

Managing the Harmful Effects of Unsupportive Organizations During Pregnancy.

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Abstract

Unfortunately, not all organizations are supportive of employees' family lives. Family-unsupportive workplaces can be stressful for all employees and particularly for pregnant women, who carry a physical reminder of their family life. In the present study, we draw on conservation of resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1989, 2001) to investigate how women manage family-unsupportive organizational perceptions during pregnancy via social identity-based impression management behaviors as well as how these strategies relate to *changes* in stress and *changes* in conflict between work and family. Specifically, we find that image maintenance strategies—impression management strategies aimed at maintaining one's pre-pregnancy image—are associated with decreases in work stress and work–family conflict over the course of pregnancy, while decategorization—impression management strategies aimed at avoiding negative outcomes by hiding the pregnancy or dodging the issue—are related to increases in work–family conflict. These results suggest strategies for both organizations and pregnant workers to decrease stress during a time when health is vital for both mother and baby.

Keywords: Pregnancy, Work–Family Conflict, Family–Work Conflict, Stress, Latent Difference Score Analysis

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When employees perceive that their organizations are not very supportive of their family roles, negative consequences for both employees and employers ensue (Allen, 2001; Shockley & Allen, 2007; Wayne, Casper, Matthews, & Allen, 2013). Yet, many organizations fail to provide this type of support (Labier, 2013). In a 2015 exposé in the *New York Times*, current and former Amazon.com employees recounted their workplace experiences—often describing a highly unsupportive culture that encouraged employees to minimize the importance of life outside of work, especially family life (Kantor & Streitfeld, 2015). They spoke of pressures to dedicate long hours to work and an environment where attending to personal needs, such as taking time off to care for family, was frowned upon. Unfortunately, the family-unsupportive environment described at Amazon.com is not an anomaly; countless other organizations create similar work environments (e.g. LaBier, 2013; Padavic, Ely, & Reid, 2013; Slaughter, 2012).

Organizational research has found that employees working in such contexts have *family-unsupportive organization perceptions* (FUOPs)—perceptions that the workplace is unsupportive of family roles (Allen, 2001). FUOPs develop when organizations have few policies that support a balance between family and work (i.e., flex benefits, childcare; Allen, 2001). Employees who have FUOPs experience higher levels of work-family conflict, stronger turnover intentions, greater job burnout, less job satisfaction, and less affective commitment (Allen, 2001; Duxbury & Gover, 2011; Shockley & Allen, 2007; Wayne et al., 2013). The research is clear; FUOPs negatively affect employees and organizations alike. In this paper, we build on previous research by broadening our understanding as to how employees manage FUOPs during times of family transition.

Most employees will experience times during their employment where their family's needs increase in salience (Boushey & Glynn, 2012). Some employees may grapple with custody changes in a divorce or caregiving responsibilities for aging parents or a family member who becomes ill. Other transitions, like preparing to welcome a child into a family, are typically considered to be more positive and, yet, can still be quite taxing for an employee trying to balance the demands of work and family (Jones, King, Gilrane, McCausland, Cortina, & Grimm, 2016; King & Botsford, 2009). When family transitions such as these occur, employees who perceive their organizations to be unsupportive of their family lives (i.e., FUOPs) will likely engage in strategies to try to manage their unsupportive environment. Understanding the influence of these strategies may be key to better understanding how employees can best manage these transitions at work. Unfortunately, extant research currently provides few insights into this phenomenon.

To investigate this issue, we integrate conservation of resources (COR; Hobfoll, 1989, 2001) theory with work on social identity-based impression management (SIMp) to examine how pregnant employees manage FUOPs during pregnancy as well as how these strategies relate to *changes* in stress and *changes* in conflict between work and family (i.e. inter-role conflict; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kahn, 1981; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964). We chose to investigate how pregnant working women manage FUOPs because a workplace believed to be highly unsupportive of family may more likely lead to changes in work stress and inter-role conflict during a time when the family role is evolving (Glass & Riley, 1998).

Family needs are particularly salient during pregnancy. Pregnant women carry a growing, physical reminder of their family and, as they progress through pregnancy, they increasingly need to attend to family requirements through additional doctor's appointments and other

preparations. Also, during pregnancy, women and their organizations may have a keen interest in understanding what influences changes in stress and inter-role conflict because of the influence of these outcomes on health and wellness for both mother and baby (e.g., Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001; Lapierre & Allen, 2006). About eighty-five percent of women will work during their pregnancy (Schwartz, 1992). Given the prevalence of organizations considered to be highly family unsupportive (LaBier, 2013; Padavic, Ely, & Reid, 2013; Slaughter, 2012), many of these women will have to manage FUOPs.

COR theory (Hobfoll, 1989, 2001) proposes that individuals seek to acquire and maintain resources—things that people see as valuable and helpful for attaining goals. When there is a threat of a loss of resources, a loss of actual resources, or a lack of an expected gain in resources, individuals are motivated to reduce these threats in order to maintain their resources (Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999; Hobfoll, 1989, 2001). Because FUOPs are seen as threats, particularly during a family-related transition, we propose that pregnant women will engage in social identity-based impression management (SIMp) strategies (Little, Major, Hinojosa, & Nelson, 2015) to prevent further loss of resources and to protect their remaining resources at work.

SIMp strategies are aimed at maintaining other people's perceptions of one's competence and character during pregnancy and fall into two broad categories: *image maintenance*—behaviors aimed at maintaining and preserving the professional image the woman had before pregnancy and *decategorization*—behaviors aimed at avoiding negative outcomes by hiding the pregnancy or dodging the issue (Little et al., 2015). We argue that women engage in both SIMp strategies to mitigate the resource losses associated with FUOPs. However, we predict that image maintenance strategies and decategorization strategies will have differential outcomes. Image maintenance behaviors—because they are approach-focused and involve investing resources

towards reaching important goals—will result in negative changes or decreases in stress and inter-role conflict. Consistent with COR theory, image maintenance strategies will increase job engagement as women increase their involvement in their work role, allowing them to manage inter-role conflict and work stress more effectively (i.e., Halbesleben, Neveu, Paustian-Underdahl, & Westman, 2014). Alternately, decategorization behaviors, because they are avoidance-focused, will drive increases or positive changes in inter-role conflict and stress.

Our study makes several important contributions to theory, research, and practice. First, we draw from COR theory and work on social identity-based impression management to develop a conceptual framework to explain how pregnant women's management of FUOPs influence *changes* in inter-role conflict and stress. Studies have shown that people are especially affected by threats to their resources when they are in a period of role transition (Wells, Hobfoll, & Lavin, 1997); yet, very little research has investigated how individuals manage resource loss or, importantly, the influence of these strategies on changes in inter-role conflict and stress. Positioning impression management strategies as an avenue to help manage FUOPs differs from previous approaches, which have primarily focused on managerial and organizational interventions to reduce FUOP (e.g., Hammer, Kossek, Anger, Bodner, & Zimmerman, 2011). Clearly, research focusing on managerial and organizational characteristics and interventions is vital to our understanding of these perceptions. We argue that investigating how employees manage these perceptions and the implications of these strategies complements and extends this research—particularly in the context of family transitions, which may be difficult for an organization to predict.

