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BRIEF RESEARCH REPORT

Understanding the Role of Family-Specific Resources for Immigrant Workers

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Abstract

Very few studies to date have examined immigrant workers' (i.e., workers who were not born in the United States) experiences of the work-family interface. In a sample of healthcare workers across two time points, the present study evaluates the role of different family-specific resources for immigrant workers compared to native-born workers (i.e., workers born in the U.S.). The results suggest that family-specific support from coworkers is especially beneficial for reducing immigrant workers' experiences of family-to-work conflict. For both native-born and immigrant workers, those who experience more family-specific support from supervisors and coworkers, and those who work in an organization that does not expect workers to sacrifice their family or personal life for work (i.e., has perceptions of a positive organizational work-family climate), have lower work-to-family conflict and lower family-to-work conflict. Thus, family-specific support from coworkers, supervisors, and the organization have beneficial effects for workers, with coworker support being especially helpful for immigrant workers, which provides important insights for future work-family research and practice with increasingly diverse workforces.

Keywords Immigrant workers · Work-family · Work-family conflict · Coworker support

Immigrant workers' work and family experiences have rarely been studied (Lin & Lin, 2020), even though immigrants make up 17.4% of the U.S. workforce and work in a variety of industries including healthcare, management, construction, and

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agriculture (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Immigrant workers, in comparison to native-born workers, are more likely to experience negative workplace outcomes (e.g., safety issues, poor working conditions, discrimination; Ahonen et al., 2007; Azaroff et al., 2003; Hurtado et al., 2012; Loh & Richardson, 2004) and health outcomes (e.g., depression, stress, health disparities; Ayers et al., 2009; Derose et al., 2007; Font et al., 2012). Further, immigrants are vulnerable to other stressors including anti-immigrant legislation, separation from families, language barriers, financial insecurities, and acculturation stress (Derose et al., 2007; Derr et al., 2018; Hovey & Magaña, 2000; Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al., 2014). In addition to the stressors immigrants have to overcome, these communities are also often under resourced (Neufeld et al, 2002). For example, immigrants and their children often have more restricted access to healthcare compared to non-immigrants (e.g., Eggerth et al., 2012; Gelatt, 2016; Giacco et al., 2014). However, in addition to these obstacles, some research to date has focused on positive resources and explored the beneficial role of social support within immigrant communities on important work and family outcomes (e.g., Ayon & Naddy, 2013). Yet, most of this past work has focused on social support *outside of the workplace* and its benefits, and there is sparse research exploring the influence of social and organizational support *in the workplace* on work-family outcomes for immigrant workers (Lin & Lin, 2020; Ojha, 2011; Ojha, 2020; Perez-Lopez, 2015; Pickett, 2019; Rudolph et al., 2014).

In this study we further explore job support in this important population, and more specifically, whether the impact of family supportive coworker behaviors (FSCB), family supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB; Hammer et al., 2009; Kossek et al., 2018), and organizational work-family climate (Kossek et al., 2001) affect employee experiences of work-family conflict differently depending on a person's immigrant status. We believe immigrant workers may especially need family-specific support when compared to native-born workers for two main reasons. First, as a vulnerable population, immigrant workers are more likely to have limited access to resources that allow them to balance work and family (e.g., money, childcare, healthcare, and secure housing) when compared to native-born workers (Chadwick & Collins, 2015; Derose et al., 2007). If immigrant workers can have access to resources that are specifically centered around family, they should be better able to fulfill their roles both in the workplace and at home. Second, these family-specific resources are also likely to be more valuable to immigrant workers because immigrant workers prioritize and rely on strong social support networks within their family (Ayon & Naddy, 2013; Derr et al., 2018; Garcia-Cid et al., 2017; Guo & Stensland, 2018; Vega et al., 1991). In a study by Ayon and Naddy (2013), it was found that Latinx immigrants strongly rely on family, friends, and neighbors who share similar identities for emotional, instrumental, and financial support. Participants expressed their spouses and children being their greatest sources of support. Although it may be the case that native-born workers also rely heavily on close family and friends for their support, too, immigrant workers face the ever-present added complexity within workplaces of frequently being an outsider and likely feeling less comfortable in seeking support from non-similar others. Furthermore, these immigrant workers receive strong support from their family and friends, but are also likely to be expected to reciprocate and provide the same support to their family members. For example, Eggerth

et al. (2012) found that Latina women often expressed pressure from their family to stay home and attend to them. FSCB, FSSB, and organizational work-family climate would allow immigrant workers to have lower instances of work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict. These resources would provide immigrant workers the ability to allocate their resources back into their family lives which in turn would result in their family lives being less likely to interfere with their work lives.

