

THE EFFECTS OF PAID PARENTAL LEAVE LENGTH AND GENDERED
OCCUPATIONS ON WOMEN'S CAREER OUTCOMES

by

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(Under the Direction of Lillian T. Eby)

ABSTRACT

The current study examines the relationship between length of paid parental leave, gendered occupation type, and career outcomes for women. Drawing upon the tokenism, gender stereotype, and role congruity theory literatures, I test an experimental, 2 (male-dominated occupation, female-dominated occupation) x 3 (two-day leave, six-week leave, twelve-week leave) between-subjects design, examining the outcomes of perceived agency, perceived communality, promotion potential, mentoring potential, and leadership potential. There were two significant main effects: women were penalized for longer leave and for having a female-dominated occupation. Longer leave negatively impacted promotion potential, mentorship potential, and leadership potential. Women in the male-dominated occupation were viewed as more agentic and having more promotion potential than women in the female-dominated occupation. There was no significant interaction between leave length and occupation. This study corroborates past research, and has implications for how women, organizations, and policy-makers respond to the increasing number of paid parental leave options available.

INDEX WORDS: Parental leave, tokenism, occupations, agency, communion

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As of 2016, the United States and Papua New Guinea were the only two developed nations in the world that did not offer nation-wide paid parental leave policies (International Labour Organization, 2014). In response to the lack of policy offering women paid parental leave at a federal level, individual U.S. states have begun to implement their own policies offering women paid parental leave options (National Partnership, 2016). While the popular press has widely framed this as a positive change for women, organizations, and families alike (Gillett, 2015), other research has begun to uncover the potential professional risks associated with taking parental leave, such as lower income, promotion potential, and performance evaluations (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Wharton, Chivers, & Blair-Loy, 2008). Considering that both motherhood and professional perceptions are couched in different gender expectations and stereotypes (Little, Smith Major, Hinojosa, & Nelson, 2015), it is necessary to examine how the choices women make regarding their parental leave options may influence their career outcomes, especially as some women in the U.S. have increasing options to take longer parental leave.

A substantial amount of research demonstrates that taking advantage of family-friendly work flexibility policies – including parental leave, telecommuting, reduced work hours, and child care assistance – can have significant negative effects on women's careers. For example, researchers have found that the use of these policies can have a negative impact on long-term wage growth (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Glass, 2004), perceptions of women's competence (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004), performance evaluations (Wharton, Chivers, & Blair-Loy, 2008),

and promotion opportunities (Cohen & Single, 2001; Judiesch & Lyness, 1999). On the other hand, the use of workplace flexibility policies such as parental leave has numerous benefits for the health and wellbeing of parents and their children. For example, researchers have found decreased infant mortality rates, increased birth weights (Rossin, 2011), and improved maternal mental health (Staehelin, Berteau, & Stutz, 2007) when women take full advantage of the 12 weeks of leave offered by the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Additionally, many states and organizations have begun to expand flexibility policies, particularly paid parental leave policies, to recruit and retain more women and compete with other developed countries' policies. Thus, while taking advantage of family-friendly policies is important for the health of women and their children and is increasingly becoming a realistic option based on legislative mandates, many women with this option believe that taking advantage of it may be at the peril of their career (Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013). However, little research has examined whether the effects of taking advantage of family-friendly policies are similar for women across all occupations, or how other occupational factors may influence outcomes for women.

One potential occupational factor that could influence how women are perceived at work when they use family-friendly policies is the gendered nature of one's occupation. Many occupations have been traditionally dominated by men (i.e., engineering, carpentry, computer programming) or traditionally dominated by women (i.e., early education, nursing, dental assistants). Employees in these occupations are generally stereotyped to engender more masculine/agentive traits (i.e., dominant, courageous, competitive) or more feminine/communal traits (i.e., caring, cooperative, friendly), respectively (Hegewisch & Hartmann, 2014). Many researchers have examined how these gendered stereotypes associated with these occupations influences career outcomes for individuals in these fields. For example, one line of research has

examined “token” women, or women in occupations with disproportionately fewer women than men (Kanter, 1977). Kanter (1977) suggested that token women are defined by three perceptual phenomena: visibility (standing out relative to the “dominant” peers), polarization (differences between token and dominant employees are exaggerated), and assimilation (token employees’ attributes are distorted by others to fit gender stereotypes).

Researchers have found that women’s careers often suffer as a result of their token status. For example, token women have been shown to receive fewer workplace rewards (Brewer, 1988), lower performance evaluations (Farley, 1996; Heilman, Martel, & Simon, 1988), and experience greater feelings of isolation, loneliness, and withdrawal (Koontz, 1979; Yoder & Sinnett, 1985) than men. Interestingly, researchers have found that sometimes the most effective way for token women to mitigate the issues associated with having a male-dominated occupation is to embody their stereotypical “feminine” roles (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Taylor, 1981), living up to the assimilation phenomenon that occurs as a result of their tokenism (such as acting warm and communal rather than competent and agentic). Despite the fact that it is these very feminine traits that have traditionally held women’s careers back through processes such as benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and the widespread cultural perception that such traits do not symbolize professional success (Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011), token women appear to mitigate the negative effects of tokenism by fulfilling their traditional gender expectations (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Taylor, 1981).

Considering women in male-dominated positions must navigate their gender role in tandem with navigating their career advancement, the issue of parental leave is particularly relevant. Maternity leave is a salient cue of one’s parenthood (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Little, Smith Major, Hinojosa, & Nelson, 2015), an issue surrounded by substantial gender expectations

and norms (Sanchez & Thomson, 1997; Thompson & Walker, 1989). Thus, for women in male-dominated occupations, for whom managing one's gender is imperative (i.e., more attention must be paid to managing impressions of masculinity/femininity) to their career success (Taylor, 1981; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007), it is important to understand how gender-steeped issues such as parental leave may have unique effects on career success compared to other occupations. Little empirical evidence exists on the relationship between parental leave length and occupation type, or how the generally negative professional impact of taking advantage of longer parental leave may be moderated by the gendered nature of one's occupation.

Accordingly, the purpose of this study is to address this gap in the research by examining the interaction between the length of one's paid maternity leave and the gendered nature of the occupation. Length of paid maternity leave was chosen as a variable that could be seen as symbolizing the level of a woman's preference to dedicate herself to motherhood (a traditionally feminine value) versus work (a traditionally masculine value) when the option exists. Specifically, this study experimentally examines how one's token status in a male-dominated occupation or majority status in a female-dominated occupation moderates the effect of paid parental leave length (short, medium, and long parental leave) on five outcomes for women: perceived agency, perceived communality, promotion potential, leadership potential, and career-advancing mentorship potential. The theoretical lenses of role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and tokenism (Kanter, 1977) guide the current investigation of outcomes as they relate to women's use of family-friendly policies and the gendered context of their occupation.

Considering the new wave of paid parental leave policies at the state-level and the increasing frequency of such policies (National Conference of State Legislators, 2016), this study examines the use of paid parental leave as it is becoming increasingly relevant to U.S.

employees. While parental leave affects both men and women, the current study focuses just on women, as the principles of tokenism, role congruity theory, and gender role theory would predict different outcomes for men and women (Budig, 2002; Diekmann & Goodfriend, 2006; Williams, 1992), and are more immediately relevant to women's careers. The current research can provide valuable information to individuals on how the use of these new policies may affect their career and image at work, as well as how these effects might depend on the occupation. Additionally, it extends the current research on token employees, and how the gender-related issues associated with parental leave may interact with the gender-related issues associated with occupation type.

CHAPTER 2

PAID PARENTAL LEAVE & FLEXIBILITY POLICIES

The use of family-friendly policies and their effect on individuals' careers has become a popular research topic in recent years, as employers have begun offering more options for employees to balance their work and family lives (Kossek & Thompson, 2016; Matos & Galinsky, 2014). Parental leave has become a particularly relevant issue in light of the push for state-wide policies mandating paid parental leave for all employees (Department of Labor, 2016). Currently, only four U.S. states – California, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Washington – have statewide paid parental leave policies, which offer up to six weeks of paid parental leave (Department of Labor, 2016). Starting in 2018, New York will join this initial cohort of states offering paid parental leave with the most generous policy yet – up to 12 weeks of paid leave, effectively doubling the time mandated in the other four states (New York State Assembly, 2016). The new policies, considered revolutionary within the U.S. (Traister, 2016), still leaves the U.S. behind as the only industrialized country that does not guarantee paid parental leave for new mothers (OECD, 2016).

In light of the expansion of these policies in some U.S. states, it is imperative to understand how the extent to which women take advantage of parental leave policies may affect their careers and their image at work. A substantial amount of research has shown that national policies significantly influence how parenthood affects women's career growth. For example, Abendroth, Van der Lippe, and Maas (2012) found that flexible workplace arrangements based on state policies in Europe ultimately increased women's labor market participation, but

decreased the number of hours women in the labor market worked. Additionally, Gangl and Ziefle (2009) found that women experienced wage penalties after taking advantage of their parental leave policies, which was partially explained by an increase in interruptions at work, and a decrease in subsequent mobility into mother-friendly positions. However, most of the research examining how government-mandated leave policies impact women's careers has been conducted in Scandinavian and other European countries, which have offered these policies over the past few decades (Evertsson & Duvander, 2010). Additionally, these countries fundamentally differ from the U.S. in terms of cultural gender norms and expectations, generally espousing high levels of egalitarian values and ideals, which are then represented in national policies (Ray, Gornick, & Schmitt, 2010). As such policies begin to take shape in the U.S. at a legislative level, more research is necessary on how they will be received within the U.S. culture and the implications they may have on working American mothers' careers.