Second, we respond to the call to investigate the individual mechanisms that may interpose the relationship between highly family-unsupportive organizational cultures and

changes in work–family outcomes (Duxbury & Gover, 2011). According to COR theory, when individuals experience a threat to or loss of their resources, they invest resources to reduce further losses (Hobfoll, Freedy, Green, & Solomon, 1996). We suggest that by investing in certain SIMp strategies, pregnant women will experience job engagement and, as a result, reduce the resource drain that may be incurred during a family transition in a family-unsupportive environment. We contribute to extant literature on COR theory by identifying the type of resource investment that can be beneficial. Specifically, we posit that approach-related resource investment may reduce resource loss while avoidance-related resource investment may not. We consider not only the strategies pregnant women use to manage FUOPs but also the mechanism through which these strategies influence changes in inter-role conflict and work stress and the reasons behind that influence. In these ways, we provide theoretical explanations for what, how, and why (Whetten, 1989) pregnant employees manage FUOPs.

Third, we answer the call to use longitudinal data to investigate COR-based models that stipulate how threats to or losses of resources influence changes in inter-role conflict and stress (Halbesleben et al., 2014; Whitman et al., 2014). COR theory proposes that access to or perceptions of resources may change employee outcomes over time; yet, most studies have utilized cross-sectional designs that have a limited ability to establish causal relationships or chronological order. Rather than simply testing whether FUOPs predict conflict and stress indirectly through SIMp strategies, we investigate the influence of FUOPs on *changes* in these variables throughout pregnancy.

Finally, our study provides practical implications for organizations looking to understand how organizational perceptions might influence employee outcomes over time—and particularly during cases of family transitions, like pregnancy. Increases in inter-role conflict and work stress

have negative consequences for job performance, engagement, and commitment (i.e., Motowidlo, Packard, & Manning, 1986; Netemeyer, Maxham III, & Pullig, 2005). By investigating the relationship between FUOPs and impression management strategies, and subsequent changes in inter-role conflict and work stress, we can improve employees' and organizations' approaches to these types of family transitions. Understanding the mechanisms that drive changes in inter-role conflict and work stress via impression management behaviors can advance training interventions aimed to help pregnant employees manage unsupportive work environments.

Theoretical Development

Family-unsupportive Organizational Perceptions

Not surprisingly, work environments considered to be more unsupportive of families negatively influence employees. These negative perceptions develop from a lack of family-friendly policies and, in turn, influence work-family conflict, turnover intentions, burnout, job satisfaction and affective commitment (e.g., Allen, 2001; Cook, 2009; Haar & Roche, 2010; Shockley & Allen, 2007). Because familial concerns are particularly salient as women progress through pregnancy, they are likely to assess family-unsupportiveness as a growing threat to their goals and thus, will be motivated to manage them. Previous research suggests that these threats are real; pregnant employees often receive lower performance appraisals, lose promotions (Borrill & Kidd, 1994; Glass & Riley, 1998; Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007; Houston & Marks, 2003; Morgan, Walker, Hebl, & King, 2013), and fear they may experience other negative career consequences (Little et al., 2015). When resources are threatened, individuals are motivated to prevent loss and may invest additional resources to protect against the loss, to recover from losses, and to maintain resources (Hobfoll, 2001). Drawing on

principles from COR theory, we theorize pregnant women will engage in social identity-based impression management strategies in order to prevent potential losses associated with FUOPs and pregnancy.

Social Identity-based Impression Management During Pregnancy (SIMp)

Given the potential negative consequences of FUOPs, it is important to understand how pregnant workers manage such environments. Pregnancy, itself, can tax a woman's resources as family and pregnancy-related health concerns become more salient (Ladge Clair, & Greenberg, 2012). Clearly, pregnancy requires devotion of time and energy. The standard recommendation for prenatal care includes a minimum of 15 doctor appointments, which increase in frequency as the pregnancy progresses (U.S. National Library of Medicine, 2016). Pregnant women often desire to make up for work missed due to doctor appointments or other health-related matters (Little et al. 2015), potentially increasing resource drain. Pregnancy also initiates impression management concerns as women often perceive pregnancy as a threat to their professional image in the workplace (Little et al., 2015). In organizations that are unsupportive of families, where long hours in the workplace are seen as necessary for advancement (Allen, 2001), these threats are likely exacerbated. Unsupportive environments encourage employees to keep family matters separate from work and discourage employees from talking about life outside of work (Allen, 2001)—a task that can be very difficult when one is carrying a physical reminder of her growing family.

Based on tenets of COR theory (Hobfoll, 1989, 2001), we posit that the more family-unsupportive women perceive their organizations to be (i.e., greater FUOPs), the more they will engage in SIMp during pregnancy to protect from resource loss. We suggest that women engage in impression management strategies because the physical and familial changes and requirements

of pregnancy as well as their organization's culture and policies surrounding employees' family lives are largely out of employees' control. SIMp behaviors offer pregnant women an avenue to invest additional resources that is within their control. As such, we argue that women engage in SIMp behaviors to manage the threats of a family-unsupportive organization.

SIMp behaviors, motivated by women's concerns about others' perceptions of them at work, fall into two general categories: image maintenance and decategorization (Little et al., 2015). Image maintenance behaviors involve tactics geared towards maintaining or preserving the women's professional images. Decategorization behaviors involve avoiding negative outcomes by hiding the pregnancy or avoiding the issue. The two forms of SIMp behaviors correspond with the two categories of self-regulatory behaviors—approach behaviors (motivated by a desire to obtain positive stimuli) and avoidance behaviors (motivated by a desire to avoid negative stimuli) (Carver & Scheier, 1998).

When image is the stimulus of interest, approach behaviors are used to reduce the discrepancy between how women believe they are seen by others and how they would like to be seen. Image maintenance behaviors are approach behaviors that pregnant women use with the goal of maintaining their pre-pregnancy professional image; these behaviors stem from a concern that they will lose positive regard within the workplace because of their pregnancy (Little et al., 2015). Image maintenance tactics include maintaining pace at work (e.g., doing the same amount of work as before the pregnancy), not requesting accommodations for the pregnancy, shortening maternity leave, and “going the extra mile” (e.g., trying to do better work than they did before the pregnancy). Because of this approach orientation, image maintenance behaviors represent an additional investment of resources into work—resources aimed specifically at maintaining pre-pregnancy perceptions of competence and character at work. Research suggests that even in the

face of dwindling resources, individuals will invest more resources when they feel this investment will lead to a higher likelihood of their goals being achieved (e.g., Campbell, Perry, Maertz, Allen, & Griffeth, 2013).

Hypothesis 1: FUOPs will be positively related to image maintenance strategies.

