

upRising

Innovative Ideas for Gender Equality

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NEWS FROM THE MICHELLE. R. CLAYMAN INSTITUTE
for GENDER RESEARCH AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY

WHY IS CHANGE SO SLOW?

WHAT'S IN IT FOR WORKERS?

IMPLEMENTING
CHANGE

WHAT'S IN IT FOR
WORKPLACES?

RE ^{defining} & ^{designing} work

REDESIGNING
REDEFINING
WORK

REDESIGNING REDEFINING WORK

Over the last half-century, the composition of our workforce has undergone tremendous transformation. More women have moved into the paid labor force, more households are made up of dual earners, more people are continuing to work well into later life, and millennials have arrived on the scene. Despite these significant changes in who works, companies and organizations have not adapted to new realities by changing how work gets done. As a result, instead of being supported and inspired, employees are often constrained and undermined by outdated thinking that equates commitment with long hours, and productivity with face time.

To harness the full potential of the labor force, we need to reimagine work. We need to redesign workplaces so that they are better aligned with the lives of the people who work in them. And we need to redefine what makes a good and successful employee so that performance is no longer measured by how many hours employees put in but by how effective and efficient employees can be.

The Clayman Institute research project, **REDESIGNING REDEFINING WORK**, brings together leading academics, corporate experts, policy makers, and the media to share research and insights, discuss best practices and workable solutions, raise public awareness, and set a new research agenda for the 21st century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chopping Block Paradox 4

WHY IS CHANGE SO SLOW? 6

Historic View of U.S. Workplace 7

Moving Beyond Myths of Worker Productivity 9

Work-Family Conflict Is Not The Problem. Overwork Is. 12

WHY DO WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS NEED WORK REDESIGN? 14

Why Is Work Still Designed For Don Draper? 15

Improve Work-Life Fit By Delaying Retirement Age 17

Working From Home Boosts Employee Happiness And Productivity 18

Workplace Flexibility Helps Women Stay In The Workforce 19

IMPLEMENTING CHANGE 20

Better For Profits, Better For Workers 21

GAP Focuses On Worker Flexibility To Improve Company Performance 23

Why Unplugging Can Lead To Happier, More Productive Workers 24

Medical School Combats 'Work-Work' Conflict With Innovative Program 25

NEW RESEARCH AGENDAS 26

Deloitte Teams With NYU Law Professor To 'Uncover' Employee Talent 27

Scholars Call For Work Redesign 29

San Francisco Law Protects Worker Requests For Flexible Schedules 30

'Prove it': Piloting Change Initiatives 31



Dear Readers,

I'm tremendously excited to introduce this special fourth volume of *upRising: Innovative Ideas for Gender Equality*. Redesigning Redefining Work is a long-term collaboration between academics and industry leaders to rethink our understanding of successful work.

Today's workers struggle mightily to reconcile long hours and rigid work schedules with their families, mental and physical health, and quality of life. At the same time, companies compete to attract, retain and empower employees in a global knowledge economy. We pose that this conflict is not inevitable. Redesigning Redefining Work is a call to action. It's a call to research, to debate, to brainstorm, to collaborate. It's a statement of our belief that good business and full lives can coexist, not compete.

At a summit in November 2014, over 125 scholars and leaders of corporations, non-profit organizations and government gathered at Stanford University to discuss the nature of work and generate promising new approaches.

Some highlights included:

- NYU Law School Professor Kenji Yoshino's collaboration with Deloitte, "Uncovering Talent," an initiative designed to help people reach their potential by bringing their full selves to work
- Sociologists Erin Kelly and Phyllis Moen's research on Results-Only Work Environment, and GAP's on-the-ground experience implementing the design
- Pulling from her own experience as a working mom, Ana Corrales's work within Cisco to bring about the kinds of change sociologist Pamela Stone advocates, including greater flexibility for mothers

In this issue of *upRising*, you'll find these and other creative approaches to problems created by the current work culture. As you'll see, the range of voices is broad, and includes sociologists, psychologists, lawyers, business leaders, health policy scholars, and many others. This is no coincidence — redesigning and redefining work needs many voices: women and men, parents and non-parents, people inside and outside of the academy.

The potential for change is great, and while we are excited about our efforts so far, this is only the beginning.

Onward,

Shelley J. Correll



THE CHOPPING BLOCK PARADOX

Why companies cut programs they can't afford to lose

By Lori Nishiura Mackenzie

Originally published in *Huffington Post*

The CEOs of Best Buy, Yahoo!, and Hewlett Packard all nixed flexible work policies in response to financial downturns. "During this critical turnaround period, HP needs all hands on deck," said Hewlett-Packard CEO Meg Whitman. "[T]he more employees we get into the office, the better company we will be."

In times of economic woe, "non-essential" programs and people are eliminated, and programs to support workers are often ended or drastically scaled back. Employee flexibility is typically considered one of these "luxuries." In tough markets, employees are supposed to work harder, longer and more devotedly to renew corporate vitality.

These cost-cutting measures are not surprising. We might be awed by a layoff's magnitude, but are not astounded to see it used. Our acclimation to the items on the chopping block sheds light on the rigidity of work culture and the stigmas that keep work narrowly defined.

In many ways, work has not fundamentally changed since the 1950s, despite massive shifts in the workforce and industries. Technological advances have made global teams and remote work possible. More women work in paid labor than ever before. The workplace contains more dual-earner couples, millennials and older workers — groups that bring different values and needs into the workplace. Yet we continue to believe that "serious" workers are the ones who put in the most "face time" at the office, despite substantial research proving that long hours deplete creativity, accuracy and productivity.

Why has change been so slow? And how can we think in new directions to create the future of work? These questions are the topic of the Redesigning



In many ways, work hasn't fundamentally changed since the 1950s.

Redesigning Work Summit organized by the Clayman Institute for Gender Research at Stanford University. Outmoded approaches are hard to abandon, but workplace redesign holds the key to prosperity, well-being, and innovation.

WHAT'S ON THE CHOPPING BLOCK?

Flexibility. One innovative initiative, the Results Only Work Environment (ROWE) originated at Best Buy in 2005. Unlike the "back-to-work" mandates of HP's and Yahoo!'s CEOs, ROWE focuses on concrete results, instead of physical face time in the office. Managers are trained to know what deliverables to expect, which allows them to quickly identify underperforming employees. An in-depth study of ROWE found that it improved workers' productivity, satisfaction, and health.

THE WORKPLACES THAT WILL PROVE THE MOST SUCCESSFUL FIVE, TEN OR TWENTY YEARS FROM NOW AREN'T THE ONES THAT DEAL WITH ECONOMIC CRISIS BY PRETENDING IT'S 1950.

Despite evidence of ROWE's success increasing profits and improving productivity, conventional wisdom prevailed. Best Buy eventually returned to a face time model, requiring employees to do their work at the office. This traditional approach caters to the myth of the devoted employee with a stay-at-home spouse to care for his needs outside the office. In effect, eliminating ROWE pits flexibility against corporate goals, instead of in concert with them.

"Non-essential" workers. Eliminating extra workers is another staple of corporate turnarounds — but this wasn't always the case. Consider the approach taken by W. K. Kellogg in 1930, in response to the Great Depression and war. The company implemented a six-hour workday and a 30-hour workweek. With each employee working fewer hours, Kellogg could keep more workers employed.

Productivity was high, as was morale. Tellingly, this arrangement was halted in 1947, not because of business needs, but because of social stigma. After the Depression, shortened workdays became associated with women, so men who worked short days came to be seen as insufficiently masculine. The Kellogg example underscores the influence of social stigma on business decisions.

Diversity programs. Another financial "solution" is cutting programs designed to engage women and minorities. Ending these programs reinforces the idea that a diverse workforce is somehow a "luxury," nonessential to business success. The needs of women, minorities, and those with physical limitations are seen as requiring "special accommodations" that

the traditional workforce does not require and that companies cannot afford.

Global software giant, SAP, disagrees. This year, SAP announced a new partnership with Specialisterne to employ people with autism. Their rationale? Competitive advantage. SAP "leverages] the unique talents of people with autism, while also helping them to secure meaningful employment." Initial tests showed that integrating people with autism increased team productivity and cohesiveness. In other words, harnessing diverse talent can be mission-critical, not a luxury.

MOVING AHEAD

Companies' choices about what to put on the chopping block reveal a resistance to change that is rooted not in economic necessity but in outdated mores, habits, and assumptions. The workplaces that will prove the most successful five, ten or twenty years from now aren't the ones that deal with economic crisis by pretending it's 1950.

We face real barriers to redesigning work, but we also face a convergence of opportunities for new thinking about work's very nature. Those born today enjoy 30 years more life expectancy than those born 100 years ago, creating an opportunity to reimagine how work might be integrated into a new life course. "Digital natives" have never known a world without technology that allows them to bridge global gaps with the touch of a button. Creativity, not face time, can fuel entirely new industries like social media and social marketing.

