive," and "work-family."

[2] Dependent care programs include child care and elder care resource and referral, on-site or near-site child care, and financial assistance in paying for child care through vouchers or dependent care assistance plans (DCAPS). Leaves include leave for childbirth, parenting, and the care of ill family members, as well as vacation time. Flexible work arrangements most generally include part-time work, flextime, work-at-home, job-sharing, compressed work weeks, working less one day and making it up another, and extended lunch breaks. These specific policies and programs are defined in more detail in the body of the monograph.

- Research that has been done has focused on recruitment, retention, and productivity—those elements of the "business case" that motivate employers to implement work-family policies. There has been little *direct* research focus upon the career advancement of those employees who use family-friendly policies. While earlier studies tended to focus on employer, employee, or supervisor perceptions rather than actual outcomes; more recent studies have examined objective measures such as absenteeism and turnover.

- The expansion of work-family policies is viewed as both responsive to and supportive of women's increasing participation in the labor force. The evaluation data to date indicate that family-friendly policies positively affect recruitment, productivity, and retention, and thus contribute to enhancing the ability of individuals to participate successfully in the labor force. However, the question of whether these policies facilitate women's ability to break through the glass ceiling remains unanswered. There is widespread *belief*—fueled by the "mommy track" debate—that the use of leaves and flexible work arrangements[3] results in a sacrifice of career advancement, at least temporarily and perhaps permanently.

- There is some evidence that the *actual impact* of using leaves and flexible work arrangements may be less detrimental to careers than is feared. Overall, however, the research to date is inconclusive. No longitudinal studies of the career trajectories of those who have used family-friendly policies have been conducted.

- There is strong evidence that supervisor attitudes and company culture influence both employee use of work-family policies, especially leaves and flexible work arrangements, and the repercussions that result for making use of these policies. Research demonstrates that supervisors are key mediators affecting a variety of outcomes—employee satisfaction and loyalty, level of work-family conflict, perceived tradeoffs between work and personal life, and the repercussions of using work-family policies.

- A consensus is emerging among researchers and company representatives that a number of components of company culture continue to reinforce the glass ceiling, as they have not been re-examined and revised in tandem with the implementation of family-friendly policies. Basic tenets about work, traditional practices for developing managers, the structure of career paths, and attitudes about gender and parenting must be re-configured, both to ensure "no-fault" use of family-friendly policies and to remove barriers that limit individuals' ability to make their full contribution in the workplace.

- There is some evidence that work-family initiatives can contribute to culture change within companies. One study finds that employees report supervisors became more supportive after the implementation of a work-family initiative. Another study

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[3]   Research consistently shows that greater time flexibility, rather than specific dependent-care benefits, is the family-friendly policy most desired by employed parents (Galinsky, 1992).

concludes that work-family policies help create a foundation upon which to implement organizational changes.

- Overall, the general dearth of data, the persistent uncertainty about the relationship between the use of family-friendly policies and career advancement, and the consensus that supervisors and company culture have a critical impact upon this relationship suggest that further research and policy efforts are necessary.

Introduction

The emergence of employer-sponsored family-supportive policies and the prominent coverage of work-family issues by the media reflect the continued expansion of the work-family field. Researchers in this field have documented the changing profile of the U.S. workforce and of U.S. families, and have examined the nature of work-family conflict and its impact both at home and in the workplace. As employers have begun to acknowledge and respond to work-family issues, research has also begun to assess the extent, nature, and impact of this response.

While it might seem that family-supportive policies would facilitate women's ability to successfully balance career and family, and thus contribute to breaking the glass ceiling, this premise is steeped in controversy. Many employees and employers view the use of family-friendly policies and the desire for career advancement as mutually exclusive choices.[4]

Despite the ongoing "mommy track" debate, research on both work-family issues and the glass ceiling has largely ignored the interface between family-friendly policies and career advancement. This interface is also largely neglected by employers, as work-family initiatives are rarely linked to initiatives for the upward mobility of women and minorities. Although work-family policies may be recognized conceptually as an important support for women's careers, the facilitation of career advancement is rarely a stated objective underlying the implementation of work-family policies.[5] Rather, employers are most concerned with recruitment, retention, productivity, and the well-being of employees and their families. It is thus not surprising that research seeking to assess the impact

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[4] This monograph focuses on women, who, despite their increased participation in the labor force, continue to report greater responsibility for family matters than do men, and continue to confront the glass ceiling. However, it is important to acknowledge that men who seek to balance work and family by using family-friendly policies may, like their female counterparts, be confronted with career penalties for doing so. In addition, it is important to note that minorities confront the glass ceiling as well. While the research evaluating access to family-friendly policies indicates that differences between minorities and non-minorities are generally not significant, research evaluating the impact of policies has generally not examined whether differential effects are experienced by minorities vs. non-minorities.

[5] There are notable exceptions to this statement. Several large accounting firms, such as Arthur Andersen, have explicitly sought to reconcile the use of family-friendly policies related to leave and flexible work arrangements with continued upward career mobility. Du Pont's work-family activities grew out of recommendations made by a subcommittee of the company's affirmative action committee. These recommendations included a re-examination of the career planning process in light of work-family responsibilities. Bank of Montreal's work-family initiative grew out of the findings of its Task Force on the Advancement of Women in the Bank, and is integrated with its "Advancing Workplace Equality" initiative.

of family-friendly policies examines these outcomes which are explicitly articulated as motivating the implementation of policies.

This monograph summarizes the existing research pertaining to the following questions about family-supportive policies:

> *Where do family-friendly policies exist and who has access to them?*
>
> *What outcomes have been attributed to employee use of family-friendly polices?*
>
> *More specifically, what impact does the use of family-friendly policies have upon career advancement?*

The first question will be explored in order to provide background and context, while the second question provides an overview of the range of outcomes attributed to work-family policies and examined by researchers. Given the mandate of the Glass Ceiling Commission, the final question represents the primary concern of this monograph.

Methodology

The methodology used to prepare this monograph involved the following:

- A comprehensive review of the literature pertaining to the interface between work-family policies, practices, and programs and upward mobility for employees who use these policies. Additionally, the body of literature that examines the impact of family-friendly policies in general was reviewed.

- The incorporation of relevant data from unpublished studies and employee needs assessments conducted within various organizations by the Families and Work Institute.

- A secondary analysis of data from The National Study of the Changing Workforce (Galinsky, Bond, and Friedman, 1993), a representative survey of the U.S. workforce. Analyses were conducted on 2,958 wage and salaried workers.

- Discussions with professional women's organizations to ascertain whether they have examined the link between work-family issues and career development, and incorporation of relevant information.

- Discussions with corporations that have been leaders in the development of work-family initiatives to incorporate any available data on the impact of the use of work-family policies upon career advancement.

Family-Friendly Policies Defined

Broad definitions of family-friendly policies encompass the provision of traditional benefits, such as health insurance and paid vacation, and may even assert that the most important elements of family-friendliness are a secure job and adequate pay (Kingston, 1990). This monograph, however, focuses upon policies that fall within three categories that represent the most common definition of family-friendly benefits: dependent care benefits, leave benefits, and flexible work schedule benefits.

Dependent care benefits are those that help employees with their responsibilities for their children and dependent relatives, like older parents. These include child care resource and referral, elder care resource and referral,[6] on-site or near-site child care,[7] vouchers[8] for child care, and dependent care assistance plans (DCAPs).[9] Other dependent care benefits include consortium child care centers,[10] emergency or sick child care,[11] long-term care insurance,[12] and respite care.[13]

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[6] Child and elder care resource and referral services provide information on the forms of care and services available within a community, counseling to help employees choose the best options, and referrals to programs with openings. These resource and referral services can be provided directly by an employer, or the employer can contract an outside service to provide the information. Elder care resource and referral services often tie into a nationwide network so that services can be found for relatives living in other parts of the country.

[7] On-site and near-site child care are employer-sponsored child care centers located on or near the worksite. The center can be owned and managed by either the employer or by a third party. Some employers subsidize the cost so that their lower income employees can afford the program.

[8] Vouchers enable an employer to pay a portion of an employee's child care costs at a program selected by the parent, either by reimbursing the employee or by paying the provider directly. The value of the voucher may be offered as a flat fee, a percentage of cost, or limited to those below a certain income. Some employers pay a higher subsidy for accredited programs, or for programs that fit some specific quality criteria.

[9] Dependent Care Assistance Plans (DCAPs) allow employees to use pre-tax dollars to cover dependent care services. They are made possible by Section 129 of the IRS code. Employees estimate their child or elder care costs at the beginning of the tax year and their employer deducts a percentage of that amount from each paycheck. In practice, DCAPs are difficult to use for elder care because the dependent must be eligible to be listed as such on the employee's income tax return.

[10] Consortium child care centers, similar to on-site and near-site child care centers, are child care centers established and operated by a group of employers for their employees. They are usually close to the worksites of all the sponsoring companies.

[11] Emergency or sick child care provides care for children who are mildly ill or whose child care arrangement has broken down. Care can be provided by a visiting nurse association in the child's home or at an emergency care center that is free-standing or attached to an existing child care center.

[12] Long-term care insurance provides insurance to help employees pay for long-term care for themselves or dependents, spouses, or parents. Designed to fill gaps in Medicaid or Medicare coverage, long-term care insurance plans may cover home health services, adult day care and respite care.

Leave benefits provide employees with time off to care for dependents. Job-protected leave for childbirth and parenting (parental leave)[14] and leave to care for an ill child or family member (family leave)[15] are now guaranteed to all employees who work 1,250 hours or more a year for companies with over 50 employees in a 75 mile radius by the Family and Medical Leave Act.[16]

Flexible work arrangements give employees some control in organizing their work schedule. The two types of flexible work arrangements are those that *restructure* employees' time and those that *reduce* their time. Part-time work,[17] flextime,[18] and flexplace[19] are the most common arrangements. Other flexible work arrangements include extended lunch breaks, compressed work weeks,[20] and job sharing.[21]

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[13]   Respite care provides full or partial reimbursement of the costs associated with hiring a caregiver so that employees who care directly for elderly relatives (or other adult dependents) can take a break from such responsibilities.

[14]   Parental leave provides leave time, usually unpaid, for childbirth and child-rearing responsibilities. This leave may cover biological as well as adoptive and foster parents. Women who work for companies that provide disability leave are covered for childbirth, as mandated by the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978. This law stipulates that pregnancy is considered a disability and, therefore, organizations with 15 or more employees must provide the same sick leave and medical benefits to their pregnant employees as they do to any other temporarily disabled employees. In addition, women who live in states that provide temporary disability insurance (TDI) also have access to wage replacement during childbirth leave. States that provide TDI are California, Hawaii, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island.

[15]   Family leave, which encompasses parental leave, provides leave time for an employee to care for a spouse, child, parent, or other family member with a serious illness.

[16]   The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), which was signed on February 5, 1993 and went into effect on August 5, 1993, mandates that employers with 50 or more employees provide 12 weeks of unpaid leave for childbirth, parenting, or the care of ill family members. Employers must provide continued health benefits coverage and must guarantee the leavetaker reinstatement to the same or similar job. FMLA was not in effect at the time the studies cited were conducted.

[17]   Part-time work allows professional as well as support staff options to work reduced hours. If benefits are provided, they are typically pro-rated.

[18]   Flextime allows employees some choice in the times they arrive at work and leave, as long as they accumulate the required number of hours per day or week. There is generally a "core" time when all employees must be present each day, with a flexible band ranging from 15 minutes to two hours at the start and end of each day.

[19]   Flexplace, or telecommuting, allows employees to work at home or at another site on a regular basis.

[20]   Compressed work weeks condense the standard 40-hour week into fewer than the standard five days. The most common formulas are four ten-hour days, three twelve-hour days, and five nine-hour days followed by a week of four nine-hour days.

[21]   Job-sharing is a form of regular part-time work in which two people voluntarily share the responsibilities, salary, and benefits of one full-time position.

Access To Family-Friendly Policies

The popular press has devoted much attention to companies with family-friendly programs and policies. Books and magazine articles have chronicled the expansion of family-friendly benefits and have shaped popular conceptions about their increasing availability. A number of scientifically conducted studies (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1989; Families and Work Institute, 1991; Families and Work Institute, 1993; Miller, 1992),[22] however, provide the most reliable profile of where family-friendly policies exist and who has access to them:

- **Company size**. Large companies are almost always more likely to provide family-friendly policies than are small firms. Smaller companies, however, are generally able to provide more personalized scheduling options.

- **Industry characteristics.** Evidence is not definitive as to industry characteristics predictive of the provision of family-friendly benefits. However, research indicates industries most likely to offer work-family policies tend to possess one or more of a number of characteristics: they are economically healthy (such as the pharmaceutical industry), and/or rely on skilled employees and may face labor shortages (such as the health care industry). Industries with a high proportion of women in their workforces appear to be more likely to provide reduced work schedules. However, the provision of dependent care benefits does not appear to be linked to having a female-intensive labor force.

- **Employee characteristics.** In general, managers and professionals, those who earn more, and those with more education have the greatest access to all family-friendly policies. Unpublished secondary analysis of *The National Study of the Changing Workforce* (Families and Work Institute, 1993) finds that union employees have the same access as non-union workers to dependent care and unpaid leave benefits, but are much less likely to have access to flexible work schedule options. Analysis of the data by race reveals non-minorities report greater access than minorities to flexible work arrangements and leave benefits, except paid vacation.

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[22] Because of the differing methodologies used by the four studies cited, the data they provide vary somewhat. Both the Bureau of Labor Statistics survey and the Families and Work Institute's *Corporate Reference Guide to Work-Family Programs* rely on employer-reported information about the incidence of family-friendly policies. Miller's study and *The National Study of the Changing Workforce*, conversely, use employee-reported information about the incidence of family-friendly policies.

