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WOMEN, WORK, AND THE WILL TO LEAD

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Notes

INTRODUCTION. INTERNALIZING THE REVOLUTION

1. International Labour Organization, ILO Global Estimates of Forced Labour, Results and Methodology (Geneva: ILO Publications, 2012), 13–14, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_182004.pdf.

2. Caroline Wyatt, "What Future for Afghan Woman Jailed for Being Raped?," BBC News, South Asia, January 14, 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-16543036.

3. According to the U.S. State Department, there are 195 independent states in the world. See U.S. Department of State, Independent States in the World, Fact Sheet (January 2012), http://www.state.gov/s/inr/rls/4250.htm#note3. The calculation for the number of independent states led by women, defined as women serving as president or prime minister or other executive role, was derived from the most recent information released by the CIA prior to publication. See Central Intelligence Agency, Chiefs of State & Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments (December 2012), https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/world-leaders-1/pdf-version/December2012ChiefsDirectory.pdf. However, the calculation also includes two electoral changes not reflected in the CIA information—the election of Park Geun-hye, who will be the first female president of South Korea in 2013, and the end of Swiss president Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf's term in December 2012. It should be noted that Switzerland is led by a Federal Council comprised of seven members. Every year the Swiss Federal Assembly elects from among the seven Federal Council members a president and vice president. In 2013 the president of Switzerland will be Ueli Maurer. However, three of the seven Federal Council members are women (Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf, Simonetta Sommaruga, and Doris Leuthard). Elections vary from country to country in terms of when and how often they are held. Thus, the total number of women chiefs of state or heads of government will change as countries go through their next election cycle.

4. Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in National Parliaments (2012), http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm.

5. Claudia Goldin, Lawrence F. Katz, and Ilyana Kuziemko, "The Homecoming of American College Women: The Reversal of the College Gender Gap," Journal of Economic Perspectives 20, no. 4 (2006): 133.

6. Catalyst, Targeting Inequity: The Gender Gap in U.S. Corporate Leadership (September 2010), http://www.jec.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?a=Files.Serve&File_id=90foaade-d9f5-43e7-8501-46bbd1c69bb8.

7. Patricia Sellers, "Fortune 500 Women CEOs Hits a Milestone," CNNMoney, November 12, 2012, http://postcards.blogs.fortune.cnn.com/2012/11/12/fortune-500-women-ceos-3/.

8. Catalyst, 2012 Catalyst Census: Fortune 500 Women Executive Officers and Top Earners (December 2012), http://www.catalyst.org/2012-catalyst-census-fortune-500-women-executive-officers-and-top-earners. Catalyst defines an "executive officer" as one who is "appointed and elected by the board directors," including the "CEO and up to two reporting levels below," and individuals who are "listed as

executive officers in SEC filings"; see appendix 1, Methodology Section, 2009 Catalyst Census: Fortune 500, http://www.catalyst.org/etc/Census_app/09US/2009_Fortune_500_Census_Appendix_1.pdf; Catalyst, 2012 Catalyst Census: Fortune 500 Women Board Directors (December 2012), http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/2012-catalyst-census-fortune-500-women-board-directors; and Center for American Women and Politics, "Women Who Will Be Serving in 2013," http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/elections/2013_womenserving.php.

9. U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2011 Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 2011 EEO–1 National Aggregate Report(2011), http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/index.cfm. The EEOC's definition of top corporate jobs includes executive and senior level officers as well as managers; Catalyst, 2012 Catalyst Census: Fortune 500 Women Board Directors, and Center for American Women and Politics, Record Number of Women Will Serve in Congress; New Hampshire Elects Women to All Top Posts, Election Watch, November 7, 2012, http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/press_room/news/documents/PressRelease_11–07–12.pdf. See also Catalyst, Women of Color Executives: Their Voices, Their Journeys (June 2001), http://www.catalyst.org/publication/54/women-of-color-executives-their-voices-their-journeys.

10. Ariane Hegewisch, Claudia Williams, and Anlan Zhang, The Gender Wage Gap: 2011, Fact Sheet (March 2012), http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/the-gender-wage-gap-2011; and Carmen DeNavas-Walt, Bernadette D. Proctor, and Jessica C. Smith, Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2010, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60–239 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2011), 12, http://www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/p60-239.pdf. Statistics cited are drawn from calculations of the gender pay gap based on median annual earnings. According to Dr. Pamela Coukos, a senior program advisor at the Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, the most commonly cited estimate of the gender pay gap is based upon the difference between men's and women's median annual earnings. Another widely used estimate of the gender pay gap is based upon the difference between men's and women's median weekly earnings. Some scholars believe weekly earnings are more accurate because they can better account for differences in the total number of hours worked, and since men often work more hours than women, this difference can account for some of the pay gap. Other scholars argue that the median annual earnings figure is preferable because it includes more types of compensation (such as bonuses, pensions, etc.). Importantly, both approaches find that women earn less than men. According to recent median annual earnings, women earn seventy-seven cents for every dollar men earn. According to recent median weekly earnings, women earn eighty-two cents for every dollar men earn.

11. Marlo Thomas, "Another Equal Pay Day? Really?," The Huffington Post, April 12, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/marlo-thomas/equal-pay-day_b_847021.html.

12. Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild coined the phrase "the stalled revolution" in her book The Second Shift (New York: Avon Books, 1989), 12.

13. It should be noted that not all female leaders are supportive of women's interests. See Nicholas D. Kristof, "Women Hurting Women," New York Times, September 29, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/30/opinion/sunday/kristof-women-hurting-women.html?hp. For research and discussion about how all women can benefit when more women are in positions of power, see chapter 11.

14. Joanna Barsh and Lareina Yee, Special Report: Unlocking the Full Potential of Women in the U.S. Economy, McKinsey & Company (April 2011), 6, http://www.mckinsey.com/Client_Service/Organization/Latest_thinking/Unlocking_the_full_potential.aspx.

1. THE LEADERSHIP AMBITION GAP: WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU WEREN'T AFRAID?

1. From 1981 to 2005, the opt-out rate for college-educated, married white women with children decreased from 25.2 percent to 21.3 percent, reaching its lowest point in 1993 (16.5 percent). Since the mid-1990s, there has been an uptick in this group deciding to leave the workforce. Still, the rate appears to be stabilizing and has not returned to the rates seen thirty or forty years ago (Stone and Hernandez 2012). This pattern of opting out maps broadly onto trends in women's employment rates since the 1960s. From the 1960s to the 1990s, there was a dramatic increase in women's labor force participation, which peaked in 1999 when 60 percent of women were working. Since 1999, there has been a slow decline in women's employment rates (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2007 and 2011). Mirroring these historical employment patterns among women, opting out reached a low in 1993, the decade that recorded the highest rates of women's labor force participation, and saw its sharpest increase from 1999 to 2002, the same years that marked the beginning of the decline in women's overall employment rates (Stone and Hernandez 2012). Thus, the recent decrease in the employment rates of highly educated mothers needs to be reconciled with employment declines among other groups, including declines for nonmothers and men. All are likely linked in part to a weak labor market (Boushey 2008). Despite this dip in employment, college-educated women have the highest labor force participation rates of all mothers (Stone and Hernandez 2012). According to recent research from the U.S. Census Bureau, young, less-educated, and Hispanic women are more likely to be stay-at-home mothers (Kreider and Elliott 2010). For studies on opting out and women's labor force participation rates, see Pamela Stone and Lisa Ackerly Hernandez, "The Rhetoric and Reality of 'Opting Out,' " in Women Who Opt Out: The Debate over Working Mothers and Work-Family Balance, ed. Bernie D. Jones (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 33–56; Heather Boushey, " 'Opting Out?' The Effect of Children on Women's Employment in the United States," Feminist Economics 14, no. 1 (2008): 1–36; Rose M. Kreider and Diana B. Elliott, "Historical Changes in Stay-at-Home Mothers: 1969–2009," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta, GA, August 2010, http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/ASA2010_Kreider_Elliott.pdf; Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Changes in Men's and Women's Labor Force Participation Rates," The Editor's Desk, January 10, 2007, http://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2007/jan/wk2/art03.htm; and Bureau of Labor Statistics, Women in the Labor Force: A Datebook, report 1034 (December 2011), http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf-databook-2011.pdf.