Make no mistake — the employees of the future will work every bit as hard as the employees of the past. But if companies use good judgment about which programs to axe and which ones to foster, tomorrow's workforce will have more independence and more scheduling control and will be rewarded for smart, efficient, high-impact work. Employers will reap the benefits of an engaged, productive workforce where everyone — millennials, men and women, older and younger workers, dual-income families, and people with diverse talents and needs — will contribute and thrive. ★



LORI NISHIURA MACKENZIE is executive director of the Clayman Institute and executive editor of *Gender News* and *upRising*.

WHY IS CHANGE SO SLOW?

Changes to the structure and culture of work have lagged behind transformations in the workforce composition and changes in the nature of work. What's behind this lag? And what are the sources of resistance to organizational change efforts?

After three years of studying the workforce under the Redesigning Redefining Work research initiative, we point to several factors that have made it difficult to change work. First, the “ideal worker” myth remains persistent, although the Mad Men workplace is gone. As a result, alternative options — like reduced hours or telecommuting — are often marginalized and stigmatized. Second, the culture tends to blame work-family conflict, when instead extremely long hours hurt everyone. We suffer from an organizational culture of overwork. Last, we need to look at our culture, and the role managers play as either agents of change, or reinforcers of the status quo.

IN THIS SECTION

- **THE HISTORY OF WORK:** Alice Kessler-Harris explains the history of work and the historical basis of gendered assumptions about workers and the workplace
- **IDEAL WORKER:** Joan Williams and Mary Blair-Loy highlight two important myths that prevent workplaces from keeping pace with the new frontiers of work
- **THOUGHT PROVOKERS:** Martin Davidson on why diversity should be central to business strategy; Beth Axelrod on eBay's Women's Initiative Network; Susan Lambert on the business case for employee-friendly work arrangements in lower-level jobs
- **THE PROBLEM OF OVERWORK:** Analysis by Robin Ely and Irene Padavic reveals the key problem isn't work-family conflict but long hours across the board

A HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AMERICAN WORKPLACE

By Ashley Farmer

Over the last fifty years the composition of the workforce has changed significantly due to an influx of women into the workplace, the delayed retirement of many workers, and the rise in dual-earning households. Yet companies have failed to keep pace, remaining tied to ideals of work rooted in the past. In order to move into the twenty-first century, we need to first understand why organizations hold on to outdated ways for working.

In this Q&A, Alice Kessler-Harris, professor of American History at Columbia University, provides insights into the history of gender and the workplace. Known for her prolific research on labor, women, and gender, Kessler-Harris explains the history of work and the historical basis of gendered assumptions about workers and the workplace.

Clayman Institute: What was the role of men and women workers in the past?

Kessler-Harris: For most of historical time, the workplace was imagined as part of the household. One could not separate them. The jobs were divided, but men pitched in with the weaving and spinning, and women pitched in with the agricultural work whenever they needed to. There was a kind of integrity to the household and the workplace. They were indivisible, and I would say that that indivisibility continued through most of the nineteenth century.

In the space of a single century, we have gone through nothing less than a revolution in terms of the workplace. We've gone from a workplace that most people (whether they were artisans or craftspeople in small family workshops or agricultural workers) imagined as part of an extended household to a workplace that is so far removed from the household that commitment to it conflicts with household functions. Paid work is not only not an extension of the household for most people,



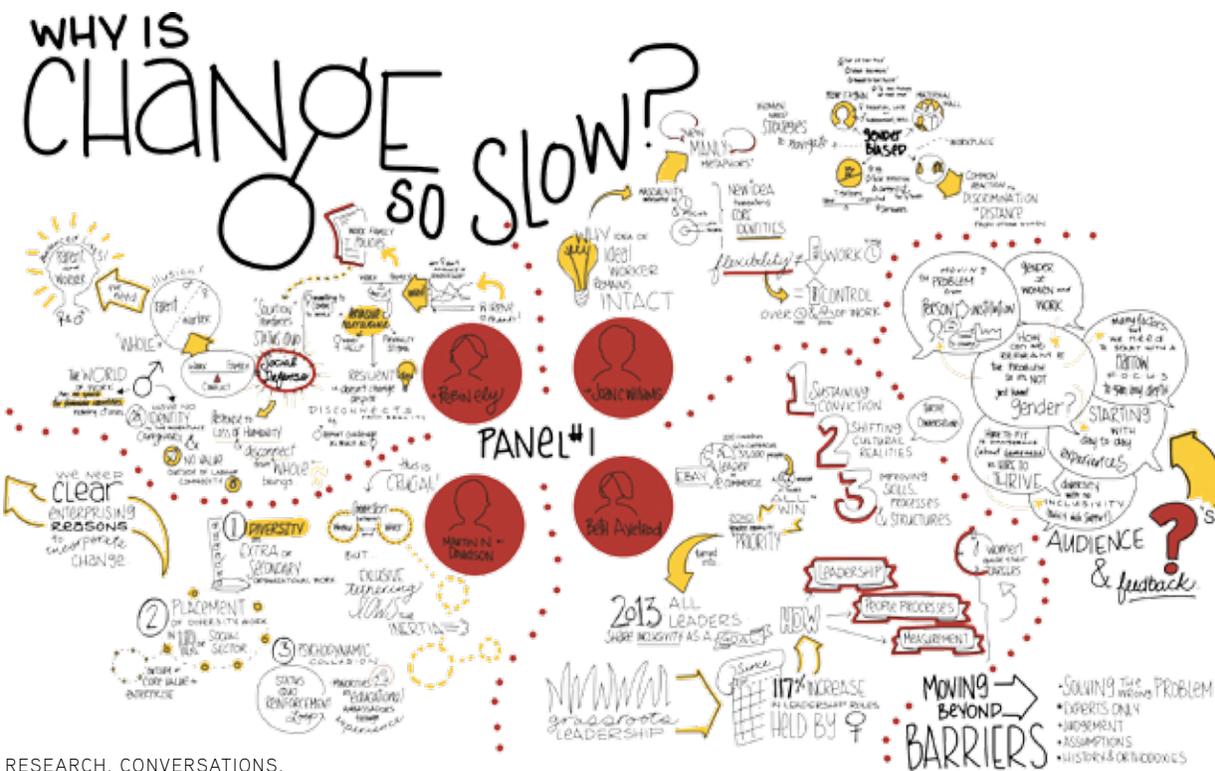
it's the opposite. It's alienated from the household.

If you think about the transformation that way, you can imagine yourselves in a kind of revolutionary moment. It is completely astonishing that women and men have come to reimagine the household in ways that people never would have thought of, was beyond imagination fifty, sixty, seventy years ago.

Clayman Institute: What happened in between? Tell us about women's work experiences in the 20th century, and how these were affected by gender dynamics.

Kessler-Harris: [M]en and women [have generally shared] a sense of how the world works (including who should raise the children and who provides for the household).

At the turn of the twentieth century, the female workforce constituted about a quarter of the industrial workforce and close to half of the agrarian workforce. But the expectation that men supported households was sustained because a majority of women worked in domestic jobs, and most white women who earned wages were unmarried or widowed or separated. That was less true for women of color, a large proportion of whom earned wages even after they married because their men had a much harder time making a living. The conditions of those who worked were so bad that middle-class women began to worry that the family couldn't survive under such circumstances. They might have tried to support the family by providing needy women with income. Instead they chose another strategy: They tried to regulate women's participation in the labor force by supporting the idea of a family wage that would enable men to sustain family life. At the same time they advocated protective labor legislation



that applied to women only. There was irony there. To protect the woman worker, new labor laws promoted an already outdated conception of the family — one in which women engaged mostly in household maintenance without resort to the labor force. As these laws took shape in the early part of the twentieth century, both men and women agreed that justice would be served if men with a family wage encouraged women to leave the labor force.

When the depression of the 1930s hit, most men and many married women continued to argue this position: If women would just get out of the labor force, they thought, the unemployment rate would drop for men as they took over women's jobs. And yet employment for women continued to climb, and even married women did not give up their jobs. For them, wage-work was an absolute necessity. Far from demonstrating that married women belonged at home, the economic depression revealed that wage-earning women had earned a permanent place in the labor force.

During World War II, employers desperately needed women to replace the men who were drafted and to staff the industries making war products. To induce them to enter the labor force, businesses began to provide the resources that enabled women to keep their households going even while they put in many hours on the job. Childcare centers, laundries, cooked meals that could be brought home all sprang up. These incentives disappeared as soon as the war ended, and women were forced from their jobs. But women had learned that they could do two jobs. By the early part of the 1950s, when the Korean War broke out and new jobs opened up, women were ready. Many of them had experienced war-time work and wanted to contribute to household support. By 1953, the proportion of women in the wage labor force equaled the proportion of women working at the height of World War II.