Although research on paid parental leave implications for women's careers in the United States is scarce, there is a larger body of research examining the impact of general workplace flexibility policies – including telework, flextime, unpaid parental leave, vacation days, etc. – on individuals' careers and how they are viewed at work. For example, a recent study conducted by Vandello et al. (2013) experimentally supported that employees who sought flexible work arrangements after the birth of a child received lower job evaluations and were given lower hypothetical raises by participants serving as supervisors than employees with traditional work arrangements. While this study examined results for both genders, there was no difference between male or female targets – both received significantly lower ratings when choosing to enroll in a flexible work arrangement program (a formal part-time program to accommodate

personal circumstances) after the birth of a child than those who maintained traditional working arrangements.

Researchers have also found that workplace family-friendly policies have a negative impact on women's salary. Glass (2004) followed a group of Midwestern women for seven years after the birth of a child, and found that use of workplace flexibility policies (including telecommuting, reduced hours, childcare assistance, and schedule flexibility) had consistently negative effects on women's salaries seven years later. Specifically, telecommuting and reduced work hours were the most heavily penalized policies, while childcare assistance and schedule flexibility had smaller, albeit still negative, effects on women's salaries. For telecommuting, it was found that mothers who worked in a managerial or professional job and worked from home at least five hours per week lost an average of 27% of their expected wage increase over seven years compared with similarly-employed mothers who did not work from home. For reduced work hours, it was found that women who worked fewer than 30 hours per week with the reduced work hour policy lost 22% of their expected wage gain over seven years compared to women who did not take part in reduced work hour policies. Finally, using childcare assistance policies resulted in a 10% loss and flexible scheduling resulted in a 9% loss of the expected wage gain over seven years. Of relevance to the current research, significant negative effects of family-friendly policy-use on salary were consistently stronger for professional and managerial workers than on blue-collar workers (Glass, 2004). The U.S. also has more women in professional and managerial positions than other developed nations (Blau & Kahn, 2013), suggesting that the introduction of more generous policies in the U.S. may indeed have more detrimental effects on women's salaries than in other nations.

In addition to salary, researchers have also found that the use of family-friendly flexibility policies was negatively correlated with other career-related factors. For example, Wharton, Chivers, and Blair-Loy (2004) found that supervisors provided lower performance evaluations for employees who relied on formal work-family flexibility policies in contrast to employees who avoided taking advantage of these policies. Additionally, Cohen and Single (2001) found that managers rated managerial-level employees who chose to participate in a family-friendly flexible scheduling program as less likely to advance to partner level, more likely to be involuntarily ushered out of the organization, more likely to voluntarily leave the organization, and less likely to be asked to engage in the next big assignment. Finally, a study by Judiesch and Lyness (1999) found that employees who took personal leaves of absence, regardless of the reason for them (parental leave or illness), received fewer subsequent promotions and smaller salary increases over time than employees who did not take leaves of absence.

One paradigm that has been used to explain the negative effects of the use of flexibility policies on employees' careers is work devotion schema (Blair-Loy, 2003), which reflects the cultural expectation that employees should dedicate themselves fully and undividedly to work. It also drives what has been coined as the "flexibility stigma," through which the use of flexibility policies signals to co-workers and supervisors that an employee is somehow less devoted to their work and therefore less dedicated compared to other employees (Williams, Blair-Loy & Berdahl, 2013). As Blair-Loy (2010) explains, the workplace is a potent context for moral prescriptions of employees, creating pressure for individuals to comply with compelling cultural schemas such as the work devotion schema in order to demonstrate their worth to employers, coworkers, and even themselves. Thus, while the introduction of new flexibility options such as paid parental leave

for employees may have numerous benefits, the culturally-based schemas associated with taking advantage of such policies still pose a threat to the effective implementation of these policies.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER STEREOTYPES & TOKENISM

A substantial amount of research has also been conducted on gender stereotypes and role expectations, highlighting the differences in the ways that men and women are expected to act. For example, women are generally assumed to be more communal (e.g., warm, caring, nurturing, sensitive) than men. On the other hand, men are generally assumed to be more agentic (e.g., competitive, dominant, forceful, assertive; Abele, 2003; Brosi, Spörrle, Welpe, & Heilman, 2016). According to social role theory, first described by Eagly and Steffen (1984), these stereotypes of men and women developed from perceivers' interactions with individuals in their "typical" roles in society, with women more typically in lower-status, nurturing roles such as childcare and men more typically in higher-status, assertive roles such as management. Thus, despite the growing number of women in managerial, "agentic" roles in society, these stereotypes endure in society and in the workplace (Brosi et al., 2016). Parsons and Bales (1955) first highlighted gender role differentiation in terms of the "instrumental" male and "expressive" female, similarly positing women as emotional and nurturing, and men as being action- and task-oriented. This commonly alluded-to gender differentiation has manifested in variously-labeled dichotomies in the research on gender expectations (e.g., warm vs. competent, agentic vs. communal, alpha vs. beta). Regardless of which titles researchers use, these descriptions all revolve around the same expectations, rooted in cultural, social, and evolutionary explanations: that women are relationally-oriented and expected to fulfill the role of the caretaker (e.g., warm,

kind, nurturing) while men are achievement-oriented and expected to fulfill the role of the worker (e.g., assertive, dominant, rational; Brosi et al., 2016; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004).

Clearly, in addition to expectations surrounding the work devotion schema, employees also face expectations regarding their gender and adherence to gender norms at work. Recent research has frequently used the agency and communion dichotomy to explore effects of gender stereotypes at work. Across genders, agency has been associated with better career outcomes (Higgins, Judge, & Ferris, 2003) and perceived leadership effectiveness (Ames & Flynn, 2007) than communality. However, gender stereotypes frame women as less agentic, and therefore less competent or suited for higher-level managerial positions (Heilman, 2012) than men (Rudman, 1998). For example, a study by Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, and Ristikari (2011) found that leaders are perceived as similar to men but not to women, as more agentic than communal, and more masculine than feminine across various occupations.

On the other hand, communality has been associated with warm, interpersonal, and supportive behaviors (Brosi et al., 2016). Indeed, the communality stereotype has been shown to have some benefits in the workplace – for example, women are more likely than men to be perceived as successful leaders in environments where there is a great amount of social interaction (Kent & Moss, 1994). However, communality has also generally been associated with lower competence and is traditionally perceived as less important at work than agency (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Even as the number of women in the workforce has drastically increased, these traditional gender prescriptions remain strong (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006). As Williams, Blair-Loy, and Berdahl (2013) state about gender expectations in the workplace, "the American workplace continues to reflect the cultural model of the 1960s, when the most

common family form was a male breadwinner [reflecting agentic attributes] married to a stay at home wife [reflecting communal attributes]” (p. 210).

The issue of gender expectations at work becomes particularly salient for individuals in occupations dominated by the opposite sex. First described by Laws (1975) and Kanter (1977), a token employee is one who belongs to a minority group within an organization that composes less than 15% of the workplace population (Kanter, 1993). This theory is most often related to women in traditionally-male-dominated occupations or ranks, such as women in managerial positions (Jaquette, 1997; Zimmer, 1988) or women in STEM professions (Glass et al., 2013). As previously stated, token women are defined by greater visibility (standing out relative to their more homogenous peers), greater polarization (the exaggeration of differences between the token employee and their homogeneous peers), and greater assimilation (the distortion of employees’ attributes to fit their gender stereotypes) than non-token women (Kanter, 1977). Token women receive fewer workplace rewards (Brewer, 1988), lower performance evaluations (Farley, 1996; Heilman, Martel, & Simon, 1988), and experience greater feelings of isolation, loneliness, and withdrawal (Koontz, 1979; Yoder & Sinnett, 1985) than their male counterparts. The stereotype of women being perceived as less agentic than men (Rudman, 1998) is augmented for women in male-dominated occupations, causing women in these positions to be viewed as less competent (Koch, D’Mello, & Sackett, 2015). Thus, because token individuals stand out more and are expected to assimilate to stereotypes of their in-group (Kanter, 1977), women in male-dominated occupations must manage exaggerated gender expectations in order to be perceived positively at work.

Despite the fact that communal attributes are not associated with career success as much as agentic attributes (Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011; Glick & Fiske, 1996), token women are

held to higher standards to assimilate to their gender expectations, and must often do this to mitigate the negative effects of their tokenism (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Taylor, 1981; Williams, 2005). For example, women may be able to assuage the negative effects of tokenism (Brewer, 1988; Farley, 1996; Heilman, Martel, & Simon, 1988) by acting more communal, taking on the role of the “mother,” described as “a nurturing consoler who handles the emotion work of the group,” the “princess,” or someone who “pairs with a male protector,” the “pet,” or “a group mascot who applauds male achievements and gains acceptance by being a cute little person,” or “Ms. Efficiency,” “a glorified secretary who organizes the group” (Taylor, 1981; Williams, 2005, p. 95). A recent study by Kark, Waismel-Manor, and Shamir (2012) also found that drawing upon communal characteristics may help women in the “double-bind” of leadership positions (which are typically viewed as masculine; Koenig et al., 2011), in which they are expected to act agentically to fit expectations as a leader (Koenig et al., 2011), but are penalized for acting incongruously with gender expectations (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kark et al., 2012). Additionally, researchers have suggested that when women are token employees, they are more readily evaluated by supervisors and peers on their performance in adhering to their feminine stereotype than their performance on job-related factors, and coworkers are therefore more likely to judge their quality as an employee on the basis of their adherence to their feminine identities rather than their individual competencies (Eagly, 2007; Kanter, 1977).