Both methods possess limitations. While employers may claim that their company offers a range of benefits, it is possible that only certain employees have the opportunity to use any given benefit. Furthermore, corporate culture often discourages even those employees who are eligible for family-friendly policies from making use of them. When employees may report access to a benefit, it is possible that they have worked out an individual arrangement that does not reflect the existence of a company-wide policy.

The Families and Work Institute's *National Study of the Changing Workforce*[23] offers the most recent data about the availability of leave benefits, flexible work arrangements, and dependent care benefits. Secondary analysis of these data enables us to develop a profile for each type of family-supportive policy by gender, race/ethnicity, occupation, industry, geography, and company size (see Appendix, Tables 1, 2, and 3).

AVAILABILITY OF LEAVE BENEFITS

Leaves are the most prevalent type of family-friendly benefit. Respondents to the *National Study of the Changing Workforce* report the following access to leave benefits:[24]

Leave Benefit	Percentage of All Workers with Access (n=2958)
Leave for childbirth and parenting	88%
Time off to care for ill child or family member	90%
Paid vacation time	79%

Women report significantly greater access than men (93 percent vs. 84 percent) to leave for childbirth and parenting, while men report slightly greater access than women to paid vacation time (81 percent vs. 76 percent). Although there are no differences in access to paid vacation by race/ethnicity, non-minorities are more likely to have access to leave for childbirth and parenting,

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[23] *The National Study of the Changing Workforce* (Families and Work Institute, 1993), is a longitudinal study of both the work and personal/family lives of the U.S. workforce. Telephone interviews were conducted with a randomly selected national sample of 3,381 employed men and women ages 18 through 64, as well as with 337 women who had dependent children under age 18 and who were not in the labor force by their own choice. The findings in the report cited represent analyses of the responses of 2,958 wage and salaried workers.

[24] While these responses point to the numbers of employees who have access to specific types of time off *in practice,* they cannot be construed to mean that a corresponding number of employers have formal policies offering such leaves or that all employees in the respondents' companies are able to take time off. The specific questions on these issues were phrased broadly enough to reflect the reality that most women can take at least some time off following the birth of a child, and that many employees use their own sick days to care for family members whether or not that is company policy. The actual questions asked were:

Can employees in your company take time off for childbirth?

Can employees in your company take time off to care for an ill child or family member?

and leave to care for ill children or other family members. Managers, professionals, technicians, and administrative support have greater access to all leave benefits than do employees in other occupations.

Leave for childbirth and parenting, and time off to care for ill children or family members are most prevalent in the education services, health services, and public administration industries and least available for employees who work in mining/agriculture/fishing. Paid vacation is most prevalent in public administration, manufacturing, and transportation/ communication/utilities, and least available to employees in mining/agriculture/fishing, personal services, wholesale/retail, and construction.

Access to leaves does not vary significantly among geographic regions, nor by company size, with the exception of paid vacation time, which is least available to those in companies of 50 or fewer employees: 70 percent of employees in small companies report access vs. 88 percent of employees in companies of 500 or more workers.

AVAILABILITY OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENTS

(See Appendix, Table 2)

Overall, access to flexible work arrangements is lower than access to leave benefits. Respondents to *The National Study of the Changing Workforce* report the following access to flexible work arrangements:

Flexible Work Arrangement	Percentage of All Employees with Access (n=2958)
Part-time work	57%
Extended lunch break	47%
Work less one day, make up later	44%
Set own hours (flextime)	29%
Can do some work at home regularly	24%

Although there is no difference in women's and men's access to most flexible work arrangements, women report much higher access to part-time work than men do (66 percent vs. 48 percent), while men report higher access to extended lunch breaks than women do (50 percent vs. 44 percent). Non-minority employees are more likely than minority employees to have access to all flexible work arrangements except flextime, where there is no significant difference. Managers and professionals have much higher access than other employees to flexible work arrangements; however, sales and service workers have slightly higher access to part-time work.

While there is some variation for each different benefit, flexible work arrangements are most available in finance/insurance/real estate, business/professional services, and social services/religious organizations and are least available in manufacturing industries. Employees in health services have the highest access to part-time work (76 percent); employees in business/professional services have the highest access to extended lunch breaks (65 percent); employees in social services have the highest access to the opportunity to work less one day and make it up later (57 percent) and flextime (47 percent); and employees in education services have the highest access to flexplace (50 percent).

With the exception of part-time work and flextime, access to flexible work arrangements does not vary significantly among geographic regions. Employees in the Midwest and West are most likely to have access to part-time work (62 percent and 61 percent, respectively), while employees in the Northeast and Midwest are most likely to have access to flextime (33 percent and 36 percent, respectively).

While access to part-time work, flextime, and flexplace does not vary significantly by company size, employees in companies with fewer than 50 workers report the highest access to extended lunch breaks (56 percent) and the opportunity to work less one day and make it up later (54 percent).

AVAILABILITY OF DEPENDENT CARE BENEFITS

(See Appendix, Table 3)

Dependent care benefits are the least available type of family-friendly benefit. Respondents to *The National Study of the Changing Workforce* report the following access to dependent care benefits:

Dependent Care Benefit	Percentage of All Employees with Access (n=2958)
Child care resource and referral	20%
Elder care resource and referral	11%
On-/near-site child care	10%
Vouchers	4%
DCAPs	28%

Access to dependent care benefits does not vary significantly by gender or by race/ethnicity. While access to elder care resource and referral and vouchers does not vary significantly by occupation, managers and professionals are more likely than all other employees to have access to child care resource and referral (24 percent vs. 19 percent); on-/near-site child care (14 percent vs. 9 percent); and DCAPs (32 percent vs. 27 percent). Technicians have the highest access to all dependent care benefits except vouchers: 31 percent report access to child care resource and referral; 22 percent report access to elder care resource and referral; 19 percent report access to on-/near-site child care; and 42 percent report access to DCAPs.

Although there is some variation for each benefit, dependent care benefits are most available in transportation/communications/utilities; finance/insurance/real estate; health services and public administration and are least available in wholesale/retail; personal services; construction; and

mining/agriculture/fishing. Employees who work in public administration have the highest access to child care resource and referral (38 percent) and on-/near-site child care (27 percent); employees in health services have the highest access to elder care resource and referral (30 percent); and employees in finance/insurance/real estate have the highest access to vouchers (9 percent) and DCAPs (42 percent).

Although access to on-/near-site child care, vouchers, and DCAPs does not vary significantly by geographic region, employees in the Northeast have the highest access to both child care and elder care resource and referral (25 percent and 15 percent, respectively).

Employees in companies with 500 or more workers are most likely to have access to all dependent care benefits: 33 percent of employees in companies with 500 or more workers have access to child care resource and referral; 19 percent have access to elder care resource and referral; 17 percent have access to on-/near-site child care; 6 percent have access to vouchers; and 43 percent have access to DCAPs.

Research Evaluating Impact Of Family-Friendly Policies

A review of the research that examines the impact of family-supportive policies reveals that relatively few studies have been conducted. Further, much of the early research is methodologically weak, relying upon "soft" data—perceptions of effects and employee self-reports rather than actual behavioral measures and longitudinal and comparative data (Raabe, 1990; Friedman, 1992). More recent studies do provide longitudinal and comparative data, and also begin to shift the approach from the examination of single policies to a more holistic consideration of entire work-family initiatives and the larger context in which they exist. Research to date has explored two major outcome categories: the impact of family-friendly policies upon factors of concern to employers and upon factors of concern to families. Within this framework, the impact of family-friendly policies upon the *career advancement* of those who use them remains largely unexamined.

DEARTH OF RESEARCH

Employers possess the greatest potential ability to conduct evaluations of policies, yet they are often reluctant to undertake evaluation research. To date, such research has not been in high demand to justify the continuation or expansion of measures implemented. Many employers that have implemented family-supportive policies express an intuitive confidence that there is a benefit to the bottom line. A 1993 Conference Board survey points out that employers would like hard data but may refrain from evaluating the impact of policies because they also realize that the outcomes they are most concerned with measuring—retention, productivity, stress levels, and employee effectiveness—require the collection of data that is difficult to obtain, often unreliable, and hard to connect with program results. (Johnson, 1993). This same study notes that employers feel the primary constraint limiting their willingness to conduct evaluation research is the time and effort required (Johnson, 1993).

PRIMARY FOCUS OF EXISTING RESEARCH

The questions that receive the most attention when considering the impact of family-supportive policies reflect two broad concerns:

What is the effect of these policies on the well-being of employees?

What is the effect of these policies on the well-being of employers?

Research that considers the well-being of employees assesses job-to-home spillover,[25] time spent with family and personal activities, stress, and satisfaction with marital and parental relationships—outcomes that reflect the personal concerns that confront employees most in need of family-supportive policies. It is important to emphasize that while there is extensive research that examines how work-family *conflict* influences employees' lives, relatively little research attention has been given to how *policies* that aim to ameliorate work-family conflict affect the outcomes outlined above.[26]

Research that investigates the concerns of business has focused on work-family policies' impact upon recruitment, retention, and various proxies for productivity: employee morale, absenteeism, tardiness, job satisfaction, and stress—outcomes that reflect the "business case" concerns that motivate employers to implement family-supportive policies.

Friedman's (1991) review of the research pertaining to the impact of work-family policies on the bottom-line concerns of employers notes that most studies have looked at single policies, rather than at the cumulative effect of several initiatives provided simultaneously. Exceptions to this approach are the National Council of Jewish Women's (Bond, 1987) study of mothers in the workplace, and the more recent evaluations of Johnson & Johnson (Families and Work Institute, 1993) and Fel-Pro's (Lambert, et al., 1993) work-family initiatives.

Overall, evaluations of single policies (child care,[27] leaves,[28] flextime[29]) find the most consistent benefit that results is enhanced retention of employees. A positive impact on recruitment, productivity, and employee attitudes has also been cited by various studies.

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[25] Job-to-home spillover describes the negative effects of workplace demands upon an individual's personal or family life. Examples of these effects include a lack of time to spend on oneself or one's family, the inability to accomplish household tasks, or a lack of energy to deal with family matters.

[26] A notable exception is Families and Work Institute's evaluation of Johnson & Johnson's work-family initiative (1993), which examines the impact of policies on employees and finds evidence that negative spillover from job to family and personal life decreased, (despite the finding that job demands increased during this time), after implementation of the work-family initiative.

[27] Employer-sponsored child care has received the most research attention, despite this benefit's relatively low prevalence. Actual outcomes most significantly associated with employer-sponsored child care include reduced turnover and improved recruitment (Friedman, 1992). Studies have also examined *perceived* benefits of employer-sponsored child care, concluding that improved morale, reduced absenteeism, and improved productivity are viewed as the primary positive outcomes associated with employer-sponsored child care

SHIFT IN FOCUS FROM IMPACT OF SINGLE POLICIES TO IMPACT OF MULTIPLE WORKPLACE FACTORS

Like previous studies of single policies, The National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) study (Bond, 1987) of 2000 pregnant women also focuses upon retention, absenteeism, and productivity. However, this study is seminal in its recognition that policies do not function in isolation and outcomes are influenced by a range of factors. The NCJW study compiled a scale of eight indicators of an "accommodating workplace" that included sick leave, disability leave, parental leave, job protection and health insurance coverage during leave, a supportive supervisor, flexible scheduling, and some form of child-care assistance. The study found that women who worked for the most accommodating companies were more satisfied with their jobs, were sick less often, took fewer sick days, worked more on their own time, worked later into their pregnancies, and were more likely to return to work than women in less accommodating workplaces. Seventy-eight percent of women in "highly accommodating" workplaces returned to their original place of work, compared to 52 percent of women in unaccommodating workplaces.[30]

(Friedman, 1992). Other outcomes assessed included motivation, satisfaction, attitudes toward work, loyalty, stress, commitment, and returning from leave. Galinsky and Stein's (1990) discussion of the impact of work-family programs provides further evidence that the measures that have received the most attention in evaluation of corporate child care programs are recruitment, absenteeism, and employee attitudes. They cite a study (Perry, 1982) of 58 employers that found these factors to be the perceived benefits of company child-care programs.

[28] A U.S. Chamber of Commerce study (cited in Friedman, 1992) found half of responding employers had formal parental leave plans. Of these, 61 percent said leave plans improve their ability to recruit and retain employees. A study by Aetna Life & Casualty Co. found that offering generous family leave of up to six months reduced attrition of new mothers from 24 percent to 12 percent. Research has quantified the benefit of retaining employees. Cost/benefit analyses reveal that it is cheaper to grant a leave (32 percent of employee's annual salary) than to replace an employee (75 percent to 150 percent of employee's annual salary) (Marra and Lindner, 1992). A survey (Staines and Galinsky, 1992) of supervisors of leavetakers found that approximately 75 percent reported the employee's leave had no negative effects on office productivity.

[29] Like studies of child care and leave, research that has looked at the impact of flextime—the most commonly examined flexible work arrangement—focuses upon retention and productivity indicators. Friedman (1992) notes that a review of 43 studies of flextime showed that companies were most concerned with the impact upon tardiness, commuting, and morale. Pierce, Newstrom, Dunham and Barber (1989) report the research on flextime focuses on employee performance, attitudes, organizational attachment, and attendance. Their review of the research concludes that flextime has a neutral to positive impact on these outcomes. Christensen and Staines (1990) summarize findings on the impact of flextime, stating it tends to be positively associated with various indicators of organizational effectiveness, including productivity, scheduling, work coverage, and cost. They note that flextime also has been found to yield a favorable impact on absenteeism, tardiness, and turnover, and that changes in job satisfaction and morale are consistently positive, except in cases where employees are unable to participate in an existing flextime program. Overall, however, Christensen and Staines conclude that the magnitude of flextime's impact is modest and its benefits limited.