Still, most women worked at poorly paid jobs and were expected to drop out of the labor force when they had babies. In 1961, President Kennedy created a presidential commission on the status of women to address these and other problems. The commission, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, turned out to be enormously influential. Under its aegis, Congress passed the first Equal Pay Act in 1963. The 1964 Civil Rights Act that followed, included a provision (Title VII) that forbade discrimination on the grounds of race, skin

color, religion, and, for the first time ever, sex. Title VII put on the agenda the question of what constituted discrimination — the issue that propelled the second wave women's movement.

Clayman Institute: How has history informed our current understanding of flexible work arrangements?

Kessler-Harris: I think flexibility is not the wrong strategy, but that it has a context that dooms it to failure in the present. In the 1930s, the same Social Security Act that defined who was a worker also defined who was not a worker (primarily women, who were already or might be expected to become mothers, and the largely African-population of men and women who worked in agriculture, as well as children. Children, legislators thought, were entitled to mothers who would remain in the home to raise them. Their mothers were not imagined as workers. The conception that mothers (especially those with young children) constituted a category of people from whom wage work was not expected has now disappeared. Flexible time arrangements make the opposite assumption. Inherent in the new arrangements is the conception that every individual (even those with small children) is responsible for both wage work and child and home care. Flex time in its many forms, rarely addresses this problem. It merely shifts the burden of time and place around, Work time may become flexible, but it does not become less. Employers who promote it aren't giving workers a break. And they're not sharing the responsibility. All that remains loaded on the worker, mainly on women workers.

When I hear those flexible time arguments, I want us all to think of ways of reducing working time for parents responsible for children; I want to imagine shared and social ways to accommodate children so that the workplace and childcare each receive their due. ★



ALICE KESSLER-HARRIS, R. Gordon Hoxie Professor of American History, is Professor in the Institute for Research on Women and Gender at Columbia University. Kessler-Harris specializes in the history of American labor and the comparative and interdisciplinary exploration of women and gender.

MOVING BEYOND THE MYTHS OF WORKER PRODUCTIVITY

It's hard to make change when employees face extreme work expectations like the "ideal worker" myth and the "flexibility stigma"

By Lauren Aguilar

According to the myth of the "ideal worker," employees are supposed to maintain single-minded focus at work and are assumed to have full-time support at home. Current trends in labor statistics point to a much more diverse array of family working arrangements. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 48 percent of married couples are in dual-income households where both the man and the woman work, and there are more working mothers than there are working fathers in the U.S.

While our lives have changed, expectations of what we can do for work have not kept pace. The tension between work expectations and personal lives can put the interests of employers and employees at odds. Professors Joan Williams and Mary Blair-Loy highlight two important myths that prevent workplaces from keeping pace with the new frontiers of work.

AMERICAN WORK DEVOTION

Blair-Loy's research examines the underpinning of extreme work expectations: our all-encompassing work devotion. In her book *Competing Devotions*, Blair-Loy defines work devotion as a cultural ideology that, "defines the career as a calling or vocation that deserves single-minded allegiance and gives meaning and purpose to life." This ideal is embedded in our culture, organizational practices and policies, such that most of us take it for granted without noticing its presence.

Work devotion is deeply ingrained in the psychology and ideals of the "American Dream." The Protestant work ethic upholds that hard work is the duty and the measure of worth of individuals.

In interviews with corporate executives, Blair-Loy finds that work devotion defines our assumptions about work and instills moral and emotional commitment. It gives the worker a sense of identity, competence, belonging, and purpose. It is also seductive: There can be a pleasure to overwork and a collegiality between over-workers.

Blair-Loy illustrates that high-ranking workers, who often have backstage support at home, use work devotion to validate traditional work structures. One male CEO described his workers as "bleeding and dying" for plum jobs to explain why he would not offer part-time work. In Blair-Loy's ongoing research, male executives felt little work-life conflict, since their wives took family responsibility. Work devotion can thus blind those at the top to the needs of their workforce.

FLEXIBILITY STIGMA

A second factor preventing workplaces from being as nimble as 21st century work requires is that today's workers feel the pressure to conform to ever-increasing work demands without the necessary support to manage the rest of their lives.

However, Williams explains that flexibility is not widely used because workers who seek flexibility are

devalued by “flexibility stigma.” This stigma can lead to social disgrace or even discrimination in the workplace. Like a scarlett letter, it demarcates anyone — men and women both — who draws attention to their caregiving responsibilities by requesting parental leave, reduced hours, or a flexible schedule.

In her book *Reshaping the Work-Family Debate*, Williams explains that flexibility policies are often “shelf paper” for good public relations, but workers’ fear of repercussions fuels low usage rates. One study showed that 33 percent of professors did not request needed parental leave because they feared career penalties.

Flexibility seekers’ fears are well founded. Those who request flexible arrangements for family care are seen as poorer organizational citizens — less committed, competent, and deserving of rewards. For example, part-time lawyers are perceived to be “time-deviants” because billable hours largely measure excellence and commitment.

WORKPLACES OF THE FUTURE

While American work devotion ideals generate extreme work standards, flexibility stigma threatens to punish those who violate those standards. Instead of looking to past practices, both Blair-Loy and Williams point to innovative companies willing to experiment with entirely new structures and ways of thinking about work. As with Best Buy, companies that experiment with new performance structures can benefit from reduced work-family conflict and turnover rates.

The research conducted by Williams, Blair-Loy, and the group of academics and professionals organized by the Clayman Institute, may just deliver the smart frameworks needed for companies and workers alike to thrive. ★

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MARY BLAIR-LOY is an Associate Professor and the Director of Graduate Studies & Founding Director at the Center for Research on Gender in the Professions at the University of California San Diego.

IS THE IDEAL DAD AN IDEAL WORKER?

By Lindsey Trimble O’Connor

Fathers today spend nearly three times as many hours on childcare as their 1965 counterparts. But dad’s family involvement is not without personal cost.

Fathers who seek flexible work in order to work and provide childcare are negatively stereotyped and suffer career penalties. Furthermore, these penalties exist even at companies offering formal flexibility policies.

Research shows that workers who take time off or temporarily reduce their hours for family reasons suffer from the “flexibility stigma,” or the bias workers face from coworkers and employers when they signal the need for any flexible work arrangement. And, as it seems, dads who seek flexible work arrangements suffer even worse consequences than moms. One study shows that dads who seek part-time schedules for childcare face harsher character judgments relative to those made about moms. In another study, dads with caregiving responsibility report more co-worker harassment than mothers or childless colleagues.

What is behind the stigmatization of dads who use flex? The “work devotion schema” is partly to blame. Williams defines the work devotion schema as the widely held belief that “work demands and deserves undivided and intensive allegiance.” It suggests that work is, and should be, life’s central focus. Use of formal flexibility policies — by men and women — challenges the work devotion schema and sends the message to employers that flex users are uncommitted.

Men are particularly vulnerable to the flexibility stigma because we tend to equate being a good father with being a good provider. Therefore, if a man seems less-than-devoted to his job, not only is he seen as a bad worker, he is also seen as falling short of his breadwinning responsibilities. ★



MARTIN DAVIDSON
PROFESSOR, DARDEN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

When Diversity Plays a Leading Role

How important is the role management gives diversity efforts? “Diversity is often an afterthought, it’s on the side, it’s extra credit,” warned Davidson. And when cast in a side role, these efforts are frequently doomed to fail.

“What’s important is that diversity become a powerful resource for achieving organizational goals. When diversity is central to the business strategy it allows the company to innovate, to think differently. It energizes the workforce. And, of course, it opens the company up to a wealth of new talent and new ideas,” Davidson explained. When diversity becomes a vital engine of overall growth, then programs that develop people who are different are no longer luxuries. They are mission critical.



BETH AXELROD
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, HUMAN RESOURCES, EBAY INC.

Winning at WIN

Thirty months into eBay Inc.’s Women’s Initiative Network, or WIN, the company made remarkable progress in shifting the gender demographics through leadership commitment, people processes, and measurement. From January 2011 to June 2013, across the company the number of women in leadership roles, or director and above positions, more than doubled. The rate of growth of women leaders at eBay was actually higher than the rate of growth of men leaders.

“It starts with clear, visible senior leadership support,” Axelrod explained. Openly, empathetically understanding where various leaders are on their own journey to value gender diversity is critical to long-term success. And yet the encouraging numbers — the demographic progress — seemed ahead of the day-to-day reality. That’s why eBay decided to collect more data.

The company surveyed the organization to learn more about the experience of being a woman in the company and discovered there are many things that must be done to improve around people processes — both the perception and the reality.



THOUGHT PROVOKERS

SUSAN LAMBERT
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Schedule Volatility or Flexibility?

For many working-class jobs, variations in work hours are employer-driven: Workers experience this as instability, not as flexibility. As we think about alternative work arrangements, we should emphasize full-time stable work as an important arrangement in our suite of jobs; involuntary part-time employed has doubled since 2006. There’s no work/life balance or integration when you don’t earn enough to take care of yourself and your family.

