Since January 2020 Elsevier has created a COVID-19 resource centre with free information in English and Mandarin on the novel coronavirus COVID-19. The COVID-19 resource centre is hosted on Elsevier Connect, the company's public news and information website.

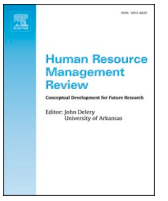
Elsevier hereby grants permission to make all its COVID-19-related research that is available on the COVID-19 resource centre - including this research content - immediately available in PubMed Central and other publicly funded repositories, such as the WHO COVID database with rights for unrestricted research re-use and analyses in any form or by any means with acknowledgement of the original source. These permissions are granted for free by Elsevier for as long as the COVID-19 resource centre remains active.

Human Resource Management Review 32 (2022) 100880

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Human Resource Management Review

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/hrmr



How gender matters: A conceptual and process model for family-supportive supervisor behaviors

Amanda C. Sargent [a,*], Linda G. Shanock [b], George C. Banks [c], Jill E. Yavorsky [d]

[a] University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Department of Organizational Science, 9201 University City Blvd, Charlotte, NC 28223, USA
[b] University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Department of Psychological Sciences, 9201 University City Blvd, Charlotte, NC 28223, USA
[c] University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Department of Management, 9201 University City Blvd, Charlotte, NC 28223, USA
[d] University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Department of Sociology, 9201 University City Blvd, Charlotte, NC 28223, USA

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Family-supportive supervisor behaviors
Gender
Work-family
Gendered organizations

ABSTRACT

Work-family management has become a highly salient issue for organizations as the world of work experiences ongoing changes due to globalization, technological advances, and new challenges spurred by the COVID-19 pandemic. In the past decade or so, the concept of family-supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB) has been recognized by management and organizational science scholars as an important resource for alleviating negative pressures related to work-family management. However, despite evidence suggesting organizations are heavily gendered (i.e., built upon and structured according to assumptions about gender) and that FSSB represent a set of gendered behaviors, the role of gender is largely missing from FSSB theorization. In addition, little is known regarding the antecedents of FSSB and the mechanisms responsible for the enactment or withholding of FSSB by supervisors. To address these gaps, we perform an interdisciplinary theoretical integration to develop a conceptual and process model of gendered antecedents of the FSSB decision-making process. We present theoretically driven propositions regarding how gender-related variables of the supervisory dyad influence both 1) if/how supervisors become aware of an FSSB opportunity, and 2) supervisors' FSSB decisions to enact, withhold, or neglect FSSB. We conclude with practical implications and opportunities for future FSSB research based on implications of our theoretical insights.

1. Introduction

Managing work and family demands is a familiar challenge for both men and women workers in the United States (U.S.). It has been well-documented that individuals employed in the U.S. workforce occupy multiple work and family roles at any given time (e.g., U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021), with approximately 51% of the U.S. workforce having at least one child under the age of 18 in 2020, 24% of which were women (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021). Furthermore, the number of dual-earner families (where both parents are employed) with children under the age of 18 in the U.S. has steadily risen in recent decades (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008, 2021), and a substantial number of Americans are providing care for both children and an elderly individual over the age of 65

* Corresponding author at: Department of Organizational Science, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 9201 University City Blvd, Colvard Bldg #3027 C, Charlotte, NC 28223, USA.
E-mail addresses: amanda.sargent@uncc.edu (A.C. Sargent), lshanock@uncc.edu (L.G. Shanock), gbanks3@uncc.edu (G.C. Banks), jyavorsk@uncc.edu (J.E. Yavorsky).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2021.100880
Received 16 September 2020; Received in revised form 14 November 2021; Accepted 16 November 2021
Available online 24 November 2021
1053-4822/© 2021 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

(U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019; Livingston, 2018). Thus, large numbers of U.S. workers (both men and women) are likely dealing with work-family conflict (i.e., negative role tensions at the work-family interface; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), the outcomes of which can be undesirable for both individuals and organizations (e.g., reduced wellbeing, increased stressed, lower performance, and higher turnover intention; e.g., Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011).

Increased awareness of the potential negative consequences of work-family conflict (WFC) led researchers to explore what factors that might alleviate work-family management challenges. Extant research suggests provision of specialized supervisor work-family support may have potential for improving both employee and organizational health and wellbeing (e.g., reduced WFC and turnover intention, increased employee engagement and family-supportive organizational perceptions; Hammer et al., 2009; Hammer, Kossek, Anger, Bodner, & Zimmerman, 2011; Kossek, Pichler, Bodner, & Hammer, 2011). To this end, the concept of family-supportive supervision (supervisory practices directed at the work-family interface, as well as to the work-nonwork interface more broadly) has emerged in the work-family and management literature (Hammer, Kossek, Zimmerman, & Daniels, 2007; 2009; Hammer, Kossek, Bodner, & Crain, 2013; Kossek et al., 2011; Odle-Dusseau, Hammer, Crain, & Bodner, 2016).

Despite consensus regarding the importance of family-supportive supervision to employee and organizational health and wellbeing (see Crain & Stevens, 2018 for a review), there is a considerable gap in current theorization: little is known about what factors lead supervisors to enact or deny family support to subordinates. In the current paper, we address this theoretical gap by applying a gender lens to theorize antecedents of family-supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB; specific behaviors supervisors enact which communicate work-family supportiveness to subordinates; Hammer et al., 2007; 2009). In conducting an interdisciplinary integration of theories from psychology, social psychology, and sociology, we assert that FSSB are gendered behaviors that occur within gendered organizational contexts (Acker, 1990). In other words, FSSB are influenced by gender factors in workplace interactions that take place inside organizations built upon and structured according to assumptions about gender (Acker, 1990). Gender factors, specifically gender-related variables of the supervisor-subordinate dyad, should therefore influence supervisor decisions to enact, withhold, or neglect FSSB.

Applying a gender focus to the examination of FSSB antecedents has particular utility in answering the question of why some supervisors enact FSSB while others do not, given the gendered nature of both work and family domains. Our theorization goes beyond prior theorization of gender as an antecedent of FSSB (e.g., Straub, 2012) by identifying and describing the specific and nuanced gender processes that influence supervisors' FSSB decisions. We not only provide theoretically supported rationale for the proposed antecedents, but also for the specific mechanisms by which these antecedents influence supervisors' ultimate decisions to enact (or not enact) FSSB.

This paper contributes to the family-supportive supervision, work-family, and supervisor support literature in the following ways: first, we create a conceptual and process model of how gendered antecedents of the supervisory relationship influence supervisors' decisions to enact, withhold, or neglect FSSB (See Fig. 1). Second, as a result of this theoretical integration, we offer several testable propositions that extend prior FSSB theorization and shed light on the mechanisms by which gender may influence supervisor FSSB decisions. This highly nuanced theorization allows us to present new ideas for a future FSSB research agenda, our third contribution, and develop recommendations for organizational leaders, supervisors, and subordinates, regarding how to enhance FSSB in the workplace.

2. Literature review

2.1. Family-supportive supervisor behaviors

Scholars have extensively studied sources and types of workplace social support (e.g., French, Dumani, Allen, & Shockley, 2018), with supervisor support emerging as a particularly important resource for employees (French & Shockley, 2020). The two most widely studied types of workplace social support from supervisors (as they relate to employee WFC) are *emotional support*, or supervisor expressions of empathy and care for subordinates, and *instrumental support*, exemplified by actions taken to advocate, obtain necessary resources, and provide aid for workers in navigating challenges (French et al., 2018; Kossek et al., 2018). Meta-analytic evidence suggests moderate negative relationships between both types of supervisor social support and both directions of WFC, as well as positive relationships to work-family enrichment, suggesting these two forms of supervisor support can be equally important in helping employees manage work-family challenges (French et al., 2018; French & Shockley, 2020).

Acknowledging the importance of distinguishing work-family-specific support from general supervisor support, Hammer et al. (2007; 2009) conceptualized FSSB[1] as a concept with four dimensions that correspond to the two major types of supervisor social support described above (emotional and instrumental). *Emotional support* refers to the kinds of behaviors associated with general emotional supervisor support but directed specifically at the work-family interface. These behaviors include the expression of empathy and sympathy to subordinates experiencing work-family-related challenges. The three remaining FSSB dimensions defined by Hammer et al. (2009) correspond to the instrumental type of supervisor social support. *Role modeling* is described as behaviors that model positive work-life management, while *instrumental support* refers to how a supervisor reacts and responds to daily needs for accommodation of work-family problems. Finally, *creative work-family management* is described as supervisors' "proactive," "strategic," and

[1] It is important to note that while Hammer et al. (2007; 2009) conceptualized FSSB as a behavioral concept, the measures they created (Hammer et al., 2009; 2013) capture employee subjective evaluations of FSSB rather than actual supervisor behaviors. Thus, extant FSSB research to date generally describes relationships to subordinate evaluations of their supervisor's FSSB, not supervisor's actual FSSB, representing a conflation problem we describe in subsequent pages.

"innovative" efforts to "restructure work to facilitate employee effectiveness on and off the job" (Hammer et al., 2009, p. 842).

Hammer and colleagues (2009; 2013) found evidence of negative relationships between subordinate-rated evaluations of FSSB and WFC, work-family positive spillover, stress, and turnover intentions, and significant positive relationships with job satisfaction and control over work hours. Subsequent meta-analytic research on FSSB has returned findings suggesting subordinate evaluations of FSSB are important to employee perceptions of support at the organizational level (Kossek et al., 2011), positively related to job attitudes such as job satisfaction and affective commitment (Crain & Stevens, 2018), and negatively rated to job behaviors such as turnover intention and work withdrawal (Crain & Stevens, 2018). Together, this collection of research supports the idea that FSSB may enhance employee outcomes over and above impressions of general supervisor support (without family focus).