In contrast to approach strategies, avoidance strategies are aimed at distancing oneself from undesirable images associated with negative outcomes. Decategorization strategies involve avoiding being associated with the pregnancy, because this association may lead to negative consequences such as being fired or missing out on career opportunities (Little et al., 2015). Decategorization strategies are more likely to occur when the threat of social identity devaluation is high (Roberts, 2005; Little et al., 2015). For example, Ragins, Singh, and Cornwell (2007) found that individuals were less likely to disclose their sexual identities at work when the workplace was perceived as unsupportive. Decategorization behaviors used by pregnant women are aimed at avoiding pregnancy-related threats (such as losing one's job or missing out on a promotion because of the pregnancy); these tactics include passing as non-pregnant or downplaying the pregnancy at work (Little et al., 2015). Again, consistent with COR theory, when faced with the resource loss associated with FUOPs, individuals often engage in avoidance behaviors to prevent future loss (Halbesleben et al., 2014; Whitman, Halbesleben, & Holmes, 2014). As such, we propose that highly unsupportive environments—because they heighten the threat of pregnancy devaluation—will increase the likelihood of decategorization tactics in an attempt to reduce further loss of resources.

Hypothesis 2: FUOPs will be positively related to decategorization strategies.

FUOPs, Image Maintenance, and Changes in WFC, FWC and Work Stress

We expect that SIMp behaviors driven by FUOPs will relate to our dependent variables—*changes* in work-family conflict (WFC), *changes* in family-work conflict (FWC), and *changes* in work stress during pregnancy. WFC is defined as the degree to which one's time, strain, and behaviors in the work domain make it difficult to fulfill the requirements of the family domain while FWC refers to the time, strain, and behaviors in the family domain that make it difficult to fulfill the requirements of the work domain (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Thus, they are distinct but related forms of inter-role work conflict where the pressures of one role conflict with the pressures of another role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kahn, 1981; Kahn, et al., 1964). Work stress is a state that occurs when individuals perceive events in their environment to be taxing or exceeding their resources (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Women who engage in effective SIMp strategies may stave off some of the negative effects of FUOPs which may lead to negative changes or reductions in WFC, FWC, and work stress. We argue that because image maintenance behaviors represent goal-directed resource investments, they can be an effective means to manage FUOPs during pregnancy. First, by employing image maintenance behaviors, employees manage perceptions about the increasing conflict they face between their work and family domains as they progress through pregnancy. Image maintenance behaviors provide a functional coping mechanism in that these behaviors induce more involvement in work tasks, which enable pregnant employees to manage stress associated with their work role more effectively. Consistent with COR theory, as women invest resources into their work roles via image maintenance behaviors, they are likely to become more engaged with their jobs (Halbesleben et al., 2014). As women effectively manage their work tasks over the course of their pregnancy and engage in their work, this can lead to greater reductions in inter-role conflict and work stress.

Job engagement is defined as an individual's investment of their complete self into their job (Kahn, 1990; Rich, LePine, & Crawford, 2010). This conceptualization of engagement suggests that engaged employees are those who apply their abilities towards role performance (Christian, Garza, Slaughter, 2011; Kahn 1990; Rich et al., 2010). When individuals engage in image maintenance behaviors, they take an approach focus toward achieving their desired professional image and invest more energy in the job itself; for example, they may "go the extra mile" at work or purposefully not request pregnancy-related accommodations. We argue that women in family-unsupportive environments adopt approach-related image maintenance strategies and, as a result, experience greater job engagement. In other words, by investing energy into one's professional image through the use of image maintenance tactics, employees are investing energy into the work role as well.

Furthermore, when employees are more engaged in their work, they are better able to meet and adapt to the demands of their work (Christian et al., 2011; Rich et al., 2010). A highly family-unsupportive organizational environment could increase job stress during pregnancy as women's concerns about their professional image intensify; however, highly engaged employees may be able to reduce or even reverse these upward changes in stress and better manage inter-role conflict and work stress. The use of image maintenance strategies will lead employees to be more engaged in their jobs and, in turn, help them reduce inter-role conflict and stress associated with work. Indeed, individuals who are fully engaged in their work roles reap positive work rewards as the energy they invest is returned to them via performance gains and positive affective experiences (Christian et al., 2011; Rich et al., 2010). Thus, we expect that image maintenance behaviors will relate to reductions in inter-role conflict and work stress during pregnancy through a positive relationship with engagement.

Hypothesis 3: FUOPs are indirectly related to negative changes in (3a) WFC, (3b) FWC, and (3c) work stress, during the course of a pregnancy via an increase in image maintenance and job engagement.

FUOPs, Decategorization, and Changes in WFC, FWC and Work Stress

In contrast to image maintenance strategies, decategorization strategies involve deemphasizing one's social identities to avoid categorization as a potentially devalued identity (Roberts, 2005). Avoidance approaches are another way individuals deal with resource threats—by avoiding topics or situations that may incur more resource loss (Halbesleben et. al., 2014). Unfortunately, even at times when individuals are successful at avoiding categorization, the threat of future categorization and devaluation remains constant. In the case of a pregnant employee, this threat heightens over time because of the increased demands of a progressing pregnancy.

To be effective at decategorization strategies, individuals must constantly monitor and address others' use of the categorization they wish to avoid. The extra vigilance required to avoid categorization can be exhausting, using resources needed for work and family (Carver & Scheier, 1998; Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005; Little et al., 2015; Ragins, 2008). Employees who adopt avoidance behaviors at work are more likely to experience accelerated accumulation effects of emotional exhaustion over time (e.g., Halbesleben, Wheeler, & Rossi, 2012). We expect a similar scenario for pregnant employees. Resource drain, activated by experiencing a progressing pregnancy in an unsupportive environment and exacerbated by the use of decategorization strategies, will create heightened perceptions of work's interference with family. As resources are drained at work, fewer will be available for the family leading to an increase in WFC.

We expect the use of decategorization strategies will also result in an increase in FWC, again, due to the constant vigilance required. As the pregnancy progresses and becomes more visible, decategorization becomes more difficult as well as taxing—increasing perceptions that family is interfering with work. Finally, individuals who use these strategies are likely to experience positive changes or increases in work stress and psychological strain, because their use of decategorization strategies feels inauthentic, and the threat of devaluation is still present (Baumeister, 1989; Hewlin, 2003; Little et al., 2015; Roberts, 2005). Because of the negative psychological consequences associated with decategorization strategies, we expect that these strategies will drive positive changes (i.e., increases) in inter-role conflict and work stress experienced by pregnant employees during pregnancy.

Hypothesis 4: FUOPs are indirectly related to positive changes in (4a) WFC, (4b) FWC, and (4c) work stress during the course of a pregnancy via an increase in decategorization behaviors.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between FUOPs and changes in WFC, FWC, and work stress. Specifically, we were interested in testing the proposed mediators—namely, SIMp strategies and engagement. After internal review board approval from the University of Georgia (Protocol Number: 2013102001 & entitled Pregnant Women and Mothers in the Workplace), participants were recruited using pregnancy online communities (e.g., babycenter.com). We asked participants to complete surveys every 2 to 3 weeks, with an average of 18.47 days between surveys ($SD = 7.29$)—four surveys in total through the duration of the study. In the Time 1 survey, we first confirmed that participants were pregnant. Two

hundred and seventy-three women completed the first survey and provided contact information to receive the additional surveys. Out of the 273 women that completed the first survey, 209 women completed the Time 2 survey, for a response rate of 77%. Out of the 209 women that completed the second survey, 127 women completed the Time 3 survey for a response rate of 61%. A few weeks later, we sent the final survey and received 124 responses, for a response rate of 98%.