There’s not enough data in the world to compel employers to voluntarily improve jobs unless individual employee performance matters to firm profitability. In many of today’s workplaces, job de-skilling and fragmentation mean that workers in low-level jobs are easily replaced and have little opportunity to add value to the firm. One avenue for improving low-level jobs is through job redesign that would enable individual workers to contribute to the bottom-line. Another is to provide financial incentives to employers for managing their labor well. A third avenue is through legislation that protects workers from the risks structured into today’s labor market, such as requiring employers to guarantee each worker a minimum number of weekly work hours.



“Changing the experience of women in the company requires changing the behavior of thousands of people managers who touch the people processes as they determine assessments, promotions, compensation and access to opportunities,” Axelrod said.

Axelrod also shared her view that companies can have best-in-class policies in place to support gender diversity, but in the end, cultural beliefs and norms literally trump everything. One example is flexible work. If employees believe that taking advantage of flexibility policies or part-time work means they will be perceived as less dedicated, then people will not select these options. Axelrod sees this every day. Employees have to believe that taking such action will not adversely impact their careers.

WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT IS NOT THE PROBLEM. OVERWORK IS.

The key problem isn't work-family conflict but long hours across the board

By Robin Ely and Irene Padavic

Originally published in *Huffington Post*

Flexible work arrangements are widely championed as remedies for the dearth of women in senior leadership positions. Women "opt-out" when the demands of work and family conflict, so letting them telecommute or work part time facilitates work-life balance, allowing them to stay on the career track. Or so the narrative goes.

In reality, the success of these "family-friendly" policies has been uneven. They are often underused — and for good reason. Research shows that employees who take advantage of "flex" policies are typically removed from the fast track, derailing their career progress. Moreover, these programs have not increased the number of women in senior leadership roles.

Perhaps this is because they do not solve the right problem.

A story: Recently, a mid-sized global consulting firm hired us to advise them on how to reduce women's high rates of turnover and increase their promotion rates to partner. We gathered data and conducted interviews with employees across all levels of the firm. Time and again, we were told that women quit or failed to make partner because of work-family conflict.

But our analysis uncovered something different: The key problem wasn't work-family conflict but long hours across the board. Seventy-hour workweeks were not uncommon, and employees were on their BlackBerries 24/7. At the heart of this problem was an organizational culture of overwork. Men expressed at least as much dissatisfaction with work hours as women. The difference was that while women took

advantage of work-family accommodations, men suffered in silence or reduced their work hours under the radar. What's more, company records showed that women and men had quit at roughly the *same* rate for at least the preceding three years.

Our findings did not go over well. Upon hearing that they faced a larger work-management problem and that the solution would involve a change in work practices, the firm's senior management rejected our analysis because it did not focus explicitly on women. Instead, they retained their original assessment: Women's lack of advancement at the firm stemmed from their difficulty balancing work and family, while men were largely immune to such difficulties.

This firm is hardly the exception. Over more than 20 years of working with companies on organizational change, we have observed a persistent tendency to believe that women's lagged advancement stems from work-family conflict and that accommodations for women are the solution.

What drives companies' resistance to recognizing the underlying problem of overwork? And why do work-family accommodations remain the dominant intervention strategy, given their limited success?

Our research suggests that the work-family narrative operates as a collective defense mechanism protecting employees from the disturbing emotions that arise from the demand for long work hours. Each gender takes the key parts of being a whole person and splits them in two: a committed parent and a committed worker. Men fulfill the cultural dictates about male breadwinning, while women tend to home and family. Together, they enable a collective experience of wholeness, while permitting companies to maintain cultures of overwork. But on the individual level, people suffer.

A person must continually re-subscribe to the work-family narrative — and to the illusion of wholeness it provides — in order to block out any feelings of being denied the basic human need for a life infused with *both* work and love.

The problem men face is the notion that they are nothing more than a labor commodity. They adopt an identity of the ideal worker: fully-committed to work and fully-available. Other, non-work identities — being a good parent, life-partner, citizen — are expendable. Yet in reality, these identities — particularly the parent one — are compelling. In interviews, men's sense of guilt is

palpable, and both they and the organization are invested in keeping that feeling at bay.

Women face a different problem. To be ideal mothers, they must take impeccable care of their children and home. A woman's identity as a worker is expendable — or at least, secondary. Yet for many women, the work identity is compelling. Hence, women sit between a rock and a hard place: Responding to the pull of their families means undermining their status at work, but meeting the demands of their jobs renders them subpar mothers in the eyes of the wider culture.

Ultimately, men surrender to the demands of a 24/7 work culture, in part because it dovetails with their identity as breadwinners. Lacking a similar confluence, women often ratchet back, leaving firms like the one we studied with fewer and fewer women in their upper ranks.

Employers are trying to solve the gender problem the wrong way: The issue is "overwork," not "work-family conflict." Without a broader effort to understand the problem and the costs of overwork to employees, to companies, and to society, the underlying issues will remain. We need to solve work problems with work solutions. ★



ROBIN ELY (left) is Diane Doerge Wilson Professor of Business Administration and Senior Associate Dean for Culture and Community at Harvard Business School. She conducts research on race and gender relations in organizations with a focus on organizational change, group dynamics, learning, conflict, power, and identity.

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A key problem facing workplaces and workers is an organizational culture of overwork.

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WHY DO WORKERS & EMPLOYERS NEED WORK REDESIGN?

Over the last half century, the composition of our workforce has undergone tremendous transformation, resulting in a growing mismatch between today's workforce and today's workplace. In what ways might workplaces benefit from changing their structures and practices? How do alternative workplace designs affect productivity, employee health, and workforce engagement?

We examine how employees — and companies — lose when mothers and fathers experience work-life conflict. We explore research on a Chinese travel company that let their employees work from home — it turns out that this flexible work environment actually *boosted* employee productivity. We take inspiration from a new way of thinking about how to structure adulthood to create better work-life fit. And finally, we examine one working mother's success story.

It's becoming increasingly clear why redesigning workplaces improves worker satisfaction, and likewise, leads to better outcomes for employers. It's a win-win.



IN THIS SECTION

- **DON DRAPER:** Today's workers no longer look like "Mad Men" characters but they face a challenging landscape: While some employers offer flexible work options, research finds that these employees are stigmatized — receiving fewer promotions or raises
- **REORGANIZING ADULT LIFE:** Laura Carstensen calls extended life expectancy a gift of 30 years of life. She challenges us to rethink how we use those years to create better work-life fit
- **GAP'S RESULTS-ONLY WORK ENVIRONMENT:** To attract and retain millennials, GAP implemented a savvy business strategy to improve work-life satisfaction: Employers could work when and where they wanted, so long as the work was done
- **WORKING FROM HOME:** Nick Bloom's research on a Chinese travel company reveals working from home boosts employee happiness and company productivity
- **KEEPING WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE:** Pulling from her own experience as a working mom, Ana Corrales works within Cisco to bring about the kinds of change sociologist Pamela Stone advocates, including greater flexibility for mothers

TODAY'S EMPLOYEES NO LONGER LOOK LIKE DON DRAPER, SO WHY IS WORK STILL DESIGNED FOR HIM?

By Lindsey Trimble O'Connor and Christin L. Munsch

Originally published in *Huffington Post*

Old-fashioned workplace norms depicted in the show "Mad Men" were based on a 1960s gendered division of labor in which men were breadwinners and women were caretakers. Three-martini lunches, overt sexual harassment and stay-at-home wives were the norm.

Because women took responsibility for the domestic realm, men could work full-time, without interruption, throughout their lives, and climb the corporate ladder. With few — if any — disruptions from family life, men were able to put in long hours, on-site, day in and day out.

Today's workers face a different, but likewise challenging, landscape. While some employers offer flexible work options like telecommuting, flexible scheduling or job-sharing, research consistently finds that employees who seek flexible options are stigmatized — receiving fewer promotions or raises. Aware of this bias, few employees actually take advantage of flexible work options.

As a result, an overwhelming majority of American parents — both mothers and fathers — report experiencing work-life conflict. It's not simply a matter of a few employees who have difficulty balancing their commitments.

Moreover, companies lose too. Employee stress and exhaustion renders companies less efficient

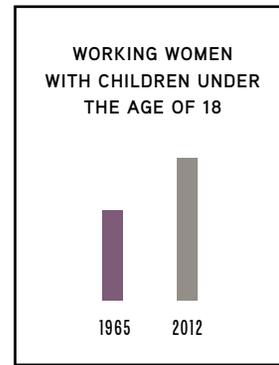
and profitable than they could be. For example, the dual expectation that women work long hours and do the bulk of housework and childcare leads many talented women to quit in search of jobs that better facilitate work-life balance, or worse, exit the labor force. And, the focus on long hours has led to dysfunctional work practices. When "good" work means being the last to leave the parking lot at night, employees work longer rather than more efficiently. Something has to give.

To recruit and retain the best people for the job, companies need to catch up with the changing realities of today's workforce. They need to provide opportunities for employees to have full work and home lives, without repercussions for doing so.