While the vast majority of women and mothers are working, when compared to their male counterparts, a sizable employment gap emerges. Surveys of highly educated men and women find that the postgraduation rates of employment and hours of employment are higher for men than for women, especially among those who have children. A survey of three cohorts of Harvard students from 1969 to 1972, 1979 to 1982, and 1989 to 1992 found that fifteen years after graduation, about 90 to 94 percent of the men were employed full-time, full year compared to around 60 to 63.5 percent of the women. The full-time, full-year employment rate among women graduates with two children was even lower, ranging from 41 to 47 percent (Goldin and Katz 2008). A survey of the graduating classes from the University of Chicago Booth School of Business from 1990 to 2006 found that in every year following

graduation, between 92 and 94 percent of the men are employed full-time, full year. Upon graduation, 89 percent of the women are employed full-time, full year. Yet, over time, this percentage decreases, such that at six years out, 78 percent of women are employed full-time, full year. At nine years out, the percentage goes down to 69 percent. At ten or more years out, only 62 percent of the women are employed full-time, full year. The percentage is even lower for women with children. Ten or more years out, only about half of women with one or more children are employed full-time, full year. In any given year since graduation, no more than 1 percent of the men are not working, and only between 2 and 4 percent of the men are working part-time. In contrast, the share of women not working or working part-time increases with years since graduation, such that by ten or more years out, 17 percent of the women are not working and 22 percent are working part-time. The remaining small percentages of men and women worked fewer than fifty-two weeks per year. The survey also found that women with children worked 24 percent fewer hours per week than the average man and women without children worked 3.3 percent fewer hours (Bertand, Goldin, and Katz 2010).

Another survey published in 2000 of graduates from the top twelve MBA programs from 1981 to 1995 found that 95 percent of the men, but only 71 percent of the women, worked full-time. The further out from graduation, the lower the full-time employment rate of women (Catalyst, Center for the Education of Women at the University of Michigan, University of Michigan Business School, 2000). For more on these surveys, see Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, "Transitions: Career and Family Life Cycles of the Educational Elite," American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings 98, no. 2 (2008): 363–69; Marianne Bertrand, Claudia Goldin, and Lawrence F. Katz, "Dynamics of the Gender Gap for Young Professionals in the Financial and Corporate Sectors," American Economic Journal: Applied Economics 2, no. 3 (2010): 228–55; and Catalyst, Center for the Education of Women at the University of Michigan, University of Michigan Business School, Women and the MBA: Gateway to Opportunity (2000).

2. Judith Rodin, in discussion with the author, May 19, 2011.

3. National Center for Education Statistics, "Table 283: Degrees Conferred by Degree-Granting Institutions, by Level of Degree and Sex of Student: Selected Years, 1869–70 Through 2021–22," Digest of Education Statistics (2012), http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d12/tables/dt12_283.asp.

4. Hanna Rosen, The End of Men: And the Rise of Women (New York: Riverhead Books, 2012).

5. Debra Myhill, "Bad Boys and Good Girls? Patterns of Interaction and Response in Whole Class Teaching," British Educational Research Journal 28, no. 3 (2002): 350.

6. The four thousand survey respondents were employees of fourteen companies, almost all of which were Fortune 500 companies or companies of similar size. See Joanna Barsh and Lareina Yee, Unlocking the Full Potential of Women at Work, McKinsey & Company (April 2012), 7, http://www.mckinsey.com/careers/women/~/media/Reports/Women/2012%20WSJ%20Women%20in%20the%20Economy%20white%20paper%20FINAL.ashx.

Most surveys on aspirations to senior levels find a gender gap between men and women, with more men than women aspiring to these top management positions. A 2003 survey by the Family and Work Institute, Catalyst, and the Center for Work & Family at Boston College of high-level executives found that 19 percent of the men compared to just 9 percent of the women set their sights on becoming CEO or managing partner. The same survey found that 54 percent of the men and only 43 percent of the

women hope to join the ranks of senior management. Also, of the executives who said they had reduced their aspirations (25 percent), women did so more than men (34 percent of women compared to 21 percent of men). The most frequently cited reason for reducing aspiration was the same for both men and women—67 percent said a very important reason was "the sacrifices I would have to make in my personal or family life." It's also important to note that women who think little progress has been made in breaking through the glass ceiling are more likely to have reduced their aspirations than women who think progress has occurred. See Families and Work Institute, Catalyst, Center for Work & Family at Boston College, Leaders in a Global Economy: A Study of Executive Women and Men (January 2003), 4, http://www.catalyst.org/publication/80/leaders-in-a-global-economy-a-study-of-executive-women-and-men.

A 2003 study examining the career aspirations of business students found that 81 percent of the men but only 67 percent of the women aspire to top management positions. See Gary N. Powell and D. Anthony Butterfield, "Gender, Gender Identity, and Aspirations to Top Management," Women in Management Review 18, no. 1 (2003): 88–96.

A 2007 study of employed managers and professionals enrolled in master's degree programs also found that the women had relatively weaker aspirations to senior management. See Barrie Litzsky and Jeffrey Greenhaus, "The Relationship Between Gender and Aspirations to Senior Management," Career Development International 12, no. 7 (2007): 637–59. A survey of graduates from the top twelve MBA programs from 1981 to 1995 found that only 44 percent of women strongly agreed or agreed that they had a "desire to advance to a senior position" compared to 60 percent of men who strongly agreed or agreed. See Catalyst, Center for the Education of Women at the University of Michigan, and University of Michigan Business School, Women and the MBA. A McKinsey & Company report found that as women age, their desire to advance decreases more quickly than men's desire. The report concluded that at every age, "more men want to take on more responsibility in their organizations and have greater control over results." See Joanna Barsh and Lareina Yee, Special Report: Unlocking the Full Potential of Women in the U.S. Economy, McKinsey & Company (April 2011), 6, http://www.mckinsey.com/Client_Service/Organization/Latest_thinking/Unlocking_the_full_potential.aspx.

While most surveys find that more men than women aspire to top positions, a notable exception is a 2004 Catalyst survey of about 700 female senior leaders and 250 male senior leaders working in Fortune 1000 companies. This survey found comparable aspirations to reach the CEO level among women and men (55 percent of women and 57 percent of men). The survey also found that among those in line and staff positions, more women than men aspired to the CEO level. See Catalyst, Women and Men in U.S. Corporate Leadership: Same Workplace, Different Realities? (2004), 14–16, http://www.catalyst.org/publication/145/women-and-men-in-us-corporate-leadership-same-workplace-different-realities.

There are several explanations offered as to why women have lower aspirations than men, including that women feel there is a lack of fit between themselves (their personal characteristics) and senior leadership positions, which are often characterized in highly masculine terms; women feel there are too many obstacles to overcome; women do not want to prioritize career over family; women place less importance than do men on job characteristics common to senior roles, such as high pay, power, and prestige; gender role socialization influences girls' and women's attitudes and choices about occupational achievement; and women are more often located in jobs that lack opportunities for advancement and they lower their aspirations in response to this disadvantageous structural position.

