DISSERTATION

UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENTIAL ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO WORK/FAMILY ISSUES: The Role of Beliefs, Attitudes, and Decision-Making Styles of Chief Executive Officers

Submitted by

Barbara A. Welss Eversole

School of Education

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY BARBARA A. WELSS EVERSOLE ENTITLED UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENTIAL ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO WORK/FAMILY ISSUES BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

Committee on Graduate Work

James H. Banning, Ph.D.

Jerry W. Gilley, Ph.D.

Toni S. Zimmerman, Ph.D.

Adviser
Gene Gloeckner, Ph.D.

Department Head/Director
Rick Ginsberg, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENTIAL ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES TO WORK/FAMILY ISSUES: THE ROLE OF BELIEFS, ATTITUDES, AND DECISION-MAKING STYLES OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

The demographics of the workforce have changed dramatically due to the influx of working mothers. This change led to increasing difficulties for working families, as well as for all workers, who are trying to integrate their work and non-work lives. In response to these work/life issues, some employers have responded with programs designed to help workers with this integration. This study investigated the differential adoption of work/family programs by organizations by studying *chief executive officers.* Twenty-six CEOs of a major metropolitan area were interviewed in a grounded theory study. The result of the study was the following grounded theory. CEO life experiences with work/family balancing issues, in their own families, in the families of employees of those who work for them, and in their careers (through mentors or colleagues), interacting with the CEO's personality, cause attitudes and beliefs about work/family issues such as the importance of balance, families and work, and the effectiveness of such programs and the need for them in their organizations. Strategies for dealing with their beliefs are the decision-making style the CEO uses—either content (the business case) or process styles—learning, cognitive, or affective. Learning styles

rely on experimentation strategies, cognitive styles on belief or knowledge structures or schema, and affective styles on feelings of empathy or respect for employees. The context in which these beliefs and decisions occur is organizational characteristics such as culture, size, and industry. Intervening conditions include the leadership style and education of the CEO, economic constraints, competition, and pressures from employees (including retention issues). The consequence is the decision whether or not to allow work/family programs in the organization, and with what scope (availability and numbers/types of programs). Differential adoption was explained by the way that CEOs made decisions for all twenty-six cases in the study. Implications for management of work/life issues include suggestions for persuading CEOs to adopt work/family programs at their organizations. Recommendations for future research include a quantitative study of a more geographically diverse and randomized sample group to test the theory and the development of a more effective operational definition of family-friendly culture.

Barbara A. Welss Eversole
School of Education
Colorado State University
Fort Collins, CO 80523
Spring 2005

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Some Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) adopt work/family programs at their organizations in response to their employees' work and family balancing needs, while others do not. The problem for this research project is to discover the processes by which chief executives form their attitudes and beliefs about adoption of work/family programs in their organizations, and how they are translated into decisions about adoption. Work/family issues are increasingly prevalent today as more and more families consist of dual-wage earners; in 1997, sixty percent of the workforce consisted of dual-earner couples (Michaels, 1997); of these, forty percent are parents (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001). Today, dual-earner couples with children outnumber families with only the husband working outside the home by two to one (Turner, 2002). As workers are expected to work longer and longer hours, the family bears this burden increasingly, resulting in increased stress and role conflict for workers with dependent care responsibilities. Organizations vary in their response to this problem. Many have offered a series of family-friendly benefits in the workplace to help ease the burden on their employees, but many have not (Glass & Estes, 1997; Heymann, 2000).

Bradley Googins (1991), director of the Center for Corporate Community at Boston College and a leading scholar in work/family issues, has written that

"the economic, social, political, and cultural systems in our society continue to function as if the interdependence between love and work did not exist." (p. viii). In our present society, the relationship of love and work has nearly come full circle, starting from pre-historic time through pre-industrial time, when an agrarian life meant that family life and work life were inextricably intertwined (Carnoy, 2000; Heymann, 2000; Kimpel, 1998). During the industrial revolution, the two spheres became separated, as men left home to work in factories and offices (Carnoy, 2000; Heymann, 2000; Howard, 1992). As long as someone, usually the woman of the household, stayed home to take care of the business of family life, the two spheres were thought of as easily separated. Now, to think of work and family and two separate spheres is to oversimplify the issue (Jacobson & Aaltio-Marjosola, 2001). In organizations today, the degree of separation/integration of life and work is known as work/family management. Rapoport, Bailyn, Fletcher & Pruitt (2002) have termed this management "work-personal life integration" (p. xv).

When women started entering the workforce in greater numbers, it became more difficult to ignore the interdependence of work and family lives as both families and organizations were affected (Carnoy, 2000; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Sladek, 1995). Women constituted forty-six percent of the labor force in 1996 vs. twenty-four percent in 1940 (US Department of Labor, as cited in

Harvey, 1997). In 1999, sixty-four percent of women in the workforce had children under six; seventy-nine percent had children under seventeen (Heymann, 2000). In 2000, sixty percent of women worked in the labor force; sixty-three percent of women with children under the age of six worked (U.S. Dept of Labor, as cited in Moe, 2003). This demographic shift has placed both the family and the organization into a state of flux (Christensen, 1997). While sixty percent of all workers come from dual career couples, only nine percent come from the traditional male provider, female homemaker family (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, as cited in Christensen, 1997). More than seventy percent of children lived in homes where both parents worked in 1990 (US Census Bureau, as cited in Heymann, 2000). In particular, the increase in employment of married mothers and single parents radically altered families (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). In 1950, single parents headed only seven percent of families rising to twenty-seven percent in 1998 (Kimmel, 2003). Therefore, families in which both parents work, or headed by a single working parent, far outnumber those in which one parent stays home while the other earns a living (Jacobs & Gerston, 2004).

Employees started experiencing stress from the conflict caused by trying to balance the two spheres of their lives, and for them the two spheres became intertwined and interdependent again (Freidman & Greenhaus, 2000; Jacobs & Gerston, 2004; Tchida, 1996; Turner, 2002). Adding to the stress experienced by

working parents, the working time of couples increased when compared to the working time of individuals (Jacobs & Gerston, 2004).

In response, many organizations have instituted work/family programs, also known as "family-friendly" programs, to the reported benefit of both employee and employer (Stebbins, 2001). A survey by Mercer (1996) as cited in an article on work/life programs ("Work/Life programs," 1996) found these programs "firmly established in corporate America"(p. 9). Hundreds of organizations created a work/family manager position to assess needs and begin programs, or to coordinate and/or expand existing ones (Johnson & Rose, 1991). Nevertheless, although many organizations have adopted programs, a gap exists between the establishment of these policies and the actual prevalence of family-friendly practices (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001). The existence of organizational cultures that run counter to work/family programs is attributed to this gap (Fredriksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001; Friedman, 1998; Prince, 1998; Stebbins, 2001).

Evidence about the efficacy of work/family programs is largely anecdotal. Landauer (1997) cited research at WFD (a work/life consulting firm) conducted for companies such as DuPont and Hoechst Celanese, as well as studies by J&J, IBM, and Fel-Pro, clearly showing that investments in work/family programs

return to the bottom-line. Dex and Scheibl (1999) analyzed all available research and concluded that there were considerable benefits to having work/family policies; however, they could not conclude that if other organizations were to adopt these policies, they too would benefit. In fact, work/family balance problems have been much better documented than the effectiveness of the programs designed to alleviate them (Fredricksen-Golsen & Scharlach, 2001).

One of the difficulties in generalizing the results of these studies is that they are based on self-report data, rather than objective criteria (Glass & Estes, 1997). Since good empirical evidence of the efficacy of these programs is lacking (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001; Frone, 2003; Glass & Estes, 1997; Kirchmeyer, 1995), adoption of these programs may be driven by the beliefs of the leaders of the organizations. A study by the Families and Work Institute (cited by Stebbins, 2001) found that one of the strongest predictors of work/family program adoption was CEO replacement. Some CEOs believe that these programs are good for their organization, while others remain unconvinced. Milliken, Dutton, and Beyer (1990) found anecdotal evidence supporting that values of individual managers determine whether organizations adopt work/family programs. In any case, corporate culture is a significant barrier to work/family program effectiveness in the workplace (Fredricksen-Golden & Sharlach, 2001; Friedman, 1998; Prince, 1998, Stebbins, 2001). Since leaders have a role in

setting workplace culture, it is reasonable to assume their beliefs influence the effectiveness of work/family programs.

Another dimension is that executives "talk the talk," rather than embracing these policies in their own work habits, thereby rendering the programs ineffective (Bankert & Googins, 1996; Hall, 1990; Regan, 1994; Vincola, 1998). Understanding the beliefs of CEOs may explain this disconnection between espousal of values and actual behavior, as exemplified by the organizational culture either accepting or rejecting work/life initiatives.

This approach to understanding the variance in adoption of work/family programs by organizations as a response to work/family issues is to understand the belief formation processes of key executives. Work/family solutions need to be driven and/or supported by top management in order for them to become part of an organization's culture and preventing their sabotage by the culture. Therefore, it is necessary to understand how their views are formed and decisions made.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to discover the processes by which chief executives decide whether or not to provide work/family programs in their organizations using a grounded theory design. Theories will be proposed which explain differences in organizational responses to work/family issues grounded in

interview responses revealing information about the attitudes and beliefs of, and decision-making styles used by, the leaders of the organization.

Research Questions

Grand Tour Question #1: What are the major sources of beliefs and attitudes of CEOs regarding the efficacy of work/family programs at their organization?

Grand Tour Question #2: What are the processes through which CEO beliefs or attitudes have or can change?

Grand Tour Question #3: How are CEO beliefs and attitudes translated into decisions about the adoption of work/family programs in organizations?

Definitions of Terms

Family: "...all aspects of an individual's personal life: those involvements and commitments, both at home and in the community, that an individual has outside his or her employment" (Rapoport & Bailyn, 1996, p. 15).

Work/Family Programs: Any program or formal policy put into place by an organization to help its employees balance their work and non-work lives (Parasuranam & Greenhaus, 1997).

Work/Family Issues: Issues that arise when employees strive to balance their work and family role demands (Parasuranam & Greenhaus, 1997).

Work/Family Conflict (WFC): conflict that arises when work and family demands cannot be balanced adequately and are incompatible with each other (Parasuranam & Greenhaus, 1997).

Work/Family Balance: the lack of conflict or interference between the roles of work and family (Frone, 2003).

CEO: Chief Executive Officer of a corporation, or any leader of an organization who is responsible for charting the direction of the company. According to Lewin & Stephens (1994), phenomena attributed to CEOs are equally pertinent to general managers, heads of subunits or presidents of operating divisions.

Beliefs: According to the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), the information that a person has about themselves and their environment, which underlie their attitudes and behavior.

Attitude: A feeling of liking or disliking of a particular person, group, or object (Weyant, 1986).

Adoption of Work/Family Programs: The formal or informal institution of policies and programs in the workplace designed to alleviate WFC.

Implementation of Work/Family Programs: The actual utilization of work/family programs. An indication is how many of an organization's

employees actually use the programs, and whether or not the programs are supported by the organization's culture.

Organizational Culture: the elements of the organization that make it different from other organizations (Deetz, Tracy & Simpson, 2000); the way things are done in an organization.

Delimitations

This study was confined to for-profit organizations in the Denver, Colorado metropolitan area. Non-profit organizations were not studied.

Limitations and Assumptions

The first limitation of the study is the assumption CEOs were honest and forthcoming in their answers to questions, and they were aware of what their beliefs and attitudes were and how they influenced their decision-making processes about work/family issues in their organizations. The investigator recognizes the possibility that not all participants truthfully answered questions due to perceptions of what is "politically correct," and that not all participants were aware of their beliefs and attitudes. However, through building rapport, establishing confidentiality, and using interview questions designed to help participants uncover unconscious beliefs and attitudes, this possibility is minimized. There is always some risk to the participant in uncovering emotional

issues, beliefs, and attitudes, which was disclosed to the participants as a matter of informed consent.

The second limitation is that there was little documentation to back up the CEO's assertion of work/family program implementation. Most programs were informal, and those that did have some documentation usually only covered such programs as flextime. As such, focus was primarily on what the executive believed his work/family programs to be, accepting the possibility that he may have not been entirely frank. As the primary objective is to uncover beliefs and attitudes and generate hypotheses about how these may lead to decisions, this limitation is not serious.

The third limitation has to do with the generalizability of the study. Since the study is qualitative and exploratory, generalizability is limited. Consistent with a grounded theory design, this study has developed theories that can later be tested across geography, industry and organizational size. However, there is little reason to think that CEOs in the Denver area would differ much from CEOs in other large cities.

Significance of the Study

Although work and family roles are central to our lives, trying to balance these roles is stressful for many employees (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach,

2001). In addition to the stress created by these issues, there is the larger social problem of what is happening to families and childrearing as a result of these issues. Rosalind Barnett, a research psychologist specializing in the work/family area, has said "We are making it less likely for people to have families. It is just too punitive. There is no formal child care. There is no institutional support. It is hugely expensive" (Morris, 1997). As noted previously, most children today are being raised in families with two working parents. These children are the future of our society. The ability of working parents to balance or integrate their work and family responsibilities is one way to insure the successful development of these future members of society (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). Moreover, the way that organizations either hinder or enable the ability of working parents to successfully navigate both roles is of utmost importance. This is particularly true for the "sandwich generation," those working parents who also have aging parents of their own requiring care. While the nature of families has undergone massive changes, organizations have only changed marginally in response to these changes (Stebbins, 2001).

Perhaps because of their slow response to the fundamental changes occurring in the workforce, organizations also suffer from work/family issues. Research has shown that work/family conflict is related to job dissatisfaction, absenteeism, lack of retention, and poor performance (Frone, 2003; Moody,

1999). Moreover, work/family problems are not a women's issue; Frone, Russell & Cooper (1992) found no significant difference between men and women in experiencing work/family conflict. Organizations treating work/family programs as only for women risk creating gender inequality as well as neglecting the needs of male workers (Jacobs & Gerson, 2000). Moreover, work/family balance and programs will continue to be marginalized (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001). As Lawrence Perlman (1993) noted, "This issue is not just a feminist issue, a liberal issue, or a fairness issue. Ultimately, it is a question of U.S. competitiveness" (p. 15). Moreover, stable families will be even more critical as organizations increasingly shift to employing knowledge-based, flexible workers (Carnoy, 2000). Finally, Schaffner and Van Horn (2003) of the John J. Heldrich Center for Workforce Development stated that "work/life balance is no longer seen as solely a human resources issue, but as the human resources issue—and a paramount concern for corporate leaders, academics, and policy makers" (p. 255).

Although work/family conflict is a significant problem for organizations, the data supporting work/family programs as actually helping families or organizations is weak (Fredricksen& Goldsen, 2001; Frone, 2000; Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Therefore, organizations must make the decision on program adoption in the absence of good empirical data. This study focused on the beliefs of CEOs about work/family issues as being a potentially important factor in

work/family program adoption, which may be able to explain differential responses by organizations.

Investigator's Perspective

This investigator is a married mother of two small children. Previous to attending graduate school, I spent 12 years in the corporate world. The majority of that time I spent at a Fortune 500 organization that is considered a pioneer in developing and implementing work/family programs. Since I was single and not a parent, I made no use of these programs myself; however I had friends who were struggling with work/family issues. Moreover, I continually chafed under the inflexibility of the workplace, and always wondered why flexibility was such an issue. Although this organization was a pioneer, it seemed to me at the time to be particularly unfriendly to families and, at best, indifferent to the non-work lives of its employees.

While pursuing graduate studies, I continued to have an interest in work/family issues before they became very salient to me. This issue became even more important when I became a parent. As a student, I have a great amount of flexibility, yet balancing my work and non-work lives is a constant challenge. For parents in the traditional, largely inflexible world of work, the challenge is considerably amplified.

I have always had an interest in psychology, which led me to achieve a master's degree in counseling. This interest is coupled with an interest in leadership and executive development, springing from my corporate years of observing managers with whom I worked. These interests led me to wonder about the managers (mostly men) who formulated and implemented the organization's work/family programs. What motivated them to be proponents or to be resistant toward these programs? Virtually of them had wives; some had daughters with children. Although the need for such programs seemed clear to me, it certainly wasn't clear to everyone. Why were some managers believers in the policies, and others were clearly not? These questions, seeded in my brain many years ago, remain unanswered today. Focus on the chief executive officer stems from the contention that this person sets the tone for whether or not these policies are implemented as a strategic organizational change, or are marginalized as "benefits," and their use discouraged by the corporate culture. Attitudinal change may occur as the result of educational development efforts. Thus, the agenda for this research is to discover the belief and attitude formation processes in CEOs with a goal of learning how to change them through the process of executive development, either through formal programs or coaching.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The most relevant area of research to the research questions is the body of literature on differential organizational responses to work/family issues. This research, however, is actually the intersection of three other distinct bodies of literature. The first, and most relevant, is literature regarding work/family programs in organizations. The second involves attitude and belief formation processes. The third is the area of strategic decision-making by executives.

The approach is to first review the literature on work/family programs, then attitude and belief formation, and then decision-making processes. Finally, the research which intersects the three above, which is research on differential organizational responses to work/family issues, is reviewed. Although a little research exists regarding the decision-making process of work/family program adoption, no research exists to explain adoption decisions on the basis of CEO attitudes and beliefs. This dissertation addresses this gap.

Work/Family Programs

The history of work/family programs identifies how organizational responses to work/family issues evolved. Reviewing the types and prevalence of work/family programs addresses the role of work/family programs. The importance of work/family programs will be reviewed by looking at the justification of these programs and how organizations are responding. Then,

barriers in the workplace to actual implementation of work/family programs will be identified. Lastly, literature conceptualizing work/family program adoption as organizational cultural change will be reviewed, as well as the critical role of top management in the process.

History of Work/Family Programs

Pleck (1977) wrote the classic paper on the work/family role system. This paper conceptualized the permeable boundaries between male and female roles in both work and family systems. In 1984, Near and colleagues noted there was a lack of causal research in the literature about the relationship between work, non-work, and life satisfaction, and this is pretty much the case today (Judge, Boudreau, & Bretz, Jr., 1994). A complete review of work/family issues is beyond the scope of this review; the reader is referred to Stebbins (2001), van der Velde (1999) and Grant-Vallone (1998) for excellent reviews of work/family conflict research literature, legislation and case law.

Stebbins (2001), Kimpel (1998), & Herlihy (1996) provided excellent overviews of the history of employer-based work/family policies. Employer involvement in worker's families is not a new concept; as early as the 1900's employers provided company towns, along with housing and stores, for the benefit of their employees (Brandes, 1976). This was termed corporate welfare,

and was ostensibly to "tame and socialize" the family. Companies positioned themselves as part of the family. This corporate welfare decreased during the depression, when government took over (Kamerman & Kingston, 1982). During World War II, however, companies began to supply childcare to female workers while their husbands served in the war (Auerbach, 1988; Heymann, 2000). Almost 3,000 child care centers were provided as a result of the Lanhan Act (Friedman, 1990). Even so, only about 40% of the affected children were cared for in these centers (Sidel, 1986). Costs for these programs were passed on to the government. The programs were eliminated after the war despite protests of the female workers and perceptions the programs added to productivity. In the 50's and 60's, the family supported the male breadwinner's role in the organization; it adapted to organizational needs, including constant geographic transfers (Googins, 1991; Mintz & Kellogg, 1988).

As early as 1977, hearings were held before a subcommittee of the House in Congress. Leslie Gladstone, testifying on behalf of the Women's Equity Action League, had this to say about the impact of flexibility on the work/family issue: "For many women who must work full time, the demand for a two-job life could be accommodated with much less family stress under flexitime. Increased opportunities in flexitime employment would help make full-time working women with family responsibilities more marketable in career-ladder jobs. Since

fathers would have flexitime options as well, the care of children could be shared to the greater benefit of the whole family"(Catalyst report on Flexitime, 1978, pp. 10-11). In 1978, legislation was passed that allowed flexible work schedules in the Federal Service (Herlihy, 1996).

It was not until the 1980's, when government-funded childcare was cut back, that employers began offering programs again. The main reason for this was that tax law allowed child care to be considered a tax-free benefit, or one option in a flexible benefit package (Auerbach, 1988). In 1985, efforts to grant new parents leave began, and culminated in President Clinton's 1993 signing of the Family and Medical Leave Act (Herlihy, 1996). In the late 1990's, Ford began a comprehensive onsite childcare program. Faith Wohl, of the Child Care Action Campaign, pointed out that corporate solutions to work/family balance issues were unique in the world:

> Ford is filling a gap because we as a country haven't responded to the social revolution in which working mothers moved massively into the workplace...we're the only country to address a major social problem—child care—through the private sector rather than through some public solution (Greenhouse, 2001, p. WK 14).

Role of Work/Family Programs

Before understanding differential organizational responses to work/family issues, it is necessary first to clarify what constitutes a work/family program.

Secondly, it is informative to look at how prevalent these policies are in organizations.

Types of work/family programs

The types of work/family programs that organizations instituted fall into two general categories: those that are considered work reorganization, such as reduction in work time or more flexibility, and those that are benefits or policies that give social support to workers (Glass & Estes, 1997; Overman, 1999).

Work reorganization initiatives include: restructuring of jobs and job duties; telecommuting arrangements; part-time and job-sharing opportunities; and flexible scheduling arrangements (Overman, 1999).

Work and life benefit polices include: on-site childcare and/or eldercare; childcare and/or eldercare subsidies and/or referral services; paid family and medical leave; release time from work to participate in school and community events; and limits on business travel (frequency and distance) (Overman, 1999). Sladek (1995) provides these additional examples: adoption benefits; convenience benefits (on-site services); life cycle accounts; health promotion benefits; education assistance; housing assistance; group purchase; and casual days.

Prevalence of work/family programs

Several polling companies conducted surveys to find the prevalence of work/family programs in organizations. However, these findings need to be examined skeptically, since they are self-report data, and as Glass & Estes (1997) have suggested, an employer may state that they have a policy even if only a few employees have managed to negotiate it. Table 1 lists some survey data from 1991 until the present.

Although there has been substantial growth in the prevalence of work/family programs in the last 15 years (Family and Work Institute, Friedman, Hewitt Associates, as cited in Glass & Estes, 1997), Table 1 shows some work/family programs, such as part-time and flextime options, are more prevalent than others, such as job-sharing, work at home, and compressed work weeks.

Moreover, Table 1 shows little growth occurring in the last ten years, therefore most of the growth must have occurred in the late eighties. Since the references didn't report much data about the survey samples, it is not clear why the percentages Mercer found are so different than the rest. In any case, caution should be used in using this table for anything other than an overall estimate of the prevalence of these programs.

Table 1

Prevalence and Growth Of Work/Family Programs in U.S. Organizations

	Year						
	1991	1993	1994	1996	1997	1999	2004
Who	Fortune 1000 corps	400 HR executives	1000 organi-zations	800 organi-zations	1050 organiza-tions		
Maternity leave	100%	85%					
Part-time	88%	85%	65%	79%		66%	
Flextime	77%	77%	71%	38%	68%	79%	57%
Childcare referral	55%						19%
Eldercare referral	21%				30%		21%
On-site childcare	13%				86%		
Telecom-muting						35%	36%
Job-sharing			34%	26%		40%	17%
Unpaid leave		75%					
Home work		29%					
Compressed work week			21%	34%		29%	34%
Source	Galinsky et al.	Louis Harris and Associates	Hewitt Associates	Mercer	Hewitt Associates	Hewitt Asso-ciates	Working Mother

Note. From Cassidy (1999), Eisenberg (1998), Galinsky, Friedman, and Hernandez (1991), Hall & Parker (1993), Solomon (1996), Vincola (1998), Working Mother (2004), SHRM (2004)

Salisbury & White (1986) noted the trend of large numbers of women in the workforce and the prevalence of dual-career families have made "family benefits the essential new element of 21st century employment" (p. 127). In 2001, Carl van Horn, director of Rutgers University's Heldrich Center for Workforce Development, agreed that organizations recognize the importance of helping employees with work/family balance now more than they did ten or fifteen years ago (Greenhouse, 2001). However, although most large companies have some work/family programs (Family and Work Institute, Friedman, Hewitt Associates, as cited in Glass & Estes, 1997), the great majority has not (Heymann, 2000). Organizations likely to have work/family programs tend to be headed by younger entrepreneurs, in businesses where it is easier to provide such programs, are nonunionized, are located in communities where other employers have the programs, are large (over one billion dollars in sales, more than 10,000 employees), have a high percentage of women in the workforce, have a high percentage of younger employees (under age fifty), are publicly owned, have "cutting edge" or "advanced" management philosophies, and have a high percentage of contingent workers (Friedman, cited in Galinsky, 1990; Louis & Harris Associates, cited in Hall & Parker, 1993).

Importance of Work/Family Programs

Work/Family programs are often justified on the basis of bottom-line issues, or as the result of employee surveys. Changing demographics and increased employee stress are often cited as important reasons for adopting a work/family program. Moreover, governmental and societal influences play a role in work/family issues.

Justification for Work/Family Programs

In order to better understand work/family issues, the review now turns to what is often referred to as "the business case" for work/family programs. Arguments typically fall into one of two categories: why they are needed and why organizations should respond. Usually organizations respond in their own self-interest, and those pushing work/family agendas highlight these considerations.

Why employees need family-friendly workplaces.

Workers with dependent families need these programs because the demographics of the workforce are changing, which is leading to increased stress of employees. The worker has changed, but the workplace has not. Moreover, the shift of women from caregiving duties to commercial activities has not been accompanied by a corresponding shift of men from commercial to caregiving responsibilities (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). As women have taken on new

responsibilities at work, family care responsibilities have not been redistributed (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001).

Changing demographics.

As noted previously, about half of workers are in dual-career families. Moreover, about a third of the current workforce has eldercare responsibilities, and this number will only rise (Shonsey, 1994). In the *National Study of Changing Workforce,* 87% of respondents claimed day-to-day family responsibilities—and they were not all parents (Glass & Estes, 1997). Caregiving responsibilities of workers include not only caring for their children, but aging parents, grandchildren, and aging spouses (Heymann, 2000). Moreover, the increasing number of mothers—both married and single—in the workforce changed the typical family (Gornick & Meyers, 2003).

Employees need a greater degree of flexibility in the workplace in order to be able to fulfill both work and family responsibilities (Jacobs & Gerson, 2000; Kurz, 2000; Moen & Sweet, 2004; Rodgers, 1992). Workers with dependent care responsibilities are working the equivalent of two full-time jobs. In a study by Meyer (1996), a strong positive relationship was found between workplace flexibility and job satisfaction. Friedman & Greenhaus (2000) found that

flexibility—defined as the discretion over the methods, timing, and location of work—is critical to the ability of an employee to integrate work and family.

Increased stress.

Spillover of stress from work to family and family to work is not uncommon, and is bidirectional (Eckenrode, 1990). Moreover, fifty-six percent of working women experience spillover in either direction (work to family or family to work) (Bromet 1990). Work-family conflict is related both to lower job and career satisfaction, higher turnover, and increased stress (Joyce, 2003). Parents are now participating in greater numbers and for longer hours in the workforce, without a change in domestic duties at home, resulting in a real time squeeze (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Dual-earner parents experience tension over childcare issues and less family time (Turner, 2002).

Galinsky, Bond, & Friedman (1996) found in their study of nearly 3,000 workers, that although more parents experienced work/family conflict (fifty-eight percent) than non-parents, forty-two percent of non-parents also experienced conflict between work and personal life. There was no difference between parents and non-parents in work to home spillover, but parents had significantly more home to work spillover due to working fewer hours, rearranging work schedules, refusing overtime, travel, promotions, challenging assignments, using the phone

more, problems with co-workers, or feeling distracted and less productive because of family responsibilities. Parents also experienced more work/family conflict, more stress, and poorer coping. In Heymann's (2000) national survey of 870 adults, thirty percent of respondents reported some work/family conflict over the course of a week.

Why Employers are Responding

Organizations are responding to work/family issues either because of a belief that these programs are good for the company's bottom-line, or because employees say that they want or need the programs in order to be more productive. There may be other benefits as well. Businesses that are perceived as addressing work-family conflict by adopting programs get attention from the media and it benefits their reputation (Joyce, 2003). Moreover, announcing work/family programs is associated with increases in shareholder return (Arthur & Cooke, 2004).

Bottom-line issues.

Pressures for organizations to change are both external and internal to the company (Hall & Parker, 1993). External pressures to change include competing for employees who want flexibility, changes in the composition of the workforce, and the need for good public relations. Internal pressures include the need to reduce absenteeism and turnover, increase productivity, and the influence of

change champions. Research studies consistently show that work/family conflict is related to poor performance, poor retention, and job dissatisfaction (Frone, 2003). In *The Corporate Reference Guide to Work/Family Programs*, Galinsky et al. (1991) noted the following motivations employers listed for responding to work/family issues with work/family programs: labor shortages, more employed women, more men with employed wives, attempts to break the glass ceiling, response to corporate change, shifting values, greater expectations by employees, union pressure, government mandates, and increased media attention.

Organizations tend to respond in their own self-interest, hoping that reduced employee stress will lead to bottom-line results. Flexible options such as reduced work hours decrease turnover, absenteeism, and depression in workers, thereby increasing productivity (Glass & Estes, 1997). A 1992 *National Study of the Changing Workforce* found that employees with job autonomy, work schedule control, support of supervisors, and a supportive workplace culture were willing to work harder, were more loyal, more likely to stay, more satisfied, and took more initiative—outcomes related to the bottom line (Galinsky, et al., 1996). Friedman (1991) summarized data on experimental studies on effects of childcare centers on various job-related outcomes.

Two large organizations, Johnson & Johnson (one of the leaders in responding to work/family concerns), and John Hancock, each claim saving more than four dollars for every one dollar invested in work/family programs. Amax Coal claims a thirty-five percent productivity improvement after implementing a compressed workweek (Overman, 1999). Couples report that being more productive at work is key to obtaining the support of their employers in balancing their work and family lives (Haddock, Zimmerman, Ziemba, & Current, 2001). Ford considers the opening of its childcare centers a competitive advantage, helping them become the employer of choice vs. the other automakers in town (Greenhouse, 2001). Hofferth (2000) found that mothers who have access to work/family programs return to work sooner.

A study by Friedman & Greenhaus (2000) showed that employees who worked for family-friendly organizations were more committed to their organizations, were more satisfied with their jobs, and used their time more wisely. Moreover, job performance of employees in family-friendly organizations was as good as those in organizations that were not family-friendly, even though hours worked were less. Buckingham & Coffman (1999) claim a direct link between engaged employees and profitability. Consumer products manufacturer SC Johnson claimed work/life programs led to higher retention and lower turnover (Wright, 2002).