For one, they could create a workplace culture that rewards tangible results rather than face time and long hours. This kind of change won't just help workers. Research by psychology professor Leslie Hammer and others shows that reducing work-life conflict improves employees' health while lowering absenteeism and turnover. Such policies also encourage workers to identify and eliminate low-value, busy work that wastes company resources. Today's workplaces should treat workers with personal responsibilities outside of work as the rule rather than the exception. ★

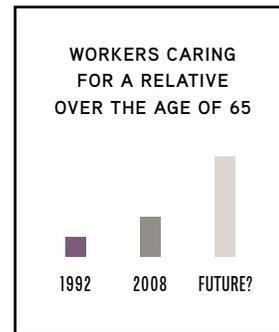
Over the past 60 years, the composition of the labor force has changed dramatically. Most workers now shoulder both paid work and family responsibilities.

45 percent of women with children under the age of 18 worked in 1965; by 2012, this number had risen to 71 percent.



As life expectancy increases and women have children later in life, many people find themselves in the "sandwich generation," simultaneously caring for both aging relatives and children.

In 2008, nearly 20 percent of workers cared for a relative over the age of 65 — up from 10 percent in 1992 — and half anticipated providing eldercare in the near future.



Today's parents are increasingly involved in childrearing.

The average mother spends four more hours each week on childcare than her 1965 counterpart; the average father's weekly childcare time has nearly tripled.



Despite growing caregiving responsibilities, today's average professional employee also spends more time at the office.

The typical middle-income American worked an average of 11 more hours a week in 2006 than in 1979.



90% OF AMERICAN PARENTS (MOTHERS AND FATHERS) EXPERIENCE WORK/LIFE CONFLICT.



50% OF PARENTS FEEL THEY SPEND INSUFFICIENT TIME WITH THEIR CHILDREN.

SOURCES: U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS; FAMILIES AND WORK INSTITUTE; PEW RESEARCH CENTER; UC HASTINGS COLLEGE OF THE LAW'S CENTER FOR WORKLIFE LAW; UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND'S DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND MARYLAND POPULATION RESEARCH CENTER.

STRESSED OUT? IMPROVE WORK-LIFE FIT BY DELAYING YOUR RETIREMENT AGE

By **Christin L. Munsch**

For most of human history, life expectancy was between 18 and 20 years. That number crept upward over time, hitting the mid-30s in the nineteenth century. Today, the average life expectancy is 78 and climbing.

Now that we are living so much longer, psychologist and public policy scholar Laura L. Carstensen urges us to rethink how we organize our adult lives. She advocates extending the total number of years Americans spend in the labor force, easing into work in the beginning and easing out of work at the end.

For example, a person could work part time when the demands of childcare or eldercare are most pressing, and could work longer hours during other life stages. They could make up the "lost income" by retiring at a later age. Work and family would then be spread throughout all of life's stages, as would education and leisure.

"Because long life appeared so suddenly," argues Carstensen, "we lack new social benchmarks that tell us when to get an education, marry, work and retire."

After all, with increasingly longer lives, retirement is the only life stage that has been elongated. Currently, people go to school, enter the workforce, and find a mate at a relatively

young age. As a result, they reach the peak of their careers while raising young children and sometimes supporting older relatives. During this stage of life, they work long hours and are the most stressed. Then, at age 65, workers retire.

Carstensen believes that this approach is outdated. "This model was built for short lives, not long ones," she says. "It makes no sense to cram all of the work into the beginning and all of the relaxation into the end."

"We've been given a remarkable gift with no strings attached: an extra 30 years of life for the average person," says Carstensen. "We don't have to pack everything into the beginning." ★



LAURA L. CARSTENSEN is a professor of psychology and public policy at Stanford and the founding director of the Stanford Center on Longevity. A former Clayman Institute director, Carstensen has published over 100 articles on life-span development. She is the author of *A Long Bright Future: An Action Plan for a Lifetime of Happiness, Health, and Financial Security*.

NEW RESEARCH SAYS

WORKING FROM HOME BOOSTS EMPLOYEE HAPPINESS AND PRODUCTIVITY

By Kathleen O'Toole

Originally published by Stanford Graduate School of Business

Across the industrialized world and across employers, there are huge variations in what Stanford economics professor Nick Bloom calls being-nice-to-people practices. These are policies that try to address the fact that men and women in today's workforce are often struggling to balance their work and family responsibilities.

The French have reduced the legal work week to 35 hours. The Australians have added paid parental leave of 18 weeks for the primary caregiver of newborns. The United States requires larger employers to offer unpaid leave to employees with seriously ill family members. Some companies allow some workers to decide when and where to work, but flexibility is not generally the case, according to a 2010 report on work-life balance by the U.S. President's Council of Economic Advisers. What many employers would like to know, says Bloom, is whether more flexibility in working arrangements would hurt or help the company's profitability and competitiveness. In a new study with three colleagues, he found solid evidence at one company that allowing workers to work from home produced a large productivity boost as well as happier workers.

The study was conducted over 10 months at CTrip.com, a billion-dollar NASDAQ-listed company based in Shanghai. Bloom and coauthors — business school economics professor John Roberts; economics department graduate student Zhichun Jenny Ying; and business school doctoral alumnus James Liang, a cofounder of the company — compared the productivity of call-center workers who worked from home four days a week with workers performing the same work from rows of office cubicles.

CTrip's home workers were more productive. An analysis showed they answered more calls and worked



A study of a Chinese company compared the productivity of call-center workers who worked from home with those working from rows of office cubicles.

more hours because they took shorter breaks and used less sick leave. The home workers also reported being happier than the office workers, and fewer of them quit. Retention of quality workers is important to keeping company recruitment and training costs down, so Bloom calls it a "no brainer" for CTrip to offer a working-from-home alternative to other workers. In this case, the average home worker saved the company about \$2,000, nearly as much as his or her annual salary.

Bloom cautions managers and policy makers who would substitute flexibility with requiring workers to work from home. The home workers in the study were randomly selected from a larger group that wanted to work from home. While the mean productivity and happiness of those who worked from home was greater than for their office-based counterparts, the home workers' productivity varied substantially, with a few not doing as well from home. And when the experiment was over, almost half of the workers who had worked from home chose to go back to the office despite the added cost of commuting. In interviews with researcher Ying, these mostly young workers on the low end of the wage scale indicated

they were lonely. At least in this case, Bloom says, flexibility for workers to work where they prefer to work is critical to retention.

There are many potential implications from this experiment, say Bloom and Roberts. By positioning the company to roll out remote working to far-flung regional offices, the experiment shows how the advent of mobile computing might lead to more regional income equality and less pollution and traffic in crowded cities, as well as better family and community life.

"If people can work where they live, they are going to live in different places," Roberts says. "The CTrip employees, many of whom come from rural China and have come to Shanghai to find work, would much

rather be at home in the villages and working from there. We interviewed them and they want to do that." Flexible work, then, may not just be a gain for particular employees or companies, but potentially for society. ★



NICK BLOOM is a professor in the department of economics and professor, by courtesy, at Stanford Graduate School of Business. He is also the Co-Director of the Productivity, Innovation and Entrepreneurship program at the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), and a fellow of the Centre for Economic Performance, and the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research.

WORKPLACE FLEXIBILITY HELPS WOMEN STAY IN THE WORKFORCE

By Kathryn M. Young

In 2003, the *New York Times* coined the phrase, "The Opt-Out Revolution" to describe the idea that women with advanced degrees and high earning potential were dropping from the workforce in droves. Valuing family over career, the narrative went, led them to abandon work to care for their children full time.

But according to Hunter College sociology professor Pamela Stone, women were not just exercising a lifestyle



Alternative work arrangements can help keep moms in the workforce.

preference. In *Opting Out? Why Women Really Quit Careers and Head Home*, Stone argues that rigid work schedules and back-breakingly long hours leave mothers with only two options: inflexible work or no work at all. The comparative few who were able to transition to part-time work quickly found themselves marginalized and their responsibilities reduced. Those who took leaves returned to find that re-entering the workforce at their former levels was rarely an option.

Cisco employee Ana Corrales was pregnant with her first child when she faced this dilemma and seriously considered quitting. But instead of accepting her resignation, her boss posed a creative solution: What if Corrales worked part-time for a while, then transitioned gradually to her former role? Corrales decided to try it, and the approach worked beautifully. "[I]t actually allowed me to continue my career," she says. "[Without it], I think I would have opted out for a long time." The arrangement let Corrales transition from full-time caregiving to full-time work over a three-month period, during which she was able to figure out which life changes and strategies would work for both Cisco and her family.

Today, in her role as Senior Vice President of Product Operations and as a people manager, Corrales works within Cisco to bring about the kinds of change Stone advocates, including greater flexibility for mothers and fathers. Used skillfully, technological advances such as web and high definition video conferencing let co-workers collaborate easily — whether they're sitting in the boardroom or the living room. ★

to more seamlessly manage their work and non-work responsibilities and to deal more efficiently with the ebb and flow of work deadlines, piano recitals, and doctor appointments. After just a few months, ROWEs felt less work-family conflict compared to colleagues who continued under traditional work arrangements.