For a review of some of these explanations, see Litzsky and Greenhaus, “The Relationship Between Gender and Aspirations to Senior Management,” 637–59. For an analysis of women’s educational and occupational choices, see Jacquelynne S. Eccles, “Understanding Women’s Educational and Occupational Choices: Applying the Eccles et al. Model of Achievement-Related Choices,” Psychology of Women Quarterly 18, no. 4 (1994): 585–609. For analysis of how structural position shapes aspirations, see Naomi Casserir and Barbara Reskin, “High Hopes: Organizational Position, Employment Experiences, and Women’s and Men’s Promotion Aspirations,” Work and Occupations 27, no. 4 (2000): 438–63; and Rosabeth Moss Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

7. Alison M. Konrad et al., “Sex Differences and Similarities in Job Attribute Preferences: A Meta-Analysis,” Psychological Bulletin 126, no. 4 (2000): 593–641; and Eccles, “Understanding Women’s Educational and Occupational Choices,” 585–609. A survey of highly qualified women found that only 15 percent of them selected “a powerful position” as an important career goal. See Sylvia Ann Hewlett and Carolyn Buck Luce, “Off-Ramps and On-Ramps: Keeping Talented Women on the Road to Success,” Harvard Business Review 83, no. 3 (2005): 48. Studies on job attribute preferences find that more men than women prefer jobs characterized by challenging work, power and influence over others, high levels of responsibility, risk taking, opportunities for achievement and advancement, and high prestige. Women tend to prefer jobs that are characterized as work that helps others, enables them to develop their skills and abilities, and allows them to spend time with family. For a recent review of research on this topic, see Erica S. Weisgram, Lisa M. Dinella, and Megan Fulcher, “The Role of Masculinity/Femininity, Values, and Occupational Value Affordances in Shaping Young Men’s and Women’s Occupational Choices,” Sex Roles 65, nos. 3–4 (2011): 243–58.

8. Linda Schweitzer et al., “Exploring the Career Pipeline: Gender Differences in Pre-Career Expectations,” Relations Industrielles 66, no. 3 (2011): 422–44. This survey of 23,413 Canadian postsecondary students found that reaching a managerial level within three years of graduating was a major career priority for 10 percent of the men but only 5 percent of the women.

9. Hewlett and Luce, “Off-Ramps and On-Ramps,” 48. This study of highly qualified women and men found that close to half the men described themselves as “extremely ambitious” or “very ambitious” in comparison to about a third of the women. Notably, the proportion of women describing themselves as “very ambitious” was higher among women in business (43 percent) and law and medicine (51 percent).

10. Eileen Patten and Kim Parker, A Gender Reversal on Career Aspirations, Pew Research Center (April 2012), http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/04/19/a-gender-reversal-on-career-aspirations/. The finding that young women place more emphasis on career success than do young men does not hold when controlling for education. Among college graduates under age forty, there is not a significant difference between men and women in the share placing a high emphasis on career success. There is a significant gender difference among non–college graduates under age forty. These findings are based on small sample sizes and should be interpreted with caution.

11. The Millennial generation is typically defined as those born between 1980 and 2000.

12. This survey of Millennial adults found that 36 percent of men, but only 25 percent of women, said that the sentence “I aspire to a leadership role in whatever field I ultimately work” applies to them “very well.” See Darshan Goux, Millennials in the Workplace, Bentley University Center for Women and

Business (2012), 17–25, http://www.bentley.edu/centers/sites/www.bentley.edu.centers/files/centers/cwb/millennials-report.pdf.

Another survey, conducted in 2008 by the Girl Scouts, found no difference between girls and boys in terms of their likelihood to have leadership aspirations and to think of themselves as leaders. The survey did find that girls are more concerned about social backlash. One-third of the girls who reported not wanting to be leaders attributed their lack of desire to "fear of being laughed at, making people mad at them, coming across as bossy, or not being liked by people." See Girl Scout Research Institute, Change It Up: What Girls Say About Redefining Leadership (2008), 19, http://www.girlscouts.org/research/pdf/change_it_up_executive_summary_english.pdf.

13. Samantha Ettus, "Does the Wage Gap Start in Kindergarten?," Forbes, June 13, 2012, http://www.forbes.com/sites/samanthaettus/2012/06/13/kindergarten-wage-gap/.

14. A study of accomplished men and women with the credentials to run for political office found that 62 percent of men versus 46 percent of women had considered running. The study found that 22 percent of the men versus 14 percent of the women were interested in running for office in the future. The men also were almost 60 percent more likely than the women to think that they were "very qualified" to run. See Jennifer L. Lawless and Richard L. Fox, Men Rule: The Continued Under-Representation of Women in U.S. Politics (Washington, D.C.: Women & Politics Institute, American University School of Public Affairs, January 2012), http://www.american.edu/spa/wpi/upload/2012-Men-Rule-Report-final-web.pdf.

15. A survey of more than four thousand middle and high school students found that only 22 percent of girls but 37 percent of boys said that "being in charge of other people" was "extremely important" or "very important" to them in a future job. The survey also found that 37 percent of girls compared to 51 percent of boys said that "being my own boss" was "extremely important" or "very important" to them in a future job. See Deborah Marlino and Fiona Wilson, Teen Girls on Business: Are They Being Empowered?, The Committee of 200, Simmons College School of Management (April 2003), 21, http://www.simmons.edu/som/docs/centers/TGOB_report_full.pdf.

16. Jenna Johnson, "On College Campuses, a Gender Gap in Student Government," Washington Post, March 16, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/on-college-campuses-a-gender-gap-in-student-government/2011/03/10/ABim1Bf_story.html.

17. For research on how aggressive women violate social norms, see Madeline E. Heilman and Tyler G. Okimoto, "Why Are Women Penalized for Success at Male Tasks? The Implied Communality Deficit," Journal of Applied Psychology 92, no. 1 (2007): 81–92; Madeline E. Heilman et al., "Penalties for Success: Reactions to Women Who Succeed at Male Gender-Typed Tasks," Journal of Applied Psychology 89, no. 3 (2004): 416–27; Alice H. Eagly and Steven J. Karau, "Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders," Psychological Review 109, no. 3 (2002): 573–98; and Madeline E. Heilman, "Description and Prescription: How Gender Stereotypes Prevent Women's Ascent up the Organizational Ladder," Journal of Social Issues 57, no. 4 (2001): 657–74.

18. Gayle Tzemach Lemmon, "We Need to Tell Girls They Can Have It All (Even If They Can't)," The Atlantic, June 29, 2012, http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2012/06/we-need-to-tell-girls-they-can-have-it-all-even-if-they-cant/259165/.

19. For reviews of research, see May Ling Halim and Diane Ruble, “Gender Identity and Stereotyping in Early and Middle Childhood,” in Handbook of Gender Research in Psychology: Gender Research in General and Experimental Psychology, vol. 1, ed. Joan C. Chrisler and Donald R. McCreary (New York: Springer, 2010), 495–525; Michael S. Kimmel and Amy Aronson, eds., The Gendered Society Reader, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); and Campbell Leaper and Carly Kay Friedman, “The Socialization of Gender,” in Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research, ed. Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings (New York: Guilford Press, 2007), 561–87.

20. Melissa W. Clearfield and Naree M. Nelson, “Sex Differences in Mother’s Speech and Play Behavior with 6, 9, and 14-Month-Old Infants,” Sex Roles 54, nos. 1–2 (2006): 127–37. Studies have found that parents tend to talk more with daughters than with sons. Further, mothers have more emotionally complex conversations and use a more conversational and supportive style of communication with their daughters than with their sons. For reviews of research, see Clearfield and Nelson, “Sex Differences in Mother’s Speech and Play Behavior,” 127–37; and Gretchen S. Lovas, “Gender and Patterns of Language Development in Mother-Toddler and Father-Toddler Dyads,” First Language 31, no. 1 (2011): 83–108.

21. Emily R. Mondschein, Karen E. Adolph, and Catherine S. Tamis-Le Monda, “Gender Bias in Mothers’ Expectations About Infant Crawling,” Journal of Experimental Child Psychology 77, no. 4 (2000): 304–16.

22. Clearfield and Nelson, “Sex Differences in Mother’s Speech and Play Behavior,” 127–37. Another study observing close to eight hundred families in four different public venues found that in three of the four locations, a larger percentage of male toddlers were allowed to walk by themselves than were female toddlers. See G. Mitchell et al., “Reproducing Gender in Public Places: Adults’ Attention to Toddlers in Three Public Places,” Sex Roles 26, nos. 7–8 (1992): 323–30.

23. Emma Gray, “Gymboree Onesies: ‘Smart Like Dad’ for Boys, ‘Pretty Like Mommy’ for Girls,” The Huffington Post, November 16, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/11/16/gymboree-onesies_n_1098435.html.

24. Andrea Chang, “JC Penney Pulls ‘I’m Too Pretty to Do Homework’ Shirt,” Los Angeles Times blog, August 31, 2011, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/money_co/2011/08/jcpenney-pulls-im-too-pretty-to-do-homework-shirt.html.