[30] Secondary analysis (Piotrkoski, et al., 1993) of the NCJW data examines which policies and practices are related to the different outcomes observed. This analysis finds flexible scheduling is related to a host of positive outcomes for both employers and respondents. Supervisors are found to be important determinants of schedule

Two more recent studies examine the impact of comprehensive work-family initiatives. A longitudinal study of four Johnson & Johnson (J&J) companies (Families and Work Institute, 1993) and a study of Fel-Pro, Inc. (Lambert, et al, 1993) both found evidence of positive links between family-responsive programs and a range of desired outcomes. The Fel-Pro study concluded that the company's family-supportive programs positively affected work performance, flexibility, and openness to organization change. The J&J study found indications that the company's policies contribute to the retention of those who use them, decrease negative spillover to family and personal life, and enhance loyalty and job satisfaction.

More importantly, though, both studies acknowledge that the impact of family-supportive policies is mediated by aspects of the work environment. The J&J study examined the role of supervisors and corporate culture, as research consistently shows these elements of the work environment influence both the use of policies and the outcomes resulting from that use (Families and Work Institute needs assessments). The Fel-Pro study concludes that family-responsive policies must be considered as only one part of the larger context of an organization—the impact of such policies is affected by the design and nature of jobs, and the attitudes of supervisors and colleagues (Lambert, et al, 1993).

SCANT RESEARCH ATTENTION TO CAREER ADVANCEMENT

The predominant focus of the existing body of research on the impact of family-friendly policies has been to document the effect of these policies upon employees' lives and upon workplace concerns, with the "business case" issues of organizational membership and organizational effectiveness having received the most attention. The impact of policies upon the career advancement of those who use them has received scant research attention to date. Yet, it stands to reason that career advancement is important to both employees and employers. Career advancement represents economic and personal achievement for the former, and the continued development of and return on an organizational asset for the latter. A strong case has been made that family-friendly benefits improve retention. While the research emphasis on retention underscores *holding* onto human resources, it does not ascertain whether those resources continue to be developed and fully utilized over time.

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flexibility. Additionally, both flexibility and supportive supervisors are cited as factors that tend to mitigate the negative impact of shift work, which emerges in this study as a barrier to family-friendly policies and practices.

Impact Of Use Of Leaves And Flexible Work Arrangements On Career Advancement

Studies consistently show that greater time flexibility, rather than specific dependent-care benefits, is the family-friendly policy most desired by employed parents (Galinsky, 1992). The use of such policies, however, poses a question for both employers and employees: can a woman, or any employee, who uses family-supportive policies related to leave and flexibility resume career momentum and maintain opportunity for future upward mobility? This question has been discussed anecdotally in the popular press, and a few studies have begun to examine more directly the impact of the use of leaves and flexible work arrangements upon career advancement.

MOMMY TRACK DEBATE

In her 1989 Harvard Business Review article "Management Women and the New Facts of Life", Felice Schwartz ignited what became known as the "mommy track" debate. The central question of this debate is whether women who seek to balance parenthood and career through the use of leave and flexibility policies must sacrifice career advancement.

In her article, Schwartz asserts that business must recognize that management women represent a critical component of its talent pool to be retained and developed. She posits that the fact of pregnancy, childbirth, and motherhood are "the one immutable enduring difference between men and women" (p.66) and argues that this reality must be addressed. Schwartz contends that while most women desire both career and family, some women are "career primary"—"...ready to make the same trade-offs traditionally made by the men who seek leadership positions" (p.69). Schwartz urges business to distinguish between career primary and career and family women. She recommends the former be identified early and given every opportunity as talented men to develop (with the implicit understanding that these women would also accept the same personal sacrifices that would be required of men.) For career and family women, Schwartz advocates the provision of extended leaves, part-time work, flexibility, and family supports (parental leave for men, flexible benefits, support during relocation, and child care). These would enable companies to retain talented women who—without such mechanisms for achieving the balance they desire— might otherwise leave. Schwartz explicitly states that women who choose to avail themselves of these accommodations would most likely be "willing to trade some career growth and compensation for freedom from the constant pressure to work long hours and weekends" (p.70).

Schwartz's article and the controversy that ensued cut directly to the heart of the ongoing uneasy relationship between family-supportive policies and the upward mobility of those who use them. For purposes of discussion, Schwartz casts the issue in a polarized manner that seems to imply making it to the top and using family-friendly policies are mutually exclusive choices for women. In her appeal to the bottom line interests of business, Schwartz focuses primarily upon the *retention* of talented women as the objective to be attained. She explicitly assumes that women who choose to balance career and family through the use of family-friendly policies are necessarily removed from the running for upward mobility, emphasizing that employers should consider the contribution these women can offer within the ranks of middle management (p. 71). Schwartz suggests women have the option to "switch gears" again and "re-enter the competition for the top" (p.71), yet she does not explore the practical viability of this option.

Several years after Schwartz's article, and in response to the increasing incidence of and attention to family-friendly policies, the question of whether employees pay a price for using work-family policies continues to be raised in the popular press. *Newsweek* (Miller and Tsiantar, 11/25/91) observed, "...a company may pay lip service to offering alternatives for working mothers, but asking for them can be the kiss of death" (p.48). The same article quotes Corning Vice Chairman Van Campbell, who explains why only a small percentage of employees use the company's family-friendly policies—"'They tell us they think it's too risky...they're concerned that they won't be viewed as serious'" (p.49). Articles in the *Wall Street Journal* (Shellenbarger, 4/22/92 and 6/24/92) have asserted that the use of family-friendly policies can reinforce the glass ceiling, as they confirm the widely-held belief that women as a group lack career commitment. *Working Mother* magazine publishes an annual list of the "100 Best Companies for Working Mothers" that spotlights companies with family-friendly policies and glass ceiling initiatives. Ironically, however, one of the authors who compiles this list each year, Milton Moscowitz, observes that the actual usage of these policies by employees "is so small, it's shocking" (Shellenbarger, 9/14/93).

RESEARCH FINDINGS:
USE OF LEAVES AND FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENTS

Existing research suggests that use of leaves and flexible work arrangements is relatively low and attributes this to the widespread existence of concerns about career damage. On the other hand, there is some evidence that using flexible time and leave policies, which are the benefits deemed to pose the greatest threat to career advancement, may not extract penalties to the degree feared. The

research results are mixed, and no longitudinal studies of the actual career trajectories of users of these policies have yet been conducted.

A number of studies document both the low levels of utilization and the existence of fears associated with the use of flexible work arrangements and leave policies:

- A 1993 report by Work/Family Directions examines data from 80 client companies and finds that although these vanguard employers have flexible work arrangements officially "on the books," relatively few employees use them. The report concludes that this low usage reflects both resistance of managers to unconventional work arrangements and employees' fear of negative career consequences (Workplace Flexibility, 1993).[31]

- A 1993 Korn/Ferry survey of executive women finds that the majority (63 percent) have never taken a leave of absence from their careers.

- A Conference Board survey of its work-family research advisory panel found that nearly 70 percent of the 152 responding panel members report employees do not feel free to use flexibility policies as much as they would like. Again, this is attributed both to supervisor reluctance and employees' concern that their value and commitment will be questioned, hurting their chances for advancement (Johnson, 1993).

- A 1993 Catalyst study of flexible work arrangements found that more than one-quarter of human resources professionals interviewed in 70 companies believe that use of these policies has a negative impact on career advancement.

- A 1992 study (Swiss and Walker, 1993) of 902 women graduates of Harvard Law School, Business School, and Medical School found that 85 percent of respondents believe reducing hours of work is detrimental to a woman's career.

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[31] It is important to point out that financial constraints may limit employees' ability to take unpaid leave or to reduce their work hours. It is surprising, therefore, that financial considerations are not cited more readily as a possible explanation for the low utilization of reduced work schedules.

Prevalence of Flexible Work Arrangements in 80 Companies*

	Flextime	Part-time	Telecommuting	Job sharing
	48%	51%	23%	24%
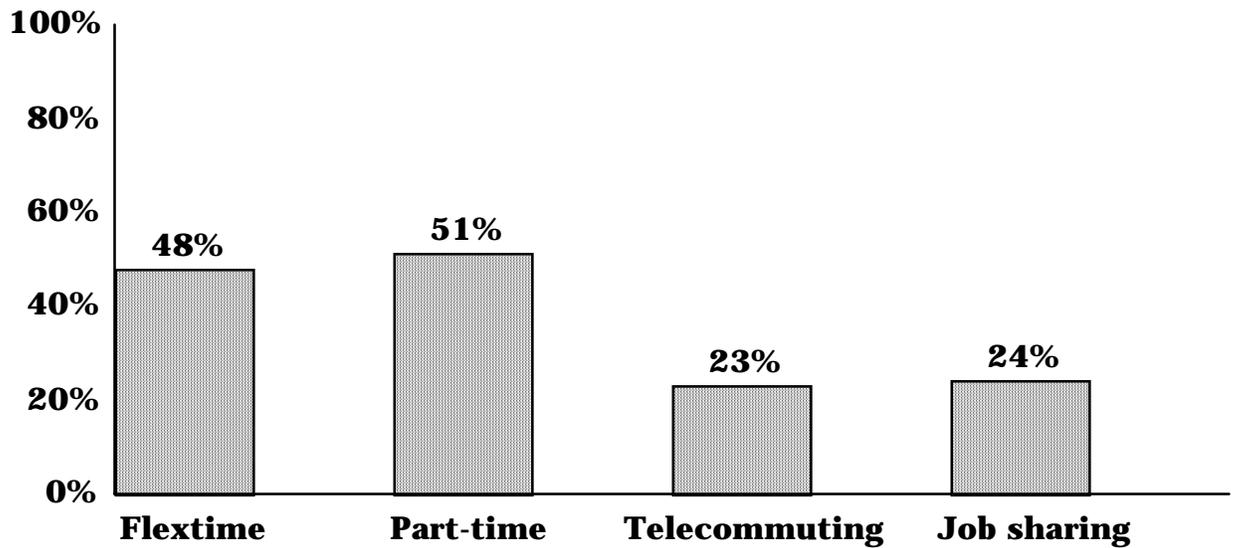
Employee Use of Flexible Work Arrangement Within Companies Offering Formal Policies

	Flextime	Part-time	Telecommuting	Job sharing
	24%	1.7%	0.6%	0.08%
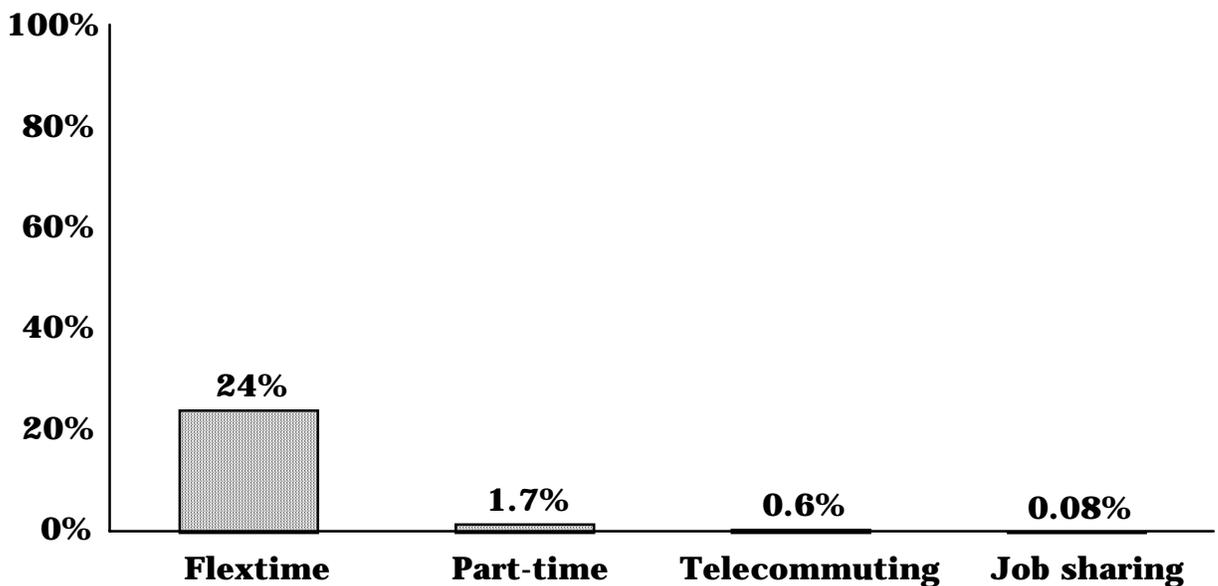
* Data represents 2,400,000 employees
  Source: Work/Family Directions, 1993.

- Thirty-two percent of employees surveyed at Johnson & Johnson felt that using the flexibility the company offered would jeopardize their careers (Families and Work Institute, 1993). An unpublished study by the Families and Work Institute that examines the career experiences of women in science and engineering in industry found similar widespread concern about the ramifications of using time and leave policies.

RESEARCH FINDINGS: CAREER IMPACT OF USING LEAVES AND FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENTS

Several studies, described in detail below, provide a more rigorous examination of the impact of the use of flexible work arrangements and leave policies upon career advancement. Together, the findings of these studies suggest that the availability of leaves and flexible work arrangements enhance women's careers by providing them a means to remain attached to the labor force. However, the findings also suggest that women perceive, and may also experience, career penalties as a result of using flexible work arrangements and leave policies. The final implication, common to all of these studies, is that the impact of using family-friendly policies is mediated by both individuals' attitudes and corporate culture.