As mentioned above, very few studies have included theorizing or testing of antecedents of FSSB. Of those that do exist, very few discussed the role of gender, and only one (Huffman & Olson, 2017) included gender as a primary focus (Crain & Stevens, 2018). Huffman and Olson (2017) did find gender to be an antecedent of subordinate perceptions of FSSB, specifically that women perceived FSSB to a greater extent compared to men. Whether or not this was due to supervisors' differential enactment of FSSB cannot be determined from this research, however. Two other studies included gender variables as potential antecedents of FSSB, but not as focal variables, both of which studied gender similarity between supervisors and subordinates and did find some support that gender similarity predicted higher levels subordinate evaluations of FSSB (Basuil, Manegold, & Casper, 2016; Foley, Linnehan, Greenhaus, & Weer, 2006). While not an empirical investigation, Straub (2012) is a notable work regarding antecedents of FSSB as the model included gender roles as one possible antecedent. Straub only provided limited theorizing regarding this variable, however, proposing that supervisors who possessed feminine gender roles would engage "more strongly" (p.20) in FSSB. Overall, FSSB antecedents, and specifically the role gender variables and processes may play in the enactment or withholding of FSSB, remain sparsely understood despite widespread theorizing and empirical evidence showing organizations are gendered.

2.2. Gendered organizations

Gendered organizational theory (Acker, 1990) argues organizations are "gendered" in that they are built upon, and structured according to, ideologies that favor men and reward stereotypically masculine behaviors. According to this theory, organizational practices, processes, and policies are gendered in that they are designed such that behaviors associated with men align with ideals or presumptions of the most competent work performance (Acker, 1990, 2006). Women are, therefore, disadvantaged to the degree they either 1) cannot perform these masculine behaviors, generally due to additional expectations they devote considerable time to caretaking and upkeep of the home, and/or 2) are penalized for performing them due to perceived conflict between ideal work behavior and ideal behavior for women.

A large body of empirical research exists supporting the idea that organizations are gendered contexts (e.g., Berdahl, Cooper, Glick, Livingston, & Williams, 2018; Mickey, 2019). For example, Brescoll (2016) found that men and women experience different emotional display rules in traditional organizations (e.g., men are seen as powerful and capable when they display anger at work, but women are considered "unstable" if they display anger) which can hurt women's ascent to leadership roles. Evidence exists suggesting alternative organizational forms are also gendered (e.g., Sargent, Yavorsky, & Sandoval, 2021). For instance, in their study of coworking organizations (organizations that bring together employees of different companies to work in the same space) Sargent et al. (2021) found that exclusionary membership practices (i.e., high membership fees) paired with an organizational gender composition of primarily men could lead to gender segregated workspaces and networks, and, consequently, fewer business opportunities for women.

Furthermore, research exists suggesting that work-life structures in organizations meaningfully contribute to gender inequality in organizations. For example, Kalysh, Kulik, and Perera (2016) found that the number of work-life policies in an organization corresponded with the proportion of women in management positions over an eight-year period, but only for organizations characterized by a women-dominated or relatively equal gender composition. Together, this research supports the idea that both formal and informal structures in the workplace, including those aimed at the work-family interface (e.g., FSSB), may be built upon gendered ideologies, that can create gender-based inequality. In the coming sections, we discuss how the decision to enact FSSB, as well as which FSSB supervisors choose to enact, may be influenced by gender-related variables in organizations, specifically those variables inherent to the supervisory dyad.

3. Theorizing gendered antecedents of FSSB and its enactment or not

3.1. FSSB: focusing on behaviors

Prior to discussing our theoretical integration and conceptual and process model of FSSB, it is important to acknowledge a conflation issue in the FSSB literature and clarify the target of our theorization. Specifically, the original conceptualization of FSSB (as specific supervisor *behaviors*) has been most often measured via subordinate ratings (*evaluations*) of their supervisors' behaviors (e.g., Hammer et al., 2009, 2013), rather than by more objective means. Subordinate evaluations of FSSB may have different antecedents than actual FSSB because subordinates' perceptions, and subsequent evaluations of their supervisors, may be affected by a variety of other factors (e.g., liking their supervisor; Sutton, Baldwin, Wood, & Hoffman, 2013). Given these conflation issues, we clarify that the current paper focuses on theorizing antecedents of the actual family-supportive *behaviors* supervisors enact, withhold, or neglect (not subordinate perceptions or evaluations). In other words, we seek to answer the question "what leads supervisors to enact FSSB" rather than "what leads supervisors to be rated highly on FSSB."

3.2. Gendered enactment of FSSB

The decision to enact FSSB, and further, the specific type(s) of FSSB supervisors choose to enact, is typically discretionary on behalf of the supervisor. Decisions to enact FSSB happen in real time as supervisors anticipate or become aware of subordinate work-family challenges. Even in organizations with strong supportive work-family cultures and policies, the decision to enact FSSB is still inevitably charged to individual supervisors (Kelly et al., 2014), suggesting a degree of ambiguity exists in supervisors' FSSB decision process. Prior research has shown that ambiguous and unstructured situations are fertile ground for the influence of personal biases, including gender biases (e.g., Heilman, 2012). Thus, the decision to enact FSSB (and which behaviors to enact) may be influenced by supervisors' implicit or explicit gender biases. Indeed, we argue FSSB decisions are particularly susceptible to supervisors' gender biases as both supervisors' *enactment of* FSSB and subordinates' *request for* FSSB are gendered behaviors.

Regarding supervisor enactment of FSSB, behaviors aimed at delivering emotional support to a subordinate may be characterized as feminine, given that emotional expression is typically associated with women and femininity (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Conversely, behaviors associated with instrumental support, which are generally more focused on resolving practical problems associated with competing work and family demands, may generally be characterized as more masculine given their association with agency (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Behaviors enacting instrumental support are a bit more complex in terms of gender type, however, as whether or not a specific FSSB is seen as masculine or feminine likely depends on the gendered nature of subordinate's work-family need. For example, granting overtime requests to help a subordinate gain financial support for the family may be viewed as more masculine-typed support as "breadwinning" is typically viewed as a masculine behavior (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and working long hours is aligned with masculine ideal worker norms of what constitutes as "good" worker (Acker, 1990). Granting a request for time off to be with family, on the other hand, may be viewed as a feminine-typed support, as this behavior is aimed at supporting a subordinate's time away from work and prioritizing family care over work responsibilities, which contradicts masculine ideal worker norms (Acker, 1990).

Subordinate requests for FSSB are also gendered behaviors. Following the same logic as discussed above for supervisor enactment of FSSB, subordinate requests for emotional support may be characterized as feminine-typed behaviors given that emotional expression is generally associated with femininity. Subordinate requests for instrumental support, on the other hand, may be feminine- or masculine-typed behaviors depending on the gendered target of the request (i.e., whether the request is for FSSB that supports subordinate enactment of masculine or feminine behaviors to manage their work-family challenge). Thus, FSSB are inherently gendered behaviors, and gender-related variables salient in the supervisory dyad (e.g., subordinate gender, supervisor gender beliefs, etc.) likely influence both whether or not supervisors enact FSSB at all, as well as the specific types of FSSB (i.e., masculine or feminine types). These facts, combined with the high level of ambiguity surrounding the supervisory relationship context, suggests the FSSB decision process may be a key site where gender inequality is created or perpetuated organizations.

3.3. The FSSB decision process: gender influences on cognitive appraisals

We believe a primary mechanism by which gendered variables of the supervisory dyad affect FSSB decisions is supervisors' FSSB cognitive appraisal processes. Cognitive appraisal theories (Folkman, Lazarus, Schetter, DeLongis, & Gruen, 1986; Watson & Spence, 2007) assert that decision-making processes occur as a two-step sequential cognitive assessment of a situation, the outcome of which are certain behaviors. In the primary appraisal, an event or situation is assessed in terms of perceived threat to one's own wellbeing or goals, while the second appraisal involves an interpretation of meaning of appraised situation (Folkman et al., 1986; Watson & Spence, 2007). According to cognitive appraisal theory, each appraisal elicits emotions, which then guide behavior.

Research suggests situations that challenge social norms of behavior or an individual's self-concept, such as violations of societal gender norms by self or others, are especially capable of producing cognitive dissonance and strong emotional responses that may guide behavior (Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Watson & Spence, 2007). Thus, we suggest a supervisor's perception of an FSSB opportunity triggers the cognitive appraisal process whereby supervisors must evaluate first, whether or not FSSB poses a threat to themselves (i.e., a threat to their self-concept, beliefs, work goals etc.; primary appraisal), and second, if enacting FSSB makes sense and feels appropriate for the subordinate and situation (secondary appraisal). Given the gendered nature of FSSB, and the gendered organizational contexts within which FSSB is enacted, we expect the FSSB cognitive appraisal process to be highly influenced by gender variables present in the supervisor-subordinate dyad. We provide theoretically driven propositions for various ways we believe gender variables of the supervisory dyad affect a supervisor's decisions to enact FSSB in the sections below.

4. Background information for understanding our conceptual and process model

4.1. Defining family

Prior to delving into our theoretical rationale and model propositions, it is important to clarify some conceptual boundaries related to the definition of "family" we use in our theorization of FSSB antecedents. An ongoing debate exists in the work-family literature regarding how "family" should be defined in work-family scholarship (e.g., Keeney, Boyd, Sinha, Westring, & Ryan, 2013). Family members such as spouses, children, and other close relatives (e.g., grandparents, aunts/uncles, cousins) for which individuals may need to provide care or devote substantial amounts of time are often considered members of one's "family." Others, however, argue work-family scholarship should consider individuals' overall non-work life juxtaposed to work life (Keeney et al., 2013). FSSB research and scholarship to date has mainly focused on a definition closer to the former description, though measures of FSSB have, at times, included broader items that refer more to work vs. non-work life (Hammer et al., 2013).

Scholars have made strong arguments for various definitions of family/non-work life, and we do not argue here that any one perspective is "right." We clarify, however, that our conceptual and process model pertains to supervisor behaviors specifically directed at the work-family interface where individuals may experience conflicting demands from their work and family roles (e.g., parent, child, sibling, primary care provider, close friend, etc.). This is due to the fact FSSB was originally conceptualized as support for employees' management of work and family role demands (Hammer et al., 2007; 2009), rather than management of their broader work versus non-work lives. We embrace a broader definition of family than one's immediate nuclear household unit, and thus conceptualize an employee's family as any individual(s) for whom the employee may have substantive obligation or desire to provide care or quality time. As such, who constitutes an employee's family may shift if/when the people an employee feels obligation/desire to spend time with and/or provide care for changes. This definition allows "family" to include a wide network of individuals, within and beyond their nuclear unit.