Similarly, another theory stemming from tokenism is role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), which proposes that the perceived incongruity between how women are expected to behave based on gender expectations and how they must behave in male-dominated occupations leads to workplace prejudice. Specifically developed in the context of female leaders, in which women must act agentically to fulfill the requirements of the job even though

women are expected to act communally because of gender stereotypes, researchers have found that when this incongruence is made salient, women receive less favorable evaluations from peers and coworkers (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This is also based in Eagly's (1987) social role theory of sex differences, which explains that socially shared expectations of the attributes of men and women not only exist, but are held as a socially desirable standard for each sex. Thus, women (and men) are viewed less favorably when they act incongruously with the attributes prescribed to their gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Many researchers have corroborated role congruity theory, and further supported its relationship with perceived ascriptions to traditional gender expectations. For example, Heilman and Okimoto (2007) examined how perceived communality may interact with women in male-dominated roles. They found that the display of communal attributes (specifically the information of motherhood) mitigated the negative evaluations of women in management positions. In other words, when women in male-dominated positions acted more feminine, their evaluations increased despite the general expectations male-dominated professions such as managerial positions require more agentic traits (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007).

Thus, while communal traits may not be associated with career success to the same extent as agentic qualities (Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011; Glick & Fiske, 1996), drawing upon stereotypical communal traits may indeed allow women in traditionally masculine-dominated occupations to assuage their otherwise detrimental token status. In other words, by highlighting their communal traits in a context where adherence to gender norms is so important for evaluation as an employee, women may therefore receive higher evaluations from coworkers and supervisors than they would if they behaved too agentially, or out of line with their prescribed gender stereotypes.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRESENT STUDY

The current study uses role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), work devotion schema (Blair-Loy, 2003) and tokenism (Kanter, 1977) as lenses through which to experimentally examine the relationship between parental leave length and gendered job types on the perception and advancement of female employees. Parental leave and the gendered-nature of one's position are both couched in gender stereotypes and expectations, which provides a compelling intersection from which they can be scientifically examined. Specifically, this study examines how the relationship between the length of a women's parental leave and the gendered-nature of her occupation influence how she is perceived by a hypothetical manager on five main outcomes: perceived agency, perceived communality, perceived promotion potential, perceived advancement-oriented mentoring opportunities, and perceived leadership potential.

Taking advantage of paid parental leave, and specifically choosing to take longer parental leave, signals adherence to "feminine" gender expectations of communality and relationship-oriented behavior. However, it may also signal a lack of agentic qualities, as it could be seen as placing one's communal concern for others over task accomplishment. Additionally, choosing to take longer parental leave may also signal a lack of adherence to the ideal worker norm and the work devotion schema, as it signals a prioritization of family over work. This choice of devotion to family over devotion to work may result in perceptions that a woman who takes longer parental leave is less deserving of advancement-oriented rewards at work, as she may come across as a "less ideal worker" than someone who returns to work as soon as possible.

Considering the relationship between agentic qualities and career success (Higgins, Judge, & Ferris, 2003), as well as the evidence that taking advantage of family friendly policies has a negative impact on career outcomes such as promotion potential and evaluations (Cohen & Single, 2001; Glass, 2004), I anticipate a main effect of leave length, such that taking advantage of paid parental leave policies will have a negative impact on advancement opportunities in women's careers. I propose three different leave lengths, to compare the effects of the shortest possible leave (two days), a medium leave based on current paid parental leave policies offered by U.S. states and an equidistant point between the short and long leave (six weeks), and a long leave based on proposed paid parental leave policies offered by U.S. states (12 weeks). Formally, I propose:

Hypothesis 1: Women who take two-day paid leave will be perceived as (a) more agentic, (b) less communal, (c) having more promotion potential, (d) having more mentorship potential, and (e) having more leadership potential, compared to women who take six-week leave.

Hypothesis 2: Women who take six-week paid leave will be perceived as (a) more agentic, (b) less communal, (c) having more promotion potential, (d) having more mentorship potential, and (e) having more leadership potential, compared to women who take 12-week leave.

Considering the specific difficulties women in male-dominated occupations face surrounding gender and adherence to gender stereotypes, it also seems likely that simply having a male-dominated occupation will have detrimental effects on women's careers. As masculinity tends to be associated with higher levels of agency and lower levels of communality (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004), and women are penalized for acting incongruously with typical "feminine" traits (Eagly & Karau, 2002), choosing an occupation that is not in accordance with

gender stereotypes may also have a negative impact on advancement opportunities in women's careers. Thus, I propose:

Hypothesis 3: Women in male-dominated occupations will be perceived as (a) more agentic, (b) less communal, (c) having less promotion potential, (d) having less mentorship potential, and (e) having less leadership potential than women in female-dominated occupations.

Finally, past research has supported that women can mitigate the negative career outcomes from acting more masculine and agentic by displaying more communal behaviors (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Taylor, 1981; Williams, 2005). Research on tokenism and role congruity theory suggests that women in male-dominated occupations can expect to mitigate negative evaluations based on their token status by acting more communally and openly prescribing to female gender stereotypes (making others aware of their motherhood; Heliman et al., 2007). Considering that becoming a parent is so steeped in gender norms and expectations (Little et al., 2016), it is expected that becoming a mother and taking advantage of workplace policies would *benefit* women in male-dominated occupations, despite common evidence to the contrary. Thus, while research on the work devotion schema and the use of family-friendly policies has been frequently related to negative career outcomes for women, I argue that in the case of women in male-dominated occupations, the use of these policies may work to their benefit as it cues women's motherhood, and therefore their adherence to traditionally feminine expectations. I therefore propose that the communal act of taking advantage of longer paid parental leave will serve as a buffer to the negative effects of occupying a male-dominated occupation, as it demonstrates the communal traits that women must often display to be perceived positively when they hold traditionally agentic occupations. In other words, while taking advantage of longer parental leave may have an overall negative effect on career

outcomes, it is likely that this will be moderated by gendered occupation type, as a clear cue to women's femininity in male-dominated positions will mitigate other negative effects associated with token status. I do not include agency in this hypothesis, as the outcome of agency is not expected to be an important distinguisher beyond the main effect for women in male-dominated occupations; change in perceived communality is the crux of the argument for why women in male-dominated occupations may be perceived as having more promotion, leadership, and mentorship potential. I therefore propose:

Hypothesis 4: Gendered job type will moderate the relationship between length of leave and outcomes, such that women in male-dominated occupations who take longer leaves will be evaluated as being (a) more communal, (b) having more promotion potential, (c) having more mentorship potential, and (d) having more leadership potential than women in female-dominated occupations who take longer leaves.

It is important to note that while the first two hypotheses generally replicate past findings of effects from the use of flexibility and effects from being a token employee, including three levels of length of paid parental leave contributes a new perspective to past research. Hypothesis 4 provides the greatest contribution to the literature, providing new insights into whether the generally negative impact of taking advantage of family-friendly policies is dependent on occupation, and whether signaling one's femininity through parental leave may serve as a communal point for women to leverage in male-dominated occupations. These four hypotheses will be experimentally examined by assessing a hypothetical manager's reactions to various requests for paid parental leave as it relates to the gendered nature of an employee's job. Considering paid parental leave laws are being instated with increasing frequency across the United States, and considering one's adherence to gender stereotypes continues to play a role in

how employees are perceived by their supervisors and peers, this study can potentially shed new light on how the use of these new policies may interact with gender-related factors to impact how women are perceived and evaluated.

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Participants were eligible to take part in the online experiment if they were over the age of 18, worked at least 35 hours per week, and had at least 1 year of managerial experience at some point in their career. Four-hundred was selected as the target N after a power analysis using G-Power, using an effect size of $f = 0.25$, six conditions, an alpha of .05, and a power of .95. Due to slight over-sampling, 535 participants completed the survey. In order maximize certainty that the manipulation was effective and all participants were paying attention, participants were removed if they failed at least one manipulation check or at least one attention check. This resulted in the removal of 110 participants. Fifty-two of the 110 (47.3%) participants were removed for failing an attention check, and 108 (98.2%) of the 110 participants were removed for failing a manipulation check. Note that this number is higher than 100% because 50 (45.5%) of the 110 participants failed both a manipulation and an attention check. Among the participants who failed a manipulation check, 53 (49.7%) failed the leave length manipulation, and 85 (78.7%) failed the job type manipulation. Note that this number is higher than 100% because 30 (27.7%) failed both types of manipulation check.