- A 1986 mail survey of 319 sets of parents conducted in Sweden examined the impact of that country's parental leave legislation[32] on several factors related to women's employment, including their labor market status (Haas, 1990). The Swedish leave policy, available to both men and women, aims to equalize parents' involvement in child care and in the labor market once the leave is over. Thus, the purpose of the study was to examine the impact of fathers' participation in parental leave on mothers' commitment to work, participation in the labor force, and labor market status.

  The study found that whether or not fathers had taken leave, significant gender differences exist in preference for part-time work (67 percent of mothers vs. 24 percent of fathers preferred part-time), labor force participation (22 percent of mothers vs. 3 percent of fathers were not employed), and income (12 percent of full-time working mothers vs. 33 percent of full-time working fathers were in the top two income levels) (Haas, 1990).

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[32] Sweden's national paid leave policy provides job security and nearly full-income compensation, and allows both mothers and fathers to share a full year of leave from employment to take care of their babies or newly adopted children. In contrast to the U.S., where leave policies are implicitly viewed as an accomodation to be used primarily by women, the explicit intent of Sweden's policy is that both men and women make use of leaves. The goal is to facilitate gender equality as a means to enhance women's attachment to the labor force, an outcome deemed important to Sweden's economy (Haas, 1990).

The study also found that parental leaves have a greater tendency to reduce women's job satisfaction and promotion opportunities. Close to one-quarter (23 percent) of mothers who returned to work reported a decrease in job satisfaction, vs. 16 percent of fathers. This drop in satisfaction is attributed to the assignment of different tasks upon returning to work. The study found, however, that being assigned different tasks had no impact on men's job satisfaction, suggesting that men were perhaps being promoted to more interesting work. In support of this notion, 20 percent of women said their promotion opportunities had worsened since taking leave, compared to 8 percent of men. Sharing parental leave did not change this disparity.

The study did find that fathers' participation in parental leave may help equalize women's employment situation. When fathers took 20 percent or more of the leave, mothers tended to work more days per week, earn higher incomes, and experience less of a drop in post-birth income from prebirth level. (However, these effects were not found for a subsample of women in dual-career households with both partners working in professional, technical, or managerial occupations.) Leave-sharing couples also tended to rate work similarly in terms of personal importance; womens' commitment to work was greater when fathers had taken 20 percent or more of the leave.

In her analysis of the implications of this study, Haas (1990) concludes that despite some noteworthy positive effects upon mothers' employment situations, Sweden's leave policy's goal of enhancing Swedish women's employment participation and opportunities is not being realized. She attributes this to both traditional socialization that leads women to devalue employment, and to an awareness of poor labor market opportunities, which in turn causes women to prioritize motherhood over working.

• Catalyst (1993) conducted a longitudinal study of employees in 70 companies offering flexible work arrangements (part-time schedules, job-sharing, and telecommuting).[33] The study sought to examine the impact of flexible work arrangements upon career goals, paths, and advancement by interviewing 45 women who used flexible work arrangements between 1989 and 1992. Catalyst concluded that although flexible work arrangements result in a "slowing down" of careers, they enhance the retention of employees and allow women to maintain a career identity, professional skills, and career momentum.

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[33] This research was initiated after completion of a 1989 study on flexible work arrangements. This earlier study found that companies were motivated to provide flexible work arrangements in order to retain employees, and that use of these arrangements contributed to improved productivity, morale, and retention, especially of women who returned to work following the birth of a child. The 1993 follow-up study revisited the original 70 participating companies and found that the percentage of companies with formal policies or guidelines increased from 50% to 61.4%. Employee usage of policies also increased, with 39% of companies reporting they had 100 or more employees working non-traditional schedules. Although the practice of tracking employees who use flexible work arrangements increased, only 17% of companies reported they use a formal system to do so.

More than one-half of the study participants described the impact of working reduced hours with phrases such as "on-hold career," and "a career plateau" (p.34). Participants report the tradeoffs they face include slower career advancement, limitations on types of work and responsibilities assigned during the time they were using the alternative arrangement, and negative perceptions on the part of colleagues and supervisors.

The majority of study participants reported that, in their companies, users of flexible work arrangements are ineligible for promotions. Although approximately one-half remained at the same grade level during they time they used a flexible work arrangement, 53 percent of study participants did receive promotions during this time. The study notes that all those who were promoted were assertive in initiating discussions with their managers about their career goals, desired work experiences, and plans for advancement.

Catalyst additionally found that some women suffered permanent financial penalties—about one-quarter earned the same or only slightly higher salary in 1992 compared to 1989. Concerns were also noted about benefits—cafeteria benefits options were often unavailable to those working part-time, and the minimum number of hours required to receive basic fringe benefits varied, but in one case was as high as 30 hours a week.

Like the recent studies of Johnson & Johnson and Fel-Pro, the Catalyst study acknowledges the important impact of company culture, which often maintains a rigid litmus test for "professional commitment," one that is difficult for users of flexible work arrangements to pass. All of the women interviewed told of being treated as "less committed" to their careers and of not being taken seriously. This treatment was viewed as an inevitable result of using flexible work arrangements.

Despite the reported drawbacks of using flexible work arrangements, Catalyst concludes that these policies enable women who might have otherwise dropped out of the workforce to maintain their careers. Self-esteem and the opportunity to "keep current" in their fields were also cited as benefits.

- A 1989 survey of its members by the American Woman's Society of Certified Public Accountants (Hooks, 1989) also focuses on the career impact of using flexible work arrangements. This study examines both the perceptions about the career ramifications of using flexible work arrangements and the actual experiences of those who have used such arrangements, and concludes that a gap exists between beliefs and experiences. Responses indicate a greater concern or uncertainty about career damage than was reportedly experienced by respondents actually using flexible work arrangements.[34]

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[34] While the issue of use of family-friendly policies was not its primary focus, a recent Korn/Ferry survey (1993) of 439 executive women finds that only 10% of women who had taken a leave of absence from their careers (36% of all respondents) believe the effect on their career was negative. This finding, together with the relatively low

Users of flexible work arrangements were asked about their perceptions of effects on promotions, compensation, and co-workers and supervisors' behavior. Women perceived relatively little damage to promotions and little deterioration in behavior directed toward them from co-workers and superiors (71 percent and 63 percent respectively said problems of this nature were minimal). Perceived negative effects on compensation were more extensive—one-third (33 percent) of respondents believed their first salary increase subsequent to using a flexible work arrangement was penalized (Hooks, 1989).

In contrast to these views of actual users, respondents who were asked their perceptions of the impact of *hypothetically* using a flexible work arrangement were more pessimistic. For example, respondents were asked "If you were to use an alternative work schedule in your current position, would your credibility as a candidate for an upwardly mobile career path be damaged with your superiors?" Fifty-eight percent said they believed a great deal of damage would result. The survey asked a general question about the impact upon career success, defined as continuing to be a candidate for upward movement and promotion, even if at a slower pace. The majority did not believe continued career success possible after using any alternative work arrangement, except flextime (see chart below). This lack of confidence in the viability of long-run career success for users of flexible work arrangements was also expressed in comments voluntarily provided that indicated skepticism and disbelief in the overall feasibility of alternative work schedules.

incidence among this group of taking leave, may be further evidence that women may overestimate negative career repercussions associated with using leave policies.

Expressed Belief That Career Success* Can Be Maintained After Usin These Alternative Work Schedules

Schedule
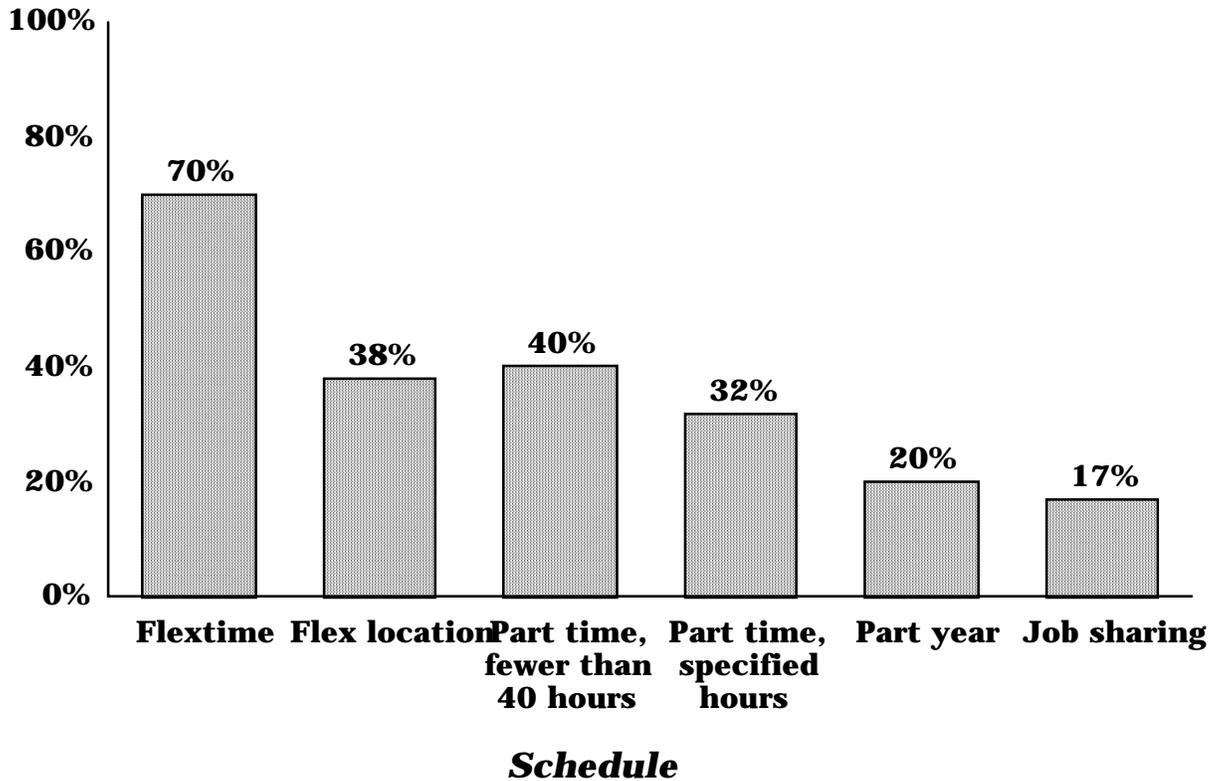
* Career success: "Continuing to be a candidate for upward movement and promotion, even slower pace."

(n = 1,146)

Source: American Woman's Society of Certified Public Accountants, 1989.

The report concludes that the beliefs expressed by non-users are contrary to users' perceptions of limited problems with compensation and promotion.

- A 1990 companion report by the AWSCPA (Curry, 1990) examines part-time work from the perspective of employers. This report, based on phone interviews with 26 management representatives from companies in public accounting and industry, finds that employers view the provision of flexible work arrangements as a business issue. While many said that electing a part-time option should not necessarily slow a career, most agreed that some slow-down or trade-off is usually inevitable (p.9). Respondents emphasized that slow-downs that do occur should be temporary. One company representative commented:

> *"A career is a long time. We're not talking about 10-15 years but 40 years of work. Six months at a different pace should not be a big deal." (p.10).*

Another said:

> *"There's a time in life when personal demands must take priority, but that shouldn't impede acceleration later on." (p.10).*

Although several of those interviewed gave examples of part-timers being promoted, most also acknowledged that supervisors and the larger corporate culture are often not completely receptive to alternative work schedules and that training and the dissemination of information are essential.

Supervisors And Corporate Culture: Influences On Use And Career Impact Of Family-Friendly Policies

While definitive answers about the career impact of using family-friendly policies remain elusive, strong evidence exists that these policies do not operate in a vacuum. Researchers and individuals working to implement family-friendly policies emphasize that supervisor attitudes and company culture affect both whether policies are used and the repercussions that result for those who do use them. A consensus has emerged that, despite the support they offer, family-friendly policies will not assist in dismantling the glass ceiling (and may in fact fortify it) until attitudes of supervisors and co-workers, as well as corporate cultures, and traditional career practices begin to change (Bailyn, 1993; Ferber and O'Farrell, 1991; Galinsky, 1992; Rodgers & Associates, unpublished, 1991; Swiss & Walker, 1993).

RESEARCH FINDINGS: ROLE OF SUPERVISORS

Research consistently finds that managers and supervisors affect a range of elements of one's work experience, including work-family conflict and the use and impact of family-friendly policies. This is not surprising, as it is through these individuals that attitudes and cultural norms are transmitted to employees. Research has established a number of findings about the role of supervisors:

- Supervisors and first-line managers are the key people employees go to for assistance with work and personal problems (Rodgers and Rodgers, 1989).

- At Johnson & Johnson, employees who rated their supervisors as supportive reported less stress, less spillover from work to family, greater loyalty to the company, and greater job satisfaction than employees with less supportive supervisors (Families and Work Institute, 1993).

- *The National Study of the Changing Workforce* (Galinsky, Bond, & Friedman, 1993) reports that employees find supervisors with employed spouses provide more job-related and personal/family support than supervisors who do not have employed spouses. This study also finds that having a supportive supervisor and a workplace that accommodates personal and family needs is associated with taking more initiative on the job.

- Secondary analysis of data from the *National Study of the Changing Workforce* (unpublished Families and Work Institute data, 1993) shows that managers with more supportive supervisors are less likely to feel they have to choose between their careers

and their family/personal lives. This analysis also shows that managers with less supportive supervisors feel they have less opportunity to advance.

- Resistance of supervisors and middle managers is commonly cited by employers as a primary impediment to the use and effectiveness of flexible work arrangements (Catalyst, 1993; Johnson, 1991; Johnson, 1993; Piotrkowski, et al., 1993; Work/Family Directions, 1993).

