Workers' Perceptions of Disability and Utilization of Accommodations: Evidence from the Healthcare Industry

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Abstract: This paper uses a novel dataset from the healthcare industry to analyze how different measures of work satisfaction vary between people with and without disabilities, and the extent to which being granted workplace accommodations and working from home moderate the relationship between work satisfaction and disability. The data are based on a survey of healthcare workers centered on job experiences, the utilization of accommodations, and working from home. Results show that people with disabilities have relatively lower job satisfaction, greater turnover intentions, lower sense of belonging/inclusion, worse relations with management and coworkers, and higher perceptions of disability bias. Regressions indicate that receiving workplace accommodations often helps to moderate this negative relationship between disability and work experiences. Working from home, on the other hand, does little to improve the negative association between disability and measures of job satisfaction, possibly due to feelings of social isolation and the lack of clear boundaries.

Key words: Disability, accommodations, job satisfaction, healthcare, remote work, work from home.

I. Introduction

As the Covid-19 pandemic has made painfully clear, the health of the economy depends on public health and ultimately on the health of healthcare workers and their ability to cope with the demands of their jobs and domestic responsibilities. Public health depends on the healthcare system, which in turn depends on healthcare workers. While healthcare workers may appear to be the primary beneficiaries of employer policies to safeguard their health and well-being, the benefits are more diffuse (Cohen and Rodgers 2020). Patients benefit from having healthy physicians and nurses, healthcare workers benefit from their own health, and hospitals benefit from having a healthy workforce. The health of healthcare workers is an input to patient health and to the functioning of the healthcare system. In other words, every beneficiary depends on the health of healthcare workers, which depends on employer policies to safeguard their health and well-being.

However, employers, be they privately-owned enterprises, private healthcare clinics, or public hospitals, seek to minimize costs. Therefore, managers in the healthcare industry adopt cost-effective behaviors by reducing expenditures in the short term to lower costs (Cohen and Rodgers 2020). Employers' short-term profit motive may then dominate over the interests of healthcare workers and patients, which suggests that healthcare workers may not enjoy a sufficient range of employer practices to meet their needs. An important question is how often healthcare workers with disabilities experience employer practices that meet their needs in this environment of efficiency maximization and cost minimization. Also of interest is the extent to which being granted an accommodation, such as scheduling flexibility and assistive technologies for communication, can affect job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and workplace relationships.

This paper uses a novel dataset from the healthcare industry to analyze how work satisfaction measures vary between people with and without disabilities, how often workers are granted accommodations, and the extent to which work from home and other accommodations moderate the relationship between work satisfaction and disability. The potential for accommodations to improve job satisfaction for people with disabilities has been explored before (e.g. Schur et al. 2014), but not in such detail and not in the context of pandemic-related changes in attitudes toward remote work. Our data are based on a survey centered on the perceptions and utilization of policies around disability and accommodations. We compare the perspectives of workers with and without disabilities, paying particular attention to their likelihood of working remotely and requesting accommodations for their health needs.

We examine the healthcare industry for three reasons. First, the health of the population is largely determined by the resources allocated to and the capacity of the healthcare system. Second, the healthcare system has a relatively large number of employees with disabilities, particularly in lower-level jobs: while 4.9% of all people in the labor force have disabilities, they represent 5.5% of healthcare support workers (BLS 2024). Third, studying the healthcare industry allows us to examine a diverse range of employees since underrepresented men and women of all races and ages disproportionately work in the sector, and the wide range of health occupations requires workers with all levels of education.

We hypothesize that (1) a substantial proportion of workers with disabilities will choose to not disclose their disability to their employer (due to stigma and fear of penalization); (2) people with disabilities will have more negative indicators of job satisfaction and work experiences compared to people without disabilities; (3) being granted accommodations will have a positive moderating effect on the relationship between disability and work satisfaction;

and (4) being able to work from home will also have a positive moderating effect on the relationship between disability and work satisfaction.

II. Data and Methodology

To collect the data we partnered with a major state-wide university-based health system to conduct a novel survey of healthcare workers with and without disabilities to assess their experiences with employer policies related to accommodations and work from home. A total of 1405 employees in this organization took the survey between May 26 and July 31, 2023, which we implemented in Qualtrics. After dropping observations with missing values, we are left with a sample size of 993 respondents.[1]

Our survey instrument included questions on employees' awareness and perceptions of employer policies that address the physical and mental health needs of workers. It focused on employer practices around accommodations and work from home, and it also asked about work experiences before the pandemic. Survey questions used the wording "Before March 2020" to denote the period before the pandemic started, and phrases such as "currently" or "today" to denote the current period at the time of the survey. Design of the survey instrument was guided by survey questions highlighted in Schur et al. (2014; 2020) and includes scales commonly found in the organizational behavior literature, as shown in the online Appendix. Our research team worked with collaborators in the statewide university-based healthcare system to distribute to employees a link to our online survey in Qualtrics, along with a cover note about the study and information about informed consent.

[1] Qualtrics reported 1405 respondents. We dropped 135 of those respondents because they clicked on the survey link but did not answer any questions. An additional 277 respondents did not respond to questions about their disability status, so we dropped these individuals also, leaving a sample of 993. Robustness checks in which these 277 respondents were kept in the sample and assumed to have no disability yielded substantively similar results to those reported in the paper.