Four-hundred twenty-five participants (50.1% female) were included in the final analysis. 77.1% of participants identified as White/Caucasian, 8.1% as Black/African American, 6.7% as Asian, 5.0% as Hispanic/Latino, 2.4% as Other, 0.5% as American Indian/Alaska Native, and

0.2% as Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander. Participant ages ranged from 19-72, with the mean age 37.4 years ($SD = 10.95$). Participants worked an average of 42 hours per week ($SD = 5.67$). Most participants were married or in a domestic partnership, with 52.9% married, 34.6% single/never married, 10.1% divorced, 0.7% separated, and 0.5% widowed. A majority of participants (52.5%) had children. Participants were paid \$0.60 for completion of the full study. They were first required to take a pre-screening survey for eligibility, and, if they met all study requirements in the prescreening, were sent to the informed consent. After providing informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to one of six conditions, and read a set of instructions. Conditions were balanced by gender to ensure participant gender was similarly divided in each condition, though these numbers were slightly unequal after all data was cleaned. The experiment was a 3 (short leave, medium leave, long leave) X 2 (male dominated occupation – engineer, female dominated occupation – nurse) between-subjects design.

Participants were told to assume the position of Taylor Jones (a gender-neutral name), a human resources manager at SystemsCorp. They were told that a part of their job is to review and make decisions regarding employee requests and personnel situations. They were told that they were currently being asked to review four different HR requests, and to make certain decisions about their outcomes, and that standard procedure at SystemCorps is to go through each request one at a time, making their decision about the outcome of the request after they have fully read the request. They were then told that in addition to making decisions on each of the four requests, their supervisor has requested their opinion about the employees they are dealing with through the HR requests in order to help with annual performance appraisals. They were presented with an email from their supervisor to increase the fidelity of this request, and were then told that they will rate each of the four employees on the SystemsCorp performance

appraisal form along with making their decision for each of the HR requests. In order to provide context, they were told that the first HR request comes from Sarah Harris, and told her job title (either a registered nurse or engineer, depending on the condition). They were then told to proceed to this first request, which will be an email request from Sarah Harris asking for a certain amount of paid parental leave out of 12 available weeks (either two days, six weeks, or 12 weeks, depending on the condition). After this request, they proceeded to a question asking them if they will grant this request for parental leave, then the performance appraisal form for Sarah including the outcome measures, and then a demographic questionnaire. Regardless of their decision to grant the leave request, participants still filled out a performance appraisal form. The question on participants' decision to grant the leave request was simply to simulate the purpose of the manipulation of being an HR manager, but was not a part of the final, formal analysis. Participants did not actually review all four HR requests, but were told this in the beginning to mask the fact that the study was specifically about parental leave. After answering all questions in the survey, participants were debriefed, thanked for their participation and the study concluded. See Appendix A for all manipulation materials.

The only two pieces of information that were manipulated across conditions were the length of leave requested by the Sarah and the Sarah's job title. The amount of paid leave requested was one of three levels: two days (short leave), six weeks (medium leave), or 12 weeks (long leave). Twelve weeks was selected as the "long" leave condition, as this is the longest paid parental leave policy that has passed in any U.S. state (New York, to be enacted in 2021; National Partnership, 2016). Two days was selected as the "short" leave condition as a minimum about of time that women would be away from work after having a child. Six weeks was chosen as the "medium" leave condition as an equidistant point between the long and short leave

conditions. The amount of time Sarah Harris requests was chosen out of a 12-week total available in all conditions, providing all participants with the same reference point of short, medium, or long.

The job title was that of a nurse or an engineer. These positions were chosen as they are each dominated by one gender, but beyond their gendered nature, have many similarities. All registered nurses in the U.S. are made up by 89.4% women (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). This meets the criteria for a gender-dominated position with an 85:15 percent ratio (Kanter, 1977). Engineering occupations, depending on the specialty of engineer, are made up of 8.3% to 20.2% women, with an average across specialties of 13.25% women (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Thus, engineering also falls into a gender-dominated position in which a female engineer would be considered a token employee (Kanter, 1977). Despite the extreme gender differences between nursing and engineering, both occupations are highly technical, have similar annual incomes (\$82,980 for engineering occupations, \$71,000 for registered nurses), and require similar levels of education (at least a four-year undergraduate degree) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Thus, the average salary for Sarah Harris was averaged for Registered Nurses and Engineers (\$76,990), and all other information remained identical across the six experimental conditions.

Measures (see Appendix B).

Agency and communality. Perceived agency and communality were measured using Brosi, Sporrle, Welpe, and Heilman's (2016) measure. Participants were asked to rate the target (Sarah Harris) on a series of 9-point bipolar adjective scales, and composites were calculated for the adjectives related to agency and communality. The adjective scales for agency consisted of: Not Self Confident – Confident, Strong – Weak (recoded), and Not Forceful – Forceful ($\alpha = .68$).

However, as explained in results below, one item was removed from the agency scale (Not Forceful – Forceful) to increase this low alpha ($\alpha = 0.82$). The adjective scales for communality consisted of: Not Understanding – Understanding, Not Supportive – Supportive, and Insensitive – Sensitive ($\alpha = .86$).

Promotion potential. Promotion potential was measured using a 3-item scale, developed for this study, asking the following questions: “How likely would you be to recommend Sarah for a promotion?” “Sarah demonstrates the potential to succeed if promoted,” and “If a promotion were available, Sarah should be strongly considered.” These items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very much* (5). This scale and the phrasing of the items are based on Allen and Rush’s (1998) scale for organizational rewards. However, these items were created specifically for this study ($\alpha = .92$).

Mentoring potential. Mentoring potential was measured using a 3-item scale developed for this study, asking the following questions: “How likely would you be to recommend that Sarah receives career-advancement-oriented mentoring within the organization?” “Sarah would be a good choice for a mentoring program aimed at career advancement,” and “If a spot within an organizational mentoring program opens up, Sarah should be strongly considered.” This was measured on the same 5-point Likert scale as promotion potential, ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very much* (5). This scale and the phrasing of the items are based on Allen and Rush’s (1998) scale for organizational rewards. However, Allen and Rush (1998) do not include an item on mentoring potential, and these items were created specifically for the current study ($\alpha = .91$).

Leadership potential. Leadership potential was measured using a 3-item scale developed for this study, asking the following questions: “How likely would you be to recommend that Sarah Harris receives a leadership position within the organization?” “Sarah

Harris appears to be suited for a leadership position,” and “Sarah Harris has the qualities to succeed as a leader.” These were measured on the same 5-point Likert scale as promotion potential and mentoring potential, ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very much* (5). This scale and the phrasing of the items are based on Allen and Rush’s (1998) scale for organizational rewards. However, Allen and Rush (1998) do not include an item on leadership potential, and these items were created specifically for the current study ($\alpha = .93$).

Manipulation and attention checks. Participants were also given manipulation and attention checks to verify that the experimental manipulation was successful. In total, 110 (20.5%) of the originally collected 535 participants were removed due to failing a manipulation check, an attention check, or both. To check the occupation-type manipulation, participants were asked “What is Sarah Harris’s job?” and were given the options of Nurse, Engineer, and Not Sure. To check the length of leave manipulation, participants were asked “How long did Sarah Harris request for her paid parental leave?” and were given the options of Two Days, Six Weeks, 12 Weeks, and Not Sure. As stated previously, 108 (98.2%) of the 110 removed participants failed a manipulation check. For the attention checks, participants were given two questions that stated: “Paying attention and reading the instructions carefully is critical, if you are paying attention please choose option 1 below.” Fifty-two (47.3%) of the 110 removed participants failed at least one attention check. As stated above, participants were removed from the final sample if they failed at least one manipulation or at least one attention check, in order to ensure that the analyzed results were fully aware of the study procedures and had fully processed the manipulation. As can be seen by the percentages amounting to greater than 100%, 50 (45.5%) of the 110 removed participants failed both a manipulation and an attention check. The removal of these 110 participants resulted in a final sample of 425.

Demographics. Participants were also asked to indicate their gender, age, ethnicity, occupation (using the options provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics), industry (using the options provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics), how many years they have held a managerial position with at least one direct report, how many hours per week they work, how many years they have been with their current organization, whether or not they have children (and if so, their ages), whether they or their partner took parental leave when each of their children were born (if applicable), and their marital status.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

According to standard recommended guidelines, Cronbach's alpha was adequate for promotion potential, mentorship potential, leadership potential, and communality. However, it was just below the recommended level of acceptability (.70; Meyers, Gamst, & Guarino, 2013) for agency, $\alpha = .68$. To further examine the properties of the reliability of the agency scale, alphas were examined if items were deleted. While the deletion of the first two items in the scale (Not Confident-Confident; Not Strong-Strong) resulted in a lower alpha, the removal of the third item (Not Forceful-Forceful) resulted a higher alpha of .82. Additionally, while the inter-item correlation between Not-Confident-Confident and Not Strong-Strong was .70, the correlations between Not Forceful-Forceful were .26 with Not Confident-Confident, and .28 with Not Strong-Strong. The lower correlations of the Not Forceful-Forceful item with the other two items further supports that the removal of this item may improve the overall reliability of the agency scale. Thus, moving forward in data analysis, the agency scale was reduced to just the first two items, which were positively and significantly correlated, $r = .70, p < .001$. All other scales were kept in their original form.

Table 1 provides correlations between the dependent variables. All variables were significantly correlated with each other. Promotion potential was highly correlated with mentorship potential ($r = .80, p < .001$) and leadership potential ($r = .86, p < .001$). Agency was also significantly correlated with communality ($r = .55, p < .001$), indicating that in this sample these constructs shared considerable variance. Changing the agency scale from two items to three

items resulted in the correlation between agency and communality to change from .45 to .55 (though both were significant, $p < .001$). Consistent with these results, past published research has primarily found that these two constructs tend to be significantly correlated (see Gebauer, Wagner, Sedikides, & Neberich, 2013; Rauthmann & Kolar, 2013; Wojciszke, Abele, & Baryla, 2009).