Thus, the final sample, using listwise deletion, comprised 124 pregnant working women. The women were, on average, 31.6 (SD = 3.81) years old. The majority had only one or no children (41% no children, 42.7% one child, 14.7% two children, and 1% three or more children), and the majority of the participants were Caucasian (87% Caucasian, 2% African American, 4% Asian, 4% Hispanic, and 3% other). They were, on average, 20.4 weeks pregnant (SD = 6.0) when they completed the Time 1 survey. Their average tenure with their current organization was 4.56 years (SD = 3.49), and they worked, on average, 40.63 hours a week (SD = 5.34). They also held a wide range of jobs (23% managerial, 12% education, 10% clerical/administrative support, 29% medical, 6% technical, 6% service/sales/maintenance, and 14% other) and were predominantly in non-management positions (69% non-management and 26% supervisory).

To collect longitudinal data, within the first survey, we asked participants to disclose their email addresses, due dates, and how many weeks pregnant they were. We also included measures of FUOPs, WFC, FWC, and work stress as well as demographic information. The second survey included measures of image maintenance and decategorization strategies as well as a measure of FUOPs. The third survey included a measure of work engagement as well as the image maintenance and decategorization measures. Finally, the Time 4 surveys asked women to

report on WFC, FWC, and work stress again. We collected the same constructs at multiple time points to control for the change in variables across these time points. This strategy allowed us to better isolate the influence of the effects to the constructs measured and note changes in these constructs over time.

Measures

All items were assessed using a five-point scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) unless otherwise noted.

Family-unsupportive organizational perceptions (FUOPs). At Time 1, participants completed a shortened six-item measure of Allen's family-supportive organizational perceptions scale (2001) validated by Booth and Matthews (2012). The prompt for this scale asked participants, "To what extent do you agree that each of the following statements represents the philosophy or beliefs of the organization for which you worked when you were pregnant?" All six items in this measure are reverse-coded when assessing family supportive practices; however, because our interest was in unsupportive environments, we did not reverse-score these items.

Social identity-based impression management during pregnancy (SIMp).

Participants completed the 21-item SIMp strategies scale (Little et al., 2015) at Time 2 and Time 3. This scale captures the extent to which women engage in image maintenance and decategorization strategies. A sample item for image maintenance is the statement "I try to do better work than I did before I became pregnant." We dropped one image maintenance item that cross-loaded with the other items. A sample item for decategorization is the statement "My coworkers know I am pregnant, but I discourage talk about my pregnancy at work."

Engagement. In Time 3, participants were asked to reflect on the job engagement they experienced before taking their maternity leave. Participants completed five items from Rich and

colleagues' (2010) measure of emotional engagement. A sample item is the statement "I feel energetic at my job."

Changes in work-family conflict (WFC) and family-work conflict (FWC). To investigate changes in WFC and FWC, we measured each construct at Time 1 and Time 4 using the five-item scales developed by Netemeyer, Boles, and McMurrian (1996). A sample item from the WFC scale is the statement "The amount of my time my job takes up makes it difficult to fulfill family responsibilities," and a sample item from the FWC scale is the statement "Family-related strain interferes with my ability to perform job-related duties." Items in this scale used a seven-point agreement scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The variables collected during these measurement occasions were used to create a latent difference score (LDS) representing change in WFC and FWC.

Work stress. Work stress was also assessed at Time 1 and Time 4 using the four-item felt stress measure developed by Parker and Decotiis (1983). A sample item is the statement "I felt fidgety or nervous as a result of my job." Again, this data was used to create a LDS representing change in work stress.

Control variables. Because our focus was on changes in conflict between family and work, we controlled for the effects of family size (i.e., the number of children the women had) on changes in FWC, as previous theory and research suggests that household size influences FWC (Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 1998; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). We also controlled for the effect of pregnancy risk measured using a 5-point scale from "low risk, normal" to "extremely high risk" (assessed at Time 1) on changes in work stress, as studies have shown a link (Brandt & Nielsen, 1992). Finally, we controlled for the effect of their intent to return to work after the baby was born (assessed at Time 1) on changes in WFC. Women who intend to exit the workforce will

have less need to manage long-term effects of a family-unsupportive workplace, because they will soon be exiting the workplace voluntarily and, as such, may be less likely to experience positive changes or increases in WFC. We also accounted for the changes in FUOPs and SIMp strategies across from Time 1 to Time 2 and Time 2 to Time 3, respectively. We did so to support our contention that FUOPs and SIMp behaviors influence inter-role conflict and stress over a progressing pregnancy rather than changes in the variables over the pregnancy influencing these outcomes.

As FUOPs and our outcome variables share some conceptual overlap related to work and non-work experiences, we performed several tests to establish discriminant validity. First, we performed a confirmatory factor analysis in *Mplus 7.4* using a raw data matrix with the maximum likelihood estimator and the expected setting for the information matrix to support our seven-factor model, including FUOPs, FWC, WFC, and work stress measured at Time 1 as well as image maintenance and decategorization at Time 2 and engagement at Time 3. The results supported the seven-factor model ($\chi^2 = 1391.71$; $df = 918$; $CFI = .91$; $RMSEA = .06$; $SRMR = .08$). We compared the seven-factor model with a series of six-factor models in which the new scale items were collapsed on the construct with the most conceptual overlap (i.e., WFC and FWC, WFC and work stress, the two SIMp strategies, and each outcome separately with FUOP). Chi-square difference tests revealed that alternative models fit the data worse than the seven-factor model ($p < .001$). The fit indices (CFI, RMSEA, and SRMR) of the alternative models fell below the thresholds of good fit.

Analysis and Results

Before testing Hypothesis 1, we tested for possible response bias in our data by running a series of analysis comparing the participants in our model with those who had dropped out. First,

we ran several ANOVAs comparing participants' responses on several focal continuous variables collected at Time 1 including FUOPs, IM, DC, WFC, FWC, and work stress. The results suggested no significant mean differences in Time 1 WFC ($F(1,259) = .14, ns$), FWC ($F(1,259) = .44, ns$), FUOPs ($F(1,433) = 2.57, ns$), work stress ($F(1,258) = 2.53, ns$), IM ($F(1,269) = 2.02, ns$), and DC ($F(1,269) = .31, ns$). Likewise, we ran several ANOVAs comparing participants' responses on several demographic continuous variables including age, hours worked, and tenure. No significant differences were found for the following demographic variables, either: age ($F(1,245) = .64, ns$), hours worked ($F(1,250) = .31, ns$), and tenure ($F(1,243) = .36, ns$). Lastly, we ran chi-square tests using contingency tables to analyze whether race and job type were related to participant attrition. Results suggested no significant relationships between race and attrition ($\chi^2(5) = 2.62, ns$) or job type and attrition ($\chi^2(6) = 5.25, ns$). In Table 1, we provide the bivariate correlations, reliability estimates, and descriptive statistics for the sample. The correlations in this table suggest a positive relationship between FUOPs and WFC, FWC, and work stress; however, further analysis was needed to investigate their influence on *changes* in these constructs.