We used the data to calculate simple summary statistics on the incidence of work from home, disclosure of disability, special accommodations, perceptions of workplace inclusiveness, treatment of people with disabilities, and various measures of job satisfaction. Along with simple summary statistics, the data are used in multiple regressions to examine if accommodations and the ability to work from home have a moderating effect on the relationship between disability and indicators of work satisfaction, controlling for other characteristics. The full model specification is:

$$Outcome_i = b_0 + b_1 Disab_i + b_2 Accomm_i + b_3 Disab_i * Accomm_i + b_4 X_i + e_i \ .$$

The notation $Outcome_i$ is a vector of 11 indicators of work experiences for person i, $Disab_i$ denotes a dummy variable for disability status, $Accomm_i$ is an indicator for the extent to which someone was granted an accommodation (or was able to work from home), X_i denotes a set of demographic characteristics, and e_i denotes the error term. The 11 indicators of work experiences are based on survey questions about job satisfaction, job autonomy[2], turnover intentions[3], organizational commitment[4], organizational citizenship behaviors[5], perceived organizational support[6], employer openness to differences, the climate for inclusion[7], treatment of people with disabilities, relationship with one's manager (also known as leader-member exchange)[8], and relationships with one's coworkers (also known as coworker exchange).[9] These outcomes are discussed further in the next section. The demographic controls include gender, age, number of children at home, race/ethnicity, marital status, education, income, full-time schedule, employer

[2] Hackman and Oldham (1975), Breaugh (1985), and Desrosiers (2001).
[3] Konovsky and Cropanzano (1991).
[4] Meyer et al. (1993).
[5] Lee and Allen (2002).
[6] Wayne et al. (1997) and Eisenberger et al. (1986).
[7] Nishii (2013).
[8] Graen and Uhl-Bien (1995).
[9] Sherony and Green (2002).

tenure, and management role. We estimate this equation with and without the accommodations variable and the interaction term to gauge the extent to which accommodations moderate the relationship between job experiences and disability status.

We measure disability using the six Census questions, plus a question on difficulty in interacting and a broad question on activity limitations.[10] A person who answers yes to any of these questions is defined as having a disability. By way of limitations, our results may undercount the true number of people with disabilities for several reasons. First, people may be reluctant to disclose a disability due to the historical stigma attached to disability. Second, any estimate of disability prevalence is based on a pool theoretically limited to those people with known disabilities, thus excluding people who have not been diagnosed with or are unaware of having a disability. And third, even people who have a known disability and would like an accommodation may be dissuaded by the need to obtain medical documentation, especially if they are not actively in treatment for the disability.

III. Sample Means

Table 1 shows that of the 993 respondents in our sample, 23.0% recorded having a self-reported disability or health impairment. Although this percentage drops to 18.4% if we restrict our measure to the six kinds of disability reported in Census data, it is still over twice the 7.0% estimate based on Census data for the percentage of healthcare workers in the organization's

[10] The eight questions are: "Are you deaf or do you have serious difficulty hearing?"
"Are you blind or do you have serious difficulty seeing even when wearing glasses?"
"Do you have serious difficulty concentrating, remembering, or making decisions?"
"Do you have serious difficulty walking or climbing stairs?"
"Do you have difficulty dressing or bathing?"
"Do you have difficulty doing errands alone such as visiting a doctor's office or shopping?"
"Do you have difficulty interacting and/or communicating with others??"
"Do you have a long-term health problem or impairment that limits the kind or amount of work, housework, school, parenting, recreation, or other activities you can do?"

state who self-report a disability. One explanation is that we may have over-sampled people with disabilities, and another possibility is that the employer where we conducted our survey has a relatively higher level of employees with disabilities compared to the population of healthcare workers in the state at large. In either case, the high rate of self-reported disability yields sufficient sample sizes of people living with at least one disability and people without a disability to conduct comparative analyses. Table 1 further shows that among people who self-reported a disability, close to half (46.5%) reported a long-term impairment. The most common type of impairment was difficulty concentrating and making decisions, followed by difficulty walking and climbing stairs.

Insert Table 1 Here

Of the group with a disability, about one-half (51.8%) disclosed their disability to their employer, another quarter (25.2%) did not disclose, and the remainder said it's complicated (23.0%) or did not respond (0.9%). Applied to the full employee population, this indicates that about 12% (.518*.23) of all surveyed employees said they disclosed a disability to their employer, which is far greater than the national average of 4.2% (NOD 2023), likely because of positive selection among people with disabilities into our sample. It nonetheless provides us with a valuable opportunity to examine differences between people who have and have not disclosed at the same employer. Importantly, failure to disclose was not limited to any particular type(s) of disability; people chose not to disclose disabilities to their employer across disability types. Moreover, between 14.9% and 15.4% of respondents with self-reported disabilities reported some form of mistreatment or isolation at work, and a closer look indicates that two-thirds of these respondents have disclosed their disability to the employer. The final row of Table 1 shows

that 16.7% of respondents with self-reported disabilities have not disclosed their health conditions due to fear of stigma at work.

Because disclosure gives employers an opportunity to accommodate employee needs, creating an equitable opportunity to succeed, workers who disclose may have higher job satisfaction. In contrast, under inequitable conditions, an employee may struggle, and the employer may be under the impression that the employee is incapable of doing their job. Hence our analyses use two alternative constructions of the disability sample: (1) those with a self-reported disability (n=228), and (2) those who have disclosed a disability to their employers (n=114). The construction of these alternative disability samples and the relevant comparison groups is depicted in Figure 1. In both cases, the total sample is 993 individuals. To limit the number and size of our tables, results based on self-reported disability status are reported in the main tables, and results based on disclosed disability status are reported in the online Appendix.