Considering the high correlations between the dependent variables, I conducted confirmatory factor analysis to test a three-factor model of career potential (promotion, mentorship, and leadership potential) to examine discriminant validity (see Table 2). The fit for the three-factor model was good based on common model fit criteria (Hu & Bentler, 1999), with a TLI of .98, CFI of .99, SRMR of .02, χ^2 of 82.92, $p < .001$, and RMSEA of .08, 90% CI (0.059, 0.094). The three-factor model fit the data better than a one-factor model, ($\chi^2 (3) = 216.60, p < .001$). Additionally, the three-factor model fit better than each of the possible two-factor models: promotion/mentorship and leadership, ($\chi^2 (2) = 158.03, p < .001$); promotion/leadership and mentorship, ($\chi^2 (2) = 78.18, p < .001$); and leadership/mentorship and promotion ($\chi^2 (2) = 131.92, p < .001$). Thus, the high correlations between the three factors indicate that participants who rated Sarah Harris highly in one dimension were more likely to rate her highly in the other dimensions, but that the dimensions are nonetheless distinct from one another.

To test all three hypotheses, a separate two-way (leave length X occupation) ANOVA was run for each of the five dependent variables of interest. The first and second hypotheses predicted the main effect of length of parental leave length on promotion potential, mentorship potential, leadership potential, agency, and communality. Specifically, Hypothesis 1 predicted that women who took two-day leave would be perceived as more agentic, less communal, having more promotion potential, more mentorship potential, and more leadership potential than women

who took six-week parental leave. Hypothesis 2 predicted the same pattern for the latter two levels of leave length, such that women who took six-week leave would be perceived as more agentic, less communal, having more promotion potential, more mentorship potential, and more leadership potential than women who took 12-week parental leave. Results from the two-way ANOVA for the main effect of leave length are displayed in Table 3.

For agency, there was no significant main effect of leave length, $F(2, 419) = 0.54, p = .59$. In other words, there was no significant difference between any of the means in agency between the three levels of leave length. Thus, Hypotheses 1a and 2a were not supported. Additionally, there was no significant main effect of leave length for communality, $F(2, 419) = 1.68, p = .19$. In other words, there was no significant difference between any of the means in communality between the three levels of leave length. Thus, Hypotheses 1b and 2b were not supported.

For promotion potential, there was a significant main effect of leave length, $F(2, 419) = 3.80, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$. Women who took a two-day leave were rated as having the highest promotion potential ($M = 3.72, SD = .84$), followed by women who took a six-week parental leave ($M = 3.66, SD = .75$), followed by women who took a 12-week parental leave ($M = 3.46, SD = .87$). Tukey's significance tests for the means indicated a significant difference in promotion potential between two-day leave and 12-week leave ($p < .05$), but not between two-day and six-week leave ($p = .75$) and not between six-week and 12-week leave ($p = .10$). Thus, despite significant differences between two-day and 12-week leave, Hypothesis 1c and 2c were not supported, as levels of promotion potential only significantly decreased from two days to 12 weeks, rather than from two days to six weeks and six weeks to 12 weeks.

For career-oriented mentorship potential, there was a significant main effect of leave length, $F(2, 419) = 5.09, p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$. However, in this case, women who took a six-week leave were rated as having the highest mentorship potential ($M = 3.80, SD = 0.73$), followed by women who took a two-day leave ($M = 3.79, SD = 0.88$), followed by women who took a 12-week leave ($M = 3.51, SD = 0.97$). Tukey's significance tests for the means indicated a significant difference in mentorship potential between two-day leave and 12-week leave ($p < .05$) and between six-week leave and 12-week leave ($p < .05$), but not between two-day and six-week leave ($p = .75$). Thus, Hypothesis 1d (that women who took a two-day leave would be rated as having significantly more mentorship potential than women who took a six-week leave) was not supported. However, Hypothesis 2d was supported, as women who took a six-week leave were rated as having significantly higher mentorship potential than women who took a 12-week leave.

For leadership potential, there was a significant main effect of leave length, $F(2, 419) = 3.75, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$. Specifically, women who took a two-day leave were rated as having the highest promotion potential ($M = 3.67, SD = 0.86$), followed by women who took a six-week parental leave ($M = 3.59, SD = 0.82$), followed by women who took a 12-week parental leave ($M = 3.38, SD = 0.99$). Tukey's significance tests for the means indicated a significant difference in leadership potential between two-day leave and 12-week leave ($p < .05$), but not between two-day and six-week leave ($p = .71$) and not between six-week and 12-week leave ($p = .12$). Thus, Hypotheses 1e and 2e were not supported, as levels of leadership potential only significantly decreased from two days to 12 weeks, rather than from two days to six weeks and six weeks to 12 weeks.

In sum, there was no support for Hypothesis 1, and partial support for Hypothesis 2. For Hypothesis 1, there were no significant differences between women who took a two-day parental leave and women who took a six-week parental leave for any of the dependent variables. For Hypothesis 2, as expected, women who took a six-week parental leave were viewed as having significantly more mentorship potential than women who took a 12-week parental leave. However, there was no significant difference between six weeks and 12 weeks for promotion potential, leadership potential, agency or communality.

The third hypothesis predicts a main effect of occupation on promotion potential, mentorship potential, leadership potential, agency, and communality. Specifically, Hypothesis 3 predicted that women in male-dominated occupations (engineering) would be perceived as (a) being more agentic, (b) being less communal, (c) having less promotion potential, (d) having less mentorship potential, and (e) having less leadership potential than women in female-dominated occupations (nursing). Results from the two-way ANOVA for the main effect of occupation are displayed in Table 3.

There was a significant main effect of occupation for agency, $F(1, 419) = 12.17, p < .01$. As Hypothesis 3a predicted, women engineers were rated as significantly more agentic ($M = 6.97, SD = 1.23$) than women nurses ($M = 6.61, SD = 1.25$). However, there was not a significant main effect of occupation for communality, $F(1, 419) = 0.19, p = .67$, thus not supporting Hypothesis 3b.

For promotion potential, as expected, there was a significant main effect of occupation $F(1, 419) = 5.71, p < .05$. However, contrary to Hypothesis 3c, women engineers were rated as having significantly higher promotion potential overall ($M = 3.71, SD = 0.82$) than women nurses ($M = 3.52, SD = 0.82$). For mentorship potential (Hypothesis 3d), there was no significant

main effect of occupation, $F(1, 419) = 3.63, p = .058$. There was no significant main effect of occupation for leadership potential, $F(1, 419) = 0.71, p = .07$.

In sum, there was partial support for Hypothesis 3. As expected, women in the male-dominated occupation were rated as being significantly more agentic than women the female-dominated occupation. However, while there was a significant difference in promotion potential between women in male-dominated and female-dominated occupations, the direction of this effect was reverse of Hypothesis 3c, such that women engineers were rated higher than women nurses. Finally, there was no significant difference in mentorship potential, leadership potential, or communality between these two occupations.

Hypothesis 4 predicted the interaction between occupation type and length of parental leave on the dependent variables of communality, promotion potential, mentorship potential, and leadership (though not agency). Specifically, it predicted that occupation would moderate the relationship between length of leave and outcomes, such that women in male-dominated occupations who take longer leaves will be evaluated as being (a) more communal, (b) having more promotion potential, (c) having more mentorship potential, and (d) having more leadership potential than women in female-dominated occupations who take longer leaves.

The interaction between occupation type and leave length was not significant for communality, $F(2, 419) = 1.00, p = .37$, promotion potential, $F(2, 419) = 1.45, p = .24$, mentorship potential, $F(2, 419) = 1.17, p = .31$, or leadership potential, $F(2, 419) = 0.71, p = .49$. The interaction was also not significant for agency, $F(2, 419) = 2.34, p = .10$, although agency was not included in the hypothesis. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported. Results from the two-way ANOVA for the occupation type and leave length interaction are displayed in Table 3.