- Recent evaluation research demonstrates that the impact of family-friendly policies and programs is influenced both by supervisor support and company culture. Companies have begun to recognize the impact that supervisors have on work-family issues—10 percent of large employers provide some form of work-family training for supervisors and managers (Galinsky, 1993).

- At Du Pont, where work-family training is provided for supervisors, a 1992 study of 1000 leave takers found 86 percent reported that their supervisor was supportive of their leave (Courter and Lober, 1993).

- The evaluation of Johnson & Johnson's work-family initiative, a comprehensive approach that includes training for managers, finds that between 1990 (when the initiative was implemented) and 1992 employees reported that supervisors became more supportive, both of the use of flexible time and leave policies, and more generally when work-family problems arose. During this same time period, the proportion of employees reporting that they pay a price for using flexible time and leave policies decreased from 44 percent to 32 percent (Families and Work Institute, 1993).

In conclusion, the research demonstrates that supervisors are key mediators affecting a range of outcomes in the workplace—employee satisfaction and loyalty, level of work-family conflict, perceived tradeoffs between work and personal life, and the impact of family-friendly policies. The research also indicates that supervisor supportiveness can be increased.

RESEARCH FINDINGS: ROLE OF COMPANY CULTURE

In addition to supervisors, the larger work environment, or corporate culture, has been shown to influence both the level of work-family conflict and the impact of family-friendly policies.

Needs assessments conducted by the Families and Work Institute within a variety of companies demonstrate employees' perceptions of the messages transmitted by company culture:

- From one-quarter to two-thirds of respondents report there is only one "correct" image for success within their corporate cultures.

- One-quarter to one-half of employees report they are often in the position of choosing between their families and their jobs.

- One-quarter to two-thirds of employees feel that if an employee has a problem managing work and family, the general attitude is that "it's not the company's problem."

While some elements of culture may vary from one company to another, entrenched tenets about work, traditional practices for developing management talent, and fairly inflexible career path options persist in most workplaces. In addition, attitudes and beliefs about gender roles, family, and careers influence employees' experiences regardless of where they work.

Despite the increasing pace of change in U.S. companies—downsizing, flattened hierarchies, re-engineering—traditional beliefs about the nature of work persist. These include the notions that commitment to career and one's company is demonstrated by time spent in the office ("face time"), that presence and hours are the best indicator of productivity, that "real" professional work can only be accomplished on a full-time basis, and that those who are serious about advancing will make themselves available to the office at all times (Bailyn, 1993; Galinsky, 1992; Rodgers & Associates, 1991; Swiss & Walker, 1993; Starrels, 1992).

Rodgers & Associates (unpublished, 1991) posit that traditional career practices and career path options remain largely unexamined and have been slow to change. Deviation from prescribed paths to the top, even temporarily, is often viewed as a lack of commitment. Yet, current career paths are mismatched to the lives of working parents; Rodgers & Associates cite a study by Robert Half International that reports eight out of ten American men and women would sacrifice rapid career advancement to spend more time with their families. Yet, the assumption of a continuous career without time off or temporary reductions in work, and the provision of a single "one size fits all" career ladder persist. Managers and professionals are often expected to work 50 to 70 hour weeks, to do all work in the office, and to be available for late night and weekend work with little notice. Travel and relocation are also often common elements of managerial jobs (Rodgers & Associates, 1991; Swiss & Walker, 1993).[35] Although corporations are moving away from

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[35] Swiss & Walker (1993) report 90% of respondents to their survey say that refusing to travel or to work evenings or weekends is detrimental to a woman's career.

bureaucratic structures to more professional and entrepreneurial job structures, resulting gains in autonomy and flexibility are often offset by the demands of the workplace and a reluctance to assess how career practices might be restructured (Bailyn, 1993; Rodgers & Associates, 1991).

Swiss and Walker (1993) explain that attitudes and beliefs about women, family, and careers influence the career experiences of those who work and also have a family. They conclude that the glass ceiling is buttressed by a "maternal wall" (p.5)—once a woman announces pregnancy, her professional commitment, as well as her future productivity and performance, are called into question by supervisors and co-workers. Although the maternal wall may be camouflaged by family-friendly policy statements, Swiss and Walker assert that in reality motherhood is held against women. They conclude that in many instances, nearly all demonstrations of parental duties (except a leave of less than six weeks) has a negative effect on women's careers, as behaviors different from those of men[36] fortify the maternal wall. In addition to attitudes about women's career commitment, views about gender roles may penalize both men and women. These include the assumptions that women should take primary responsibility for children and family matters, and that men have to work, while women have a choice (Geiger, 1989, cited in Starrels, 1992; Swiss & Walker, 1993).

In summary, basic beliefs about what is required to demonstrate career commitment and to make a valuable contribution in the workplace have not evolved in tandem with the introduction of family-friendly policies. In addition, workplace practices for developing employees for management, career path options, and attitudes about gender and parenting have also been slow to change. As long as these components of the workplace culture remain, family-friendly policies may be viewed largely as grafts upon an unchanging core (Bailyn, 1993; Rodgers & Associates, 1991).

There is evidence, on the other hand, that work-family initiatives may help foster culture change. At Johnson & Johnson, both supervisors and the corporate culture became more supportive after the implementation of a comprehensive work-family initiative (Families and Work Institute, 1993). The evaluation of Fel-Pro's (Lambert, et al, 1993) work-family initiative finds that family-supportive policies help create a culture of mutual commitment between employer and employee

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[36]   Although most family-friendly policies and legislation are gender-neutral with regard to eligibility requirements, informal norms and practices and wage differentials result in men being less likely to use policies than women (Starrels, 1992). Because norms that limit men's role in family work persist, men may suffer greater career fallout than women if they articulate parental responsibilities (Pleck, 1989, cited in Starrels, 1992).

and seem to "...provide a foundation on which to implement organizational changes that require substantial employee involvement" (p. 81).

Conclusions And Recommendations

Assessments of the impact of family-friendly policies indicate they positively affect factors that are the necessary prerequisites for individuals to participate successfully in the labor force—recruitment, productivity, and retention. However, the effect of these policies upon *career advancement* is uncertain. Data on the career impact of using leaves and flexible work arrangements, the policies identified by employees as most important to them in trying to balance work and family, are in short supply and remain largely anecdotal. This is both because widespread use of these policies has yet to occur, and because rigorous, longitudinal studies have yet to be undertaken.

Corporate culture—the norms and values that are communicated through supervisors' attitudes, career paths, and organizational practices for assessing and developing the potential of employees—has been shown to exert a strong influence upon the *use* of leaves and flexible work arrangements, the *perceptions* about the ramifications of using these policies, and the *actual experience* of employees who use these policies. The predominant view among employees and researchers is that the fundamental aspects of most company cultures exact a career penalty when employees use leaves and flexible work arrangements. Researchers and company representatives concur that the various components that constitute company culture must continue to evolve in order to diminish fears about using family-friendly policies and eradicate unnecessary career penalties that may inhibit the full development and utilization of employee talents.[37] Indeed, measures of corporate family-friendliness are inadequate if they examine only the provision of policies and programs while neglecting to assess utilization and impact.

Given the dearth of data, the uncertainty that persists about the relationship between the use of family-friendly policies and career advancement, and the consensus that company culture has a critical impact upon this relationship, the following *research activities* are recommended:

- **Conduct further research to document what actually happens to the career advancement of employees who use family-friendly policies.** Studies should be longitudinal and should focus upon hard data—compensation, performance

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[37] This focus on corporate culture corresponds to the third stage of development in how companies approach work-family issues (Galinsky, Friedman, & Hernandez, 1991). Companies in this stage take a holistic approach in which they link work-family policies and programs to other corporate initiatives, including gender equity, and articulate a commitment to change company culture.

evaluations, work responsibilities, and promotions—as well as perceptions of employees, co-workers, and supervisors.

- **Focus more extensive research attention on workplace culture**, in order to assess how its various components (supervisors, career paths, developmental practices, evaluation practices, reward systems, etc.) influence the use of family-friendly policies and the impact of use on upward mobility. Additional workplace research should examine the implementation strategies being used by employers who recognize and actively address the link between work-family issues and the career advancement of employees. The approaches used by these employers should be assessed and information on "best practices" should be disseminated.[38] Research should also examine culture change efforts to determine which factors hinder and facilitate change, and to document outcomes associated with culture change.

In addition to research, the following *policy efforts* are recommended:

- **Employers should strive to integrate their work-family and glass ceiling initiatives, both conceptually and operationally.** In the most progressive companies, efforts to support work-family balance, to manage and value diversity, and to assure equal access to upward mobility for women and minorities reflect management's recognition and pursuit of a business imperative: the full development and utilization of employee talent. Because they share this common objective, initiatives should be developed and implemented so that their message and their impact are aligned. Policies, programs, and training developed and rolled out in a piecemeal approach can dilute results and may work at cross-purposes (e.g.: a fast-track for high-potential employees that does not consider or address the potential use and impact of leaves and flexibility; or flexible work options for employees that do not address their desire for career advancement).

- **Employers should assess the continued appropriateness of existing career practices.** Modifications of previously unquestioned and perhaps outdated structures and requirements that determine career advancement (career ladders, career "clocks," relocations, etc.) would benefit all employees, regardless of gender, who would be given wider latitude to make a contribution, receive professional recognition, *and* meet family responsibilities.

- **Employers should examine the way in which they measure performance.** A sharper focus upon contribution and results, rather than time invested, presence in the

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[38] For example, Bank of Montreal has implemented its work-family policies and practices as an integral component of its comprehensive initiative "Advancing Workplace Equality." All communications materials position work-family issues and policy responses within the broader context of the bank's commitment to create a level-playing field for a diverse workforce. Descriptions of flexible work arrangements available specifically discuss career implications.

office, and subjective assessments of commitment would benefit both company and employees who wish to be judged objectively on the merit of their work.[*]

- **Policymakers should create incentives for employers to pursue an integrated, holistic approach to their management and development of human resources.** Tools such as the Baldrige Award or the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) corporate management audits may be used to assess not only desired outcomes, but also the *processes* companies have implemented in pursuit of those outcomes. For example, the OFCCP should examine whether work-family programs are linked to initiatives for the upward mobility of women and minorities, and how these links are operationalized. Questions such as the following could be examined:

  > *Is training provided for employees to explain the relationship between the two concepts and to discuss implementation issues?*
  >
  > *Do policy guidelines for leaves and flexible work arrangements address career-impact issues and the concerns held by both employees and managers? Do companies track employees who use flexible work arrangements and leaves in order to collect data to guide policy-making and refine implementation? Does internal communication support no-fault usage of policies?*
  >
  > *Do career development and succession planning procedures support or penalize people who use flexible work arrangements?*

The suggested research and policy efforts represent activities that should be pursued concurrently and that have the potential to inform and enrich one another. Additionally, these activities offer opportunities for cooperation and collaboration among employers, researchers, and policymakers. A partnership approach to achieving a fuller understanding of the issues presented in this monograph and to effecting change represents the best method for making strides to dismantle the glass ceiling.

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[*] Many companies have already begun to reconfigure both their career ladders and the means by which they assess and reward employees. The radical restructuring of corporations has produced an emphasis on lateral movement and skill development, rather than advancement, and pay for performance rather than position.

Annotated Bibliography

Aldous, Joan. "Specification and Speculation Concerning the Politics of Workplace Family Policies." *Journal of Family Issues*. **11, no. 4 (December 1990): 355-367.**

This article discusses the family changes related to shifts in the composition of the labor force that have led to a concern about family benefits in the workplace. It then reviews the reasons for the general absence of family benefits in the U.S. The article analyzes the unrecognized consequences of the attention given to the comparatively few instances of family benefits in corporate America.

Auerbach, Judith C. "Employer-Supported Child Care as a Women-Responsive Policy." *The Journal of Family Issues.* **11, no. 4 (December 1990): 384-400.**

This article responds to the questions raised by the "mommy track" debate about how employers should accommodate women's and men's dual commitments to work and family. It examines a family-supportive policy available to both men and women—employer-supported child care—and discusses its implications for improving labor force opportunities for women. Primary data for this article comes from two sources: a survey of 99 randomly selected employers in three Eastern states and in-depth interviews with 25 employers across the country. The article concludes that although employers support child care out of their own organizational self-interest, the implication of their support for women's occupational advancement in significant.

Bailyn, Lotte. *Breaking The Mold: Women, Men and Time in the New Corporate World.* **New York: The Free Press, 1993.**

Citing the changes in workforce demographics and employee values, Bailyn asserts that private life and public life can no longer be viewed as conceptually separate spheres that rely on a gendered distribution of roles. She argues that business must recognize that employees are not simply workers, but rather a heterogenous group of people who cannot be held to uniform and monolithic expectations that result in a singular definition of career success and a constrained set of career paths. Bailyn explains that responses to work-family issues will have a limited impact unless they "break the mold" of traditional assumptions which presume a conflict between private needs and competitive/productivity needs. Private life must be valued and legitimized, the boundaries between family and work and male and female roles must be permeable, and organizational processes must be linked to the social needs of society. Bailyn focuses on the need to examine the way work is organized and rewarded—she advocates a re-thinking of the meaning of time, commitment, and career success.

Bond, James T. *Accommodating Pregnancy in the Workplace.* **New York: National Council of Jewish Women, 1987.**

This study finds that pregnant women are often forced to choose between their jobs and their babies. Accommodations provided by employers—such as job-protected leave, wage replacement, health insurance coverage during leave, sufficient paid time off for medical appointments, flexible scheduling, parental leave following disability leave, and help with finding or paying for child care—make it much easier for pregnant women and new mothers to combine family and career. Women in highly accommodating companies are more satisfied with their jobs; take fewer sick days; are less likely to be ill on the job; work more on their own hours; are more likely to work during their third trimester; and are less likely to quit.