Sample means for people with and without disabilities show meaningful differences in the number of children, education, marital status, and income (Table 2). In particular, individuals with disabilities are more likely to have finished school before getting a college degree and are less likely to be married, compared to people without disabilities. People with disabilities also have fewer children and lower income on average compared to people without disabilities. These findings on key demographic indicators among people with and without disabilities are consistent with previous studies (e.g. Kruse et al. 2022). Sample means further show that workers with disabilities were less likely to have worked at the employer before the pandemic and were more likely to have a relatively short tenure (five years or less). However, there are no statistically significant differences between people with and without disabilities in the likelihood of working full-time or having a management role. Overall, the results for people with disclosed

disabilities are comparable to those for people with self-reported disabilities (Appendix Table 1), except that the differences by disability status in being multiracial/other race and having a professional degree or PhD are no longer statistically significant.

Insert Table 2 Here

The results on work from home in Table 3 are mostly similar between people with and without self-reported disabilities. Before the pandemic, individuals with and without disabilities had similar likelihoods of working from home (18.9% versus 16.0%; $p>0.10$), and at the time of the survey, the likelihood for both groups of working from home was the same (52.9%). This result differs from earlier research indicating that people with disabilities were more likely to work from home before the pandemic and less likely to do so during the pandemic (Ameri et al. 2023). The most likely explanation is that our sample is restricted to workers at a healthcare organization where the ability to work from home is less feasible for jobs that require direct patient care, while Ameri et al. (2023) used a nationally representative sample of workers.

Insert Table 3 Here

We summed up several items to create two indices of perceptions that working from home had positive effects before the pandemic, and currently has positive effects (the items are shown in Appendix Table 2). As shown in the last two rows of Table 3, the mean values of these indices are similar between people with and without self-reported disabilities. That said, among people who did respond that they currently work from home, people with disabilities are more likely than people without disabilities to work at least two days per week at home (82.5% versus 71.6%, $p<0.05$). Importantly, people with disabilities are more likely to desire more work from home (46.2% versus 33.3%, $p<0.05$), indicating that there is unmet demand for remote work from people with disabilities.

People who have disclosed their disabilities to the employer have somewhat stronger results for the positive assessment of work from home. As shown in Appendix Tables 2-3, the index of agreement on work from home having positive effects is substantially higher for people with disclosed disabilities compared to people with no or undisclosed disabilities (72.0% versus 62.3%, $p<0.05$). Among the detailed indicators used to construct the Index of Agreement on work from home having positive effects, the positive assessment of work from home among people with disclosed disabilities is especially true for morale, staying at the employer, relations with coworkers, and productivity. The difference between people with and without disclosed disabilities is particularly large for the perceived positive effect on coworker relations. It may seem counter-intuitive that working from home is good for coworker relations, but this result could partly be explained by increased control over the work environment and the removal of barriers related to physical mobility. Employees may be better able to control volume and implement technologies like on-screen closed captions in meetings or schedule in ways that allow them to have more mental and emotional preparation and/or resources available for engaging with colleagues. Those factors may enhance the job satisfaction that comes with work from home for many, albeit not all, employees. Hence working from home allows some people with disabilities to tailor their working interactions to meet their needs, especially if they have disclosed their disability to their employer. Overall, these results in Table 3 and the supporting Appendix tables suggest that declaring one's disability to the employer contributes to more positive perceptions about the benefits of work from home compared to people with a disability who have not declared it.

Table 4 provides compelling evidence of negative workplace experiences for people with disabilities. In particular, Table 4 reports sample means for the 11 key indicators of work

satisfaction and work experiences in this study, scaled between zero and one. The first indicator is based on a single question about job satisfaction in our survey, and the remaining 10 indicators are indices constructed from different sets of questions in the survey. All individual questions and a discussion of these indices are found in the online Appendix. Table 4 shows that people with self-reported disabilities had a higher score for the index of turnover intentions compared to people without disabilities (.420 versus .323, $p<0.0$). Examining the specific items in the turnover intentions measure, employees with disabilities have a relatively higher likelihood of planning to look for a job outside of the organization, thinking often of quitting their job, and desiring a new job (Appendix Table 4). These differences, though, were not as large for people who had disclosed their disabilities to their employer.

Closely related, people with disabilities had a lower index of organizational commitment compared to people without disabilities (.459 versus .53.0, $p<0.05$). Driving this result was a lower likelihood of people with disabilities to say that they feel a strong sense of belonging at the employer and that they feel like they are a part of the family. While people with and without disabilities have similar responses to questions about organizational citizenship behaviors, people with disabilities believe less strongly in the support they receive from their organizations (.309 versus .403, $p<0.01$). Comprising this index of perceived organizational support are perceptions that the employer cares about their well-being and opinions, and that the employer takes pride in their accomplishments at work. These results, however, are muted for people who have disclosed their disabilities to their employer, as shown in Appendix Table 4. In most cases, the disability gap in these job experience indicators is smaller in magnitude, and often no longer statistically significant, when we focus on people with disclosed disabilities rather than people with self-reported disabilities.

Insert Table 4 Here

Perceptions about the inclusiveness of the workplace mirror this negative relationship between self-reported disability and job satisfaction. Table 4 further shows that people with self-reported disabilities are substantially less likely than people without disabilities to believe that their employer is open to differences (.453 versus .561, $p<0.01$). Underlying this index are questions about whether people can reveal their true selves at work, whether employees are valued as people rather than the jobs they fill, and whether the work culture appreciates the differences that people bring to the workplace. People with self-reported disabilities are also relatively less likely to believe that the employer has an inclusive workplace climate (.348 versus .416, $p<0.05$), with more skepticism that the employer actively seeks employee input, uses employee insights to redefine work practices, and considers input from people in different roles and functions when problem-solving.