Table 1

Correlations Between Dependent Variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Promotion Potential	--	0.80*	0.86*	0.43*	0.56*
2. Mentorship Potential		--	0.83*	0.41*	0.50*
3. Leadership Potential			--	0.46*	0.53*
4. Agency				--	0.55*
5. Communality					--

* $p < .001$

Table 2

*Confirmatory Factor Analyses of Models for Promotion, Mentorship, and Leadership Potential**(n = 425)*

Model	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	χ^2 diff	RMSEA	SRMR	TLI	CFI
Three Factor	82.92*	24	3.46	--	.08	.02	.98	.99
Two Factor (Promotion/ Mentorship, Leadership)	240.95*	26	9.27	158.03	.14	.03	.93	.95
Two Factor (Promotion/ Leadership, Mentorship)	161.10*	26	6.19	78.18	.11	.02	.95	.97
Two Factor (Leadership/ Mentorship, Promotion)	214.84*	26	8.26	131.92	.13	.03	.94	.95
Single Factor	299.52*	27	11.09	216.60	.15	.04	.91	.93

* $p < .001$

Table 3

Two-Way (Occupation and Leave Length) Analysis of Variance for Promotion Potential, Mentorship Potential, Leadership Potential, Agency, and Communality

Variable and Source	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η^2
Agency					
Occupation	1	13.97	12.17	0.001*	0.02
Leave Length	2	1.09	0.54	0.59	0.00
Occupation X Leave Length	2	1.93	2.34	0.10	0.01
Error	419				
Communality					
Occupation	1	0.43	0.19	0.67	0.00
Leave Length	2	3.80	1.68	0.19	0.01
Occupation X Leave Length	2	2.26	1.00	0.37	0.01
Error	419				
Promotion Potential					
Occupation	1	3.81	5.71	0.02*	0.01
Leave Length	2	2.53	3.80	0.02*	0.02
Occupation X Leave Length	2	0.97	1.45	0.24	0.01
Error	419				
Mentorship Potential					
Occupation	1	2.71	3.63	0.06	0.01
Leave Length	2	3.79	5.09	0.01*	0.02
Occupation X Leave Length	2	0.87	1.17	0.31	0.01

Variable and Source	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η^2
Error	419				
Leadership Potential					
Occupation	1	2.66	3.36	0.07	0.00
Leave Length	2	2.97	3.75	0.02*	0.02
Occupation X Leave Length	2	0.57	0.71	0.49	0.00
Error	419				

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine whether the length of paid parental leave and the gendered-nature of one's occupation interact to predict women's career outcomes. Results indicated that there was a main effect of length of leave on promotion potential, mentorship potential, and leadership potential, such that women who took longer parental leave were viewed as having less promotion, mentorship, and leadership potential. However, further significance tests of mean differences indicated that this effect primarily existed between two-day and 12-week leave for promotion potential, mentorship potential, and leadership potential. There were no significant differences between two-day and six-week leave, thus no support for Hypothesis 1. Additionally, there was only a significant difference between six-week and 12-week leave for mentorship potential, therefore only partially supporting Hypothesis 2. There was no significant effect of length of parental leave on agency or communality. Additionally, this study provided partial support for a main effect of occupation type (Hypothesis 3). Specifically, women in male-dominated occupations were perceived as having significantly higher promotion potential and agency. There was no significant effect of occupation type on mentorship potential, leadership potential, or communality. Finally, the interaction of occupation type and length of parental leave proposed in Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

The partial support for Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 corroborates past research examining the effect of use of flexibility policies on career outcomes. Past research has found that long-term wage growth (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Glass, 2004), perceptions of women's

competence (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004), performance evaluations (Wharton, Chivers, & Blair-Loy, 2008), and promotion opportunities (Cohen & Single, 2001; Judiesch & Lyness, 1999) are all negatively impacted by the use of various workplace flexibility policies. However, the current study takes these findings a step further by specifically examining the use of paid parental leave, which, as states are beginning to offer these policies more frequently, has become a particularly important and relevant policy to examine within a U.S. sample. While most research on paid parental leave to date has been examined in nations that currently offer these policies, very little research has investigated how the use of these policies are accepted in the U.S. cultural context. The current study therefore suggests that women in the U.S. who take greater advantage (i.e., longer lengths) of paid parental leave policies may generally be viewed by supervisors as having less promotion, mentorship, and leadership potential.

There was no effect of length of parental leave on women's levels of agency or communality. This could be due to the possibility that length of parental leave indeed does not influence how agentic or communal individuals are perceived. Agency and communality are also measures of traits, while promotion, mentorship, and leadership potential are measures of career outcomes. It is possible that there is more of an impact of leave length on clear-cut career outcomes than there is on perceived traits of individuals. For example, the present manipulation may not have elicited as much about the target's personality or traits as it did about their specific behaviors, while past studies' manipulations may have more strongly elicited feelings towards the target's traits. However, this is a surprising finding regardless, as agency and communality have previously been related to evaluation-based career outcomes (Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

There was a main effect of occupation type on promotion potential and agency. Specifically, women in male-dominated occupations were rated higher on each of these outcomes than women in female-dominated occupations. While the effect on agency is consistent with Hypothesis 3, the effect on promotion potential is reverse to the prediction in Hypothesis 3, as it was expected that women engineers would be viewed as having less promotion potential than women nurses. This contrasts with past research on “token” employees, which has shown that women in male-dominated occupations tend to be judged generally more harshly than women who are not token employees (in this case, women in the nursing occupation; Brewer, 1988; Farley, 1996; Heilman, Martel, & Simon, 1988). One possible explanation for this reverse finding is that the target, Sarah Harris, was never explicitly mentioned to be one of the only women in her role. Instead, it was just mentioned that she was an engineer. It is therefore possible that participants were not aware that Sarah Harris was a token employee. With that said, the significant effect could also be explained by a general higher regard for the engineering occupation than the nursing occupation. However, past research (Fiske & Dupree, 2014) found that nurses tend to be held in higher regard (receive higher levels of admiration and loyalty) than engineers (who score higher on competence perceptions than nurses, but also score higher on levels of distrust and envy). If engineers are viewed as being more competent, (Fiske & Dupree, 2014), combined with a lack of clarity around whether Sarah Harris was a “token” employee, this could explain why they would be more likely to score higher on career outcome measures. It is also possible that since the research on tokenism is older or outdated, that perceptions of token employees have changed in recent years, and that women in male dominated occupations are held in higher regard than they used to be. Most likely, as engineers tend to score higher on ratings of competence than nurses (Fiske & Dupree,

2014), and competence tends to be associated with higher ratings of promotion potential, women engineers were viewed as having higher promotion potential regardless of the fact that they *might* be token employees.

There was no support for the occupation type on mentorship potential, leadership potential, or communality. This could be due to the fact that occupation type does not influence these variables. It is also possible that for leadership and mentorship potential, there might be fewer cross-occupational differences as every occupation has opportunities for leadership and mentorship, and thus the type of occupation does not necessarily elicit differences. The lack of significance for communality, on the other hand, is surprising, as past research has found that nurses tend to be viewed as higher in warmth (a similar construct to communality) than engineers (Fiske & Dupree, 2014). One possible explanation could be that because each scenario presented Sarah Harris as a mother, she was viewed as being more communal as an engineer than she otherwise would have been.

The lack of support for a significant interaction between parental leave length and occupation type could be due to several factors. The interaction was based upon the premise that taking a longer parental leave would help buffer the negative effects of being in a male-dominated occupation. However, as there was no negative effect on career outcomes for women in male dominated occupations, and in fact there was a positive effect on (at least some) career outcomes for women in male-dominated occupations, the interaction was no longer based on a valid argument. Additionally, it is possible that the theory of tokenism behind the hypotheses was mis-specified. The research on tokenism is indeed older (Brewer, 1988; Farley, 1996; Heilman, Martel, & Simon, 1988), and it could be that attitudes towards women in male-dominated occupations have changed over time. The number of women in engineering

professions has grown substantially over the years (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Given this trend in engineering and other traditionally male-dominated occupations (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015), it is possible that the negative attitudes expected towards women in male dominated occupations based on research from the 1980s and 1990s have changed as occupations have changed in the 2000s and 2010s. While engineering is still a heavily male-dominated occupation, it is not out of the question that attitudes towards token women have softened over time. Additionally, it is possible that taking longer parental leave (i.e. taking time off from work) is still a stronger attitude-shaper than occupation type, given the United States' cultural work devotion schema (Blair-Loy, 2003). Given that the work devotion schema is still a strong force and Americans work long hours in order to be viewed positively at work as a result (Blair-Loy & Williams, 2017), it is possible that taking time off of work would not help anyone's career outcomes regardless of the gender issues they may face. In other words, it is possible that cultural stigma against women token employees has advanced more over the years than cultural stigma against appearing uncommitted to one's job.

Theoretical Contributions

The current study offers multiple contributions to the current literature. For one, this study provides an extension of the existing research that has been conducted on paid parental leave in the U.S. As explained previously, most of the current research on paid parental leave reflects effects that exist in countries where paid parental leave policies have already been implemented widely (Evertsson & Duvander, 2010). Thus, this research likely exists within specific cultural contexts, and can not necessarily be assumed to generalize to the U.S. where these policies at a governmental level are still sparse. By examining attitudes towards paid parental leave length with a solely United States sample and using a United States-based

vignette, this study provides the opportunity to discuss real data on issues of paid parental leave within a U.S. context, rather than generalizing other countries' studies to the U.S. This is important given that the work devotion schema is particularly strong in the United States compared to many European countries (Blair-Loy, 2003), where most of the past research on paid parental leave has been conducted. Additionally, while research in the U.S. has examined career outcomes and the effects of certain *flexibility* policies on women's careers, and the current study corroborates the general findings of this past research, this study provides the first experimental examination of paid parental leave policies at a state government level. This research begins this examination as more states are implementing or discussing paid parental leave policies, and is therefore becoming increasingly relevant to both the literature and policy makers.

Additionally, this research contributes to the research on tokenism as it relates to women in male-dominated occupations. The finding that women in engineering roles were actually rated higher overall than women in nursing positions contradicts what the tokenism literature would suggest. However, as described in the limitations section, this could potentially be due to the fact that the target in the study was not described specifically as being a token, just that she was a female in a male-dominated occupation. Regardless, the current study extends the current research on token employees and women in male-dominated occupations, by providing evidence that women in engineering roles are viewed as more agentic and having more promotion potential than women in nursing roles (non-token). This finding, counter to what was expected, also demonstrates a need for updated research on token employees and women in male-dominated occupations.