Anticipated Contributions

The primary contribution of this study is the population of interest, as we capture the experiences of a group of workers who have been traditionally underrepresented in the work and family literature (Lin & Lin, 2020). Past research has typically focused on native-born workers and has not explicitly examined workers' place of origin. Prior studies have established the benefits of work-family resources for reducing work-family conflict (Breaugh & Frye, 2007; Hammer et al., 2009, 2013; Kossek et al., 2011; Muse & Pichler, 2011), but scholars have not explored how work-family conflict may differ by population through different cultural values or countries of origin (for exceptions see Grzywacz et al., 2005; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Lin & Lin, 2020; Ojha, 2011; Ojha, 2020; Perez-Lopez, 2015; Rudolph et al., 2014). Therefore, we explore whether and how research on the work-family interface and related theory (e.g., COR; Hobfoll, 1989) translates to immigrant workers. Not only are we looking at the experiences of an underserved population, but this is one of the first studies to explore family-specific resources and work-family conflict with a diverse group of immigrant workers. Previous studies have often focused on a specific group of immigrant workers. For example, Grywacz et al. (2005), Grywacz et al. (2007), Rudolph et al. (2014), and Rodriguez et al. (2016) primarily focused on the experiences of Latinx immigrants. Our study included immigrants who are in the Latinx community, but it also includes immigrants with different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Second, this study draws from Hobfoll's (1989) conservation of resources theory (COR), which states that people are motivated to protect, prevent the loss of, and gain new resources. One criticism of COR theory is that it does not account for differences in what people value (Halbesleben et al., 2014). For example, Halbesleben and colleagues (2014) offer that time with family may be considered a valuable resource for some people, while for others, it could be considered a threat to their other resources. Scholars have called for research on immigrant workers to understand how different groups of people, as a result of differing lived experiences, cultural backgrounds, and stressors, may value resources differently (e.g., Halbesleben et al., 2014; Lin & Lin, 2020; Morelli & Cunnigham, 2012). For example, due to the challenging nature of the immigrant experience and the additional stressors this population faces while having limited access to other resources, immigrants create strong social networks on which to rely (Ayon & Naddy, 2013; Hovey & Magana, 2000; Vega et al., 1991). Thus, it may be more essential for immigrant workers to have access to family-specific work resources than native-born workers. We contribute to the literature by addressing this gap and exploring whether the importance

of family-specific resources at work is stronger for immigrant workers compared to native-born workers.

This study also contributes by exploring the impact of FSCB on work-family conflict. Research on coworker support in the workplace is emerging as the majority of research on family-specific support at work has focused on supervisors (Crain & Stevens, 2018). However, earlier work suggests beneficial effects of general coworker support on outcomes like job satisfaction, employee effectiveness, and organizational commitment (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008; Viswesvaran et al., 1999). More recently, McMullan and colleagues (2018) have suggested that researchers should explore how family-specific resources, from coworkers in particular, can benefit workers who hold different values or come from different cultures. We address these gaps in the literature and build on recent calls to examine FSCB (e.g., McMullan et al., 2018) by evaluating the influence of three types of family-specific work resources—FSCB, FSSB, and organizational work-family climate—on experiences of work-family conflict and explore whether immigrant status moderates these relationships. Among other studies that have looked at social support and work-family conflict within immigrant workers, we are the first to quantitatively explore coworker support related to family and its effect on work-family conflict moderated by immigrant status. Lin and Lin (2020) called for studies to further explore forms of support in the workplace, especially since they may operate differently for different groups of workers. Our study is contributing to this gap in the work-family literature with immigrant workers. We examined different forms of family-specific support within an organization at different levels, which will provide important information on which types of support immigrant workers are more likely to benefit from.

Theoretical Rationale

In line with COR, FSCB and FSSB are categorized as social support resources, while organizational work-family climate is considered a macro resource, provided from the external environment. The perception of how important a resource is to an individual determines how the individual prioritizes these resources under stress (Halbesleben et al., 2014). We furthermore draw from ten Brummelhuis and Bakker's (2012) conceptualization of work-home experiences and resources, as they build off of Hobfoll's (1989) COR theory. Ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) describe that work-home conflict occurs when demands in one domain (i.e., home or work) drain personal resources, which then affects the performance in the other domain. They additionally suggest that contextual resources, including social support from different sources, can decrease experiences of work-family conflict.

We test COR and the work-home resources model, with a unique sample of immigrant and native-born workers, by exploring how immigrant status changes the importance of family-specific resources in experiencing work-family conflict. We believe family-specific resources may be more valued by immigrant workers, and therefore are more essential for immigrant workers to have access to, due to studies that have demonstrated how immigrants within the U.S. heavily rely on and value family support (Ayon & Naddy, 2013; Chung, 2010; Derr

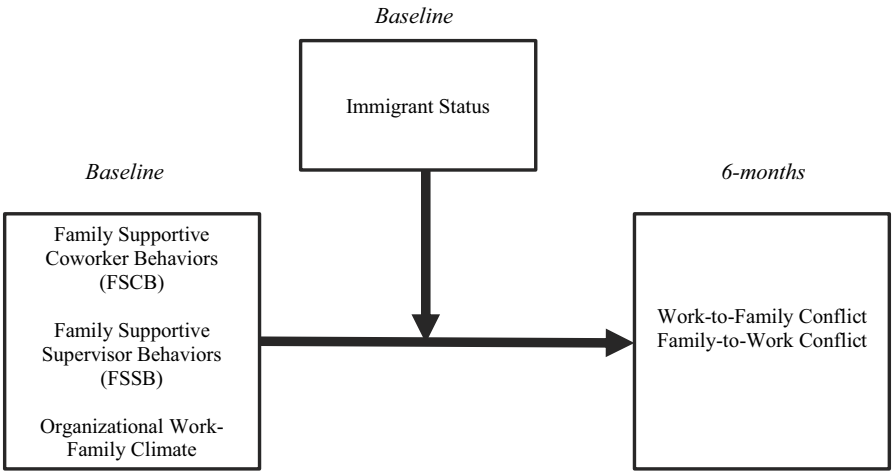

Fig. 1 Conceptual model

et al., 2018). In line with this previous research, we expect that family-specific resources within the workplace will have a greater influence on experiences of work-family conflict for immigrant workers than they do for native-born workers (see Fig. 1).