Table 4 further shows that there is no substantial difference between people with and without disabilities in the index of perceptions on how people with disabilities are treated. However, this aggregate index masks some differences among the more detailed questions. As shown in Appendix Table 4, people with self-reported disabilities are more likely to state that their workplace has a bias against people with disabilities, and that employees without disabilities are treated better than employees with disabilities. People without disabilities tend to have a more favorable view of culture around disability at their workplace, being more likely to agree that employees treat people with disabilities with respect, and that their manager is responsive to the needs of people with disabilities. As before, we see that in many cases these disability differences are lessened when we consider people with disclosed disabilities. There are only two instances in which the gap is even larger and highly statistically significant: people with

disclosed disabilities are even more likely to state that their workplace has a bias against people with disabilities and that employees without disabilities are treated better than employees with disabilities.

Some of the biggest and most robust differences between people with and without self-reported disabilities in our survey appear in the results for relationships with supervisors and coworkers. As shown in Table 4 and Appendix Table 4, people with self-reported disabilities are uniformly less likely than people without disabilities to agree to various descriptors of a positive relationship with one's manager, including knowing how satisfied the manager is with one's performance, feeling that the manager is understanding, feeling that the manager recognizes one's potential, being able to count on the manager for support during a tough situation, having an effective working relationship with one's manager, and believing that the manager would use their power and influence to help the employee. These disability differences are mirrored in the responses for the relationship with one's coworkers. Once we restrict the disability sample to individuals with disclosed disabilities, we see that the experiences of people who have disclosed disabilities are closer to those without disabilities in relationships with managers but are consistently negative with respect to coworkers.

In sum, the results in Table 4 show that people with disabilities have relatively lower job satisfaction, greater turnover intentions, lower sense of organizational support, worse relations with management and coworkers, weaker perceptions of an inclusive workplace, and higher perceptions of disability bias. These findings are consistent with an earlier study using national data from the General Social Survey (Schur et al. 2017).

Accommodations at work may be a critical way to moderate some of these negative associations between disability and work experiences. Interestingly, requests for

accommodations do not only come from people with disabilities. Table 5 shows that people with and without disabilities have requested accommodations to better meet their personal needs: 70.2% of people with disabilities have requested accommodations, compared to 56.0% of people without disabilities. People with and without self-reported disabilities are particularly likely to request changes in work schedules (65.8% and 55.4%, respectively), indicating that flexibility is a major issue for all workers. Another common accommodation request is a change in communications and information sharing (55.7% and 43.7%, respectively). Although the majority of people with and without disabilities have requested accommodations, only 7.7% of those without disabilities requested the change in order to accommodate a health condition, impairment, or disability (as opposed to some other reason, like caring responsibilities) compared to 33.1% of those with disabilities.

The results for types of accommodations requested are quite similar for individuals with disclosed disabilities, but people with disclosed disabilities were substantially more likely to make their request to accommodate their health condition (39.3%). Despite these gaps, there is no statistically significant difference in the likelihood of having a requested accommodation granted, and the results show that only half of all workers have their accommodation requests fully granted.

Insert Table 5 Here

IV. Regression Analysis

Regression results for the association between work experiences, disability status, and accommodations are found in Table 6. For each of the 11 indicators of job experiences, we first report the coefficient and standard error for the self-reported disability variable, and we then report results for regressions that include a set of dummy variables for accommodations and the

interaction of those accommodation variables with disability status. Consistent with the analysis of descriptive statistics, disability status has no statistically significant association with job satisfaction, job autonomy, organizational citizenship behaviors, and perceived treatment of people with disabilities when we control for other demographic characteristics. However, people with a self-reported disability are more likely to have higher turnover intentions (.095, $p<0.01$) and are less likely to agree with statements related to their own organizational commitment (-.056, $p<0.10$) and perceived organizational support (-.085, $p<0.05$), their employer's openness to differences (-.098, $p<0.01$) and climate for inclusion (-055, $p<0.10$), and their relationships with their manager (-.095, $p<0.01$) and colleagues (-.067, $p<0.01$).

Insert Table 6 Here

As hypothesized, these adverse relationships between self-reported disability and work experiences are often moderated by being fully granted an accommodation. Table 6 presents the results of regressions predicting the outcomes using disability interacted with the disposition of accommodation requests (with no accommodation request as the base category). People with a disability request who have had their accommodation request fully granted have a very small and statistically insignificant association with organizational commitment, perceived organizational support, employer openness to difference, climate for inclusion, their relationship with management and their relationship with coworkers. For each of these work experience outcomes, the negative association between disability and work experience is no longer meaningful or statistically significant. Only for turnover intentions do we still see that people with disabilities are more likely to want to leave their jobs (.096, $p<.10$), even if they have been fully granted an accommodation request.

Negative effects of disability on these outcomes are most likely to occur among people with disabilities who have not made an accommodation request: significant negative effects appear for this group in organizational commitment (-.095, p<.10), perceived organizational support (-.139, p<.05), employer openness to difference (-.107, p<.10), climate for inclusion (-.114, p<.05), manager relations (-.135, p<.01), and coworker relations (-.082, p<.10).

Turning to the effects of work from home, regression results for the association between work experiences, disability status, and work from home are found in Table 7. As before, we first report the disability gap for each of the 11 indicators of work experience, and we then report results for regressions that include a set of dummy variables for work from home and their interaction with disability status. Work from home is modeled in two alternative ways: (1) frequency (not at all, less than 3 days per week, and three or more days per week); and (2) reason (not at all, for the pandemic or benefit of the employer, and for the benefit of the employee).

Results for the baseline effects of work from home are positive across almost all measures. For example, Table 7 shows job satisfaction is significantly higher among those working at home one or two days a week (.124) or three or more days a week (.195, both significant at p<.01), relative to those doing no work from home.