While Hypothesis 4 was positioned to provide the greatest theoretical contribution, suggesting how women could use parental leave to mitigate negative effects associated with being in a male-dominated occupation, the research did not support this effect. The lack of support for this hypothesis indicates that more research is needed to move theory on women in male-dominated occupations forward, particularly as it relates to women's use of parental leave policies.

Practical Implications

First and foremost, the current study provides further evidence that, generally, taking advantage of parental leave can negatively impact women's careers. Despite the slight differences between occupations, overall, taking advantage of longer paid parental leave negatively impacted women's promotion, mentorship, and leadership potential as perceived by a hypothetical human resources manager. While past research on use of flexibility has supported this idea, this finding is particularly relevant for women as more U.S. states implement paid parental leave policies. This study provides evidence that while it may be an option to take paid leave, women need to consider how this option interferes with their career goals. Furthermore, so as to not place all of the responsibility on the women this affects, organizations need to consider how managers may perceive women's use of state-offered parental leave and begin to work towards company cultures that may be more sensitive to and less punitive of this type of parental leave. For example, integrating parental leave into organizational/leadership training curriculums surrounding bias or discrimination could be a first step in addressing these results. Past research has found that taking 12 weeks of parental leave decreased infant mortality rates, increased birth weights (Rossin, 2011), and improved maternal mental health (Staehelin, Berteau, & Stutz, 2007).

Unfortunately, the current study provides evidence that increased health of the family after a birth and a mother's career outcomes may be at odds.

Additionally, the finding that engineers were rated more highly than nurses overall provides practical insights to women regarding career choice, and offers a reflection of potential current cultural attitudes towards certain occupations. Managers with power to influence their employees' careers, as well, should consider this finding when making judgments about individuals based on the occupation they have chosen. While it is unlikely that a manager would be considering an engineer and a nurse for the same promotion, the study still reflects the possibility more minute potential differences in how attitudes towards people change based on their specific occupation. Managers should therefore consider their own and others' potential biases relating to occupation type and policies employees have taken advantage of when considering employees for promotions or performance evaluations.

Limitations

Various points mentioned above illustrate some of the limitations of the current study. First, the measure used for agency (developed by Brosi, Sporrle, Welp, & Heilman, 2016) originally had a low reliability. While one item was removed from this scale and agency's reliability was improved for the main analyses, this still resulted in a different scale than was originally developed to measure agency. The resulting scale was only two items, rather than the three items that the rest of the scales had in the study. Future research should therefore consider using a different measure for agency.

Additionally, the reverse findings for promotion potential within Hypothesis 3 (female engineers rated more highly than female nurses) contradict past research on token employees that shows that token employees are generally evaluated more negatively than non-token employees

(Brewer, 1988; Farley, 1996; Heilman, Martel, & Simon, 1988). As mentioned in the interpretation above, this could suggest that the manipulation was ineffective at communicating that Sarah Harris as an engineer was a token employee. Alternatively, this manipulation seems to have tapped into a significant bias *in favor* of engineers over nurses. This is a critical limitation, as the argument of the current study and its potential contribution is based upon the expectation that token employees are viewed more negatively than non-token employees. This points to the need for future research examining token employees to explicitly specify that the target is a token employee.

Finally, while experimental research is necessary to some extent in examining these issues, it is possible that the format and design of the current study do not reflect real-world experiences or attitudes. Participants were asked to assume the role of a human resources manager and to imagine that they were in the situation described. While many efforts were made to increase the fidelity of the current study, online experiments are inherently limited in their ability to capture real-world phenomena. Thus, while this limitation is not critical, it does suggest that results should be interpreted with some regard to how these phenomena may play out in real organizations versus in an online experiment.

Suggestions for Future Research

While the current study offers some new insight into the effects of paid parental leave length and male-/female-dominated occupations on various outcomes relating to women's careers, future research is needed to more fully understand these relationships. First, as mentioned in the limitations section, future research should be sure to clearly and explicitly explain that the target is a token employee, rather than assuming the participants will understand the extent to which participants are in male- vs. female-dominated occupations. Similarly, this

study only compared heavily male- and female-dominated occupations, but future research should also include a comparison of occupations that are not gender-specific or fall somewhere in between. While gender-dominated occupation is an important issue, particularly through the lens of tokenism, far more occupations fall somewhere in between these two extremes.

Additionally, future research should further examine differences in leave lengths. The hypotheses in the current study did not include a prediction for the comparison of two-day to 12-week parental leave. Thus, while there were significant differences between two days and 12 weeks for many of the dependent variables (promotion potential, mentorship potential, and leadership potential) based on leave length, Hypothesis 1 was still not supported because it only predicted differences between two-days and six-weeks and six weeks and 12 weeks. Thus, future research should look at more time point comparisons to further establish at what point women are penalized for taking leave. Ideally, future research could pinpoint a “sweet spot” of parental leave, which could provide individuals with a clearer idea of how much leave would hurt their career. This would likely be easiest to do in a non-experimental design, using real-world data of different parental leaves that have been taken. However, this will be easiest to conduct once more women have taken advantage of varying lengths of state government-offered parental leave, and enough time has passed for there to be a clear follow-up measure of their career outcomes (such as a performance evaluation following the parental leave).

Future research should also examine how men are affected by the issues examined in the current study. Paid parental leave policies being implemented across the U.S. are being increasingly expanded to include men. It is highly likely that men will face gender-related effects on their career outcomes based on the amount of leave they choose to use and their occupation type. It is likely that both the role congruity theory and tokenism would suggest different

outcomes for men than women based on these independent variables, which is why men were not included as targets in the current analysis. Indeed, past research has found that men in female-dominated occupations may actually benefit from their tokenism in regards to pay and evaluations (Williams, 1992; Budig, 2002), in contrast to past findings that women are penalized for this. This has commonly been referred to as the “glass escalator” (Williams, 1992). Once the previously outlined limitations of the current study are addressed, a follow-up study could be conducted examining the same situation, using a male target instead of a female target.

In line with the limitation of this study being an online experiment, further studies should extend the current research to examine real world effects using real evaluation data from organizations. While has previously been difficult to collect data on paid parental leave policies in the U.S., mainly because they have not existed for long at a governmental level, this type of data will become more readily available as laws are implemented and more employees take advantage of them. While many organizations offer their own paid parental leave policies, it is only recently that states have begun to offer them. It will therefore also be critical for future research to address how these new policies are received in organizations that did not previously offer paid parental leave to employees, and how expectations of gender norms for those employees play into the perceptions of their use of leave.

Finally, as paid parental leave becomes increasingly available at the state level, it will also be important to consider how attitudes towards individuals taking advantage of these policies will be shaped compared to organization-wide policies. For example, will people be judged more harshly for taking advantage of state-mandated policies, rather than organizational policies where time off might be a greater part of the specific organizational culture? Comparing

career outcomes between government-level and organization-level policies is thus an important future research question.

Conclusion

As more U.S. states continue to implement paid parental leave policies for all residents, new parents face increasing need to negotiate how taking advantage of this leave will impact their careers. Additionally, organizations who have never offered parental leave policies in the past will face the need to understand how to treat employees who choose to take advantage of these state-level policies. Specifically, as many organizations did not offer paid parental leave in the past, it will become particularly important for managers within these organizations to not penalize their employees for taking advantage of these new policies. The current research provides evidence of the fact that taking advantage of these policies could indeed negatively impact women's careers. While public sentiment around the implementation of these policies has been generally positive, it is also important that further research on the impact of these policies is conducted and disseminated to the general public in order to optimize the benefits for families and individual careers. Understanding not only how the use of these policies but also how it interacts with other culturally-situated issues, such as gender, is important to further maximizing the benefits of these policies. Thus, the current study provides strong evidence for the need to conduct future research on these issues, and potentially interesting and important directions to take this future research. Potentially more importantly, these findings not only suggest the importance of conducting future research on paid parental leave policies, but also the need to educate the public on the effects of these policies as they become increasingly available.

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APPENDIX A

ELIGIBILITY SCREEN & MANIPULATION

Are you 18 years of age or older?

1 = Yes

2 = No

Do you work at least 35 hours per week?

1 = Yes

2 = No

Throughout your career, have you had at least one year of managerial experience (had at least one employee report directly to you?)

1 = Yes

2 = No

Are you a resident of the United States?

1 = Yes

2 = No

Manipulation

[Page 1]

Please assume the role of Taylor Jones, a human resources manager at the SystemsCorp company.

Part of your job is reviewing and making decisions about employee requests and personnel situations.

[Page 2]

Today, you will review four HR requests and make decisions on their outcome. Standard procedure at SystemsCorp is to go through these requests one by one, and make your decision once you've fully read the request.

[Page 3]

In addition to making decisions on these four requests, your supervisor has requested your opinion about the employees you have dealt with through these HR requests in order to help him with their performance appraisals. Please proceed to see the first email from your supervisor.

[Page 4]

From: Alex Miller
Sent: Monday, October 24, 2016 3:30:12 PM
To: Taylor Jones
Subject: Help with Performance Appraisals?

Hi Taylor,

Could you help me out with some of the performance appraisals for this year? They're due at the end of this week and are piling up. If you could just fill out one of the performance appraisal forms for any of the employees who submit HR requests with you this week that would be great.

Thanks,
 Alex

General Manager
 SystemsCorp
 mmiller@systemscorp.com

[Page 5]

To respond to your supervisor's request, you will rate each of the four employees on the SystemsCorp performance appraisal form along with making decisions on their HR requests.