Furthermore, immigrant workers have been shown to have limited access to resources from organizations, the government, and non-immigrant communities (e.g., Chadwick & Collins, 2015; Derose et al., 2007), immigrant workers are likely to rely more on their social ties within families than native-born workers (e.g., Ayon & Naddy, 2013; Derr et al., 2018; Garcia-Cid et al., 2017; Guo & Stensland, 2018; Vega et al., 1991), as resources are less available to them otherwise. However, being embedded within these family systems that act as safety nets and sources of support for immigrants, also means that immigrant workers themselves highly value family and the ability to put resources back into their family systems. Thus, when family members at home experience stressors, which are likely a common occurrence given an overall lack of resources available to immigrant communities, immigrant workers are likely to highly value any resource from the workplace that allows them to further prioritize or attend to their family life. In this way, although immigrant workers may have strong familial support, they are still a generally under-resourced group; immigrant workers are likely to simultaneously rely on family and carry a large burden when someone else in the family unit needs support. Workplaces, supervisors, and coworkers then play an important role in providing resources to immigrant workers that in turn allow the workers to invest back into their family systems. We believe the effect of the family-specific resources from work on work-home conflict will be stronger for immigrant workers than native-born workers, because immigrant workers and their families likely have less access to other forms of support from the environment.

Hypotheses

Coworkers are in a unique position to help peers balance work and family demands (McMullan et al., 2018). Some scholars suggest that FSCB can help to reduce work-family conflict due to the close interactions and amount of time coworkers spend with each other (McMullan et al., 2018). For example, Michel et al. (2011) found that coworker support is an antecedent of work-to-family conflict (WTFC) and family-to-work conflict (FTWC). Coworker support is a specific type of social support (Hobfoll, 1989) that should be especially beneficial for immigrant workers, given that immigrants in the U.S. create strong social networks to help alleviate stress that comes from the immigrant experience (Ayon & Naddy, 2013; Vega et al., 1991). Coworker support should be particularly helpful for immigrant workers (compared to native-born workers) and decrease their experiences of work conflicting with family life, because assistance with schedule changes or having coworkers empathize with concerns around balancing work and family, for example, can lessen stressful work experiences that can impact family life, which is likely more stressful for immigrant workers compared to native-born workers. On the other hand, experiences of FTWC are also likely lessened for immigrant workers (compared to native-born workers) because coworker support at work that is directed towards family life allows immigrant workers to address demands at home that could impact work. Thus, coworker support is likely especially beneficial, because immigrant workers may need extra support and resources due to the challenges they face as immigrants outside the workplace.

Hypothesis 1 The effect of FSCB on a) WTFC and b) FTWC 6-months later will be moderated by immigrant status, such that the effect of FSCB on conflict will be stronger for immigrant workers than native-born workers.

Family supportive supervisor behaviors are characterized by supervisors acknowledging and helping employees balance their responsibilities in and outside the workplace (Hammer et al., 2009). FSSB is another type of social support resource (Hobfoll, 1989) and has been found to be strongly associated with reductions in WTFC (Kossek et al., 2011) and FTWC (Breaugh & Frye, 2007; Hammer et al., 2009, 2013; Muse & Pichler, 2011). FSSB is also related to other outcomes such as job satisfaction, job commitment, turnover intentions, and work engagement (see Crain & Stevens, 2018 for a review). The benefits of FSSB are evident for native-born workers, yet the importance of FSSB has yet to be investigated with immigrant workers. Distinct from general social support, a supervisor helping their employees to effectively manage their work and nonwork responsibilities would be especially helpful for an immigrant worker because of the higher level of family and nonwork stressors they face throughout their immigrant experience (Hovey & Magaña, 2000). In this way, the negative relationship between FSSB and work-family conflict should be strengthened for workers who hold an immigrant status, given the challenges and obstacles inherent in being an individual who was not born in the United States. For example, support from one's supervisor should be especially

valued by immigrant workers and helpful in decreasing work-related strain that can impact family life (i.e., WTFC). Additionally, this support should also allow immigrant workers to attend to family demands at home that could otherwise disrupt and affect work (i.e., FTWC).

Hypothesis 2 The effect of FSSB on a) WTFC and b) FTWC 6-months later will be moderated by immigrant status, such that the effect of FSSB on conflict will be stronger for immigrant workers than native-born workers.

Organizational climate represents shared perceptions of policies and practices in a workplace (Schneider et al., 2013). Organizational work-family climate is a specific type of organizational climate that reflects shared perceptions employees hold about whether they are expected to sacrifice family for work and prioritize work over their family or personal life (Kossek et al., 2001). Past research has found that organizational work-family climate is negatively related to work-family conflict (Kossek et al., 2011). We believe this type of macro resource is more valuable for immigrant workers due to the lack of other resources available. It may also be more valuable for immigrant workers given that other studies have found this resource be particularly beneficial for this population. For example, Rudolph et al. (2014) found that perceived organizational social support was associated with lower levels of WTFC and FTWC among immigrant Hispanics but not among non-immigrant Hispanics. A workplace where employees do not have to sacrifice their family lives to complete their work would be especially beneficial for immigrant workers because there will be less of a need to exchange time or energy from their home life (i.e., where their primary social network resides) in order to complete work.