The effects of work from home are often less positive, however, for employees with disabilities. These effects have to be interpreted in the context of the positive base effects. Most of the disability interactions in Table 7 are negative, and many are statistically significant, indicating less favorable effects of work from home. Note that this does not mean working from home has a negative effect on job attitudes for employees with disabilities—only that the effects are not as positive. For example, the organizational commitment regression shows a positive base effect of .176 for working from home three or more days a week, and the disability

interaction shows a coefficient of -.117, indicating that the full effect for employees with disabilities is .176-.117=.059. This indicates that the organizational commitment of employees with disabilities who work three or more days a week is .059 higher than that of on-site employees with disabilities, which is smaller than the .176 difference among employees without disabilities.

The finding that work from home has a less positive effect for employees with disabilities than for those without disabilities holds across the job satisfaction, job autonomy, organizational commitment, perceived organizational support, employer openness to difference, and climate for inclusion measures. This pattern also holds for turnover intentions, where working from home three or more days a week is linked to lower turnover intentions for employees without disabilities (base effect =-.162, $p<.01$) while the disability interaction indicates a weaker relationship for people with disabilities; work from home may, however, be especially important for employees with disabilities given that not working from home is strongly linked to greater turnover intentions among employees with disabilities (.159, $p<.01$). The only measures where working from home has a net negative effect on employees with disabilities are supervisor and coworker relations, where the negative disability interactions exceed the positive base effects.

This set of results contradicts our hypothesis that working from home will help close disability gaps in employee attitudes. The finding that supervisor and coworker relations are especially poor among employees with disabilities who work from home suggests that such work can reinforce the social isolation of employees with disabilities, since it may involve fewer social interactions, less visibility (“out of sight, out of mind”), fewer opportunities for networking, communication problems, inadequate access to resources, and lack of trust. Working from home

may also aggravate problems with work boundaries, work-life balance, and distractions at home for employees with disabilities.

V. Conclusion

This study has found a substantial disability gap in various measures of work experience, where people with disabilities report lower job satisfaction, greater turnover intentions, lower sense of belonging/inclusion, worse relations with management and co-workers, and higher perceptions of disability bias. Our regression results show that adverse relationships between disability and work experiences are often reduced or eliminated by having an accommodation request be fully granted. People who have been granted accommodations are more likely to report that they are satisfied with their jobs, and they are less likely to report wanting to leave their jobs. Accommodations are also positively associated with employee organizational commitment, perceived organizational support, employer openness to differences, the climate for inclusion, the treatment of people with disabilities, and relationships with their managers.

We found, however, that working from home does not appear to close disability gaps in job attitudes. Working from home has a positive effect on many job attitudes for employees with disabilities, but it has an even more positive effect for employees without disabilities, so the disability gaps in job attitudes are often larger among home-based workers than among on-site workers. The less positive effects among people with disabilities appear to be tied to social isolation, as employees with disabilities who work from home report especially poor supervisor and coworker relations.

Prior to the pandemic, employers were generally resistant to work from home (and courts have not considered it to be a reasonable accommodation in most cases), along with other reasonable accommodations under the ADA (Kaye et al. 2011). Such resistance may have been

decreased by experiences in the pandemic that encouraged creative re-thinking of the best ways to accomplish job tasks. One lesson for employers is that accommodations can improve workplace attitudes and decrease turnover intentions for employees both with and without disabilities. This is consistent with earlier findings that accommodations not only lead to better attitudes among accommodated employees, but also can improve attitudes of co-workers who generally view the employer more positively when they see a co-worker being accommodated (Schur et al. 2014).

The lesson for employers regarding work from home is more complicated. Such work is generally associated with better job attitudes and lower turnover intentions among employees both with and without disabilities, but the smaller positive effects among employees with disabilities indicate that there is value in considering ways to help decrease the social isolation of employees with disabilities who are working at home. This could include more online supervisor and coworker interaction, virtual social events, and occasional in-person accessible events. Such efforts need to take account of the employee's type of disability, which affects the feasibility, cost, and comfort level of increased social interaction for employees with disabilities.

These results indicate that accommodations and work from home can have important effects on employees with and without disabilities. It would be valuable to further explore these topics with an eye toward expanding opportunities for meaningful employment among people with disabilities, and enhancing their workplace experiences once employed.

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Figure 1. Construction of Disability Subsamples and Comparison Groups

