

Caring for the carers: Organizational support, job crafting, and job satisfaction in a unionized worker cooperative

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Abstract

This study examines how perceived organizational support (POS) and job crafting influence job satisfaction among home care workers in Cooperative Home Care Associates (CHCA), a unionized worker cooperative. Survey data from 314 workers and structural equation modeling indicate that the positive aspects of POS are the strongest predictor of satisfaction, with a modest indirect effect via cognitive job crafting. This suggests that, even in precarious care work, organizational support embedded in worker-led structures enhances satisfaction directly and by reshaping the meaning and value of work. This extends POS and job crafting theories to precarious labor and highlights worker-led organizations as viable institutional supports for care workers.

Keywords

care work, home care aides, job crafting, job satisfaction, organizational support, worker cooperatives

Introduction

In this article we investigate pathways of perceived organizational support, job crafting, and job satisfaction in an unusual setting—a union co-op of home care workers.

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Home health and personal care aides constitute the largest and fastest-growing occupation in the United States, with more than 4 million workers and projected growth of 17% over the next decade (Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2024). Home care aides provide non-medical assistance, helping with daily activities such as cooking, shopping, bathing, and lifting clients.¹ Despite its importance, this type of work is often *precarious*, characterized by “employment insecurity, limited workplace rights and social protection, . . . low wages and economic deprivation” (Ervin et al., 2025: 666). In the US, home care aides across the industry typically work for nonprofit or for-profit agencies under physically and emotionally challenging conditions marked by low pay, limited benefits, unstable hours, and little opportunity for career advancement.²

One possible way to improve upon precariousness and its effects is unionization. Unionization of direct care workers has been found to be associated with higher wages and benefits, greater job satisfaction, and reduced turnover (Abraham-Aggarwal et al., 2024; Zieger et al., 2014). Even then, workers often lack meaningful participation in decision-making and have limited control over their work environment. Another potential remedy is the unionized worker cooperatives (union co-ops). The worker co-op structure enables workers to be both members and decision-makers, electing governing bodies and shaping organizational decisions. At the same time, the union structure operates as an independent body that safeguards worker rights, negotiates contracts, mediates conflicts, and connects workers to broader labor networks, benefit systems, and political advocacy (Bird et al., 2021; Levinson, 2018). This dual structure embeds worker voice into both the internal operations of the organization and its external labor relations, addressing two common limitations in precarious work: lack of control over working conditions and absence of institutional protection (Huertas-Noble, 2016; Witherell, 2013). This setting has the potential to improve worker agency and job satisfaction.

To explore this, we turn to concepts better known from a different context: perceived organizational support (POS) (Eisenberger et al., 1986) and job crafting (JC) (Tims et al., 2012; Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001). These are well established in conventional, stable, and hierarchical employment contexts because these settings offer visible discretion, managerial support, and stable organizational resources that institutionalize and legitimize proactive behaviors. However, they are less frequently applied to precarious labor settings or alternative organizational forms (e.g., Cicellin et al., 2022; Kim, 2025; Kim and Mandiberg, 2024). Organizational support is often weak in precarious work settings, which has limited the development of research on POS in such contexts. However, alternative organizational forms—such as unionized worker cooperatives—offer a distinct context for examining how POS operates within worker-led or worker-powered organizations, especially for precarious workers. In these settings, organizational support may encourage proactive worker behavior (specifically, job crafting) and enhance job satisfaction, even within structurally constrained labor markets, allowing scholars to examine the influence of POS beyond external structural constraints.

We thus add to the POS and JC literatures by demonstrating how organizational support and job crafting operate within a unionized democratic organizational form among precarious home care workers. We show that POS remains a strong predictor of job satisfaction in low-wage, insecure care work, and that cognitive job crafting serves as a key meaning-making pathway linking support to satisfaction under conditions of constrained

autonomy. We connect this to debates in economic and industrial democracy by providing evidence that institutionalized respect and structuralized embedded care, not intrinsic motivation alone, are central to sustaining satisfaction among precarious care workers.

Perceived organizational support theory

POS is workers' perceptions of how their organization values their work and cares about their well-being (Eisenberger et al., 1986). The construct originated from efforts to address an imbalance in commitment research, which had largely focused on employees' loyalty to organizations while neglecting the organization's commitment to them (Eisenberger et al., 2020). It is grounded in social exchange theory (Blau, 1964), which holds that relationships evolve through mutual obligations based on trust and reciprocity. When organizations demonstrate care, fairness, and recognition, workers feel obligated to respond with effort, loyalty, and engagement (Uçar and Kerse, 2022). This dynamic of social exchange occurs partly because workers tend to personify the organization—viewing it as an entity capable of intention and care. Such personification arises because the organization, through its agents and enduring culture, exerts authority, continuity, and responsibility for workers' treatment (Levinson, 1965). Through this perception, workers interpret actions by supervisors or policies as reflecting the organization's overall disposition toward them. Perceptions of genuine support—such as fairness, recognition, and concern for their well-being—satisfy socioemotional needs for approval, belonging, and esteem—while signaling that greater effort on behalf of the organization will be valued and rewarded (Eisenberger et al., 2020). Empirical studies support this theoretical link, showing that POS enhances workers' organizational commitment (Allen et al., 2003; Shore and Shore, 1995), innovative behavior (Nazir et al., 2019), readiness for change (Arnéguy et al., 2018), organizational citizenship behaviors (Biswas and Kapil, 2017; Noruzy, 2011), performance (Biswas and Kapil, 2017), and job satisfaction (Allen et al., 2003).

Even where organizational features might seem swamped in influence by such problems as precariousness, the perceived need for support does not go away, directly or in terms of effects on other interactions. Although POS has been extensively studied in professional and stable workplace settings, it has received comparatively limited direct attention in research on precarious work. Existing studies of contingent, temporary, or insecure employment suggest that organizational support-related processes remain important for worker well-being and behavior, even when examined indirectly or alongside job insecurity and employment arrangements (Cicellin et al., 2022; Connelly and Gallagher, 2004; De Cuyper and De Witte, 2006).

In the home care sector, not POS, but related constructs such as organizational value and work-related compensation (Yoon and Khan, 2020) and worker voice (Bensson-Ravunniarath et al., 2023) have both been shown to significantly influence job satisfaction among home *health* care aides. However, these studies focus on home *health* aides who perform basic medical tasks in Medicare-certified agencies, which provide more structured oversight and benefits seldom afforded to other home care workers. Franzosa et al. (2018), in a study of home care workers, document that agencies often undervalue the relational labor required for quality care—such as emotional support and

trust-building and frequently exclude workers from communication and case planning. As a result, workers report feeling isolated and unsupported. Although POS is not directly examined, these findings suggest that workers' perception of agency support is likely to influence their job satisfaction.

Job crafting theory

JC theory challenges traditional, top-down approaches to job design by emphasizing that workers are active agents who shape, modify, and reinterpret their work to align with their values, strengths, and needs (Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001). Grounded in positive psychology, it highlights how employees create meaning and engagement through three interrelated forms of crafting: task crafting (altering the type, scope, or number of tasks), relational crafting (modifying the quality or extent of workplace relationships), and cognitive crafting (reframing how one perceives the purpose or significance of work). Through these self-initiated changes, workers enhance both their sense of identity and the meaning of their work. Tims and Bakker (2010) reframed JC, highlighting it as a proactive strategy for balancing job demands and resources to sustain motivation and performance. Slemp and Vella-Brodrick (2013) further refined and validated the concept through the JC Questionnaire, linking crafting behaviors to self-determination, well-being, and flourishing.