Hypothesis 3 The effect of organizational work-family climate on a) WTFC and b) FTWC 6-months later will be moderated by immigrant status, such that the effect of organizational work-family climate on conflict will be stronger for immigrant workers than native-born workers.

Methods

Participants and Procedure

As part of the larger Work, Family and Health Study (WFHS; Bray et al., 2013; Kossek et al., 2014), research activities took place throughout 30 long-term healthcare facilities in New England. All participants provided direct care to patients, worked 22.4 or more hours per week, and did not work night shifts. Participants completed data collection at baseline ($n = 256–1524$)[1] and 6-months

[1] Note that FSSB, work-family climate, work-family conflict and all controls were collected in the primary study survey and thus the sample size for these variables ranged from 1272 to 1524. In contrast, family supportive coworker behavior was collected in a secondary survey in participants' homes and so this sample size is smaller ($n = 256$).

($n = 1272–1273$), with 73% identifying as native-born and 27% identifying as having been born outside of the U.S (see Table 1).

The demographics of immigrant and native-born workers differed in a number of ways. For example, immigrant workers were more racially and ethnically diverse compared to native-born workers; 84.2% of native-born workers were white, compared to 17.8% of immigrant workers. On the other hand, immigrant workers were predominantly Black (41.5%) or Hispanic (28.1%), followed by white and Asian (11.3%).[2] There were various participants that identified as Hispanic, including but not limited to Mexican/Mexican American/Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Dominican. Participants who were born outside of the U.S. reported to have lived in the U.S. for an average of 17.81 ($SD = 11.79$) years, with the minimum being about one year (i.e., 0.92 years). Regarding job type, the vast majority of the immigrant and native-born worker samples worked in certified nurse assistant positions. However, although the most common annual personal income range was $20,000-$24,999 for immigrant and native-born workers alike, the median annual personal income range was $25,000-$29,999 for immigrant workers, but $30,000–$34,999 for native-born workers.

To further understand differences between the immigrant and native-born samples in this study, we conducted independent samples t-tests for the predictor variables (i.e., FCSB, FSSB, organizational work-family climate) and outcome variables (i.e., WTFC, FTWC). As a result, we found significant differences in means between immigrant and native-born workers for organizational work-family climate ($t(797.58) = 3.99$, $p < 0.01$), with immigrant workers reporting lower perceptions ($M = 2.74$) than native-born workers ($M = 2.93$). Additionally, FTWC also differed between these two groups ($t(548.98) = -3.96$, $p < 0.01$), with immigrant workers ($M = 2.19$) reporting more FTWC than native-born workers ($M = 2.04$).

Sixty-minute survey interviews were administered in-person by trained field interviewers with computers between the years 2010–2013, and participants were compensated $20 for completing the interviews at both time points. Interviews with participants were available in English, Spanish, or a mixture of the two languages, though nearly all participants chose to complete the interviews in English. Note that all measures below were included in the study's primary survey, with the exception of FCSB which was asked about in a supplementary employee at home survey that eligible participants had the option of completing. Eligible participants had to be living with their partners and have a child who was between the ages of 9 to 17 years old. The at home surveys consisted of a child 60-min interview and assessment, as well as 25-min employee interview. Thus, this sample size is somewhat smaller, as can be seen in Table 2.

[2] Values do not sum to 100% because few participants entered "some other race" or "more than one race".

Table 1 Descriptive statistics and correlations

Variable	*N*	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Condition (B)	1524	0.48	0.50											
2. Age (B)	1522	38.52	12.48	− .04										
3. Gender (B)	1524	0.08	0.27	− .04	− .05									
4. Number of Children (B)	1523	1.04	1.17	− .03	− .08**	− .07**								
5. Tenure (B)	1521	6.26	6.51	− .02	.49**	− .04	− .01							
6. Eldercare (B)	1524	0.30	0.46	.05	.04	− .02	− .00	.00						
7. Immigrant Status (B)	1524	0.27	0.44	− .01	.06*	.11**	.07**	.02	− .00					
8. FSCB (B)	256	3.76	0.64	− .03	− .02	− .02	− .02	− .01	.03	.02				
9. FSSB (B)	1510	3.69	0.88	− .03	− .02	.03	.03	.00	− .01	− .03	.34**			
10. Org. W-F Climate (B)	1509	2.88	0.83	.04	.03	.02	− .01	.00	− .08**	− .10**	.15*	.10**		
11. WTFC (6 m)	1273	2.77	0.89	.06*	− .16**	− .03	.05	− .13**	.10**	− .03	− .15**	− .17**	− .21**	
12. FTWC (6 m)	1272	2.09	0.55	.03	− .17**	.03	.10**	− .06*	.09**	.12**	− .01	− .07**	− .13**	.42**

Condition (0 = control, 1 = intervention). Gender (0 = female, 1 = male). Elder Care (0 = does not provide care for an adult relative, 1 = does provide care for an adult relative). Immigrant Status (0 = Born in the U.S., 1 = Not born in the U.S.); Family supportive coworker behaviors (FSCB; scale: 1–5); Family supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB; scale: 1–5); Organizational work-family climate (Org. W-F Climate; scale: 1–5); Work-Family conflict (WTFC; scale: 1–4); Family-work conflict (FTWC; scale: 1–5)