[Page 6]

*To give context, the first request comes from Sarah Harris, a **[Registered Nurse/Engineer]** at SystemsCorp. Her annual salary is \$76,990. She received her Bachelor's degree in **[Nursing/Engineering]** in 2008, and has been a part of the SystemsCorp team since 2008.*

Please proceed to review the first HR request.

[Page 7]

(2 Day Nurse Condition)

From: Sarah Harris
Sent: Tuesday, October 25, 2016 2:13:31 PM
To: Taylor Jones
Subject: Request for Paid Parental Leave – 2 Days

Hi Taylor,

As you know, employees are required to discuss their parental leave plans with you before submitting official documents through human resources. As you know, our state offers all full-time employees 12 weeks of paid parental leave.

I would like to take 2 days out of the 12 paid weeks offered. Once I get this cleared by you I will submit my documents to HR. Please let me know if you have any questions or would like to meet to discuss this further.

Thank you,
Sarah Harris

Registered Nurse
SystemsCorp
sharris@systemscorp.com

(6 week nurse condition)

From: Sarah Harris
Sent: Tuesday, October 25, 2016 2:13:31 PM
To: Taylor Jones
Subject: Request for Paid Parental Leave – 6 Weeks

Hi Taylor,

As you know, employees are required to discuss their parental leave plans with you before submitting official documents through human resources. As you know, our state offers all full-time employees 12 weeks of paid parental leave.

I would like to take 6 weeks out of the 12 paid weeks offered. Once I get this cleared by you I will submit my documents to HR. Please let me know if you have any questions or would like to meet to discuss this further.

Thank you,
Sarah Harris

Registered Nurse
SystemsCorp
sharris@systemscorp.com

(12 week nurse condition)

From: Sarah Harris
Sent: Tuesday, October 25, 2016 2:13:31 PM
To: Taylor Jones
Subject: Request for Paid Parental Leave – 12 Weeks

Hi Taylor,

As you know, employees are required to discuss their parental leave plans with you before submitting official documents through human resources. As you know, our state offers all full-time employees 12 weeks of paid parental leave.

I would like to take 12 weeks out of the 12 paid weeks offered. Once I get this cleared by you I will submit my documents to HR. Please let me know if you have any questions or would like to meet to discuss this further.

Thank you,
Sarah Harris

Registered Nurse
SystemsCorp
sharris@systemscorp.com

(2 Day engineer Condition)

From: Sarah Harris
Sent: Tuesday, October 25, 2016 2:13:31 PM
To: Taylor Jones
Subject: Request for Paid Parental Leave – 2 Days

Hi Taylor,

As you know, employees are required to discuss their parental leave plans with you before submitting official documents through human resources. As you know, our state offers all full-time employees 12 weeks of paid parental leave.

I would like to take 2 days out of the 12 paid weeks offered. Once I get this cleared by you I will submit my documents to HR. Please let me know if you have any questions or would like to meet to discuss this further.

Thank you,
Sarah Harris

Network Engineer
SystemsCorp
sharris@systemscorp.com

(6 week engineer condition)

From: Sarah Harris
Sent: Tuesday, October 25, 2016 2:13:31 PM
To: Taylor Jones
Subject: Request for Paid Parental Leave – 6 Weeks

Hi Taylor,

As you know, employees are required to discuss their parental leave plans with you before submitting official documents through human resources. As you know, our state offers all full-time employees 12 weeks of paid parental leave.

I would like to take 6 weeks out of the 12 paid weeks offered. Once I get this cleared by you I will submit my documents to HR. Please let me know if you have any questions or would like to meet to discuss this further.

Thank you,
Sarah Harris

Network Engineer
SystemsCorp
sharris@systemscorp.com

(12 week engineer condition)

From: Sarah Harris
Sent: Tuesday, October 25, 2016 2:13:31 PM
To: Taylor Jones
Subject: Request for Paid Parental Leave – 12 Weeks

Hi Taylor,

As you know, employees are required to discuss their parental leave plans with you before submitting official documents through human resources. As you know, our state offers all full-time employees 12 weeks of paid parental leave.

I would like to take 12 weeks out of the 12 paid weeks offered. Once I get this cleared by you I will submit my documents to HR. Please let me know if you have any questions or would like to meet to discuss this further.

Thank you,
Sarah Harris

Network Engineer
SystemsCorp
sharris@systemscorp.com

APPENDIX B

SURVEY

Please proceed to the next page to make a decision on Sarah's request.

Will you grant Sarah Harris's request for parental leave?

1 = Yes

2 = No

Please proceed to the next page to complete the performance evaluation form.

(Promotion Potential)

How likely would you be to recommend Sarah Harris for a promotion? (1= not at all likely, 5 = very likely)

1 2 3 4 5

Sarah Harris demonstrates the potential to succeed if promoted. (1 = not at all, 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

If a promotion were available, Sarah Harris should be strongly considered. (1 = not at all, 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

(Attention check):

Paying attention and reading the instructions carefully is critical, if you are paying attention please choose option 3 below.

1 2 3 4 5

(Mentoring Potential)

How likely would you be to recommend that Sarah Harris receives career-advancing mentoring within the organization? (1= not at all likely, 5 = very likely)

1 2 3 4 5

Sarah Harris would be a good choice for a program aimed at career advancement (1= not at all likely, 5 = very likely)

1 2 3 4 5

If a mentoring program spot opens up, Sarah Harris should be strongly considered for it (1= not at all likely, 5 = very likely)

1 2 3 4 5

(Leadership Potential)

How likely would you be to recommend that Sarah Harris receives career-advancing mentoring within the organization? (1= not at all likely, 5 = very likely)

1 2 3 4 5

Sarah Harris appears to be suited for a leadership position. (1= not at all likely, 5 = very likely)

1 2 3 4 5

Sarah Harris has the qualities to succeed as a leader. (1= not at all likely, 5 = very likely)

1 2 3 4 5

(Attention check):

Paying attention and reading the instructions carefully is critical. if you are paying attention please choose option 1 below.

1 2 3 4 5

Please rate Sarah on the following traits:

(Agency)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Not Self Confident

Confident

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Weak										Strong
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Not Forceful										Forceful
(Communality)										
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Not Understanding										Understanding
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Not Supportive										Supportive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Insensitive										Sensitive

Thank you, you have reached the end of the study. Please proceed to the following page to the next page to answer some more questions.
(Manipulation Check)

What is this employee's job?

- 1 = Nurse
- 2 = Engineer
- 3 = Not Sure

What is this employee's gender?

- 1 = Male
- 2 = Female
- 3 = Not Sure

What type of leave did this employee request?

- 1 = Medical Leave
- 2 = Parental Leave
- 3 = Personal Leave

- 4 = Vacation
- 5 = Not Sure

How long did this employee request for paid parental leave?

- 1 = 2 Days
- 2 = 6 Weeks
- 3 = 12 Weeks
- 4 = Not Sure

What was this employee's annual salary?

- 1 = \$56,990
- 2 = \$76,990
- 3 = \$106,990
- 4 = Note Sure

In terms of salary, did this employee make more, less, or the same as you would expect someone with their job to make?

- 1 = More
- 2 = Less
- 3 = About the Same
- 4 = Not Sure

(Demographics)

What is your gender?

- 1 = Male
- 2 = Female
- 3 = Other

What is your age?

[Open-ended]

Please specify your ethnicity.

- 1 = White
- 2 = Hispanic or Latino
- 3 = Black or African American
- 4 = Native American or American Indian
- 5 = Asian / Pacific Islander
- 6 = Other

What is your zip code?

What is your occupation?

[BLS Options]

What industry do you work for?
[BLS Options]

What is your annual personal salary?

- 1 = Less than \$10,000
- 2 = \$10,000 to \$19,000
- 4 = \$20,000 to \$29,999
- 5 = \$30,000 to \$39,999
- 6 = \$40,000 to \$49,999
- 7 = \$50,000 to \$59,999
- 8 = \$60,000 to \$69,999
- 9 = \$70,000 to \$79,999
- 10 = \$80,000 to \$89,999
- 11 = \$90,000 to \$99,999
- 12 = \$100,000 to \$149,999
- 13 = \$150,000 or more

Do you currently hold a managerial position (have at least one direct report)?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No
- 3 = Not sure

How many years have you held a managerial position with at least one direct report?

- 1 = 1 Year
- 2 = 2 Years
- 3 = 3 Years
- 4 = 4 Years
- 5 = 5 Years
- 6 = 6 Years
- 7 = 7 Years
- 8 = 8 Years
- 9 = 9 Years
- 10 = 10 or More Years

How many hours per week do you work?
[Open-ended]

How many years have you been with your current organization?
[Open-ended]

Do you have children?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

If yes, how old? (one option at a time)

[For each child indicated, ask:]

Did you take parental leave for this child?

1 = Yes

2 = No

[If yes] Was it paid?

1 = Yes

2 = No

How long was your parental leave?

[Open ended]

What is your marital status?

1 = Single, never married

2 = Married or domestic partnership

3 = Widowed

4 = Divorced

5 = Separated

[For each child indicated (previously), ask:]

Did your partner take parental leave for this child?

1 = Yes

2 = No

[If yes] Was it paid?

1 = Yes

2 = No

How long was your partner's parental leave?

[Open ended]

Were you honest in answering this survey?

1 = Yes

2 = No

3 = Sometimes

What gender did you assume as Taylor Jones?

1 = Male

2 = Female

3 = Not Sure