To reap the full benefits of schedule control and see these effects on turnover, Best Buy also had to redefine productivity. Prior to the implementation of ROWE, Best Buy, like most corporations, equated commitment and productivity with long hours spent at one's desk or in meetings. But under ROWE, long hours in the office and seeming to be busy are no longer regarded as signals of commitment or productivity. This new mindset required a cultural change on the part of workers and management.

For managers, overseeing employees without relying on "face time" as a yardstick of productivity requires a new skill set: Managers are no longer monitors. Instead, they must work together with employees to define productivity in the language of results.

BETTER FOR WOMEN, BETTER FOR BUSINESS

In the long run, ROWE-type policies could be particularly important for retaining women employees. The work-life conflict that leads to turnover haunts many U.S. white-collar workers, but it is particularly harmful among women with small children. Recent gender research has shown that working mothers face the burden of an increasingly stressful and time-consuming work life and often shoulder the lion's share of family caretaking responsibilities. Among dual-earning families strapped for time, traditional solutions to work-family balance often reinforce gender inequality: Women, far more than men, are the ones who leave their jobs or cut back on their hours.

Can other organizations replicate Best Buy's success? ROWE is no longer a program associated with just Best Buy: Companies like GAP have adopted ROWE and are moving the program to the next level. Kelly and colleagues suggest that white-collar organizations could implement similar practices to the same effect. ROWE policies might also be applied to low-wage workers, but would necessarily be manifested differently. Kelly suggests that low-wage workers should get schedule control as well, in the form of more predictable weekly

How do we redesign work for hourly workers, whose work must often be done on site? According to Susan Lambert, Erin Kelly, and others, low-wage workers need schedule control. This could happen in the form of earlier notification of weekly schedules, more predictable scheduling, and the ability to easily swap schedules with coworkers. Stability from week to week would help as well — whether through the guarantee of minimum weekly hours or the ability to refuse overtime.

schedules, being allowed to swap their schedules more easily, and having the ability to refuse overtime. Implementing schedule control might be particularly profitable for companies that experience high turnover rates of their entry-level workers.

Kelly notes, schedule control "shouldn't be understood as a privilege or an accommodation that is just available to a few people who have already proven themselves to their employers. Our research shows that restructuring workplaces so that flexibility is the norm and managers and employees focus more on the work than on the schedule benefits both employees and the employer." ROWE is an important example of policy innovations that might truly be win-win. ★



ERIN L. KELLY (left) is Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota. She studies employers' flexibility initiatives, family leaves, childcare benefits, and diversity programs. Kelly is part of the Work, Family and Health Network, an interdisciplinary group studying workplace interventions that may benefit employees, families, and employing organizations.



PHYLLIS MOEN (right) is McKnight Presidential Chair in the Department of Sociology at University of Minnesota. She is the author of numerous books and articles on careers, retirement, health, gender, policy and families as they intersect and as they play out over the life course.

GAP FOCUSES ON WORKER FLEXIBILITY TO BOOST COMPANY PERFORMANCE

To be a competitive employer, GAP needed to facilitate work-life harmony

By upRising staff

Do your employees "work to live" or "live to work?" Or both? GAP Inc. strives for both, not as a luxury, but as a central strategy to win the war on talent. Founded in San Francisco in 1969, GAP has long positioned itself as a company "supporting the values, passions, styles and expressions of a youthful mindset." Today, such values coincide with millennials, a generation that Eric Severson, GAP's Senior Vice President for Global Talent Solutions, says are "constantly looking towards a brighter future."

To bridge the, well, "gap" between GAP and millennials — a sought after talent demographic for the retail company — Severson's business strategy was to maximize performance by optimizing workforce flexibility and capacity.

While the health, energy, and capacity of every generation are being negatively affected by stress, Severson learned that millennials bear the greatest burden. Millennials report almost twice the level of stress considered healthy. In fact, over 70 percent of millennials say they are not getting enough sleep and 76 percent say work is their primary stressor.

To be a competitive employer, GAP needed to facilitate work-life harmony.

Severson discovered University of Minnesota Sociologist Phyllis Moen's research on Results-Only Work Environment, or ROWE, and the successes the policy had at Best Buy headquarters. Impressed by the results, he decided to implement the program at GAP. While the decision came easily, winning trust in the proposal took time. Severson decided to start with as small pilot program.

The policy is simple: People are free to do whatever they want, whenever they want — as long as the work gets done. Besides ROWE, GAP does not do anything differently around setting and tracking goals. The change is that the company built trust into its corporate culture. Employees like ROWE



Millennials are a sought after talent demographic for companies.

not just for flexibility, but also because it makes them feel trusted — building not only more satisfied employees, but more loyal ones as well.

ROWE was piloted in 2008. Soon after launch, turnover decreased by 50 percent, productivity increased 21 percent, and engagement went up 7 percent. One employee provided the company with testimony that without ROWE, leaving GAP would have been likely. "I was recruited very strongly for another position outside the company with slightly better pay but much closer to my home. I can honestly say, if it wasn't for (ROWE) I would have taken that job."

Severson noted other benefits of ROWE. The National Institute of Health and the Journal of Health and Social Behavior have noted that ROWE can increase sleep by almost one hour per night, and likewise, it's been known to nearly double the percent of employees who begin to exercise three or more days per week.

Next up for GAP? Severson says, looking to the future, GAP is experimenting with new designs to deliver ROWE 3.0 and beyond. ★



ERIC SEVERSON, Senior Vice President of Human Resources at GAP Inc., is responsible for enterprise talent management for GAP Inc.'s 135,000 employees, including strategy, total rewards, technology, performance, engagement, development, organizational effectiveness, and recruitment. Severson fosters talent innovation, most notably via GAP's Performance for Life program, which drives employee performance by promoting individual and organizational wellbeing.

WHY UNPLUGGING CAN LEAD TO HAPPIER, MORE PRODUCTIVE WORKERS

By Alison Wynn



Can teams work together to make it possible for their members to take one weekday off per week and still be a star team?

This was the question Harvard Business School Professor Leslie Perlow asked the consultants at Boston Consulting Group (BCG). Perlow examined the validity of a common myth among the firm's employees: Constant availability is essential to the success of team projects, and ultimately, the company. Her six-year research project at BCG showed how a simple experiment can change company culture.

Expectations of constant availability fuel what Perlow calls a "cycle of responsiveness." Due to external pressures of accessibility (usually from clients), consultants develop a culture of responsiveness, and they adapt their lives to accommodate this culture. They keep their phones on all night, check their emails first thing in the morning, and reply to emails on weekends. These accommodations then reinforce the expectations of constant availability. The cycle becomes an unbroken chain of behaviors that reaffirm the basic ideology shaping the workplace culture — to be a good consultant, you must always be "on." Expectations of constant availability tend to disadvantage women, who are more likely than their men colleagues to have family responsibilities that make these work behaviors difficult.

It turned out perceived unpredictability of where and when work was conducted caused dissatisfaction and high turnover among employees. Consequently, Perlow conducted a series of experiments with teams of BCG employees, both men and women. In one experiment, each consultant on the team was required

to take off one weekday each week. During this day off, the consultant could not use his or her phone, email, or any other piece of technology to connect to work. The team was also required to meet weekly to discuss its progress — meetings that required team members to engage in structured dialog about the timing and sequence of work tasks.

At first, the consultants worried this time off would hinder their productivity and advancement. However, in time they noticed unexpected benefits; in addition to increasing their productivity and satisfaction, consultants found that the planned absences increased communication among team members. The flexible work arrangements legitimated open conversations about work-life balance that enabled the team to determine the best way to get the work done. Teams engaged in conversations about the timeline for deliverables, the priorities of each team member, and collective goals. Rather than pitting personal lives against organizational goals, flexibility became a catalyst for positive change. If a company alienates personal needs, it risks high turnover and losses in satisfaction and productivity. Reconciling the needs of the workers and the larger organization improves outcomes for both individuals and companies.

As a result of this experiment, the BCG redefined for itself what it means to be a good worker. They identified a way to simultaneously improve both "work" and "life." Clients reported increased satisfaction with the experimental teams, and consultants on these teams reported increased likelihood of staying with the company. ★

MEDICAL SCHOOL COMBATS 'WORK-WORK' CONFLICT WITH INNOVATIVE PROGRAM

By Lindsey Trimble O'Connor



Most of us are familiar with "work-life" conflict, but you may be surprised to hear that workers in certain professions actually report "work-work" conflict.

An average day for an academic medical faculty member at Stanford's School of Medicine, may, for example, include preparing a grant application, meeting with coworkers, advising students, and grading papers for a medical course — all of which compete with lab work and clinical care.