Bond, James T., Ellen Galinsky, Michele Lord, Graham L. Staines, and Karen R. Brown. *Beyond the Parental Leave Debate: The Impact of Laws in Four States*. **New York: Families and Work Institute, 1991.**

Based on a three-year study, this report documents the impact of parental leave statutes on employers and employees in four states—Minnesota, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. The report provides data about the impact of leave legislation on employers, such as the relative ease of implementation (only 9 percent of companies found it difficult to implement), the actual costs of implementation, and the facts that few companies cut back on health insurance benefits and few companies used temporary workers. It also offers important data on the impact of legislation on mothers' usage of leave, length of leaves, and rate of return to original employers before and after implementation of the laws. In addition, this study provides data on lower-income mothers' and fathers' usage and length of leaves pre- and post-statute. This study also explores the lessons learned from tracking the enforcement process in two states. The report concludes with a discussion of the implications of the experiences of these states for the passage of other state or federal leave laws.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Firms, 1988*. **Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989.**

This bulletin presents the results of a 1988 Bureau of Labor Statistics Survey of the incidence and detailed provisions of employee benefit plans in medium and large firms. The survey includes private nonfarm establishments employing 100 workers or more. Data are presented separately for three occupational groups—professional-administrative, technical-clerical, and production-service workers. The data show that the great majority of workers within the scope of the survey are provided health care, life insurance, and vacations. Provision of many employee benefit plans, however, differs markedly between white- and blue-collar workers.

Bureau of National Affairs. *Measuring Results: Cost-Benefit Analyses of Work and Family Programs*. **Special Report #54. Washington, D.C.: BNA PLUS, 1992.**

This report provides an overview of cost-benefit analysis including its benefits and limitations. It also includes a description of analysis components and summarizes three different approaches to analyses conducted by three different employers.

Bureau of National Affairs. *The "Mommy Track" Debate and Beyond: Public Policy? Corporate Reality?* **Special Report #16. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, 1989.**

This article is the transcript of a roundtable discussion on Felice Schwartz' article "Management Women and the New Facts of Life," which sparked the "mommy track" debate. Among those who participated in the discussion were Schwartz, the directors of Work and Family Programs at several major companies, and researchers in the field.

Catalyst. *Flexible Work Arrangements II: Succeeding with Part-Time Options.* **New York: Catalyst, 1993.**

This study follows up on Catalyst's 1989 study of flexible work arrangements, focusing on the perspective of the workers who use them in order to understand their views on issues relating to career paths, career advancement, and career goals. The authors find that flexible work arrangements are more common in 1993 than they were in 1989, but that there are many obstacles to implementation of these policies, particularly the opposition of middle managers. Family issues are the dominant motivation for employees to use flexible work arrangements. Although flexible work arrangements help companies retain experienced and valued

employees, many women who make use of such programs report that doing so slows their career advancement, limits the types of work and responsibilities they are assigned, and creates negative perceptions on the part of colleagues and supervisors, at least initially.

Christensen, Kathleen E. *Flexible Staffing and Scheduling in U.S. Corporations*. **New York: The Conference Board, 1989.**

Based on a 1988 survey of 521 of the largest U.S. companies, this study analyzes the trends in flexible staffing—hiring employees on a contingent or temporary basis—and flexible scheduling. The study claims that demand for flexible scheduling will increase in the 1990s, while demand for flexible staffing will decrease. Furthermore, companies expect to decrease their use of external temporary agency hires and increase their reliance on internal temporary pools in the coming years. The study also concludes that there is a growing interest among employers to consider work schedules that differ from the full-time, Monday to Friday, 9-to-5 schedule.

Christensen, Kathleen E. and Graham L. Staines. "Flextime: A Viable Solution to Work/Family Conflict?" *The Journal of Family Issues*. **11, no. 4 (December 1990): 455-476.**

This article reviews the existing research regarding the advantages and disadvantages of flextime to both employers and employees. The article also evaluates the effectiveness of flextime in resolving work-family conflicts. The article maintains that future research should include the following: greater sensitivity regarding the use of, not only access to, flextime; more attention to the needs of different subgroups as defined by stage in the life cycle and family type; and the use of dependent measures that would assess the effect of flextime in terms of quality as well as quantity of family time.

Courter, Kristal and Dianne Lober. "Attitudes Toward Du Pont Family Leave." Paper prepared for E.I. Du Pont de Nemours and Company, Wilmington, Delaware, January 1993.

This report studies the success of Du Pont's family leave policy, which allows full-service employees up to six months of unpaid leave for maternity, paternity, adoption, or the serious illness of a parent, spouse, or child. The study finds that high employee satisfaction with family leave is linked to supportive attitudes of management, co-workers, clients, and customers. The research also concludes that successful leave experiences translate into more positive attitudes on the job.

Curry, Jane M. *Alternative Work Schedules from the Employer's Perspective*. **Washington, D.C: American Woman's Society of Certified Public Accountants, 1990.**

Based on a survey of 5,000 members of the American Woman's Society of Certified Public Accountants, this study is a companion piece to the 1989 study on women CPA's perceptions about alternative work schedules. The study discusses what employers think about alternative work schedules, how they feel about employees who use them, and what they believe can be done to improve the process. There are several consistent themes among the employers' responses: work options are a business necessity; alternative work schedules are a shared responsibility; career advancement may slow; and corporate culture and client demands are changing so that alternative work schedules are becoming a greater possibility in the workplace.

Families and Work Institute. *An Evaluation of Johnson & Johnson's Work-Family Initiative*. **New York: Families and Work Institute, 1993.**

This report presents the results of two surveys administered at Johnson & Johnson, one in 1990 soon after the introduction of a work-family agenda, and one in 1992. The surveys show that Johnson & Johnson's work-

family initiative has had a measurable impact on the corporate culture and employees' loyalty and job satisfaction. Employees feel that their supervisors are more supportive of them when they have family problems. Significantly fewer employees feel they pay a price for using flexible policies. The report also suggests that the programs positively affect employees' personal and family well-being: even during a recession, employees report that negative spillover to family and personal life decreased.

Ferber, Marianne A., Brigid O'Farrell, and La Rue Allen, eds. *Work and Family: Policies for a Changing Workforce*. **Washington, D.C: National Academy Press, 1991.**

This book presents the National Research Council's Panel on Employer Policies and Working Families's synthesis and assessment of what is known about the changes in the American workforce in order to evaluate policy alternatives and to assess the need for further research. The editors focus on existing policies and programs. The editors suggest that the current system of employee benefits, although substantial, is inadequate for the new, diverse labor force. The book concludes that employees need some form of sick leave and family leave. The book also recommends that employers support the development and expansion of resource and referral programs, employee assistance programs, and various types of direct and indirect assistance for the care of dependent family members, as well as training programs for managers and workers to help them recognize the importance of family issues and to encourage the participation of both men and women in family-oriented programs. Finally, the editors recommend that data collection efforts at both the individual and firm level should be augmented and institutionalized.

Friedman, Dana E. *Linking Work-Family Issues to the Bottom Line*. **Report Number 962. New York: The Conference Board, 1992.**

This report presents the most comprehensive review of research that tries to link family issues to bottom-line business concerns. It includes findings from more that 40 studies at individual companies and an additional 40 studies on employees across a variety of work locations.

Friedman, Dana E. *The Productivity Effects of Workplace Centers*. **Paper presented at conference in Chicago on "Child Care Centers at the Workplace" sponsored by Resources for Child Care Management, June, 1989.**

This paper reviews the available research on child care and its workplace effects on absenteeism and tardiness. Basic definitions of the problems and effects of work-family solutions are discussed. The specific effects of an employer-sponsored child care center are evaluated.

Friedman, Dana E. and Ellen Galinsky. *Work and Family Trends*. **New York: Families and Work Institute, 1991.**

This article examines the growth of corporate interest in work-family initiatives in the past decade. The shortage of labor, the increase in the number of working women and of men with employed wives, pressure from unions, increased media attention, threats of government mandates, increased employee expectations, and attempts to break the "glass ceiling" are cited as reasons for increased corporate involvement. Friedman and Galinsky examine the progress of work-family initiatives by looking at the field in which there has been the most extensive research—child care—and review the different corporate responses to child care problems and the reasons for such responses.

Galinsky, Ellen. "Families and Work." In *Family Support in a Changing Context*, **eds. Sharon L. Kagan and Bernice Weissbourd. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., in press.**

While companies have been providing work-family assistance to prevent family problems from interfering with their employees' productivity on the job, there has been virtually no attention to improving the quality of work environments. This study outlines some new research that reveals that improving the quality of the workplace could be one of the most effective ways to reduce work-family conflict and stress among employed parents and to guard against poor development outcomes for children.

Galinsky, Ellen. *The Implementation of Flexible Time and Leave Policies: Observations from European Employers*. **New York: Families and Work Institute, 1989.**

With a grant from the National Academy of Sciences, Galinsky examines the practical implementation of family policy in West German and Swedish workplaces and uses her findings to inform the implementation of corporate work-family policies in the United States. The focus of this article is on governmental policy pertaining to leave and business policies providing scheduling flexibility. These West German and Swedish work-family policies were typically created as instruments of social change: to attract women into the labor force and promote gender equity. Nevertheless, she noted that there is a tendency to take the women who use these policies less seriously as workers. Galinsky concludes the article by examining the implications of her findings for American companies instituting work-family policies, offering practical strategies for implementation and providing insight into the process of changes in attitudes and behavior that occur during implementation of these policies.

Galinsky, Ellen. *The Relevance of British Career Break Schemes for American Companies*. **New York: Families and Work Institute, 1990.**

Galinsky applies the practical experiences of British companies with the "career break" system toward the problems American companies have had with the implementation of work-family policies. She notes that American companies do not integrate two important policy goals: aiding employees in managing job and family responsibilities, and promoting the career mobility of women. Galinsky suggests that business leaders in the U.S. could benefit from looking at the British "career break" schemes, policies instituted by companies to serve employees who are committed to a long-term career with an organization but who wish to devote a period of time to raising a family. Because they remain in contact with their employers during leave, British employees are not considered to be on an alternative "mommy track" when they return to work, but receive promotions as normal employees. Galinsky concludes by outlining the societal differences which make career break schemes more tenable in Britain than in the United States, but warns that with the global economy, these programs could be beneficial in the United States.

Galinsky, Ellen. *Work and Family: 1992, Status Report and Outlook*. **New York: Families and Work Institute, 1992.**

Galinsky examines the findings of work and family research to date and explores some possible areas for future research. She defines the stages of the development of work-family initiatives in companies, and notes that although some work-family assistance programs exist at all large companies, most companies demonstrate a piecemeal approach. Ten percent of large companies now offer work-family training to managers, which helps to counteract workers' concerns that making use of flexible leave policies will negatively impact their career advancement. Galinsky voices her concerns, however, that work-family training is not being coordinated with diversity training, and that the two programs can work against one another: while diversity training may emphasize moving on the fast track to develop one's career, work-family training focuses on the balance between work and family life and even suggests taking time off. Galinsky concludes by proposing

that the next steps in the work-family field include extending initiatives to new constituencies, creating collaborations, and trying to change the culture of the workplace to make it more family-friendly.

Galinsky, Ellen, James T. Bond, and Dana E. Friedman. *The Changing Workforce: Highlights from the National Study*. **New York: Families and Work Institute, 1993.**

Based on a nationally representative study of close to 3400 workers across the country, this report analyzes the work, personal, and family lives of the U.S. workforce. Workers are very concerned about the quality of their work environment: when asked to rate the importance of different factors in choosing a particular job, employees give the highest ratings to open communications, the impact of the job on their personal or family life, quality management, and quality supervision. The study finds that 87 percent of workers have family responsibilities in addition to their jobs, while 47 percent have dependent care responsibilities. Despite massive changes in women's work outside the home however, women's responsibilities within the home have not changed significantly. Women are still the primary housekeepers and caregivers, even in dual-earner families. The study examines workers' access to policies designed to help employees balance work and family life. Among those employees who do not have access to these policies, a large number say that they would be willing to make substantial trade-offs to get them. Finally, the study finds that what helps workers also seems to help employers be productive.

Galinsky, Ellen, Dana Friedman, and Carol Hernandez. *The Corporate Reference Guide to Work-Family Programs*. **New York: Families and Work Institute, 1991.**

This book addresses the work-family questions most frequently asked by companies. It analyzes the state of the art work-family initiatives through the use of the FWI Family-Friendly Index, a yardstick by which companies can assess their own programs and policies. It also contains case studies of the top-ranking companies on the Index, describes the typical stages of development of corporate work-family programs, presents case studies on a range of work-family options, and provides a comparative analysis of family-supportive policies in 188 companies across 30 industries.

Galinsky, Ellen and Peter J. Stein. "The Impact of Human Resource Policies on Employees." *The Journal of Family Issues*. **11, no. 4 (December 1990): 368-383.**

Based on several empirical studies of human resource policies in Fortune 500 companies, this article focuses on the major work-family problems faced by employees, how work-family problems affect productivity, what trends are emerging among companies, and how a subsample of leading scientific companies and universities are responding to work-family issues. The article examines the seven major issues employees face—child care, elder care, work time and timing, relocation, job demands and autonomy, supervisory relationships, and organizational culture. This article suggests that although some of the leading corporations and universities are responsive to work-family problems, many are still not aware of nor responsive to work-family conflict.