4.2. *Definitions of key sex and gender terms*

In the interest of clarity and precision, we provide some important definitions regarding how we understand and use key gender terms in our conceptual model. The term "sex" typically refers to the binary label of "male" or "female" assigned to individuals at birth as determined by observed biological differences (e.g., genitalia; American Psychological Association, 2012; West & Zimmerman, 1987). "Gender," however, has been conceptualized in many ways, such as the enactment of roles, the expression or display of masculinity and femininity, and perhaps most notably and widely accepted (and the definition we ascribe to in the current paper) as a series of socially constructed actions and behaviors that people repetitiously do and are held accountable to via social interactions (Lindqvist, Sendén, & Renström, 2020; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

In addition, the term "gender role" typically refers to those qualities and behaviors society widely associates with either men or women (Bem, 1974; Eagly & Karau, 2002; PFLAG National Glossary of Terms, 2016). Specifically, nurturing, caretaking, and communal behaviors are associated with the feminine gender role, and achievement, competence, and agency are associated with the masculine gender role (Bem, 1974; Eagly & Karau, 2002). "Gender role orientation," on the other hand, refers to the degree to which a person endorses societally prescribed masculine and feminine qualities in themselves (Korabik, 1999; Liu & Ngo, 2017). In sum, these complex and dynamic inter- and intrapersonal processes can result in various combinations of sex, gender, gender role orientation embodied by any one individual employee, which collectively may influence FSSB in the gendered context of the workplace.

5. Conceptual and process model

We present our conceptual and process model of gendered-FSSB antecedents and the FSSB decision process in Fig. 1. Our model is both a conceptual and process model, depicting the different components of the FSSB decision process and how this process unfolds over time.

First, gender-related variables associated with the subordinate and/or supervisor (Fig. 1, Box 1) may influence whether or not a supervisor perceives an opportunity for FSSB (Fig. 1, Box 2). The FSSB opportunity may be made salient for supervisors in the event a

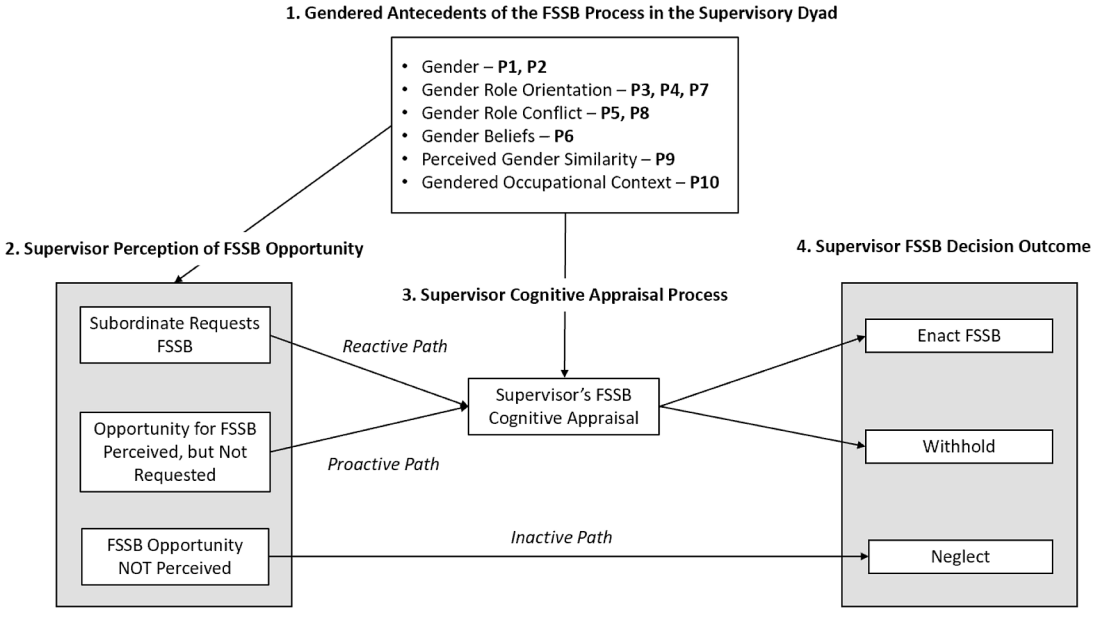


Fig. 1. Conceptual and process model of gender-related antecedents of FSSB.
*Note: P = Proposition.

subordinate requests FSSB (reactive path), or, alternatively, a supervisor may perceive an opportunity to enact FSSB when a subordinate does not request it (proactive path). For example, an event may occur where a supervisor hears about a subordinate's work-family challenge from a third party, or the supervisor may anticipate a need for FSSB based on their own life experiences (e.g., if the subordinate is expecting a new baby in their household and the supervisor remembers what they found helpful when they had new children). Supervisors who perceive an opportunity for FSSB proceed to cognitively appraise their behavioral options (Fig. 1, Box 3; Fig. 2) and then decide to enact or withhold FSSB (Fig. 1, Box 4), a process, again, influenced by gender factors of the supervisory dyad. Supervisors who do not perceive an opportunity for FSSB bypass the cognitive appraisal process and neglect to enact FSSB (inactive path, Fig. 1, Box 4), either because there is legitimately no need for it or because they failed to perceive an opportunity for FSSB.

We provide Fig. 2 as a visual elaboration of how supervisors may move through the cognitive appraisal process to arrive at an FSSB decision.

In accordance with cognitive appraisal theory, the FSSB decision process is triggered by a supervisor's perception of an opportunity for FSSB. The supervisor then proceeds to cognitively appraise their FSSB options, that is, whether or not to enact FSSB at all, and which behaviors are either requested or perceived as needed (e.g., granting time off request, offering emotional support, etc.). Thus supervisor first assesses whether or not enacting a specific FSSB represents a threat to themselves (e.g., violates gender beliefs, self-concept, identity, etc.) or work goals (primary appraisal). If a threat is perceived, supervisors will likely experience negative emotions and choose to withhold FSSB to resolve the threat (Watson & Spence, 2007).

If no threat is perceived, the supervisor next engages in the secondary appraisal, where they explore whether or not enacting FSSB (and which specific FSSB types) makes sense and seems appropriate for the target subordinate. Specifically, the supervisor likely engages in an appraisal of whether or not enacting FSSB endorses *gender-appropriate* behavior and makes sense for the subordinate based on gender factors, such as both supervisor and subordinate gender and the supervisor's gender beliefs. If the specific FSSB requested (or perceived as needed if not requested) is deemed appropriate for the target subordinate, the supervisor likely enacts FSSB. If the supervisor determines the behavior is not appropriate, they are more likely to withhold FSSB. In the sections that follow, we provide specific propositions detailing the expected relationships between gendered antecedents of the supervisor-subordinate dyad and supervisor FSSB decisions via the cognitive appraisal process.

5.1. *Gender-related variables of the supervisory dyad and supervisor perceptions of an FSSB opportunity*

Individual factors, such as gender, gender role orientation, and gender beliefs of both the subordinate and the supervisor may shape the likelihood supervisors perceive an opportunity for FSSB. As supervisors and subordinates interact, they express and signal their own gender, and also notice one another doing the same (West & Zimmerman, 1987), which further informs how each partner behaves in the relationship (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

5.1.1. *Gender*

Subordinate gender. A subordinate's gender likely influences whether or not they request FSSB from their supervisor. Women subordinates may be more comfortable requesting FSSB than men subordinates because these requests should demonstrate behavior that aligns with women's societal gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Social role theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) describes how men and

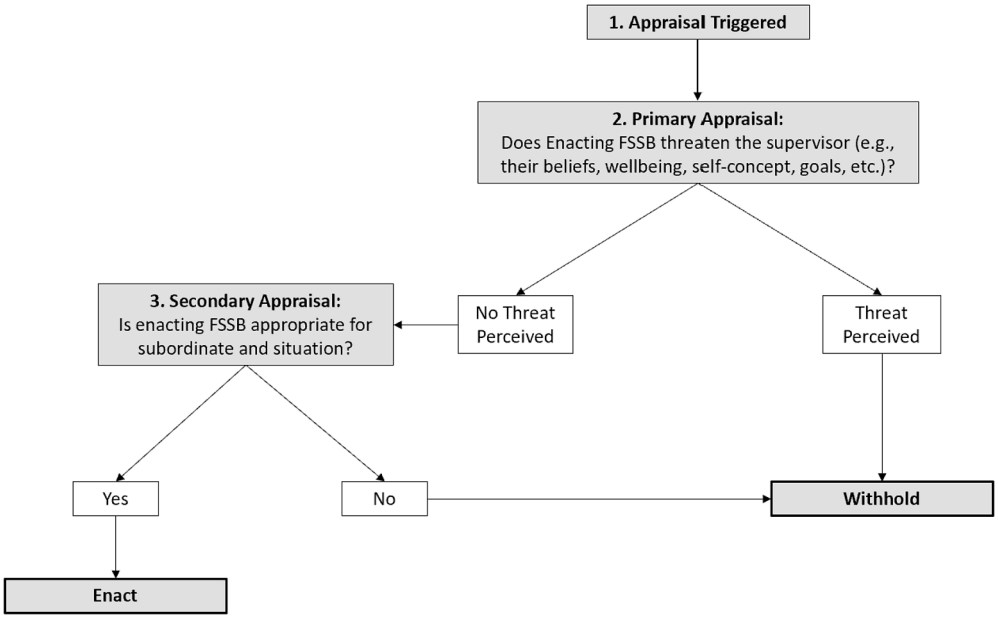


Fig. 2. Supervisors' FSSB cognitive appraisal process.

women are expected to perform behaviors that align with societal ideals of "appropriate" behavior for their perceived gender (i.e., their gender role). According to this theory, individuals are also often penalized for behaving in ways deemed incongruent with their gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rudman & Glick, 2001). Traditional gender roles associate men with the work domain, competence, and agentic behavior, whereas women are associated with the domestic domain, communality, nurturing, and caretaking behavior (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Women subordinates may thus be more likely than men to request any type of FSSB from their supervisors as prioritizing family caretaking and communal/family-oriented behavior is seen as appropriate for women according to their gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Women subordinates may also legitimately require more FSSB to successfully manage their work and family demands compared to men, which may subsequently lead to their greater request for FSSB from supervisors. Indeed, prior research has demonstrated that women tend to perform larger shares of childcare and other unpaid labor in the home compared to men (e.g., Craig & Mullan, 2011).