Some research extended JC beyond individual agency. Leana et al. (2009) emphasized *collaborative job crafting*, where workers collectively adjust tasks and relationships to enhance both job quality and organizational outcomes (especially relevant in cooperative or team-based settings). Kim (2025) introduced the concept of *organizational job crafting*, highlighting how collective structures, such as cooperatives, unions, and community organizations, influence workers' ability to redesign their jobs.

Empirical studies consistently link JC to higher job satisfaction, engagement, and well-being, as well as to improved organizational commitment and performance (Bakker and Demerouti, 2007; Demerouti et al., 2021; Lazazzara et al., 2020; Rudolph et al., 2017; Slemp et al., 2021; Tims et al., 2013; Villajos et al., 2019; Zhang and Parker, 2019). Emerging research suggests JC has unique meanings and consequences under precarity, with themes of reclaiming agency and aligning work with personal needs. Svicher and Di Fabio (2021) highlight its potential to promote decent work, while Mirabito et al. (2025) show how crafting helps frontline workers adapt to external "jolts," sudden disruptions such as economic downturns, pandemics, or organizational changes that destabilize work routines.

For precarious workers, who often lack autonomy and institutional support, the extent to which job crafting becomes a viable strategy depends on organizational context and available resources. When organizations provide recognition, respect, and fair structures, job crafting can foster resilience and retention (Gusoff et al., 2025; Kim, 2025; Mirabito et al., 2025). However, when crafting efforts remain invisible or unsupported, they risk becoming unrecognized labor that deepens precarity (Franzosa et al., 2018).

Drawing on the Job Demands–Resources framework, organizational resources create conditions that enable proactive behaviors by fostering motivational and enabling conditions for discretionary effort (Bakker and Demerouti, 2007; Tims and Bakker, 2010).

POS represents a particularly salient contextual resource, signaling that workers' initiatives are valued and that effort beyond formal role requirements will be recognized (Rhoades and Eisenberger, 2002). Emerging empirical evidence supports this linkage. Oubibi et al. (2022) found that POS positively predicts job crafting and that job crafting mediates the relationship between POS and career satisfaction. Similarly, Mansour et al. (2025) show that POS for strength use (i.e., employees' ability to apply their personal skills and competencies at work) is associated with greater investment in job crafting behaviors, which in turn enhances employee well-being and task performance. In cooperative and unionized settings, where collective norms and shared governance shape work processes, POS may further legitimize both individual and collaborative forms of crafting (Kim, 2025; Leana et al., 2009).

Together, these findings suggest that JC is not merely an individual initiative, but influenced by organizational support, making POS a critical antecedent of job crafting in a precarious and alternative organizational context.

Accordingly, we propose the following hypotheses:

H1: Perceived organizational support is positively associated with job crafting.

H2: Job crafting is positively associated with job satisfaction.

H3: Perceived organizational support is also directly positively associated with job satisfaction.

Taken together,

H4: Job crafting mediates the relationship between perceived organizational support and job satisfaction.

We explore all this in a set of incrementally more complex models. The literatures on support and on crafting also take care to separate *types* of support and *types* of crafting. The relative importance of these varies by context. This leads to a final, more nuanced, hypothesis:

H5a: The relative importance, directly and for job satisfaction, of factors making up perceived organizational support will be different in the context of precarious work.

H5b: The relative importance, directly and for job satisfaction, of factors making up job crafting will be different in the context of precarious work.

Cooperative Home Care Associates: A union worker co-op

Worker co-ops are businesses owned by and democratically controlled by the workers themselves, who collectively make decisions about operations, policies, and finances (Pencavel, 2012). Following the principle of "one member, one vote" (Conover, 1959),

co-ops distribute power, promoting shared responsibility, transparency, and mutual accountability (Birchall, 2011).

A further innovation, the union worker co-op merges cooperative governance with union representation. In this hybrid, workers retain democratic ownership while also benefiting from collective bargaining, job protection, and access to more resources and broader labor networks (Bird et al., 2021; Witherell, 2013). The union oversees the management process and connects the cooperative to external resources such as training, advocacy, and benefit systems (Huertas-Noble, 2016; Levinson, 2018). Bargaining occurs between the union and an elected management committee of worker members, which functions as the employer, but remains accountable to the membership (Bird et al., 2021).

Union worker co-ops offer a valuable context for examining POS and JC among precarious workers. The dual structure of union worker co-ops creates conditions that can strengthen POS and encourage JC: the cooperative model fosters voice, participation, and shared ownership, while the union component institutionalizes fairness, protection, and negotiated accountability.

Cooperative Home Care Associates (CHCA), founded in 1985, is a worker cooperative providing home care services in New York City and creating stable employment for low-income women, particularly women of color and immigrant women. It is one of the largest worker co-ops in the United States (over 1,500 members, CHCA, n.d.). All workers have the option of becoming worker-owners, and about half have done so. While wages remain constrained by state reimbursement rates, CHCA emphasizes equitable pay, benefits, and worker participation in governance through an elected board, worker council, and labor-management committee. All CHCA aides are members of the 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East, the largest healthcare union in the United States, representing over 450,000 workers across five states and the District of Columbia (1199SEIU, n.d.).

Survey data and measurement

Data were collected at CHCA between March and October 2024. The research team recruited participants during regular events (e.g., training sessions, a worker appreciation day, and an information fair). These were open to all workers rather than targeted toward specific groups. Survey participation was voluntary. At each event, the research team set up a recruitment table and introduced the study by explaining its purpose and procedures. Recruitment took place before or after scheduled sessions. Interested workers were provided with an informed consent form in English or Spanish as preferred. After signing, participants received a printed survey in English and Spanish, also as preferred. Members of the research team were available on site to answer questions and provide clarification in English or Spanish.

A total of 314 CHCA workers completed the survey. All were women, with a median age of 50, a median education level of high school diploma or equivalent, and a median income category of \$15,001–\$35,000. Fifteen percent reported being citizens by birth, with another 34% being naturalized; 35% reported permanent residency; and the remaining 15% fell into other categories or declined to say. Worker-owners made up 63% of the sample. Hispanics comprised 72%, Black 16%, White 4%, and Other 4%.³

Table 1. Perceived organizational support factors.

"CHCA. . .	Label	Mean (SD)
. . .values my contribution to its well-being"	Values contrib.	4.2 (1.0)
. . .fails to appreciate extra effort"	<i>No appreciation</i>	3.2 (1.5)
. . .would ignore any complaint from me"	<i>Ignore</i>	3.7 (1.4)
. . .really cares about my well-being"	Care well-being	4.2 (1.1)
"Even if I did the best job possible, ___ would fail to notice"	<i>No recognition</i>	3.4 (1.5)
. . .cares about my general satisfaction at work"	Care satisfaction	4.1 (1.1)
. . .shows very little concern for me"	<i>Lack concern</i>	3.6 (1.5)
. . .takes pride in my accomplishments at work"	Pride	4.0 (1.1)
Overall		3.8 (1.3)

Perceived organizational support (POS)

This and other measures were adapted from established instruments and tailored to our context. POS was measured using an eight-item, five-point version of the “Survey of Perceived Organizational Support” (Eisenberger et al., 1997). The items assess the extent to which employees believe their organization values their contributions and cares about their well-being.⁴ Table 1 shows the items, means, standard deviations, and label names used later. Negatively worded items were reverse-coded (italicized in the table).