Work/family programs have been shown to reduce work/family conflict. When employees have more flexibility in their work, they experienced less work to family conflict and higher job satisfaction (Anderson et al., 2002). Madsen (2003) reported workers who telecommuted experienced less work/family conflict than workers who did not. Higher organizational commitment has also been reported (Haar & Spell, 2004). Family to work conflict has been shown to have a negative effect on job performance, while support from the organization increases job satisfaction and job performance ("An assessment", 2002).

Responding to employee surveys.

Surveys have shown that employees value the existence of work/family programs in an organization. A *USA Today* poll found that fifty percent of mothers and twenty-six percent of fathers valued work/family programs more than pay (Glass & Estes, 1997). Capowski (1996) found that over thirty-five percent of the management associates at AT&T who had resigned, had left because of work/family balancing issues. Organizations increasingly find it difficult to recruit managers and professionals without work/family programs (Scott, 1992). Jacobs & Gerston (2004) studied data from the *National Study of the Changing Workforce,* published in 1997, and found that sixty percent of workers—both men and women—wanted to work less. The gap between the ideal and actual number of hours worked peaked in the years employees were building families. The

authors conclude that working parents, both mothers and fathers, want to balance their work and family responsibilities, with sixty percent of women and fifty-five percent of men reporting a conflict.

A number of private research reports and surveys demonstrated the importance of organizational help in balancing work and family and have been reported in the literature. A 1993 survey by the Families and Work Institute, founded in 1989 to research work and family issues, found sixty percent of respondents rated as very important to their decision to take their current job the effect on family/personal life (Tilly, 1996). Forty-six percent of respondents rated as very important the company's family supportive policies, while forty-two percent rated other benefits as very important and only thirty-five percent rated pay as very important. Another Families and Work Institute study in 1993 of J&J's and AT&T's work/family programs found seventy-one percent of workers said benefits were "very important" in their decision to stay with their employer (Sladek, 1995). A University of Chicago study of Fel-Pro found that work/family programs positively affected performance and job satisfaction (Sladek, 1995). They had a positive effect on all employees, not just those who used them. A Center on Work and Family study of a computer company in 1992 found that fifty-six percent of employees wanted more time with families, up from forty-six percent in 1985 (Bankert & Googins, 1996). Aon Consulting found in 1998

management recognition of the importance of work/family issues was the number one driver of commitment of workers (Overman, 1999). A study conducted by Fredriksen-Goldsen and Scharlach (2001) showed when flex-time was available, sixty percent of working parents utilized it to change their work schedules to balance work and family. Of these, seventy-five percent considered it very helpful. This study also found that fifty-seven percent of working parents would work at home for part of the time if it were available to them.

Some organizations have taken a broader view. A Rosenberg and McCarthy study (cited in Kahne, 1985) found that employers who had adopted reduced hour programs did so for a combination of business and humanistic reasons. These schedules had been successfully adopted in production, managerial, technical and professional positions. Kahne noted, however, that most employers, while interested, are not exactly advocates.

Governmental and Societal Influences

Currently, the extent to which organizations rather than the government should be responsible for the social welfare of families is still debated (Glass & Estes, 1997; Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Although government was slowly beginning to take the lead in the work/family relationship (Burstein, Bricher, & Einwohner, 1995), the influence of government tends to depend on which party is

in control. Moreover, the availability of work/family programs is dependent on economic and public policies (Barnett, 1998). Therefore, organizations will be more likely to offer these programs when labor supply is low and less likely when the labor supply is high. However, due to increased public support for equality of the sexes both at work and at home, Congress has acted to require employers to make some accommodations to working parents, such as the Family Leave Act (Burstein & Wierzbicki, 2000).

Heymann (2000) pointed out that the United States has relied almost entirely on businesses to voluntarily help workers balance care-giving responsibilities with employment. The government congratulated the small number of employers who have been progressive; however, many employees still do not have flexibility or support from employers. Only one in eight employees has access to childcare. Heymann (2000) stated "anyone who decides to care for children or adults in need has less of a chance in the workforce because our country allows workplaces to have unnecessary barriers to their succeeding" (p. 162). Moreover, Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach (2001) also concluded that business alone cannot be expected to solve the work/family balance problem of their employees on their own.

Societal norms about gender, age, success and failure also affect the adoption of work/family programs (Barnett, 1998). French social critic Andre Gorz (cited in Negrey, 1993) observed that if socially necessary work were to be equally distributed amongst all who were able to work, work time per person would be reduced so that everyone would have more time for their own lives. Citizens would be paid an income rather than workers a wage. Robinson and Godbey (1997) similarly observed that it is not so much that Americans are overworked, as high status workers are working more hours than they want while lower status workers are working fewer hours than they want. Jacobs and Gerson (2000) found in their study of almost 3,400 male and female workers that workers in high-demand jobs wanted to work less; workers who want more hours do so because of underemployment and economics in less prestigious jobs. Hochschild (1997) studied long hours at work in one organization and found that many workers escaped unpredictable home lives by spending more time at work.

Makavey & Levin (1998) noted the centrality of work in our society, where nonwork activities are consistently subordinated to work activities. People's needs and the needs of their families are constantly adapting to the workplace, rather than the other way around. Members of our society should be able to participate fully in both arenas without having to subordinate one to the other. They argued that the structure of work must change, which includes the

entire physical world in which we must act. Some specific changes include the abolishment of labor laws that distinguish between full and part-time, and exempt and non-exempt, labor classifications. Our society rewards workaholics, promotes them, and sets them as the example to be followed. This is also driven by the fear of being replaced by technology. Struening (2002) has argued that effective families are critical for a healthy society. Estes (2003) and Lewis, Rapoport, & Gambles (2003) argued that as long as work/family problems are ignored at the systemic macro-level, solutions are expected to come from individual families

Great Britain and Sweden are two societies that differ considerably from the United States in regard to cultural assumptions about work/family issues (Auerbach, 1988). The following assumptions apply in the United States but not in Great Britain and Sweden:

1. Families/children are in the private domain. The choice to have children is entirely personal and should neither be encouraged nor discouraged. Hence any kind of government help in this area is seen as a stigma, a sign of personal failure.

2. The care of children and elders is rightfully the province of women, either because they do it better or because it is somehow their specific job.

3. In an individualistic, achieving society, balance between work and personal life is not seen as a high-priority goal. Career and work success are more important.

In 1998, Sweden mandated eight weeks of maternity leave with 450 days paid parental leave at reduced salary; Great Britain mandated fourteen to eighteen weeks of maternity leave with ninety percent pay for six weeks. Reducing work time is a high priority in Sweden (Jacobs & Gerston, 2004). In the U.S., the FMLA mandated twelve weeks of unpaid maternity leave, but only for workers in companies with more than fifty workers (the United Nations, as cited by Stebbins, 2001). Annual working time increased in the U.S. between 1979 and 1997, while it fell in many European countries and Japan (Lehndorff (1998) as cited in Jacobs & Gerston, 2004). Moreover, couples in the U.S. work more hours than couples in other countries (Jacobs & Gerston, 2004).

Work/family scholars such as Fowlkes, Hochschild, and Mills have argued that employees often perceive work/family problems as personal and idiosyncratic, when they are "socially and culturally constructed and meditated"(Starrels, 1992, p. 263). Eliminating this confusion would help employees to understand the difference between public and private sources of work/family conflict. A consistent social and public infrastructure is needed,

where employers may act as the delivery system, but there must be basic policy responding to the public interest in work/family issues (Kammerman & Kahn, 1987). Families cannot address the problem alone due to work conditions, and the private sector has not addressed family needs; therefore government needs to play a role in this issue (Heymann, 2000). Gornick & Meyers (2003) argued that it is both unfair and not feasible to expect the private sector to bear the costs of these programs, since they should be spread out among all sectors of society. However, Burstein & Wierzbicki (2000) pointed out that for major changes in governmental policy to occur, the problem has to be defined, solutions need to be proposed, and pressure needs to be applied on Congress to act, making major change unpredictable at best. The authors concluded that the prospects for dramatic change in the near future due to governmental action are not very great.

Jacobs & Gerston (2004), after studying data from the *National Study of the Changing Workforce*, concluded that making life easier for working families benefits companies by having a healthier consumer base, what they called "the common good." However, government needs to acknowledge that national policies need to be implemented so that there is a level playing field, and that business must recognize that equality between men and women and the nurturing of children as future members of society are in their best interests.

The Case Against Work/Family Programs

There are some downsides to reliance on for-profit corporations to respond to work/family management issues. Reich (cited in Negrey, 1993) has advocated the delivery of social services by corporations. Negrey (1993) argued, however, that this extends the power and domination of capital even further into the domain of community, thus weakening the autonomy of the community. Even corporate welfare that is controlled by workers would be dependent on the profit motive and the hierarchy of the corporation. The control of workers by corporations is actually increased if worker performance is used to determine whether or not social needs are met. Glendon (cited in Kammerman & Kahn, 1987) similarly observed that when organizations are responsible for providing more security, they also become more controlling.

Some scholars observed that work/family programs may actually be problematic in helping families. The availability of certain programs, for example a sick child center, may put organizational pressure on employees to use them when they would prefer other solutions, such as staying home with a sick child instead of having a stranger care for them (Kossek et al., 1999). Many programs only increase the employee's availability to work longer hours, rather than helping them balance both responsibilities (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001). On-site childcare may not be as useful as flexibility and supervisor support (which

allow parents to take care of their family responsibilities on their own time) (Glass & Estes, 1997). Work/family programs such as childcare may actually make it harder for employees to spend time with their families (Hall & Parker,1993). The existence of such policies creates expectations of parents. For example if the onsite daycare takes infants as young as six weeks, mothers may be expected to come back to work at that time, even if they do not want to. A better solution than more onsite childcare availability may be less pressure to work constantly (Greenhouse, 2001).

Utilization of part-time work options can also be problematic. In Tam's (1997) study, the author concluded that part-time work is not associated with job insecurity or with unemployment, but because of its low-skill nature, it is a "trap" which lowers a woman's prospects and earnings over her lifetime. Although part-time work seems to be the perfect work/family solution, many part-timers find themselves doing full-time work for part-time pay, having negative career repercussions, and still not enough time for family (Swiss & Walker, 1993). Part-timers tend not to be considered full professionals.

Many work/family programs are designed to allow parents to work as late and as long as possible (Mack, 1997; Makavey & Levin, 1998). Technology is making it easier for parents to be "virtual" (Cottle, 1997). Parents can now

correct homework with faxes, keep in contact by phone, and know their children's whereabouts using beepers. Employees do not need to worry about working late or traveling. Many work/family programs are not about helping employees balance their lives, they are about helping employees work all the time. This is a result of offering the policies while still equating commitment and success with face time. Galinsky (1990) found evidence that when pregnant women had more accommodating employers, they took fewer sick days, worked more on their own time, worked later into pregnancy, and were more likely to return; but is this good for a society and its children?

The prevalence of work/family programs in organizations can actually be a hindrance to real cultural change in organizations that would really help families. Most employers adopt programs that cost little and are only marginally effective in benefiting workers, but generate a lot of cheap publicity (Kossek et al., 1994). Guest (1990) suggested that executives offer new programs as a way to appear progressive but do not link them to strategy and thus render them ineffective. Assisting employees with childcare may be viewed as a way to control the workforce without seeming to. Many organizations are using the adoption of family-friendly policies as a quick fix and think that they have achieved family-friendly status, when in fact employee effectiveness has not been affected (Bankert & Googins, 1996). Moreover, Frone (2003) argued that research has

failed to show what the relationship actually is of family-friendly policies to work/family balance. Gornick & Meyers (2003) argued that while research shows that some programs may be good for the bottom-line of organizations, others may not be economically defensible.

Evidence of Gap between Policy and Practice

Several scholars have noted the gap between policy and practice in the implementation of work/family programs (Kossek et al., 1999). Solomon (1994) found that the potential of work/family programs is much greater than the actual use of these programs. Stebbins (2001) noted that the underutilization of family-friendly benefits that are available calls into question their effectiveness in actually relieving work/family conflict. Work/family programs affected organizational reputations more than employees' stress levels (Blum, Fields & Goodman, 1994) or efficiencies (Dalton & Mesch, cited in Kossek et al., 1999). Organizations pay more attention to policies than to actually transforming the organizational culture to be more responsive to work/family issues (Kofodimos, 1995; Stebbins, 2001).

Work/family programs are far less institutionalized (or part of organizational culture) than traditional policies meant to benefit male breadwinners, such as military leaves, life insurance, and pensions (Glass & Estes,

1997). Questions about prevalence in surveys rarely ask about the actual commitment of the employer to the policy. "Furthermore, the degree to which access to family responsive policies is formalized and extended to all employees in organizations remains suspect" (p. 299). Moreover, the employees most in need of family-friendly assistance are those least likely to be able to negotiate it, e.g., young single mothers with low status and earnings.

A study by Families and Work Institute (cited in Eisenberg, 1998) found that although almost two-thirds of employers allow flexible arrangements, forty percent do not inform workers about the policies. A Boston University researcher noted that "Companies seem willing to do anything for people - except for the employee who says, 'I just want to go home at 5 p.m. and have dinner with my family.' That's unheard of" (Cottle, 1997, p. 42).

A recent study by Work/Family Directions, (cited in "The trouble with," 1993) found in a study of eighty companies (over two million employees), that less than two percent of employees use flexible programs such as part-time, telecommuting, and job-sharing, and twenty-four percent used flextime. Although ninety percent of the organizations permitted part-time work, only fifty-one percent had formal policies. Without policies, use of these benefits is often left to manager discretion. Rubis (1998) cited a Gallup study for Intracorp, which found

the following in terms of usage of work/family programs: flexible work (thirty percent); family leave (eighteen percent); child care referral (four percent), and day care (two percent).

Barriers to Work/Family Programs

One of the main barriers to work/family program adoption and implementation is the lack of rigorous data on their efficacy. However, most work/family scholars and business advocates agree: workplace culture is the primary barrier to implementation of work/family programs (Fredricksen-Golden & Sharlach, 2001; Friedman, 1998; Prince, 1998, Stebbins, 2001). The literature discussing problems with the research that has studied the effectiveness of work/family programs will first be reviewed. Secondly, the literature discussing the reasons why corporate cultures block implementation of these policies will be reviewed. Lastly, the literature discussing how the lack of supportive cultures undermines the effectiveness of policies that are implemented will be reviewed.

Lack of Rigorous Data

Thomas & Thomas (1990) found little systemic research is available as evidence to support the claim that work/family programs are actually worth the cost, although substantial anecdotal evidence exists. Moreover, the belief that a family-friendly culture can reduce employee stress is also anecdotal, with not much research. However, this study found that flexible scheduling practices and

supportive supervisory behaviors had positive effects on employee health outcomes. A decade later, Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach (2001) found the same lack of rigorous program evaluations. Federal agencies make use of work/family programs, but do not assess them based on real data (U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2000). Casper, Fox, Sitzmann & Landy (2004) noted "research linking work/family programs to outcomes is still quite sparse" (p. 148).

Empirical evidence of the impact of work/family programs on productivity and cost-savings have problems that make it difficult to come to firm conclusions (Glass & Estes, 1997). The main problem is that most studies use self-report perceptual data instead of behavioral measures. Other problems include productivity measures, the difficulty in inferring causality, and cost-benefit analyses (Auerbach, 1988). Studies also lack longitudinal and comparative data, have non-representative samples and no pre-intervention data, and investigate more than one program implemented at one time (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001; Raabe, 1990). Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach (2001) noted research designs are usually not targeted to the needs of the employees and rarely ask "which programs work best under what conditions and for whom" (p. 234). Moreover, employers seem satisfied to simply seem responsive to employee's needs rather than actually measuring benefits—resulting in the lack of proven benefits combining with budgetary constraints which eliminate programs later.

Barnett (1998) argued that there is no agreement about the definition of work/family issues. Researchers tend to use a segmented model of work/family rather than an integrated one. Studies usually look at just the worker, not the whole system. Moreover, there is also a focus on work/family conflict, rather than on possible benefits of balancing multiple roles. Most studies are done on female samples, are cross-sectional, and rely on self-report data and correlational analyses.

Barnett continued to argue that long work hours do not necessarily make work/family conflict worse (based on the review of the data). The nature of the work, especially the amount of control, autonomy, and support in the environment, is much more important in these issues. Problems with studies on work hours include assumptions that respondents are able to be accurate in self-report data, and that they wish to reveal the data (Robinson & Bostrom, 1994). Moreover, having practices that allow flexibility and control to manage work/family conflict does not necessarily lead to more productivity or loyalty. However, Friedman & Greenhaus (2000) did find that flexibility was critical to managing the integration of work and family lives. The ability to control how and when work is done seems to be critical to managing work/family conflict (Jacobs & Gerston, 2004).

Catlette & Hadden (1998) argued it is not an accident that successful, profitable companies are better places to work. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that being a good place to work causes a company to be more profitable. It is possible that a profitable company can afford to make their organizations better places to work, or that some other cause is responsible for both profitability and family-friendliness. Buckingham & Coffman (1999) stated that there are direct links between engaged employees and profit increases, but do not present any evidence of cause and effect.

Most significantly, work/conflict scholar Michael Frone (2003) noted the research investigating the relationship between work/family programs and work/family balance is "meager and inconsistent" (p. 158). Moreover, although some research suggests work/family programs do return to the bottom-line, other programs may be too expensive for an organization to provide without public assistance (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). The jury certainly is out as to whether work/family programs actually help families or organizations.

Why Culture Blocks Implementation

"Corporate culture may either advance or thwart development and effectiveness of work-family programs" (Starrels, 1992, p 261). Many organizations offer formal policies but do little to support the policies in the work

culture (Kofodimos, 1995) thereby making the use of them by employees uncomfortable and problematic (Jacobs & Gerston, 2004). Susan Moriconi of Hewlett- Packard agreed that: "unless management practices in a company change, and unless the culture is supportive of flexibility, the best policies in the world will not work and nothing you do is going to stick" (cited in Edelman, 1996, p.1). Haddock, Zimmerman, Current & Harvey (2002) found responsive workplaces were important to the successful balancing of work and family.

Stebbins (2001) noted, "though many companies have work/family benefits on the books, few have managed to weave a work/family culture into the fabric of the organization" (p. 59). Organizations still view work/family programs as accommodations for individual employees, rather than a strategic part of the way that they conduct their business (Fredricksen-Golden & Scharlach, 2001). This view exists despite the fact that work spills over into family life more often than the other way around (Jacobs & Gerston, 2004). Bailyn & Harrington (2004) noted there is a "cultural habit" in the workplace where the needs of workers' families are not even considered legitimate.

The real family-friendly issues are time, flexibility, balance, respect, and commitment, which cannot be addressed by programs because they require fundamental culture change (Bankert & Googins, 1996). Arlene Johnson, Vice-

President at the Families and Work Institute, noted that "The real hindrance to work/family efforts is that increased work demands overshadow personal needs" (Scott, 1997, p. 33). Rather than focus on programs, companies need to focus more on cultural change. A Families and Work Institute survey, "Work/life Initiatives: Extending the Reach", of 101 respondents (eighty percent employers, twenty percent researchers) found that most respondents reported that work/family programs were producing results, but more work remained to be done, particularly with line managers. They also said men needed to use the work/family programs more to make them gender neutral. Results indicated that workplace culture, rather than the existence of policies or programs, predicted whether or not employees were able to balance their work and family lives. "What matters to employees is the work culture and how supervisors treat them" (Galinsky, quoted by Scott, 1997. p. 34). Jacobs and Gerston (2004) found supportive work/family policies were often offered at the discretion of individual supervisors.

Geiger (1992) noted that company culture already has values around work/family management, which will make or break work/family programs. Companies need to expect resistance when asking people to change values. In this case particularly middle managers are the resistors. It is not enough to try to explicitly change the culture, although this helps.

Levine & Pittinsky (1997) agreed that corporate culture is the greatest obstacle to family-friendly workplaces, and inflexible work schedules are the biggest part of the culture that makes it difficult. They discussed "blaming the culture" where fathers, mothers and the employer collude to make it difficult for fathers to take advantage of work/family programs. A vicious cycle ensues; the father assumes the culture is unsupportive, does not use work/family programs, therefore leading employers to assume work/family management is a women's issue, and women feel they must take on work/family management on their own. In fact, many fathers do want to have more time with their family but worry about unsupportive coworkers and employers (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Both mothers and fathers with young children want more time off from work than other workers (Jacobs & Gerson, 2000). Unfortunately, we have a conundrum - when culture changes, people change, but cultures can't change unless people do. The way out is for people to challenge assumptions about time that are deeply ingrained in corporate culture. Moreover, fathers need to assume more caregiving responsibility so work/family issues will not continue to be marginalized as a women's issue (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001).

The existence of unsupportive corporate cultures is the result of the fact that there is no existing model of the relationship between management, labor, and government that would regulate the control of managers over hours and schedules,

allow child-rearing time, or guarantee care for young children (Glass & Estes, 1997). Families are no longer a plus for organizations, but an albatross around the neck. Children are not future workers, but a luxury that needs to be earned (Morris, 1997). Complicating matters is that different parents need different kinds of help at different points in their careers. Societal norms about gender, age, success and failure also affect the utilization of work/family programs. For example, reducing work hours may be more difficult for men than for women (Larson, Richards, & Perry-Jenkins, 1994).

Employees themselves cited culture as the reason they do not use work/family programs. Respondents to a Lewis and Harris Poll experienced the following barriers to implementation of flexible work arrangements: Twenty-five percent cited top management attitudes, but sixty-six percent cited impact of practices on scheduling of work and supervision (Hall & Parker, 1993). Rubis (1998) cited a Gallup poll for Intracorp, where twenty-eight percent of respondents replied corporate culture was the reason they didn't use family-friendly benefits. Forty percent said work/family programs were not supported by their managers.

In their study of almost 3,000 workers, Galinsky, et al. (1996) found approximately one-third reported the culture of their workplace was not family-

friendly. There was no difference in family-friendly culture rating by parents and non-parents, so both perceived the culture similarly. Their study also found that the mere existence of policies was not associated with lower levels of work/family conflict, but job characteristics such as autonomy, security, and less demanding jobs predicted lower work/family conflict most strongly. Workplace characteristics such as supportive supervisors and culture also predicted lower work/family conflict. The authors cited a 1993 Families and Work study that found that implementation of policies by supervisors and legitimization by the culture were more important than the policies themselves.

Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness (1999) did a study where they hypothesized employees who perceived their organization's culture as supportive would be more likely to use family-friendly benefits than those who did not perceive a supportive culture. In a sample of 276 business school alumni they found evidence to support their hypothesis. They also found evidence to support the hypothesis that managerial support may be the most critical component of an organization's culture determining an employee's decision whether or not to utilize family-friendly benefits. The authors also found employees experienced less work/family conflict when fewer negative consequences for their career resulted from utilization of family-friendly benefits, and when they worked fewer

hours. Organizational time commitments beyond hours worked were also a factor.

It is important to note that the authors only found associations, so causal inferences are not appropriate. In fact, the interaction between benefit utilization and culture is key; the less employees use benefits, the less supportive the culture, and the less supportive the culture, the less employees use benefits.

As a result, Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness (1999) conceptualized work-family culture as having three components: (a) organizational norms and expectations about time that assume work has a higher priority than family in an employee's life; (b) perceptions by the employee that there will be negative career repercussions for those who utilize family-friendly programs or devote time to their families, and (c) lack of front-line management support and sensitivity to employees' efforts to combine responsibilities for both the work and family aspects of their lives. Although these are distinct components, they are all interdependent and reflect the overall supportiveness of an organization for work/family needs.

Organizational norms about work priority.

Terez (1998) noted the following signs of work/family management problems: there is an unspoken understanding that work should come first in

employees' lives; the culture honors workaholics and everyone else feels guilty; there's pressure on people to make tradeoffs, with work almost always winning over family; and late arrivals and missed days due to family circumstances - an ill child, for instance - are grudgingly tolerated.

Most organizational norms about work priority assume employees utilize a segmentation strategy in dealing with work/family issues (Kossek, et al., 1999). However, the idea of separate spheres of family and work is a fiction (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Kanter, 1977). This segmentation, or separate spheres myth, perpetuates the notion that family can be left at home, and means if an employee has trouble managing work/family conflict, then it is the employee's problem (Barnett, 1998). Employees who successfully balance their work and family lives do report being able to prevent as much overlap as possible between the two spheres (Haddock, et al., 2001). However, the assumption that employees can manage without any help needs to be challenged to change culture. The ability of dual-earner couples to successfully manage work/family balance is limited by outdated practices of the workplace (Haddock, et al., 2001).

Bruce & Reed (1994) agreed traditional management theories and supervisory practices assume a segregation of work and family. Supervisors tend to make employees choose between the two, rather than help them manage both.

The belief that work and family compete is so entrenched in culture supervisors may be unaware of how their behavior is affected, and how this belief can prevent increased productivity and performance at the organization. In fact, many work/family programs seem designed to help workers maintain this dichotomy, by reducing absenteeism and increasing productivity.

An employee's strategies for dealing with work/family issues need to be accounted for in understanding the gap between policy and practice (Kossek, et al., 1999). Strategies can be classified as boundary management and role embracement of multiple roles. Boundary management has to do with Nippert-Eng's (1996) research on the degree of segmentation or integration between work and family an individual chooses. Role embracement recognizes that employees with dependent care responsibilities have a choice in how involved they want to be in each role. An employee with high involvement in both roles will depend on organizational culture to decide on strategies.

The way work is organized, in a hierarchical and unforgiving way, underlies work/family conflict (Morris, 1997). Restructuring the way work is done, for example with flexible policies, lowers the amount of time-based conflict. The most popular work/family programs adopted support a segmentation strategy and high work role involvement. Degree of autonomy at work also

affects employees' strategies; the less autonomy, the more segmented the strategy. The culture determines how acceptable certain policies are in terms of boundary management and role involvement, and determines whether or not they will be utilized (Kossek, et al., 1999).

External changes such as work/family programs usually do not help executive women (Schein, 1993). Demands and requirements of the job itself usually cause work/family conflict. Helping these women requires restructuring work in our society so that work and family do not compete, but interface. A distinction between job-related and "corporate convenient" is required. An example is required time-frames for career paths, such as for lawyers or professors. This has resulted in many women postponing children until their thirties, when their careers are established but it is also more difficult to start families. Other examples included are working weekends, staying late, not spending lunch time with children's school teachers, and work crises that change hours at the last minute. Since work restructuring happens more frequently with women than men, it tends to be associated with weaker rewards. The burden should be on the employer to adjust work demands to fit the reality of the workforce. Organizations should start the process of separating the convenient from the required, so implicit assumptions in the way work is done can be examined. Given that women will always bear the children, the workplace needs

to adjust to this workforce and stop relating organizational effectiveness to an outdated view of the world of work.

Rapoport & Bailyn (1996) noted even in the more progressive companies, there were problems. They gave an example of a female manager who was caught in a double bind: she had subordinated her family for work, gone through two divorces, and thus was not admired by her superiors. This was the rationale for failing a performance review. While the culture demands that work comes first, when women comply, they are punished. Alternately, while men can take advantage of short-term policies, like staying home with a sick child, longer term flexible arrangements brand them as "wimps" for wanting to spend more time with family. Even when innovations to solve personal problems by changing the way work is done benefit the organization, systemic applications are ignored.

Daly & Dienhart (1998), in their qualitative study of eighteen families, found that the expanding work ethic resulted in parents spending more and more time on paid work. For dual-earner couples, two incomes are considered essential, so the master of time is the employers' schedule. Men in the study noted the "culture of materialism" trapped them in demanding work schedules. The culture of time is dominated by the cultural values of work; parental involvement meant resisting the invasive forces of work.

In Perlow's (1995) study of engineers, three barriers to work/family programs becoming part of the culture were found: the assumption of a link between work presence and productivity, link between face time and productivity (if work is done in less time, the quantity and difficulty of the work is challenged, rather than greater productivity assumed), and work is always top priority. People who use work/family programs cannot satisfy the expectation of presence, or face time.

Other authors also noted the importance of face time. Strober & Chan (1999), in their study of recent female graduates of Stanford University and Tokyo University, found women committed to both work and family and did not sacrifice their own careers for their husbands, had a difficult time negotiating flexibility. In many managerial and professional careers, face time is still very important, such as pressure to come in early, eat lunch in, and stay later than the boss. Picking kids up from daycare or even having dinner together can be difficult. Face time is important even when it does not result in increased productivity. Moreover, the emphasis is on face time to show commitment (Morris, 1997).

Moreover, this face time issue is not restricted to managers and professionals. In Heymann's (2000) study, a restaurant owner was cited who had identified attitude and work habits as being the most important worker attributes.

Yet he demonstrated a strong bias against employees—mostly women—who worked fewer hours because of family commitments. In fact, he consistently reduced the level of responsibility expected for his female employees when they came back from maternity leave.

Negative repercussions for employees.

Perlow (1995) argued that most work/family programs are not adequate to resolve the work/family problem. They may hinder the advancement of those who use them, and prevent the recognition of the real problem, which is that the programs create new ways of working without examining the assumptions that support rewarding the old ways of working. Those who use the new ways of working are not rewarded as well as those who use the old ways. Glass (2004) found that using work/family programs negatively impacted mothers' wage growth, particularly in managerial and professional careers.

Employees are aware of the expectation by managers that careers develop in a linear fashion (Bailyn, cited in Rodgers, 1992). Most career paths require maximum time at the same time couples want families (Morris, 1997). A survey at Eli Lilly, (cited in Morris, 1997) an organization known for its work/family programs, found only thirty-six percent of employees said it was possible to both advance in their careers and give enough time to their families. Employees do not

use the programs because it is seen as bad for careers (Prince, 1998). Concern over career consequences of utilization of work/family programs negatively influence job satisfaction and retention (Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly, 2002). The culture discourages multiple career paths (Evans and Bartolome, 1990). Conversely, Blair-Loy & Wharton (2002) found employees were more likely to use work/family programs if their supervisors or colleagues held power in the organization.

Perlow (1998) found rewards were based on number of hours worked with the assumption that long hours meant higher quality. Although output existed and was measurable, resistance by employees to long work hours usually meant a reduction in recognition and promotability, especially when the resistance was seen as a result of a need to meet family obligations. However, employees who work long hours feel unable to balance work and family demands (Keene & Quadagno, 2004). In a study of 513 employees from the Fortune 500, long hours were associated with work to family conflict, which in turn was related to depression and stress (Major, Klein, & Erhart, 2002).

Front-line management resistance.

Employers are starting to consider implementation by line managers and the organization's culture as being critical to the success of work/family programs

(Galinsky, et al., 1996). The organization is only as family-friendly as the front-line supervisor (Smith, 1992; U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2000). Supervisors worry about whether employees are really able to take full responsibility for work and family (i.e. will work/family programs really help or hurt the bottom line), that they are inequitable and therefore unfair, and about creating a precedent resulting in too much demand from employees (Bailyn, 1993; Starrells, 1992). Moreover, managers do not believe work/family management is an appropriate business concern, they are not trained to consider non-work factors as having an effect on work, they fear involvement in employees' personal lives, and top managers have not experienced work/family conflict first hand (Friedman, 1987). Supervisors persistently believe that hours worked equals productivity (Rodgers, 1992).