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 2 Descriptive statistics and T-tests for immigrant & native-born workers

Variable	Immigrant workers		Native-born workers		T-test	
	n	*M* (*SD*)	*n*	*M* (*SD*)	*t* (*df*)	*p*-value
1. FSCB (B)	69	3.78 (0.77)	187	3.75 (0.59)	− 0.30 (98.75)	0.77
2. FSSB (B)	401	3.64 (0.81)	1109	3.70 (0.59)	1.23 (783.37)	0.22
3. Org. W-F Climate (B)	396	2.75 (0.74)	1113	2.93 (0.85)	3.99 (797.58)	0.00
4. WTFC (6 m)	342	2.73 (0.86)	931	2.79 (0.90)	1.11 (636.36)	0.27
5. FTWC (6 m)	403	2.14 (0.59)	1119	2.04 (0.57)	− 2.93 (690.98)	0.00
6. Condition (B)	405	1.53 (0.50)	1119	1.52 (0.50)		
7. Age (B)	404	39.74 (11.17)	1118	38.08 (12.89)		
8. Gender (B)	405	0.13 (0.34)	1119	0.06 (0.24)		
9. Number of children (B)	405	1.18 (1.18)	1118	0.98 (1.16)		
10. Tenure (B)	403	6.44 (5.80)	1118	6.19 (6.75)		
11. Eldercare (B)	405	0.30 (0.46)	1119	0.30 (0.46)		
12. Years in the US (B)	405	17.81 (11.79)				

Condition (0 = control, 1 = intervention). Gender (0 = female, 1 = male). Elder Care (0 = does not provide care for an adult relative, 1 = does provide care for an adult relative)

Immigrant Status (0 = Born in the U.S., 1 = Not born in the U.S.); Family supportive coworker behaviors (FSCB; scale: 1–5); Family supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB; scale: 1–5); Organizational work-family climate (Org. W-F Climate; scale: 1–5); Work-family conflict (WTFC; scale: 1–4); Family-work conflict (FTWC; scale: 1–5)

Measures[3,4]

Family supportive coworker behaviors were (FCSB) measured at baseline with four items adapted from Hammer and colleagues' (2009) family specific supervisor behaviors (FSSB) measure to be specific to coworkers rather than supervisors. A sample item is "Your coworkers are willing to listen to your problems in juggling work and nonwork life", with response options ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree; $\alpha = 0.78$).

To measure family specific supervisor behaviors (FSSB) at baseline, we used Hammer and colleagues' (2013) four-item short-form measure. Responses range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), and a sample item is "Your supervisor works effectively with employees to creatively solve conflicts between work and nonwork" ($\alpha = 0.89$).

Individual-level perceptions of organizational work-family climate were measured at baseline using the three-item family sacrifices for work subscale from

[3] To handle occasional missing item responses to multi-item scales, we used a mean imputation approach for all scales with four or more items when at least 75% of the data were present. Otherwise, listwise deletion was employed to construct scale scores.

[4] All predictor and control variables were collected at baseline and all outcome variables were collected at 6-months.

Kossek et al. (2001). A sample item is "In your workplace, employees are expected to take time away from their family or personal lives to get their work done," and response options ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Higher values represent individual-level perceptions of a climate that is more supportive of work-family issues ($\alpha = 0.65$).

To measure immigrant status at baseline, we used the following item: "Were you born in the United States?" with response options coded as 0 = yes and 1 = no. Other studies conducted with immigrants that explore work-family conflict have used a similar item. For example, Ojha (2020) identified immigrant participants as those who replied yes to the question "are you an immigrant?" Similarly, to control for immigrant status, Hurtado et al. (2012) asked participants if they were born in the United States or not. In order to encourage responding and prevent respondents from feeling unsafe, we did not include items regarding citizenship status or legal entry into the country similar to the studies mentioned above.

WTFC and FTWC were each assessed after 6-months using five-item scales developed and validated by Netemeyer et al. (1996). A sample WTFC item is "Due to your work-related duties, you have to make changes to your plans for family or personal activities." A sample FTWC item is "Family-related strain interferes with your ability to perform job-related duties." Item responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with higher values representing more conflict (WTFC $\alpha = 0.90$; FTWC $\alpha = 0.82$).

Because the WFHS intervention was not of substantive interest in this study, we included the intervention indicator as a control variable. Additionally, prior research has indicated that age is related to experiences of work-family conflict, with younger and older workers experiencing the fewest conflicts between work and home life (e.g., Huffman et al., 2013). Research on other demographic variables also indicates that gender, number of children, organizational tenure, and eldercare are related to perceptions of conflict and to how much support one receives in the workplace (e.g., Crain & Stevens, 2018; Michel et al., 2011; Page et al., 2018). Thus, we controlled for these variables in our analyses.

Results

Given that we used all self-report measures, we addressed potential common-method bias statistically by employing Harman's (1976) single-factor test. The four items for FSSB, the three items for organizational work-family climate, the 4 items for FSCB, the 5 items for WTFC, and the 5 items for FTWC were analyzed using unrotated principle component factor analysis, with the number of factors extracted constrained to be one. The result yielded five factors, with the first factor explaining 24% of the variance. Given that a single factor that accounts for the majority of variance (i.e., > 50%) did not emerge, we concluded that significant common method bias was not present.