Job crafting (JC)

JC was measured with the 15-item Job Crafting Questionnaire developed by Slemp and Vella-Brodrick (2013), grounded in Wrzesniewski and Dutton’s (2001) conceptualization of job crafting. The scale assessed the extent to which workers made self-initiated changes to their tasks, thoughts, and relationships at work. Respondents rated how often they engaged in behaviors such as introducing new approaches to improve their work, reflecting on the meaning of their job, or building supportive connections with colleagues. Items 1–5 reflected *task crafting*, items 6–10 reflected *cognitive crafting*, and items 11–15 reflected *relational crafting*. The relational-crafting items were adapted from Leana et al. (2009) to better capture the collaborative and social aspects of job redesign relevant to cooperative work environments. Responses were rated on a six-point scale ranging from *hardly ever* (1) to *very often* (6), with higher scores representing greater JC.⁵ We dropped the 11th item (“coworkers”) as irrelevant here. See Table 2 for sample means and standard deviations, with the keywords used in Figures 3 and 4 shown in italics.

Job satisfaction (JS)

JS was measured using a single item: “How satisfied are you with your job as a whole, all in all?” Responses ranged from *highly dissatisfied* (1) to *very satisfied* (5). Although single-item measures do not allow traditional internal consistency estimates, prior research has demonstrated their adequacy for assessing global JS.⁶ The mean was 4.4 (SD 1.0).

Table 2. Job crafting factors by type.

	Mean (SD)
Task crafting	4.1 (1.8)
Introduce new <i>approaches</i> to improve your work (e.g., applying new learning from CHCA training to your work, creating tasty dishes of food to whet the client's appetite)	4.4 (1.0)
Change the <i>scope</i> or types of tasks that you complete at work (e.g., participating in a working group to discuss how to improve your work)	3.8 (1.9)
Introduce new work tasks that you think better suit your skills or interests (e.g., researching dietary treatment for your client because you are interested in nutrition)	4.3 (1.9)
Choose to take on additional tasks at work (e.g., teaching life skills to your client, listening to the client's stories) (label: <i>extra</i>)	4.3 (1.9)
Give <i>preference</i> to work tasks that suit your skills or interests (e.g., more cooking than cleaning because you like cooking)	3.5 (2.0)
Cognitive crafting	5.3 (1.1)
Think about how your job gives your life <i>purpose</i>	5.0 (1.3)
Remind yourself about <i>the significance your work</i> has for the success of the organization (label: <i>organizational impact</i>)	5.4 (1.1)
Remind yourself of the importance of your work for the broader <i>community</i>	5.4 (1.1)
Think about the ways in which your work positively impacts your <i>life</i>	5.4 (1.0)
Reflect on the role your job has for your overall <i>well-being</i>	5.4 (1.1)
Relational crafting	3.3 (2.0)
Organize or <i>attend</i> work-related social functions	3.1 (2.0)
Organize special events in the workplace	3.3 (2.0)
Choose to <i>mentor</i> new employees (officially or unofficially)	3.1 (2.0)
Make <i>friends</i> with people at work who have similar skills or interests	3.8 (1.9)
Overall	4.3 (1.8)

Mediation models with simple constructs

With survey items in hand for measuring POS, JC, and JS, we begin by exploring relationships between them using simple constructs. At this stage, POS and JC are represented by composite scores: averages of the relevant survey items. This approach is straightforward and transparent, treating each construct as a single observed variable that summarizes participants' responses. It provides a clear and accessible way to test the basic mediation framework linking POS, JC, and JS. Later, we will build on this foundation by introducing models that more directly account for the underlying factor structure of the constructs.

We first estimate a *single simple construct model*, where POS is represented by the average of all eight items (both positive and negative), and JC is represented by a weighted average across its 14 items. JC-Task (JC-T) is the average of its five items, JC-Relational (JC-R) the average of its four items, and JC-Cognitive (JC-C) the average of its five items. The overall JC composite is the mean of JC-T, JC-R, and JC-C, and this

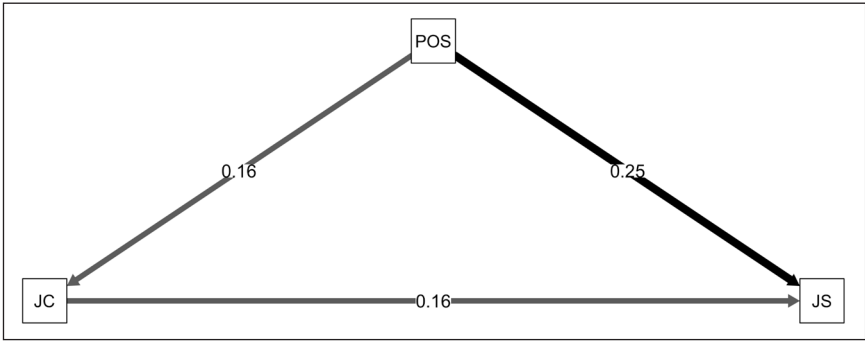


Figure 1. Single simple construct model (Model 1).

is used as the observed value of JC as a whole. We then turn to a *multiple simple construct model*, in which POS is separated into positive and negative dimensions (each a simple average), and JC is represented by its three distinct dimensions (task, cognitive, and relational). These models provide a plausible and interpretable baseline, showing overall patterns. They also serve as a robustness check for more complex approaches to follow, where measurement error and factor structures are explicitly modeled.

Model 1: Single simple construct model

We estimated a path analysis model of POS (simple average), JC (weighted average), and JS. The model specified POS as a predictor of both JC and JS, with JC in turn predicting JS. This corresponds to a standard mediation framework with both direct and indirect effects of POS on JS. The model was estimated in R (v4.3.2) using the *lavaan* package (Rosseel, 2012). Maximum likelihood (ML) estimation was used, with bootstrap standard errors and confidence intervals based on 5000 bootstrap samples to ensure robust inference for indirect effects ($N = 219$, given missing data). Because the model is “just-identified” (0 degrees of freedom), global fit indices such as χ^2 , CFI, TLI, and RMSEA are mathematically perfect and not informative; interpretation focuses on parameter estimates and explained variance (R^2). Figure 1 presents the estimates from Model 1, showing standardized path coefficients. Darker/thicker arrows show stronger relationships. Figures were generated with *semPaths* (Epskamp, 2015).

Statistical significance is evaluated based on the parameter estimates in Table 3. POS significantly predicted both JC and JS directly, and JC also predicted JS. The indirect effect of POS on JS through JC was small but statistically significant, while the total effect was larger. POS explained only 2.6% of the variance in JC, but together with JC accounted for 10.4% of the variance in JS. Of the total effect of POS on JS, about 9% operated through JC and 91% was direct. In this first-cut model, the mediation effect is therefore small. JC’s effect on JS is about half the size of POS’s, but roughly 20% of JC’s impact reflects POS’s influence. The remaining 80% of JC’s coefficient (about .14 of the .17) represents its own independent contribution.

Table 3. Estimates for single simple construct model (Model 1).