Managers in organizations may perceive an employee's desire for organizational support of family concerns is in conflict with organizational needs for short-term profits and productivity (Friedman, 1998; Hoffman, 1993; Kossek, et al., 1999). Immediate supervisors are particularly important in this process (Galinsky, 1991). Supervisors may not be supportive of an employee's request to utilize a family-friendly benefit, even though sanctioned by the company or legally mandated (Kofodimos, 1995; Salzman, 1993; Shellenbarger, 1999).

Agreements on restructured work or reduced involvement are usually ad hoc between employee and supervisor (Hall, 1989).

Galinsky and Stein (1990) reported respondents indicated that quality of family life would be improved if they worked for supervisors who had been trained to be family-friendly. Work/family programs must be accompanied by the support of the supervisor and advocated by top management to bring practice closer to policy (Capowski, 1996; Galinsky, 1991; Raabe & Gessner, 1988; Smith, 1992).

Traditional theories of motivation used by managers lead them to believe that a concern for family translates into lack of motivation (Bruce & Reed, 1994) or commitment (Rodgers, 1992; Vincola, 1998). Despite the presence of work/family programs, a manager believing this may not approve requests for benefits, or give them grudgingly, viewing the requests as evidence of lack of commitment and productivity. The culture itself helps managers interpret the behavior of their employees.

Co-workers may also disapprove of those who use work/family programs, fueling supervisors' concerns of equity, and providing a barrier to helping co-workers be supportive of each other. Schwartz (1994) also noted the support of

co-workers is key to utilization. Miller (1984) argued that using work/family programs involves negotiation and social processes with co-workers.

Supervisor-subordinate relationship.

Managers are the primary interpreters of corporate culture (Magid, 1990). In numerous surveys, workers have indicated that if they could change one thing, it would be their managers' responsiveness to work-family issues. An insensitive and inflexible manager increases tension, decreases productivity, has the single most negative influence on work life, and makes the whole company look insensitive. The supervisor-subordinate relationship is one of the most powerful predictors of work/family problems (Watkins, 1995). Managerial support, communication, and understanding is critical to employees' achievement of work/family balance (Anderson, et al., 2002; Batt & Valcour, 2003; Clark, 2002).

Overman (1999) cited a study by Duxbury and Higgins, on 3,000 Canadian employers entitled *Supportive Managers: What Are They, Why Do They Matter.* They found management behavior needs to be measured to ensure progress; if it is not measured, it is not done. Supervisors are gatekeepers; supportive supervisors trust and respect their employees. They engage in two-way communication, provide positive feedback, allow autonomy, recognize that employees have lives outside work, and make sure they have the tools and resources they need. Even

when organizational policies are the same, employees with supportive managers are more likely to perceive the organization as supportive than those with unsupportive managers. Unsupportive managers usually resist change because of issues of power and control.

Issues of supervisor power and control.

As O'Daniell (1999) noted, "Advancing a culture of innovation and risk taking means moving away from command and control management toward cooperation and partnership"(p. 22). There are two reasons supervisors resist flexible arrangements: the tendency to depend on the traditional culture of full-time, and the fear of losing influence and authority (Horning, 1995).

In Perlow's (1998) study of product development engineers, managers controlled the hours employees worked in order to control the boundary between their work and family life. This is termed boundary control. There are three ways managers exert boundary control over knowledge workers: imposing demands (such as scheduling early or late meetings), monitoring employees (standing over, checking up), and modeling behavior (arriving early and staying late). The problem is that managers cannot easily or directly measure work output or involvement, so they rely on hours worked at the workplace as an indicator of productivity and achievement. As noted in the previous section, current

workplace structures are based on the assumption employees are willing to prioritize work above everything else. Perlow cited Coser, who referred to this workplace structure as the "greedy institution." Perlow studied a product development team at Ditto (believed to be Xerox). These workers had a high degree of *ad hoc* flexibility; they could come and go as they pleased, could attend to personal issues during the day without reporting on it, and had no set number of personal days. They had low strategic autonomy, in the sense that they did not control what work was done, but they did have high operational autonomy (how the work was done). The researcher expected to find variability in how employees managed work/family issues, but found they all had enormous pressure and little choice in work/family management. Their flexibility did not help them balance work/family demands because their work demands were so high.

Deadline problems were never dealt with by re-examining work processes but by working more hours. No formal rule stated employees must stay later or work more hours when a deadline loomed, but the corporate culture did. Bureaucratic controls such as rewards were also in effect. It was not clear whether bureaucratic or cultural controls kept the engineers working long hours and accepting unpredictable demands on work time. "Bureaucratic control is premised on cultural understandings of success," the author noted (p. 354). Employees want to be successful, and understand what is culturally expected of

them to be so. The article cited Bailyn and colleagues, who asserted that "Culture provides a largely unquestioned image of the star employee as one who does whatever it takes to get the job done, who does not question managerial perceptions of the appropriate means to this end, and who does not allow familial or other non-work interests or responsibilities to intrude on his or her performance and presence in the workplace" (p. 354).

Bureaucratic control probably works best at lower levels, while cultural control takes over at higher levels. The assumption is that there is a perfect correlation between hours worked and output. In order for the company to succeed, top executives must work long hours; therefore they model this behavior to their employees. It is difficult to change this assumption as this is how executives reached the top. In fact, long hours may hinder productivity, and everyone need not be present all the time. For example, Perlow found that restructuring work in this case study so that large blocks of time were set aside to work independently increased productivity. In this case, the assumption that everyone being present working collaboratively and interactively all the time was wrong. So the perception of how the work must be done became more important than the nature of the work itself. Although Ditto had a wide array of work/family programs, these employees did not use them. While these policies help workers

resist boundary control of managers, they do not change the perceptions of the managers about the employees who use them.

Hochschild (1997) studied long hours at work and found that many workers escaped unpredictable home lives by spending more time at work. However, Jacobs and Gerson (2000) found in their study of almost 3,400 male and female workers in high-demand jobs wanted to work less; workers who want more hours do so because of underemployment and economics in less prestigious jobs. Moreover, increasing workplace flexibility without decreasing work demands may not help employees balance their work/family roles much (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001; Perlow, 1998).

Deetz (1997) also noted how managerial control with knowledge workers affected their ability to balance work and family needs. This case study cited an example of a worker who was assigned to a project far away from home, despite the fact that the spouse was also temporarily stationed far away from home. Consequently, their two children spent twelve hours a day at daycare.

Issues of control impact the type of work/family programs organizations will attempt to implement. Kossek et al. (1994) found that the more that organizations used formalized forms of control, the more their executives favored providing childcare, particularly in large organizations. This type of family-

friendly policy also supports the segmentation of work and family philosophy. On the other hand, Makavey & Levin (1998) found that one of the reasons flexible work schedules aren't utilized more often is fear on the part of the supervisor that control of the employee will be lost. Working from home is even more problematic. As organizations depend more on clan or cultural control, a paradox for home work emerges. Cultural control is the best for these employees, yet it is difficult to create and maintain (Shamir, 1992).

Employee control.

Although there is little research that links employees' perceptions of control with organizational policies, family-friendly supportive policies and supervisors have implications for employee control (Thomas & Ganster, 1995). Again, there is much anecdotal evidence to support the contention that family-friendly support can increase an employee's control over work/family management. Their study suggested that employee control perceptions can be increased by work/family programs and practices. Nollen (1989) argued that most employees need some control over their work lives and jobs in order to be able to manage both work and family. Raabe and Gerstner (1998) noted several studies suggesting the importance of a sense of control on the part of the employee in managing work/family conflict. Coupling flexible work practices such as work redesign with other work/family programs seems to be most effective as work

redesign allows employees more control in balancing their work and family demands (Batt & Valcour, 2003).

A study by Buzzanell & Burrell (1997) of 169 employees found employees used a metaphor of conflict of rationality but made linguistic choices that suggested otherwise. They suggested subordinates wanted to believe that their superiors were fair and rational in conflict. They reported, however, their gut feelings reflected supervisors as not collaborative, but unbending, impersonal, and unable to be influenced.

The role of training.

Rapoport & Bailyn (1996) quoted a manager about retraining in work/family management: "What you are talking about here is really revolutionary and will require re-educating us all" (p. 21). Scholars and work/family authors agree that training is critical to cultural change (Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Barham, 1998; Kjeldsen, 1993; Pettinger, 1998; Rodgers, 1992; Sladek, 1995; Tama, cited in Prince, 1998). Consultants now recommend managers be trained as part of a successful implementation of work/family programs (Smith, 1992), since management training is important for the implementation of work/family programs (Raabe & Gessner, 1988; Scharlach, et al., and US Dept of Labor, (cited in Neal et al., 1993)). In a report to Congress,

the Office of Personnel Management surveyed federal employees about work/family balancing issues and recommended their managers be trained both on the benefits of work/family programs and on how to implement them (U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2000). Employees will not benefit from formal policies without the implementation by managers. Informal flexibility is particularly important. Everyone, including top management, needs to be trained to focus on results, not face time (Seitel, 1998).

Work/family authors have suggestions for training content. Rodgers (1992) noted that the business case for flexibility needs to be addressed, as well as the importance of balancing employee and business needs. Several myths about flexibility need to be debunked: that if one person has flexibility, everyone will want it, it will cause problems with customers, inequities will result, and productivity will suffer. Managers need to be presented with data showing that these scenarios will not occur.

Training is required to help managers deal with the loss of control that comes with flexible work arrangements, noted a work/life manager at a benefits conference (reported by Prince, 1998). Sladek (1995) and Geiger (1992) recommended that managers be trained both in the mechanics of work/family programs, in how to apply them, especially in cases of flexibility, and to recognize

and deal with employees' work/family conflicts. The Duxbury and Higgins report previously cited found that best practices need to be determined, with a focus on behavioral change (cited in Overman, 1999). Watkins (1995) noted that the most effective training occurs when managers use case studies to examine their own responses in ambiguous situations. They first need to think about what they would do, then their typical responses need to be exposed as problematic, and then the managers need to be taught to generate more creative alternatives.

Despite the importance of training, very little training is available for managers to help them resolve the dilemmas that arise as a result of trying to balance worker needs with the organization's needs (Watkins, 1995). Work/family management training programs are increasingly available, but still only a few leading corporations train managers in how to handle work/family issues, and how to make the workplace culture family-friendly (Galinsky et al., 1996).

Organizations that have utilized training include Motorola, Texas Instruments, Allstate, DuPont, and Eli Lilly. At Motorola, the vision statement is reinforced by training for all supervisors and front-line managers (Vincola, 1998). Laabs (1998) noted the following examples: At Texas Instruments, managers are trained to make decisions on worker's needs as well as business needs; at Allstate,

every manager gets three days of training in how to create a supportive environment; and DuPont managers must take courses in using flexibility. At Eli Lilly, a work/family leader, managers are taught the business case for work/family programs, including legal, diversity, and implementation issues, using case studies. They are trained in performance management, in order to be able to focus on results rather than face time (Solomon, 1999).

Effectiveness of Work/family Programs Within the Culture

The way that policies must be utilized within the corporate culture can sometimes render them useless in helping families. Few changes in the workplace have been as difficult to achieve as flexibility (Rodgers, 1992), yet flexibility is critical to work/family integration (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). Moreover, the way flextime is usually implemented is problematic (Glass & Estes, 1997). Most policies require a core time employees need to be at work. More useful flexible work practices that allow home work, compressed work weeks, the ability to schedule days or hours at work, and especially, the freedom to leave work for emergencies, are not as prevalent. Reducing work hours is even more rare (Russell, 1988).

Corporate culture affects the utilization of part-time employment, as exemplified by management's statements that encourage or discourage it, even if

budget realities encourage it (e.g. in order to have a career at the organization, one needs to work full-time (Tilly, 1996). Part-time work is generally not supported by corporate culture (Swiss & Walker, 1993). It challenges the male rules of the game, such as: a choice must be made between work and family; commitment to work is only measured by face time; and clients will not respect one unless one is always available. Moreover, it is usually a working mother with young children who desires part-time employment. In the Epstein et al. (1999) study of lawyers, eighty percent of lawyers who worked part-time did so for childcare reasons.

Horning (1995) noted the following problems with flexible workplaces: work gets intensified; lack of informal contact restricts cooperation; supervisory difficulties are increased; and the need to provide symbolic proof of performance is increased.

Work/Family Program Adoption as Cultural Systems Change

Several scholars argued that the key to work/family management and cultural change in organizations is to reframe the problem from an individual one to a systemic one. Rather than focusing on ad hoc solutions to individual problems, the focus should be on a radical restructuring of the inflexible way that work is accomplished in our society. Work/family programs cannot be effective unless employers conceptualize them more strategically (Stebbins, 2001). They

cannot be seen as "corporate welfare" but as structural changes to the workplace including the creation of a climate recognizing healthy employees and families as part of the corporate planning process (Fredricksen-Goldsen & Scharlach (2001).

Barnett (1998) developed a systemic model, which looks at the problem as one of fit between the organization's practices, or culture, and the employee's social system needs. The problem becomes one of the structural rigidity of the workplace, not poor management on the part of the worker (Googins, 1991; Hall, 1990). Other cultural dimensions also affect fit, for example the reliance on face time and close supervision. Compatibility of fit is what will benefit the workers and the organization in terms of outcomes such as less tardiness, absenteeism, and health problems, and increased morale and productivity. An analogy is made between accommodating employees' physical needs (through the ADA) and their psychological needs. The former is much more acceptable than the latter. In other words, as one bends the tool rather than the worker, similarly the workplace should fit the worker, rather than the reverse (Barnett, 1998).

Bailyn (1997) told a fable about the organization that only employed short people. When the organization started to hire tall people, they had a hard time coming in through the door. So the organization started teaching them to stoop down. They taught managers to be more accommodating and to understand if the

difficulty in getting through the door made the tall people late. In this fable, it is obvious that the door needs to be rebuilt, but the conclusion about work/family issues is not so obvious to most organizations today. The workplace has changed little to accommodate the changing requirements of working families (Stebbins, 2001). Work redesign is critical to removing this "cultural blockage" (Bailyn & Harrington, 2004).

Cutcher-Gershenfeld et al. (1997) noted that work/family management represents a fundamental transformation of corporate culture to match product and labor market competitive realities. Since responsibility for work/family usually falls under the purview of Human Resources, it can be seen as not being central to business operations. Work/family has links to Total Quality Management (TQM) in that it is a systemic root cause of many organizational problems, such as absenteeism, motivation, and teamwork. The TQM concept of internal customers fosters looking at employees as whole persons, rather than cogs in a machine. If work/family programs are merely an extension of employee benefits, they will not change the culture and daily work practices.

Rapoport & Bailyn (1996) in their Ford Foundation study of three corporations known for family-friendly policies, found that the separation of work and family undermines both business and employee goals, impairing work

efficiency and family life. The process of challenging old assumptions and cultural beliefs that underlie work and work-family integration frees employees to think more creatively about work in general and provides companies with a strategic opportunity to achieve a more equitable, productive, and innovative workplace. Many of the same assumptions and beliefs that create difficulties in work-family integration also lead to unproductive work practices, undermining the companies' ability to achieve key business goals. Restructuring the way work gets done to address work-family integration can lead to positive, "win-win" results -a more responsive work environment that takes employees' needs into account and yields significant bottom-line results. Hall & Richter (1988) called this the "respect" theory of work/family interface, in contrast to the separation or integration theories. With respect, employers value the nonwork lives of their employees and support their employees in fulfilling these responsibilities. Examples of this support include flexibility and discouraging weekend travel.

Friedman et al. (1998) observed that some managers have recognized work and family are complementary not competing spheres. They are guided by three principles: they clarify what is important, they recognize employees are whole persons, and they experiment with work processes. Employees are given specific goals, but also autonomy in how to pursue those goals. Work/family conflicts can actually highlight work inefficiencies, such as work practices that originated in the

days when employees actually had to be physically present. Experimenting with new work practices involves questioning the assumption that face time equals productivity. They conceptualized a continuum of adoption of family-friendly policies: trade-off, where either work or family wins, integrated, where both family and work wins, or leveraged, where attention to work/family leads to better work practices.

Hall & Parker (1993) argued that family-friendly policies are not connected to business strategy, and therefore the benefits to organizations go unrecognized and benefits to employees are overstated. Programs should be part of the main goal of increasing corporate flexibility, which involves restructuring work, redesigning organizations, and changing the nature of supervision. They define "workplace flexibility" as attending to the whole individual and helping the fit between individuals and their work roles. This increases employee psychological availability for work. Keeping the focus on work flexibility, rather than on work/family conflict, helps to alleviate tensions between parents and non-parents. Innovative content such as flexibility is often offered in traditional packages, such as programs with coordinators, which hampers linkages to organizational strategy and culture.

Bankert & Googins (1996) observed that what's really needed is not a host of inflexible policies, but real flexibility to adjust schedules to meet needs. For example, Kurz (2000) noted that workplaces could close earlier to help ease the burden on working parents of school age children. Organizations need to start looking at providing flexibility as an investment that brings returns (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000); so far, work/family management has been looked at as benefits, rather than a strategic investment. Work/life management is a part of organizational effectiveness (Polach, 2003). Finally, Rapoport et al. (2002) argued that both gender equity and organizational effectiveness are affected by assumptions about work, gender, and how to be successful.

Role of Top Management

Top management support is also critical to implementation of work/family programs (Rodgers, 1992). Swiss & Walker (1993) noted that all levels of management need to support work/family programs. New work rules will only succeed in practice with backing from top management down to front-line supervisors. Employees need to be encouraged to use family-friendly benefits. No matter how progressive work/family programs are, without top management commitment and a supportive culture, they will fail (Bankert & Googins, 1996; Vincola, 1998).

Unfortunately, senior management seems genuinely unaware of, or they do not understand, the difficulties their employees face in managing work and family, and are not inclined to address them as business issues (Rodgers, 1992; Herlihy, 1996). Moreover, top management, who made it to the top themselves without working wives and therefore have never experienced work/family conflict first-hand, simply do not understand how couples could want to combine family and career. They need to re-examine their assumptions about parenting, being an executive, and careers (Friedman, 1987; Hall, 1990). Most believe that in order for the company to succeed, top executives must work long hours, and thus model this behavior. It is difficult to change this assumption because that is how executives reached the top (Perlow, 1998). Hall & Parker (1993) reported that twenty-five percent of respondents to a Lewis and Harris Poll experienced top management attitudes as a barrier to implementation of flexible work arrangements.

Reframing of work/family management as an organizational culture change has to be supported from the top. Family-friendly supportive cultures cannot exist without top management support, an example of which is J&J's addition to their credo. Not many companies' top management walk the walk by showing support in their own work practices or demanding it from others (Bankert & Googins, 1996). What's needed is this example provided by Moses (1997): the

CEO who left a workshop saying, "...one thing I've learned from this experience is that I need to spend more time with my family and look after myself more. It's 5:30, I'm leaving" (p. 74). Vance Brown, the CEO of GoldMine Software, recognized that it is hypocritical to promote flexibility if he didn't live it, so he sets aside time for his family and for fun (Jackson, 2001).

CEOs differ in their perspectives: Lilly's CEO, Randall Tobias, stated that he is not sure that most of corporate America understands the struggle of working families. That certainly includes the CEO of BellSouth, John Clendenin, who considers work/family management to be a personal issue, one that employees need to solve on their own (Morris, 1997).

Even when supported by top management, cultural change is difficult to obtain. The CEO of Xerox (probably the company studied by Perlow, 1995) stated that attitude is more important than programs, and that attitude has to value empowerment to allow people to do their jobs (Vincola, 1998).

It is clear from this review of work/family literature that the keys to successful work/family program adoption and implementation in organizations include executive development as well as an understanding of the attitudes, beliefs, and strategic decision-making styles of top management. The literature on attitude and belief formation will next be reviewed.

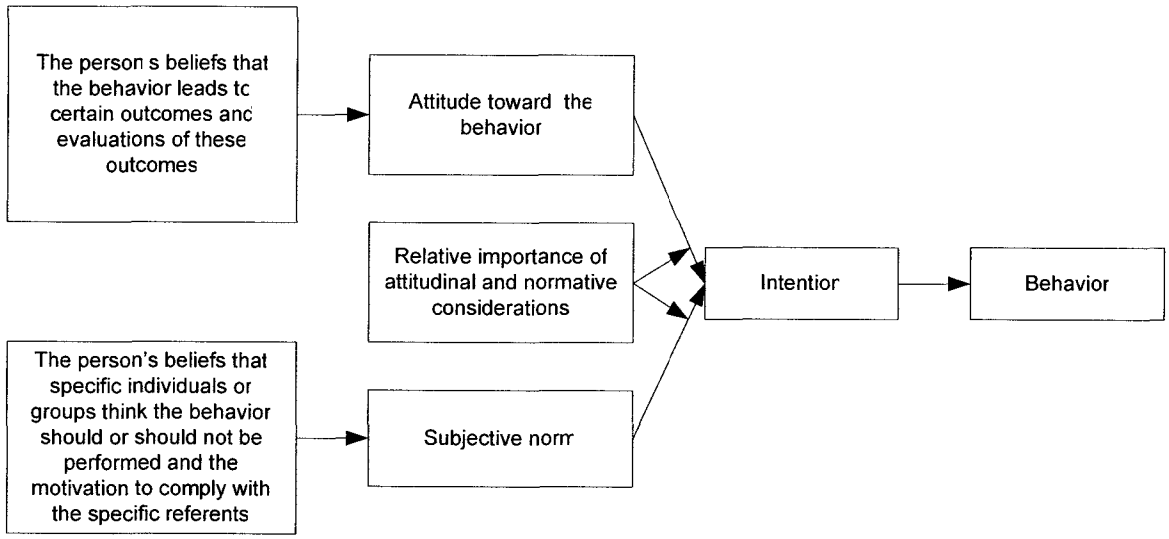
Beliefs and Attitudes

Beliefs and attitudes of the CEO may be critical to understanding decisions that they make (Hambrick & Finkelstein, 1987; Kochan, Katz & McKersie, 1986). To this end, a cursory look at the literature concerning beliefs, attitudes, and their formation is in order. Since a whole dissertation could be written on this topic alone, the literature presented is far from complete. What is hoped is that a basic understanding can be gained from a few key sources; enough so that an argument can be made for linking beliefs and attitudes with decisions about work/family programs. Literature on attitude strength, and executive male and CEO attitudes is also included, as these topics are also relevant to this study. Moreover, a review of key literature on attitudinal change is also included, since the present study is also concerned with how attitudes and beliefs can change. Two theoretical perspectives will be covered as they are relevant to this study. They are the Theory of Reasoned Action and Cognitive Mediation Theory.

Beliefs

Figure 1 depicts Ajzen & Fishbein's (1980) theory of reasoned action. Simply put, the theory assumes that people make rational, and therefore conscious, choices about their behavior based the information available to them and their perceptions of the implications of the behavior. According to this theory, beliefs are the information that one has about themselves and their world.

This information may be either true or not true, but it represents reality for the person who holds those beliefs. Beliefs underlie attitudes. There are two types of beliefs including behavioral and normative beliefs. Behavioral beliefs underlie attitudes about behaviors; normative beliefs are beliefs about societal norms in performing the behavior. Both types of beliefs affect attitudes, and therefore a person's intentions and subsequent behavior.



Note. Arrows indicate the direction of influence

Figure 1. Factors determining a person's behavior according to the theory of reasoned action

This information may be either true or not true, but it represents reality for the person who holds those beliefs. Beliefs underlie attitudes. There are two types of beliefs including behavioral and normative beliefs. Behavioral beliefs underlie attitudes about behaviors; normative beliefs are beliefs about societal norms in performing the behavior. Both types of beliefs affect attitudes, and therefore a person's intentions and subsequent behavior.

Attitudes

Attitudes are simply defined as a feeling of liking or disliking for a particular person, group, or object (Weyant, 1986). In the theory of reasoned action, an attitude is a liking or disliking of a particular behavior rather than an object or person, and therefore can be predictive of behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Attitudes, in combination with societal norms, influence intentions, which in turn influence behaviors. A complete review of the history of the construct of attitude is beyond the scope of this review, but for a good discussion of this history the reader is referred to Greenwald (1968) and Ajzen & Fishbein (1980).

Beliefs are the cognitive influence on behavior, while attitude is the affective, or emotional, influence (Candel & Pennings, 1999). Moreover, beliefs and attitudes are affected by what Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) call external variables. These external variables include demographic characteristics, personality,

experience, and situational factors. In order to understand the formation of beliefs and attitudes, these external variables need to be considered.

It is important to note that the theory of reasoned action is a theory. A controversy exists in social psychology over whether or not behaviors can be predicted from attitudes (Weyant, 1986). Beliefs and attitudes may interact together to influence behavior, or one or the other may influence behavior in different proportions depending on the situation. For example, in their 1999 study, Candel & Penning found that affect, or attitude, had more of an influence on decision-making when an innovation was involved. In other words, when participants were unfamiliar with the object, affect or attitude played a greater role in decisions; when participants were familiar with the object, cognitions, or beliefs, played a greater role in decisions.

Attitude Strength

It is known that some attitudes are stable and important, while others are not; this is termed attitude strength (Krosnick, Chuang, Berent, & Carnot, 1993). Attitudes are weak, strong, or moderate. Strong attitudes are persistent, do not change easily, and strongly affect both the processing of information and subsequent behavior (Krosnick & Petty, 1994).

Krosnick et al. (1993) listed the following as dimensions of attitudes:

1. Extremity. Attitude extremity is the extent to which an individual's attitude deviates from the midpoint of the favorable-unfavorable dimension.

2. Intensity. Attitude intensity is the strength of the emotional reaction provoked by the attitude object in an individual.

3. Certainty. Attitude certainty refers to the degree to which an individual is confident that his or her attitude toward an object is correct.

4. Importance. Attitude importance is the extent to which an individual cares deeply about and is personally invested in an attitude.

5. Interest in relevant information. Interest refers to the extent to which an individual is motivated to gather information about an attitude object.

6. Knowledge. Knowledge refers to the amount of information about an object that accompanies one's attitude toward it in memory.

7. Accessibility. Accessibility is the strength of the object-evaluation link in memory.

8. Direct experience. Direct experience encompasses the degree to which one has participated in behavioral activities related to an object and the amount of direct contact one has had with it.

9. Latitudes of rejection and noncommitment. An individual's latitude of rejection refers to the size of the region of the pro-con attitude dimension that an individual finds objectionable, and the latitude of noncommitment is the region that he or she finds neither objectionable nor acceptable.

> 10. Affective-cognitive consistency. Affective-cognitive consistency refers to the match between one's feelings about an object and one's beliefs about its attributes. (p. 1132-1133).

Krosnick & Petty (1994) later organized their ten dimensions into four broad categories: (a) attributes of the attitude; (b) cognitive structure of the attitude; (c) subjective beliefs about the attitude; and (d) elaborative processes. Extremity is an example of an attribute of an attitude. Knowledge and accessibility are examples of the cognitive structure of an attitude. Importance, intensity, and importance are examples of the subjective beliefs about an attitude. The fact that different factors may contribute to attitudinal strength is an example of elaborative processes.

Attitudes of Male Executives and CEOs

There is a paucity of research on attitudes of male executives (Judge, Boudreau, & Bretz, Jr., 1994). The attitude of male MBAs toward executive women is usually negative (Everett, Thorne, & Danhower, 1996). Moreover, these attitudes were correlated with cognitive moral development, as measured by Kohlberg's (1969) model. It is reasonable to conclude this might lead to an unfavorable attitude toward work/family issues if they are perceived an issue only to women. Since women are more likely to leave their jobs during childbearing years, some employers discriminate against female workers (Powell, 2003).

Rapoport et al. (2001) argued that both gender inequity and organizational effectiveness are affected by assumptions about work, success, and gender.

Prof. D.T. Hall, an experienced work/family researcher, theorized that the work/family issue is one of corporate values (Hall, 1990). Hall theorized the fundamental issue is: "What is top management's deep-seated attitude about women reaching top-level positions" (p. 12)? Hall's intuition tells him that top male managers still really believe that a women's place is in the home. Men in their fifties and sixties just do not understand why a couple would want both a career and a family, or why anyone, male in particular, would settle for achieving less than the top in their career. These attitudes need to be brought to self-awareness before any real change on the work/family issue can occur. The goal would not be to change attitudes, but to recognize them and accept others as having different attitudes and values being just as valid. Executives need to recognize the work/family issue not as a parenting issue but a problem for the corporation.

Shellenbarger (1999) reviewed interviews from some top executives to find information about their work attitudes and what they learned about work from male role models in their families. They exhibit an inherited work ethic potentially incompatible with today's work/family issues; many are driven to be

the best at their career that they can be. What is missing is the role model of being a good parent, other than for the role of the breadwinner.

Executives may have other unconscious attitudes that affect the work/family issue. Schoenberger (1997) made the argument that to understand corporate strategies we need to understand corporate strategists. Moreover, we need to understand how they interpret the issues and their abilities to act upon them, and to understand their commitments, the origins of those commitments and how those commitments affect their decisions about strategy. The intransigence of some leaders to act despite a plethora of data about what needs to be done was explained by focusing on the social identity of the executive. This social identity leads to them to be committed to the way things are, rather than as they should be, despite the fact that these commitments may be dangerous to the organization in the long run. The ultimate failure of the organization, then, is preferable to the failure of one's sense of self. The use of golden parachutes may exacerbate this phenomenon.

Lewin & Stephens (1994) also theorized that managerial personality affects corporate strategy. They developed a model linking organizational design to CEO attitudes. Their definition of organization design included cultural changes so is applicable to work/family programs. Accordingly, they defined

attitude differently than Ajzen & Fishbein (1980). Lewin & Stephens' use of the word attitude is more closely aligned with Ajzen & Fishbein's external variable of personality attributes. Moreover, although Lewin & Stephens cited Ajzen & Fishbein to bolster their argument that attitudes are connected to behavior, Lewin & Stephens are referring to personality traits Ajzen & Fishbein would call external variables. Ajzen & Fishbein showed a connection between the attitude towards a behavior, defined as liking or disliking of the behavior, and the behavior itself. Nevertheless, the external variable of personality traits does affect attitude and belief formation, and therefore may affect behavior.