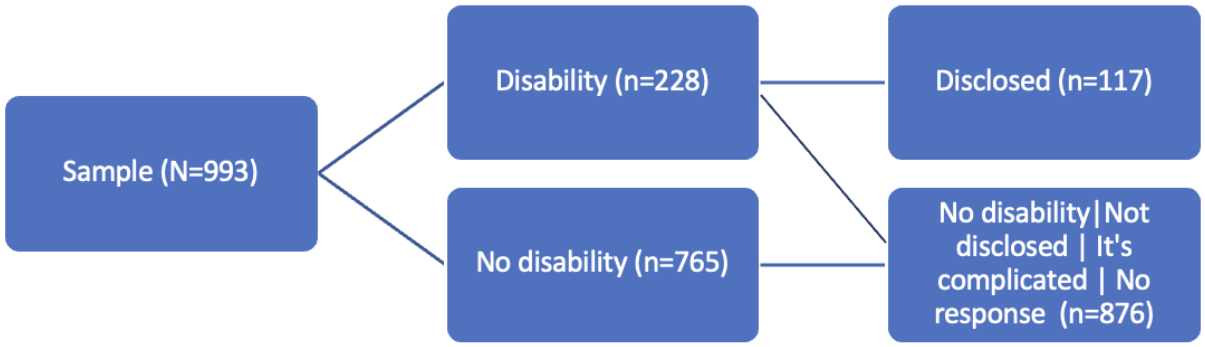

Table 1. Sample Statistics on Disability Status

	Number	*Percent*
Total Sample	993	100.0
Person without disability	765	77.0
Person with disability	228	23.0
Types of Disabilities (Not Mutually Exclusive)	228	100.0
Deaf/difficulty hearing	33	14.5
Blind/difficulty seeing	10	4.4
Difficulty concentrating/making decisions	113	49.6
Difficulty walking/climbing stairs	57	25.0
Difficulty dressing/bathing	7	3.1
Difficulty doing errands alone	39	17.2
Difficulty interacting with others	47	20.6
Long-term health impairment	106	46.5
Difficulties Among People with Disabilities	228	100.0
Health condition has affected my ability to complete work duties with moderate or severe difficulty	32	14.0
Have you disclosed your health condition, impairment, or disability to your employer?		
Yes	117	51.8
No	57	25.2
It's complicated	52	23.0
Did not respond	2	0.9
I have sometimes been unfairly treated because of my health condition, impairment, or disability.	34	14.9
At work I feel socially isolated because of my health condition, impairment, or disability	35	15.4
I have not disclosed my health condition, impairment, or disability at work because I am afraid of being stigmatized	38	16.7

Source: Authors' computations based on original survey.

Table 2. Sample Means for Demographic Characteristics, by Self-Reported Disability Status

Demographic Characteristic	*Disability Mean*	*No Disability Mean*	*Difference*
Age	43.638	44.935	-1.297
# Children at home	1.772	2.050	-0.278***
Gender			
Man	0.085	0.108	-0.023
Woman	0.848	0.868	-0.020
Nonbinary	0.067	0.024	0.043***
Race/Ethnicity			
Black	0.124	0.118	0.007
White	0.836	0.837	-0.002
Hispanic	0.040	0.026	0.014
American Indian/Alaska Native	0.058	0.034	0.023
Asian/Pacific Islander	0.013	0.017	-0.004
Multiracial/other	0.089	0.052	0.037**
Married	0.482	0.666	-0.184***
Education			
<9th grade	0.004	0.000	0.004*
High school graduate	0.098	0.069	0.029
Some college, no degree	0.209	0.147	0.062**
Associate degree	0.204	0.167	0.038
Bachelor's degree	0.311	0.371	-0.060
Master's degree	0.151	0.181	-0.030
Professional degree/PhD	0.022	0.065	-0.043**
Income >=$75,000	0.223	0.364	-0.141***
Works full-time	0.886	0.882	0.004
Worked at employer before pandemic	0.741	0.800	-0.059*
Worked at employer <= 5 years	0.513	0.400	0.113***
Has management role	0.088	0.125	-0.037

Note: Sample size 993. *** statistically significant at 1%, ** at 5%, and * at 10% in 2-tail t tests. See Appendix Table 1 for sample means using Disclosed Disability status.

Table 3. Sample Means for Work From Home Characteristics, by Self-Reported Disability Status

Work From Home (WFH) Characteristics	*Disability Mean*	*No Disability Mean*	*Difference*
WFH before pandemic	0.189	0.160	0.029
If no: did not WFH b/c not permitted	0.454	0.443	0.010
If yes: WFH to coordinate w/ family schedule	0.463	0.500	-0.037
If yes: WFH 2 or more days/week	0.439	0.333	0.106
WFH currently	0.529	0.529	-0.001
If no: do not WFH b/c not permitted	0.292	0.288	0.005
If yes: WFH to coordinate w/ family schedule	0.331	0.371	-0.040
If yes: WFH 2 or more days/week	0.825	0.716	0.109**
I want to WFH more than I do now	0.462	0.333	0.129**
Index of agreement on WFH positive effects before pandemic	0.544	0.506	0.039
Index of agreement on WFH positive effects currently	0.651	0.628	0.023

Note: Sample size 993. *** statistically significant at 1%, ** at 5%, and * at 10% in 2-tail t tests. See Appendix Table 2 for sample means using Disclosed Disability status, and Appendix Table 3 for indicators included in the indices of agreement on WFH positive effects.

Table 4. Sample Means for Job Satisfaction and Indices of Work Experiences, by Self-Reported Disability Status

	Disability Mean	*No Disability Mean*	*Difference*
Somewhat or very satisfied in job	0.592	0.648	-0.056
Index of agreement on job autonomy	0.575	0.599	-0.023
Index of turnover intentions	0.420	0.323	0.096***
Index of employee organizational commitment	0.459	0.530	-0.071**
Index of employee organizational citizenship behaviors	0.550	0.557	-0.007
Index of perceived organizational support	0.309	0.403	-0.094***
Index of employer openness to differences	0.453	0.561	-0.107***
Index of climate for inclusion	0.348	0.416	-0.069**
Index of treatment of people with disabilities	0.415	0.438	-0.023
Index of relationship with manager (leader-member exchange)	0.657	0.761	-0.105***
Index of relationships with coworkers (coworker exchange)	0.706	0.801	-0.095***

Note: Sample size 993. *** statistically significant at 1%, ** at 5%, and * at 10% in 2-tail t tests. Figures denote % who agree with the statements. See Appendix Table 4 for sample means using Disclosed Disability status, and for indicators included in the indices.