Path	Estimate	SE	p	Std. beta
POS → JC	.192	.067	.004	.162
JC → JS	.172	.057	.003	.163
POS → JS (direct)	.317	.069	< .001	.253
Indirect effect (POS → JC → JS)	.033	.016	.038	.026
Total effect (direct + indirect)	.350	.070	< .001	.279

Model 2: Multiple simple construct model

We estimated a multiple-mediator path analysis model using composite averages for the positive and negative dimensions of POS and for the three forms of JC (task, cognitive, and relational). Each of the three JC composites was regressed on both POS-positive and POS-negative. JS was regressed on all three JC composites and on both POS dimensions. This framework allows for multiple indirect pathways from POS to JS, operating through different forms of JC. The same estimation technique was used as above, but this specification is over-identified ($df = 3$), so model fit indices can be evaluated. The overall fit was poor: $\chi^2(3) = 95.88, p < .001$, CFI = .54, TLI = -1.15, RMSEA = .326 (90% CI [.272, .384]), SRMR = .119, $N = 219$. This indicates that the composite specification did not reproduce the observed covariance structure well.

Figure 2 presents the estimates from Model 2, showing standardized path coefficients for the multiple simple construct specification. Darker and thicker arrows indicate stronger relationships, while lighter arrows indicate weaker ones. As Figure 2 shows, POS-positive has a strong direct effect on JS, as well as modest effects on all three forms of JC. Among the JC pathways, only cognitive crafting is a significant predictor of JS, mediating part of the effect of POS-positive. In contrast, task and relational crafting play little role, and POS-negative does not contribute meaningfully once other predictors are included.

Table 4 summarizes estimates. Explained variance was modest: $R^2 = .015$ for task crafting, .069 for cognitive crafting, .040 for relational crafting, and .248 for JS. POS-positive significantly predicted cognitive and relational crafting, and marginally predicted task crafting. POS-negative also predicted cognitive crafting, though at about half the strength of POS-positive, but was unrelated to task or relational crafting. Of the three JC dimensions, only cognitive crafting significantly predicted JS; task and relational crafting did not contribute. POS-positive retained a strong direct effect on JS, while POS-negative did not.

The indirect effect from POS-positive to JS through cognitive crafting was significant but modest (.069, $p = .016$). Other indirect pathways were negligible. The total indirect effect was small even if statistically significant (.058, $p = .048$). The total effect of POS-positive (direct + indirect) was .444, larger than the overall POS effect in the single-construct model. Of this total, 93% was direct and about 7% mediated by cognitive crafting. POS-negative had no significant total effect.

The key result is a pathway of POS-positive through cognitive crafting to JS, along with a direct effect. Although model fit was poor, the pattern suggests that cognitive

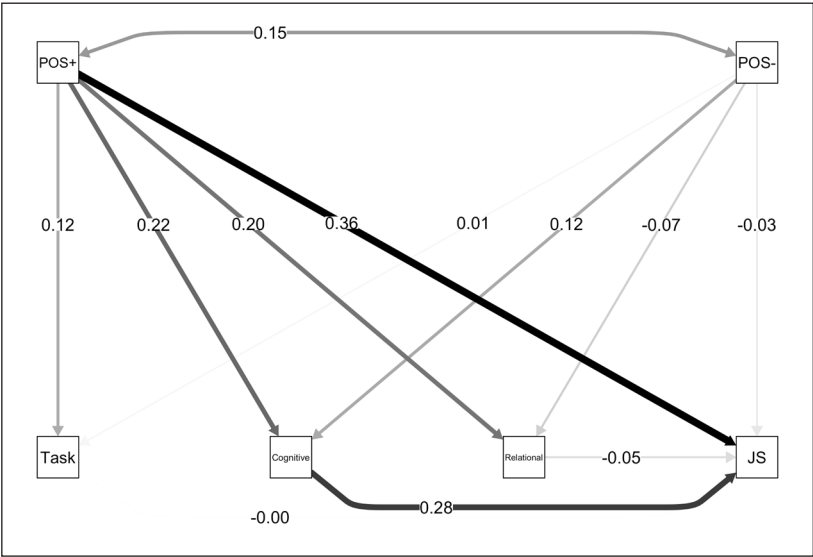


Figure 2. Multiple simple construct model (Model 2).

reframing is the main form of JC linking POS to JS, while other types of crafting play little role in this specification.

Compared to Model 1, the Model 2 finding is consistent in that POS remains the dominant predictor of JS, and mediation through JC is small. However, Model 2 provides a more nuanced conclusion: the apparent role of JC in Model 1 is almost entirely due to cognitive crafting, and the positive elements of POS seem the crucial ones.

Latent variable mediation models

Factor analysis

The averaging models provided a clear and accessible first look at how POS, JC, and JS are related. They showed that POS is a consistent predictor of JS, with modest evidence of mediation through JC—particularly cognitive crafting when the dimensions are separated. At the same time, these models treat each construct as a simple average, which ignores measurement error and the possibility that the factor structure itself carries important information.

At this point, we must pause the modeling to examine the measurement of POS and JC more directly. We use exploratory factor analysis to assess their structure. This allows us to determine whether the same basic relationships hold once the underlying measurement model is accounted for, and whether the constructs are best represented as single or multiple factors. In doing so, we can also identify which aspects of POS and JC are most important.

Table 4. Multiple simple construct model (Model 2).

Path	Estimate	SE	p	Std. beta
POS-positive → Task crafting	.181	.101	.071	.119
POS-negative → Task crafting	.015	.071	.834	.013
POS-positive → Cognitive crafting	.223	.068	.001	.215
POS-negative → Cognitive crafting	.092	.044	.036	.122
POS-positive → Relational crafting	.347	.097	< .001	.199
POS-negative → Relational crafting	-.088	.077	.253	-.069
Task crafting → Job satisfaction	-.001	.046	.984	-.001
Cognitive crafting → Job satisfaction	.308	.070	< .001	.280
Relational crafting → Job satisfaction	-.032	.031	.310	-.049
POS-positive → Job satisfaction	.415	.087	< .001	.365
POS-negative → Job satisfaction	-.029	.039	.460	-.034
Indirect via task	-.000	.010	.986	-.000
Indirect via cognitive	.069	.028	.016	.060
Indirect via relational	-.011	.012	.357	-.010
Total indirect	.058	.029	.048	.051
Total effect (POS+)	.444	.082	< .001	.381

Modeling POS

We began by examining the factor structure of POS. We conducted an exploratory factor analysis of the eight POS items. The goal was to determine whether a single latent factor adequately captures the construct or whether a two-factor solution (positive and negative) provides a better fit. This step not only tests the validity of the composite approach used earlier, but also informs the latent modeling that follows, by clarifying the most appropriate representation of POS as a measured construct. We first estimated a one-factor confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in *lavaan*, which showed poor fit, with several of the negatively worded items loading weakly. We then conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) using the *psych* package (Revelle, 2024), which suggested a two-factor solution (results not shown). We thus specified a two-factor CFA in which four positively worded items loaded on a POS-positive factor and four negatively worded items (reverse-coded) loaded on a POS-negative factor. The two-factor model fit the data well and indicated that the positive and negative dimensions are distinct but only weakly correlated ($r = .17$, $p = .019$).