However, before we estimated our primary model, using *Mplus 7.4*, we conducted measurement invariance tests to support that the measurements of FUOP, SIMp strategies, WFC, FWC, and work stress were equivalent across the time periods (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). First, we tested configural invariance or equivalence with regard to the pattern of the factor loadings across the three measurement occasions. The fit statistics supported configural invariance for the outcome variables between Time 1 and Time 4 ($\chi^2 = 546.26, df = 321, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .06$) as well as for FUOPs between Time 1 and Time 2 ($\chi^2 = 101.71, df = 48, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .09, SRMR = .06$) and for the SIMp strategies between

Time 2 and Time 3 ($\chi^2 = 996.70$, $df = 654$, $CFI = .93$, $RMSEA = .06$, $SRMR = .06$). We also assessed the differences in the magnitude of the factor loadings (metric invariance)—the fit statistics reflected good fit (outcome variables: $\chi^2 = 557.33$, $df = 332$, $CFI = .94$, $RMSEA = .07$, $SRMR = .06$; FUOP: $\chi^2 = 105.71$, $df = 53$, $CFI = .96$, $RMSEA = .08$, $SRMR = .05$; SIMp: $\chi^2 = 1009.40$, $df = 668$, $CFI = .93$, $RMSEA = .06$, $SRMR = .06$). We compared the model fit of the metric invariance models to the configural invariance models. In addition, chi-square difference tests were non-significant (outcome variables: $\Delta\chi^2 = 11.07$, $\Delta df = 11$, ns ; FUOP: $\Delta\chi^2 = 4$, $\Delta df = 5$, ns ; SIMp: $\Delta\chi^2 = 12.70$, $\Delta df = 14$, ns).

We analyzed our data using a latent difference score (LDS) model in *Mplus 7.4* following the procedures outlined by McArdle (2001, 2009). We chose LDS, because we were interested in single interval changes in our outcomes (i.e., between Time 1 and Time 4). LDS is thought to be preferable for these types of models (Selig & Preacher, 2009), because it captures the true difference (both positive and negative) over time and eliminates other problems attributed to difference scores (McArdle & Nesselroade, 1994). In addition, we wanted a design that would identify the influence of SIMp strategies on changes in inter-role conflict and stress. Our chosen measurement of change needed to account for the influence of these strategies as well as the speed of change inherent in pregnancy where noticeable changes are often measured in monthly increments (American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, 2010). Thus, our design attempted to capture changes in these outcomes driven by the women's chosen strategies while allowing for pregnancy-related change to occur. Further, for both conceptual and empirical reasons, we felt that it was important to account for the influence of the women's Time 1 WFC, FWC and work stress on changes in these outcomes in order to better isolate the effects of the impression management strategies. Thus, using single indicators of our measured constructs, we

created the LDS constructs by adding a set of constraints to the observed variables in the different time periods (see Figure 1).

The fit was mediocre for our hypothesized model ($\chi^2 = 149.67$, $df = 69$, $CFI = .91$, $RMSEA = .10$, $SRMR = .09$). We then followed the approach recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1988) and tested the hypothesized model against theoretically plausible alternative models. Although change in our predictors is accounted for in our hypothesized model, we did not directly assess whether changes in FUOPs predicted changes in SIMp or engagement. In Alternative Model 1, we estimated the path between changes in FUOPs and SIMp strategies and engagement. The chi-square difference test was significant ($\Delta\chi^2 = 17.72$, $\Delta df = 2^1$; $p < .001$) suggesting we retain Alternative Model 1, as the fit was significantly improved in Alternative Model 1 ($\chi^2 = 131.95$; $df = 71$; $\Delta\chi^2 = 18.51$; $CFI = .93$; $RMSEA = .08$; $SRMR = .09$). In Alternative Model 2, we additionally estimated the paths between changes in FUOPs and changes in the outcomes (WFC, FWC, and stress). The chi-square difference test was not significant ($\Delta\chi^2 = 4.94$, $\Delta df = 3$; ns), and the fit was not significantly improved in Alternative Model 2 ($\chi^2 = 127.91$; $df = 68$; $CFI = .92$; $RMSEA = .09$; $SRMR = .09$). Finally, we tested an Alternative Model 3 in which Time 1 WFC, FWC and work stress predicted changes in FUOP between Time 1 and 2. We did so to investigate the possibility of recursive relationships. Again, the chi-square difference test was not significant ($\Delta\chi^2 = 7.46$, $\Delta df = 3$; ns), and the fit was not significantly improved in Alternative Model 3 ($\chi^2 = 124.49$; $df = 68$; $CFI = .94$; $RMSEA = .08$; $SRMR = .08$). Moreover, the newly added paths in Alternative Models 2 and 3 were not significant. Because of these findings, we retained Alternative Model 1 as our final model.

¹ Please note: In the hypothesized model, *Mplus 7.4*, by default, correlates the residuals of the latent difference scores. In Alternative Model 1, where we estimated the relationship between change in FUOPs and the SIMp strategies and engagement, these residuals are not correlated. As a result, five degrees of freedom are gained, while three are lost.

We found support for both the positive relationship between FUOPs and image maintenance (Hypothesis 1; $\gamma = .14, p < .05$) and the positive relationship between FUOPs and decategorization (Hypothesis 2; $\gamma = .43, p < .05$). We tested for the indirect effect of FUOPs on changes in WFC, FWC, and work stress via image maintenance and engagement and decategorization using a bootstrapping method. We estimated 1000 bootstrap samples and found support for Hypotheses 3a (indirect effect = $-.02, p < .05$) and 3c (indirect effect = $-.02, p < .05$), but did not find support for Hypothesis 3b (indirect effect = $.00, ns$). As women engaged in image maintenance in response to strong FUOPs, they experienced reductions in work-family conflict (Hypothesis 3a) and their work stress (Hypothesis 3c) via job engagement (see Figure 1 and Table 2). Decategorization mediated the relationship between FUOPs and changes in WFC (Hypothesis 4a; indirect effect = $.22, p < .01$) but not changes in FWC (Hypothesis 4b; indirect effect = $-.03, ns$) and work stress (Hypothesis 4c; indirect effect = $-.02, ns$) over the course of pregnancy (see Figure 1, Table 2, and Table 3 for results). When accounting for the mediators, we did not find significant remaining direct effects of FUOPs on changes in WFC, FWC or work stress (see Table 2). Although not directly hypothesized, we also tested a model excluding the mediating variables ($\chi^2 = 58.98; df = 30; CFI = .94; RMSEA = .09; SRMR = .08$) and did not find significant direct effects of FUOPs on changes in FWC ($\beta = .11, S.E. = .10, ns$) or work stress ($\beta = .08, S.E. = .08, ns$). FUOPs did significantly predict *changes* in WFC in a model with no mediators ($\beta = .34, S.E. = .15, p = .03$).