Table 3 Effects of family supportive coworker behaviors (FSCB) and immigrant status on work-family conflict

	Work-to-family conflict		Family-to-work conflict	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Step 1				
Intercept	2.77***	.09	2.11***	.05
Condition	.20	.12	.11	.07
Age	− .01	.01	− .01	.01
Gender	.14	.28	− .07	.17
Number of children	.09	.06	.02	.03
Tenure	− .02	.01	− .00	.01
Eldercare	− .10	.13	− .02	.08
Step 2				
FSCB	− .19*	.09	− .01	.06
Immigrant status	− .07	.13	.05	.08
ΔR^2	.02		.00	
Step 3				
FSCB*immigrant status	− .29	.19	− .27*	.11
ΔR^2	.01		.03*	

Dummy codes were used for all categorical variables. Gender (1 = male, 0 = female). Eldercare (1 = Does provide care for an adult relative, 0 = Does not provide care for an adult relative). Condition (1 = intervention, 0 = control). All continuous variables were mean centered. FSCB (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). Immigrant Status (0 = Born in the U.S., 1 = Not born in the U.S.)

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Hierarchical regression analyses were performed in SPSS version 25 to test all hypotheses.[5] For all analyses, control variables were entered in step 1, predictors were entered in step 2, and the interaction term was entered in step 3. In line with best practice recommendations, all categorical variables were dummy coded and all continuous variables were grand mean centered to reduce potential multicollinearity and increase interpretation of the results (Cohen et al., 2003; Dawson, 2014).

After accounting for the other variables in the model (i.e., control variables and predictors), the baseline FSCB by immigrant status interaction did not significantly predict 6-month WTFC (see Table 3). The baseline FSCB by immigrant status interaction significantly predicted 6-month FTWC, even after accounting for the other variables in the model (see Table 3).[6] The effect of FSCB on FTWC was

[5] Intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) were computed to determine whether multilevel modeling should be used because participants were nested within facilities. The ICCs were low for both 6-month WTFC (.02; $F = 6910.53$) and 6-month FTWC (.01; $F = 14{,}107.10$), so all reported results reflect ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions.

[6] Given that the FSCB models were based on a smaller sample, effects were also estimated in SPSS using 1000 bias-corrected bootstrapped samples. The results were substantively the same when bootstrapping was used (i.e., the interaction between FSCB and immigrant status on FTWC was retained, and there was not a significant interaction between FSCB and immigrant status on WTFC).

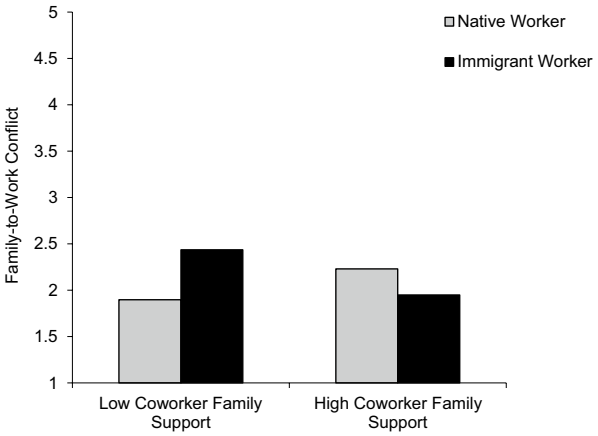

Fig. 2 Interaction between family-supportive coworker behaviors (FSCB) and immigrant status on family-to-work conflict. Note. Low FSCB is plotted at a value of 2 and high FSCB is plotted at a value of 5 (on a 1–5 scale)

significantly different for immigrant workers compared to native-born workers. For immigrant workers, but not native-born workers, experiences of FTWC decreased as FSCB increased. Tests of simple slopes revealed that there was a marginally significant and negative relationship between baseline FSCB and 6-month FTWC for immigrant workers ($B = -0.16$, $p = 0.05$) and a non-significant relationship between baseline FSCB and 6-month FTWC for native-born workers ($B = 0.11$, $p = 0.12$; see Fig. 2).

After accounting for the other variables in the model, the baseline FSSB by immigrant status interaction did not significantly predict 6-month WTFC or FTWC (see Table 4). After accounting for the other variables in the model, the baseline organizational work-family climate by immigrant status interaction did not significantly predict 6-month WTFC or FTWC (see Table 5). Therefore, hypotheses 1a, 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b were not supported and hypothesis 1b was supported.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to identify whether family-specific resources are more impactful on immigrant workers' experiences of work-family conflict compared to native-born workers. We used COR theory to explain why the importance of these resources may be different for different types of workers. Although not hypothesized, basic analyses indicated that immigrant workers in our sample reported both higher levels of FTWC and lower perceptions of organizational work-family climate in comparison to native-born workers. This suggests that generally, experiences of the work-family interface and how organizations support workers differ depending on immigrant status.