Haas, Linda. "Gender Equality and Social Policy: Implications of a Study of Parental Leave in Sweden." *The Journal of Family Issues*. **11, no. 4 (December 1990): 401-423.**

This article evaluates the effectiveness of parental leave as a social policy designed to eliminate the traditional, gender-based division of labor. It examines whether fathers' taking parental leave equalizes women's and men's involvement in the labor market and in child care once the leave is over. Results from a 1986 survey of over 300 sets of new parents in Gothenburg, Sweden were analyzed. Fathers who take parental leave are found to be more likely to be involved in child care and to reduce their involvement in the labor force. On the other hand, mothers retain primary responsibility for children and remain less involved and rewarded in the labor market, whether or not their partners participate in parental leave. Elimination of

the gender-based division of labor may require social policies that simultaneously aim to improve women's labor market opportunities, raise girls' interests in occupational achievement, and increase men's participation in child care.

Hooks, Karen L. *Alternative Work Schedules and the Woman CPA: A Report on Use, Perception, and Career Impact.* **Chicago: American Woman's Society of Certified Public Accountants, 1989.**

This report presents the findings of a survey of 5,000 members of the AWSCPA. The survey examines respondents' experiences with and perceptions of alternative work schedules, including flextime, flex location, part-time work, and job sharing. While alternative work schedules (except flextime) were perceived to harm career success, the report concludes that the women CPAs who use alternative work schedules report little damage to career progression and little change in the behavior of their coworkers and superiors. Women CPAs believe that hierarchical position influences the degree of career impact caused by using an alternative work schedule, but do not agree about the position at which the use of an alternative work schedule generates the least career damage. The survey results suggest they believe there is less damage when such schedules are used at lower levels. The author concludes that the experiences of those who have used alternative work schedules seem contrary to the pessimism surrounding alternative work schedules, including the apprehension about achieving long-term career success.

Hyland, Stephanie L. "Helping Employees with Family Care." *Monthly Labor Review* **September, 1990: 22-26.**

Based on data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics 1988 Employee Benefits Survey, this article analyzes several employee benefits that have recently grown in importance as a result of changes in the labor force. The benefits examined by the author include maternity leave, paternity leave, flextime, and employer assistance for child care. The author describes different programs that employers can offer to assist employees in their dependent care responsibilities.

Johnson, Arlene, ed. *Work-Family Roundtable: Evaluating Programs***. 3, no. 2 (Summer 1993) New York: The Conference Board, 1993.**

This report, based on a spring 1993 survey of The Conference Board's Work-Family Research and Advisory Panel, focuses on an evaluation of various work-family programs. It describes the type of data researchers want and estimates the possibility for attaining this type of data. The report also describes companies' motives for evaluating their programs. The report concludes that evaluation of work-family programs is used less to justify programs and more to enhance and improve programs; that individual program evaluations are helpful, but the most pressing evaluation questions require assessing the impact of the whole work-family initiative and the aggregate effect of the programs; that though it is important to continue to develop quantitative measures and "hard data," the power and influence of qualitative data should not be overlooked; and that some of the most pressing evaluation questions remain unanswered, and will require innovative methodologies and a rigorous approach to data collection.

Johnson, Arlene, ed. *Work-Family Roundtable: Flexibility***. 1, no. 1 (December 1991) New York: The Conference Board, 1991.**

This report, based on an August 1991 survey of 153 members of The Conference Board's Work-Family Research and Advisory Panel, examine's employers' experiences in implementing flexible work arrangements. The report concludes that employee requests have driven the increase in a variety of flexible work arrangements. The most formidable barriers to implementing flexible work arrangements are individuals' attitudes, not company procedures. While a number of strategies are effective for implementing

flexible schedules, it is concluded that companies must empower front-line supervisors to be flexible in order to make flexible work arrangements successful.

Kelly, Rita Mae. *The Gendered Economy: Work, Careers, and Success*. **Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1991.**

Kelly explores factors that impede or facilitate women's advancement in business and professions in the United States and seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of the place of women in the U.S. economy and the changing trends during U.S. history, with particular emphasis on the period since the mid-1960s. Kelly assesses the impact of sex-role ideology and socialization on gender differences in workplace aspirations, behavior, and achievements. The author also examines the role that business organizations and government do and can play in incorporating women into the economic system as leaders and managers. Kelly evaluates proposals to level the playing field for women.

Kingston, Paul W. "Illusions and Ignorance about the Family-Responsive Workplace." *The Journal of Family Issues*. **11, no. 4 (December 1990): 438-454.**

This article reviews the operational meaning of the "family-responsive" workplace and assesses relevant data about its extent. The article concludes that U.S. businesses have made modest headway in instituting such practices, but that one cannot expect that market solutions will deliver good or equitable family policy in the foreseeable future. The economic benefits of these policies for businesses have not been demonstrated, and impending labor shortages offer uncertain promise of basic change in business policy. Considering the political weakness of pro-family forces and the organizational and ideological obstacles they face, halting, uneven realization of the responsive workplace is predicted.

Korn/Ferry International and UCLA Anderson Graduate School of Management. *Decade of the Executive Woman*. **New York: Korn/Ferry International, 1993.**

This study, based on a survey of 439 women executives from the Fortune 2000, compares the profiles, experiences, and opinions of women executives in 1992 with those of their female counterparts in 1982 and with those of their male counterparts in 1979 and 1989. The findings from the 1992 survey indicate that the profile of executive women has changed from 1982 to 1992, and that this change has meant progress in the business and professional arena. Nevertheless, women's experiences in corporations have not changed dramatically from 1982 to 1992. To encourage gender equity among executives, the authors make the following suggestions: place more women on corporate boards; help women build a strong support system with such things as flextime and child care; ensure that company policies and programs educate everyone about sexual harassment; demonstrate that women can aspire to the top; create informal company-sponsored opportunities that allow men and women to find common interests and pursuits; and understand that men and women approach managing differently and that both approaches may be valid.

Lambert, Susan J., Ph.D., Karen Hopkins, George Easton, Janet Walker, Heather McWilliams, and Moo Sung Chung. *Added Benefits: The Link Between Family Responsive Policies and Job Performance.* **A University of Chicago Study of Fel-Pro Incorporated, 1993.**

Lambert and her colleagues assess the success of work-family policies at Fel-Pro, an auto gasket company headquartered in Skokie, Ill., based on data from an employee survey and from administrative records of employee performance. They provide information on employees' use of programs, job characteristics, attitudes toward co-workers, and their personal relationships and responsibilities. The researchers found that employees who use work-family programs have the highest job performance evaluations and the lowest intentions of leaving the company. The impact of work-family programs even extends to employees who use

them infrequently; knowing that the benefits are there seems to provide a valued sense of comfort. The researchers conclude that family-responsive programs positively affect work performance, flexibility, and openness to organization change.

Marra, Rebecca and Judith Lindner. "The True Cost of Parental Leave: The Parental Cost Model." In *Parental Leave and Productivity: Current Research***, edited by Dana E. Friedman, Ellen Galinsky, and Veronica Plowden. New York: Families and Work Institute, 1992.**

This study of a large high-technology corporation compares the costs of providing and managing a parental leave policy with the costs of the alternative of replacing the employee. Using the Parental Leave Cost Model, this study shows that it is far less expensive to support a parental leave than to replace the employee permanently. Additionally, because 94 percent of leave-takers return to their company after the leave, parental leave also retains valuable expertise in the company. The study also provides an analysis of the impact on costs of some additional variables such as length and type of leave, leave-taker characteristics, and supervisor's attitude toward work and family.

Meisenheimer, Joseph R. II. "Employee Provisions for Parental Leave." *Monthly Labor Review***. October 1989: 153-157.**

Based on data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics 1988 Employee Benefits Survey, this article reviews the incidence and provisions of employers' parental leave policies. Data show that slightly more than one-third of full-time employees in medium and large firms in private industry are covered by maternity or paternity leave policies. Most of the leave policies granted unpaid leave. The article also summarizes legislative developments in the United States and abroad.

Miller, Annetta and Dody Tsiantar. "Mommy Tracks." *Newsweek* **November 25 1991: 48-49.**

This article returns to the subject of the Mommy Track debate two years after it was first discussed to examine progress made. The article finds that although companies pay lip service to offering alternatives for working mothers, women who seek to use such family-friendly policies often disrupt or ruin their careers.

Miller, Beth. *The Distribution of Family Oriented Benefits***. EBRI Issue Brief No. 130, Washington, D.C.: Employee Benefits Research Institute, 1992.**

Based on an analysis of the National Child Care Survey of 1990, a representative study of mothers with children under 13 conducted by the Urban Institute, this issue brief provides an overview of employee benefits that assist families. Benefits discussed include child care; extended unpaid personal leave; and flexible work options. In addition, the author explores the distribution of two particular family benefits—child care assistance and flexible work practices—among working women with children under age 13. This analysis reveals that the availability of child care assistance and flexible work options for working mothers is related to occupation, income level, labor force status, and industry. The study also suggests several approaches to overcoming unequal access to child care assistance. Options include providing employees with tax incentives for only those benefits targeted at lower income workers, privatizing the distribution of benefits by eliminating the current preferential tax treatment of pretax spending accounts and on-site child care programs, and mandating the employer provision of child care benefits.

Nollen, Stanley D. "Does Flextime Improve Productivity?" *Harvard Business Review*. **September-October 1979.**

Nollen reviews eight surveys and 30 case studies covering 445 organizations using flextime at that point in history. The employers encompass many business segments: drug companies, financial industries, electronics manufacturers, transportation, utilities, and government agencies. The trends summarized indicate that use of flextime may increase productivity.

Pierce, Jon L., John W. Newstrom, Randall B. Dunham, and Alison E. Barber. *Alternative Work Schedules*. **Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1989.**

This book provides a detailed portrait of several alternative work schedules, looking closely at the conceptual and/or theoretical explanations for how and why a particular schedule should have social-psychological and behavioral consequences. The alternative work schedules considered include flexible working hours, shortened or compressed work weeks, permanent part-time employment, and shift work. The book also describes the process by which an organization can identify a work schedule that is appropriate for its workers and suggests methods of implementing alternative work arrangements. Finally, the book provides an integrative model which portrays the linkages through which an alternative work schedule may lead to general worker reactions and/or organizational effectiveness.

Piotrkoski, Chaya S., Diane Hughes, Joseph H. Pleck, Susan Kessler-Sklar, and Graham L. Staines. *The Experience of Childbearing Women in the Workplace: The Impact of Family-Friendly Policies and Practices*. **New York: National Council of Jewish Women, 1993.**

This report, based on data gathered for the 1986 and 1987 *Mothers in the Workplace* studies, focuses on family-relevant workplace policies and practices that may influence the labor force participation and workplace experience of childbearing women: leave policies and related benefits, flexible time policies and practices, direct child care benefits, and social support at work. The secondary analysis reveals that the availability of flexible scheduling is very important for childbearing women, resulting in positive outcomes for employers and employees, including increased return to prenatal employer, earlier return to work after childbirth, increased job satisfaction, and reduced hiring and retraining costs. Supportive supervisors are important determinants of schedule flexibility and of well-being among mothers with infants. The study also states that the benefits of the Family and Medical Leave Act cannot be overestimated.

Raabe, Phyllis Hutton. "The Organizational Effects of Workplace Family Policies: Past Weaknesses and Recent Progress Toward Improved Research." *The Journal of Family Issues*. **11, no. 4 (December 1990): 477-491.**

This article discusses some past weaknesses of evaluation research on the organizational effects of policies, recent methodological improvements, and conceptual refinements and research findings about important characteristics of work-family policies, varying organizational outcomes, and relationships between the two.

Rodgers, Fran Sussner and Charles Rodgers. "Business and the Facts of Family Life." *Harvard Business Review*. **November-December 1989: 121-129.**

The authors attribute the growing corporate interest in work-family issues to workforce demographics, changing employee perceptions, increasing evidence that inflexibility has adverse effects on productivity, and increasing concern about America's children. Three areas for companies trying to create a more family-friendly workplace as well as to develop the talents of employed parents are suggested: dependent care; flexibility in the organization, hours, and location, of work and creation of career paths; and validation of family issues as an organizational concern by means of company statements and manager training.

Rodgers & Associates. A*t a Crossroads: Women in Corporate America in the 1990s*. Unpublished paper prepared for The Ford Foundation, 1991.

Based on a review of articles in the popular press and leading business journals on women's corporate careers, relevant data from their own research, and interviews with over 50 experts in women's careers, the work-family interface, corporate culture, and organizational and business heads, this report discusses the advancement of women in the corporate world. The authors assert that men are much more certain about the possibility of advancement for women than women themselves are. Although many different sources of problems for women in the corporate world have been suggested and various solutions have been proposed, the core of business practices and corporate culture have been left untouched. The authors note that with the massive changes in the workforce in the past few decades, the progress of women will not continue unless business takes the lead in adopting deeper, more systematic change. Focusing on issues of dependent care alone will not result in long-term career success for those with significant family responsibilities. To give women the chance to advance, current career practices and corporate assumptions must be questioned. After discussing how the new business and organizational trends have the possibility of both helping and hindering women, the authors describe their vision for the new workplace as a conducive work environment for corporate women and men with family care responsibilities.

Rubin, Victor. *Evaluation of the Alameda County Alternative Child Care Demonstration Program*. Oakland, CA: Berkeley Planning Associates, 1988.

This report describes the evaluation of Alameda County's eight-month demonstration project in which the County paid for 1238 days of care for County employees when a child's regular provider was unavailable or the child was sick. This program had positive results: more days worked, savings in unused sick leave, and care that parents trust. The executive summary includes a discussion of obstacles to rigorous productivity evaluations and recommendations for employers.