Table 5. Sample Means for Accommodation Requests, by Self-Reported Disability Status

Accommodations	*Disability Mean*	*No Disability Mean*	*Difference*
Have you ever requested accommodations?	0.702	0.560	0.142***
Type requested: equipment	0.443	0.484	-0.041
Type requested: physical change to workplace	0.297	0.256	0.042
Type requested: work from home	0.297	0.275	0.023
Type requested: change to work schedule	0.658	0.554	0.104**
Type requested: restructure job	0.241	0.195	0.046
Type requested: move to another job or location	0.203	0.143	0.059*
Type requested: change communications/info sharing	0.557	0.437	0.120***
Type requested: other	0.241	0.181	0.060
Most recent request: equipment	0.161	0.218	-0.056
Most recent request: physical change to workplace	0.050	0.061	-0.011
Most recent request: work from home	0.087	0.059	0.028
Most recent request: change to work schedule	0.273	0.288	-0.015
Most recent request: restructure job	0.099	0.075	0.024
Most recent request: move to another job or location	0.075	0.056	0.018
Most recent request: change communications/info sharing	0.168	0.176	-0.008
Most recent request: other	0.087	0.068	0.019
Most recent accommodation was requested within the past 12 months	0.791	0.831	-0.040
Did you request this change in order to accommodate any health condition, impairment, or disability that you may have?	0.331	0.077	0.254***
Was the requested change or accommodation made?			
Yes	0.500	0.475	0.025
No	0.259	0.304	-0.044
Partially	0.241	0.221	0.019

Note: Sample size 993 for first question. Responses for remaining questions are conditional on having ever requested accommodations. See Appendix Table 5 for sample means using Disclosed Disability status.

*** statistically significant at 1%, ** at 5%, and * at 10% in 2-tail t tests.

Table 6. Regression Results for Association Between Work Experiences, Self-Reported Disability, and Accommodations

Variable	*Job satisfaction*		*Job autonomy*		*Turnover intentions*		*Organizational commitment*	
	Basic	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*
Disability	-0.184*		0.015		0.095***		-0.056*	
	(0.105)		(0.028)		(0.033)		(0.033)	
Accom requests if no disability								
No accom request (excluded)								
Accom request fully granted		-0.041		-0.067**		0.026		-0.035
		(0.115)		(0.032)		(0.036)		(0.037)
Accom request denied		-1.098***		-0.176***		0.346***		-0.319***
		(0.135)		(0.038)		(0.042)		(0.043)
Accom request partly granted		-0.745***		-0.139***		0.204***		-0.259***
		(0.152)		(0.043)		(0.048)		(0.048)
Accom requests if disability								
No accom request		-0.303*		-0.037		0.060		-0.095*
		(0.178)		(0.050)		(0.056)		(0.057)
Accom request fully granted		-0.223		0.074		0.096*		0.007
		(0.162)		(0.048)		(0.054)		(0.054)
Accom request denied		-1.049***		0.016		0.099		-0.064
		(0.216)		(0.065)		(0.073)		(0.074)
Accom request partly granted		-0.822***		0.048		0.101		-0.056
		(0.227)		(0.071)		(0.079)		(0.080)

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Table 6 Continued. Regression Results for Association Between Work Experiences, Self-Reported Disability, and Accommodations

Variable	*Organizational citizenship behaviors*		*Perceived organizational support*		*Employer openness to difference*		*Climate for inclusion*	
	Basic	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*
Disability	0.015		-0.085**		-0.098***		-0.055*	
	(0.030)		(0.033)		(0.033)		(0.033)	
Accom requests (exclude: no request)								
Accom request fully granted		0.005		0.005		-0.015		0.012
		(0.034)		(0.036)		(0.036)		(0.037)
Accom request denied		0.028		-0.317***		-0.321***		-0.290***
		(0.040)		(0.042)		(0.042)		(0.043)
Accom request partly granted		0.049		-0.248***		-0.197***		-0.206***
		(0.045)		(0.048)		(0.048)		(0.049)
Disability interactions with:								
No accom request		-0.001		-0.139**		-0.107*		-0.114**
		(0.053)		(0.056)		(0.056)		(0.057)
Accom request fully granted		0.062		-0.038		-0.023		-0.017
		(0.051)		(0.054)		(0.054)		(0.054)
Accom request denied		-0.020		-0.047		-0.099		-0.038
		(0.069)		(0.073)		(0.073)		(0.074)
Accom request partly granted		-0.077		-0.080		-0.213***		-0.041
		(0.075)		(0.079)		(0.079)		(0.080)

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Table 6 Continued. Regression Results for Association Between Work Experiences, Self-Reported Disability, and Accommodations

Variable	*Treatment of people with disabilities*		*Manager relations*		*Coworker relations*	
	Basic	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*
Disability	-0.013		-0.095***		-0.067***	
	(0.023)		(0.027)		(0.025)	
Accom requests (exclude: no request)						
Accom request fully granted		-0.006		0.023		-0.002
		(0.026)		(0.030)		(0.028)
Accom request denied		-0.142***		-0.247***		-0.102***
		(0.030)		(0.035)		(0.033)
Accom request partly granted		-0.079**		-0.182***		-0.106***
		(0.035)		(0.040)		(0.038)
Disability interactions with:						
No accom request		-0.038		-0.135***		-0.082*
		(0.040)		(0.046)		(0.044)
Accom request fully granted		0.039		-0.040		-0.053
		(0.039)		(0.045)		(0.042)
Accom request denied		-0.033		-0.089		-0.078
		(0.053)		(0.061)		(0.057)
Accom request partly granted		-0.050		-0.129**		-0.030
		(0.057)		(0.066)		(0.062)

Note: Sample size 993. *** statistically significant at 1%, ** at 5%, and * at 10% in 2-tail t tests. Complete regression results including coefficient estimates for all control variables are found in Appendix Table 6.