In line with past research, we also found that FSCB, FSSB, and perceptions of organizational work-family climate predicted lower experiences of WTFC and FTWC. One exception was that FSCB did not have a significant direct effect on FTWC, but this association was significantly moderated by immigrant status, such

Table 4 Effects of family supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB) and immigrant status on work-family conflict

	Work-to-family conflict		Family-to-work conflict	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Step 1				
Intercept	2.68***	.04	2.03***	.02
Condition	.11*	.05	.03	.03
Age	− .01***	.00	− .01***	.00
Gender	− .10	.09	.06	.06
Number of Children	.03	.02	.04**	.01
Tenure	− .01*	.00	.00	.00
Eldercare	.20***	.05	.11**	.03
Step 2				
FSSB	− .18***	.03	− .05**	.02
Immigrant Status	− .05	.06	.14***	.04
ΔR^2	.03***		.02***	
Step 3				
FSSB*Immigrant Status	.06	.07	− .00	.04
ΔR^2	.001		.00	

Dummy codes were used for all categorical variables. Gender (1 = male, 0 = female). Eldercare (1 = Does provide care for an adult relative, 0 = Does not provide care for an adult relative). Condition (1 = intervention, 0 = control). All continuous variables were mean centered. Family supportive supervisor behaviors (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). Immigrant status (0 = Born in the U.S., 1 = Not born in the U.S.)

*p < .05; **p < .01. ***p < .001

that immigrant workers, but not native-born workers, who experienced greater FSCB reported lower FTWC, though the simple slope was only marginally significant ($p = 0.05$). Our results suggest family support from coworkers is an important type of resource for immigrant workers that functions differently in native-born working populations. These findings are in line with previous studies that discuss how immigrants' social networks may include social support in the workplace (Ayon & Naddy, 2013; Garcia, 2005; Rudolph et al., 2014). However, in light of the marginally significant simple slope test, it is important to note that the findings should not be applied to specific immigrant worker groups without future research. It is critical for future research to continue to explore associations between support from coworkers, including family-specific coworker support, and experiences of work-family conflict in immigrant worker populations. Of note is that we did not find any other moderating effects of immigrant status. Instead, family-specific support from supervisors and individual-level perceptions of a supportive organizational work-family climate reduces WTFC and FTWC similarly for immigrant and native-born workers.

Situating our study among other studies on immigrant workers and work-family conflict, this is the first study to find a significant interaction between

Table 5 Effects of organizational work-family climate (Org W-F Climate) and immigrant status on work-family conflict

	Work-to-family conflict		Family-to-work conflict	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Step 1				
Intercept	2.69***	.04	2.03***	.02
Condition	.09	.05	.03	.03
Age	− .01***	.00	− .01***	.00
Gender	− .10	.09	.06	.06
Number of children	.03	.02	.04**	.01
Tenure	− .01*	.00	.00	.00
Eldercare	.21***	.05	.11**	.03
Step 2				
Org W-F Climate	− .22***	.03	− .07***	.02
Immigrant Status	− .08	.06	.13***	.04
ΔR^2	.04***		.02***	
Step 3				
Org W-F Climate*Immigrant Status	.08	.07	− .03	.05
ΔR^2	.001		.00	

Dummy codes were used for all categorical variables. Gender (1 = male, 0 = female). Eldercare (1 = Does provide care for an adult relative, 0 = Does not provide care for an adult relative). Condition (1 = intervention, 0 = control). All continuous variables were mean centered. Organizational work-family climate (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). Immigrant Status (0 = Born in the U.S., 1 = Not born in the U.S.)

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

immigrant status and FSCB on FTWC. Rudolph et al. (2014) studied support in the workplace and work-family conflict among immigrants and non-immigrants all who identified as Hispanic. Those who identified as immigrant came from different countries of origin including Cuba, Colombia, and Venezuela. Their study found that immigrant status did impact the relationship between perceived organizational social support and work-family conflict, such that there was a negative relationship for immigrants but not for non-immigrants. Additionally, they found that perceived supervisor social support was significantly related to WTFC and FWTC for non-immigrants, but not for immigrants. In a qualitive analysis, Rodriguez et al. (2014) studied migrant Latina workers. They found that these women often experienced hostility from supervisors, coworkers, and their work environment with a few experiencing support in their workplace. All participants also described their responsibilities at home including childcare, cooking, cleaning, and financial responsibilities. Several participants described work-family conflict and effects of it including frustration, depression, irritability at home, and inability to complete their family demands. Given that research on workplace support

for immigrant workers and their families is limited and often restricted to specific samples, our finding that FSCB might be particularly beneficial among a mixed sample of immigrants provides further understanding of this growing working population.

There are a couple of possible explanations for the FCSB moderation finding. First, coworker support may resemble other social support networks that immigrant workers build outside the workplace and have experience relying on. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1985), people perceive themselves and others as belonging to and fitting within social categories or groups. Because immigrant workers have the shared experience of immigrating to a new country, they typically draw on that group (i.e., similarly migrated family and friends) to form connections and seek/receive social support. Within the workplace context, Ashforth and Mael (1989) argue that someone's social identity may come from the organization as well as the individuals' work group or department. As immigrant workers share experiences with coworkers, they may perceive themselves as belonging to their workgroup. This follows Ashforth and Mael's (1989) argument that similarity, common history, and shared goals may affect how close one may feel with a group. Group identification has been associated with high levels of cooperation and altruism (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), which could mirror similar feelings and behaviors that immigrant workers experience with friends and family, Thus, immigrant workers may transfer feelings of trust and reliance from family to coworkers.