Saltzman, Amy. "Family Friendliness." *U.S. News and World Report*. February 22, 1993: 59-66.

This article claims that the workplace revolution of family-friendliness is much exaggerated by companies looking for quick fixes and image makeovers and by media looking for exciting stories. Saltzman notes that even among those companies that have work-family policies, many supervisors are unwilling to let their employees use them. Additionally, many employees are afraid to make use of work-family policies for fear of jeopardizing their careers. The author advocates that companies research employees' needs and institute meaningful and effective policies.

Schwartz, Felice N. *Breaking With Tradition: Women and Work, The New Facts of Life*. New York: Warner Books, 1992.

In this book, Schwartz speaks to the controversy raised in the "Mommy Track" debate by trying to answer three questions: what is going on for women and men at home and on the job?, what is wrong?, and how can it be fixed? The book examines the pattern of silence that hides the experiences of women in business and the way in which women are perceived by men in leadership and management positions. Schwartz then discusses the trends that will cause women to enter the mainstream of business and the professions. One portion of the book is addressed to corporate leaders, as Schwartz tries to convey the degree to which the talent of women in business is wasted. The final section of the book speaks to employees—both women and men—to clarify their roles in effecting change in the workplace.

Schwartz, Felice N. "Management Women and the New Facts of Life." *Harvard Business Review*. **January/February 1989: 65-76.**

This article, which set off the "Mommy Track" debate, discusses the costs of employing women in management. Declaring that the one immutable difference between men and women is maternity, Schwartz discusses how maternity affects women's careers. Schwartz suggests the creation of two different paths for working women to follow, one for "career-primary" women who will place career advancement over personal life, and one for "career-and-family" women who want to pursue careers while still participating actively in rearing their children. These women will trade off some career growth and compensation for increased flexibility and freedom in their jobs. Schwartz suggests that by giving a female employee greater flexibility during her childbearing years, she will be more productive and will be more likely to stay with the company until a time when she might switch paths and become a career-primary worker.

Shellenbarger, Sue. "Averting Career Damage from Family Policies." *Wall Street Journal* **June 24, 1992: B1.**

Although many companies have embraced family-friendly policies, employees often avoid them for fear of hurting their careers. Now, a few companies are trying to change their cultures to prevent work-family conflict from reinforcing the glass ceiling. This article examines the efforts of two companies—Corning and Xerox—to ensure that family-friendly policies do not hinder women's chances for advancement.

Shellenbarger, Sue. "'Best' List for Working Mothers Shows New Faces: Midwest Firms, Oil Giants." *Wall Street Journal* **September 16, 1993: A8.**

This article reviews the results of the 1993 "100 Best Companies for Working Mothers" and analyzes the trends that this year's list represents. According to the author, the list reflects a rapid broadening of work-family programs across industry and geographical lines. The list also offers increasing evidence that programs to advance women and reduce work-family conflict yield measurable results.

Shellenbarger, Sue. "Concerns Fight to Be Called Best for Moms." *Wall Street Journal* **September 14, 1993: B1.**

Appearing immediately before the release of the 1993 list of "The 100 Best Companies for Working Mothers," this article discusses the efforts of companies to be included in the 1993 list. The author states that the fierce competition to be included in the list reflects the growing importance that many employers place on a family-friendly image. Because of the number of companies that are applying, the list's authors say that companies now must prove not only that they have family-friendly policies, but also that they are actually in use and available to large numbers of people.

Shellenbarger, Sue. "Flexible Policies May Slow Women's Careers." *Wall Street Journal* **April 22, 1992: B1.**

Women are still widely perceived as lacking commitment to their careers. Family-friendly policies, by encouraging women to take time away from work, can reinforce these stereotypes.

Staines, Graham L. and Ellen Galinsky. "Parental Leave and Productivity: The Supervisor's View." In *Parental Leave and Productivity: Current Research***, edited by Dana E. Friedman, Ellen Galinsky, and Veronica Plowden. New York: Families and Work Institute, 1992.**

This study of 331 supervisors investigates the validity of widespread popular assumptions about parental leave. These assumptions include the belief that women give their supervisors little notice of their

pregnancies or leave plans, that women change their minds about when or if they plan to return to work, and that pregnant employees disrupt workplace productivity when working, when on leave, and when they return to work. The survey shows that the prevailing assumptions about managing leave do not hold true for the majority of supervisors. When problems do exist, they are the exception, not the rule. The study also identifies strategies that work in managing parental leaves and emphasizes the importance of training supervisors to deal with leave issues.

Starrels, Marjorie E. "The Evolution of Workplace Family Policy Research." *Journal of Family Issues*. **13, no. 3 (September 1992): 259-278.**

Starrels integrates and analyzes research on workplace family policy and suggests areas for further inquiry. Corporate culture, gender and class differences regarding support for policies, and the role of government are discussed. A theoretical framework for understanding barriers to progressive family policies in the workplace is articulated that identifies competing social, cultural, and psychological forces. Factors that support and circumvent creation and successful implementation of work-family policies are outlined, concluding with reasons for employer and employee resistance to progressive gender roles. Although future research might elaborate more systematically the relative tenacity of and intersections between various barriers to progressive policy, it also needs to evaluate on a large scale and with greater precision the costs and benefits of traditional versus progressive programs.

Swiss, Deborah J. and Judith P. Walker. *Women and the Work/Family Dilemma*. **New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1993.**

The authors surveyed 902 women who graduated from Harvard's business, law and medical schools and interviewed 52 of the working mothers to discover how women in the professions are confronting their complex agendas of career, children, spouses, and personal life satisfaction. The authors conclude that balancing work and family life persists as one of the major unresolved issues in American life. Among the recurring themes that the researchers uncovered are the unwillingness of the corporate world to make accommodations for working mothers and the resulting concerns of women that motherhood will damage their careers, a phenomenon which the authors term the "maternal wall." The authors also highlight the difference between corporate policy and corporate practice, noting that although many companies have family-friendly policies in place, these policies do women no good if there is a taboo against using them: family-friendly policies alone do not create a family-friendly work culture. The authors discuss the particular difficulties of working part-time, noting that choosing a reduced schedule is not what co-workers or supervisors expect from a dedicated employee. The authors suggest that to solve the work-family dilemma, corporate culture and attitudes must be altered to take into account the demands of family life; employers must help legitimate non-traditional career paths and new criteria for success.

Wadman, Meredith K. "Workplace: Mothers Who Take Extended Time Off Find Their Careers Pay a Heavy Price." *The Wall Street Journal* **July 16, 1992: B1.**

This article discusses the difficulty that career women encounter in returning to the workforce after taking time off to raise a family. Finding a job at a level comparable to the one left is almost impossible, and many women complain that employers question their commitment to the job.

Work/Family Directions. *Workplace Flexibility: A Strategy for Doing Business*. **Boston: Work/Family Directions, 1993.**

This report evaluates corporate flexible work options, a key element in the push to reduce conflicts between work and family responsibilities. Using data from a Rodgers & Associates study, the authors note that

although most companies now have policies that allow at least some forms of flexibility, few companies can claim to have become truly flexible to their employees. The report tries to understand the problems with implementing and keeping up flexible work policies and suggests that the key lies in the adoption of flexible management practices and in the linking of flexible work practices to larger business strategies. The report contains two case studies and concludes with an overview of flexibility options and applications.

APPENDIX I

Table 1: The Availability of Leave Benefits

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	(Maximum Sample Size)	Leave for Childbirth & Parenting	Time Off to Care for Ill Child or Family Member	Paid Vacation Time
OVERALL	(2958)	88%	90%	79%
GENDER		***		**
Women	(1446)	93%	NS	76%
Men	(1512)	84		81
RACE/ETHNICITY		***	***	
Minority	(672)	84%	84%	NS
Non-Minority	(2276)	90	92	
OCCUPATION		***	***	***
Managers	(458)	90%	95%	93%
Professionals	(464)	93	95	80
Technicians	(332)	95	93	86
Sales	(284)	88	86	66
Admin Support	(403)	90	92	82
Service	(368)	86	85	64
Operators/Laborers	(596)	84	86	79
Farm Workers, etc.	(38)	37	67	44
		*	***	***
Managers/Professionals	(922)	91%	95%	87%
Other Occupations	(2036)	87	88	75
INDUSTRY		***	*	***
Manufacturing	(461)	86%	89%	89%
Transp/Comm/Utility	(300)	88	92	88
Wholesale/Retail	(470)	89	88	69
Finance/Insur/Real Est	(196)	89	90	85
Business/Prof Services	(239)	90	91	86
Health Services	(332)	95	91	82
Education Services	(300)	95	96	71
Soc Services/Relig Org	(91)	81	89	78
Personal Services	(202)	85	88	63
Public Administration	(147)	91	93	92
Construction	(131)	80	88	68
Mining/Agric/Fish	(81)	68	80	61
REGION				
Northeast	(599)			
Midwest	(757)	NS	NS	NS

South	(1055)			
West	(515)			

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COMPANY SIZE (U.S.)				***
Fewer than 50 Workers	(659)			70%
50 - 499 Workers	(474)	NS	NS	81
500 or More Workers	(1102)			88

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* p<.01; ** p<.001; *** p<.0001; NS = Not Statistically Significant at p<.01

Table 2: The Availability of Flexible Work Schedule Policies

(Maximum Sample Size)		Part-Time Work	Extended Lunch Break	Work Less One Day; Make Up Later	Set Own Hours (Flextime)	Can Do Some Work at Home Regularly
OVERALL	(2958)	57%	47%	44%	29%	24%
GENDER		***	*			
Women	(1446)	66%	44%	NS	NS	NS
Men	(1512)	48	50			
RACE/ETHNICITY		*	*	**		*
Minority	(672)	51%	42%	38%	NS	20%
Non-Minority	(2276)	58	48	46		25
OCCUPATION		***	***	***	***	***
Managers	(458)	60%	69%	55%	45%	43%
Professionals	(464)	59	47	43	35	49
Technicians	(332)	61	45	47	26	19
Sales	(284)	73	46	51	34	18
Admin Support	(403)	59	57	51	36	21
Service	(368)	64	31	34	18	9
Operators/Laborers	(596)	37	35	33	16	7
Farm Workers, etc.	(38)	44	29	41	35	18
			***	**	***	***
Managers/Professionals	(922)	NS	58%	49%	40%	46
Other Occupations	(2036)		42	42	25	14
INDUSTRY		***	***	***	***	***
Manufacturing	(461)	37%	42%	34%	21%	17%
Transp/Comm/Utility	(300)	47	52	45	33	17
Wholesale/Retail	(470)	72	45	49	34	18
Finance/Insur/Real Est	(196)	67	62	54	40	38
Business/Prof Services	(239)	55	65	54	38	24
Health Services	(332)	76	37	45	24	20
Education Services	(300)	56	37	34	25	50
Soc Services/Relig Org	(91)	57	63	57	47	37
Personal Services	(202)	68	43	41	23	16
Public Administration	(147)	46	47	36	29	25
Construction	(131)	33	49	49	29	19
Mining/Agric/Fish	(81)	45	46	48	29	17
REGION		**			***	
Northeast	(599)	55%			33%	
Midwest	(757)	62	NS	NS	28	NS

South	(1055)	53			25	
West	(515)	61			36	

COMPANY SIZE (U.S.)			*	***		
Fewer than 50 Workers	(659)		56%	54%		
50 - 499 Workers	(474)	NS	49	42	NS	NS
500 or More Workers	(1102)		47	44		

* p<.01; ** p<.001; *** p<.0001; NS = Not Statistically Significant at p<.01

Table 3: The Availability of Dependent Care Benefits

(Maximum Sample Size)	Child Care Resource & Referral	Elder Care Resource & Referral Care	On-/Near-Site Child Care	Vouchers	DCAP
OVERALL (2958)	20%	11%	10%	4%	28%
GENDER					
Women (1446)	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
Men (1512)					
RACE/ETHNICITY *					
Minority (672)	25%	NS	NS	NS	NS
Non-Minority (2276)	19				
OCCUPATION	***	***	***		***
Managers (458)	23%	12%	14%		29%
Professionals (464)	25	11	13		34
Technicians (332)	31	22	19		42
Sales (284)	9	2	2	NS	19
Admin Support (403)	21	13	10		30
Service (368)	16	7	7		18
Operators/Laborers (596)	16	8	7		25
Farm Workers, etc. (38)	9	4	2		32
	*		***		*
Managers/Professionals (922)	24	NS	14%	NS	32%
Other Occupations (2036)	19		9		27%
INDUSTRY	***	***	***	**	***
Manufacturing (461)	19%	7%	6%	4%	30%
Transp/Comm/Utility (300)	25	18	8	3	37
Wholesale/Retail (470)	11	5	5	2	20
Finance/Insur/Real Est (196)	25	14	9	9	42
Business/Prof Services (239)	22	13	8	3	30
Health Services (332)	27	30	20	7	33
Education Services (300)	23	4	20	3	31
Soc Services/Relig Org (91)	26	13	11	3	27
Personal Services (202)	12	3	8	4	16
Public Administration (147)	38	12	27	8	36
Construction (131)	7	3	1	2	13
Mining/Agric/Fish (81)	13	5	2	1	17
REGION	***	*			
Northeast (599)	25%	15%			
Midwest (757)	20	12	NS	NS	NS

South	(1055)	17	9		
West	(515)	23	9		

COMPANY SIZE (U.S.)		***	***	***	**	***
Fewer than 50 Workers	(659)	8%	3%	4%	3%	10%
50 - 499 Workers	(474)	11	7	4	3	18
500 or More Workers	(1102)	33	19	17	6	43

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* p<.01; ** p<.001; *** p<.0001; NS = Not Statistically Significant at p<.01