Men subordinates, on the other hand, may be less likely to request FSSB if they have lower need for it (e.g., due to having a partner who takes on the majority of family responsibilities) or fear negative consequences from violating masculine gender roles (Rudman, Mescher, & Moss-Racusin, 2013). When men do seek FSSB, they may be more comfortable requesting instrumental support, such as requesting to work extra hours to secure funds for an ailing family member's healthcare, as requesting certain feminine-typed FSSB (e.g., emotional support) may be viewed as conflicting with masculine gender roles. For example, discussing the emotions or stress of dealing with work-family challenges may be viewed by men subordinates as inappropriate behavior given men's' socialization away from emotional expression or what may be considered disclosure of weakness (Wong & Rochlen, 2005).

Proposition 1a. Women subordinates will be more likely to request FSSB overall compared to men, but when men do request FSSB, they will be more likely to request masculine-typed FSSB (e.g., instrumental support).

Subordinate gender may also influence supervisors' perception of an opportunity to enact FSSB when subordinates do not expressly request FSSB. Gender role norms (and data regarding women's greater share of care and housework responsibilities) may lead supervisors to assume women subordinates need greater FSSB and, consequently, enact FSSB more proactively for women even if they do not ask for it. For example, supervisors may assume women subordinates have greater need for workplace flexibility to care for children and thus proactively offer a work-from-home day. Supervisors may not proactively extend the same opportunity to a man subordinate due to assumptions that the man's partner is responsible for caretaking or that men do not provide caretaking in general. Furthermore, given that societal gender roles tend to associate work behaviors with "appropriate" behavior for men (Eagly & Karau, 2002), supervisors may assume that men prioritize work and thus do not desire FSSB, and so never think to proactively enact FSSB for men subordinates if it is not explicitly requested, resulting in neglect of FSSB.

Taken together, the above arguments suggest supervisors may be more likely to perceive an FSSB opportunity when their subordinates are women because 1) the base rate for FSSB requests should be higher for women subordinates and 2) supervisors should be more likely to proactively enact FSSB to women subordinates.

Proposition 1b. Supervisors will be more likely to perceive an FSSB opportunity when subordinates are women (rather than men); supervisors will thus be more likely to neglect to enact FSSB for men subordinates.

Supervisor gender. Supervisor gender may also influence whether or not a supervisor perceives an opportunity for FSSB, and their subsequent decisions to enact or withhold FSSB. First, given women's association with communality and family caretaking, subordinates may feel more comfortable voicing their work-family needs or conflicts to women supervisors. Subordinates may assume women supervisors will be more emotionally supportive due to stereotypes associating women with greater compassion and emotionality (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Subordinates may also assume women supervisors have more experience with family responsibilities compared to men, and thus assume they will be more likely to empathize with subordinates' work-family challenges. Thus, subordinates may request FSSB more from women supervisors compared to men supervisors, leading women supervisors to perceive FSSB opportunities at higher rates than men supervisors.

Women supervisors may also be more familiar with and practiced in noticing signals of FSSB needs when FSSB is not requested (compared to men) given their greater likelihood to have encountered conflicting work-family pressures and demands of their own (again, compared to men; Nilsen, Skipstein, Østby, & Mykletun, 2017). Women supervisors may also have had more socialization toward (and been rewarded for) performing supportive behaviors that align with women's societal gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002), and thus be better able to recognize opportunities to enact these behaviors with subordinates compared to their men counterparts. Men supervisors, on the other hand, may not have had as many opportunities to learn and practice behaviors associated with FSSB, or as many opportunities requesting or receiving FSSB, themselves, due to biased societal gender norms that suggest men lack competence in caretaking compared to women (Shpancer et al., 2019). Thus, men supervisors may be less likely to anticipate subordinate needs for FSSB in the absence of a salient FSSB-triggering event, such as a subordinate request for FSSB. Consequently, men supervisors may be less likely to perceive an FSSB opportunity and more likely to neglect FSSB compared to women.

Proposition 2. Women supervisors will be more likely to perceive an FSSB opportunity compared to men supervisors, resulting in men supervisors' greater likelihood to neglect FSSB.

5.1.2. Gender role orientation

Psychological theories of gender (e.g., Bem, 1974) suggest gender role orientation (a person's degree of masculinity and femininity) may be better predictors of one's own gendered behavior than either biological sex or gender. Thus, it may not be simply whether or not a supervisor or subordinate is (or is recognized as) a man or woman in the workplace, but rather the degree to which they possess

and endorse masculine and feminine qualities and behaviors that influences supervisor perceptions of FSSB opportunities.

Subordinate gender role orientation. Subordinate's gender role orientation may influence the amount and type of FSSB subordinates desire, need, or request from supervisors, which will then influence whether or not supervisors perceive an FSSB opportunity. More prototypically masculine subordinates, regardless of their gender, may be less comfortable requesting FSSB at all for fear of appearing weak or incongruent with masculine ideal worker norms (Acker, 1990). When these subordinates do request FSSB, they may be less comfortable requesting or receiving more feminine-typed FSSB (e.g., expressions of emotional support) than requesting more masculine-typed FSSB (e.g., overtime requests). Thus, more prototypically masculine subordinates may be more likely to request instrumental forms of support that align with their masculine gender role orientation. More prototypically feminine subordinates, on the other hand, may be comfortable requesting both emotional and instrumental forms of support as requests for FSSB in general are more aligned with their feminine gender role orientation.

Proposition 3a. More prototypically masculine subordinates will be less likely to request FSSB overall compared to more prototypically feminine subordinates, but when they do request FSSB, they will be more likely to request masculine-typed FSSB (e.g., instrumental support).

Consequently, supervisors may be more likely to perceive an FSSB opportunity with more prototypically feminine subordinates compared to more prototypically masculine subordinates because the base rate for FSSB requests should be higher for prototypically feminine subordinates.

Proposition 3b. Supervisors will be more likely to perceive FSSB opportunities for their more prototypically feminine (rather than masculine) subordinates; thus, supervisors will be more likely to neglect FSSB for their more prototypically masculine subordinates.

Supervisor gender role orientation. Subordinates may also be more comfortable requesting FSSB from more prototypically feminine supervisors compared to supervisors who are more prototypically masculine. Prototypically feminine supervisors may be more likely to demonstrate social support in the workplace in general, as well as more feminine-typed emotions and reactions to subordinate challenges such as compassion and empathy, as these expressions align with the gender role they endorse. Thus, subordinates may request FSSB more often from supervisors who behave in more prototypically feminine ways. Furthermore, subordinates may be less likely to request FSSB from more prototypically masculine supervisors overall, and specifically less likely to request feminine-typed FSSB from these supervisors, as they may feel the likelihood of the supervisor enacting the FSSB is low given its incongruence with the supervisor's tendency to behave in more stereotypically masculine ways.

Proposition 4a. Subordinates will be more likely to request FSSB from more prototypically feminine supervisors compared to prototypically masculine supervisors.

If they receive more requests for FSSB compared to more masculine supervisors, more prototypically feminine supervisors will be more likely to perceive greater FSSB opportunities. More prototypically feminine supervisors will likely also demonstrate more characteristically feminine qualities, such as emotional perceptiveness to the needs of others and compassion (Bem, 1974; Guastello & Guastello, 2003). This could result in the greater likelihood that these supervisors perceive opportunities for FSSB at greater rates compared to more masculine supervisors even when subordinates do not request FSSB. Thus, more prototypically feminine supervisors ought to perceive greater FSSB opportunities, both reactively and proactively, compared to their more masculine-oriented counterparts.

Proposition 4b. Supervisors who are more prototypically feminine will be more likely to perceive FSSB opportunities than supervisors who are more prototypically masculine.

5.1.3. Subordinate gender role conflict

Additional theorization regarding gender roles suggests ongoing gender processes have the potential to cause specific gender role conflicts that may affect an individual's behavior. Gender role conflicts occur "when a person is unable to fulfill their prescribed gender role without failing to fulfill another social role" (Rawski, Djurdjevic, & Sheppard, 2014, p. 206). Rawski et al. (2014) articulate two types of gender role conflict as they may relate to the workplace: "inter-role conflict," when the requirements of the work role clash with requirements of membership in another social group, and "person-role conflict," when the expectations of a person's work-role are at odds with their own gender-related "needs, values, or personal abilities" (p. 207). Inter-role and person-role gender role conflicts may occur for supervisors and/or subordinates if they experience negative tension between expectations of behavior associated with their sex, gender, prescribed gender role, gender role orientation, or work role. These conflicts may be internal to the supervisor/subordinate, and thus be invisible to others, or may be outwardly visible.

Subordinate gender role conflicts have particular potential to influence supervisor perception of an FSSB opportunity. Given the negative experiences associated with gender-role conflict, it is likely these conflicts serve as barriers to subordinate requests for FSSB and thus reduce the likelihood supervisors perceive FSSB opportunities. For example, consider a woman subordinate working in a masculine occupation (e.g., stockbroker) who needs time off to host a sibling's baby shower (an activity typically assigned to women relatives of the expectant mother). This subordinate may experience inter-role conflict where the expectations of her gender role could be at odds with the masculine expectations of competent performance of her work role (e.g., working long hours, prioritizing the job over family). This subordinate may fear requesting FSSB would magnify the conflict between her feminine gender role and her work role in the eyes of her supervisor. Thus, the subordinate may forego requesting FSSB for fear of being assessed as incompetent in their work role. If gender-role conflict reduces the likelihood that subordinates request FSSB, then the presence of gender-role conflict in

subordinates likely also reduces the likelihood supervisors perceive an opportunity for FSSB.

Proposition 5a. Subordinates experiencing gender-role conflicts will be less likely to request FSSB.

Proposition 5b. Supervisors will be less likely to perceive FSSB opportunities for subordinates experiencing gender-role conflicts compared to subordinates without gender-role conflicts.