Importantly, coworkers may be more likely to form the social groups with which immigrant workers can identify compared to supervisors. In one study of the relative impact of different workplace relationships on job attitudes, relationships with supervisors were more impactful for job satisfaction, but relationships with coworkers were more impactful for organizational commitment (Raabe & Beehr, 2003), suggesting that feelings of belonging at work may be more rooted in peer relationships. Immigrant workers may experience greater psychological safety with coworkers and feel especially comfortable soliciting nonwork support from their colleagues. Additionally, immigrant workers may perceive that although supervisors are well-equipped to help prevent work demands from interfering with their nonwork life (e.g., modifying work schedule, adjusting workload), they are outside of their social group. Given that family demands can often be more personal, immigrant workers may prefer to seek advice from their coworkers on how to prevent family from interfering with work (e.g., how to stay focused at work during a divorce or following a death in the family). Therefore, it is plausible that immigrant workers are more inclined to utilize support from their coworkers compared to support from supervisors, especially for help managing family-related stressors at work.

Characteristics of the cultures where immigrant workers are from may also play a role in these findings. It is possible that immigrant workers from collectivistic and individualistic cultures experience different work-family outcomes. For example. Rudolph et al. (2014) found that perceived organizational support was associated with lower levels of WTFC and FTWC for immigrant Hispanics and argue that individuals from collectivist cultures may be more likely to use collective forms of support such as organizational support. Additionally, Grzywacz et al. (2007) suggest that Latinx immigrants may experience less WTFC because they are from

collectivist cultures, where work and family are viewed as essential to one another. In Latinx families, it is understood that hard work is necessary for the overall well-being of the family. We agree with other scholars in the work-family field that family-support and work-family outcomes may differ depending on cultural factors including different cultural values (Kossek et al., 2018). It would be advantageous for future work to substantively explore collectivistic and individualistic cultural values alongside work-family outcomes.

Findings from this study have the potential to influence organizational intervention strategies aimed at reducing experiences of work-family conflict. Organizations that work with predominantly immigrant populations could benefit by investing in family supportive training for all workers as a way to increase FSCB. One way to achieve this would be to adapt existing trainings on FSSB (e.g.,Hammer et al., 2011; Kelly et al., 2014; Kossek et al., 2014) to be applicable to behaviors that coworkers can enact to support the people they work with in juggling their work and family demands. Providing workers with this type of training should help immigrant workers experience less FTWC because workers can more easily meet family demands with the help of and support from coworkers. Further, in line with past research, our results suggest FSSB and individual-level perceptions of supportive organizational work-family climates are beneficial for reducing all employees' WTFC and FTWC. Thus, providing training on FSSB or implementing organizational change initiatives to foster a climate where employees are not expected to sacrifice family time for work (e.g., reducing expectations to come to work early or leave late and fostering a family-friendly environment) continues to be a valuable avenue for research and practice.

It is important to note that we measured immigrant status with a single-item, which assessed whether someone was born in the U.S. This is comparable to how other studies have measured immigrant status (e.g., Hurtado et al., 2012; Ojha, 2020), however, this is a broad way of conceptualizing immigrant status and we may be capturing other people who were born outside of the U.S. (e.g., those born abroad in military families). Rudolph et al. (2014) also used a single-item, but did ask participants their country of birth as a way to glean additional data. Future research would benefit from more nuanced information surrounding immigrant status to ensure only the population of interest is represented in the sample. For example, Cano et al. (2018) included criteria such as emigrating from a specific country, amount of time in the U.S., and intention of staying in the U.S. for three years. Ayon and Naddy (2013) required participants to identify as first-generation, Latinx immigrants with young children. Similarly, other studies have captured the unique experiences of specific ethnicities (e.g., Latinx or Asian immigrants; Ayers et al., 2009; Grzywacz et al., 2005) or defined immigrants as non-nationals and ethnic minorities (Ahonen et al., 2007). Future work could also consider how birthplace and amount of time spent in the U.S. impacts which resources are most important for reducing experiences of work-family conflict. Although the measure used in this study lacks some specificity, this is also one of the first studies to establish a relationship between immigrant status and work-family experiences, with a rather large proportion of the sample (i.e., 27%) being categorized as immigrants. Moreover, more precise or additional measures

should also be considered with ethical considerations, given that asking a participant to disclose information like citizenship status, place of birth, or legal entry into the country could feel particularly invasive and unsafe, even if confidentiality is ensured.

Lastly, we encourage work-family scholars, given how little research there is on immigrant workers, to engage in further exploratory qualitative research to further understand what this population and sub-populations may need from coworkers, supervisors, and organizations to feel supported and valued as a worker, given unique lived experiences, cultural backgrounds, and challenges. It is also important that scholars explore immigrants with differing countries of origin, given that the majority of the immigrant literature is on Hispanic and Latinx populations. Furthermore, it is possible that other resources (e.g., autonomy, feedback, rewards), besides FSCB, also translate differently for immigrant workers. Lastly, future research could evaluate health and well-being outcomes, given that this population is especially vulnerable to experiences of stress at and outside of work (Hovey & Magana, 2000; Hurtado et al., 2012).

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Data Availability Regarding data availability, the authors are unable to share unrestricted data used in this paper because the data were collected as part of the Work, Family, and Health Study (WFHS) and are not public. Restricted data applications are available at workfamilyhealthnetwork.org.

Code Availability If published, code could be made available upon request.

Declarations

Conflict of interest The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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