Figure 3 contrasts the single-factor and two-factor solutions graphically. Table 5 shows the standardized loadings, along with model and fit comparisons. In the one-factor model, standardized loadings ranged from .21 to .80, indicating highly uneven item representation. The factor explained as little as 4–10% of the variance in several negatively worded items, but up to 64% in the strongest positively worded item. This imbalance was reflected in poor overall fit. In the two-factor model, standardized loadings were strong and consistent, ranging from .61 to .84. The factors explained between 37% and 70% of the variance in their respective items, with residual variances correspondingly lower, supporting the reliability of the two-factor structure.

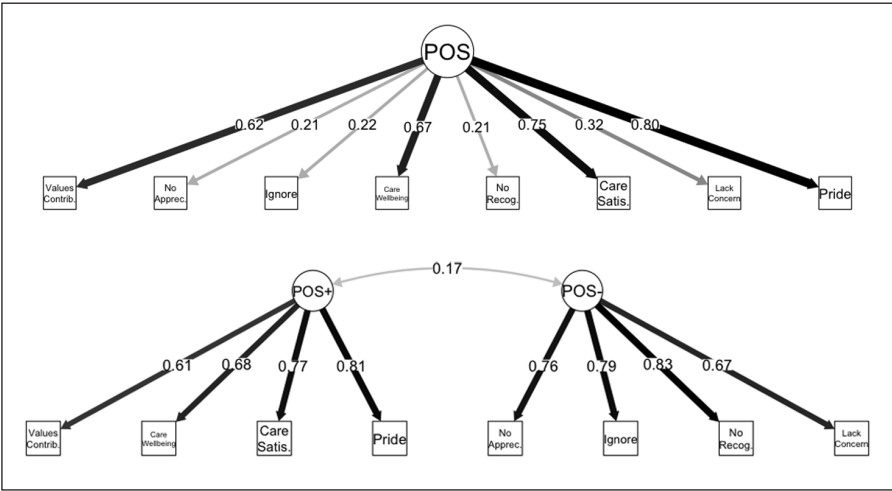


Figure 3. POS factor analysis—one vs. two factors.

Table 5. Factor analysis of POS.

Item	One-factor loading (Std.)	Two-factor loading (Std.)
POS-positive		
Values contribution	.62	.61
Care about well-being	.67	.68
Care about satisfaction	.75	.77
Pride in accomplishment	.80	.81
POS-negative		
No appreciation (flipped)	.21	.76
Ignore complaint (flipped)	.22	.79
No recognition (flipped)	.21	.84
Lack of concern (flipped)	.32	.67
Correlation		$r = .17, p = .019$
Fit		
	$\chi^2(20) = 461.78$	$\chi^2(19) = 25.89$
	$p < .001$	$p = .133$
	CFI = .467	CFI = .992
	TLI = .253	TLI = .988
	RMSEA = .281 [.259, .303]	RMSEA = .036 [.000, .068]
	SRMR = .221	SRMR = .044

The exploratory factor analysis further showed that the two factors together explained 55% of the variance in the POS items, with the negative factor accounting for 29% and the positive factor for 26%. Their contributions were fairly balanced (53% vs. 47%), providing additional evidence for treating positive and negative dimensions as distinct

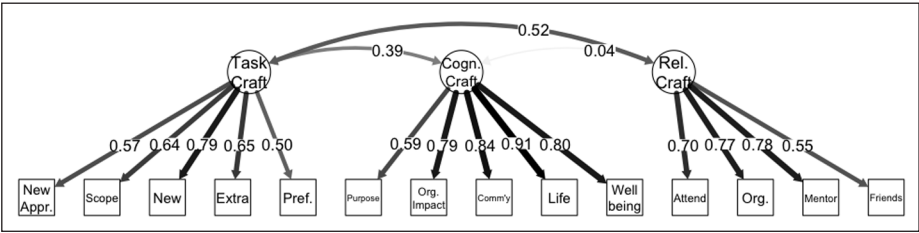


Figure 4. Job crafting factor analysis.

but equally important. All conventional fit indices confirmed this conclusion, with the two-factor solution excellent and the one-factor solution poor. Taken together, these results indicate that POS is best represented as two correlated but distinct latent factors: one reflecting positive experiences of organizational support and the other reflecting neglectful or negative experiences.

Modeling JC

Given theoretical justifications, we estimated a three-factor CFA for JC, with separate latent dimensions for task, cognitive, and relational crafting. See Figure 4 for the standardized loadings and factor structure, and Table 6 for a summary of loadings, residual variances, and model fit indices. Model fit was good, and standardized loadings were moderate to high: .50 to .79 for task items, .59 to .91 for cognitive items, and .55 to .78 for relational items. Cognitive items showed the strongest and most consistent representation (particularly *life*). Factor correlations indicated that task crafting was moderately related to both cognitive and relational crafting; cognitive and relational crafting were essentially independent. These results confirm that JC is best represented as three distinct but partially related dimensions, with cognitive crafting showing especially strong coherence. The three latent factors showed moderate correlations between task and relational (.52) and task and cognitive (.39), while cognitive and relational were nearly independent (.04).

Model 3: Complete latent model

We next estimated a fully latent mediation model incorporating the two-factor representation of POS (POS-positive and POS-negative) and the three-factor representation of JC (task, cognitive, and relational). Each latent factor was defined by its respective survey items, as above. The model specified paths from POS-positive and POS-negative to each JC factor, and from these to JS, with direct paths from POS to JS included.⁷

Estimation was done as before. This yields the results shown in Table 7 and in graphic form in Figure 5 (which shows only the structural model for clarity; factor loadings were also estimated simultaneously). Model fit was acceptable overall. In terms of structural relations, POS-positive significantly predicted cognitive crafting and relational crafting, while its effect on task crafting was smaller and nonsignificant.

Table 6. Factor analysis of JC.

Item	Standardized loading
Task crafting	
Take on new tasks (New)	.79
Expand task scope (Scope)	.64
Take extra tasks (Extra)	.65
Work to preference (Pref.)	.50
Follow task approach (New Appr.)	.57
Cognitive crafting	
Reframe purpose (Purpose)	.59
Consider organizational impact (Org. Impact)	.79
Consider community (Comm'y)	.84
Positive life meaning (Life)	.91
Consider wellbeing (Wellbeing)	.80
Relational crafting	
Attend events (Attend)	.70
Organize events (Org.)	.77
Mentor others (Mentor)	.78
Make friends at work (Friends)	.55
Factor correlations	
Task – Cognitive	$r = .39, p < .001$
Task – Relational	$r = .52, p < .001$
Cognitive – Relational	$r = .04, ns$
Fit	
	$\chi^2(74) = 156.01$
	$p < .001$
	CFI = .941
	TLI = .927
	RMSEA = .068 [.053, .083]
	SRMR = .073

POS-negative did not significantly predict any JC dimension (all coefficients were small to negligible). Of the JC factors, only cognitive crafting significantly predicted JS; task and relational crafting did not contribute. POS-positive retained a strong direct effect on JS, while POS-negative did not.