Discussion

The results of our study suggest that in attempts to manage unsupportive organizations, women engage in social identity-based impression management strategies (SIMp) with differential effectiveness. Image maintenance strategies—efforts made to maintain one's pre-

pregnancy professional image—were effective in helping participants increase their job engagement and, subsequently, reduced inter-role conflict during their pregnancy. Women who proactively influence how others view them at work experience less burnout and perceive less discrimination (Little et al., 2015). We found that these behaviors also increased job engagement and related to negative changes in WFC and work stress during pregnancy. Image maintenance and job engagement, however, did not relate to changes in FWC. Women's engagement in their job did not change their perceptions as to how much family interferes with work. This may be because pregnant women—whether engaged in their job or not—are not physically able to separate family from interfering with work as long as they are carrying a baby. Thus, their perceptions as to whether their family interferes with work remain unchanged regardless of the SIMp strategy employed.

Decategorization strategies are largely motivated by a desire to reduce threats such as being fired or passed up for a promotion (Little et al., 2015) which we argue are heightened in an unsupportive environment. The resource threats associated with FUOPs and the subsequent avoidance of those threats (i.e., avoiding discussion of the pregnancy) will further tax pregnant women leading to resource drain. We found that FUOPs were related to greater use of decategorization strategies and these strategies drove positive changes or increases in WFC. We did not find evidence that decategorization strategies drove changes in FWC or work stress.

Our final model indicated a negative direct relationship between FUOPs and job engagement and a negative indirect relationship between FUOPs and changes in work stress via engagement, providing further evidence for the negative consequences of FUOPs. Job engagement has been linked to a host of individual and organization outcomes. For example, in a meta-analysis, Harter and colleagues (2002) found that job engagement related to customer

satisfaction, profitability, productivity, employee turnover, and safety outcomes. Organizational leadership should take heed of this negative relationship and support policies that reduce family unsupportive perceptions. Taken together, our results suggest that women who engage in image maintenance strategies see negative changes in WFC and work stress due to higher levels of engagement. However, these beneficial effects may not be enough to undo the influence of FUOPs on increases in decategorization which relate to positive changes or increases in WFC, or via decreases in engagement resulting in positive change or increases in work stress.

These results are highlighted by an investigation of the effect sizes. The additive indirect effects of FUOPs on changes in WFC suggest that one unit of change in FUOPs increases positive changes in WFC by .32 units. Thus, although image maintenance helps women manage FUOPs, their negative influence remains strong. In regard to work stress, the message is a bit more positive for women with strong FUOPs, with a one unit increase in FUOPs, the additive indirect effects represent a small increase in changes in work stress (.10).

Implications for Theory

By integrating SIMp with COR theory, our conceptual model advances current perspectives that have primarily focused on organizational and managerial interventions for employees in unsupportive environments. We contribute to research suggesting that the work-home interface should be examined through a self-regulatory approach (e.g., Courtright, Gardner, Smith, McCormick, & Colbert, 2016; Grawitch, Barber, & Justice, 2010; Rothbard, 2001) and outline the strategies pregnant women use to manage FUOPs. We incorporate the key tenets of self-regulatory research to explain why an approach strategy—image maintenance—is more effective than an avoidance strategy—decategorization. Our examination of approach and avoidance behaviors as they relate to conserving, maintaining, and gaining resources at work

advances our knowledge of how individually-based resources can enable individuals to mitigate against changes in stress despite highly demanding contexts or life transitions.

We also explain how image maintenance behaviors lead to positive consequences via the explanatory mechanism of job engagement. Consistent with COR theory, women who invest resources in image maintenance behaviors increase their resource base in the form of job engagement (Hobfoll, 2001; Schaufeli, Bakker, & Van Rhenen, 2009), enabling them to reduce stress and WFC. COR theory proposes that when individuals experience a threat to or loss of their resources, they invest resources to reduce further losses (Hobfoll et al., 1996). Yet, very little research has investigated the effectiveness of these resource investments during a major work-life transition. Finally, we answer the call to use longitudinal data to investigate COR-based models that stipulate how threats to or losses of resources influence changes in stress and inter-role conflict (Halbesleben et al., 2014; Whitman et al., 2014). By investigating the influence of FUOPs on *changes* in stress and conflict throughout pregnancy via LDS modeling, our study more closely aligns with tenets of COR theory that propose strategies to manage resource loss should result in a change of one's stress and well-being outcomes (Hobfoll, 1989, 2001).

Implications for Practice

In her groundbreaking work investigating family-supportive workplaces, Allen (2001) integrated role theory and COR theory to suggest that family support by organizations is a key resource that employees rely upon to help them manage and balance the demands of work and family roles (Allen, 2001; Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999; Hobfoll, 1989; Kelly & Vodyanoff, 1985). Though researchers and practitioners continue to emphasize the positive role family-supportive environments can play for both employees and employers, many employees still find

that their organizations are unsupportive of employees' family lives (LaBier, 2013). Although not the focus of our research, we found that, like previous studies, FUOPs are positively correlated with stress and inter-role conflict (Allen, 2001; Lapierre et al., 2008; Wayne et al., 2013) and are negatively related with employee job engagement. FUOPs relate to positive changes in WFC via decategorization, and to work stress through reductions in engagement. Although we found beneficial outcomes related to image maintenance and engagement, overall, these strategies did not relate to negative total effects regarding changes in our outcomes. These results suggest that organizations should invest in family-friendly policies and procedures, most particularly during family transitions.

One step could be to provide family-supportive training to managers. Hammer and colleagues (2011) found that family-supportive training interventions for managers were associated with beneficial effects on employee job satisfaction, turnover intentions, and physical health, via increased perceptions of family-supportive supervisor behaviors. Additionally, Morgan et al. (2013) found that when hiring managers received (vs. did not receive) counter stereotypic information about certain pregnancy-related stereotypes (particularly lack of commitment and inflexibility), managers displayed significantly less interpersonal discrimination. As such, FUOPs and their negative consequences for employees could be attenuated in organizations where managers receive family-supportive training.

Going beyond organizational interventions, our study also provides insight into effective and ineffective strategies employees rely on for managing these environments while pregnant. Our findings suggests that image maintenance behaviors may allow women to more effectively manage, allocate, and protect their resources during pregnancy (Halbesleben, Harvey, & Bolino, 2009). Our results are consistent with previous research which found that image maintenance

strategies also reduce burnout, perceptions of discrimination, and turnover (Little, et.al, 2015). It is important to note that these findings illuminate the behaviors pregnant women report displaying in order to reduce workplace threats associated with pregnancy—particularly, while working in a family-unsupportive environment. Whether or not women *should have to* engage in these strategies when they become pregnant is an important question for academic and policy researchers alike. Certainly, all employees have a limit to the resources they can invest. Our findings suggest that organizations should be pro-active in developing a safe space where women do not feel the need to downplay their pregnancy as women who engage in decategorization behaviors see an increase in WFC during their pregnancy. Women should be encouraged to avoid these behaviors, opting instead to engage in image maintenance behaviors.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Research

Our study design had several strengths. First, it allowed us to examine the dynamic nature of stress and conflict between work and family. Rather than assessing our hypotheses cross-sectionally, we identified constructs that influence changes in inter-role conflict and work stress during pregnancy—a common family transition. Second, we examined changes in WFC, FWC, and work stress in pregnancy between two time periods during a significant life event.