Eight broad categories of personality traits may affect organizational design, or culture (Lewin & Stephens, 1994): need for achievement, Machiavellianism, egalitarianism, trust in people, tolerance for ambiguity, locus of control, risk propensity, and cognitive moral development. Need for achievement indicates how strongly a CEO is motivated by achievement. Machiavellianism is the indicator of how much a CEO values power and manipulating people. Egalitarianism is the opposite of Machiavellianism, and a CEO with a high need for egalitarianism feels that people are basically equal and respects his employees. Trust in people is a similar characteristic; CEOs with high trust view their employees as basically good. Tolerance for ambiguity has implications for problem-solving. CEOs with a high tolerance for ambiguity will

be more likely to deal easily with ambiguous problems. Risk propensity deals with the amount of risk a CEO is able to tolerate. Locus of control deals with whether the CEO feels that control is internal or external. Moral development refers to Kohlberg's (1969) theory of ethical decision-making.

A number of hypotheses about how a CEO's personality might affect his decision-making on work/family programs can be drawn. For example, CEOs with a high need for achievement will be more likely to articulate a strategic direction through formalized programs. CEOs high in Machiavellianism and low in trust in people will be more likely to have a culture dependent on control, hierarchy, and supervision, and will be less likely to offer employees flexibility. CEOs high in egalitarianism would try to equalize power and have a non-hierarchical culture and would be more likely to empower employees with flexibility. CEOs high in trust in people will also tend to have non-hierarchical structures, and fewer monitoring systems. CEOs high in internal locus of control likely think that they should do something about the problems facing their employees, while those high in external locus of control will likely be reactive or think that the organization has no role in this issue. CEOs high in tolerance for ambiguity manage for the long-term, and have low monitoring needs of their employees; they will also be more likely to tackle an ambiguous problem like work/family conflict. CEOs with high risk propensity will have fewer controls

and supervision, and will be more likely to take the risks inherent in trusting their employees and trying new organizational responses. CEOs high in moral cognitive reasoning will implement policies that are just and embody respect for people in the organization. They will also assert that helping their employees is the right thing to do. According to this model, CEOs likely to decide to adopt work/family programs would probably be high in achievement, low in Machiavellianism, high in egalitarianism, high in trust in people, have an internal locus of control, high in tolerance for ambiguity, high in risk propensity, and high in cognitive reasoning.

Attitudinal Change

A complete review of attitudinal change theories is beyond the scope of this review; the reader is referred to Insko (1967), Greenwald (1968), and Kiesler, Collins, & Miller (1969) for more complete reviews. The most relevant theory to this study is Cognitive Mediation Theory, largely credited to Greenwald (1968), since it is a theory often linked to the persuasion literature (Romero, Agnew, & Insko, 1996). Persuasion is the means of attitudinal change most relevant to this study, so literature on persuasion will be reviewed. Moreover, attitudinal strength and importance has recently been found to be important in attitudinal change (Jacks & Devine, 2000; Na, 1999), and whether or not the object is familiar or not

has been found to affect the role of attitudes in decision-making (Candel & Pennings, 1999).

Cognitive Mediation Theory and Persuasion

Greenwald (1968) is credited with developing the theory that cognition, or cognitive responses such as thoughts, mediates persuasion (Romero, Agnew, & Insko, 1996). In other words, people will cognitively rehearse their responses to a persuasive message. Moreover, people will be more likely to remember their own thoughts than the content of the message. Two recent studies have investigated the influence of attitude strength and importance on attitude change (Jacks & Devine, 2000; Na, 1999).

Na (1999) found that people with strong attitudes were highly resistant to changing their attitude even when confronted with high quality, objective data, while those with moderately strong attitudes would change their attitude only if the message was of high quality rather than weak. Those with strong attitudes, rather than being persuaded, actually created stronger counter-arguments to the persuasive message. Na termed this phenomenon "highly motivated cognitive resistance" (p. 600). Na cautioned the reader that strong attitudes involve strong affect, motivation and prior knowledge, which may confound the findings. However, this finding resonates with common experience.

Jacks & Devine (2000) studied the effect of attitude importance on resistance to attitudinal change. While cognitive mediation theory would predict that the forewarning of a persuasive message would lead a recipient to generate counter-arguments and therefore be resistant to the message, they sought to understand how attitude importance, cognition, and affect played a role in this resistance. Attitude importance is one's subjective feeling of both the strength and the personal importance of the attitude. Jacks & Devine found that even without any forewarning, those with high attitude importance were highly resistant to the persuasive message, and that this resistance was likely to be both cognitive and affective.

Attitudinal change also seems to be affected by how familiar the object is to the person (Candel & Pennings, 1999). When faced with an unfamiliar innovation, participants relied more on attitude, or affect, than on their beliefs, or cognitions, to make a decision in response to a persuasive message.

Although attitude strength is important to this study, it may also be quite problematic to ascertain (Haddock, Rothman, Reber, & Schwarz, 1999). "The subjective assessment of attitude certainty, intensity, and importance may themselves be a judgment and not necessarily stable features of an attitude" (p.

780). Therefore, it may be difficult for a participant to accurately assess how strongly they hold an attitude, even if they are willing to divulge the information.

Persuading Top Management

These findings have interesting implications for this study. If CEOs hold strong and important attitudes on work/family programs, they may be highly resistant to persuasive messages about them. Moreover, it may be that work/family issues are unfamiliar to CEOs, because they have not personally confronted these issues themselves. In fact, the degree to which family life conflicts with work is not relevant to male executives when forming judgments about their work (Judge, Boudreau, & Bretz, Jr., 1994). Therefore, it may make more sense to intervene at the attitudinal, or affective level, rather than on the belief, or cognitive level. Operationally, this would mean that persuading CEOs to change their attitudes toward work/family programs would be more successful with an emotional appeal rather than "the business case." In fact, Budd, Jr. (1996), has made just such an argument. The author and former CEO argued that it is difficult to sell work/family programs to CEOs both because of the CEO's psychology and the sociology of the workplace. Psychological factors include CEOs' pragmatic nature not allowing commitment to new and unproven ideas; their Protestant work ethic and belief in individual accountability; and their usually short tenure in office leading to a preference for short term, tangible gains.

Sociological concerns include a belief that shareholders demand profitability, and that flexibility may lead to anarchy. The argument is presented that CEOs will not be sold on bottom-line benefits, but on the opportunity to lead in their industry, gain status among peers, and get approval from employees.

Dutton & Ashford (1993) developed a model for selling issues to top management, based on the premise that executives only act on issues that have been brought to their attention. They theorized that issue-selling was more likely to occur when: (a) top management was open and supportive; (b) a solution came along with it; (c) it has a high pay-off and can be resolved; (d) top management has knowledge or expertise consistent with the issue; (e) the issue is framed in terms of top management responsibility or as strategic; (f) emotional terms, novel information, evidence and supporting facts are used; and (g) the issue is presented succinctly and with two-sides.

Now that the literature on attitude and belief formation has been reviewed, the literature on strategic decision-making will be reviewed. In particular, the literature on the relationship between executives' beliefs and their strategic decision-making processes will be reviewed.

Strategic Decision-making Processes

Deciding which issues deserve top management attention, and therefore an organizational response, as well as interpreting the issues correctly, are both critical yet difficult tasks for organizational management (Dutton & Ashford, 1993). Moreover, the study of strategic decision-making processes of executives is a very active subject in current management research (Papadakis, etal, 1998), but the theory pertaining to managerial actions in general is not well-understood (Rajagopalan & Spreitzer, 1997). A full review of this literature is beyond the scope of this study; the reader is referred to Papadakis, et al. (1998) for a more complete review.

Rajagopalan (1997) did an extensive review of these studies and found they could be grouped into two main theoretical orientations to strategic change. One group, termed "content," is made up of studies that focus on a more rational approach to decision-making, with antecedents and consequences of change. The other group, termed "process," is made up of studies focusing on the role of management in strategic change. This group has two types of studies, "learning" studies and "cognitive" studies. Learning studies focus on the learning that arises from trial and error in change efforts, while cognitive studies focus on the characteristics of the decision-makers. Managerial cognitions include knowledge structures, core beliefs, and causal maps and schemas. Lovallo & Kahneman

(2003) contended executives are often victims of their own cognitive biases, often discounting costs while inflating the benefits of initiatives. In this framework, the current study would clearly be considered a cognitive study.

A key assumption of the cognitive studies is that the environment cannot be objectively understood, and therefore understanding is cognitively mediated. These types of studies have found that strategic change occurs when changes in environmental conditions are accompanied by changes in managerial cognitions. Moreover, transformational changes are more likely to be accompanied by changes in the actual belief structures of top managers. Theoretically, this may explain why some organizations change in response to environmental change, while others do not; in fact, two studies (Goll & Zeitz, 1991; Lewin & Stephens, 1994) found that key decision-makers accounted for organizational response variance.

Studies of CEO characteristics and differences have also been popular in both business and academic circles (Rajagopolan 1996). This may stem from the assumption that CEOs have a significant impact on their organization's actions and performance. Child (1972) was probably the first scholar to argue that executive judgment guides strategic choices. Later, Ansoff (1984) argued that the CEO is more like a juggler of constituencies than a pilot of the ship. Hambrick &

Mason (1984) researched CEO characteristics and their effect on strategic decision-making, arguing that characteristics are proxies for cognitive orientation, and that organizations reflect the characteristics of their top managers.

In cognitive studies, models have been proposed that attempt to explain how executives make strategic choices; a few key studies will be discussed here. One model, proposed by Kochan, Katz, and McKersie (1986), posited that managerial ideologies, or beliefs, lead to actions, which then lead to organizational outcomes. This is similar to Azjen & Fishbein's (1980) theory of reasoned action. This model is in contrast to the conventional wisdom in the field of industrial relations, which is that managers utilize rational choice processes dictated by market and institutional forces (Godard, 1997; von Werder, 1999). Although this model is intriguing, Godard (1997) found that even though managerial ideologies do play an important role, this role is moderated by context variables. However, the theory that beliefs of executives affect their decision-making processes is important for this study.

Another model of strategic decision-making of interest to this study is Hambrick and Finkelstein's (1987) theory of managerial discretion. Managerial discretion refers to the ability of an executive to affect organizational outcomes. This discretion is theorized to be a function of the organization, the environment,

and the personality characteristics of the executive. Carpenter and Golden (1997) looked at the last function, personality characteristics, and its effect on what they termed "perceived" discretion. They argued that it was more important what the executive thought about their discretion than what it actually was. In their study, they sought to explain why managers respond differently to similar strategic conditions. This work is similar to the work of differential issue interpretation done by Dutton & Ashford (1993).

To explain differential responses, Carpenter & Golden (1997) looked at a personality characteristic known as "locus of control." Locus of control is the degree to which someone feels the ability to control things; those with a high internal locus of control, feel that they can control many things; those with a high external locus of control feel that things are controlled externally. This is the same personality variable described by Lewin & Stephens (1994).

The situation that needs to be responded to is also variable. The authors adopted a "personality-situation interactionism perspective" (Weiss & Adler, 1984). Situations are either weak or strong, depending on how common interpretations are of them (Mischel, 1977). A strong situation has a common interpretation; a weak situation is more ambiguous and allows various interpretations and responses. The situation of work/family balance could be

thought of as a weak situation in this sense, since various interpretations and responses have been made to the issue. Carpenter & Golden found, not unexpectedly, that those executives with a high internal locus of control tended to perceive more managerial discretion in weak situations than executives with high external locus of control.

Other CEO characteristics have been found to be related to strategic decision-making processes. Hutt & Tyler (1991) found that the type of academic education influenced the process. Papadakis (1991) found need for achievement, risk attitude, length of service, and education influenced strategic decision making. The role of CEO values has also been investigated (Wally & Baum, 1994; Keeney, 1992; Noburn, 1989: Sen, 1997). Agle, et al. (1999) argued that what people perceive as important is connected to their values, and theorized that a key CEO value that might be related to strategic decision making processes is self-interest vs. other-interest.

Bennis & Thomas (2002) found differences in leaders based on age. Geezers, defined as 70 and older, and Geeks, 30 and younger, differ because they grew up in different eras and were familiar with different technologies (analog vs digital). They also differed in their views on work/life balance.

For Geezers, balancing work and family was a private matter. They had mothers who were housewives. Balance and leadership were thought to be two opposing goals. According to Robert Crandall, retired CEO of American Airlines:

> For all the years that I was working, I was trying to achieve a particular goal. So I wasn't interested in balance...now you read a lot about balance. In today's world people say, 'I have to have a balanced life. I have to have time for my kids and my job and my hobbies.' That's all well and good. But people who worry about balance have no overriding passion to achieve leadership (p. 45).

Although Geezers had regrets later, they still traded achievement for balance. Geeks, on the other hand, did not want to make this tradeoff. Moreover, they didn't buy into a model of success that requires subordinating your life to your work. They put great emphasis on balance.

Farkas & Wetlaufer (1996) provided another look into the way that CEOs make strategic decisions through their leadership styles. They found five leadership styles, and theorized that the effective CEO does not lead with their personally preferred style, but with the style required by the organization.

The five leadership approaches are strategy, human assets, expertise, box, and change. CEOs who utilize the strategy approach are primarily focused on matters external to the organization, such as the big picture for their industry. They are interested in the long-term, and therefore delegate the day-to-day to

others and are extremely data-driven. The human-assets approach, by contrast, focuses on the people aspect of the organization. Human-asset CEOs impart values, behaviors, and attitudes to their employees, and tend to travel extensively to meet all their employees. They pay a lot of attention to personnel matters. CEOs who utilize the expertise approach strive to inculcate a particular expertise throughout the organization. The most popular approach is the box approach. CEOs who utilize this approach spend most of their time on internal controls focused on making sure the customer has no surprises. CEOs in regulated industries such a banking and airlines tend to use this approach in response to regulations. Finally, CEOs who utilize the change approach are change agents. They focus on continuous improvement and spend a lot of time making speeches and attending meetings about change.

This research has implications for my study. For example, a CEO who leads using a human-assets approach may be more likely to implement programs, like work/family programs, aimed at increasing retention of valued employees. They are also more likely to trust employees to make the right decisions in more flexible work environments. Alternately, a CEO who leads with a change approach may be more likely to embrace the implications of the new demographics of a changing workforce and want to change his organization in response to it.

The literature on work/family programs, attitude and belief formation, and strategic decision-making processes has been reviewed. Next, the literature addressing the phenomenon of differential organizational responses to work/family issues will be reviewed.

Understanding Differential Organizational Responses to Work/Family Issues

Although there is a large body of literature covering organizational responses to work/family issues, especially in the form of work/family programs, there exists a smaller body of literature that seeks to explain differential responses.

Work/family researchers Friedman & Greenhaus (2000) asked this very question: "Why do some organizations take the steps and not others" (p. 105)? To answer the question, they list the usual benefits that all organizations should be interested in: low retention, higher job satisfaction, and building organizational commitment. In fact, the argument that work/family programs are beneficial and good for the bottom-line has not been adequately supported by research (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). However, the question still remains, as to why some organizations believe that responding with work/family initiatives will help their organizations, while others do not.

The cause of this differential has been studied both from an institutional perspective and from a people perspective. Pitt-Catsouphes et al. (2004) found in analyzing data from Galinsky and Bond's 1998 *Business Work/Life Study*, that organizational commitment to diversity and work/life issues, the number of executive women, and the size of the U.S. workforce, rather than profit, predicted work/family program adoption. Earlier, Ingram (1995) found that the total number of women in managerial positions predicted work/family responsiveness; although Goodstein (1994) found that the number of parents was not predictive. Goodstein also found that industry, social pressure, and size had an influence on work/family program adoption. MacDermid, Williams, Mark,s & Heilbrun (1994) also found a size relationship. Larger organizations tended to be more responsive.

In 1992, Morgan & Milliken researched data from 175 randomly selected companies to ascertain the causes of the adoption differential. They found the amount of women employed by the organization did not account for a business's responsiveness. Moreover, a diverse top management team with personal experience of work/family conflict did not lead to more responsiveness. They also found that industry and geography were important factors, and that organizations which used employee surveys were more likely to respond. The role of the human resource executive has been studied, but only anecdotal

evidence is found in the literature on the role of the CEO in differential adoption and implementation of work/family programs in response to work/family issues. This present study presents a grounded theory on the role of the CEO in decisions on work/family program adoption.

Role of the Human Resource Executive

Milliken, Martins, & Morgan (1998) surveyed human resource executives in an effort to understand why organizations varied in the adoption of work/family programs. They found that differences existed across industries, but that the number of women employed by organizations was not significantly different between organizations that had and had not adopted such programs. Moreover, their findings suggested that organizations were more likely to offer work/family programs when these issues were salient to the human resource executives and the executives thought the issues would affect organizational performance if they were not addressed. While a significant difference was found, the effect was not very large (only seventeen percent of variance explained). The researchers also found that the presence of women or people with experience in dual-career families or elder-care responsibilities in top management did not significantly affect whether or not an organization offered work/family programs. The authors theorized that these top managers may be in staff, rather than line, positions; or

that top executives expect to sacrifice family for career (first proposed by Powell (1993)).

Gender may be an important variable in understanding differential attitudes and beliefs on work/family programs. Kossek, Dass, & DeMarr (1994) looked at the variables of gender, age, and supervisory status in their study of human resource managers. They found that female managers were more likely to favor employer-sponsored childcare, while age had no effect. Moreover, Covin and Brush (1993) also found that female human resource managers were more supportive of corporate or government support roles for work/family issues.

Role of the CEO

Some anecdotal clues about the attitudes and beliefs of CEOs about work/family issues can be found in the literature. A DuPont vice president stated that empirical data on employee commitment moved him from being nominally supportive of work/family programs to strongly believing that they are important for business (Landauer, 1997). Perlman (1993), CEO of Ceridian Corporation, wrote about a pregnant CEO because he has a daughter who recently graduated from college; other CEOs also began to understand the problem when their children tried to cope with work/family issues (Regan, 1994). Mascotte (1993), CEO of the Continental Corporation, has noted that most CEOs are very traditional because of their age, and they put their careers together when

work/family was not an issue; they do not understand the problem in its most fundamental sense. Perlow (1998) noted in the study of boundary control, that for top managers to relinquish the idea of face time (i.e., the more one is at work the more one is assumed to be contributing) in favor of flexible work practices (which could ease work/family conflicts) means going against the very tactic that they used to advance to top management. Tobias, the CEO of Eli Lilly, noted that face time did not always mean results; but that a lot of corporate America just does not understand the work/family issue (Morris, 1997).

At Levi Strauss a task force was created to implement work/family programs as a way to meet its commitment in its mission statement for a "commitment to balanced personal and professional lives" (Vogel, as cited by Bailyn, 1993, p. 48). Levi Strauss' CEO was involved in the task force and had this to say about the company's long-range goal: "to change ways of thinking so that work/family will be viewed not only as a program, but as the outgrowth of a philosophical perspective, a new way of doing business that ultimately contributes to the company's bottom line"(p. 48).

Aetna is an organization whose CEO has made it clear that both parents are expected to make use of work/family programs (Levine & Pittinsky, 1997). Ron Compton challenged other CEOs to "flex or break" in a speech, and then sent a summary of his remarks to his organization:

> In today's atmosphere of repeated downsizing, where expenses are a very real concern, should "soft" programs like flexible work environments be the first to bite the dust? Absolutely not! You might be interested to know that about twenty percent of those on flexible schedules are men. Because---surprise---we're finding men also are assuming child-care and aging-parent responsibilities. Although Aetna has no quotas or formal goals, by the year 2000 at least twice as many of our people will be on flexible schedules. At the heart of the work-family issue--like at the heart of every other business issue--it is the imagination, the will, and the flexibility to make it work that makes the difference. As senior managers we have to bring that imagination and good will to the table (p. 71).

The CEO of American Can in 1985, Woodside (cited in Farrell, 1986) had this to say about instituting work/family programs: "I firmly believe that a corporation exists to profit its shareholders. But if I spread that horizon a little and say the responsibility is to keep the corporation healthy and growing, then I am face to face with social issues that—if not resolved—will make it increasingly difficult for that corporation to thrive in the future" (p. 170). Jack Welch, the CEO of General Electric, reportedly stated that any employee who cannot do his job in 40 hours is not doing his job right (Bailyn, 1993).

In March, 1999, *Working Mother* magazine started a monthly column interviewing CEOs about their family-friendly policies at their organizations *(On the Record*, 1999; *Working Mother Interview*, 1999, 2000). The CEOs of DaimlerChrysler, Prudential, Warner-Lambert, Johnson & Johnson, Donaldson,

Lufkin & Jenrette, DuPont, and Ernst & Young, LLP, were interviewed. Excerpts from these interviews follow:

> WORKING MOTHER: When did you first become interested in work/life issues?
>
> ROBERT J. EATON (DAIMLERCHRYSLER): When I became a supervisor, I realized that if I wanted to keep highly productive employees, I had to offer flexibility. At first the company had all kinds of rules about time and attendance. Then we realized that good employees were not going to abuse flexibility and it would increase their commitment. Undedicated employees would leave anyway.
>
> WM: How would you sell work/life initiatives to other CEOs? Do you think they help the bottom line?
>
> RJE: The objective of these benefits is to be more competitive, not less. If you don't allow employees to attend to their private lives, you're going to have productivity problems. I need an employee who's a self-starter, dedicated, someone with drive. That employee needs peace of mind and a positive attitude. How can that person do her best work if she can't get a family problem out of her mind? There's no question that our programs aren't a cost, they're a savings that improves the bottom line. But it's important that you have your top people driving this process. And you have to measure the savings just as you would any other business process ("On the Record," March, 1999).
>
> WM: Prudential is also committed to providing high quality child care. How does this benefit the company?
>
> ARTHUR F. RYAN: At the end of the day, all of us know that how we'll be evaluated is based on our ability to attract the best in

the marketplace. If you want to attract better employees, you must be prepared to show them what you're doing. We have a lot of systems in place to support child care and flexibility because the theme at our company is that we want to treat those who work for us in the same manner as we treat our customers.

WM: How would you sell family-friendly benefits to other CEOs?

AFR: There's not a business in the world that doesn't depend on its people. But in our business, people are our product. Our customers choose us because of the people they buy from and the trust they place in the company. When I get letters of satisfaction, they don't say 'I love your annuity." They say "I like the service I received from Jane or Jim." So you see, having the best people ties right into the bottom line ("On the Record," April, 1999).

WORKING MOTHER: Welcome back to the Working Mother 100. Did Warner-Lambert make a conscious effort to get back on?

MELVIN GOODES: We are very cognizant of surveys like this. As a company you want to position yourself as being an ideal employer so that you can attract the best people. That clearly makes you a leader.

WM: But many readers tell us their bosses couldn't care less about being an employer of choice or about family-friendly benefits.

MG.: I've heard that attitude—"If employees can't make it on our terms, to hell with them. We'll replace them." I would say that bodies are replaceable, but talent, experience and dedication aren't. Turnover is incredibly expensive. Not just in terms of hiring costs, either. For six to eight months you're going to worry about the new person working out. What about the mistakes that happen because of loss of experience? What about customers--they like to relate to

the same person. And experienced workers are just more productive.

WM: Why does Warner-Lambert train managers on diversity and work/life issues?

MG: We want an employee base that reflects our customer base. We want people with kids. We want people from backgrounds that mirror what's going on in the external world. We also want mavericks, people with "out of the box" thinking. In order not to limit our access to the real world, our managers need to be sensitive to people with all different backgrounds ("On the Record," May, 1999).

WORKING MOTHER: What was the reasoning behind your decision to be a family-friendly company?

RALPH LARSEN (JOHNSON & JOHNSON): We had quite a debate about whether it was practical to offer benefits such as on-site childcare. We also questioned whether we should step into the lives of our employees this way. Were we being patronizing?

WM: What tipped the scale?

RL: As we wrestled through the business case, we realized that the greatest problem in the years ahead would be attracting extraordinary people. With our plans for double-digit growth, we couldn't risk a talent shortage, and family-friendly benefits are absolutely essential to attract the best women and men. Over time the business case just kept getting stronger.

WM: Has productivity increased?

RL: Parents worry about their children more than anything else. We do what we can to reduce that stress level. ***When I had elder***

care issues myself, (emphasis added by this researcher) it was an enormous timesaver and mind-saver to use our resource and referral service. Providing these kinds of resources makes us a more competitive company.

WM: Where does flexibility fit into the picture?

RL: With the technology we have today, work at home and flextime are increasingly desirable options. As long as the job gets done, where someone works is unimportant to me ("On the Record," June, 1999).

WORKING MOTHER: Donaldson, Lufkin and Jenrette has one of the most generous parental-leave policies-up to 12 weeks fully paid for the primary caregiver of a new baby or adopted child. Why?

JOE L. ROBY: Our organization is heavily dependent on talent. We want to be a magnet for qualified people at all levels. About four years ago, we set up a diversity task force to examine issues that were of greatest importance to people and we addressed those with a vengeance.

WM: Is this attitude costly?

JLR: These expenses are relatively minor compared to the impact of losing good people. Retention absolutely pays.

WM: Does being family-friendly also help with recruiting?

JLR: Years ago, I don't think anyone would have dared ask quality of life questions in an interview. But my perception is that balance has become increasingly important to new workers.

WM: How do you make sure that family-friendliness becomes part of a company's culture? Does the push come from the top?

JLR: It may start from the top, but you win or lose the war in the guts of the place. Managers have to take this up ("Working Mother Interview," September, 1999).

WM: Given today's low unemployment rate, is the relationship between recruitment, retention, and work/life more pronounced?

CHARLES "CHAD" HOLLIDAY (DUPONT): If you wait until there's a tight labor market to initiate work/life policies, it's too late. We need superior practices all the time. We want to provide DuPont employees with a range of programs that meet their needs. Our challenge is to figure out how we can continue to be a work/life leader and not a "me-too"" company.

WM: What's the next work/life innovation you can drive?

CH: I believe, for the most part we already have in place the programs our workforce needs. What we must do now is work to assure that everyone can take advantage of these programs and know that no one will think less of you as a DuPont employee if you use them. And that takes role models in management ("Working Mother Interview," November, 1999).

WM: Have you actually measured what your woman- and family-friendly incentives have saved you?

PHILIP LASKAWY (ERNST & YOUNG, LLP): We've saved $17 million on recruitment and retention of women since 1996. But of even greater value is how these changes have improved morale. You can't measure that.

> WM: Some companies argue that it's too hard to offer flexibility if you're in a client-based business like accounting. How do you get over that hurdle?
>
> PL: We work with our clients to help them understand what we're trying to accomplish. We convince them that we can do an even better job for them if we keep talented people, and that flexibility for our employees will not conflict with clients' goals ("Working Mother Interview," February, 2000).

These interviews illustrate the kinds of data this study obtained, although at a deeper level of understanding why CEOs believe as they do. When this researcher found these interviews, the idea that CEOs would talk about their work/family ideas became more realistic.

Not every CEO believes that work/family programs should be adopted, however. John Clendenin, chairman of Bell South, has said, "People have always had to make choices about balancing work and family. It has always been a personal issue, and individuals have to do it" (Morris, 1997). Friedman, Christensen, and DeGroot (1998) noted that "...most executives still believe that every time an employee's personal interests 'win,' the organization pays the price at its bottom line" (p. 119). Rodgers (1992) reported the finding of a human resource VP that "more than half of the executive management group of the company (including the CEO) still believe that the need for flexibility in and of itself is a sign that a person is not really committed to the company" (p. 183).

Summary and the Need for the Research

While the literature on the work and family issue is quite extensive, the research on organizational responses to this issue, and particularly on their effectiveness, is scarce. In particular, the role that executives, and especially CEOs, play in organizational decisions regarding responses has been rarely empirically investigated, with the exception of the Morgan & Milliken (1998) atudy of human resource executives. In this review, many peripheral areas to this question have been explored, including the work/family literature, the literature on beliefs and attitude formation, and the decision-making processes of executives. Finally, the available literature on organizational responses to work/family issues was reviewed.

While there is general acknowledgment that there is a work/family balance issue, there does not exist a wide level of agreement as to how the problem should be addressed on an organizational level. Strong empirical evidence that work/family programs help resolve these issues does not exist; findings from studies that have been done are mixed. Yet the existence of work/family conflict does affect organizations negatively, as has been noted previously in this review. In the absence of compelling data showing the effectiveness of work/family programs, how do organizations make the decision to provide them? In the

absence of data, beliefs about these programs may play a pivotal role in decision-making of CEOs.

Several authors and researchers have noted the importance of the chief executive in the adoption and implementation of work/family initiatives (Bankert & Googins, 1996; Budd, Jr., 1996; Hall, 1990; Landauer, 1997; Mascotte, 1993; Perlow, 1998; Regan, 1994; Vincola, 1998). Culture is most likely driven by top management, leaving the rest of the company to adapt (Jacobs & Gerston, 2004). The central question for this study is whether and how differential responses (adoption or non-adoption of work/family programs) to the same environmental conditions (work/family balance issues of employees) are due to strategic decision-making processes, and how these processes are in turn driven by the attitudes and beliefs of top management, in the absence of good empirical data (about work/family program efficacy). Moreover, while the above review indicates that some quantitative data exists concerning male executives and human resource executives regarding the adoption of work/family policies in their organizations, no empirical data exist to explain how and why executives actually formulate their attitudes and beliefs about work/family issues. Therefore, another central question of this study is to understand the formation of CEO attitudes and beliefs about work/family issues.

Starrels (1992) stated in a review of work/family policy research, "...it would be interesting to know more about the family roles of male managers who decide disproportionately whether to adopt work/family policies and how such policies will be implemented" (p. 271). From a review of the literature, there is a need to research why some leaders value work/family programs and others do not. This study developed a grounded theory explaining how executives come to believe or disbelieve in the efficacy or worth of work/family policies and how these beliefs are translated into work/family program adoption decisions.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

This chapter will justify and describe the methodology used in the study, consistent with the guidelines presented by Creswell (1994) and Rudestrom & Newton (1992). First, a brief overview of the qualitative paradigm of research and why it was chosen as the methodology for this study will be presented. A brief review of grounded theory design will then be presented to familiarize the reader with this research design and why it was chosen for this study. This section will be followed by a brief statement about the researcher's role. Then, data collection procedures will be described, including sampling strategies and specific data collected. Data recording procedures, including an interview protocol, will be presented next. The next section will describe data analysis procedures. Finally, verification and trustworthiness of the analysis will be discussed.

Qualitative Research Methodologies

Miles & Huberman (1994) listed several features of qualitative research. They include the field as the setting for research, a "holistic" worldview, an attempt to understand the multiple realities of participants in the field, a propensity toward preserving the forms of original data collected, explication of the ways participants make sense of their worlds, the researcher is the instrument, and the analysis consists of words, rather than numbers. In the qualitative paradigm, reality is seen as subjective and multiple, the researcher interacts with

the participants, bias and values always exist in the data, research language is personal and informal, and the research process is inductive, emergent, and context-laden (Firestone, Guba, & Lincoln, & McCracken, as cited in Creswell, 1994).