5.2. Gender variables affecting the supervisor's cognitive appraisal process

Supervisors who perceive an FSSB opportunity will take either a reactive path (i.e., when FSSB is requested) or proactive path (when FSSB opportunity is perceived, but not explicitly requested) to evaluating their FSSB options via the cognitive appraisal process (Fig. 1, Box 3, see also Fig. 2). We expect certain gender variables will play a role in both primary and secondary cognitive appraisals as supervisors evaluate first, whether enacting FSSB would be a threat to their own goals or wellbeing, and second, whether or not enacting certain FSSB (e.g., masculine or feminine-typed behaviors) is "appropriate" for the subordinate and situational context.

5.2.1. Supervisor gender beliefs

The concept of gender beliefs is articulated by social role theory (described earlier; Eagly & Karau, 2002), which suggests individuals associate certain (different) behaviors with people according to how they are categorized and then experienced as men or women. People are described as having "traditional" gender beliefs when their evaluations of others are based on the degree to which a target person's behavior aligns with their prescribed gender role (e.g., Baber & Tucker, 2006). Thus, for individuals with traditional gender beliefs, men are evaluated positively when they behave in ways that are consistent with the agentic masculine gender role and women and evaluated more positively when their behavior is consistent with the communal, domestic, feminine gender role (Rudman & Glick, 2001). People with egalitarian gender beliefs, on the other hand, are less likely to associate certain behaviors with either gender, and are therefore less likely to treat individuals differently regardless of whether a target person's behaviors align with their prescribed gender role (Baber & Tucker, 2006). Gender beliefs may be implicit and/or explicit, and an individual's implicit gender beliefs may or may not align with those they hold explicitly (Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Thus, a person may explicitly espouse egalitarian gender beliefs, but hold more traditional implicit gender beliefs that can be activated in certain circumstances (e.g., in ambiguous or time-pressured situations such as may be found in supervisory interactions).

Supervision, including FSSB, is generally not a highly visible process. It is constituted by interactions between the supervisor and subordinate that are not often readily observed by others in the workplace, such as when a supervisor provides emotional support in a one-on-one meeting with a subordinate (Hillman, Schwandt, & Bartz, 1990). Supervision may thus be an ambiguous process in which supervisors have unchecked autonomy to make decisions based on their own personal criteria. Personal biases, including gender biases, reflected in implicit and explicit gender beliefs are more likely to affect behavior in ambiguous and less visible contexts (e.g., Heilman & Haynes, 2008). Thus, as supervisors engage in the FSSB cognitive appraisal process, gender beliefs may have power to bias their decisions at both primary and secondary appraisal.

Regarding the primary appraisal process, supervisors with more traditional gender beliefs are more likely to perceive enacting FSSB as a threat to themselves and/or their work goals compared to egalitarian supervisors. Supervisors with traditional gender beliefs likely have stronger tendencies to adhere to masculinized ideal worker norms, which often emphasize prioritizing work over family (Acker, 1990). Enacting FSSB in general may thus be incongruent with these supervisors' views of ideal work behavior for themselves; they may therefore avoid enacting FSSB to preserve ideas of themselves as competent leaders (i.e., avoiding threat to their self-concept). Supervisors with more traditional gender beliefs may also be more likely to perceive enacting FSSB as endorsing behavior that may thwart competent job performance by their subordinates, which they may assume will reflect poorly on their own performance. More traditional supervisors may thus decide to withhold FSSB to maintain their standards of optimal (masculinized) performance and avoid threats to their work goals.

While supervisors with more traditional gender beliefs may be more likely to choose to withhold FSSB after the primary cognitive appraisal, it is still possible these supervisors do not perceive enactment of FSSB as a threat significant enough (or at all) to prevent them from advancing to the secondary appraisal. For example, it is possible an FSSB request does not threaten the traditional supervisor's immediate work goals or self-concept, such as may be the case if a subordinate requests emotional support from a prototypically feminine supervisor who feels comfortable providing emotional support. In these cases, traditional supervisors may advance to secondary appraisal and continue to evaluate their FSSB options.

Traditional supervisors who advance to the secondary FSSB cognitive appraisal may still, however, be more likely to withhold FSSB (compared to egalitarian supervisors) due to the influence of their gender beliefs on how they determine whether certain FSSB are appropriate for the target subordinate. Supervisors' secondary FSSB appraisal may be particularly vulnerable to the influence of gender beliefs (both implicit and explicit) given the role supervisors play as performance evaluators of men and women workers. Supervisors must determine if employees are performing their jobs competently, which, according to gendered organizational theory (Acker, 1990), suggests workers will generally be judged against masculine ideal worker norms as well as societal gender roles that depict men as generally more competent than women (Acker, 1990; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Traditional supervisors should more strongly hold the masculinized ideal worker standard as the point of comparison for subordinates' competent performance, suggesting that these supervisors will be more likely to see endorsement of behavior that contradicts the ideal worker norm as endorsement of lower work performance. Supervisors with more egalitarian gender beliefs, on the other hand, will be less likely to associate competent job performance with gendered behaviors in the first place, and are thus less likely to see enactment of FSSB as supporting poor work performance by subordinates.

Proposition 6a. Supervisor gender beliefs will be related to FSSB in that the more traditional (i.e., the less egalitarian) the supervisor's gender beliefs, the more likely they will withhold FSSB.

The conceptualization of gender beliefs posits a continuum of traditional to egalitarian based on a person's beliefs about men and women; gender beliefs are, by nature of the concept, differentiated by gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Thus, subordinate gender should moderate the relationship between supervisor gender beliefs and FSSB. According to social role theory, and given the fertile ground for bias created by the ambiguous supervisory situation, supervisors who have traditional beliefs may enact different levels and/or different types of FSSB for men versus women subordinates compared to supervisors who hold egalitarian gender beliefs. Supervisors with traditional gender beliefs will likely decide to enact FSSB less with men compared to women subordinates, as prioritizing family over work is incongruent with both the masculinized ideal worker norm as well as masculine societal gender norms (Acker, 1990).

While family-related behaviors may be incongruent with ideals of competent job performance for women as well, they are not incongruent with women's societal gender role, suggesting women with traditional supervisors should receive more FSSB than men, provided supervisors are not so traditional that they believe women do not belong in the workforce at all. Supervisors with the highest levels of traditional gender beliefs (i.e., those who believe women should forego work and remain in the home) may actually be more likely to withhold FSSB from women subordinates as a way to push them out of the workplace or punish them for violating women's gender role. Given that egalitarian supervisors ought not to associate work or family domains with either gender, we expect egalitarian supervisors to enact comparable levels of FSSB for men and women subordinates.

Proposition 6b. As traditional gender role beliefs increase, supervisors will be more likely to enact FSSB for women subordinates compared to men. However, once traditional gender beliefs reach a point where supervisors believe women do not belong in the workforce, supervisors will be more likely to withhold FSSB from women subordinates at similar or greater levels compared to men.

Proposition 6c. Egalitarian supervisors will enact similar levels of FSSB for both men and women subordinates.

5.2.2. Supervisor gender role orientation

More prototypically masculine supervisors may be less likely to enact FSSB at all with subordinates compared to more prototypically feminine supervisors. At primary FSSB appraisal, more prototypically masculine supervisors may feel enacting any kind of FSSB is threatening to their identity or self-concept as enactment of feminine behavior (FSSB generally reflects feminine behavior in that it is communally supportive) could feel antithetical to behavior they feel is comfortable and appropriate given their desire to behave in more masculine ways. Thus, more prototypically masculine supervisors may be more likely to withhold FSSB compared to more prototypically feminine supervisors. More prototypically feminine supervisors will likely not perceive FSSB as a threat to their identity or self-concept, in general, as the communal nature of FSSB is more aligned with the feminine gender role orientation they endorse.

Certain types of FSSB are, however, likely to be more or less aligned with masculine or feminine gender role orientations (e.g., emotional support is associated with femininity). Given that different FSSB may be perceived by supervisors as more masculine or feminine in nature, those supervisors who enact FSSB will likely choose to display FSSB that does not conflict with their gender role orientation. For example, supervisors with a higher masculine gender role orientation may be more comfortable demonstrating masculine-typed instrumental support behaviors (e.g., granting overtime requests or re-arranging work schedules) over emotional support behaviors as these kinds of instrumental support behaviors ought to be less associated with the feminine gender role.

Proposition 7. More prototypically masculine supervisors will be more likely to withhold FSSB compared to more prototypically feminine supervisors; when more prototypically masculine supervisors do choose to enact FSSB, they will be more likely to enact masculine-typed FSSB.

5.2.3. Supervisor gender role conflict

In addition to affecting subordinates' decisions to request FSSB, gender role conflicts may also influence supervisors' FSSB cognitive appraisals. Supervisors' own gender role conflicts likely have the most impact on whether or not enactment of FSSB is perceived as a threat-to-self at the primary FSSB cognitive appraisal. For example, consider a situation where a subordinate requests time off to care for a sick child during a busy workday. A woman supervisor in a high-powered management work role may experience inter-role gender role conflict as she feels tension between expectations to fulfill her feminine gender role by displaying empathy and granting the time off request, and the more masculine expectations of her authority position to prioritize organizational goals. As societal gender roles typically describe women as less competent than men in leadership contexts (Eagly & Karau, 2002), this gender role conflict may lead the supervisor to perceive enactment of FSSB as a threat in that it would make her look like a "soft" leader by her organization. As a result, the supervisor may decide to withhold FSSB in an attempt to neutralize the perceived threat to her work goals.

Person-role gender role conflict may also affect whether or not supervisors perceive FSSB as threat at primary appraisal. For example, if a transgender woman supervisor is at the very beginning of her gender transition and is still viewed as a man by her organization, she may experience person-role gender role conflict when deciding whether or not enacting FSSB is threatening. On the one hand, enacting FSSB is a supportive action that aligns with her desire to express feminine qualities, but on the other hand, she is still regarded as a man by her organizational colleagues and thus may feel conflicted as to whether or not enacting FSSB, especially feminine-typed FSSB, might make her look weak or like less of a leader given her perceived gender status as a man in a position of authority.

Taken together, the two scenarios above demonstrate how supervisors' own gender-role conflicts may affect their decision-making

process at the primary FSSB cognitive appraisal. Supervisors experiencing gender role conflict will be more likely to withhold FSSB compared to those who have low or no gender-role conflict as these supervisors are more likely to assess enactment of FSSB as a threat which may be avoided or resolved by withholding FSSB.