25. Over the last forty years, gender bias and gender differences in the classroom have been studied extensively. On balance, studies find that teachers give more attention to boys than girls. Boys also tend to have a more dominant presence in the classroom. Still, depending on the methodology employed (such as the age of students, the subject area being taught, and the achievement level of the students), some studies have found few differences in teacher interactions and behavior in the classroom between boys and girls. Notably, very few studies have documented instances in which girls receive more attention from teachers than do boys. For reviews of the research, see Robyn Beaman, Kevin Wheldall, and Carol Kemp, “Differential Teacher Attention to Boys and Girls in the Classroom,” Educational Review 58, no. 3 (2006): 339–66; Susanne M. Jones and Kathryn Dindia, “A Meta-Analytic Perspective on Sex Equity in the Classroom,” Review of Educational Research 74, no. 4 (2004): 443–71; Ellen Rydell Altermatt, Jasna Javanovic, and Michelle Perry, “Bias or Responsivity? Sex and Achievement-Level Effects on Teachers’ Classroom Questioning Practices,” Journal of Educational Psychology 90, no. 3 (1998): 516–27; Myra Sadker, David Sadker, and Susan Klein, “The Issue of Gender in Elementary and Secondary Education,” Review of Research in Education 17 (1991): 269–334; and Roberta M. Hall and

Bernice R. Sandler, The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women? (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1982).

26. Riley Maida, “4 Year Old Girl Questions Marketing Strategies,” YouTube video, 1:12 minutes, posted by Neuroticy2, December 28, 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P3mTTloB_oc.

27. Kelly Danaher and Christian S. Crandall, “Stereotype Threat in Applied Settings Re-Examined,” Journal of Applied Social Psychology 38, no. 6 (2008): 1639–55. Based on their analysis of gender, stereotype threat, and performance on the AP calculus test, Danaher and Crandall estimate that if the demographic gender question was moved to the end of the test, 4,763 more young women would pass. For more research about how stereotype threat decreases women’s performance, see Catherine Good, Joshua Aronson, and Jayne Ann Harder, “Problems in the Pipeline: Stereotype Threat and Women’s Achievement in High-Level Math Courses,” Journal of Applied and Developmental Psychology 29, no. 1 (2008): 17–28.

Stereotypes of all kinds, ranging from “white men can’t jump” to “Asians are better at math” have been shown to influence performance as well as the evaluation of performance. See Jeff Stone, Zachary W. Perry, and John M. Darley, “ ‘White Men Can’t Jump’: Evidence for the Perceptual Confirmation of Racial Stereotypes Following a Basketball Game,” Basic and Applied Social Psychology 19, no. 3 (1997): 291–306; Jeff Stone et al., “Stereotype Threat Effects on Black and White Athletic Performance,” Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 77, no. 6 (1999): 1213–27; and Margaret Shih, Todd L. Pittinsky, and Nalini Ambady, “Stereotype Susceptibility: Identity Salience and Shifts in Quantitative Performance,” Psychological Science 10, no. 1 (1999): 80–83.

28. Jenessa R. Shapiro and Amy M. Williams, “The Role of Stereotype Threats in Undermining Girls’ and Women’s Performance and Interest in STEM Fields,” Sex Roles 66, nos. 3–4 (2011): 175–83.

29. Goux, Millennials in the Workplace, 32.

30. Sarah Jane Glynn, The New Breadwinners: 2010 Update, Center for American Progress (April 2012), 2, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/labor/report/2012/04/16/11377/the-new-breadwinners-2010-update/. In 2009, 41.4 percent of mothers were breadwinners for their families and another 22.5 percent were co-breadwinners.

31. Heather Boushey, “The New Breadwinners,” in The Shriver Report: A Woman Nation Changes Everything, ed. Heather Boushey and Ann O’Leary, A Report by Maria Shriver and the Center for American Progress (October 2009), 34, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/women/report/2009/10/16/6789/the-shriver-report/.

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2. SIT AT THE TABLE

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Townsend, and Burroughs, " 'How'd You Do on That Test?,' " 161–77; and Laurie Heatherington, Andrea B. Burns, and Timothy B. Gustafson, "When Another Stumbles: Gender and Self-Presentation to Vulnerable Others," Sex Roles 38, nos. 11–12 (1998): 889–913.

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3. SUCCESS AND LIKEABILITY

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Eagly and Steven J. Karau, “Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders,” Psychological Review 109, no. 3 (2002): 573–98; Madeline E. Heilman, “Description and Prescription: How Gender Stereotypes Prevent Women’s Ascent up the Organizational Ladder,” Journal of Social Issues 57, no. 4 (2001): 657–74; and Cecilia L. Ridgeway, “Gender, Status, and Leadership,” Journal of Social Issues 57, no. 4 (2001): 637–55. It should be noted that successful women pay a likeability penalty specifically in arenas considered to be male domains.

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11. Madeline E. Heilman and Julie J. Chen, “Same Behavior, Different Consequences: Reactions to Men’s and Women’s Altruistic Citizenship Behaviors,” Journal of Applied Psychology 90, no. 3 (2005): 431–41.

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2. For reviews of the research on women tending to be more risk averse than men, see Marianne Bertrand, “New Perspectives on Gender,” in Handbook of Labor Economics, vol. 4B, ed. Orley Ashenfelter and David Card (Amsterdam: North Holland, 2010), 1544–90; Rachel Croson and Uri Gneezy, “Gender Differences in Preferences,” Journal of Economic Literature 47, no. 2 (2009): 448–74; and Catherine C. Eckel and Phillip J. Grossman, “Men, Women, and Risk Aversion: Experimental Evidence,” in Handbook of Experimental Economics Results, vol. 1, ed. Charles R. Plott and Vernon L. Smith (Amsterdam: North Holland, 2008), 1061–73.

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4. Karen S. Lyness and Christine A. Schrader, “Moving Ahead or Just Moving? An Examination of Gender Differences in Senior Corporate Management Appointments,” Gender & Organization Management 31, no. 6 (2006): 651–76. This study examined 952 announcements in The Wall Street Journal about senior management appointments. Analysis of the announcements found that compared to their male counterparts, women’s new roles were more similar to their previous roles and women were less likely to switch to new companies. Among those in managerial staff positions, women were less likely than men to move into a line position or into a new functional area. These differences suggest that women’s job changes may offer fewer career benefits than the benefits men receive for their job moves.

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Task Choice and the Division of Challenging Tasks Between Men and Women," Group & Organization Management 34, no. 5 (2009): 563–89, researchers found that when pairs of men and women negotiated over the assignment of tasks, men ended up with the more challenging ones. For findings that suggest that gendered beliefs such as "women need protection" (benevolent sexism) impede women's access to challenging tasks, see Eden B. King et al., "Benevolent Sexism at Work: Gender Differences in the Distribution of Challenging Developmental Experiences," Journal of Management 38, no. 6 (2012): 1835–66.

7. Georges Desvaux, Sandrine Devillard-Hoellinger, and Mary C. Meaney, "A Business Case for Women," The McKinsey Quarterly (September 2008): 4, http://www.rctaylor.com/Images/A_Business_Case_for_Women.pdf.

8. Lloyds TSB found that their female employees tended not to put themselves up for promotion despite being 8 percent more likely to meet or surpass performance standards than their male colleagues. See Desvaux, Devillard-Hoellinger, and Meaney, "A Business Case for Women," 4. Studies on gender and promotion mostly at the university level in England and Australia also find that women are hesitant to put themselves up for promotion, often because they undervalue their skills, abilities, and work experience. See Anne Ross-Smith and Colleen Chesterman, " 'Girl Disease': Women Managers' Reticence and Ambivalence Towards Organizational Advancement," Journal of Management & Organization 15, no. 5 (2009): 582–95; Liz Doherty and Simonetta Manfredi, "Women's Progression to Senior Positions in English Universities," Employee Relations 28, no. 6 (2006): 553–72; and Belinda Probert, " 'I Just Couldn't Fit It In': Gender and Unequal Outcomes in Academic Careers," Gender, Work and Organization 12, no. 1 (2005): 50–72.