Patton (1990) listed ten inter-related themes that characterize qualitative inquiries. Qualitative studies are naturalistic in their settings, rely on inductive rather than deductive analyses, take a holistic perspective to the data, provide rich, descriptive data, consider the researcher as part of the data, consider the system studied to be dynamic, assume each case is unique, are sensitive to context, utilize the empathic neutrality of the researcher, and are flexible in design. The main point of qualitative studies, Patton maintains, is to "understand naturally occurring phenomena in their naturally occurring states" (p. 41).

Creswell (1994) offered five criteria for deciding which paradigm, quantitative or qualitative, a researcher should use to study a particular research problem: the researcher's worldview, training and experience, and psychology, the nature of the problem itself, and the audience for the study.

This researcher is very comfortable with the assumptions and research processes associated with qualitative research. With respect to the research problem, the research is very exploratory and seeks to discover "what is going

on." Variables are uncertain, and context is very important. Although the literature review presented has been extensive, the literature exists mostly in peripheral areas (considered important to understand). The central phenomenon of interest, i.e. the decision-making processes of CEOs regarding work/family program adoption, has not been researched, and no theory currently exists to explain it. The closest research that has been done is on HR executives as issue interpreters for top management on work/family issues. Therefore, given the paucity of prior research and theory, a qualitative methodology is most appropriate for the problem. The criterion of audience support is less clear. As in many fields, quantitative research tends to carry a little more weight in the field of management than qualitative studies. However, this study is a necessary precursor to any quantitative understanding of differences or cause and effect relationships since the relevant variables are unknown. This study will identify the variables that can be later used in a quantitative study that may be more accepted in the management field.

However, some management researchers have recently begun to note that qualitative research methods have much to offer the field. Gummesson (1991) has stated that qualitative methods are powerful in researching management topics. An example was offered to illustrate the point. In a study of decision making processes of senior managers, the researcher had listed fifty factors that

the respondent was to rank in order of importance. In reality, the actual process did not involve those factors, but the participant did not reveal the process to the researcher because it was not scientific enough. Had the researcher simply asked the manager how the decision was reached, much more accurate data would have been collected.

Cassell & Symon (1994) noted the advantage of flexibility in design of qualitative methods, especially in organizations, when problems aren't usually well-defined and are very complex. Although organizations tend to consider research with numbers to be more accurate, there is evidence that this is changing. The authors note that there are increasing requests coming in from organizations for qualitative data.

Grounded Theory Design

A grounded theory research design is utilized when the intent of a study is to discover or develop a theory about how a group of people act and/or interact in response to a particular phenomenon of interest (Creswell, 1998). It is one of the most widely used methods of theory generation (Strauss & Corbin, 1997) and the most widely used qualitative method in the organization science field (Larsson & Lowendahl, as cited in Lee, 1999). It can provide concise theories for complex organizational phenomena (Torraco, 1997).

In this study, a grounded theory explaining how and why CEOs decide whether or not to support work/family programs in their organizations was developed. Stated differently, the phenomenon which was studied is beliefs of CEOs about work/family programs and how those beliefs are translated into organizational responses to work/family balance issues of employees in organizations. Organizational responses are primarily driven by CEOs; therefore their attitudes and beliefs were studied in order to develop a theoretical understanding about their actions, or decisions, in response to this issue of work/family balance, as exemplified by work/family programs in the organization itself.

Two sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, developed grounded theory in 1967 (Creswell, 1998). They wrote several books on the theory (Glaser, 1978; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In recent years the two researchers took the theory in different directions; this study will follow the more structured approach articulated by Strauss & Corbin (1990).

Grounded theory is an inductive approach to data analysis, and theory typically emerges from the data. Participants are chosen purposefully, through a procedure known as theoretical sampling. Creswell (1998) utilized the image of a "zigzag" process to describe the grounded theory approach of collecting initial

data, analyzing it, and then returning to the field to collect more data, in a constant iterative process that only stops when categories are saturated. Saturation of categories, or units of information, occurs when no new information can be added to the category. Usually, twenty to thirty interviews are required to generate the necessary amount of data.

Categories are generated by a process known as coding, and are refined and reorganized by a process known as the constant comparative method, since information from data collected is constantly compared to emerging categories (Creswell, 1998). Constant comparative analysis is often implemented by a process that includes the comparing of old data with new data through the process of theoretical sampling—analyzing the data as one collects it—and then making sampling decisions on the basis of the analysis. However, this is not always possible and other variations within the general grounded theory framework are often used (Bryman and Burgess, 1994). Gibbs (2002) suggested the appropriateness of using constant comparative analysis as a strategy for analysis of an already completed data set. For example, (West, 2001) described this use of the method of constant comparative analysis in review of grounded theory and its applicability to the field of counseling:

> Briefly, data are analysed in grounded theory by dividing the data up into what are called meaning units. These may vary in size

> from half a sentence to several sentences which can stand alone. The first unit is put in a category with a provisional name to it. The second unit is compared with the first, and, if sufficiently similar, is put in the same category, otherwise a new category is named. When a category contains six items a definition is given to that category. Eventually, almost all meaning units are assigned to defined categories. The categories are then placed into relationship with one another and a higher order model is constructed. It is assumed that, in principle, another researcher given the same data would arrive at much the same model (p. 127).

Due to logistical and sampling constraints, constant comparative analysis to analyze the data after its collection was utilized in this study.

Researcher's Role

This researcher is very familiar with for-profit organizations. In working in or for these organizations for the past twenty years, the researcher has experience working with high-level executives, although first-hand experience with CEOs is somewhat limited. Additional years of study and research provided experience with issues of leadership, executive development, and work/family balance.

Data Collection and Recording Procedures

Human Subjects Committee approval was obtained before data were collected from participants, pursuant to Colorado State University research guidelines. Informed consent was obtained from participants to ensure that

confidentiality was obtained, participants are aware of potential psychological risks of participation, and that participants understood the purpose of the research.

Data were collected primarily from one hour face-to-face, one-on-one interviews with participants, or informants. All face-to-face interviews took place at the organizational site, in the informant's office, or in a conference room. A couple of interviews took place with another senior manager present, at the participant's request. Two interviews were on the telephone. Interviews were audiotaped with the permission of the informants. Interviews are the most widely used data collection method in qualitative organization research (King, 1994). Specifically, informants were CEOs, with one Division Vice-President, of for-profit organizations in the Denver, Colorado, metropolitan area. After leaving each interview, the researcher recorded on the audiotape impressions and observations, creating a reflexive journal. Also, when available, documentation was collected on work/family programs available within the organization.

Audiotapes were transcribed by the researcher, after all the interviews were completed. Pseudonyms were given to each individual case to protect confidentiality and, in cases where the participant named their organization, a pseudonym for the organization was also created.

Sampling Strategy

The sampling strategy used in this study was purposeful sampling. The sample was homogeneous, consisting of participants who have made decisions on whether or not to provide work/family programs for their organizations. Most CEOs acknowledged their role in work/family program adoption; a few claimed not to have made any decision at all in this area.

Names of CEOs were collected from *The Rocky Mountain News'* Wall Street West section, which included a table entitled "Top Paid Executives at Colorado's Public Companies." This table included the names of the CEOs of these companies.

A variety of strategies gained access to the informants. Initially, letters were sent to each CEO, (presented in Appendix A), describing the research project and inviting executives to participate and present their views. Names and addresses of CEOs were obtained from newspaper listings and other reference materials. After the letters were sent, a telephone call was placed to the CEO. Usually the administrative assistant answered, but in some cases it was the CEO. In a few cases, contact was not made with either the CEO or the administrative assistant at all (an automated telephone answering machine, for example). Twelve CEOs agreed to be interviewed after receiving the recruiting letter.

Another approach used involved a seminar series featuring local CEOs. After attending the CEO presentations, they were invited to participate. Eight out of nine of the CEOs approached in this manner agreed to be interviewed.

A third approach used was to ask for referrals. After each interview, the CEO was asked if he could give the name of other CEOs who might be willing to be interviewed, and permission was requested to use their name in a recruiting call. This effort was occasionally successful and four CEOs in the sample were referred by other CEOs. Many CEOs were reluctant to give referrals, but I had many more referrals than could be acted on. Two CEOs were referred by personal contacts.

Data Types

Three types of data were collected. The primary source of data was face-to-face, one-on-one interviews. Creswell (1998) suggested that interviews are the most important data source for grounded theory research designs. These interviews each lasted about an hour, with one half-hour telephone interview. A total of twenty-six CEOs were interviewed. The second source of data was a reflective journal kept by the researcher. This audiotaped journal contained impressions and interpretations that occurred both during and immediately after the interviews. Especially important were impressions about how honest,

forthcoming, and self-aware the participants were during the interview, as well as general impressions of the family-friendliness of the organization. The third source of data was formal documentation of work/family policies provided by the organizations. Since the vast majority of programs were informal, this type of data was largely unavailable. Moreover, the CEO usually did not have immediate access to this data, and often relied on another party (usually in Human Resources), who was generally reluctant to release it outside the organization.

Data Recording Procedures

An interview protocol (see Appendix B) was utilized to record interview notes. The protocol was a guide, primarily to list topics to be discussed. Consistent with an emergent design, it was modified in use and the questions probed more deeply (King, 1994). In addition, permission was requested to audiotape the interviews.

Data Analysis

The audiotaped interviews were transcribed and then coded using the process outlined earlier by West (2001). Some main categories emerged from the data; other main categories were predetermined. Utilizing the process of informed looking, certain main categories such as CEO beliefs and experiences were utilized.

Consistent with a qualitative, emergent design, data were coded using HyperResearch and analyzed as it was collected, and procedures modified as necessary (Creswell, 1998). Strauss & Corbin (1990) laid out specific steps in analyzing data for grounded theory designs. Miles & Huberman (1994) have also provided guidelines for data analysis and display.

The constant comparative method of data analysis consists of three levels of coding: open, axial, and selective. The first level of coding is open coding. In open coding, initial categories emerge from the data. These categories have subcategories, or properties, and each property has dimensions. These dimensions illustrate a continuum of information about the properties.

In the second level of coding, axial coding, the categories are reorganized according to a central category about the phenomenon studied. Typically a coding logic is presented which includes several supporting categories in addition to the central category. These categories are known as causal conditions, strategies, context and intervening conditions, and consequences. Causal, context, and intervening conditions influence the phenomenon, strategies are actions which result from the phenomenon, and consequences are the outcomes of the strategies which result from the phenomenon. Typically, interview questions are designed to facilitate the emergence of these types of categories.

The third level of coding, or selective coding, is typically a narrative or story which explains the theory which has emerged. It may also take the form of a visual model or matrix, or a variety of hypotheses which can later be tested. Miles & Huberman (1994) presented several examples of ways in which qualitative data may be presented in matrices or tables. Regardless of how the selective coding is presented, it integrates the categories formed in the axial coding step into a coherent story. In this study, five distinct stories emerged.

Verification

Qualitative research deals with the issues of internal and external validity and reliability differently than its quantitative counterpart. The primary concern is that of what Lincoln & Guba (1985) called trustworthiness, or the accuracy of the data analysis and how well it fits reality. Trustworthiness has four components: truth value, applicability or transferability, consistency or dependability, and neutrality or confirmability.

The combination of audiotaping the interviews and then personally transcribing the tapes insured that the data were accurately recorded before it was analyzed. However, to further assess the accuracy of the data, member checks were performed (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 1998). Member checks involve going back to informants with the analyzed data to check with them to see

if the data represent their reality. Two participants were provided with their transcripts and found no errors (to the best of their recollection).

Another important aspect of verification is an indication of confirmability. To assess this reliability, an audit trail was kept (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In performing an audit trail, detailed documentation of processes are kept so that an informed colleague can audit the processes undertaken by the researcher. In this way, the study can replicated by others. A final defense committee member reviewed the audit trail.

Finally, interview data were triangulated with the two other types of data collected, the reflexive journal and documentation of work/family programs obtained from the organizations studied. This journal also provided reflexivity as a verification tool.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

In this chapter, findings from research collected from twenty-six CEOs in the Denver metropolitan area will be presented. The demographics of the sample will be presented first, and then the findings according to the research questions. Demographic data include education, birthplace, age, and organizational size. A grounded theory will be proposed to answer the research questions.

The first and second research questions concern sources of beliefs and attitudes of CEOs, and how they have changed. The third, and most central, research question addresses the decision whether or not to implement work/family programs. A summary of key variables will be presented, followed by four different data displays: 1) a decision tree graphically depicting how CEOs make decisions on program adoption based on their decision-making style; 2) a force field analysis; 3) stories that illustrate the five decision-making styles of CEOs that differentiate their decisions; and finally 4) a poem summarizing the data..

CEO Sample Demographics

The CEOs interviewed came from a variety of backgrounds. Sixty-eight percent of the CEOs interviewed were either college graduates or had obtained a postgraduate degree (see Figure 2.) As might be expected from a Denver sample, most (forty-four percent) were born in the Western section of the country, followed by thirty-two percent from the Eastern part. Only one CEO was not born

in the United States (see Figure 3.) Twenty-eight percent of the CEOs interviewed were between the ages of fifty and fifty-five, with the youngest at thirty-eight and the oldest at sixty-four (see Figure 4). Using Bennis & Thomas' (2002) model of geeks and geezers, none of the CEOs interviewed were geeks or geezers. However, CEOs who were under fifty are "geek-like" and those over fifty "geezer-like." In this framework, eleven CEOs were geek-like and 15 geezer-like.

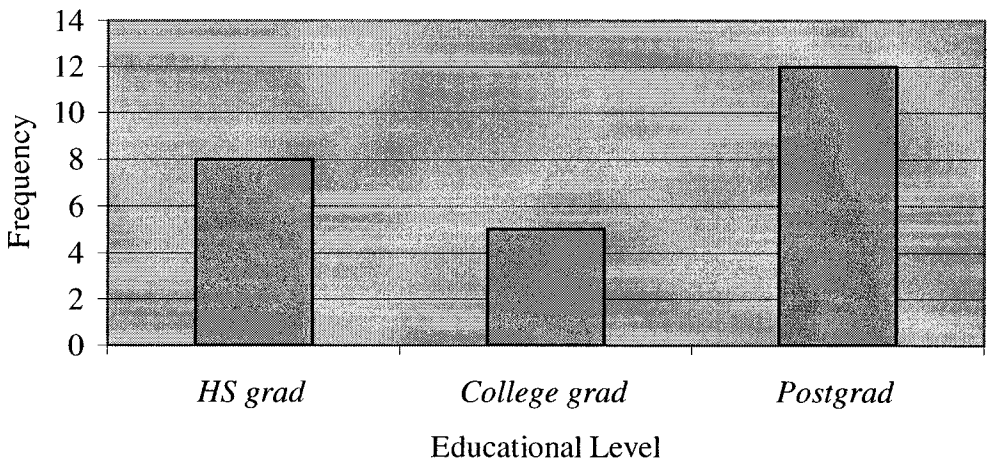


Figure 2. CEO Sample: Educational Level Achieved

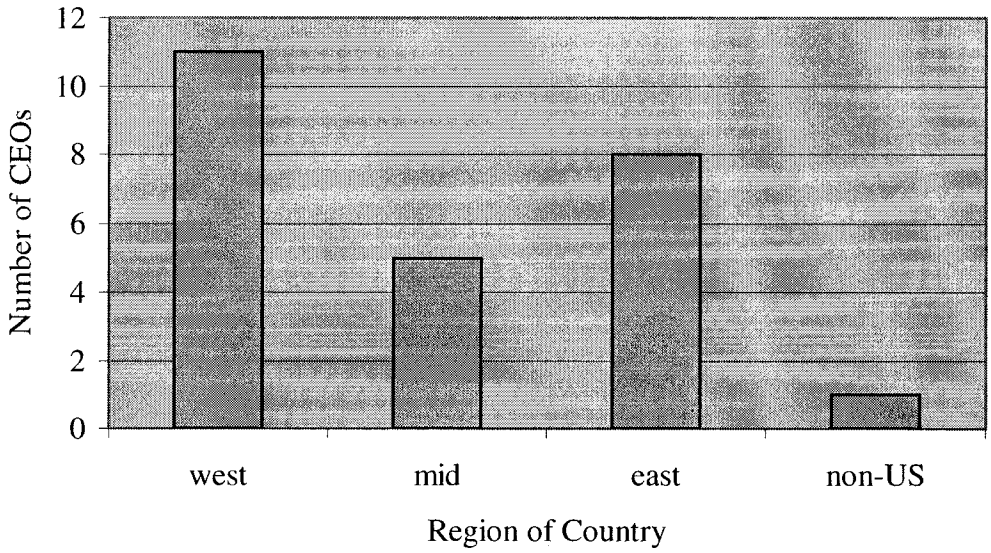


Figure 3. CEO birthplaces

The CEOs studied also came from organizations in a variety of sizes and stages of growth, from start-ups to mature companies competing in flat, cost-competitive markets. This had some implications for the way CEOs regarded employees and the importance of low turnover. Figure 5 shows the organizational size distribution of the sample.

All of the organizations interviewed reported some sort of response to the work/family conflict needs of their employees in the form of informal work/family programs or what they termed a sensitivity to the issue, while about a third of the organizations had some formal programs. In a few organizations, however, none

of the usual work/family programs, such as flextime, part-time, or work-at-home options were available, even though the CEO felt that the organization was sensitive to these issues. Moreover, the availability of these options varied, from managerial discretion to grant some sort of flexibility, to being regarded as a privilege, to being available to everyone, to being available only to parents. A couple of CEOs believed that there was no need at their organizations for work/family programs.

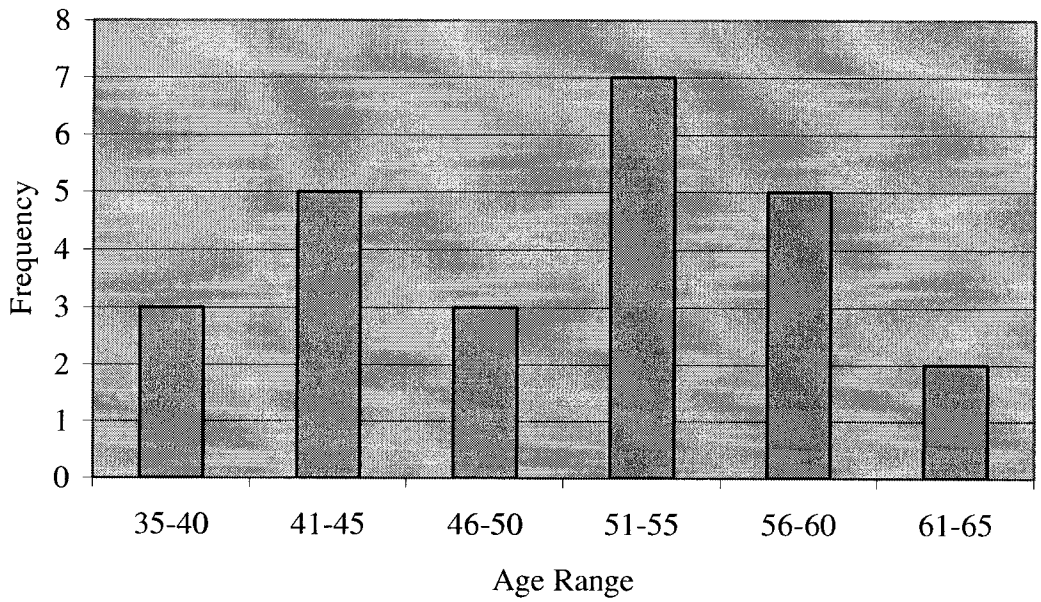


Figure 4. CEO Sample: Age Distribution

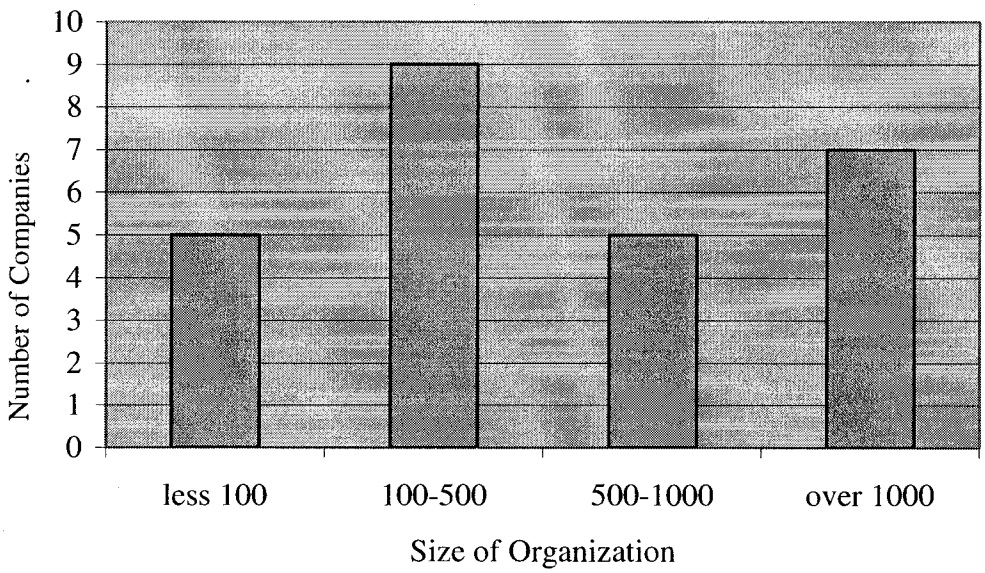


Figure 5. CEO sample: Organizational Size

If a CEO claimed sensitivity but their organization had no actual programs available, or if work/family conflict was not even acknowledged, the work/family decision is a level one decision. A level three decision was assigned if a CEO did make programs available to most employees, either on a formal or informal basis. Finally, a level two decision falls somewhere in between: the CEO has decided on, or tacitly approved, a limited availability of a limited number of programs, on a case-by-case basis, either formal or informal. Most organizations did not have formal programs; the ones that did usually only had a formal flextime program. In assigning levels to companies, information from available documentation as well

as information from the reflexive journal was used. The latter data included impressions of the family-friendliness of the organization. For example, the presence of employees with their children in the office was a good indication of a level three organization. Predominantly, however, the rating is based on the self-report of the CEO. Figure 6 breaks down the CEOs based on their work/family decision.

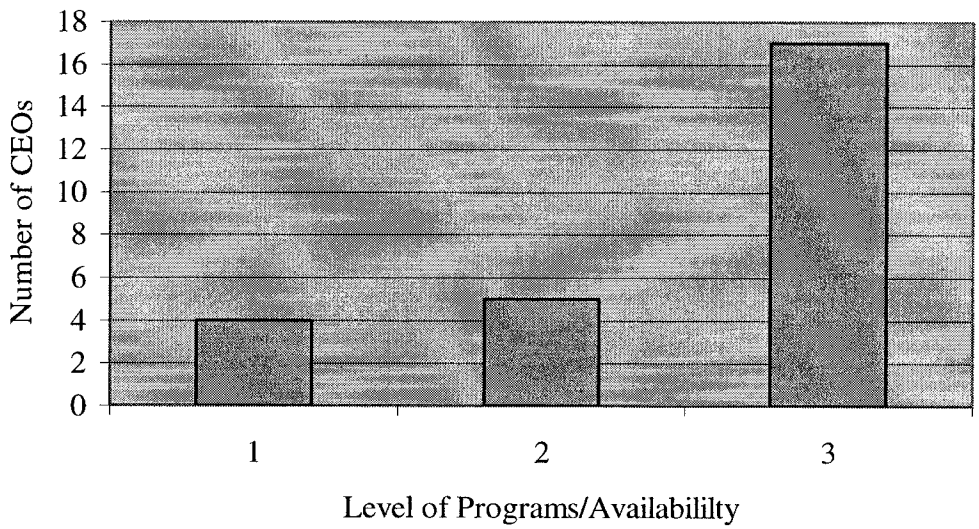


Figure 6. CEO Work/Family Decisions

Research Questions

The research questions for this study are as follows:

Grand tour Question #1: What are the major sources of beliefs and attitudes of CEOs regarding the efficacy of work/family programs at their organization?

Grand Tour Question #2: What are the processes through which CEO beliefs or attitudes have or can change?

Grand Tour Question #3: How are CEOs' beliefs and attitudes translated into decisions about the adoption of work/family programs in organizations?

Grounded Theory Statement

Grounded theory research generally focuses on a central phenomenon of interest, in this case, CEO beliefs and attitudes about work/family programs. Axial codes are generally causes, strategies, contextual variables, intervening conditions, and consequences surrounding the central phenomenon of interest. The grounded theory is presented in Figure 7.

The following is the summary of the theory grounded in the data collected. CEO life experiences with work/family balancing issues, in their own families, in the families of employees of those who work for them, and in their careers (through mentors or colleagues), interacting with the CEO's personality, **cause** attitudes and beliefs about work/family issues such as the importance of balance,

families and work, and the effectiveness of such programs and the need for them in their organizations. **Strategies** for dealing with their beliefs are the decision-making style the CEO employs to deal with work/family issues—either content (the business case) or process styles—learning, cognitive, or affective. Learning styles rely on experimentation strategies, cognitive styles on belief or knowledge structures or schema, and affective styles on feelings of empathy or respect for employees. The **context** in which these beliefs and decisions occur is organizational characteristics such as culture, size and industry. **Intervening conditions** include the leadership style and education of the CEO, economic constraints, competition, and pressures from employees (including retention issues). The **consequence** is the decision whether or not to allow work/family programs in the organization, and with what scope (availability and numbers/types of programs.) The code map describing the data is included in Appendix C since it is too large and complicated to include in the body of this report.

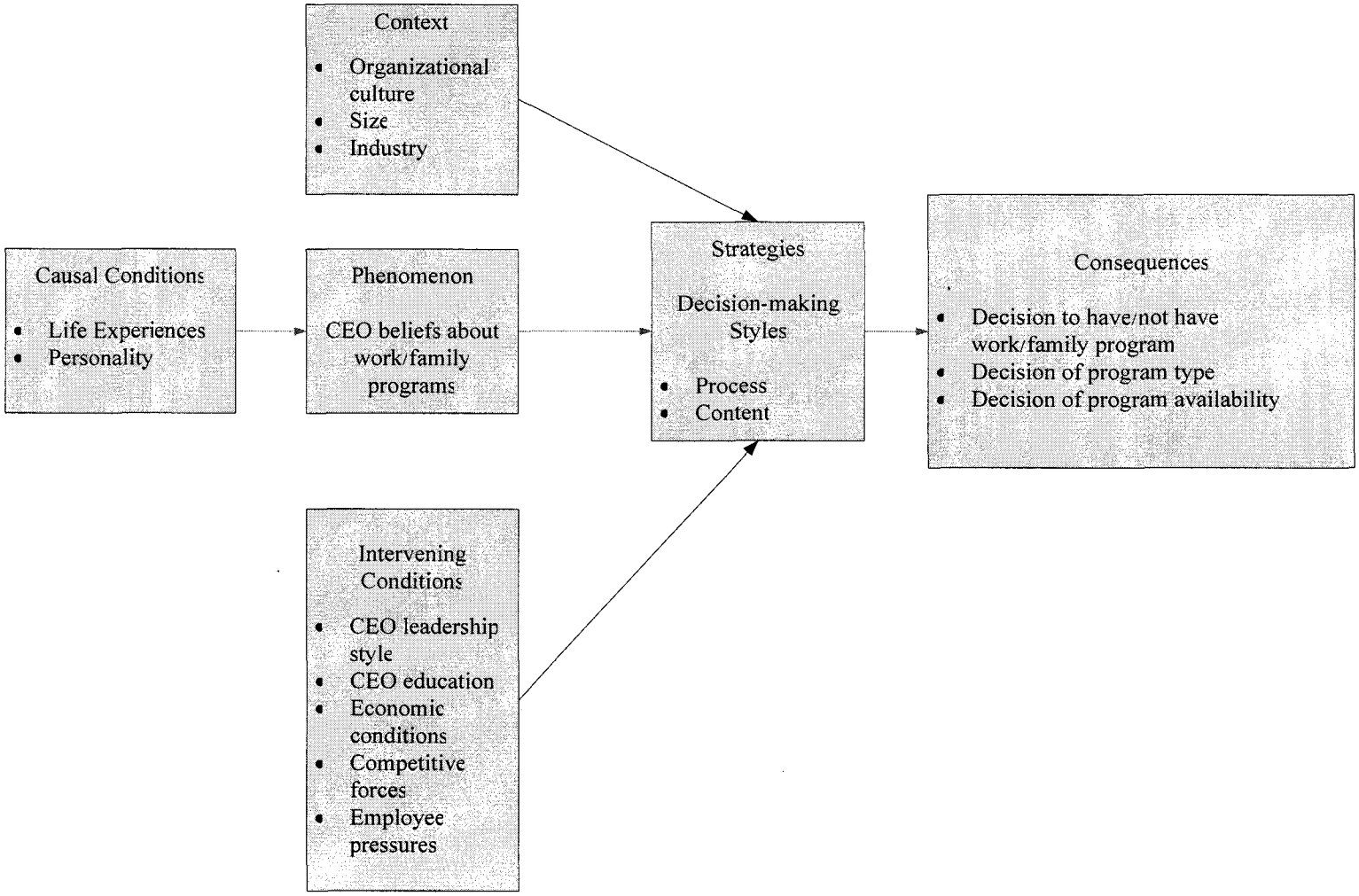


Figure 7. Theoretical Model for Differential Adoption of Work/Family Programs

Substantial data were collected for most of the variables in the grounded theory; however, for some variables there was scant information. These were the intervening conditions of economic constraints, competition, and employee pressure. Only a few CEOs mentioned these variables; however it is possible that these variables were factors in the decision for other CEOs but were not as important as others. In any case, the axial code of CEO strategies emerged as the differentiating factor in adoption decisions.

The next sections will present the data on the beliefs and attitudes of CEOs, and sources of these beliefs and attitudes. Where it served to illuminate the data, direct quotations have been provided.

Sources of Beliefs and Attitudes of CEOs

Before looking at the sources of CEO beliefs and attitudes, the findings as to what CEOs said that they believed or how they felt about work/family issues will be presented. CEOs were not specifically asked what they believed; instead what they chose to bring up spontaneously about their beliefs and attitudes was analyzed. The concern was that most CEOs would be politically correct and would try to come up with answers that they thought they should. To avoid this, direct questions about beliefs and attitudes were rarely asked, but beliefs and attitudes emerged from the interview.

Beliefs of CEOs

Table 2 lists the categories of beliefs held by CEOs that affected their beliefs about work/family programs.

Perhaps the most salient beliefs that CEOs have which affects their decision-making in work/family programs are their beliefs about productivity, and the best way to achieve a high level of productivity in their organization. CEOs reported differing beliefs regarding the effect of flexibility, long hours, and employee happiness on productivity. Flexibility was either believed to be critical to productivity or detrimental since the CEO couldn't count on everyone being at work at the same time.