Proposition 8. Supervisors with higher levels of gender-role conflict will be more likely to withhold FSSB compared to supervisors with lower levels of gender-role conflict.

5.2.4. Supervisor's perceived gender similarity to subordinate

Supervisors' perceptions of gender similarity in the supervisory dyad may influence their FSSB decision-making process during the secondary cognitive appraisal. According to social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1970), individuals who perceive others as sharing one or more group memberships (such as gender) will be more likely to provide help and support to that similar other (e.g., Hogg & Reid, 2006). Furthermore, SIT suggests supervisors who perceive themselves to be the same gender as a subordinate should enact higher levels of FSSB for that subordinate due to perceived shared in-group membership, regardless of whether the supervisor and subordinate actually do share membership in a particular gender group.

If enacting FSSB is perceived by the supervisor to present no threat to the supervisor or their goals at primary appraisal, the in-group affinity supervisors feel toward gender-similar subordinates may make enacting FSSB a more likely outcome. Supporting and helping gender-similar others may seem appropriate to supervisors as the liking they experience for their subordinates should create positive emotional experiences that drive supervisors toward the enactment decision. On the other hand, the more dissimilar a supervisor perceives their subordinate to be to them, the more difficulty they may have empathizing with the subordinate's situation, making withholding FSSB a more likely outcome.

Proposition 9. Supervisors will be more likely to enact FSSB for subordinates they perceive as gender-similar, and more likely to withhold FSSB from subordinates they perceive as gender dissimilar.

5.2.5. Subordinate's gendered occupational context

Building on concepts from social role theory and social relational context theory (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004), we expect the gendered nature of a subordinate's occupation can influence supervisor enactment of FSSB, specifically at the secondary FSSB cognitive appraisal. An occupation may become gendered (either masculinized or feminized) in two ways: 1) when one gender occupies the majority of workers in a given occupation, and/or 2) when a gender becomes associated with an occupation because stereotypically masculine or feminine characteristics/skills are deemed necessary or desirable for performing the job (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Yavorsky, 2019). For the purposes of this paper, we will use the terms "masculinized occupation" to describe occupations that are either stereotypically associated with men/masculinity (because of the content of their job) and/or dominated by men. We use the term "feminized occupation" to refer to occupations that are either stereotypically associated with women/femininity and/or dominated by women. Our interests lie primarily in theorizing gendered occupations; however, we also recognize that not all occupations are necessarily gendered. Thus, we use the term "gender-neutral occupation" to describe occupations that are neither dominated by nor stereotypically associated with men or women.

Social-relational context theory (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004) asserts that when a social group representationally dominates a social-relational context (such as an occupation), it becomes difficult for members to behave in ways inconsistent with the norms of the dominant group, even if they do not wholly subscribe to the dominant group's norms. Moreover, social role theory asserts that societal beliefs about gender and competence can result in men and women being treated and evaluated differently in work contexts, given men are typically viewed as more competent than women (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Taken together, these theories suggest masculine qualities and behaviors may be valued most, and expected more from both men and women, in masculinized occupations (see also Ridgeway, 2018).

In feminized occupations, however, pressures to conform to masculine group norms may weaken substantially or disappear (Ridgeway, 2018; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). In many feminized occupations (e.g., nursing, teaching, flight attendants), it is possible the ideal worker is represented by a woman rather than a man because that context has been historically and characteristically dominated by and associated with women. Thus, while the workplace may generally still privilege masculine behaviors to some extent (Acker, 2006), behaviors and qualities associated with women and femininity may be more permissible and expected from both men and women working in feminized occupations.

Supervisors may be less likely to enact FSSB for subordinates working in masculinized occupations as prioritizing family over work is viewed as incongruent with the masculine qualities "necessary" for competent job performance in these contexts (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Yavorsky, 2019). Supervisors may also be more likely to endorse the belief that subordinates should prioritize work over family in masculinized occupations compared to feminized or gender-neutral occupations as the "work as priority" norm is particularly associated with competence in work environments dominated by men (Acker, 1990; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Thus, when supervisors evaluate whether it makes sense to enact FSSB at the secondary FSSB cognitive appraisal, they may be influenced by the gendered work behavior norms associated with the target subordinate's occupation.

Proposition 10. Supervisors will be less likely to enact FSSB for subordinates in masculinized occupations than subordinates in feminized or gender-neutral occupations.

6. Discussion

In the current paper, we conducted an interdisciplinary theoretical integration to theorize the role of gender variables in supervisor decisions to enact, withhold, or neglect FSSB. We argued that gender variables in the supervisor-subordinate dyad affect supervisor FSSB decisions via two key mechanisms: 1) whether and how supervisors become aware of FSSB opportunities (i.e., reactively or proactively) and 2) how supervisors cognitively appraise FSSB opportunities. Below, we detail the theoretical and practical contributions of our theorization and resultant model.

6.1. Theoretical contributions

The first theoretical contribution of this paper is our interdisciplinary approach to extending FSSB theory (i.e., by integrating theories from psychology, social psychology, and sociology) to include the role of gender, resulting in nuanced theorization of FSSB's gender-related predictors. Overall, FSSB scholarship to date has largely neglected theorization of FSSB antecedents, as well as the key role gender may play in supervisor FSSB decisions. Our interdisciplinary integration enabled us to create theoretically driven propositions about FSSB's gendered antecedent relationships, allowing for further extension of what is known about the predictor side of FSSB's nomological network. Further, insights gained from this theoretical integration may aid our understanding of how gender may impact workplace social support and provide insight into ways organizations might better (and more equally) support employees as they manage work and family demands.

Our second, and primary contribution, is development of a new conceptual and process model of how gender-related variables of the supervisory dyad influence supervisors' FSSB decision making. We argue the FSSB decision making process is susceptible to the influence of gender both in how/if supervisors become aware of FSSB opportunities as well as how they cognitively appraise their options to enact or withhold FSSB from subordinates. Further, we demonstrate how the gendered FSSB cognitive appraisal process serves as a primary mechanism by which gender-related variables may ultimately determine supervisor decisions to enact or withhold FSSB from subordinates. Our conceptual and process model, and its propositions, open opportunities for future research agendas examining FSSB (and family-supportive supervision more broadly) which we will discuss below.

6.2. Practical implications

As the boundaries between work and family continue to evolve amidst challenges brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic, employers are experiencing renewed concern for how to best support employees' successful work-family management (e.g., Gratton, 2020). Our exploration of gender-related antecedents of the FSSB decision-making process has practical implications for organizational leaders, supervisors, and employees that may help increase work-family support in organizations. In reviewing our literature synthesis, theorization, and model, organizational leaders may begin to evaluate their current (and future) work-family support policies, processes, and practices for mechanisms that inadvertently produce gender inequality in their organizations. For example, if supervisors are currently given extensive discretion in how and what ways they enact support or interpret work-family policies, the gendered processes we describe above may have biasing effects that result in differential support for men compared to women employees. In line with previous research on work-family organizational structures (e.g., Kelly et al., 2014; Kelly, Ammons, Chermack, & Moen, 2010) our theorization suggests structural changes, such as implementing results-only work environments, may be particularly important for increasing supervisor enactment of FSSB by reducing the likelihood supervisors perceive enacting FSSB as a threat to their work goals. More organizationally supported work-family policies (with accountability measures for supervisors), as well as training on how to implement those policies in the form of practices, may also create greater consistency in enactment of FSSB.

In addition to shedding light on the need for structural changes to support supervisors' enactment of FSSB, our paper may also encourage organizational leaders to rethink FSSB interventions in organizations. Several rigorous studies testing the effects of FSSB training for supervisors on employee outcomes (e.g., attitudes and job behaviors; Odle-Dusseau et al., 2016) have been conducted returning mixed results (e.g., Hammer et al., 2011; Kelly et al., 2014). These intervention studies appear to have primarily relied only on training supervisors *how* to perform FSSB. These trainings have perhaps neglected to include information about, or training related to, awareness of how gender (also race and class) biases may subtly influence supervisors' decisions to enact FSSB.

The theories and empirical research discussed in this paper highlight how biases may be largely unconscious and how factors of an individual's interactions and environment may affect supervisor behavior *even when that supervisor does not consciously endorse inequality-producing beliefs*. Thus, future FSSB trainings should include components that both 1) educate supervisors on how work-family issues may manifest differently for subordinates based on their social identities, and 2) encourage supervisors to reflect on their own beliefs and biases, and how these might influence their decisions to enact FSSB, especially when few guidelines or policies exist for how to navigate these decisions in organizations. Greater understanding of how social identities impact work-family challenges for employees and contemplation of one's own biases may help guard against unintentional unequal treatment of employees by supervisors (Burns, Monteith, & Parker, 2017), complementing practical training in how to execute FSSB.

In addition to (or in the absence of) effective organizational structures targeting work-family practices, supervisors and subordinates may also use our theorization to guide their steps toward enhancing enactment of FSSB. Our paper suggests supervisors may be more likely to enact FSSB if they are made aware of FSSB opportunities. If supervisors do not realize an FSSB opportunity exists, they will likely neglect FSSB by default. Thus, supervisors should make a point of checking in with subordinates regarding their work-family needs on a regular basis and explain both their ability and willingness to enact FSSB. Creating a safe space for employees to make FSSB requests may reduce fears that arise from subordinate gender role conflicts and may prompt subordinates who did not realize they

could, or need to, request FSSB to do so.

Subordinates, on the other hand, might use the information from this paper to help them construct their requests from supervisors in such a way as to reduce the potential for FSSB to be perceived as threatening or inappropriate. For example, subordinates might consider focusing their requests on the specific accommodation required to support their work-family need rather than providing unnecessary detail about the target of the FSSB (i.e., "I would like to request an altered work schedule next Monday" rather than "I need to leave early next Monday to take my child to soccer practice"). In the same vein, supervisors might consider altering their requirements regarding rationale for FSSB requests such that additional details about the target of the request are not needed. For example, when a subordinate requests a day off work to take care of a family matter, supervisors can refrain from demanding additional details. Focusing on the accommodation rather than the rationale may help reduce the potential for gendered biases related to the target of support to influence supervisor decisions.