Table 7. Regression Results for Association Between Work Experiences, Self-Reported Disability, and Work from Home

Variable	*Job satisfaction*		*Job autonomy*		*Turnover intentions*		*Organizational commitment*	
	Basic	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*
Disability	-0.047		0.015		0.095***		-0.056*	
	(0.038)		(0.028)		(0.033)		(0.033)	
Work from home Def 1 (exclude: no WFH)								
WFH < 3 days/week		0.124***		0.226***		-0.063		0.127***
		(0.047)		(0.034)		(0.041)		(0.042)
WFH 3+ days/week		0.195***		0.294***		-0.162***		0.176***
		(0.041)		(0.029)		(0.036)		(0.036)
Disability interactions with:								
No WFH		-0.080		0.040		0.159***		-0.046
		(0.054)		(0.039)		(0.047)		(0.048)
WFH < 3 days/week		-0.013		-0.131**		0.016		-0.016
		(0.087)		(0.062)		(0.076)		(0.077)
WFH 3+ days/week		-0.058		-0.005		0.084		-0.117**
		(0.061)		(0.044)		(0.053)		(0.054)
Work from home Def 2 (exclude: no WFH)								
WFH just for pandemic or employer		0.136***		0.258***		-0.091**		0.135***
		(0.046)		(0.033)		(0.040)		(0.041)
WFH for benefit of employee		0.191***		0.277***		-0.147***		0.173***
		(0.041)		(0.030)		(0.036)		(0.037)
Disability interactions with:								
No WFH		-0.080		0.040		0.159***		-0.046
		(0.054)		(0.039)		(0.048)		(0.048)
WFH just for pandemic or employer		-0.044		-0.028		0.026		-0.004
		(0.083)		(0.060)		(0.073)		(0.073)
WFH for benefit of employee		-0.043		-0.046		0.077		-0.128**
		(0.063)		(0.045)		(0.055)		(0.056)

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Table 7 Continued. Regression Results for Association Between Work Experiences, Self-Reported Disability, and Work from Home

Variable	*Organizational citizenship behaviors*		*Perceived organizational support*		*Employer openness to difference*		*Climate for inclusion*	
	Basic	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*
Disability	0.015		-0.085**		-0.098***		-0.055*	
	(0.030)		(0.033)		(0.033)		(0.033)	
Work from home Def 1 (excl.: no WFH)								
WFH < 3 days/week		0.080**		0.188***		0.108***		0.122***
		(0.038)		(0.041)		(0.042)		(0.042)
WFH 3+ days/week		0.088***		0.253***		0.154***		0.190***
		(0.033)		(0.035)		(0.036)		(0.036)
Disability interactions with:								
No WFH		0.020		-0.035		-0.091*		-0.026
		(0.043)		(0.047)		(0.048)		(0.048)
WFH < 3 days/week		-0.010		-0.135*		-0.094		0.005
		(0.069)		(0.076)		(0.077)		(0.077)
WFH 3+ days/week		-0.002		-0.164***		-0.134**		-0.148***
		(0.048)		(0.053)		(0.054)		(0.054)
Work from home Def 2 (excl.: no WFH)								
WFH just for pandemic or employer		0.074**		0.211***		0.102**		0.155***
		(0.037)		(0.040)		(0.040)		(0.041)
WFH for benefit of employee		0.092***		0.240***		0.161***		0.170***
		(0.033)		(0.036)		(0.036)		(0.036)
Disability interactions with:								
No WFH		0.020		-0.034		-0.091*		-0.026
		(0.043)		(0.047)		(0.048)		(0.048)
WFH just for pandemic or employer		0.046		-0.100		0.005		-0.061
		(0.066)		(0.072)		(0.073)		(0.073)
WFH for benefit of employee		-0.033		-0.181***		-0.190***		-0.116**
		(0.050)		(0.055)		(0.055)		(0.055)

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Table 7 Continued. Regression Results for Association Between Work Experiences, Self-Reported Disability, and Work from Home

Variable	*Treatment of people with disabilities*		*Manager relations*		*Coworker relations*	
	Basic	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*	*Basic*	*Interaction*
Disability	-0.013		-0.095***		-0.067***	
	(0.023)		(0.027)		(0.025)	
Work from home Def. 1 (exclude: no WFH)						
WFH < 3 days/week		0.033		0.110***		0.010
		(0.030)		(0.035)		(0.032)
WFH 3+ days/week		0.042*		0.124***		0.035
		(0.025)		(0.030)		(0.027)
Disability interactions with:						
No WFH		-0.011		-0.035		-0.057
		(0.034)		(0.040)		(0.036)
WFH < 3 days/week		-0.016		-0.135**		-0.072
		(0.054)		(0.064)		(0.059)
WFH 3+ days/week		-0.019		-0.171***		-0.078*
		(0.038)		(0.044)		(0.041)
Work from home Def. 2 (exclude: no WFH)						
WFH just for pandemic or employer		0.016		0.117***		0.023
		(0.029)		(0.034)		(0.031)
WFH for benefit of employee		0.054**		0.120***		0.027
		(0.026)		(0.030)		(0.028)
Disability interactions with:						
No WFH		-0.011		-0.035		-0.057
		(0.034)		(0.040)		(0.036)
WFH just for pandemic or employer		0.026		-0.207***		-0.015
		(0.052)		(0.061)		(0.055)
WFH for benefit of employee		-0.045		-0.134***		-0.106**
		(0.039)		(0.046)		(0.042)

Note: Sample size 993. *** statistically significant at 1%, ** at 5%, and * at 10% in 2-tail t tests. Complete regression results including coefficient estimates for all control variables are found in Appendix Table 6.