Indirect effects were small. The indirect path from POS-positive to JS via cognitive crafting was small and insignificant. The total indirect effect was statistically insignificant, with nearly all of the effect of POS-positive on JS occurring directly. For POS-positive, about 84% of the total effect on JS was direct; 16% operated indirectly, primarily through cognitive crafting. For POS-negative, neither the direct nor indirect effects were significant, and the small indirect positive contribution was offset by a nonsignificant negative direct path, yielding no meaningful overall effect. These results reinforce the earlier conclusion that POS is the dominant predictor of JS, with only modest mediation through JC. However, the latent model makes clear that cognitive crafting is the only

Table 7. Latent construct model (Model 3).

Path	Std. estimate	p-value
POS+ → Task	.15	.115
POS+ → Cognitive	.22	.017
POS+ → Relational	.27	.003
POS- → Task	.09	.412
POS- → Cognitive	.12	.179
POS- → Relational	-.02	.786
Task → JS	.01	.881
Cognitive → JS	.27	.005
Relational → JS	-.02	.787
POS+ → JS (direct)	.32	.002
POS- → JS (direct)	-.06	.337
Indirect POS+ via Task:	.00	.894
Indirect POS+ via Cognitive:	.06	.088
Indirect POS+ via Relational:	-.00	.800
Total indirect POS+	.06	.153
Total effect POS+	.32	< .001
Indirect POS- via Task:	.00	.894
Indirect POS- via Cognitive:	.03	.179
Indirect POS- via Relational:	.00	.787
Total indirect POS-	.03	.153
Total effect POS-	-.03	.337

Fit: $\chi^2(219) = 445.51$, CFI = .900, TLI = .884, RMSEA = .067 [.058, .076], SRMR = .106. R^2 : task = .04, cognitive = .07, relational = .07, job satisfaction = .21.

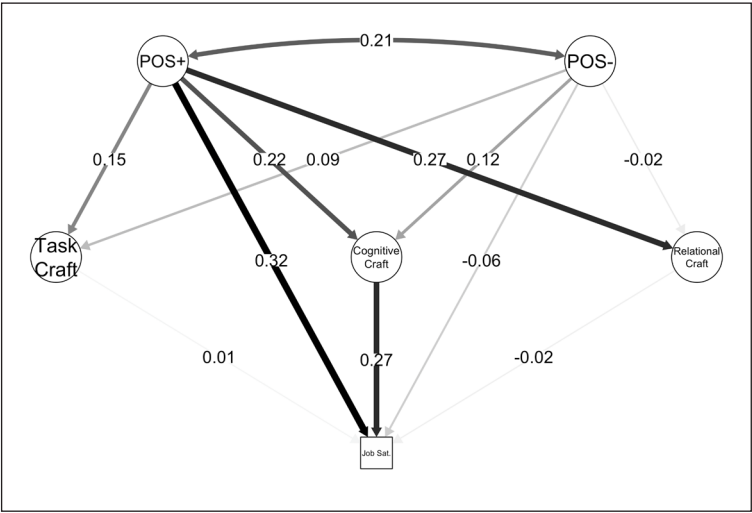


Figure 5. Latent construct model (Model 3).

reliable mediator, and that relational and task crafting contribute little once measurement is accounted for.

Models 4a and 4b: Trimmed models

While the fully specified latent model above is the most consistent with our theoretical arguments, not all components of the model contributed meaningfully to JS, nor do they provide significant leverage on understanding POS or the POS–JC linkage. In particular, POS-negative repeatedly has shown little explanatory power, and only cognitive crafting consistently predicted JS. Within JC, only some nodes seem relevant. These factors may add more noise than signal. To address this, as a robustness check, we estimated two trimmed versions of the latent model.

The first was a minor trim, Model 4a, focused on measurement-level clean-up. Here, we dropped POS-negative and weaker indicators, but retained all three JC dimensions (task, cognitive, and relational) to test whether any of them added explanatory value once measurement error was addressed. The second was an extensive trim, Model 4b, which simplified the structural model as well. In this specification, we included only POS-positive and cognitive crafting (dropping task and relational crafting). This model reflects the empirical finding that cognitive reframing is the only JC pathway that connects POS to JS. Taken together, these models allow us to assess the robustness of our results to alternative specifications. The minor trim shows whether the findings depend on weaker indicators, while the extensive trim tests the most parsimonious representation consistent with the data.

We show core relationships graphically (omitting the factor analysis loading parts of these graphs) in Figure 6. Model 4a fits reasonably well and showed a familiar pattern: POS-positive predicted cognitive and relational crafting, but only cognitive crafting related significantly to JS. POS-positive also retained a substantial direct effect on JS, with indirect contributions again small. Model 4b fits the data very well, improving substantially over the fuller latent specification. In this model, again, POS-positive significantly predicted cognitive crafting ($\beta = .25, p = .001$), which in turn predicted JS ($\beta = .27, p = .003$). POS-positive also had a strong direct effect on JS ($\beta = .37, p < .001$). The indirect effect via cognitive crafting was now larger (yet still modest in size) and statistically significant ($\beta = .07, p = .033$), accounting for about 16% of the total effect (roughly the same as before). This is the first model where the indirect effect reached clear statistical significance. Together, the two trimmed models reinforce the conclusion that cognitive crafting is the dimension that transmits part of POS's effect to JS, but the direct effect of POS remains dominant. These models hopefully capture the main signal and remove noise.

See Table 8 for a summary comparison of all models, their assumptions, fit statistics, and effect sizes. By estimating different models, we were able to examine how alternative assumptions shape the conclusions. The simple composite model treats POS and JC as perfectly reliable composites, yielding the most optimistic estimates but ignoring measurement error. The POS+/POS– means model adds conceptual nuance by distinguishing between positive and negative support but still assumes reliable observed means. The full latent model provides the most rigorous test, modeling measurement

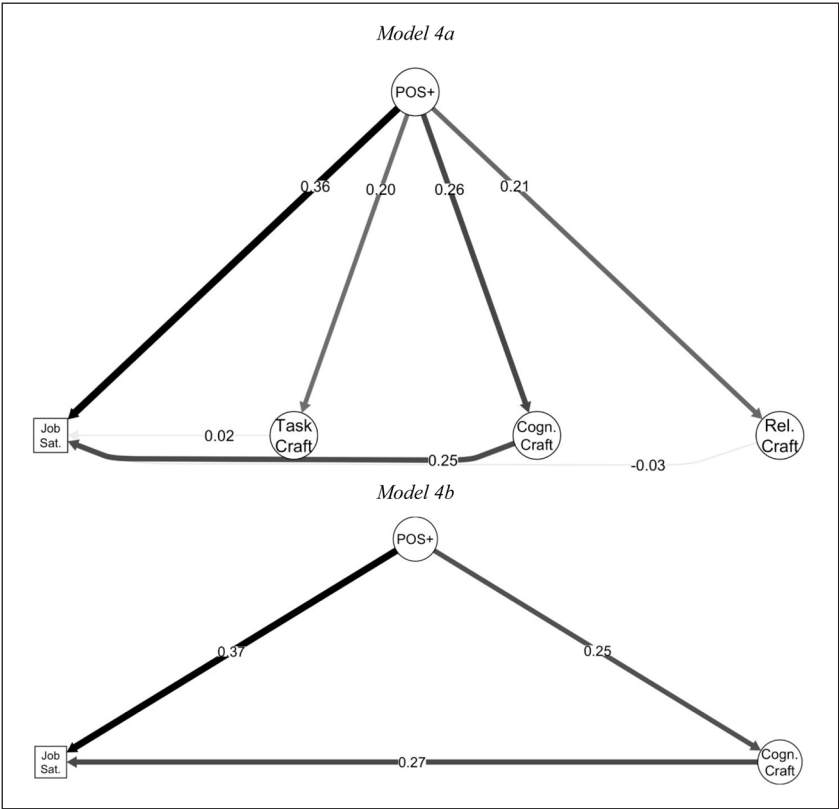


Figure 6. Trimmed latent construct model (Models 4a and 4b).

error and estimating all latent pathways simultaneously, though at the cost of complexity and somewhat attenuated effects. Finally, the trimmed latent models balance rigor and parsimony by focusing only on the strongest indicators and paths, improving interpretability and fit. Results across these specifications demonstrate that the central finding—POS+ directly predicts JS and indirectly operates through cognitive crafting—is robust to modeling choices, even if the magnitude and precision vary by specification.⁸

A one standard deviation increase in positive POS was associated with between .34 and .40 standard deviation increases in JS, depending on the model, and controlling for JC and POS-negative. This represents a moderately strong and substantively important relationship. The cognitive crafting result is less robust.