Faculty at the School of Medicine fit these competing responsibilities into work weeks that regularly total 65 or more hours. Add to these the typical work-life conflicts of balancing career, family, and personal interests, and it is no wonder that a recent faculty survey listed work-life balance as a top concern.

Relief has arrived, in the form of a new program called Academic Biomedical Career Customization.

The ABCC program prompts faculty to create "customized career plans." Faculty meet with a coach who encourages them to address work-life issues by varying their workloads and responsibilities over the course of their careers. Faculty can choose to accelerate their careers when possible and to decelerate when family and personal responsibilities are greatest.

ABCC also fundamentally alters the way faculty are rewarded for the work they do. In a "time banking" system, faculty earn credits for taking on additional teaching and service responsibilities — tasks that might potentially slow down chances for promotion by taking time away from research. Using an online program, faculty track their hours spent on these non-research activities, and they earn credits. The credits can be used to alleviate either work-life or work-work conflict — by purchasing services ranging from grant-writing assistance to home meal delivery. In this way, faculty reinvest the credits in their own career advancement and work-life fit. ★

NEW RESEARCH AGENDAS

The Redesigning Redefining Work summit brought together many of the leading thinkers about work redesign from universities and industry. We discovered new ways of thinking about why change is so hard, and how to achieve it. We developed new data on how workers and businesses can both benefit from work redesign.

But there's more to do. New research will refine and improve these ideas, continuing to push our thinking about work redesign. The goal is to create work systems where workers and businesses can thrive.

In February 2014, the prestigious scholarly journal *Work and Occupations* published a special edition called "Redesigning Redefining Work." The special edition includes five research studies that come directly out of the RRW working group. Our hope is that these studies inspire the kind of changes necessary for workplaces to progress for employees and organizations alike.

Elsewhere, some of the most innovative thinking is coming out of collaborations between academic researchers and organizations. Take, for example, Deloitte's new "Uncovering Talent" program, a research initiative created in partnership with award-winning legal scholar Kenji Yoshino. Or consider the City of San Francisco's new family friendly workplace ordinance. The Clayman Institute produced research in support of the ordinance — and now that it's on the books, the ordinance provides researchers with a golden opportunity to study the policy as it unfolds in real time.

IN THIS SECTION

- 'UNCOVERING' EMPLOYEE TALENT: Deloitte's Christie Smith and law professor Kenji Yoshino fused their corporate know-how and academic strengths to design a study to examine the extent to which people downplay their identities at work
- SCHOLARS CALL FOR WORK REDESIGN: In a new "Redesigning Redefining Work" special edition of the research journal *Work and Occupations*, scholars identify new ways of creating organizational change
- FAMILY FRIENDLY WORKPLACE ORDINANCE: With research help from the Clayman Institute, a new San Francisco law protects worker requests for flexible, predictable schedules

DELOITTE TEAMS WITH NYU LAW PROFESSOR TO "UNCOVER" EMPLOYEE TALENT

Bringing one's full self to work increases productivity, creativity, and a commitment to the organization. Encouraging authentic self-expression serves not only workers but also corporations' bottom lines

By Kathryn M. Young

When Kenji Yoshino began teaching at Yale Law School, he was openly gay and wrote about sexual orientation and constitutional rights. One day, a colleague pulled him aside and advised him that he had a much better chance of getting tenure at Yale as a "homosexual professional" than as a "professional homosexual."

That well-meaning comment, intended to steer Yoshino away from research related to his own identity, ended up having the opposite effect. Yoshino (who received tenure at Yale before joining the faculty at NYU Law School) began puzzling over the ways that, even in progressive workplaces like Yale, people were encouraged to downplay their identities. Borrowing the term from sociologist Erving Goffman, Yoshino dubbed this phenomenon "covering." He began reading civil rights cases through this lens, and was struck by

BRINGING ONE'S FULL SELF TO WORK INCREASES PRODUCTIVITY, CREATIVITY, AND A COMMITMENT TO THE ORGANIZATION.

covering's sheer pervasiveness: African-Americans who were fired not for their race, but for wearing cornrows; women who were fired not for their gender, but for acting "too feminine." In other words, people were protected on the basis of who they were — as long as they didn't "act like it."

Yoshino's research culminated in the book *Covering: The Hidden Assault on Our Civil Rights*. Eight years after its initial publication, *Covering* is still in Amazon's top 20 most popular civil rights books. Part legal analysis, part sociology, and part memoir, *Covering* argues that, "we need to reexamine the melting pot ideal," Yoshino says. Not only is practically everyone "covering" something — whether mental illness, religious affiliation, military status, or class background — but we are actually "more powerful when we are authentically ourselves."

When Deloitte's Christie Smith, now Deloitte LLP managing principal at Deloitte University Leadership Center for Inclusion, heard Yoshino speak about *Covering*, the parallels to the corporate setting were immediately apparent to her. Smith holds a PhD in industrial organizational psychology and had spent the bulk of her professional life thinking about organizational behavior, group inclusion,



ENCOURAGING AUTHENTIC SELF-EXPRESSION SERVES NOT ONLY WORKERS BUT ALSO CORPORATIONS' BOTTOM LINES.

and talent management. For Smith, the most exciting part of Yoshino's research was its potential to strengthen the workforce. Bringing one's full self to work increases productivity, creativity, and a commitment to the organization. Encouraging authentic self-expression serves not only workers, but corporations' bottom lines.

With Deloitte's support, Smith and Yoshino fused their academic strengths and corporate know-how, designing a study across seven industries to examine the extent to which people downplay their identities at work. The collaboration, "Uncovering Talent," is now a full-fledged program at Deloitte. The research examines identity minimization along four dimensions: appearance (trying to look more "mainstream"), affiliation (avoiding behaviors commonly associated with one's group), advocacy (not openly advancing the interests of one's group), and association (not associating with people in one's group).

"[P]eople were simply exhausted by having to hide some element of themselves," Smith says. "[W]hether... a mother who felt she couldn't leave work to take her child to a doctor appointment, or a father who couldn't go to a soccer game... or individuals who really suffer emotional[ly] or psychological[ly] because they're so afraid or stressed by the fact they have to hide their stigmatized identity." More than half of all respondents — 61 percent — reported covering in one way or another. And although this number was largest among LGBT individuals (83 percent), blacks (79 percent), and women (66 percent), it also included nearly half of straight white men (45 percent).

Smith and Yoshino's collaboration, Deloitte's Uncovering Talent initiative, advances a model for inclusion that's also good for corporations. "[W]hat we saw time and again in our research was that there was a direct correlation between people's need to cover and their lack of commitment at work," Smith says. Of employees who reported engaging in appearance-based covering, 82 percent did so because

they believed that covering was either "somewhat" or "extremely" important to their long-term professional advancement. And it's hard for employees to be fully-committed to a workplace where they have to hide important parts of their identity.

Chief among the reforms Smith and Yoshino advocate is teaching leaders how to "uncover," which frees their employees to do the same. Not only has the response been overwhelmingly positive, but it appeals even to straight white males, who have historically not seen themselves as part of diversity initiatives. Since covering is a phenomenon to which everyone can relate, it tends to have broad appeal. "It's a comprehensive paradigm in which everyone sees themselves," Smith says. For this reason, Deloitte's "Uncovering Talent is the next wave in the workplace... [I]t fundamentally redefines the conversation around inclusion." ★



KENJI YOSHINO (left) is the Chief Justice Earl Warren Professor of Constitutional Law at NYU School of Law. His fields are constitutional law, anti-discrimination law, and law and literature. Yoshino taught at Yale Law School from 1998 to 2008, where he served as Deputy Dean and became the inaugural Guido Calabresi Professor in 2006.

CHRISTIE SMITH (right) is West Regional Managing Director at Deloitte Consulting, LLP. She's the Managing Principal for the Deloitte University Leadership Center for Inclusion, which is designed to engage on issues of inclusion to foster a new understanding of what inclusion looks like in the 21st century workplace.

The paper by Leslie Perlow and Erin Kelly outlines a model they call the "work redesign model." It is an alternative to more typical flexibility policies, which are based on individual accommodations. Perlow and Kelly rigorously compared two successful work-redesign programs — the Results Only Work Environment and Predictable Time Off. (For both see page 21.) These programs are successful because neither relies on individual, one-off negotiations with managers. Instead, work redesign involves all employees in a collective process of reevaluating work practices. The result? Work redesign gets around the "flexibility stigma" — if everyone participates, then no one is singled out for working in a different way.

Here's **another way around the flexibility stigma**: tell employees that their coworkers will support them in alternative work arrangements. The paper by Christin Munsch, Cecilia Ridgeway, and Joan Williams shows that people assume that other people have more negative views of flexible workers than they do. The bad news is that people enforce what they perceive others believe — more than that, they enforce what they personally believe. The good news is that simply letting employees know that others don't view flex workers negativity can reduce the "flexibility stigma."