Our study is also not without limitations. First, our sample size was rather small; future research should investigate this model in a larger sample. Second, because our interest was focused on employees' perceptions and personal experiences, our study relied on self-report variables. We followed a number of precautions to reduce concerns associated with self-report variables (Podsakoff, Mackenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003); we collected the predictor and outcome variables at different times and we assessed changes in WFC, FWC, and work stress during pregnancy. Our use of time-lagged change variables rather than cross-sectional

measurement reduces concerns that our findings are affected by participant mood or measurement context (McArdle, 2001, 2009; Podsakoff et al., 2003). Third, it is important to note that our final model was an alternative model in which the paths between changes in FUOPs and SIMp strategies and engagement were included. Although we did so based on the recommendation by Anderson and Gerbing (1988), future research should cross-validate our results with another sample, because these paths were added a posteriori. Fourth, because of the complex nature of the models, we used aggregated scales and the analysis strategy proposed by McArdle and Nesselroade (2014); future research should investigate these questions using latent indicators of all constructs. Fifth, as recently noted by Kline (2015), a limitation of the current study, particularly the mediation results, is the potential inability to replicate these findings to other samples. While the current study meets one of his recommendations for strong tests of mediation—temporal separation of the X, M and Y variables—future research could test our model using a quasi-experimental design, manipulating FUOPs and observing pregnant women's reaction to it.

Sixth, another potential concern given the number of independent and mediating variables in our model could be that multicollinearity is affecting the strength of our relationships. To assess for the potential of multicollinearity, we performed multicollinearity tests for the influence of image maintenance and decategorization on engagement. Tolerance (IM = .829; DC = .829) and VIF (IM = 1.206; DC = 1.206) values were adequate for the two variables. This helps to reduce the concern of multicollinearity in our model. Additionally, we ran two additional models with fewer variables—one where we removed decategorization and one where we removed image maintenance and engagement. We did so to understand the implications of each indirect effect on its own without any multicollinearity issues. The

estimated effects in the separate models did not meaningfully differ from the overall model (the complete findings are available from the authors), alleviating concern regarding multicollinearity in our final model.

Seventh, and finally, although we felt that an LDS design would best answer our research question, it is not without its trade-offs. Specifically, LDS limits our ability to investigate the reliability of the growth trajectories (Willett, 1989). Analysis techniques that allow for more than two measurement time points such as latent growth modeling (LGM) would be an alternative analysis technique that would allow consideration of growth trajectories. This would be a useful analysis in future studies that take a more detailed approach to the long-term changes of stress during pregnancy. Still, an important difference between LGM and LDS is that using LDS allowed us to account for the relationship between Time 1 WFC, FWC, and work stress and the change in WFC, FWC and work stress and better isolate the influence of the SIMp strategies (Kenny, 2011). Accordingly, because we were interested in the influence of women's behaviors on the difference between Time 1 and Time 4 over a time period where pregnancy changes were also likely, we consider LDS the best analysis technique for this study.

Our study also highlighted several important directions for future research. First, we found that women who engaged in image maintenance behaviors experienced more job engagement, which, in turn, reduced their stress and inter-role conflict during pregnancy. Image maintenance strategies provided a functional coping mechanism for women with FUOPs. Though our investigation of pregnancy is a key contribution to the literature, future research should investigate other family transitions such as caring for aging parents or an ill family member. Future research should also investigate the intrapersonal or interpersonal factors that relate to adopting image maintenance behaviors. Perhaps certain personality characteristics or

relationships (i.e., role models, mentors, and/or career-supportive spouses) encourage women to engage in image maintenance strategies.

Second, investigating the accuracy of pregnant employees' perceptions that their organizations are unsupportive of families is another important avenue for future research. Such work might look at organizational work-family policies and group- and organizational-level perceptions of them. It may be that pregnant employees are more attuned than non-pregnant employees to signals of family support (or the lack thereof). Group- or organizational-level consensus about a lack of family support would suggest the need for a broader, cultural intervention to address this problem. In such cases, interventions focused on pregnant employees may be more useful in addressing the source of these perceptions. For example, training programs on harassment and diversity could include specific examples related to pregnancy. Additionally, if pregnant employees perceive the organization's culture as unsupportive, this may suggest that pregnancy-specific policies and procedures may need to be improved. Third, future research needs to uncover what factors or characteristics of FUOPs contribute to changes in FWC, WFC, and work stress during pregnancy. There are likely multiple organizational contributors to FUOPs (e.g., limited access to flexibility, an organizational culture encouraging employees to keep personal problems at home, and/or a culture encouraging working long hours in order to advance). Developing a better understanding of the organizational factors contributing to FUOPs would further advance theory and practice.

Conclusion

The Amazon.com controversy captured the attention of popular press due to the negative influence of family-unsupportive organizations on employees and organizations. Research has also documented the importance of family-supportive environments as well as the negative

consequences associated with family-unsupportive environments (cf. Allen, 2001; Lapierre et al., 2008; Wayne et al., 2013). Our results suggest that many pregnant employees are effectively managing these environments by engaging in image maintenance strategies. Decategorization strategies, however, should be avoided as they drove positive changes or increases in WFC and work stress. Though these individual strategies may be no substitute for positive, family-supportive environments, women who lack organizational support for their family roles can take some relief in knowing that their use of image maintenance strategies can help them to manage work stress and WFC. We hope that our results will help to encourage more organizations to foster family-supportive workplaces.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Reliabilities

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1 FUOPs (T1)	2.48	.84	(.85)														
2 FUOPs (T2)	2.49	.86	.81**	(.89)													
3 IM(T2)	3.35	.55	.20*	.18*	(.80)												
4 IM(T3)	3.33	.51	.17	.17	.80**	(.78)											
5 DC (T2)	2.67	.85	.41**	.38**	.39**	.38**	(.89)										
6 DC (T3)	2.61	.83	.44**	.42**	.33**	.39**	.87**	(.90)									
7 Engage (T3)	3.62	.85	-.31**	-.47**	.19*	.17	-.12	-.13	(.93)								
8 WFC (T1)	3.97	1.55	.48**	.48**	-.01	-.08	.22*	.21*	-.32**	(.94)							
9 WFC (T4)	3.67	1.64	.41**	.46**	.06	.05	.38**	.44**	-.31**	.65**	(.96)						
10 FWC (T1)	2.82	1.35	.29**	.33**	-.14	-.16	.25**	.24**	-.13	.56**	.41**	(.91)					
11 FWC (T4)	2.70	1.26	.23**	.24**	-.09	.01	.15	.21*	-.13	.40**	.54**	.54**	(.93)				
12 WS (T1)	2.74	1.00	.44**	.45**	.11	.11	.29**	.29**	-.50**	.46**	.50**	.15	.12	(.84)			
13 WS (T4)	2.69	1.10	.36**	.41**	.08	.07	.21*	.21*	-.51**	.44**	.54**	.09	.13	.77**	(.90)		
14 # of kids	.75	.76	-.15	-.04	-.04	-.01	.00	.02	-.08	.05	.10	.13	.20*	-.05	-.02		
15 Back to work	1.08	.27	.11	.16	-.13	-.13	-.01	.08	-.31**	.21*	.06	.11	.05	.15	.18*	-.02	
16 Preg risk	1.77	1.10	.05	.10	-.01	-.01	.01	.04	-.04	.18	.05	.15	.00	.04	-.05	.28**	.01