Discussion

In our sample of CHCA home care workers, workers’ perceived organizational support (POS) is the strongest predictor of job satisfaction (JS), with a modest indirect effect through job crafting (JC), across all model specifications. Factors associated with

Table 8. Model comparisons.

Model	POS represented as	Job crafting represented as	Measurement error	Mediation paths	Key/Assumption	Risk
1. Simple composite	Single composite	Single composite score	Ignored	Single indirect path	Composites reliable	Effects inflated, ignores unreliability
2. POS +/- means	Two observed means	Three observed means	Ignored	Separate indirects	Positive vs. negative differ; JC multidim.	Effects inflated, ignores unreliability
3. Full latent	Two latent constructs	Three latent constructs	Modeled	Multiple indirects	Richest but complex	Effects unbiased but could be attenuated; complex
4a. Small trimmed latent	One latent construct, fewer indicators	Three latent constructs, fewer indicators	Modeled	Reduced indirects	More parsimonious interpretable	Omits weaker but potentially relevant factors
4b. Big trimmed latent	One latent construct, fewer indicators	One latent construct, fewer indicators	Modeled	Single indirect	More parsimonious/interpretable	Omits weaker but potentially relevant factors

(continued)

Table 8. (continued)

Model	χ^2	df	<i>p</i>	<i>N</i>	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR	<i>R</i> ² JS
1. Simple composite	.00	0	—	—	1.000	1.000	.000	.000	.104
2. POS+/- means	95.88	3	< .001	—	.539	-.1.153	.326	.119	.248
3. Full latent	445.51	219	< .001	—	.900	.884	.067	.106	.209
4a. Small trimmed	288.46	113	< .001	—	.902	.882	.080	.119	.242
4b. Big trimmed	49.41	33	.033	—	.987	.982	.043	.038	.257

Model	Direct POS → JS	Total indirect	Indirect via Task	Indirect via Cognitive	Indirect via Relational	Total effect
1. Simple composite	.32*** (.07)	.03* (.02)	—	—	—	.35*** (.07)
2. POS+/POS- means	.42*** (.09)	.06 (.03)	-.00 (.01)	.07* (.03)	-.01 (.01)	.44*** (.08)
3. Full latent	.50** (.16)	.09 (.06)	.00 (.02)	.09 (.05)	-.01 (.03)	.53*** (.14)
4a. Small trimmed latent	.54*** (.14)	.10 (.05)	.01 (.02)	.10* (.05)	-.01 (.02)	.64*** (.13)
4b. Big trimmed latent	.57*** (.14)	—	—	.10 * (.05)	—	.67*** (.14)

Effect sizes (standard errors). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

positive POS significantly enhance satisfaction, while those negatively connected to POS show little to no meaningful association. Approximately 10–16% of the total effect of POS on JS operates indirectly through cognitive crafting (not task or relational). This suggests organizational support fosters JS partly by enabling workers to reframe their roles and strengthen their sense of purpose in their jobs, while having meaningful direct benefits as well. We divide our discussion of this into a few themes.

Support and satisfaction in varying work structures

Although the analysis is grounded in the home care sector, its implications reach beyond this context, contributing to wider discussions of how organizational structures shape worker satisfaction and well-being in precarious forms of service labor. Our findings align with prior research showing that perceived organizational support enhances satisfaction and commitment by reinforcing fairness, trust, and reciprocity (Eisenberger et al., 2020; Rhoades and Eisenberger, 2002). The persistence of this relationship in a low-wage, precarious setting supports earlier evidence that organizational care can buffer insecurity and promote well-being even when material conditions are limited (De Cuyper and De Witte, 2006). The small but significant role of cognitive crafting also echoes studies highlighting meaning-making as a key pathway through which workers sustain

motivation in constrained work environments (Slemp and Vella-Brodrick, 2013; Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001).

Although the links between POS, JC, and JS are perhaps well established in some settings, the current findings highlight how these dynamics operate in a markedly different organizational context—precarious care workers in a unionized worker cooperative. Theories of POS, JC, and JS were largely developed in stable, hierarchical, and professional workplaces characterized by clear authority structures, predictable rewards, and individual discretion. By examining these relationships among CHCA workers, this study speaks to whether the core assumptions of organizational support and job satisfaction remain valid under conditions of precarity and shared governance.

This study demonstrates that democratic and participatory forms of work organization can produce the sense of support and job satisfaction for precarious care workers who usually have low discretion and power in ordinary agency settings. Our result shows that the average level of positive POS in our sample is high. Specifically, respondents report strong perceptions that CHCA values their contributions, cares about their well-being, takes pride in their accomplishments, and is concerned about their JS.

Although this study does not directly evaluate cooperative or union management practices, previous studies and reports on CHCA (Duffy and DeFreitas, 2016; Kim, 2025; Schweid, 2021) demonstrate that CHCA offers an alternative organizational form in which support is structurally embedded through collective ownership, participatory governance, and union protections. CHCA promotes worker ownership by allowing members to pay their equity buy-in fee—the initial payment required to become an owner-worker over several years. However, even non-owner workers can participate fully in decision-making processes through various committees that influence management, with the exception of the owner meetings. CHCA also ensures equal access to training opportunities and resources structured in CHCA and the 1199SEIU union regardless of ownership status. This may explain why worker-ownership was not a significant factor in relation to any major variables in our analysis. In addition, all administrative staff, including coordinators, are recruited from within the CHCA home care workforce. This practice fosters effective and respectful communication, grounded in shared experience and mutual understanding of care work.

Taken together, these features illustrate how organizational support can be institutionalized through collective and participatory structures rather than through conventional managerial hierarchies. This broadens POS theory beyond its traditional focus on managerial benevolence, showing that feelings of fairness, recognition, and care can emerge from peer-based and collectively maintained systems of accountability.

Cognitive JC and compensation

The role of cognitive JC in shaping JS has been well established across diverse occupational settings. Numerous studies have demonstrated that workers who actively reframe their perceptions of work report higher levels of JS, engagement, and well-being (Bindl et al., 2019; Jutengren et al., 2020; Kilic and Kitapci, 2023; Slemp and Vella-Brodrick, 2013). In particular, Wang et al. (2024) found that in work environments with limited skill variety or autonomy, employees who engaged in cognitive crafting experienced

greater work meaningfulness, which in turn enhanced their sense of thriving at work. This finding resonates strongly with the context of home care aides, who often face constrained autonomy, rigid schedules, and narrowly defined job tasks. Within such conditions, cognitive JC serves as a vital psychological mechanism that translates POS into higher JS, despite persistent structural limitations.