9. Hannah Seligson, "Ladies, Take off Your Tiara!," The Huffington Post, February 20, 2007, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/hannah-seligson/ladies-take-off-your-tiar_b_41649.html.

5. ARE YOU MY MENTOR?

1. Mentors provide advice, support, and feedback to their mentee. Sponsors hold senior positions and use their influence and power to advocate on behalf of their mentee, such as pushing to get the mentee a stretch assignment or a promotion. For a discussion of the differences between mentoring and sponsoring, see Herminia Ibarra, Nancy M. Carter, and Christine Silva, "Why Men Still Get More Promotions than Women," Harvard Business Review 88, no. 9 (2010): 80–85; and Sylvia Ann Hewlett et al., The Sponsor Effect: Breaking Through the Last Glass Ceiling, a Harvard Business Review Research Report (December 2010): 5–7.

2. Studies have found that people who are mentored and sponsored report having more career success (such as higher compensation, a greater number of promotions, greater career and job satisfaction, and more career commitment). See Tammy D. Allen et al., "Career Benefits Associated with Mentoring for Protégés: A Meta-Analysis," Journal of Applied Psychology 89, no. 1 (2004): 127–36. A study of several thousand white collar workers with at least a bachelor's degree found that sponsorship seemed to encourage both men and women to ask for a stretch assignment and a pay increase. Among the men surveyed who had a sponsor, 56 percent were likely to ask for a stretch assignment and 49 percent were likely to ask for a pay raise. In contrast, among the men surveyed without a sponsor, only 43 percent were likely to ask for a stretch assignment and 37 percent were likely to ask for a pay raise. Among the

women surveyed who had a sponsor, 44 percent were likely to ask for a stretch assignment and 38 percent were likely to ask for a pay raise. In contrast, among the women surveyed without a sponsor, only 36 percent were likely to ask for a stretch assignment and only 30 percent were likely to ask for a pay raise. See Hewlett et al., The Sponsor Effect, 9–11.

3. For a discussion of the difficulties women can have with mentorship, see Kimberly E. O'Brien et al., "A Meta-Analytic Investigation of Gender Differences in Mentoring," Journal of Management 36, no. 2 (2010): 539–40. In general, men and women receive similar amounts of mentoring, yet not all mentoring provides the same types of benefits and rewards. For example, mentors who have more power and sway in their organizations (typically white men) can provide better career opportunities to their protégés than can mentors who have less power (often women and minorities). Research indicates that men, particularly white men, tend to have more influential mentors than women (or minority men) have. A Catalyst study found that while 78 percent of the male business professionals were mentored by a CEO or another senior executive, only 69 percent of the female professionals were mentored by those at the highest levels. This difference disadvantages women because mentees with more senior mentors reported faster career progression. See Ibarra, Carter, and Silva, "Why Men Still Get More Promotions than Women," 80–85. Also see George F. Dreher and Taylor H. Cox Jr., "Race, Gender, and Opportunity: A Study of Compensation Attainment and the Establishing of Mentoring Relationships," Journal of Applied Psychology 81, no. 3 (1996): 297–308.

4. The survey by Hewlett et al. of educated white-collar workers found that 19 percent of men reported having sponsors as compared to 13 percent of women. See Hewlett et al., The Sponsor Effect, 8–11. A 2010 study of high-potential men and women found that in comparison to their male counterparts, women were "overmentored and undersponsored." See Ibarra, Carter, and Silva, "Why Men Still Get More Promotions than Women," 80–85.

5. Romila Singh, Belle Rose Ragins, and Phyllis Tharenou, "Who Gets a Mentor? A Longitudinal Assessment of the Rising Star Hypothesis," Journal of Vocational Behavior 74, no. 1 (2009): 11–17; and Tammy D. Allen, Mark L. Poteet, and Joyce E. A. Russell, "Protégé Selection by Mentors: What Makes the Difference?," Journal of Organizational Behavior 21, no. 3 (2000): 271–82.

6. Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement," American Sociological Review 25, no. 2 (1960): 161–78.

7. Tammy D. Allen, Mark L. Poteet, and Susan M. Burroughs, "The Mentor's Perspective: A Qualitative Inquiry and Future Research Agenda," Journal of Vocational Behavior 51, no. 1 (1997): 86.

8. Hewlett et al., The Sponsor Effect, 35.

9. Ibarra, Carter, and Silva, "Why Men Still Get More Promotions than Women," 80–85.

6. SEEK AND SPEAK YOUR TRUTH

1. Denise L. Loyd et al., "Expertise in Your Midst: How Congruence Between Status and Speech Style Affects Reactions to Unique Knowledge," Group Processes & Intergroup Relations 13, no. 3 (2010): 379–95; and Lawrence A. Hosman, "The Evaluative Consequences of Hedges, Hesitations, and Intensifiers: Powerful and Powerless Speech Styles," Human Communication Research 15, no. 3 (1989): 383–406. For

a review of how power shapes behavior, see Dacher Keltner, Deborah H. Gruenfeld, and Cameron Anderson, “Power, Approach, Inhibition,” Psychological Review 110, no. 2 (2003): 265–84. For a review of gender and speech, see Cecilia L. Ridgeway and Lynn Smith-Lovin, “The Gender System and Interaction,” Annual Review of Sociology 25, no. 1 (1999): 202–3.

2. Bell Leadership Institute, Humor Gives Leaders the Edge (2012), http://www.bellleadership.com/pressreleases/press_template.php?id=15.

3. Research by Kimberly D. Elsbach, professor of management at the University of California at Davis, and her colleagues found that most of the time when women cry at work, they receive negative reactions from colleagues and coworkers, unless the crying is related to a serious personal issue such as a death in the family or a divorce. Crying during a meeting or because of professional pressures or a disagreement is viewed as “unprofessional,” “disruptive,” “weak,” and even “manipulative.” For further description of Professor Elsbach’s findings, see Jenna Goudreau, “Crying at Work, a Woman’s Burden,” Forbes, January 11, 2011, http://www.forbes.com/sites/jennagoudreau/2011/01/11/crying-at-work-a-womans-burden-study-men-sex-testosterone-tears-arousal/.

4. Marcus Buckingham, “Leadership Development in the Age of the Algorithm,” Harvard Business Review 90, no. 6 (2012): 86–94; and Bill George et al., “Discovering Your Authentic Leadership,” Harvard Business Review 85, no. 2 (2007): 129–38.

7. DON’T LEAVE BEFORE YOU LEAVE

1. In general, research on this topic finds that although young women often report having a strong commitment to both their future career and their future families, they anticipate that combining the two will be difficult and require trade-offs. Janelle C. Fetterolf and Alice H. Eagly, “Do Young Women Expect Gender Equality in Their Future Lives? An Answer from a Possible Selves Experiment,” Sex Roles 65, nos. 1–2 (2011): 83–93; Elizabeth R. Brown and Amanda B. Diekman, “What Will I Be? Exploring Gender Differences in Near and Distant Possible Selves,” Sex Roles 63, nos. 7–8 (2010): 568–79; and Linda Stone and Nancy P. McKee, “Gendered Futures: Student Visions of Career and Family on a College Campus,” Anthropology & Education Quarterly 31, no. 1 (2000): 67–89.