6.3. Directions for future research

To complement the theoretical contributions and practical implications our research offers, we provide several ideas for future FSSB research. First, the gendered processes of the supervisory dyad are nested within higher-level workplace contexts in organizations, such as the team, unit, or larger organization. Thus, processes that occur within the supervisory dyad are likely influenced by contextual variables about the organization. Future research should investigate important factors of the organization/work context that may serve as important boundary conditions of the relationships we proposed in our model. For example, an organization's gender composition (i.e., the proportion of men compared to women employed), organizational culture, and subordinate's job class are likely higher-level moderators of the relationships proposed in our model.

As discussed earlier, social-relational context theory suggests when one group dominates a social-relational context (such as a team or organization), it is difficult for individuals inside that context to challenge the norms of the dominant group (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Thus, it may be particularly difficult for individuals to challenge group norms that privilege behaviors aligned with the masculine ideal worker in work environments dominated by men (Ridgeway, 2018) or in organizational cultures that favor masculinity (i.e., "masculinity context cultures, Berdahl et al., 2018). Furthermore, organizations with strong family-friendly cultures likely have greater structure, guidance, and support for both employees and supervisors regarding work-family management (Rofcanin, Las Heras, & Bakker, 2017), which may eliminate some of the barriers to subordinates requesting FSSB and supervisors cognitively appraising an FSSB opportunity as both non-threatening and appropriate to enact.

In addition, subordinates' job class (i.e., blue collar versus white collar jobs) may restrict the kinds of FSSB supervisors can perform. Blue collar jobs, which tend to be dominated by men and require more hands-on activities (e.g., Torre, 2019), may not be capable of being performed at home unlike many white-collar occupations (as we have seen evidenced during the COVID-19 pandemic). Thus, supervisors of blue-collar workers may be less able (not necessarily less supportive) to perform certain FSSB. For example, it may be harder for blue collar supervisors to enact creative work-family management behaviors, like allowing flexible work arrangements, for men or women subordinates and regardless of gender factors (e.g., gender beliefs, perceived gender role conflict, etc.), as this would interfere with the subordinate's ability to perform their job. A supervisor's decision *not* to perform certain FSSB may, therefore, be based less on the gender variables discussed in our model (though we believe they will still have some influence) and more on the restrictions of the subordinate's job duties in the context of blue-collar workplaces. We encourage future researchers to investigate these, and other, boundary conditions of work contexts (e.g., national culture, etc.) that might influence the relationships proposed in our model.

Second, in addition to work-family management, researchers should explore what other kinds of subordinate status characteristics might compound effects of gender on the FSSB decision-making process. Specifically, researchers might explore how subordinate intersectional identities (e.g., race, class, sexual orientation) might further nuance the propositions in our model. For example, findings from intersectionality research have shown that people may hold different behavioral expectations for others based not only on gender, but on intersections of their gender *and* race (e.g., Rosette, Koval, Ma, & Livingston, 2016). Still more research suggests perceptions of others' gender and sexual orientation may combine resulting in differential evaluations of employees that can lead to unequal workplace outcomes (Pedulla, 2014). Thus, men and women subordinates of different races, sexual orientations, and classes may experience differential barriers to requesting FSSB, and supervisors may engage in the FSSB cognitive appraisal process differently, depending on the combinations of characteristics subordinates do, or are perceived to, embody at work.

As an illustrative example of potential intersectional influences on FSSB, supervisors likely perceive not only their subordinates' gender, but also their race as salient visible identities. Both gender and race serve as background identities individuals use to inform their behavior in interactions with others (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). Thus, supervisor reactions to subordinate gender/race combinations may be more nuanced and complex than when considering reactions to gender alone. For example, supervisors may enact FSSB more for white women compared to black women due to stereotypes of black women as stronger than white women (and thus better able to handle intense workloads) or that white women are more family-oriented than black women (Rosette et al., 2016). Furthermore, supervisors with anti-black racial bias may also evaluate black women subordinates, especially black single mothers, as less deserving of support at secondary FSSB appraisal (Luhr, 2020). There is a dearth of research exploring intersectionality in organizations, and studying FSSB in work contexts is an important focus for initial inquiries into ways workplace intersectional inequalities may be dismantled.

Third, an interesting question for future research to answer based on our model is whether or not the strength of relationships we propose changes contingent on employee work modality. The post-COVID-19 world-of-work will likely be characterized by greater numbers of individuals working 100% from home or in hybrid modalities (Maurer & Maurer, 2021), but FSSB research to date has

primarily focused on FSSB for on-site workers (see Crain & Stevens, 2018 for a review). We expect our propositions should hold regardless of whether or not supervisors and subordinates engage one another on-site and in-person or via electronic interaction mediums. As long as gender cues that activate gender-categorization and subsequent behavioral reactions are present (e.g., visually via appearance in videos or audibly by voice if video is not used in a technological medium), gender variables of the supervisory dyad and organizational context should remain relevant in the prediction of FSSB. However, it is prudent to investigate whether employees who primarily work from home need and request different FSSB from supervisors than employees working primarily on-site. These questions are important to answer if effective interventions are to be designed for workers in the new post-COVID-19 world of work.

Finally, an important direction for future family-supportive supervision research in general (and FSSB, specifically) relates to addressing conflation problems between conceptualization and measurement. As discussed earlier, many family-supportive supervision scales (e.g., Hammer et al., 2009; Hammer et al., 2013) capture subordinate evaluations of supervisor behaviors, which may or may not correspond with actual FSSB. The conflation of behaviors with evaluations of those behaviors poses an important theoretical issue for family-supportive supervision theory and research. Do FSSB scales actually capture variation in supervisor behavior, or only employee evaluations of behavior? Can we clarify the theoretical role of behaviors relative to subjective evaluations of those same behaviors? It is arguable that what matters most for family-supportive supervision outcomes is subordinate evaluations: if supervisors perform FSSB but subordinates do not notice or need FSSB, then FSSB will not affect outcomes. Further, if subordinates perceive FSSB from supervisors who are not actually performing it, then it is not FSSB that is affecting outcomes, but something else (e.g., family-friendly organizational culture, work-family policies, etc.). Thus, to really understand family-supportive supervision and its potential to influence important employee and organizational outcomes, future research must clarify the family-supportive supervision concept and explore alternative, perhaps more objective, ways to measure it.

7. Limitations and conclusion

Through interdisciplinary theoretical integration, we have introduced arguments supporting how enactment of FSSB is likely influenced by a host of gender-related variables of the supervisory dyad. Our theorizing led to a model of multiple testable propositions. While we believe this work makes meaningful contributions to FSSB scholarship and practice, we also acknowledge its limitations. For example, our paper builds on established gendered organizational theories that have primarily conceptualized gender as a binary construct (men and women). We acknowledge, however, that gender exists on a continuum and that our theorization does not include explorations of all possible manifestations of gender identity and expression. Given this limitation, we encourage future research building on our model to elaborate on how the addition of other gender statuses, such as non-binary or gender non-conforming gender statuses, might add nuance and complexity to our propositions. Additionally, as noted in our ideas for future research, we expect higher-level contextual variables (e.g., team dynamics, organizational culture) to have powerful moderating effects on our propositions, which we did not have adequate scope or space to fully address in this paper. We hope our work will inspire future researchers to continue exploring the possible direct and moderating effects of multi-level gender influences on FSSB (both behaviors and evaluations of behaviors).

The issues discussed in this paper were timely before the COVID-19 pandemic; they are perhaps even *more* critical now given the intensified work-family challenges both organizations and workers face as they navigate the "new normal" of a post-pandemic world. FSSB is an important resource for employees in managing their work and family demands, and we argue scholars should dedicate enhanced attention to the role gender plays in the creation, perpetuation, or dismantling of inequality related to work-family support. We have provided an initial framework on which to build investigations of the relationships of gender variables and FSSB, but there is still much work to be done.

Author note

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

References

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society, 4*(2), 139–158. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124390004002002

Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society, 20*(4), 441–464. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206289499

American Psychological Association. (2012). Guidelines for psychological practice with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients. *American Psychological Association.*. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024659

Amstad, F. T., Meier, L. L., Fasel, U., Elfering, A., & Semmer, N. K. (2011). A meta-analysis of work–family conflict and various outcomes with a special emphasis on cross-domain versus matching-domain relations. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 16*(2), 151–169. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022170

Baber, K. M., & Tucker, C. J. (2006). The social roles questionnaire: A new approach to measuring attitudes toward gender. *Sex Roles, 54*(7), 459–467. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9018-y

Basuil, D. A., Manegold, J. G., & Casper, W. J. (2016). Subordinate perceptions of family-supportive supervision: The role of similar family-related demographics and its effect on affective commitment. *Human Resource Management Journal, 26*(4), 523–540. https://doi.org/10.1111/1748-8583.12120

Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42*(2), 155.

Berdahl, J. L., Cooper, M., Glick, P., Livingston, R. W., & Williams, J. C. (2018). Work as a masculinity contest. *Journal of Social Issues, 74*(3), 422–448. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12289

Brescoll, V. L. (2016). Leading with their hearts? How gender stereotypes of emotion lead to biased evaluations of female leaders. *The Leadership Quarterly, 27*(3), 415–428.