Our findings also align with prior research highlighting that the meaning-making dimension of care work is central to care workers' satisfaction, which we show is persistent even amid precariousness. Because care workers perform emotional labor, often motivated by empathy and a desire to help others (Hochschild, 1983), their engagement with cognitive JC differs from that of other occupations. When workers are able to frame their tasks as socially valuable and personally meaningful, they report higher satisfaction and commitment despite low pay or limited autonomy (Leana et al., 2009; Lopez, 2006; Stacey, 2011). Studies of nursing and home care staff similarly find that workers who view their care as an expression of moral worth or social contribution experience greater fulfillment and lower turnover intention (e.g., Jutengren et al, 2020; Wijngaards et al., 2021).

However, this meaning-making capacity can be a double-edged sword. According to the theory of compensating wage differentials (Filer, 1989), jobs that provide strong nonpecuniary rewards—such as emotional fulfillment—are often accompanied by lower pay, as employers need not offer higher wages to attract workers. In particular, when the marginal worker perceives intrinsic features of their work as rewarding, these nonpecuniary benefits allow employers to offer lower wages. This is what Folbre (2001) calls the “prisoner of love” dynamic: care workers, motivated by compassion and moral commitment, remain in undervalued positions despite economic insecurity.

Since our results underscore that organizational support remains a significant predictor of JS even in low-wage contexts, money is not the entire story of care workers' satisfaction. Feeling respected, valued, and cared for by one's organization are critical components. It is not that the value of the work should become a justification for maintaining low wages; rather, we argue that structural and relational supports must complement, not replace, fair compensation.

Contributions, limitations, and future directions

To our knowledge, this is one of the first studies that applies a POS framework as the main analytical lens to precarious care workers. It demonstrates that even under conditions of limited material resources, organizational support is highly associated with JS. Secondly, this study bridges the POS and JC theories and highlights cognitive JC as the psychological mechanism that connects POS and JS. While prior studies have treated all forms of JC similarly, this study identifies how psychological meaning-making operates as a key pathway for developing JS in this emotional, low-autonomy, and low-wage job. Thirdly, it provides empirical evidence that a unionized worker cooperative model can provide decent organizational support and foster JS, offering insight into alternative organizational forms that can improve conditions for precarious home care workers. Lastly, this study contributes to challenging the classical assumption that intrinsic reward

alone can substitute for structural support for care workers. Instead, this study demonstrates that institutionalized respect, recognition, and care for workers are key to their JS.

However, we must note some cautions and limitations. First, this study used a convenience sample of CHCA workers due to the unavailability of a probability sample data. The study results need to be interpreted as patterns specific to the context of a unionized worker cooperative, limiting generalizability to traditional or nonunionized home care workplace settings. Second, the data are cross-sectional; causality is difficult to prove in this setting. Third, the study relied on self-reported measures.

This study provides important implications for future research and the home care sector. Future research should build on these findings by employing longitudinal or mixed-methods designs to examine causal mechanisms—particularly how organizational support influences cognitive reframing and JS over time. Comparative studies across different organizational models (e.g., unionized vs. nonunionized, cooperative vs. agency-based) could clarify how institutional structures moderate the effects of POS, JC, and JS. Researchers should also investigate organizational-level interventions that strengthen workers' sense of recognition and meaning, such as participatory decision-making, peer mentorship, and professional development opportunities.

For the home care sector, the unionized worker cooperative model should be considered as an alternative organizational form for improving organizational support for home care workers. CHCA has demonstrated the potential of the unionized worker cooperative model as a sustainable business structure that integrates profitability with workers' well-being. Recently, the ICA Group—the oldest national organization dedicated to developing worker cooperatives—identified the home care and day care sectors as key areas for cooperative conversion (ICA Group, n.d.). To scale such models, collaborative efforts among worker cooperatives, labor unions, and community-based organizations are essential, particularly through technical assistance, cooperative financing mechanisms, and supportive policy advocacy. Regardless of organizational form, home care agencies should recognize that demonstrating care, concern, and respect for workers is a critical element of effective workforce management. Building institutional environments that affirm workers' dignity, promote meaningful participation, and ensure access to training and advancement opportunities can strengthen JS and, in turn, reduce turnover rates.

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Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Institutional Review Board of Hunter College, City University of New York.

Informed consent

All participants provided informed consent prior to participation.

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Declaration of conflicting interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

Notes

1. These workers enable older adults and people with disabilities to live at home rather than in a facility, with enormous socioemotional benefits to the care-recipient and their family, and significant economic benefits to patients, taxpayers, and healthcare systems (McGarry and Grabowski, 2023). A reported 87% of older adults want to “age in place,” staying home rather than moving to institutional care such as a nursing home (AARP Public Policy Institute, 2014).
2. Although wages have risen in recent years, the median annual earnings for home care workers remain approximately USD 34,900, and the median hourly wage for home health and personal care aides is USD 16.78 (BLS, 2024; PHI, 2024). Nearly half of home care workers rely on public assistance. They are overwhelmingly female (about 87%), with a majority reporting being immigrant or racial and ethnic minorities (BLS, 2024; PHI, 2024). Safety regulations in private homes are minimal, leaving many aides exposed to injuries, abuse, or unsafe environments (Benach et al., 2016; Quinn et al., 2021; Stacey, 2011). This line of work is associated with higher rates of cardiovascular disease, chronic illness, sleep disorders, and poor self-reported health (Ervin et al., 2025; Utzet et al., 2020). Not surprisingly, the turnover rate of home care aides is over 79% (Home Health Care News, 2024).
3. Demographic variables were assessed as analytical controls but had little explanatory power; results omitted for space.
4. The scale has demonstrated high internal consistency in prior research, with Cronbach’s alpha typically ranging from .89 to .94 (Eisenberger et al., 1997; Rhoades and Eisenberger, 2002).
5. In their work, Slemp and Vella-Brodrick (2013) reported Cronbach’s alpha coefficients of .90, .89, and .86 for the task, cognitive, and relational subscales, respectively, and .94 for the total scale, indicating excellent internal consistency across all dimensions.
6. Wanous et al. (1997) estimated the minimum reliability of such measures to range from .45 to .69, with an average of .57, noting that the actual reliability is likely higher. Despite this limitation, their meta-analytic review concluded that single-item measures correlate strongly with multi-item scales and are sufficiently reliable for organizational research.
7. We estimated POS+ and POS– as correlated latent constructs, consistent with the CFA results and theoretical expectation that positive and negative perceptions of support are related but distinct dimensions. The three job crafting dimensions (task, cognitive, relational) were specified as parallel mediators without correlated residuals, implying that each dimension

transmits the effect of POS to job satisfaction independently of the others. By default, *lavaan* does not correlate the residuals of endogenous variables (mediators). Results were virtually unchanged when correlations among the job crafting mediators were freely estimated, with only modest improvements in overall fit.

8. Breaking down results by worker-owners/other or other demographic groups led to no distinct or statistically significant differences. Model fit did not improve when paths were freely estimated across groups compared to when constrained to equality.

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