2. Lesley Lazin Novack and David R. Novack, “Being Female in the Eighties and Nineties: Conflicts Between New Opportunities and Traditional Expectations Among White, Middle Class, Heterosexual College Women,” Sex Roles 35, nos. 1–2 (1996): 67. Novack and Novack found that if forced to choose between getting married or having a career, 18 percent of the male students and 38 percent of the female students in their study would choose getting married. They also found that 67 percent of the male students and 49 percent of the female students would choose having a career over getting married. Notably, about 22 percent of the men and 15 percent of the women declined to answer this “marriage or career” question, with the majority creating their own response of having both marriage and career. The authors state that “many men found the choice of marriage or career unacceptable, likely because historically they have been able to experience both options.” A recent survey by the Pew Research Center found that among young people ages eighteen to thirty-four, the percentage of women stating that “having a successful marriage” is “one of the most important things” in their lives has increased among young women but decreased among young men since 1997. See Eileen Patten and Kim Parker, A Gender Reversal on Career Aspirations, Pew Research Center (April 2012), http://www.

pewsocialtrends.org/2012/04/19/a-gender-reversal-on-career-aspirations/. Another recent study of young people aged eighteen to thirty-one found that women had a higher "drive to marry" than men. See Judith E. Owen Blakemore, Carol A. Lawton, and Lesa Rae Vartanian, "I Can't Wait to Get Married: Gender Differences in Drive to Marry," Sex Roles 53, nos. 5–6 (2005): 327–35. For a notable exception, see Mindy J. Erchull et al., "Well … She Wants It More: Perceptions of Social Norms About Desires for Marriage and Children and Anticipated Chore Participation," Psychology of Women Quarterly 34, no. 2 (2010): 253–60, which surveyed college students and found no difference between men and women in their self-reported level of desire to marry.

3. For reviews of studies about job satisfaction and turnover, see Petri Böckerman and Pekka Ilmakunnas, "Job Disamenities, Job Satisfaction, Quit Intentions, and Actual Separations: Putting the Pieces Together," Industrial Relations 48, no. 1 (2009): 73–96; and Brooks et al., "Turnover and Retention Research: A Glance at the Past, a Closer Review of the Present, and a Venture into the Future," The Academy of Management Annals 2, no. 1 (2008): 231–74.

4. Caroline O'Connor, "How Sheryl Sandberg Helped Make One Entrepreneur's Big Decision," Harvard Business Review Blog Network, September 26, 2011, http://blogs.hbr.org/cs/2011/09/how_sheryl_sandberg_helped_mak.html.

5. Approximately 80 percent of women without children are in the workforce. Of women with children, that number drops to 70.6 percent. For men, having children increases workforce participation. About 86 percent of men without children and 94.6 percent of men with children are in the workforce. These labor force participation rates are based on the employment rates of men and women aged twenty-five to forty-four, with and without children under the age of eighteen. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Table 6A: Employment Status of Persons by Age, Presence of Children, Sex, Race, Hispanic or Latino Ethnicity, and Marital Status, Annual Average 2011," Current Population Survey, Employment Characteristics, unpublished table (2011).

6. Sylvia Ann Hewlett and Carolyn Buck Luce, "Off-Ramps and On-Ramps: Keeping Talented Women on the Road to Success," Harvard Business Review 83, no. 3 (2005): 44.

7. David Cotter, Paula England, and Joan Hermsen, "Moms and Jobs: Trends in Mothers' Employment and Which Mothers Stay Home," in Families as They Really Are, ed. Barbara J. Risman (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 416–24. Women whose husbands earn the least (in the bottom quarter of male earnings) are the group of women most likely to stay at home, followed by women whose husbands are in the top 5 percent of male earners.

8. The National Association of Child Care Resource & Referral Agencies, Parents and the High Cost of Child Care: 2010 Update (2010), 1, http://eyeonkids.ca/docs/files/cost_report_073010-final.pdf.

9. Child Care Aware of America, Parents and the High Cost of Child Care: 2012 Report (2012), 7, http://www.naccrra.org/sites/default/files/default_site_pages/2012/cost_report_2012_final_081012_0.pdf.

10. Youngjoo Cha, "Reinforcing Separate Spheres: The Effect of Spousal Overwork on Men's and Women's Employment in Dual-Earner Households," American Sociological Review 75, no. 2 (2010): 318. This study also found that the odds of quitting among professional mothers whose husbands work sixty hours or more a week is 112 percent greater than those of professional mothers whose husbands work less than fifty hours a week.

11. Findings from the 2007 survey of Harvard Business School (HBS) alumni were provided by the Career and Professional Development Office at Harvard Business School to the author on October 15, 2012. Another survey of graduates with two or more children of HBS classes of 1981, 1985, and 1991 showed that more than 90 percent of male graduates were in full-time careers compared with only 38 percent of female graduates. Finding provided by Myra M. Hart, professor emeritus of Harvard Business School, e-mail message to researcher, September 23, 2012. The results from these HBS surveys may be influenced by the disproportionately low response rate for women relative to men. Also, these surveys were not designed to allow respondents to explain what they are doing if they are not employed in a full-time capacity for pay. When respondents indicate that they are not working full-time, they could still be actively involved in nonprofits and community organizations or sitting on boards. It should be noted that women are more likely than men to have career interruptions linked with having children, prioritizing personal goals, and meeting family responsibilities. For more on women's nonlinear career paths, see Lisa A. Mainiero and Sherry E. Sullivan, "Kaleidoscope Careers: An Alternate Explanation for the 'Opt-Out' Revolution," The Academy of Management Executive 19, no. 1 (2005): 106–23.

Other research has found that the employment participation rates of women vary across professions. A study of women from the Harvard graduating classes of 1988 to 1991 found that fifteen years after graduation, married women with children who had become M.D.s had the highest labor force participation rate (94.2%), while married women with children who went on to get other degrees had much lower labor force participation rates: Ph.D.s (85.5%), J.D.s (77.6%), MBAs (71.7%). These findings suggest professional cultures play a role in women's rates of employment. See Jane Leber Herr and Catherine Wolfram, "Work Environment and 'Opt-Out' Rates at Motherhood Across Higher-Education Career Paths" (November 2011), http://faculty.haas.berkeley.edu/wolfram/Papers/OptOut_ILRRNov11.pdf.

12. This survey of Yale alumni from the classes of 1979, 1984, 1989, and 1994 was conducted in 2000 as cited in Louise Story, "Many Women at Elite Colleges Set Career Path to Motherhood," New York Times, September 20, 2005, http://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/20/national/20women.html?pagewanted=all.

13. Amy Sennett, "Work and Family: Life After Princeton for the Class of 2006" (July 2006), http://www.princeton.edu/~paw/archive_new/PAW05–06/15–0719/features_familylife.html.

14. Hewlett and Luce, "Off-Ramps and On-Ramps," 46.

15. Stephen J. Rose and Heidi I. Hartmann, Still a Man's Labor Market: The Long-Term Earnings Gap, Institute for Women's Policy Research (2004), 10, http://www.aecf.org/upload/publicationfiles/fes3622h767.pdf.

16. Ibid.

17. Hewlett and Luce, "Off-Ramps and On-Ramps," 46.

8. MAKE YOUR PARTNER A REAL PARTNER

1. Melissa A. Milkie, Sara B. Raley, and Suzanne M. Bianchi, "Taking on the Second Shift: Time Allocations and Time Pressures of U.S. Parents with Preschoolers," Social Forces 88, no. 2 (2009): 487–517.

2. Scott S. Hall and Shelley M. MacDermid, “A Typology of Dual Earner Marriages Based on Work and Family Arrangements,” Journal of Family and Economic Issues 30, no. 3 (2009): 220.

3. Between 1965 and 2000, the amount of time per week that married fathers spent on child care almost tripled and the amount of time married fathers spent on housework more than doubled. In 1965, married fathers spent 2.6 hours per week on child care. In 2000, married fathers spent 6.5 hours per week on child care. Most of this increase occurred after 1985. In 1965, married fathers spent about 4.5 hours per week on housework. In 2000, married fathers spent almost 10 hours per week on housework. The largest increase in the time spent on housework took place between 1965 and 1985. The amount of time married fathers spend each week doing housework has not increased much since 1985. See Suzanne M. Bianchi, John P. Robinson, and Melissa A. Milkie, Changing Rhythms of American Family Life (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006). Analysis done by Hook (2006) of twenty countries found that between 1965 and 2003, employed, married fathers increased the amount of unpaid domestic work they performed by about six hours per week. See Jennifer L. Hook, “Care in Context: Men’s Unpaid Work in 20 Countries, 1965–2003,” American Sociological Review 71, no. 4 (2006): 639–60.