FIVE NEW STUDIES ILLUMINATE PATH TOWARD REDESIGNING AND REDEFINING WORK



By upRising staff

Employees and workplaces can both benefit from redesigning work, yet progress has been surprisingly slow. Even when employers officially offer alternative work arrangements, such as working reduced schedules or telecommuting, these policies have had limited use. One reason is limited access. Access is also often limited to higher-ranked employees in worker-friendly companies. Further, these types of work arrangements are usually negotiated in response to an individual employee's request and are seen as an accommodation for that individual's needs, rather than a global policy applied equally to everyone. Second, employees who use these policies often experience a "flexibility stigma." As workers know all too well, availing themselves of flex policies can hurt their chances for raises, promotions, and other rewards. How can work be redesigned so that both employees and employers realize the benefits? What kind of research can spur and sustain this sort of organizational change?

In a new special issue of the research journal *Work and Occupations*, scholars identify new ways of creating organizational change. In this issue, titled "Redesigning Redefining Work," scholars also delve into the class and gender dynamics that work against flexibility. The co-editors of the special issue are Shelley Correll (sociology), Joan Williams (law), and Erin Kelly (sociology).

"This special issue is a call to action, Correll said. "We need to redesign work to better meet the needs of today's workforce and to redefine successful work." The authors of the five research studies make two key contributions toward this goal by providing research that (1) builds a more rigorous business case for work redesign/redefinition and (2) uncovers the gender and class dynamics that limit change. "The opportunity to collaborate with so many top-notch scholars from around the country has been truly special," Correll said. "The research contained in this special issue of *Work and Occupations*, and the future research it will spawn, will fundamentally change the way that we think about work arrangements that enhance schedule control." ★

Delving into workplace history, Andrea Rees Davies and Brenda Frink trace the origin of today's workplace gender and class dynamics. By the middle of the twentieth century, the ability to act as an "ideal worker" — working day in day out without distraction by childcare responsibilities — became a marker of middle-class manhood. After all, this type of workplace dedication is most easily achieved by men who earn enough money to support a stay-at-home spouse. The implication for our current times? Davies and Frink show that our work culture is a holdover from the 1950s — a mismatch to the modern workers and employers who exist today.

Julie Kmec, Lindsey Trimble O'Connor, and Scott Schieman study how perceptions of negative workplace treatment are affected by working part-time or dropping out of the labor force — in other words, working "anything but full time." They find that mothers, but not fathers, perceive worse treatment when they work anything but full time following the birth of a child. The research demonstrates the gendered dimension of the "flexibility stigma" associated with anything but full time work.

Compared with other professionals, academic scientists have more control over when they do their work. If anyone **shouldn't have to worry about "face time,"** it's these workers. Yet, Erin Cech and Mary Blair-Loy find that a flexibility stigma exists even in this environment. Faculty who are parents and those who use family leave were judged as less committed to their jobs. And faculty who report a "flexibility stigma" in their department are more likely to say they intend to leave the university, even if they are not personally affected by the stigma. This means that flexibility stigma is not just a "mother's problem." And, it's counterproductive for the university.

SAN FRANCISCO LAW PROTECTS WORKER REQUESTS FOR FLEXIBLE, PREDICTABLE SCHEDULES

By *upRising* staff

Many employees are afraid to ask for flexible work schedules — and with good reason. Studies show that employees who request or use flexible work arrangements receive fewer promotions and raises. The City of San Francisco is working to combat the flexibility stigma through its new "Family Friendly Workplace Ordinance," which went into effect January 1, 2014.

Under the new law — the first of its kind in the United States — San Francisco employees who are caretakers or parents have the right to request predictable and flexible workplace schedules without fear of employer retaliation. Employers are obliged to consider these requests but may reject them for a legitimate business reason. Employers are also prohibited from employment discrimination based on an employee's status as a caretaker or parent.

FLEXIBILITY AND PREDICTABILITY ARE TWO SIDES OF SAME COIN

The San Francisco law addresses both flexibility and predictability. Workplace flexibility refers to practices that enable employees to exercise more choices about how, when, and where they work. Examples of flexible work arrangements include a change in start or end times, part-time schedules, part-year schedules, job sharing, and telecommuting. Workplace predictability refers to the assurance that workers will know their work schedules with adequate advance notice so that they can make caregiving arrangements for dependent family members.

With a growing number of dual-career families and single-parent families, caregiving responsibilities have



Many employees are afraid to ask for flexible work schedules, but a new San Francisco law is trying to change that.

become a challenge for working families. Studies find that flexibility programs assist workers and employers by reducing turnover, increasing employee satisfaction, and reducing workplace absenteeism. By protecting employees' "right to ask," the law combats the "flexibility stigma" — the bias that employees face when they request flexible work arrangements.

A NEW RESEARCH OPPORTUNITY

Since 1974, the Clayman Institute has supported both scholarly gender research and practical efforts to create social change. In 2013, the Clayman Institute's postdoctoral fellows prepared a fact sheet for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, summarizing scholarly research that demonstrated the need for the Family Friendly Workplace Ordinance and helped mobilize efforts to pass the new law. Now that the law is in effect, a new research opportunity exists for interested scholars.

Although "right to request" laws exist in the United Kingdom, Australia, Ireland, Italy, and New Zealand, this law is the first of its kind in the United States. The new law offers a unique research opportunity for scholars interested in studying the policy's implementation and its effects on workers and businesses alike. These studies could provide useful insight for other U.S. cities considering similar proposals. ★

For more information on research opportunities, contact Andrea Rees Davies, the associate director of the Clayman Institute (ardavies@stanford.edu).

"PROVE IT": ON THE USEFULNESS OF "PILOTING" CHANGE INITIATIVES IN ORDER TO GET BUY-IN FROM STAKEHOLDERS ACROSS THE COMPANY

By Ronit Waismel-Manor

Managers are often like ship captains — they like to maintain a steady course, not just because it is safer, but also because they are aware of their vessel's capabilities and limitations. Sharp turns may result in capsizing. As a result, new and untested programs often face resistance.

The tenacity of organizations is rooted in decades-old beliefs and ideals about work. Unexamined, these norms guide us to build what we believe are the most effective organizations. Asking managers to toss out the old and bring in new ideas requires a new anchor. Small experiments can offer that new proof.

Small pilot programs have proven effective to test the water of new initiatives. This strategy of piloting and measuring has enabled a number of work redesigns to flourish and expand to global policies.

Take Leslie Perlow's experiment at the Boston Consulting Group. (See page 24.) As an ethnographer, Perlow was able to dig underneath the issue of turnover to find one of the underlying causes. Consultants have extremely unpredictable lives, causing them to cancel personal events on a regular basis. This devotion to work was rooted in deep-seated norms about what is required to deliver client value. Perlow and the team did not address the norms head on; instead, they established an experiment to solve the problem of predictability. The

solution, Predictable Time Off, provided both individual security and better team outcomes.

"They have to see that it works, and then it just catches on like wildfire," says Perlow. "But until that first team has really bought in and seen that actually it applies in their world and their organization, it takes a lot of external support to really hold their feet to the fire and to give them the confidence that it's going to be ok and to work through it." The experiment is now a global policy with 2,000 teams participating in 66 offices in 35 countries.



Pre- and post-measurements are essential elements of redesign pilots. Eric Severson, senior vice president of human resources of GAP Inc., used pilots to implement the Results Only Work Environment at GAP. (See page 23.) "You must measure before and after," he advised. "And one of the reasons is, if you don't pilot, you won't be able to prove that this is the reason for the positive deviants in that particular cohort that you're testing."

"The measurement is really important," added Beth Axelrod, senior vice president of human resources at eBay. "So, of course, the measurement enabled us to get a baseline, and you can measure progress off of the baseline. But, even beyond that, measurement established accountability, and in the corporate context anything that matters does get measured."

By starting small and measuring effectiveness, pilot programs have proven to be an effective strategy to initiate work redesigns that can eventually lead to broadscale change and new organizational norms. ★



DEDICATION

Throughout the Redesigning Redefining Work Summit, numerous leaders of industry, government and academia spoke on the topic of social change. One theme rang clear — social change

is hard and requires political will and investment from the top to be sustainable.

The Clayman Institute is in an enviable position with regard to leadership. In order to move us from a position of constant fundraising, to one of leadership and engagement, Michelle R. Clayman gave the Institute the support needed to capitalize on the opportunities in front of us. She believes in the power of research to gain a deep understanding of the issues in order to produce more viable solutions.

People might be surprised to learn that not only is Michelle on the Board of the Girls Scouts, she is also a troop leader. Anybody who has worked with Michelle knows that she is both a big creative thinker and a remarkably supportive troop leader to us all.

For your vision, commitment and caring, we dedicate this special issue of upRising to you, Michelle. You are both the name on our door and the secret sauce behind our sustained success.

**AT THE MICHELLE R. CLAYMAN INSTITUTE
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TO EMPOWERING WOMEN, ENGAGING MEN,
AND CREATING EFFECTIVE WORKPLACES.
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