Some positive beliefs about the flexibility-productivity link included the CEO's belief that it doesn't matter how or where work gets done, as long as it gets done. Some CEOs also believed that flexibility led to retention of employees and therefore less turnover, and served to attract employees as well. CEOs cited increased loyalty and happier employees as benefits of flexibility, and that a flexible organization could be successful.

Table 2

Categories of Beliefs Held by CEOs

balance
causes of organizational success
CEO role
employees
fairness
flextime
importance of religion
importance of support of own family
mothers working
organizational culture
organizational role in w/f conflict
parenting
productivity
w/f conflict

w/f program effectiveness
w/f programs
whether personal experiences should affect decisions
women in workforce changing world of work
work
working parents

Laura Harrison:

I was a Senior VP and had a employee who was having a problem with their 13 year old...I found out about it through other people and I approached the employee and suggested to her that she come...you know, that she leave work early enough to be home for her son when he got home from school and to see how that worked and to see if his disciplinary problems would have gotten better and lo and behold they did. So what did that do for that employee? That employee was more loyal because we were flexible with them, they worked harder, they were more productive because they didn't have to worry about their son anymore and overall I think it increased the productivity of that employee in this company.

Fred Andrews:

It just made good business sense, it just never made sense to me to try and not be accommodating as it related to a tradeoff for either productivity or engagement in what we're trying to get done...so much of it I think is just a tolerance or understanding or realization that you could be flexible and still be successful.

Another CEO, Harry Dawson, was also a big believer in flexibility—as long as the job got done, he didn't care how:

> The way I think of it is, less formal flex programs to adjust to a specific family need and more, that's being a professional staff member. It means if you've got a child conference today you've got a conference, if you need to come in later forever because of you're getting the kids to school in the morning and it takes you a while to do that, that's fine and as long as you're getting your job done and adjusting to that I don't care.

Jeff Manley put it this way:

> We expect a lot from people from a work point of view but if we give them completely rigid rules to work by and that doesn't work in their real life then they aren't going to be terribly productive...so we don't have a ton of statistics that measure that, we can't say because of flexibility we offer employees, the managers to make these kind of decisions that we get more productivity than other folks, but intuitively it seems to me it's the case. We have historically very, very low turnover rate averaging in the two to three percent a year range for most of our history and we have looked at formalizing programs and we have decided in each case not to do it.

Other CEOs worried that flexibility could be taken advantage of, but most CEOs interviewed seemed to feel that to be flexible was good for an organization. Flexibility was generally not encouraged company-wide however. Some job types seemed to be less flexible than others; however, this seemed to depend on the mindset of the CEO. Although most CEOs felt that call centers could not be flexible, Harry Dawson believed that flexibility could be built in, by overstaffing

and planning to be flexible. His main worry was not the logistics headache that flexibility would cause, it was that his call center employees were front-line employees who interacted the most with clients—they were the last employees he wanted to be angry because of inflexible scheduling.

> I think that you staff, by definition, there are going to be a certain percentage of people who are not going to be able to come in a certain day and one of the things you do if you staff call centers well is you build in that coverage.

Several CEOs agreed that there was a link between employee happiness and their productivity.

> Bob Edwards:
>
> I just know when you're, you know, when you're personally happy you're as happy as can be in your job, then your productivity goes up.
>
> John Dover:
>
> Some employees tell us they can't believe what a great place this is to work cause they tell horror stories of other employers but I think we just understand that people have to get things done and if they're not happy in their personal life they are not going to be happy here and vs. versa probably.
>
> Peter Lewis:
>
> I also believe that there's a linkage, I always look for linkage, and not to be too absurd here, but you take an employee who is able to concentrate on their work and enjoy what they do, recognizing that

their job has been set up in such a way that they can get home, and I'm using flextime as just an example here, but the environment has been set up where the company has enabled, where the company is an enabler to allow them to get home, have their time with their family, or have a three-day weekend so that can have Friday or Monday with family. If in fact that translates into a family that feels better about the company, you just won, because you're going home and your family's proud of the fact you work for this company and that's gonna help you, that's gonna show up somewhere in your expense line.

Ben Carson:

As long as the job gets done and the person is a contributing member of the team and a valued member of the team in terms of their work product and output...but we're gonna make whatever arrangements keep that employee happy because the bottom line is without happy employees who feel they are treated fairly and equitably across the whole organization you won't have a successful company.

This belief was also expressed in the negative; i.e. unhappy employees leave, with some CEOs believing that they need to intervene if employees are unhappy.

Jeff Manley:

I've found that people that are so consumed with the job that they can't manage their family life at some point burn out and become unproductive.

A few CEOs did not mention a belief that this link existed.

Most CEOs agreed that long work hours did not necessarily mean more productivity, but it could lead to burnout and other health problems and therefore be detrimental to productivity.

Adam King:

> I think someday the research will show that all the stress associated with working that many hours, more hours, longer work schedule is detrimental to people's health. It's certainly detrimental to their productivity.

One believed that the organization could lose employees if they were expected to work long hours. Long work hours were believed to be the result of poor management, or an employee not wanting to go home. Some CEOs did expect employees to work long hours:

Jack Kelly:

> You want to develop an environment where they think results are important...there are twenty-four hours in a day we would like to think that we get a large ch, portion of those twenty-four hours.

Other beliefs about productivity included the belief that work/family conflict leads to less productivity, that balance between work and family leads to higher productivity, and that employees are actually more productive if they do not worry about their families (such as worries about childcare) while at work. Other CEO beliefs about work/family conflict included the belief that family was

more important than work (a few CEOs felt that God came before family and work), and that if an employee's job is destructive to their family life then the employee cannot be happy. One CEO expressed the belief that although workers had more free time now, there was less time for family; another believed strongly in supporting the family. Another believed that the way to leave time for family was to get to work early and leave early.

This discussion leads to beliefs about what organizations ought to do about work/family conflict of their employees. Most CEOs believed their organizations did have a role to play in ameliorating this conflict. One CEO believed employees do not leave their families at the door; another believed if employees were not focused on their work it was the company's problem. Not all CEOs agreed however; one stated work/family conflict was a real issue but it was not one for his business to solve; another believed that he liked to be supportive of his employees but he cannot do everything.

Some CEOs believed that work/family programs were simply the right thing to do; others believed it was simply good management. A couple had some opinions about CEOs who do not believe that work/family programs are good for organizations: one called these CEOs dinosaurs; another said that these CEOs were blind, ignorant and inflexible.

Christopher Mason:

> This approach (work/family programs) is a phenomenally positive thing to do as a leader of a company and I think people who don't do this are blind and ignorant and unwilling to be flexible and I'm not sure I'd want to work in a place like that, even me.

The belief that mothers should be home with their young children was expressed by CEOs in different ways. For a couple of CEOs, it meant they did not believe their daughters should work and raise children. For others, it applied to their female employees.

Larry Smith

> My natural bent was that neither one of them would work when they had children that's just what I would think is better...I remember when the first grandchild was born and she was set to go back to work in 4 weeks and leave her little baby with somebody else and they didn't live near us at the time... And that was just totally against ... for me that's not my background, my feeling was it was not a great idea.

Maxwell Smith:

> I think the most important thing that a person will do with their lives is raising their children so if a mother says I don't want to work anymore, I want to take care of my kids, I wanna, like, shake their hand and say, I think you're doing the right thing... it can also kind of prejudice but mothers have a unique role with young kids and it's a hard thing to delegate even if society said men and women are equal in the workplace, delegate, I'm not sure men are good at accepting that responsibility and women are good at delegating that responsibility there's that nurturing genetic thing

> that women have with kids in the younger years, I think that it's pretty basic, it may not be PC at this moment but it is pretty real.
>
> Scott Wilson:
>
> We have someone that's out now on maternity leave and if she wants to stay home with her baby I would support that, it would be a big loss for us but that's more important.

One believed having work/family programs was a positive thing to do as a leader of a company; another believed that helping employees manage their work and family lives helped keep families together. Another CEO believed that being concerned about work/family conflict means that his organization respects the family. One CEO believed that there needed to be a champion in the organization to get the CEO to try work/family programs.

CEOs had both positive and negative beliefs about specific work/family programs and the employees who use them. CEOs believed flextime was either a no-brainer or resulted in happy campers. Most beliefs about part-timers were negative: CEOs did not perceive them as committed; that if you pay for 30 hours you actually get 15-20; and part-timers are not as dedicated or focused on the business.

Dick Henry:

> Because it's a part-time job, it's not central to uh, chances are if someone's working part-time they're not gonna view this place as important as the entirety of their deal.

One CEO did not believe that the more hours you work the more committed an employee was. While one CEO believed a part-time employee could not compete for promotions with the full-timers, another believed that part-time employees were a great value:

Maxwell Smith

> One of our key ladies in marketing had a baby and we strained all the rules and flexed everything and so she works here and there and sometimes but it's hard for her to compete with other people in her department when she's only working two or three days a week...I mean she'll never make it to the top at two or three days a week.

Christopher Mason:

> When I was at a large consumer products company, when I hired two women who had young kids that basically worked for me about a average of three days a week you could say they split a job but I was in a strategic planning role so the responsibilities were more task-oriented than they were ongoing business oriented...the results were phenomenal my experience was that I basically paid somebody for three days a week, I got four days a week worth of work for a couple of reasons. One is because they didn't turn off their mind when they weren't working, they still did voice mail and stuff like that on days they weren't in the office and they also were more incredibly efficient when they were in the office because they knew they were only there for a short period of time.

Beliefs about job-sharing were also polar, some believing it was only feasible for low level clerical staff, while others believed it could work in higher levels. While most CEOs agreed their job could not be shared, Nick Allen told me that he and the President of his organization basically shared the CEO duties, so that they were like co-CEOs. This arrangement seems similar to job-sharing.

Work/family programs such as telecommuting—working from home—and onsite daycare generated the strongest beliefs. Work at home (WAH) in particular seemed to involve many negative beliefs. CEOs believed that they did not get as good work from at-home workers; while employees were distracted at work they were much more distracted at home; WAH would not be more productive if kids were involved; and success in working at home depended on the individual employees.

Mike Slater:

> Telecommuting to which I'll define generally that means working from home part of the week and working from the office part of the week...personally I'm not much of a fan I don't think we get the value as a company when people are at home.

Few CEOs were really enthusiastic about it; one believed it might be more productive because of fewer interruptions. Fred Andrews was very enthusiastic, primarily because his best employee worked at home; another tried to talk a key

employee into working at home because he was afraid he might lose the employee because of a long commute.

CEOs tended to believe that balance was necessary both for the family and for the employee's personal health, and balance leads to higher productivity. The difference, however, lay in whose job it was to provide that balance, the organization's or the employee's. Some CEOs believed that if employees are treated with respect and fairness they will be loyal and productive. Treating people right, or as they would want to be treated, was an important value for some CEOs. One CEO stated balance was a matter of personal conviction and choice.

Almost all CEOs believed work/family programs were effective, but CEOs differed in their beliefs in how the programs returned to the bottom line. Many CEOs believed work/family programs increased retention, increased attraction of new employees, and resulted in higher productivity. Other CEOs generally agreed that work/family programs were effective in terms of retention, but were not so sure about productivity or attraction. Some believed the balanced lives of their employees returned to the bottom line; flexibility attracted higher quality people; and good feelings and attitudes were generated by work/family programs. Other CEOs reported if employees were treated with fairness and respect, then they would be more loyal and productive; what you do for employees will return to the

bottom line. Other benefits CEOs believed work/family programs produced include higher employee reliability, more focused employees, and productivity which extended from the individual to the organization itself.

The minority viewpoint held work/family programs would not deliver benefits to the organization, primarily because of a perceived lack of need. One CEO conceded a better analysis of exit interviews might yield some measurements of effectiveness. A few CEOs were not sure whether or not the programs resulted in greater productivity and worried about abuse. A few pointed to studies showing the programs as effective or not, depending on the numbers manipulated. Gerald Harris remarked that a CEO can rationalize any thing he wants to do; i.e. if he is in favor of the programs, he can come up with favorable numbers, and vice versa.

CEO beliefs about employees and work/family programs seemed to relate to their beliefs about the causes of organizational success. Some CEOs believed the company was successful because of their employees so they should help their employees. If employees were happy and treated with respect, the company would be successful.

CEOs expressed some beliefs about their role. Some believed their employees looked to them for norms and methods, the culture is set from the top

and work/family programs reflect the values of the organization. Some believed the CEO had a responsibility to the employee and to their families to run the company in the right way. If employees are not happy, then it is the role of the CEO to intervene. One CEO believed he should be an example to his employees, and said that it was a "bummer" that in this area, he was not a good role model. While he believed employees ought to go home to their families, he tended to work long hours himself. One CEO expressed the belief others perceived him differently than he did.

CEOs also had various beliefs about parenting and working parents. Bob Edwards believed he could not do his job without the support of his stay-at-home wife taking care of his child. Some expressed the belief a mother should be home with young children and that the mother is the more important parent; others recognized in many homes, both parents are working.

Many CEOs believed that children were important and that it was tough to be a parent. Kids need values and morals from their parents, parents need to spend time with their children, and the support of parents makes a real difference in the lives of children. Beliefs expressing the world is only as good as its families, further supported the idea that children are the promise of the future.

Nick Allen was engaged and was planning to have children and a nanny, but believed that he and his fiancée would still be active and responsible parents.

CEOs had different beliefs about women in the workforce and the nature of work itself. Some recognized the workforce has changed with a higher representation of women. One believed that whether an employee was male or female should not matter, but it does; Maxwell Smith believed that young women in his company get pregnant and leave; Don Larson expressed his belief that women have a difficult time because they have so many roles.

One CEO believed that the company should come first, but most believed that families came first. Other beliefs about work included that the boss should be on time and not leave early; a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, and that work is only one part of life, employees also need to be happy with their family life.

Attitudes of CEOs

CEOs had differing attitudes in regards to their employees, to parenting and to work/family programs. In analyzing the data, phrases using the words "like" or "don't like" were indicative of attitudes, according to Weyant's (1986) definition. In general, most CEOs did not reveal much about their attitudes toward work/family programs. They were far more likely to use cognitive terms

such as "I believe" or "I think" rather than the affective terms of "I like" or "I don't like."

Many CEOs liked to empower their employees, liked to see them win, and run their own shows. One expressed the attitude of supporting employees, but could not do everything for them. Another expressed his dislike of turnover and preference for a stable workforce. One CEO liked to see his employees leave at a decent hour, while another liked to take all the annoyances out of life so that his company could get a large share of the employee's time.

Many CEOs disliked bureaucracy and rules and regulations; for some, this translated into a dislike of formal work/family programs, for others, this was part of a flexible mindset that preferred providing employees with flexibility in their organizations.

> What happens is, as these things do, until you get them down into a real hard policy format, which I don't like to do cause then it's hard to make exceptions because you put a hard policy in place then you need to follow that.

One CEO said that he liked himself better when he was flexible.

Work/family programs such as part-time and telecommuting elicited the most negative attitudes. One CEO mentioned that he really likes full-time employees; another that he did not like part-time employment to occur. Another

mentioned that he liked to have everyone around; another mentioned that he did not like telecommuting.

On the other hand, a couple of CEOs liked onsite daycare theoretically, but thought it too complex for a small organization. Winston Salem fondly remembered an onsite daycare center at a former company, but didn't think it feasible for his own organization.

A few CEOs expressed their own feelings about their families. Maxwell Smith wished he could spend more time with his family; Adam King said his greatest joy was spending time with his kids. Larry Smith said he would rather that his working daughters stayed home with their children.

Adam King:

> ...and my number one priority is truly here I mean with my kids I mean the greatest joy I feel in life is seeing my little guys painting in the kitchen looking up...hey, dad help me here, you know just being with them, looking at them, it's the greatest joy I have.

Maxwell Smith:

> I'm the father of five, two grandchildren and I really hope on my tombstone it says, Maxwell was a good father not a good corporate businessman, so I personally am conflicted on the matter as well

Sources of Beliefs and Attitudes

After exploring the beliefs and attitudes of executives, what clues can be found as to how CEOs came to have these beliefs and feel these ways? Several CEOs were able to articulate what they thought the origins of their beliefs were. Some thought their beliefs were based on their values, in one case Christian values; one thought his beliefs were just common sense. One CEO thought his beliefs came from his flexible personality. However, most CEOs who reported a cause for their belief noted some sort of experience, either in their own family or in their career. Experiences within their own family included learning respect from one's mother, personal experience that balance or happiness leads to productivity; or from their background. A couple of CEOs felt that they had more empathy for employees because they only had high school degrees or had worked their way through college or up the organization. For one CEO this empathy overrode his politically conservative beliefs.

Experiences in their career were also thought to influence their beliefs. Some CEOs had experience with mothers who worked part-time who were extremely productive; another had experiences with part-time employees who were not committed to the organization. One CEO formed his beliefs about long working hours by talking with the employees who worked him. Another CEO

formed his beliefs about the effect of happy employees on productivity after talking with other CEOs.

According to this grounded theory, life experiences and personality can be conceptualized as causing beliefs and attitudes about work/family programs, even if CEOs were not consciously aware of this influence. Some CEOs related the influence of personal work/family conflict on their beliefs, while others did not make the connection in the interview. The findings regarding the life experiences of CEOs and their personality traits are presented in the next section.

Experiences of CEOs

The personal experiences of CEOs included their experiences both as a member of their family of origin and in their immediate family. Of particular interest was whether or not the CEO's mother, wife, or daughter had worked while raising their family, whether this resulted in conflict, and whether witnessing this conflict had influenced the CEO's beliefs about work/family programs and their effectiveness. Not as likely but of even greater interest was whether or not the CEO had direct experience of work/family conflict himself or herself. Career experiences were important as influences particularly as to how flexible or inflexible the work environment was and the influence of mentors. Early career experiences may be important in shaping later beliefs and decision-

making. Also of interest were experiences with employees who may have experienced work/family conflict, and the direct experience that CEOs had with work/family programs in other organizations earlier in their careers.

Family Experiences

The personal experiences of the CEOs in the sample that they had within their own families varied greatly in marital status and family situations. Often the stay-at-home wives of CEOs quit working to stay home with the children; some mothers chose to work part-time or work in the family business or their own business. Some CEOs had mothers who worked while they were small children; most had mothers who stayed home. A few lost their mothers at a young age and were raised by stepmothers who worked. The two female CEOs in the sample were both working moms and had directly experienced work/family conflict, as well as a few of the male CEOs. Don Larson was a divorced dad who took care of the kids while working; a few others were part of a dual-career couple and directly experienced conflict balancing family and work demands.

The family experience of the CEO did not always lead to the experience of work/family conflict. For example, a CEO with a working wife and a nanny would experience as little work/family conflict as a CEO with a stay-at-home wife. Often CEOs with working mothers did not recall their mother experiencing

work/family conflict. CEOs with working moms as daughters also did not necessarily see any conflict, particularly if the daughter was managing well with her business at home.

Memories of their mothers working varied among CEOs. Most mothers stayed home with the kids. Some CEOs had working mothers. One CEO's mother was a single parent, another's worked in the family business. When one CEO's mother missed holidays because of her working schedule, he became sensitive to the issue; another CEO saw his mother's difficulties with the inflexibility of the workplace. Dustin Crawford's mom taught him respect for employees. A couple of CEOs had stepmothers, both of whom worked.

Fathers also had some influence on CEOs. Some had memories of their father coming to all of his hockey games, or one who could leave work at the office, or who put his family first. One had a father who treated employees well; another taught him about loyalty from being in the military.

Many CEOs had daughters who were mothers in the workforce. They balanced work and family in various ways, from working part-time to having their own business at home. One mentioned that both his sons had stay-at-home wives, and one expressed the desire that he did not want his daughter to work after the

birth of her first child. One CEO noted that his daughter thought that working all the time was dysfunctional.

CEOs had various experiences as parents depending on whether they had wives who worked or stayed at home to care for the children. Some CEOs were in dual-career marriages where the burden of childcare fell to the wife. Some wives worked part-time or had businesses at home. A couple of CEOs had direct personal experience with poor daycare, which led them to feel favorably toward onsite daycare as a response to work/family issues. One CEO was a single father. The two female CEOs both had children. Gloria Jones noted that her experience made her sensitive to other working mothers so that balancing would not be as difficult for them. Laura Harrison worked during her pregnancy to keep her job but resented it.

As fathers, CEOs had different experiences. One remembered spending most of his time at work while raising a family. Dustin Crawford went into law to spend more time with his children, another wished he had spent more time with his children, while another proudly noted he had gone to almost all of his daughter's games.

Most CEOs, however, had stay-at-home wives who took care of the children. Some wives gave up their own careers to stay home. Some had grown

children. One CEO acknowledged that he could not work without his wife staying home and taking care of the kids.

Wives had influence on their husbands. One wife urged her husband not to work so hard; another led him to supply a mother's room for working moms to pump breast milk for their babies. Two CEOs married working mothers who were single parents with work/family issues.

Career Experiences

CEOs had various experiences in their careers. Some had mentors that were important to them; others had particularly bad bosses that influenced them. They experienced both flexible and inflexible workplaces.

Some CEOs worked long hours, however one noted that in his experience long work hours did not mean more productivity. One CEO said he learned in his career that a happy employee is productive. Nick Allen wanted to give more vacation time because he had worked in Europe, where big vacations are the norm. Patrick Davis changed the organizational structure to avoid employee burn-out. Another remembered managers who had no life outside work, another wanted balance and to succeed professionally, while another recognized work can be very addicting. Some CEOs worked their way up through the ranks of their organizations. One CEO regularly got a feel for his workforce by working the

phones. Finally, Christopher Mason mentioned the influence of working with female peers who had work/family issues.

Mentors had different influences. One mentor passed on the belief that family was more important than work. Another treated everyone very well, while another was very ethical. Poor supervisors also had influence. One CEO reported that he learned how to be a good manager by not emulating his boss.

CEOs' experiences of flexible workplaces varied. Some had worked in flexible environments. One had experienced flextime, while another talked his superiors into focusing on results, rather than hours worked. Many CEOs, however, worked in inflexible environments, like the Army, Marines, or the FBI. Nick Allen mentioned that in Europe there is a culture which discourages work being fun. Another remembers a work environment where work was definitely more important than family.

Employee Experiences

Although many CEOs did not experience work/family conflict first-hand, many were familiar with it because their employees experienced it. One remembered particularly an employee who had problems not only with childcare, but with eldercare and poor health.

Work/Family Program Experiences

Some CEOs recalled experiences with work/family programs at other organizations. Some of these experiences were positive and some negative. Positive experiences included working at Hewlett-Packard where flex-time was invented, while some had tried flexibility or part-time programs and were able to measure higher productivity. Negative experiences revealed onsite daycare programs that failed, or an experience with an employee working at home who could not be reached. Nick Allen noted that he does not get as much work done at home as at the office.

CEO Experiences Affecting Beliefs and Attitudes

Some CEOs acknowledged that their experiences had influenced their beliefs about work/family issues and programs, while others did not believe that there was a link between their experiences and their beliefs. In particular, some CEOs thought that being in an inflexible environment during their career did lead them to think about what they would change if they were in charge, while others never thought about doing things differently. Experiencing work/family conflict through their own families did influence some CEOs, but did not influence others. One CEO revealed he was more sensitive about the issue because he worked his way up the company.

CEO Personality

CEOs had different personality types. There are many ways to categorize personality types. In order to analyze the findings on personality, Lewin & Stephens (1994) template was used, as they theorized these types (which they called attitudes) had an impact on organizational design, or culture (Lewin & Stephens, 1994). The categories are: need for achievement, Machiavellianism, egalitarianism, trust in people, tolerance for ambiguity, locus of control, risk propensity, and moral reasoning. Need for achievement indicates how strongly a CEO is motivated by achievement. Machiavellianism is the indicator of how much a CEO values power and control to manipulate people. Egalitarianism is the opposite of Machiavellianism, and a CEO with a high need for egalitarianism feels that people are basically equal and respects his employees. Trust in people is a similar characteristic; CEOs with high trust feel that their employees are basically good. Tolerance for ambiguity has implications for problem-solving. CEOs with a high tolerance for ambiguity will be more likely to deal easily with ambiguous problems, be more open to change, and be willing to experiment. Risk propensity deals with the amount of risk a CEO is able to tolerate. Locus of control refers to whether the CEO feels that control is internal or external to him. Moral reasoning refers to Kohlberg's (1969) theory of ethical decision-making.

The CEOs in this sample were asked to describe their personality, and their descriptions have been coded to these 8 categories when appropriate. When a category emerged from the data that did not fit these eight categories, another category was created. It is important to note that the CEOs were not asked to place themselves in one of the categories.

High Need for Achievement

Lewin & Stephens (1984) theorized that most CEOs have a high need for achievement, and this was true in this CEO sample as well. CEOs reported high achievement needs or being motivated by achievement, being results-driven, and bored if not challenged. CEOs also described themselves as Type A, driven, competitive, impatient, and driven to prove themselves. CEOs also had high standards for themselves and others, and were very responsible.

High Machiavellianism

Mike Slater reported himself as a control freak. Although he was the only one to fit in this personality category in the sample, most likely many more CEOs who were not in the sample would score high on Machiavellianism.

High Egalitarianism

Several CEOs reported egalitarian personality traits, or they were observed during the interview. For example, a few CEOs answered their own phones.

Some mentioned that they were non-hierarchical and were impatient with the status needs of their employees. Others mentioned that they treat employees with respect and dignity, and that they were compassionate and respectful of employees. Another expressed that integrity and respect for people were important values. Fairness was reported as important by some CEOs.

High Tolerance for Ambiguity

Several CEOs reported their personality as open to change or learning and/or new ideas. One CEO described himself as not structured and not working well by the clock.

High Trust in People

A few CEOs reported empathy with others who wanted to work and have a family and with single working parents. Others described themselves as willing to give people the benefit of the doubt, tolerant, or sensitive. One CEO said he had fun at work because his employees work well; another said he was secure and comfortable managing and motivating his employees.

Other

Locus of control did not seem to fit in the personality category of this study, so will be considered under leadership style. Moral reasoning was expressed as feeling morally responsible for the product; or thinking that social

responsibility was important. None of the CEOs mentioned risk as a personality trait. Another emergent category is sense of humor; some CEOs described themselves as using humor in a variety of situations. CEOs described themselves as blunt, confident, easy-going, and willing to admit they were wrong. CEOs also described themselves regarding their work ethic. One said he believed he had to earn his pay every day; another said he enjoyed work but was not a workaholic; another said he tends to want to work all the time. A couple said they were a rogue or contrarian; another described himself as a champion of causes. A couple of CEOs valued family relationships more than work relationships, and another noted that it was important to know what you want in life. One male CEO said he was a radical feminist who hired many women executives.

Strategies: CEO Decision-Making Styles

To report the findings on CEO decision-making processes, the Rajagopalan & Spreitzer (1997) model of distinguishing between types of studies of strategic decision-making processes was adapted. The categories of content and process types of decision-making styles were used. Content decision-making is rational, focusing on objective data on cost/benefit, productivity, attraction and retention. Process decision-making has two groups, learning and cognitive. Learning processes focus on experimentation, experiences, and talking with others. Cognitive processes focus on beliefs, morality, knowledge schemas, and

perceptions. A third category emerged from the data, that of an affective process. This style is more attitudinal than cognitive, and is based on feelings of empathy and respect.

It is important to note that CEOs were questioned on their decision-making styles with regard to work/family program adoption, and it is possible that this decision is made in a different way than other decisions; however, it is possible that CEOs used the same process for all decisions. Moreover, a CEO may use more than one process for making this decision--one mentioned he made decisions partly on his gut and partly on the numbers.

Content Decision-Making Style

CEOs that primarily used a content decision-making process to make the adoption decision usually used a cost/benefit analysis, often on a case-by-case basis. Typically, before a decision would be made, a need for retention of employees would have to be perceived. Two CEOs in the sample did not perceive a need in their organization, and consequently provided no programs. One of them allowed a work-at-home situation to occur, but he was clearly unhappy with it. He also said programs would be considered if an employee who has been there a while would ask. These CEOs did not mention the existence of a formal process for uncovering employee needs, such as surveys.

Joseph Alexis:

I haven't had the request or need to do it I don't feel I'm doing the right thing because I'm not doing it, I'm not taking a stance like that at all. I'm just saying that it hasn't been requested, I'm also saying that we are sensitive to it.

Mike Slater:

when you come to work everyday you never know exactly what the problems of the day are gonna be but if this one pops up you deal with it, but right now it's a non-issue, people have whatever they are doing under control it allows us to work on other things...

B: okay so you would have to first see a burning need here in your organization for it and then you'd give it a try, then you'd have to see it working here at your organization

M: yeah and I'd probably also have to tell you I'd have to see it from somebody who's been here a while

Maxwell Smith is an example of a CEO who did perceive a need to retain valued employees, and saw this as the only reason to have work/family programs.

B: so why do you do it, is it a retention issue?

M: yeah, cause we need 'em

B: well those are the two main things that are cited retention and increased productivity

M: yeah retention

B: so you do those things because you want to keep them

M: yeah, cause we want to keep them, so we are flexible with them

Patrick Davis was another CEO who saw retention as being the primary motivator for work/family programs, but only if it made sense financially.

B: well it sounds like a retention issue somebody that you want to keep

Patrick Davis: oh absolutely

B: so you'd make a special arrangement because the company is moving and if it's too difficult

P: right and frankly we have to look at what is the cost of losing somebody and definitely is that somebody that we do want to retain and that would make us the more motivated policymakers, if you will, to try to accommodate somebody's need, you know, as well as if we really thought that we really did need that person in the office to have a positive contribution to others that were working around...that would play into our thinking as well.

Other CEOs using a content style of decision-making noted that flexibility was only granted on a case-by-case basis, and it wasn't always approved.

B: if I wanted to sell you on let's say a job-share arrangement for example how would I go about presenting it

Larry Smith: if you were the employee

B: yeah how would I convince you that it was the right thing to do?

L: well, we'd just look at the facts I guess

B: so first I'd have to establish a need?

L: yeah and then we'd have to see if it would work we start thinking of what won't work if we make this change or what's gonna be difficult and then we have to think of ways of overcoming those things, you know, I mean certain things have to happen, and I mean all of a sudden this arrangement means those things are not going to happen we have to either figure out how to make it happen or then it won't get approved...we've had some people in the past, I can't think of any but I know it's happened, where they said it had to be part-time or quit and we've said well then it has to be quit so we don't just...