N=124 * p <.05, **p <.01; IM = image maintenance, DC = decategorization; Engage = engagement, WS = work stress, Preg risk = pregnancy risk; Back to work (1 = yes and 2 = no or I don't know)

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Table 2

Latent Difference Score Model

	Decategorization	Image Maintenance	Engagement	Δ WFC	Δ FWC	Δ Work Stress
Number of kids					.15 (.11)	
Pregnancy risk						-.07 (.06)
Going back to work (Time 1)				-.12 (.07)		
WFC (Time 1)				-.63** (.40)		
FWC (Time 1)					-.43** (.06)	
Work stress (Time 1)						-.26** (.10)
FUOP	.43** (.09)	.14* (.07)	-.46** (.09)	-.02 (.16)	.10 (.12)	.04 (.10)
Δ FUOP	.14 (.16)	.03 (.10)	-.63** (.13)			
Decategorization			-.07 (.10)	.52** (.17)	-.07 (.12)	-.03 (.09)
Image maintenance			.46** (.15)	-.10 (.24)	.04 (.20)	.08 (.15)
Engagement				-.29† (.16)	-.03 (.11)	-.29** (.11)

N=124; † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Note. Results include unstandardized effects.

Standard errors in parentheses.

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Table 3

Results of Predicted Indirect Effects^a

	Estimated Effect	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
FUOP—>IM—>Eng—>Change in WFC:	-.02*	.02	-.067	-.002
FUOP—>DC—> Change in WFC:	.22**	.10	.087	.407
FUOP—>IM—>Eng—> Change in FWC:	.00	.01	-.022	.006
FUOP—>DC—>Change in FWC:	-.03	.05	-.132	.047
FUOP—>IM—>Eng—> Change in Work stress:	-.02*	.01	-.047	-.003
FUOP—>DC—> Change in Work stress:	-.02	.04	-.080	.054

^aCoefficients are unstandardized, * p <.05 , ** p<.01

IM = image maintenance, DC = decategorization, Eng = Engagement

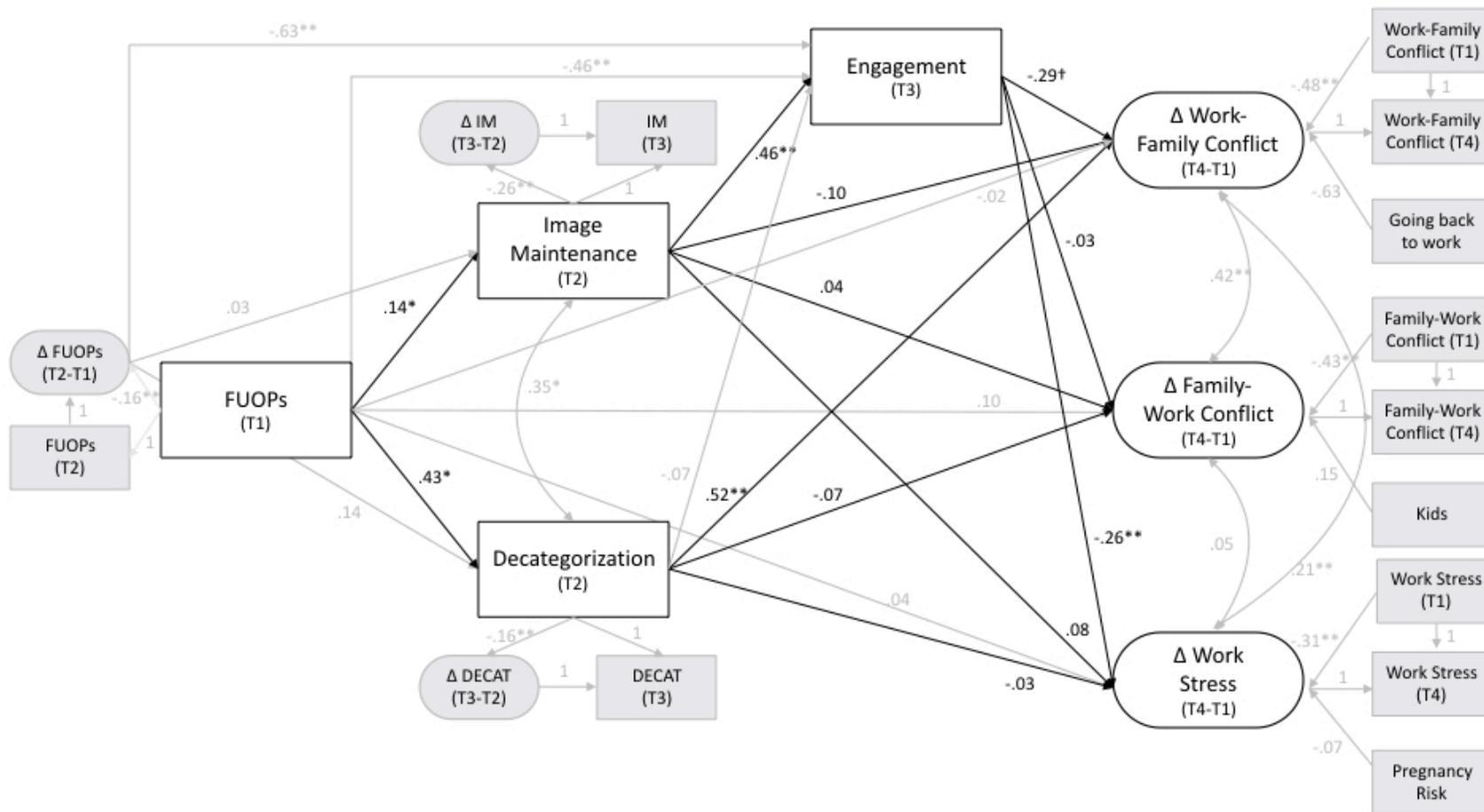


Figure 1. Study results. Path coefficients are unstandardized. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, two-tailed; black arrows represent hypothesized paths and grey shaded variables are the control variables.

Note. By default, SIMp strategies change variables were set to covary with the outcome change variables as follows: Δ IM with Δ WFC (.02), Δ FWC (.15), Δ work stress (.01), and Δ Decategorization (.21), Δ Decategorization with Δ WFC (.31*), Δ FWC (.21), and Δ work stress (.01). We also allowed all T1 variables to covary as follows: T1 WFC with T1 FWC (.56*), with T1 work stress (.46*), and with T1 FUOPs (.48*), T1 FWC with T1 work stress (.15), and with T1 FUOPs (.29*), and T1 work stress with T1 FUOPs (.44).

The control variables are found on the right side of the model to better highlight the hypothesized paths. Each are modeled as predictors of the change variables.