Burns, M. D., Monteith, M. J., & Parker, L. R. (2017). Training away bias: The differential effects of counterstereotype training and self-regulation on stereotype activation and application. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 73*, 97–110. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.06.003

Cejka, M. A., & Eagly, A. H. (1999). Gender-stereotypic images of occupations correspond to the sex segregation of employment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*(4), 413–423. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167299025004002
Cialdini, R. B., & Trost, M. R. (1998). Social influence: Social norms, conformity, and compliance. In (4th ed.,, *Vols. 1-2. The handbook of social psychology* (pp. 151–192). McGraw-Hill.
Craig, L., & Mullan, K. (2011). How mothers and fathers share childcare: A cross-national time-use comparison. *American Sociological Review, 76*(6), 834–861. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122411427673
Crain, T. L., & Stevens, S. C. (2018). Family-supportive supervisor behaviors: A review and recommendations for research and practice. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 39*(7), 869–888. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2320
Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review, 109*(3), 573–598. https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-295X.109.3.573
Foley, S., Linnehan, F., Greenhaus, J. H., & Weer, C. H. (2006). The impact of gender similarity, racial similarity, and work culture on family-supportive supervision. *Group & Organization Management, 31*(4), 420–441.
Folkman, S., Lazarus, R., Schetter, C., DeLongis, A., & Gruen, R. (1986). Dynamics of a stressful encounter: Cognitive appraisal, coping, and encounter outcomes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50*, 992–1003. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.50.5.992
French, K. A., Dumani, S., Allen, T. D., & Shockley, K. M. (2018). A meta-analysis of work–family conflict and social support. *Psychological Bulletin, 144*(3), 284–314. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000120
French, K. A., & Shockley, K. M. (2020). Formal and informal supports for managing work and family. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 29*(2), 207–216. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721420906218
Gratton, L. (2020). How to help employees work from home with kids. *MIT Sloan Management Review*. https://sloanreview.mit.edu/article/how-to-help-employees-work-from-home-with-kids/.
Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of Management Review, 10*, 76–88.
Guastello, D. D., & Guastello, S. J. (2003). Androgyny, gender role behavior, and emotional intelligence among college students and their parents. *Sex Roles, 49*(11/12), 663–673. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000003136.67714.04
Hammer, L. B., Kossek, E. E., Yragui, N. L., Bodner, T. E., & Hanson, G. C. (2009). Development and validation of a multidimensional measure of family supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB). *Journal of management, 35*(4), 837–856.
Hammer, L. B., Kossek, E. E., Anger, W. K., Bodner, T., & Zimmerman, K. L. (2011). Clarifying work-family intervention processes: The roles of work-family conflict and family supportive supervisor behaviors. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 96*(1), 134–150. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020927
Hammer, L. B., Kossek, E. E., Bodner, T., & Crain, T. (2013). Measurement development and validation of the Family Supportive Supervisor Behavior Short-Form (FSSB-SF). *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 18*(3), 285–296. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032612
Hammer, L. B., Kossek, E. E., Zimmerman, K., & Daniels, R. (2007). Clarifying the construct of family-supportive supervisory behaviors (FSSB): A multilevel perspective. In *Exploring the work and non-work Interface* (pp. 165–204). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
Heilman, M. E. (2012). Gender stereotypes and workplace bias. *Research in organizational Behavior, 32*, 113–135.
Heilman, M. E., & Haynes, M. C. (2008). Subjectivity in the appraisal process: A facilitator of gender bias in work settings. In *Beyond common sense: Psychological science in the courtroom* (1st ed., pp. 127–155). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470696422
Hillman, L. W., Schwandt, D. R., & Bartz, D. E. (1990). Enhancing staff members' performance through feedback and coaching. *Journal of Management Development, 9*(3), 20–27.
Hogg, M. A., & Reid, S. A. (2006). Social identity, self-categorization, and the communication of group norms. *Communication Theory, 16*(1), 7–30.
Huffman, A. H., & Olson, K. J. (2017). Gender differences in perceptions of resources and turnover intentions of work-linked couples in masculine occupations. *Stress and Health, 33*(4), 309–321. https://doi.org/10.1002/smi.2709
Kalysh, K., Kulik, C. T., & Perera, S. (2016). Help or hindrance? Work–life practices and women in management. *The Leadership Quarterly, 27*(3), 504–518. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2015.12.009
Keeney, J., Boyd, E. M., Sinha, R., Westring, A. F., & Ryan, A. M. (2013). From "work–family" to "work–life": Broadening our conceptualization and measurement. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 82*(3), 221–237. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2013.01.005
Kelly, E. L., Ammons, S. K., Chermack, K., & Moen, P. (2010). Gendered challenge, gendered response: Confronting the ideal worker norm in a white-collar organization. *Gender & Society, 24*(3), 281–303. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243210372073
Kelly, E. L., Moen, P., Oakes, J. M., Fan, W., Okechukwu, C., Davis, K. D., … Casper, L. M. (2014). Changing work and work-family conflict: Evidence from the work, family, and health network. *American Sociological Review, 79*(3), 485–516.
Korabik, K. (1999). Sex and gender in the new millennium. In *Handbook of gender and work* (pp. 3–16). Sage.
Kossek, E. E., Petty, R. J., Bodner, T. E., Perrigino, M. B., Hammer, L. B., Yragui, N. L., & Michel, J. S. (2018). Lasting impression: Transformational leadership and family supportive supervision as resources for well-being and performance. *Occupational Health Science, 2*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41542-018-0012-x
Kossek, E. E., Pichler, S., Bodner, T., & Hammer, L. B. (2011). Workplace social support and work–family conflict: A meta-analysis clarifying the influence of general and work–family-specific supervisor and organizational support. *Personnel Psychology, 64*(2), 289–313. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2011.01211.x
Kunda, Z., & Spencer, S. J. (2003). When do stereotypes come to mind and when do they color judgment? A goal-based theoretical framework for stereotype activation and application. *Psychological Bulletin, 129*(4), 522–544. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.4.522
Lindqvist, A., Sendén, M. G., & Renström, E. A. (2020). What is gender, anyway: A review of the options for operationalising gender. *Psychology & Sexuality, 1–13*. https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2020.1729844
Liu, H., & Ngo, H.-Y. (2017). The effects of gender role orientation and career/family role salience on organizational identification and intention to leave. *Gender in Management: An International Journal, 32*, 111–127. https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-03-2016-0027
Livingston, G. (2018). *5 facts about family caregivers*. Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/18/5-facts-about-family-caregivers/.
Luhr, S. (2020). Signaling parenthood: Managing the motherhood penalty and fatherhood premium in the us service sector. *Gender & Society, 34*(2), 259–283.
Maurer, R., & Maurer, R. (2021). *SHRM: Half of workers wish to remain remote permanently*. SHRM. March 3 https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/news/hr-news/pages/shrm-half-workers-wish-remain-remote-permanently.aspx.
Mickey, E. L. (2019). When gendered logics collide: Going public and restructuring in a high-tech organization. *Gender & Society, 33*(4), 509–533. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243219830944
Nilsen, W., Skipstein, A., Østby, K. A., & Mykletun, A. (2017). Examination of the double burden hypothesis—A systematic review of work–family conflict and sickness absence. *European Journal of Public Health, 27*(3), 465–471. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckx054
Odle-Dusseau, H. N., Hammer, L. B., Crain, T. L., & Bodner, T. E. (2016). The influence of family-supportive supervisor training on employee job performance and attitudes: An organizational work–family intervention. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 21*(3), 296–308. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039961
Pedulla, D. S. (2014). The positive consequences of negative stereotypes: Race, sexual orientation, and the job application process. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 77*(1), 75–94.
PFLAG National Glossary of Terms. (2016). PFLAG. April 25 https://pflag.org/glossary.
Rawski, S. L., Djurdjevic, E., & Sheppard, L. (2014). Occupational stress: Considering the complex interplay of sex, gender, and job roles. In P. L. Perrewe, J. Halbesleben, & C. C. Rosen (Eds.), *Vol. 12. Research in occupational stress and well-being*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
Ridgeway, C. L. (2018). Status construction theory. In *Contemporary social psychological theories* (2nd ed., pp. 315–339). Stanford University Press.
Ridgeway, C. L., & Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender & Society, 18*(4), 510–531. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243204265269
Ridgeway, C. L., & Kricheli-Katz, T. (2013). Intersecting cultural beliefs in social relations: Gender, race, and class binds and freedoms. *Gender & Society, 27*(3), 294–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243213479445

Rofcanin, Y., Las Heras, M., & Bakker, A. B. (2017). Family supportive supervisor behaviors and organizational culture: Effects on work engagement and performance. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 22*(2), 207–217. https://doi.org/10.1037/ocp0000036

Rosette, A. S., Koval, C. Z., Ma, A., & Livingston, R. (2016). Race matters for women leaders: Intersectional effects on agentic deficiencies and penalties. *The Leadership Quarterly, 27*(3), 429–445. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2016.01.008

Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(4), 743–762. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00239

Rudman, L. A., Mescher, K., & Moss-Racusin, C. A. (2013). Reactions to gender egalitarian men: Perceived feminization due to stigma-by-association. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 16*(5), 572–599. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430212461160

Sargent, A. C., Yavorsky, J. E., & Sandoval, R. G. (2021). Organizational logic in coworking spaces: Inequality regimes in the new economy. *Gender & Society, 35*(1), 5–31.

Shpancer, N., Fannin, J., Rush, J. L., Rosneck, K., Montgomery, M., Hove, W., & Venkataraman, M. (2019). Male caregivers in child daycare: Why so few? *Early Child Development and Care, 1–14*. https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430.2019.1651307

Straub, C. (2012). Antecedents and organizational consequences of family supportive supervisor behavior: A multilevel conceptual framework for research. *Human Resource Management Review, 22*(1), 15–26. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2011.08.001

Sutton, A. W., Baldwin, S. P., Wood, L., & Hoffman, B. J. (2013). A meta-analysis of the relationship between rater liking and performance ratings. *Human Performance, 26*(5), 409–429. https://doi.org/10.1080/08959285.2013.836523

Tajfel, H. (1970). Experiments in intergroup discrimination. *Scientific American, 223*(5), 96–103.

Torre, M. (2019). Women in blue: Structural and individual determinants of sex segregation in blue-collar occupations. *Gender & Society, 33*(3), 410–438. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243219830974

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2008). Employment characteristics of families in 2008. May https://www.bls.gov/news.release/archives/famee_05272009.pdf.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2019). Unpaid Eldercare in the United States—2017-2018 Summary. https://www.bls.gov/news.release/elcare.nr0.htm.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2021). Table 5. Employment status of the population by sex, marital status, and presence and age of own children under 18, 2019–2020 annual averages. https://www.bls.gov/news.release/famee.t05.htm.

Watson, L., & Spence, M. T. (2007). Causes and consequences of emotions on consumer behaviour: A review and integrative cognitive appraisal theory. *European Journal of Marketing, 41*(5/6), 487–511. https://doi.org/10.1108/03090560710737570

West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1*(2), 125–151. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002

Wong, Y. J., & Rochlen, A. (2005). Demystifying men's emotional behavior: New directions and implications for counseling and research. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 6*, 62–72. https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.6.1.62

Yavorsky, J. E. (2019). Uneven patterns of inequality: An audit analysis of hiring-related practices by gendered and classed contexts. *Social Forces, 98*(2), 461–492.