B: you don't just grant it every time it happens

L: right

Winston Salem:

I think the first thing we'd look at is you know what kind of employee is this

B: ok so it's kind of a privilege

W: well, I wouldn't use the word privilege, I'd say do we have enough data on the performance of the employee to have an opinion as to whether this would work out or not and if the answer is yes, then the next step would be well what is the job and is there...as general approaches I indicated we're one deep at least and if you're lucky you're two deep so how do we cover the rest of the responsibility, you know, if we could work it out, and really, it kind of depends on...the other piece of this is, is this a long-term thing? Or a short term thing? If it's a short-term thing then we'd probably be more accommodating in that we'd try to fill the gap for the person to do what he or she needed to do, if it were a long-term kind of thing then we really need to look at organizationally, does

it make sense to make a change and if so what would it be and if not then to give the employee a choice

B: a choice of either to

W: stay full-time or leave the company

One thing that really differentiated content decision-makers was their belief that their own personal experiences should not have any influence on the decisions that they make for their organizations. The idea that they could learn from their own experiences and apply that learning to the leadership of their companies did not occur to them for this issue, although it may have for other issues. They had the perception that it would be unfair to use knowledge gained in their personal lives about balancing work and family in making work/family adoption decisions.

Process Decision-Making Styles

Process decision-making processes include learning, cognitive, and affective processes. Learning decision-making processes rely on experimentation and talking with others. Cognitive processes rely on beliefs and knowledge schemas, while affective processes depend on feelings of respect or empathy for employees.

Using a process decision-making style did not preclude the use of the content style as well. Most CEOs looked at the costs and benefits of work/family

programs; the key differentiation is whether or not other factors—such as life experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and personality—had a conscious influence on the adoption decision. For example, two Learning CEOs talked about how attraction and retention were important to their decisions as well.

Gerald Harris:

> If I were a single mom and I was working at this job and I had a daycare center I could bring my kid to and I could go see my kid on outside demands rather breaks or lunch, that would be a killer thing that would be wonderful so who will I attract? I'll attract the people who are really motivated, I'll get better employees, I'll get employees who really want to be here who say, you care about me so I care about you so I'm going to do a good job and that level of commitment is invaluable and I don't know how else to get it.

Donald Larson:

> The HR guy came to me, and we had outside consultants, and we looked at what other companies like us gave, we looked at, we talked to our employees about what they thought was most important and ranked them, we met with them in what we call employee benefit meetings, and that discussion, and then we rolled out the programs we thought would best help our particular company, most companies would do it that way.
>
> B: In terms of your own internal decision-making process, saying this is a good idea
>
> D: yeah, my own internal decision-making process was developed, was geared on, uhm, creating a benefit package where people would want to stay here beyond their salary and bonus
>
> B: so retention

D: retention. So I viewed these as retention issues.

Learning Decision-Making

CEOs who used this style for making adoption decisions considered their life experiences, such as direct experience of work/family conflict in their own family or the conflict experienced by their employees or peers. In contrast to CEOs who used the content style of decision-making, these CEOs thought it perfectly appropriate to use personal experiences in decision-making.

Adam King:

> I guess it comes from my own value structure which is that you know I believe that I perform at a much higher level, make better decisions, interact with more positive energy when I have balance, you know when I have time with my wife and children and when I have time to hike and some time thinking about something other than running this company.

When they encountered a work/family conflict problem in their organization, they tried a solution, such as work-at-home or part-time, and when the solution worked, they applied it to others in the organization. Essentially, they learned that work/family programs were effective in the past, and applied that learning to other work/family situations.

Christopher Mason

> It was somebody I knew who had worked for me before fulltime and had a change in life and I was in a different company,

happened to be in the same town, and she wanted to do some work and I needed help and I figured this woman can help me a little bit and so I gave it a shot and was amazed at how much we got out of the deal and candidly she was really happy...a big part of this is the positive reinforcement you get from doing something like this makes it, and it's not going to work for everybody some people would be miserable, some people, I'm trying to remember if I've ever had a situation where it didn't work but some people are not flexible enough to say okay I'm going to do this x period of time and then not do it y period of time so mine was just giving something a shot and being open-minded enough to see how it worked, would work and to see it work

Fred Andrews

It just never made sense to me to try and not be accommodating as it related to a tradeoff for either productivity or engagement in what we're trying to get done so much of it I think is just a tolerance or understanding or realization that you could be flexible and still be successful

B: and how did you come to that realization?

F: I think it was with a lot of help from people around me suggesting that we do it this way or that way and saying sure let's give it a shot.

Laura Harrison

Job-sharing was really a couple of employees got together and said hey, I think we can job-share and presented it to their senior person and the senior person came to me and I said, hey, let them pilot, let them try if it works then maybe we can turn it into a program that would work for other employees though in that case the employees came forward with an idea that we liked and we figured we would try it we would learn from it and set some standards for it and some parameters around so that people could be successful and that we'd

> go from there so it's a combination of ways that we, the way we identify these types of programs and it comes from a lot of different places

Another way that CEOs used a learning decision-making process is by talking with other CEOs or with their employees. When deciding on a new program, a learning CEO might do an employee survey to ascertain if a need existed.

Gerald Harris:

> We finished the first tier survey and actually had a pretty high interest level (in onsite daycare) so now there's a second survey being prepared that will just go to those people because what we really need to understand is, what is the demand

Talking with other CEOs in particular was important in changing CEOs views.

Nick Allen:

> If you brought him in (a CEO) and he said an employee at home and happy is a productive one I'll listen to him I totally will listen I wouldn't be telling you I wouldn't be listening with a half skeptical ear but I would totally listen to other CEOs experiences that's why I go to CEO groups

Cognitive Decision-Making

CEOs who used this decision-making process decided to adopt work/family programs because they were the right thing to do. Programs were

widely available to these employees. The need of employees for these programs was assumed to exist.

Bob Edwards:

How did you decide to implement these, what was your decision making process for making that decision?

Bo: I don't know.

B: it seemed like a good idea?

Bo: no, it just seems like the right thing. It's not necessarily a good idea it's just the right thing to do

Dick Henry even went so far as to mention it was the right thing to do to get into Heaven.

I believe that if you're narcissistic and all you care about is yourself and how much money you have and so forth you could get arrested by Harvey Pitt at the SEC because that's about all there is to you and you know you're gonna die cause we haven't found a way to avoid that then if when you're dead there is an afterlife you're gonna feel damn bad if you had a chance to do all these good works and you didn't do it and now you have an eternity of hellfire and brimstone and if there isn't anything after that then doing these things will have made the world a better place so you haven't really lost anything you just won't care.

CEOs who believed that flexibility resulted in higher productivity wanted to provide it to their employees. This belief stemmed from a personal preference for flexibility.

B: so how did you decide to have a flexible organization? Was it a conscious decision on your part or did it just kind of evolve?

Jim Nichols: I think it's just nature.

B: your nature?

J: yeah

Affective Decision-Making

CEOs using an affective decision-making process reported that they made the adoption decision because they really cared about their employees or had empathy for their employees who were experiencing work/family issues.

Gerald Harris:

I, you know, I'm sure it is...I'm sure it's a combination of your life experiences and a combination of, you know...the other thing is that I really genuinely care about our employee base and when I look at how they, you know, what they're lives are like and what they're doing I try to see ways that I can help cause you know the success here wasn't mine the success is everybody's and if there are ways that I can do things from my corporate perspective that reach into their lives and makes a difference, I'd do it

Paul Lewis:

I think that there is a frustration that occurs and I can very much relate to this. I have three children and a wife that had a professional career, and it is very difficult to move one's career forward and worry about raising your kids. It's just tough. There's just no easy solution, there's this pressure this tension that's really hard to deal with and I empathize with predominantly young employees who have typically younger children, although

> teenagers create plenty of challenges anyway, but it's very difficult to have your mind at your work and also being thinking about what is going on with your children. It's exponentially magnified in today's environment where we have a lot of single parents, mothers and fathers, and we have quite a few, and so you have a pressure there that you have to acknowledge as an employer and try to find the balance, because if you don't find the balance you're not going to have productive employees, you're not going to have happy employees and you're going to have turnover that you don't necessarily want to have

Justin Prescott even said he decided based on improving employee morale even if it is more costly in the long run.

> The 4-10 hour work week for instance economically, it actually costs the company more...it was hard to quantify but there was a morale issue and there was a positive reaction to it and it had actually gotten taken away for about a year and was reinstituted...that's something where a financial analysis would say don't do this but at the end of the day it turned out and I think people are thrilled with it.

Dustin Crawford said that his mother had taught him to have respect for his employees.

> I would say that the bulk of what has affected me in my life I guess is that I want to make sure that the staff people get treated right cause my mother was a telephone operator so I insist that if being a lawyer was so great Christ would have been a lawyer instead of a carpenter and you get a lot of ego and if anything has affected me it is that everybody gets treated with respect and dignity.

Contextual Variables: Culture, Size and Industry

Although culture, size and industry make up the context in which decisions about work/family programs were made, the sample size was not large enough to be able to make any conclusions about their effects. Many CEOs mentioned organizational culture as exerting a strong influence, however, and many maintained that they set the corporate culture.

CEOs saw their roles in very different ways. Several saw their role as setting the culture or the tone for his organization. In particular, these CEOs set the tone for their direct reports, or set the example not to work long hours or that it was okay—or even important—to consider work/family balance. One CEO stated that his role was to set the culture and to reinforce it; another that his role was to talk to his direct reports about work/family balance so that it cascades down through the organization. One CEO said his role was to get people thinking about flexibility. Another CEO said his role was to create an environment where employees could tell management what they needed.

Other CEOs saw their role as supportive, and to hire supportive managers. This support usually came in the form of flexibility for their managers. Some CEOs mentioned that they would intervene if they saw an employee working too many hours, if an employee wasn't taking vacation time, or if they noticed

work/family conflict affecting an employee's job. A couple of CEOs saw their role as changing the organizational structure if some employees had excessive workload, or to make sure the company has the right manpower.

A couple of CEOs saw their role as initiating work/family programs at their organizations. Many more saw their role as one of approval, either as the final decision-maker (one pointed out that he needed to be the one to say no when it wouldn't work) for new policies or programs, or in giving tacit approval by allowing programs to exist informally. One mentioned an implied understanding if the situation works out alright. Another way that CEOs tacitly approved work/family programs was by delegating work/family programs to managers. This left adoption up to the discretion of managers.

Intervening Variables: Leadership Style, Education, Economic Constraints, Competition

Of all these intervening variables, the most data were obtained regarding CEOs leadership style and education. A few CEOs mentioned economic realities in implementing programs or competitive pressures, but very little data were obtained in these areas.

CEO Leadership Style

According to Farkas & Wetlaufer (1996) leadership style can be thought of as general approaches that are chosen depending on outside demands rather than

inside preferences. Leadership style may interact with decision-making styles to result in particular outcomes. For example, a particular leadership style may make a CEO more inclined to decide to implement work/family programs. The leadership style which may intervene in the work/family program adoption decision is the human assets approach.

Human Assets Approach

CEOs who lead with this approach focus on retaining valued employees and imparting their values to their employees so that they can be empowered to act autonomously. Theoretically, they would be interested in work/family programs for retention. CEOs reported that their style focused on leadership development, they were coaches, motivational, and liked to see people win. Some were collaborative, supportive of their employees, and liked to communicate. Some liked to give their employees a fair amount of latitude and push decisions down. One described his style as values-directed; another said he expected others to do the right thing. One CEO said people issues kept him up at night.

Other Leadership Styles

Some CEOs were close to the customer; others delegated heavily to their staffs. One CEO described himself as hands-off. A couple of CEOs described themselves as setting the vision. Another CEO said his style was to let employees sink or swim--he hired the best, gave them resources, and then got out of their

way. A few described their style as benevolent dictators; another said he strategized democratically but implemented dictatorially. Many were directive and liked to make decisions, and were results-oriented.

Education

Education seemed to intervene in decision-making strategies, although it was not clear from the data how education interacted with other variables. Some CEOs obtained only a high school education, while others had post-graduate degrees. CEOs with high school degrees tended to feel empathy for their employees because they had either worked up through the ranks or were entrepreneurs.

How CEO Beliefs and Attitudes Have Changed

One of the most interesting findings of this research is that sources of beliefs and attitudes and how they may change is highly variable depending on the CEO involved. Some CEOs are influenced by their personal experiences, while others are not. Some CEOs, however, did report a change in their beliefs and/or attitudes.

One way that a couple of CEOs mentioned that their beliefs about work/family issues had changed is by talking with other CEOs.

Nick Allen:

Now I understand that relaxed and happy employees are more productive

B: and how did you come to that realization what happened to change you

N: CEO groups and talking to other people and realizing that from that aspect it was a total dinosaur mentality I mean the problem is you can't enforce the practices I grew up with in America. I'm not sure whether it's more productive than a totally rigid work sweatshop type environment because those are very productive the problem is you can't get away with that for the American worker.

Most CEOs would not be influenced by academic research or some sort of report about work/family program effectiveness; the question is always, is it needed here and will it work here? There is also a perception that numbers and reports can be interpreted in several ways.

Gerald Harris:

Yeah well show me the numbers means if I want to tear it apart, show me the numbers and I'll tear it apart if I want to win, show me the numbers and I'll say why it's a good deal.

Mike Slater:

Is I'm not swayed by studies per se I'm swayed by, I guess I'd like to say it this way, I need to help my employees...they're here because they choose to be here, they could choose to be someplace else, I appreciate them being here, if I can help them whatever is it within reason I would do that but if they're not telling me they're

> having a problem I'm not gonna go create a solution for a non-problem because of a study. I could the reverse of this also read a study that there is no problem when I've got one so I am my microscopic self here in terms of our sample size of 150 folks...if it's a issue I'm not gonna go hire people with kids so that I could fill up a daycare center I'm not gonna hire people with no kids because I don't have a daycare center...at the moment you just will react to needs that your employees face but it isn't even close to an issue. This may be tacky to say but if you or anybody else wrote a study if you have inhouse daycare you get twenty percent more productivity out of your working space I gotta tell ya it hits my outbox round file and I go about my day.

However, hearing of another CEOs success in their organizations leads some to change their beliefs.

Nick Allen:

> Input from respected peers is by far the most powerful not empirical data from surveys and I do read surveys and I do read but I'd much rather hear the 10 minute version from someone I really respect

One CEO reported that a seminar about creativity influenced his views. Another reported that he learns from his mistakes. Gerald Harris reported that family became more important to him as he got older and more spiritual.

Jack Kelly talked of the difficulty of changing his nature, even with his wife's influence.

> My wife always reminds me that when I'm on my death bed her term is, you know when you're on your deathbed my guess is

you're not gonna wonder about that one meeting you could have gone to

B: or say, gee I wish I'd worked more

J: oh I just wish, remember that meeting on the 24th of Sept, I missed? Geez I wish I would have gone to it...that probably won't be it and she's probably right, but I also don't know anybody who sets out to have a high level of achievement who doesn't become monomaniacal to the exclusion of other things. I suppose it's a little about worrying about your nature it's hard to change I'd be miserable if I did it any other way so...

Some CEOs did have some personal experiences which led them to change their beliefs. One CEO, Gerald Harris, reported that his family-friendly views were influenced both by the fact that he did not die as young as his father did, and that he had achieved great success early in life.

Gerald Harris:

Once I passed thirty-nine my view of life changed, maybe I could live through this. The other thing that happened is I achieved probably what I had targeted in my twenties and thirties as constituting success I had achieved by then and then the question was what's next? And my theory for you would be when people get to what's next what's next turns out to be all the soft things that maybe the classic CEO particularly young buck CEOs don't get yet and what's next for me is what about everybody, how do I help other people?

Gerald considered the change to be a spiritual one; that it was simply the right thing to do to help his employees balance their work and family lives. This

CEO, however, also had personal experiences with work/family issues, and was also an entrepreneur who started his own company. His wife had worked while their children were young, he had bad experiences with daycare, and his mom was a single working parent.

Learning CEOs were most likely to have changed their beliefs or attitudes based on experiences. They reported experiences with employee successes with work/family programs had changed their beliefs.

Fred Andrews:

> ...but in a service industry I've seen the results and the intrinsic benefits of treating employees like I'd like to be treated and so whether that—I know it equates to keeping good employees and attracting good employees...we have a reputation for being a good place to work, so people want to work for us and so it's less, it's harder to measure productivity, well, we can actually do employee productivity based on transactions and call volumes and yeah we've got one telecommuting employee, her numbers are always off the charts, it's great she's got a young child at home, it's perfect...we shoot the calls to her, she doesn't have to be here you know in today's world with telecommunications and computers and support functions people don't have to physically be here it's that simple

Christopher Mason:

> Well I've personally had some incredibly positive benefits from having what have generally been moms of kids who decide that, for all the reasons that women decide this, they want to continue to have their toe in the water they want to continue to stay involved

on some basis but the kind of fifty hour a week plus job that most of us do is not really going to work for them.

How Belief and Attitudes of CEOs Are Translated into Decisions to Adopt Work/Family Programs

The final research question regarded understanding the translation of beliefs and attitudes into work/family program adoption decisions as a way to differentiate between CEOs who thought work/family programs were good for their organizations and those who did not. In this section, findings will be presented in five different ways: (1) a summary of the influence of key variables on adoption; (2) Lewin's force field analysis (Weisbord, 1987) diagram explaining the findings; (3) a decision tree explaining the differential adoption by CEOs for all 26 cases based on decision-making styles; (4) a poem, and (5) five stories illustrating the five decision-making styles. Finally, a poem describing the results will be presented. The following is a summary of the key findings for this research question.

The following is a summary of the influence of key variables on adoption.

1. Younger, more educated CEOs may be more likely to decide to adopt work/family programs at their organizations.

2. Variables such as personality or life experiences alone did not explain positive adoption decisions.

   a. Direct personal experience with work/family conflict did not necessarily lead to positive adoption decision.

   b. Lack of direct personal experience with work/family conflict did not necessarily lead to negative adoption decision.

3. Belief in work/family program effectiveness is sufficient for positive work/family program adoption only if a need is perceived by the CEO.

4. Whether or not a need is perceived for work/family programs to be adopted may be determined by the decision-making style of the CEO.

5. Work/family program adoption varies greatly within the organization by type of program, type of job, and availability and is usually handled at the discretion of the immediate supervisor.

6. Work at home programs elicited the strongest positive and negative attitudes, closely followed by part-time work.

Tables 3-7 present the findings comparing adoption level with age, education, personality, life experiences and organizational size. Enough data on leadership were not obtained to be able to compare. Table 3 shows that there is a difference between the age groups on program adoption level. Younger CEOs seemed to be more likely to adopt work/family programs than older ones. Out of the eleven geeks, eighty-one percent led level three organizations. In contrast, out of the fourteen geezers, only fifty percent led level three organizations.

Table 3

Adoption Level by Age Group

Age Group	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1
35-50 (Geeks)	9	1	1
51-65 (Geezers)	7	4	3

Table 4 shows that CEOs with the most education were most likely to lead level three organizations. Of the eight high school graduates, fifty percent led level three organizations; out of five college graduates, sixty percent led level three organizations, but out of the twelve CEOs with post-graduate degrees, seventy-five percent of CEOs led level three organizations.

Table 4

Adoption Level by Education Group

Education Group	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1
High School Graduate	4	1	3
College Graduate	3	2	0
Post graduate Study	9	2	1

Table 5 shows the personality types by program adoption level. Except for Achievement and Machiavellianism, the other personality dimensions theoretically would predispose a CEO to adopt work/family programs. However, the fact that CEOs who are achievement-oriented also tended to lead Level 3 organizations probably means personality alone doesn't differentiate CEOs.

Table 6 shows adoption level by life experiences. Most of the CEOs who had direct life experiences of work/family (as part of a couple) conflict led level three companies; but this was true also for those who did not have direct experience. The fact that three CEOs who had direct experience with work/family conflict did not adopt work/family programs at their organizations is striking. Equally interesting is the fact that five CEOs without direct work/family conflict,

but indirect experience with mothers, daughters or employees, led level three organizations.

Table 5

Adoption Level by Personality Group

Personality Group	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1
Flexibility	6	1	0
Achievement	11	3	1
Machiavellianism	0	0	1
Egalitarian	5	0	1
Tolerance for Ambiguity	2	1	1
Trust in People	7	1	0
Moral Reasoning	7	1	0

Table 6

Adoption Level by Life Experience Group

Life Experience Group	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1
Direct – Yes	12	4	3
Direct – No	5	1	1
Indirect – Yes	17	3	2
Indirect - No	0	2	2

Table 7 looks at adoption level by organizational size. No difference is apparent between smaller and larger organizations. For the less than 100 group, sixty percent were level three; for the 100-500 group, forty-four percent; for the 500-1000 group, 100%, and for the 1000 and over group, seventy-eight percent. However, if we look at less than 500 employees versus more than 500 employees, there may be a difference. For less than 500, level three companies would be fifty percent, and for over 500 employees, eighty-three percent.

Table 7

Adoption Level by Organizational Size

Organizational Size	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1
Less than 100	3	2	0
100-500	4	2	3
500-1000	3	0	0
Over 1000	7	1	1

Another way to understand the adoption decisions of CEOs is to look at a force field analysis. A force field analysis (Weisbord, 1987) looks at driving forces, or enablers and restraining forces, or barriers to any *status quo*. Theoretically, it is more effective to remove barriers than to strengthen enablers. Examples of enablers would be life experiences, belief in work/family program effectiveness, and perception of need. Barriers include decision-making style of the executive, job type or industry, or personality. Figure 8 illustrates the force field diagram and lists a complete list of enablers and barriers which emerged from my data.

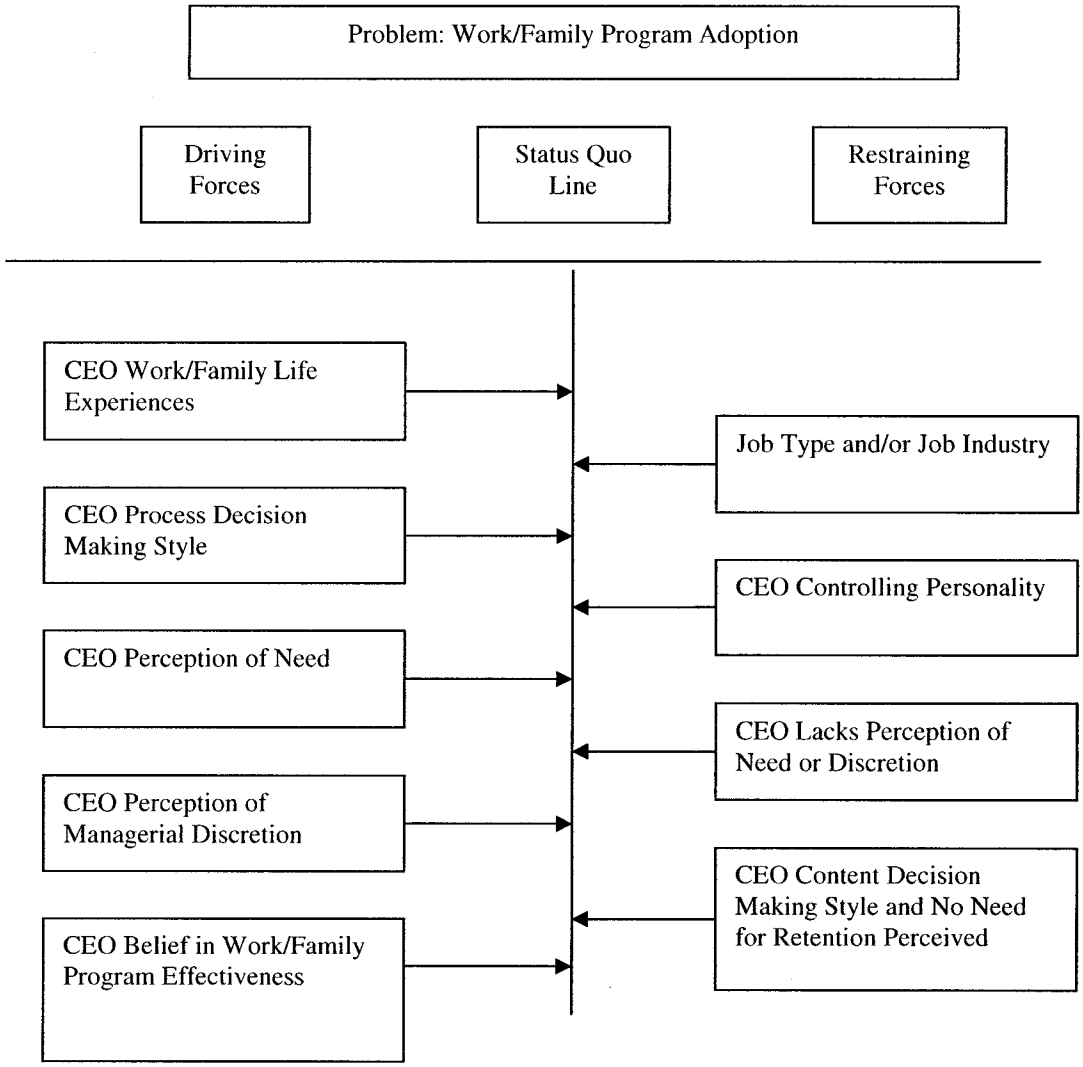


Figure 8. Force Field Analysis

Figure 9 is a decision tree diagram that explains the differential adoption of work/family programs by CEOs based on their decision-making styles, as described previously. This decision tree explains every one of the 26 cases. Differential CEO adoption decisions can be explained by understanding differences in how CEOs make decisions in the area of work/family conflict issues of their employees. The differences may apply in other situations as well, but the data only speak to this situation.

Essentially, if a CEO had a process decision making style, he or she would make a positive adoption decision, unless they had no experience, belief, or identification with work/family conflict themselves, either directly or indirectly. If a CEO had a content decision making style, he would not decide to adopt work/family programs at his organization unless he had a need to retain a valued employee, or saw a need to retain valuable workers who happened to be parents, generally women who were new mothers. Therefore, in order for a positive (level two or three) adoption decision to be made, the CEO had either 1.) a process decision making style and have either learnt through experience or some other means that programs would solve work/family conflict issues, had a belief that it was the right thing to do, or had empathy for employees experiencing these issues, 2.) or a content decision making style and perceived a need to retain employees.

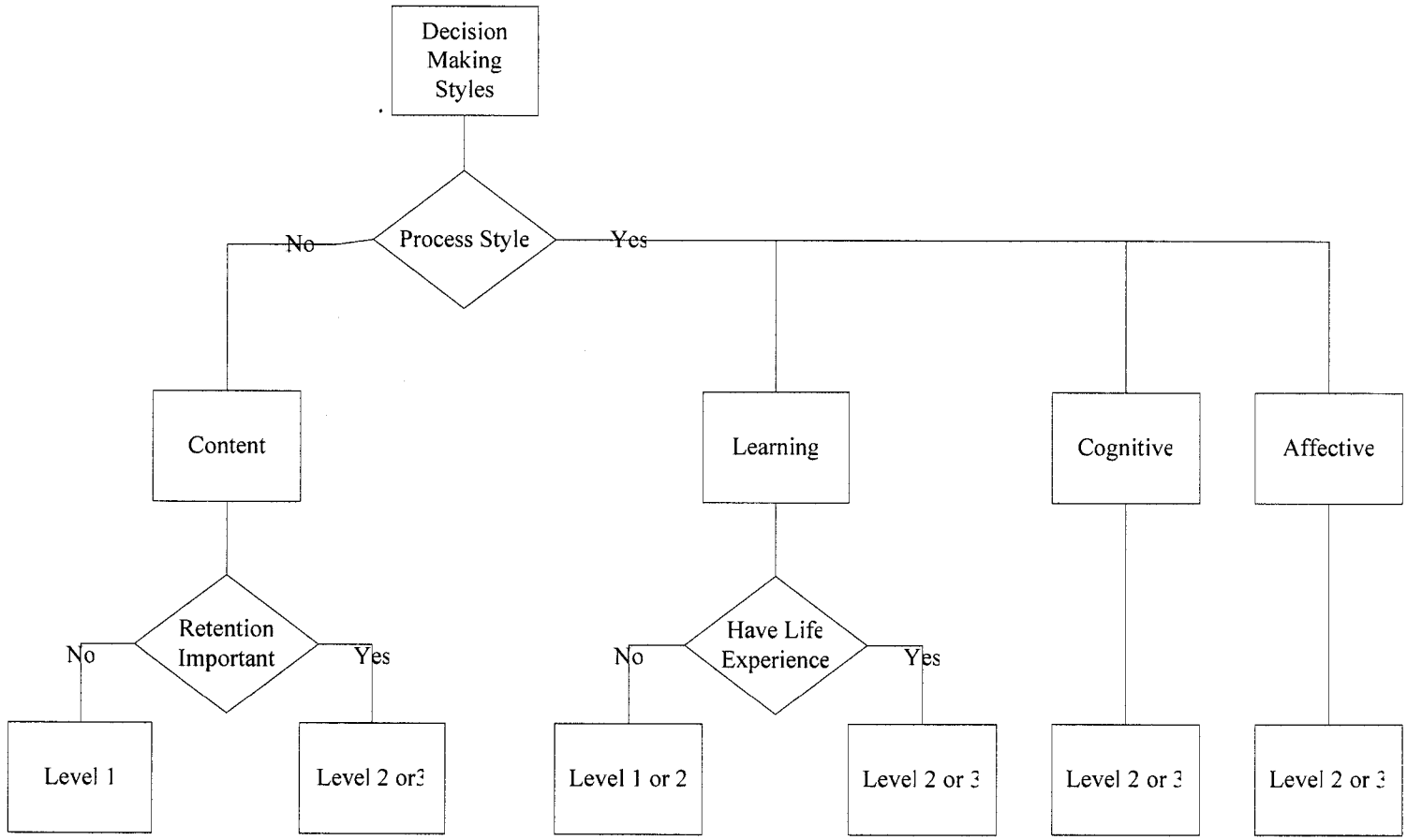


Figure 9. Decision-Making Styles

CEO Cases: Case Types

Another way to understand the decision making styles that differentiated CEOs in the sample is to hear their stories. Five distinct stories can be told that describe the five decision-making styles. These styles explain their subsequent decisions about work/family decisions in their organizations—or the decision not to decide. These five stories are: Process Decision-Making Styles (Cognitive, Learning, or Affective) and Content Decision-Making Styles (with retention perceived as a need or retention not perceived as a need).

Learning Egalitarians (Cognitive Decision-Makers with Learning)

This group included CEOs who, whether or not they had direct experiences with work/family conflict themselves, did see employees or colleagues struggling with the issues. They decided to try some alternative work arrangements and, when they worked out well, spread them around the company. Fred Andrews had a stay-at-home wife, but his employees who were working moms struggled with inflexibilities. He tried telecommuting, and his most productive employee now works at home. Fred happened also to be one of the most egalitarian CEOs; he answered his own phone and made his own appointments, agreed to be interviewed based solely on the recruiting letter, and seemed to be genuinely empathetic when talking about his employees.