4. Letitia Anne Peplau and Leah R. Spalding, “The Close Relationships of Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals,” in Close Relationships: A Sourcebook, ed. Clyde A. Hendrick and Susan S. Hendrick (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000), 111–24; and Sondra E. Solomon, Esther D. Rothblum, and Kimberly F. Balsam, “Money, Housework, Sex, and Conflict: Same-Sex Couples in Civil Unions, Those Not in Civil Unions, and Heterosexual Married Siblings,” Sex Roles 52, nos. 9–10 (2005): 561–75.

5. Lynda Laughlin, Who’s Minding the Kids? Child Care Arrangements: Spring 2005 and Summer 2006, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P70–121 (August 2010), 1. For a commentary, see K.J. Dell’Antonia, “The Census Bureau Counts Fathers as ‘Child Care,’ ” New York Times, February 8, 2012, http://parenting.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/08/the-census-bureau-counts-fathers-as-child-care/.

6. Laughlin, Who’s Minding the Kids?, 7–9.

7. Maria Shriver, “Gloria Steinem,” Interview, July 15, 2011, http://www.interviewmagazine.com/culture/gloria-steinem/.

8. For a review of studies on maternal gatekeeping, see Sarah J. Schoppe-Sullivan et al., “Maternal Gatekeeping, Coparenting Quality, and Fathering Behavior in Families with Infants,” Journal of Family Psychology 22, no. 3 (2008): 389–90.

9. Sarah M. Allen and Alan J. Hawkins, “Maternal Gatekeeping: Mothers’ Beliefs and Behaviors That Inhibit Greater Father Involvement in Family Work,” Journal of Marriage and Family 61, no. 1 (1999): 209.

10. Richard L. Zweigenhaft and G. William Domhoff, The New CEOs: Women, African American, Latino and Asian American Leaders of Fortune 500 Companies (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 28–29.

11. James B. Stewart, “A C.E.O.’s Support System, a k a Husband,” New York Times, November 4, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/05/business/a-ceos-support-system-a-k-a-husband.html?pagewanted=all.

12. Pamela Stone, Opting Out? Why Women Really Quit Careers and Head Home (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 62.

13. Stewart, “A C.E.O.’s Support System.”

14. For a thorough review, see Michael E. Lamb, The Role of the Father in Child Development (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2010); and Anna Sarkadi et al., “Fathers’ Involvement and Children’s Developmental Outcomes: A Systematic Review of Longitudinal Studies,” Acta Paediatrica 97, no. 2 (2008): 153–58.

15. Elisabeth Duursma, Barbara Alexander Pan, and Helen Raikes, “Predictors and Outcomes of Low-Income Fathers’ Reading with Their Toddlers,” Early Childhood Research Quarterly 23, no. 3 (2008): 351–65; Joseph H. Pleck and Brian P. Masciadrelli, “Paternal Involvement in U.S. Residential Fathers: Levels, Sources, and Consequences,” in The Role of the Father in Child Development, ed. Michael E. Lamb (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2004): 222–71; Ronald P. Rohner and Robert A. Veneziano, “The Importance of Father Love: History and Contemporary Evidence,” Review of General Psychology 5, no. 4 (2001): 382–405; W. Jean Yeung, “Fathers: An Overlooked Resource for Children’s Educational Success,” in After the Bell—Family Background, Public Policy, and Educational Success, ed. Dalton Conley and Karen Albright (London: Routledge, 2004), 145–69; and Lois W. Hoffman and Lise M. Youngblade, Mothers at Work: Effects on Children’s Well-Being (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

16. For a review of studies on the impact of fathers on children’s emotional and social development, see Rohner and Veneziano, “The Importance of Father Love,” 392.

17. Robyn J. Ely and Deborah L. Rhode, “Women and Leadership: Defining the Challenges,” in Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice, ed. Nitin Nohria and Rakesh Khurana (Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing, 2010), 377–410; and Deborah L. Rhode and Joan C. Williams, “Legal Perspectives on Employment Discrimination,” in Sex Discrimination in the Workplace: Multidisciplinary Perspectives, ed. Faye J. Crosby, Margaret S. Stockdale, and S. Ann Ropp (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 235–70. A survey of fifty-three Fortune 100 companies found that 73.6 percent offered mothers paid family or disability leave, but only 32.1 percent offered fathers paid family leave. See Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, Paid Family Leave at Fortune 100 Companies: A Basic Standard but Still Not a Gold Standard (March 2008), 6.

18. The five states that have short-term disability insurance programs that provide paid medical leave for birth mothers are California, Hawaii, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island. California and New Jersey also provide six weeks of paid leave that can be used by either the mother or the father. The state of Washington has passed a paid parental leave law but has been unable to implement it due to budgetary constraints. See National Partnership for Women & Families, Expecting Better: A State-by-State Analysis of Laws That Help New Parents (May 2012).

19. A survey of nearly one thousand fathers working in white-collar jobs for large companies found that about 75 percent of them took only one week off or less when their partners had a baby and 16 percent didn’t take any time off at all. See Brad Harrington, Fred Van Deusen, and Beth Humberd, The New Dad: Caring, Committed and Conflicted, Boston College, Center for Work & Family (2011): 14–15. A report on California’s new paid family leave policy found that fathers who made use of the policy took a median of three weeks off to care for and bond with their babies. See Eileen Applebaum and Ruth Milkman, Leaves

That Pay: Employer and Worker Experiences with Paid Family Leave in California, Center for Economic and Policy Research (January 2011), 18.

20. Joan C. Williams and Heather Boushey, The Three Faces of Work-Family Conflict: The Poor, The Professionals, and the Missing Middle, Center for American Progress and Center for WorkLife Law (January 2010), 54–55, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2010/01/three_faces_report.html.

21. Laurie A. Rudman and Kris Mescher, "Penalizing Men Who Request a Family Leave: Is Flexibility Stigma a Femininity Stigma?," Journal of Social Issues, forthcoming.

22. Jennifer L. Berhdahl and Sue H. Moon, "Workplace Mistreatment of Middle-Class Workers Based on Sex, Parenthood, and Caregiving," Journal of Social Issues, forthcoming; Adam B. Butler and Amie Skattebo, "What Is Acceptable for Women May Not Be for Men: The Effect of Family Conflicts with Work on Job-Performance Ratings," Journal of Occupational and Organization Psychology 77, no. 4 (2004): 553–64; Julie Holliday Wayne and Bryanne L. Cordeiro, "Who Is a Good Organizational Citizen? Social Perception of Male and Female Employees Who Use Family Leave," Sex Roles 49, nos. 5–6 (2003): 233–46; and Tammy D. Allen and Joyce E. A. Russell, "Parental Leave of Absence: Some Not So Family-Friendly Implications," Journal of Applied Social Psychology 29, no. 1 (1999): 166–91.

23. In 2011, fathers made up 3.4 percent of stay-at-home parents. See U.S. Census Bureau, "Table SHP-1 Parents and Children in Stay-at-Home Parent Family Groups: 1994 to Present," America's Families and Living Arrangements, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement (2011), http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:ffg107mTTwAJ:www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hhfam/shp1.xls+&cd=3&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us. For a review of research about the social isolation of stay-at-home fathers, see Brad Harrington, Fred Van Deusen, and Iyar Mazar, The New Dad: Right at Home, Boston College, Center for Work & Family (2012), 6.

24. A study of 207 stay-at-home fathers found that about 45 percent of them reported receiving a negative comment or judgmental reaction from another adult. The source of the vast majority of these derogatory comments and reactions was stay-at-home mothers. See Aaron B. Rochlen, Ryan A. McKelley, and Tiffany A. Whittaker, "Stay-at-Home Fathers' Reasons for Entering the Role and Stigma Experiences: A Preliminary Report," Psychology of Men & Masculinity 11, no. 4 (2010): 282.

25. In 2010, wives earned more than their husbands in 29.2 percent of families in which both wives and husbands had earnings. See Bureau of Labor Statistics, Wives Who Earn More Than Their Husbands, 1987–2010, 1988–2011, Annual Social and Economic Supplements to the Current Population Survey, http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:r-eatNjOmLsJ:www.bls.gov/cps/wives_earn_more.xls+&cd=7&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us.

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27. For a review see Scott Coltrane, "Research on Household Labor: Modeling and Measuring Social Embeddedness of Routine Family Work," Journal of Marriage and Family 62, no. 4 (2000): 1208–33.