Christopher Mason's wife worked outside the home while raising children with a full-time nanny and therefore experienced no work/family conflict, but early in his career worked with women who were balancing careers and families. He tried some part-time arrangements and was quite pleased at the way they worked out. He felt like he was getting more for his money; his part-time employees actually worked more hours than they were being paid for, but felt valued because they had been given flexibility. Chris had even given a part-timer a business to run:

> ...worked for me part-time 3 days a week in a similar kind of project oriented role and I decided that she was one of my most talented people in my organization...I actually gave her a business to run which she did on a 3 day a week basis and we always used to joke about how she was the most productive and efficient person in the organization...she would go, she was very pleasant, everybody loved working with her but she wouldn't waste 20 min bs'ing in somebody's office, she would go at it and get stuff done and in her off days she would...I tried to promote her and give her more responsibility because she was so good even, and I was willing to live with 3 days a week cause we could work around it with people that could handle the stuff that had to be done day in and day out.

For this type of CEO, having tried alternative work arrangements, and having them work out well, was enough of a reason to continue to offer flexibility. Moreover, Chris' open-minded, learning oriented personality and decision-making style was able to envision employees being able to be promoted to high-level positions despite their unorthodox working arrangements. He believed that

employees who were offered flexibility to balance their work and family lives were extremely productive and their need for balance did not affect their opportunities for advancement in their organization. Moreover, talent, not time put in or where it was put in, mattered more to this CEO when it came to advancing employees.

Nick Allen was the example of a CEO with a learning decision making style who had not yet learned about the value of work/family programs, and had difficulty trusting employees who needed flexibility. He would not be able to work at home so he did not believe that his employees could. His personal experiences included growing up in a rigid business environment in Europe, he was not married, and even water-cooler chitchat used to make his blood boil. However, Nick Allen is an example of a CEO who had changed some of his attitudes and beliefs, therefore he is a CEO with a learning style. He was engaged to be married; once he experiences the joys and challenges of a dual-career marriage and perhaps of parenthood, he may offer more flexibility to his employees that need it. He was also willing to change behaviors based on new information provided by other CEOs.

Jack Kelly was another learning CEO who had simply not had any experiences personally or through his employees that would have helped him

learn to make positive adoption decisions. All his experiences were in industries where high achievement and long hours were the norm, and this was unquestioned. His wife and daughter were unable to influence his views, although they tried.

Empathetic CEOs (Cognitive Decision-Makers with Empathy)

Justin Prescott's empathy for employees came from his dad. He genuinely felt that families came first, and because he felt this way, he believed that it was important to allow employees flexibility in spending time with their families. Although his company was in a particularly inflexible industry, Justin was very open to whatever flexible arrangements his employees proposed. He even approved an initiative that he could not justify financially simply because it improved morale. It may be significant that he had only a high school education, and worked his way up the organization. This helped him maintain empathy with the rank and file.

Dustin Crawford was another empathetic CEO. His empathy came not from his Dad, but from his mom, who worked as a maid. This experience left him with empathy for working families. Although his wife quit working when they had kids, the memory of his working mother continued to influence his beliefs about being flexible and understanding with his employees. Although his

company was in an industry where long hours were the norm, his organization did not expect employees to burn the midnight oil.

Peter Lewis was another empathetic CEO. He was in a dual career marriage with children, and he knew first hand what his employees were experiencing when they were working and had children at home. Although he understood their challenges, he was still conscious of what the market would bear. In other words, his compassion and empathy did not override his business sense. However, when faced with opportunities to provide flexibility, he was more likely to provide it than to reject it.

Laura Harrison and Gloria Jones, the two female CEOs in the sample, not surprisingly fell into this category. Laura Harrison had her children while on the job, and while she resented it at the time, she did what she had to do to keep her life in balance. She now supports programs that help her employees do the same, although employees still need to pilot programs to prove that they can work in the organization. Gloria Jones kept her business going with a child and through a divorce as a single mother. She also extended flexibility to both male and female employees to help meet their family obligations. Since these women were working mothers themselves, they had empathy for the parents trying to balance work and family responsibilities. Interestingly, Gloria noted that the most

influential experience was not her own but that of her daughter, who was a working mother.

Don Larson was another example of an empathetic CEO. He listened to what his employees had to say about what they needed. He had empathy because he had been a single (divorced) primary working parent for a time in his career. He still felt that the whole work/family arena was fraught with headaches for a CEO, and the last thing a CEO wanted was a headache. Even so, he expressed much empathy with working parents:

> ...look I've had four kids, I've taken kids to daycare, I've had a wife who had daycare in the place, I've had her stay home, there's no answer. She's college educated, she did great, she has to give it up, she has a kid, she's mad she left her job now she's home she's nothing, washboard woman you know, she's bored, she's trying to balance it neither one's getting good...I tell ya I don't know how a woman's could be expected to do this, she's supposed to be a great stay at home mom, a loving wife, a sexy wife, a friend, a businesswoman, a mother, she's supposed to do all those things all the time stay in shape, work out, eat right, take care of all the parents I mean I don't know, I'm glad it's not me. See I got divorced and for 2 years, for 4 years I was Mr. Mom, I had two of my kids I did everything. I tell ya, by 9 pm I could barely function. I mean by the time they came home from school, made sure they were home, made them dinner, did their homework, made their lunches, read them stories, get to bed, do the wash, get up do breakfast, get em packed get em up nothing's happened yet for work, I haven't done anything for myself yet, so I don't think most men have that so what I'm trying to do is deal with the need not necessarily the want, in other words, how do I make it easier.

Spiritual/Moral and Flexible CEOs (Cognitive Decision Makers with Belief Style)

This group of CEOs made decisions based on their cognitive belief structures. There were predominantly two different beliefs: either that work/family programs were the right thing to do, or the belief that flexibility was an important value.

Bob Edwards and Dick Henry personified this type of CEO, although in other ways they could not have been more different. Bob Edwards ran a small technology company, was Geek-like, and was married with kids whose wife had worked prior to raising the kids and continued to influence him on work/family issues. Dick Henry was the CEO of the largest company in my sample, and his wife had stayed home to raise the children. Both CEOs, however, felt that work/family programs were simply the right thing to do. Financial analyses were not needed—the decision was made simply on their belief structure.

While some CEOs felt that their spirituality and beliefs meant that work/family programs were the right thing to do, belief in God or religion did not always lead to a cognitive style. For CEOs with a content style of decision making, their spiritual beliefs led them to expect women to adopt a more traditional role in life, and to believe that a mother's place was in the home.

Other CEOs in this group believed in flexibility. Since they preferred flexibility for themselves, they were more likely to offer it to their employees. They were by nature flexible. They chafed at the inflexibility of their earlier jobs, so as CEO they tried to give their employees as much flexibility as possible. Some experienced work/family conflict, while others did not.

Ben Carson's daughter was a working mother who had just been turned down when she asked for a four-day workweek. Jim Nicholls was not married. They may be old or young. Jim Nicholls was one of the youngest (Geek-like), Ben Carson one of the oldest (Geezer-like). Jeff Manley spent many years as a Marine. Harry Dawson described himself as a feminist. All of them prized flexibility and were willing to extend that flexibility to their employees. They didn't really care where the work got done, as long as it got done. They cared more about output than time put in to the job.

One perception that differentiated CEOs is the perception that job type precludes flexibility. While one CEO says his job cannot be job-shared, Nick Allen says he is a "co-CEO", sharing CEO duties with the President. Several CEOs say call centers or customer service centers cannot be flexible; Harry Dawson claims that the center just needs to be staffed for flexibility. His perception is that it is most important to allow the front-line employees—the ones

in daily contact with customers—flexibility because they are the employees that he wants to keep most happy.

Some CEOs fell into more than one category. Adam King had a cognitive decision making style, but he seemed to encompass all three sub-categories. He was a learner, he believed work/family programs were the right thing to do, and he had empathy for his employees with children. His empathy seemed to come not only from his family of origin, but from his experiences as a parent himself. His wife gave up her career to raise their children, but was never-the-less a continual influence on him regarding the way he ran his company.

Gerald Harris was very similar. He never expected to live as long as he did, and therefore thought that there was more to life than success. He was a learner, but also believed that spirituality played a part in his decisions. He was also very empathetic, even with single parents.

I Need 'em CEOs (Content Decision-Makers with Perceived Need for Retention)

Maxwell Smith personified this type. When asked why he promoted work/family arrangements for his employees even though he believed that mothers should stay home and that part-time working moms could not compete with full-time employees, he replied that he needed them. His ambivalence about working mothers is clear in this comment:

> It's very discriminating against women, women are, they have the kids and without sounding prejudiced on this matter just realistic the number of young women that come in this company get married get pregnant and leave is just about everyone everybody of a young age and so for a woman in her career even if you're flexible and we do that we have one of our key ladies in marketing had a baby and we strained all the rules and flexed everything and so she works here and there and sometimes but it's hard for her to compete with other people in her department when she's only working two or three days a week I mean she'll never make it to the top at two or three days a week so I think it's loaded with conflict.

Perhaps the reason that young pregnant women leave Maxwell's organization is because they know that all the flexibility in the world does not compensate for a CEO who believes that flexible work arrangements leave you unable to compete with others in the organization that are working traditionally. This belief contrasts sharply with CEOs who use a learning decision-making style, for example, Christopher Mason.

Scott Wilson also had strong religious beliefs that led to his wife staying home with their many children, but he supported alternate arrangements and flexibility in order to keep a stable workforce, which he highly valued. Larry Smith and Patrick Davis provided work/family arrangements for employees in order to retain them.

Ain't Broke Don't Fix It CEOs (Content Decision-Makers with no Perceived Need for Retention)

These CEOs, while aware of the concept of work/family programs to alleviate work/family conflicts of their employees, reported that there was no need in their organization because they hadn't been asked to institute programs, or they felt like work/family programs were a can of worms, that once opened could never be closed. These CEOs worried about fairness, and worried that chaos would ensue when every employee wanted flexibility, and that it would be a logistical nightmare.

Joseph Alexis personified this type. Although familiar with work/family conflict personally, he did not feel that his personal experiences should affect his organizational decision-making. He reiterated over and over that he had not made any decisions about work/family programs, the topic had simply never come up. His employees were perfectly happy, had never asked for such help, and he was happy to be reactive in this area. He felt comfortable being proactive in other areas, for example company picnics and parties; but for this area he felt that the "wheel was not squeaky." Most of his employees had come from previous careers where very long hours were expected; he felt that they were happy to be working in his organization.

Mike Slater is another prototypical example of a CEO who does not believe it is appropriate for an organization to get involved in this issue. Although Mike had a daughter who is a working mother, he would not let his personal experiences affect his decisions about his organization. The ability to allow past experiences to affect decision-making distinguishes the Learning CEOs. Although he would fight any attempt to make a work/family program policy, because of his leadership style, which relies heavily on delegating to trusted first reports, he did allow a work-at-home situation to occur. However, he refuses to let this woman do her job when she is home; he does not call her at home, and goes to someone else if he needs something from her while she is working at home. It is difficult to see how this employee will advance due to the negative attitude of her CEO to her flexible work arrangement:

> Telecommuting to which I'll define generally that means working from home part of the week and working from the office part of the week, personally I'm not much of a fan I don't think we get the value as a company when people are at home.....we have a person here in particular that works three days at the office and two days home and I do know that there's a approximate one year old child who is part of the process probably not even one year old I can't tell you I like it very well.....but I'll also tell ya from my standpoint then I go straight to plan B and I opt to use the back-up. If the person's here, fine, if the person's not here I go to plan B, I don't worry about whether they're home working or not home working basically I just go to a plan B backup so I don't have to defend myself against you might want to say the telecommuting.

Although Mike Slater is in the minority of the sample, based on the literature review, I suspect his beliefs and attitudes are in the majority of CEOs. I am not sure why he consented to the interview with me, since usually only CEOs who felt work/family conflict was an important issue agreed to the interview. He stated that he was somewhat of a contrarian, so perhaps he welcomed the chance to dispute what he saw as the new wave of ideas invading the traditional business world. In any case, he felt that his employees were dealing with their family issues and there was no need for him to do anything to make things easier for them. Retention was not a problem.

Winston Salem had a stay-at-home wife, had experienced flexibility in his earlier career, but still worried that providing these programs would upset the apple cart and be a logistics nightmare. In the electronics industry where long hours were the norm, he felt that it would cause more trouble than it was worth to have programs, but he did feel his organization was sensitive to work/family conflicts of his employees.

John Dover had a slightly different rationale; his business was built around confidential data and service-oriented, so people needed to be on-time and on-site. The issue of call centers would be hotly debated by some of the CEOs; John Dover would insist that flextime was impossible in a call center, while Harry

Dawson, a Flexible CEO, believed that flexibility needed to be built in, especially in call centers, where the last thing you want is the person who interfaces the most with your customer upset with inflexible scheduling.

These CEOs did acknowledge that such a problem might exist, but they did not see that their organization should play a role in alleviating these conflicts, even if they did exist. Even if this problem did come up, Mike Slater did not see that the organization had a role to play:

> B: ...if I could paraphrase what you're saying, that for you it's really the employee's responsibility to deal with the family issues that they have, it's their choice to have children and they need to figure out how to make that work
>
> M: we've got an expression, we've got enough problems, we don't need your problems

Joseph Alexis expressed chagrin that this issue existed, and he wanted to be supportive, but there just wasn't much he could do. Again, he did not see that the organization had a role to play in ameliorating the work/family conflicts working parents faced (but not necessarily the parents that worked for him).

A Final Note

The following poem (with apologies to William Shakespeare) sums up the findings.

To Adopt or Not to Adopt

To adopt or not to adopt, that is the question
CEO factors might predict a positive direction

CEO empathy for employees, it's clear
Leads a CEO toward adoption to steer

What makes a CEO develop empathy?
Certainly a dual-career family is key

However this is not the only way
Working through the ranks may also save the day

Certainly starting your own company
An egalitarian you are likely to be

And through the influence of Mom and Dad

Respect for others and their families may be had

And if not through empathy, then what?

A belief in things greater than work is thought

Those who believe in the importance of family and God

Are likely to give family-friendly programs the nod

And those with a flexible personality

Will design a company as flexible as can be

Those who decide by learning as they go

Through employees' experiences, they too will know

And those without any of these traits

Their path and decisions are fairly straight

If they believe it's hard to keep good employees around

The reasons for programs will appear very sound

Others merely exclaim, "but there is no need!"

Though never asking, how strange indeed

For those who suspect that there may be a need

Fears of chaos and lack of control intrude indeed

Saddled with doubt and with ignorance

They leave their employees alone to straddle the fence.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

The work/family literature has never addressed the influence of chief executive officers on the differential adoption of work/family programs in organizations. Some authors, however, have wondered at whether or not CEOs would be more sensitive to work/family conflict issues if they themselves had experienced it. Theoretically, it would be expected that had they experienced conflict themselves, they would become champions for programs to alleviate conflict in the workplace. The research shows, however, that for some CEOs, perhaps the majority, personal experiences have no influence on their decisions about program adoption. Rather, it is the way that a CEO makes decisions in this area that differentiates whether or not programs will be adopted.

The central issue for this research was discovering how the beliefs of CEOs were translated into adoption decisions. The findings, however, show that beliefs of CEOs only play a role in adoption decisions for CEOs who use primarily cognitive decision making styles. If a CEO uses another style of decision-making, their beliefs are not as relevant to the decision.

Relevance of Findings to Literature

In trying to understand the link between beliefs and behavior, the Ashjen and Fishbein (1980) theory of reasoned action was employed. The findings provided partial support for this theory. For CEOs whose beliefs influenced their

decision-making, the model was supported. Their beliefs and attitudes influenced their behavior, as indicated by decisions made. However, for those CEOs whose beliefs about work/family conflict did not influence their decision-making the model did not hold.

Findings of this research are in agreement with the research conducted by Milliken, Martins, & Morgan (1998) who found that the presence of people with dual-career or eldercare experiences in top management did not affect whether or not an organization offered work/family programs. Moreover, the converse does not appear to be true; that is, that the absence of any personal experience with work/family conflict, does not mean that there is no response to this issue. In fact, the learning egalitarian CEOs, Christopher Mason and Fred Andrews, did not experience any work conflict directly, although they did encounter it indirectly with colleagues and employees.

Dutton & Ashford (1993) pointed out that executives only act on issues that have been brought to their attention. According to the findings of the present study, personal experience with work/family conflict was not enough to get the attention of some executives. However, the issue of retention did seem to be an attention-getter. CEOs who made decisions using a content style would only adopt work/family programs in order to retain valuable employees. Productivity

was not considered to be a proven benefit, although in general CEOs did believe that happy workers were more productive. Retention, however, is considered to be a proven benefit, and a proven strategy to retain an employee when family constraints intrude on their employment viability.

Moreover, for CEOs using primarily a content decision-making style, only direct feedback (or the squeaky wheel) from employees, in the form of surveys, complaints, or requests, even leads them to perceive a need for work/family programs in their organizations. Regardless of personal beliefs or experiences, this type of executive will not act unless he perceives a need. These executives have a content style of decision-making; it is rational and takes into account only outside factors. Content decision-making CEOs may also have strong negative attitudes toward some work/family programs, and following Na (1999), would be highly resistant to persuasion.

Other CEO types allow their experiences to affect their beliefs and attitudes, including their family experiences, and perceive a need even in the absence of overwhelming data from their organization. These CEOs did not require a squeaky wheel; their direct personal knowledge and beliefs were enough. They had a process decision-making style, learning, cognitive or affective. The existence of CEOs with a cognitive style supports Greenwald's (1968) Cognitive

Mediation Theory. The existence of CEOs with an affective style supports Hall & Richter's (1998) theory of "respect" for the work/family interface.

Whether or not the CEO believes issues can be addressed effectively by the CEO has been theorized as managerial discretion (Hambrick & Finkelstein, 1987). Carpenter & Golden (1997) added the concept of "perceived" discretion. Therefore, it is more important what the CEO believes about his discretion, or ability to act in response to a perceived need, than what his discretion actually is. The current findings support this theory of perceived managerial discretion. CEOs who had process styles of decision-making did perceive that they had the ability to influence the work/family conflict needs of their employees. So did CEOs who perceived a need for retention. However, CEOs who did not perceive a need for retention, also made comments suggesting that they felt that they did not have discretion in this area. This was not their problem, they wanted to be supportive, but just didn't see how they could help with work/family conflict.

Candel & Penning (1999) theorized that affect, or attitude, toward an object or issue influenced decision-making more than cognition, or beliefs, when participants were unfamiliar with the object or issue. The current findings did not support this theory. Some CEOs who were familiar with the work/family issue also had negative views of work/family programs; for example Mike Slater had a

daughter who was a working mom, but he had an intense dislike of telecommuting.

The Bennis & Thomas (1999) study of geeks and geezers contained information that would lead one to conclude that geeks would be more likely to support work/family programs than geezers. The current findings were mixed. Although the two most flexible CEOs were the oldest and youngest CEOs, younger, more educated CEOs were more likely to adopt work/family programs than their older, less educated peers. Moreover, for some CEOs, a high school education meant the development of empathy for their employees.

Limitations

The main limitation of this study is that not enough CEOs who did not adopt work/family programs at their organizations consented to be interviewed. Since these CEOs are probably in the majority in the overall universe of organizations, it would have strengthened the findings to have more information from them.

Another limitation of the study is that it was geographically limited. At least one CEO mentioned that employees in the West were measurably different than East Coast workers, and thus had different expectations. Geography may be

an important variable in understanding differential adoption, as postulated by Morgan & Milliken (1992).

Implications

The actionable aim of understanding differential adoption of work/family programs by CEOs in organizations is to find an influence point. How can CEOs be persuaded to adopt work/family programs at their organizations? If decision-making style is key to program adoption, rather than rational, bottom-line, business case arguments, first the decision-making style of the CEO needs to be ascertained. Moreover, it would suggest that even if high quality empirical data about work/family program effectiveness existed, it might not make much difference to the adoption of work/family programs. No CEO expressed the belief that work/family programs do not work. In order for more programs to be adopted, effort must be focused on changing CEOs' perceptions both that a need exists and that they have discretion in addressing it—their role in solving the problem, that it is solvable, and that it will not hurt their business. This is particularly true for CEOs primarily using a content style of decision-making.

This research suggests attitudinal and belief change among executives occurs mostly on the personal level, either through experiences with their families or valued employees or peers, or through discussions with other CEOs. This

suggests two major strategies: finding CEOs willing to talk about their positive work/family program experiences with other CEOs, and finding ways to provide CEOs with positive work/family program experiences. These strategies will not work, however, with CEOs who do not yet perceive a need; employees also need to take more risks in bringing this issue to the attention of the executive. The wheel needs to squeak considerably more before these executives notice. This is in agreement with the finding by Morgan & Milliken (1992) that employee surveys are needed to bring the work/family needs of employees to the attention of the top decision-makers. Organizations need to ask the question to uncover the need.

This finding is actually quite encouraging from an executive development standpoint; while there is little that can be done in a development sense to impact an executive's personal decisions (whether or not his wife should stay home to care for the children, for example), much can be done to create experiences for CEOs that could lead to a greater sensitivity. For example, exposure to colleagues and employees that are experiencing the conflict, and exposure to other CEOs who have had good experiences with higher productivity and retention due to work/family programs; and championing a pilot effort to try some of these programs and then evaluate their effectiveness, are all planned experiences that could influence an executive's beliefs and therefore his decision-making.

However, it is crucial to note that this development effort would only be effective on CEOs who use a learning decision making process. CEOs using a content process would remain unaffected. Moreover, it is difficult to predict work/family adoption because of a mix of motivations; one CEO may adopt them because they want to make it easier for employees to work all the time, while another because they genuinely believe that their employees need help balancing and that these programs will help them.

This brings us to an interesting question: can CEOs who predominantly use a content decision-making style be taught or persuaded to use learning, cognitive, or affective styles? It was noted earlier that CEOs using process styles usually also used a content style. Did they start out with a content style and then evolve into using other styles as well? Can these other styles be thought of as more highly evolved or sophisticated processes that can be learned, and if so, how? This issue gets to the heart of leadership development: what is innate, and what is learned, and how do they interact? Can a personality trait like flexibility be learned?

Finally, there may be some organizations and industries where the perception exists that some work/family programs simply cannot be conducted without hurting the business itself. If this is the case, the employee with balancing

needs must decide to take on the problem himself, or seek employment elsewhere. CEOs with content styles and a perception that all their employees are happy and they retain the ones that they want to retain are not going to be easily convinced to adopt work/family programs. Alternatively, government or society may need to step in at this point in order to help working parents balance competing demands. It is important for all stakeholders to understand that many working families do not have the choice of whether or not mothers should work. The perception held by CEOs in particular that no one would want to work and raise a family needs to change—many do not have a choice.

Recommendations for Future Research

Further research into this area would involve testing the grounded theory that has been presented with a larger sample size that is more geographically diverse. In particular, this study was skewed toward executives who perceived a need for work/family programs, as they were the only ones who consented to be interviewed. Strategies to reach the majority of CEOs who do not perceive a need or any discretion in this issue needs to be devised. A quantitative analysis of random CEO samples could be done to see if there were significant differences between CEO types in making differential adoption decisions, and whether decision-making styles actually predicted work/family adoption decisions.

Additionally, other variables involving CEO personality could be explored in future research. In particular, the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator and an assessment for Emotional Intelligence could prove to be important variables in predicting adoption decisions. For example, CEOs tend to be either ISTJs or ENTJs (Kroeger, 1994); ISTJs could be found predominantly in the Ain't Broke Don't Fix it while ENTJs are more likely to be the Learning Egalitarians. CEOs high in EQ may need less convincing that there is a problem and that they need to solve it as opposed to CEOs low in EQ. Carmeli (2003) found a link between emotional intelligence and work attitudes. Another area of future research would be refining our understanding of how CEOs come to perceive the needs of their employees in their organization. This study assumed that the need was evident, but this turned out to not be the case, as a few CEOs maintained that their employees did not need balancing help, or if they did, they never mentioned it. Moreover, while the CEO variables are significant, there may be other equally significant predictors, such as organizational culture or senior management characteristics, or economic factors, which may need to be included in any predictive hypothesis.

More research is needed into the issue of families struggling to make ends meet and how organizations, government, and society can help these families. Although middle-class professional families are regarded as having a choice by

managers as to whether or not mothers ought to work, many working families do not have that choice.

Further research is also needed in operationally defining "family-friendly" and understanding the complex relationship between family-friendliness and profitability. The adoption of work/family programs is not a black and white issue; organizations may have work/family programs in policy, but not in actual practice and parts of an organization may be more family-friendly than others, regardless of policy. Once better methods are devised to ascertain the level of family-friendliness of an organization, the question, "Are family-friendly organizations more profitable?" may be easier to answer. If so, the question still remains: are family-friendly organizations more profitable because they are more accommodating to workers, or are organizations more family-friendly because they can afford to be? The answer to these questions is critical to organizational performance and to the future of our society.

APPENDIX A

Recruiting Letter to Participants

Dear ---------,

As a CEO in the Denver metropolitan area, you are most likely of the opinion that people are your most important asset. Your workforce today, however, is facing increasingly difficult challenges in balancing their work and non-work lives. Although the response of your organization to this issue is of great importance, the steps that can most effectively be undertaken are not at all clear. While anecdotal evidence is plentiful, careful research into the efficacy of work/family programs is in short supply. Indeed, it is debatable whether or not the organization even has a role in affecting this issue.

As a Professor and a doctoral student at Colorado State University, we are conducting a research project in order to better understand the role of the CEO of an organization in this important issue. In particular, we are interested in understanding the views of CEOs and how they make the decision whether or not to adopt organizational responses to these issues. We realize that your human resources team is crucial to decisions on these issues; however we are interested in understanding the role of the CEO, and therefore would like to interview you.

Your participation in this research is critical. Your identity and that of your company, as well as your responses, will be kept in strictest confidence. We hope that you will be willing to participate in this research.

Barbara Eversole will be contacting you within the next few weeks to arrange an hour-long interview appointment at your convenience. At that time, she will be happy to answer any questions that you may have about this project.

Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely,

Gene Gloeckner, Ph.D.

Barbara A. Eversole, M.B.A, M.A.

APPENDIX B

Interview Protocol

Project: Understanding CEO responses to Work/Family issues

Time of Interview
Date:
Place:
Interviewee:
Position of Interviewee:
Company:
Age:
Gender:
Place of Birth:
Education level:

(Briefly describe the project, including defining work/family issues and programs)

Questions:

1. What are the responses of your organization to the work/family balancing issues faced by your employees, in addition to those required by law?

2. What is your role in deciding to adopt/not adopt work/family programs for your employees?

3. How did you decide whether or not to adopt work/family programs at your organization?

4. Do you consider your adoption or non-adoption of work/family programs to be effective at your organization? (i.e. was it the right decision?) Why or why not?

5. What specific experiences have you had in both your personal and professional lives that have influenced your views? Have your views changed over time?

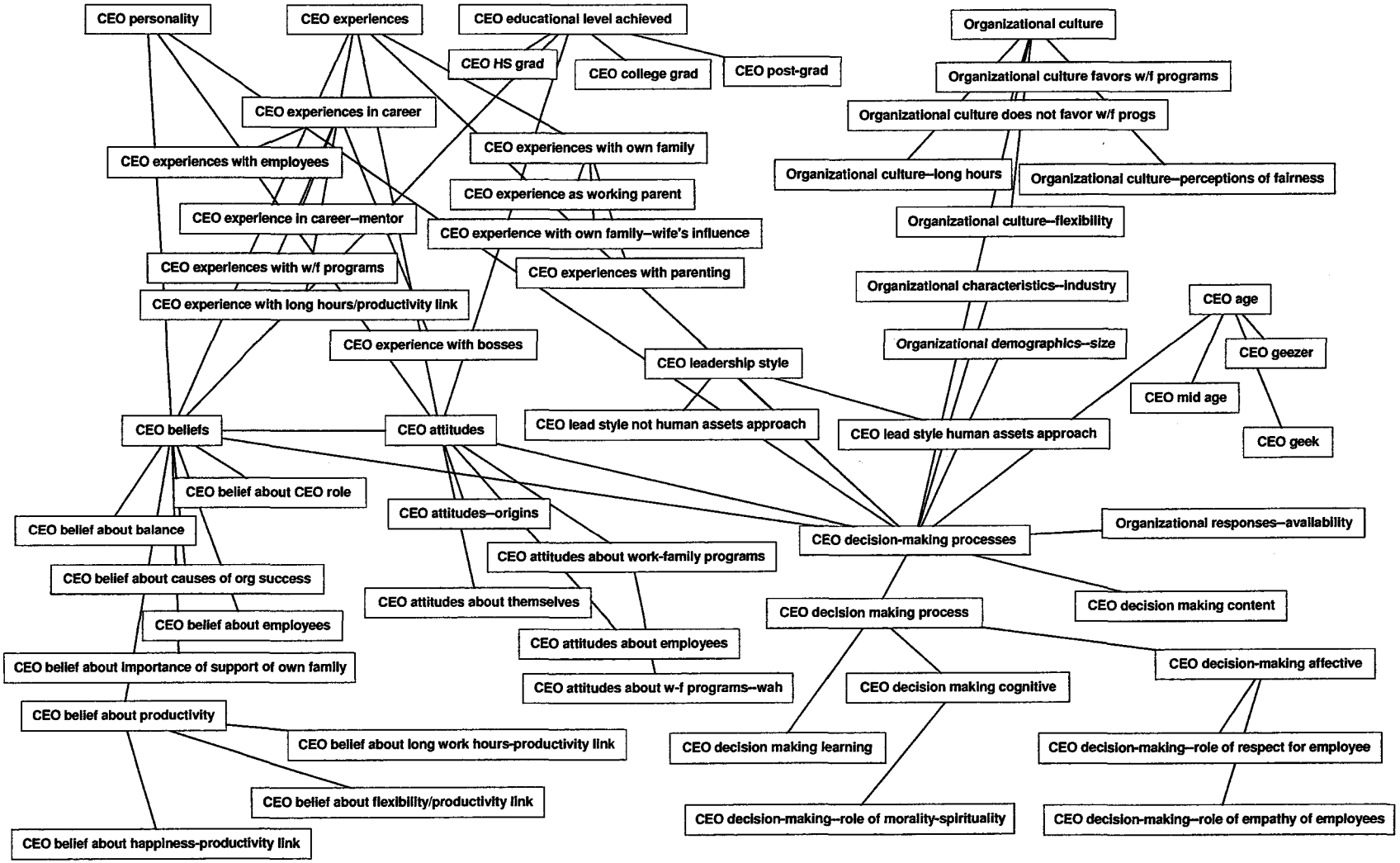
6. What are your thoughts about how employees should manage the boundary between their work and non-work lives? In your opinion, what is the appropriate role of the organization in this management?

7. How would you describe your personality and leadership style?

Note: ask for copies of documentation of w/f programs and referrals/ideas on recruiting; also if appropriate feedback on survey.

APPENDIX C

Code Map



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