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29. Scott Coltrane, Family Man: Fatherhood, Housework, and Gender Equality (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

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32. Sanjiv Gupta, "The Consequences of Maternal Employment During Men's Childhood for Their Adult Housework Performance," Gender & Society 20, no. 1 (2006): 60–86.

33. Richard W. Johnson and Joshua M. Wiener, A Profile of Frail Older Americans and Their Caregivers, Occasional Paper Number 8, The Retirement Project, Urban Institute (February 2006), http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/311284_older_americans.pdf.

34. Gloria Steinem, "Gloria Steinem on Progress and Women's Rights," interview by Oprah Winfrey, Oprah's Next Chapter, YouTube video, 3:52 minutes, April 16, 2012, published by Oprah Winfrey Network, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=orrmWHnFjqI&feature=relmfu.

35. This survey of just over one thousand adults found that 80 percent of men in their forties said that "doing work which challenges me to use my skills and abilities" was very important to them. Among men in their twenties and thirties, the survey found that 82 percent of them said that "having a work schedule which allows me to spend time with my family" was very important to them. See Radcliffe Public Policy Center, Life's Work: Generational Attitudes Toward Work and Life Integration (Cambridge, MA: Radcliffe Public Policy Center, 2000).

9. THE MYTH OF DOING IT ALL

1. Sharon Poczter, "For Women in the Workplace, It's Time to Abandon 'Have it All' Rhetoric," Forbes, June 25, 2012, http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2012/06/25/for-women-in-the-workplace-its-time-to-abandon-have-it-all-rhetoric/.

2. U.S. Census Bureau, "Table FG1 Married Couple Family Groups, by Labor Force Status of Both Spouses, and Race and Hispanic Origin of the Reference Person," America's Families and Living

Arrangements, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement (2011), http://www.census.gov/hhes/families/data/cps2011.html.

3. U.S. Census Bureau, "Table FG10 Family Groups," America's Families and Living Arrangements, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement (2011), http://www.census.gov/hhes/families/data/cps2011.html. Calculation derived by focusing on all family groups with children under eighteen.

4. Tina Fey, Bossypants (New York: Little, Brown, 2011), 256.

5. Gloria Steinem, "Gloria Steinem on Progress and Women's Rights," interview by Oprah Winfrey, Oprah's Next Chapter, YouTube video, 3:52 minutes, April 16, 2012, published by Oprah Winfrey Network, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=orrmWHnFjqI&feature=relmfu.

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7. Jennifer Stuart, "Work and Motherhood: Preliminary Report of a Psychoanalytic Study," The Psychoanalytic Quarterly 76, no. 2 (2007): 482.

8. Nora Ephron, 1996 commencement address, Wellesley College, http://new.wellesley.edu/events/commencementarchives/1996commencement.

9. Robyn J. Ely and Deborah L. Rhode, "Women and Leadership: Defining the Challenges," in Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice, ed. Nitin Nohria and Rakesh Khurana (Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing, 2010), 377–410; Deborah L. Rhode and Joan C. Williams, "Legal Perspectives on Employment Discrimination," in Sex Discrimination in the Workplace: Multidisciplinary Perspectives, ed. Faye J. Crosby, Margaret S. Stockdale, and S. Ann Ropp (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 235–70; and Ann Crittenden, The Price of Motherhood: Why the Most Important Job in the World Is Still the Least Valued (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2001).

10. Pamela Stone, Opting Out? Why Women Really Quit Careers and Head Home (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Leslie A. Perlow, "Boundary Control: The Social Ordering of Work and Family Time in a High-Tech Corporation," Administrative Science Quarterly 43, no. 2 (1998): 328–57; and Arlie Russell Hochschild, The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1997). Joan Williams, a law professor and founding director of the Center for WorkLife Law at the University of California, Hastings College of the Law, refers to these penalties as "flexibility stigma."

11. Jennifer Glass, "Blessing or Curse? Work-Family Policies and Mother's Wage Growth over Time," Work and Occupations 31, no. 3 (2004): 367–94; and Mindy Fried, Taking Time: Parental Leave Policy and Corporate Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998). Depending on the type of flexible work practice, women in nonprofessional jobs can pay steep penalties as well. For example, Webber and Williams (2008) examined two groups of mothers (professional and low-wage workers) and found that both groups experienced penalties for working part-time (less pay, demotions, etc.). See Gretchen Webber and Christine Williams, "Mothers in 'Good' and 'Bad' Part-Time Jobs: Different Problems, Same Result," Gender & Society 22, no. 6 (2008): 752–77.

12. Nicholas Bloom et al., "Does Working from Home Work? Evidence from a Chinese Experiment" (July 2012), http://www.stanford.edu/~nbloom/WFH.pdf. New research also suggests that work from home

practices like telecommuting can have downsides such as increasing work hours and intensifying work demands made upon employees. See Mary C. Noonan and Jennifer L. Glass, “The Hard Truth About Telecommuting,” Monthly Labor Review 135, no. 6 (2012): 38–45.

13. New research suggests that working long hours reduces productivity. Harvard Business School professor Leslie A. Perlow found that by forcing consultants at the Boston Consulting Group to work less, they became more effective. To enable one scheduled night off per week, Perlow had the work teams engage in open and honest communication so they could divvy up work more efficiently. She also had the work teams devise plans and share information so that the consultants could cover for one another during their night off. As a result of these relatively small changes, the consultants felt better about both their work and their work-life balance. Consultants and their supervisors evaluated their work more highly. Fewer people quit. Team communication improved. And a larger share of consultants who took time away from work felt like they were delivering value to their client compared with the share of consultants who continued to work very long hours. See Leslie Perlow, Sleeping with Your Smartphone: How to Break the 24/7 Habit and Change the Way You Work (Boston: Harvard Business Review Press, 2012).

14. Colin Powell with Tony Koltz, It Worked For Me: In Life and Leadership (New York: HarperCollins, 2012), 40.

15. Joan C. Williams and Heather Boushey, The Three Faces of Work-Family Conflict: The Poor, The Professionals, and the Missing Middle, Center for American Progress and Center for WorkLife Law (January 2010), 7. http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2010/01/three_faces_report.html.

16. Economic Policy Institute, “Chart: Annual Hours of Work, Married Men and Women, 25–54, with Children, 1979–2010, by Income Fifth,” The State of Working America, http://stateofworkingamerica.org/chart/swa-income-table-2–17-annual-hours-work-married/. Assuming a fifty-week work year, middle-income married men and women with children worked 428 more hours in 2010 than in 1979, or an average of 8.6 more hours per week.

While some groups of Americans may have too much work to do, other groups, particularly low-wage, less-skilled workers do not have enough. Sociologists refer to this trend as the “growing dispersion” of work hours between more and less educated workers. For more on the dispersion of work hours, see Arne L. Kallenberg, Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The Rise of Polarized and Precarious Employment Systems in the United States, 1970s to 2000s (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011), 152–54; and Jerry A. Jacobs and Kathleen Gerson, The Time Divide: Work, Family, Gender Inequality (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

17. Peter Kuhn and Fernando Lozano, “The Expanding Workweek? Understanding Trends in Long Work Hours Among U.S. Men, 1979–2006,” Journal of Labor Economics 26, no. 2 (2008): 311–43; Cynthia Fuchs Epstein and Arne L. Kalleberg, eds., Fighting for Time: Shifting Boundaries of Work and Social Life (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004).

18. Sylvia Ann Hewlett and Carolyn Buck Luce, “Extreme Jobs: The Dangerous Allure of the 70-Hour Workweek,” Harvard Business Review 84, no. 12 (2006): 51.

19. Sarah Perez, “80% of Americans Work ‘After Hours,’ Equaling an Extra Day of Work Per Week,” Techcrunch, July 2, 2012, http://techcrunch.com/2012/07/02/80-of-americans-work-after-hours-equaling-an-extra-day-of-work-per-week/.

20. Bronwyn Fryer, “Sleep Deficit: The Performance Killer,” Harvard Business Review 84, no. 10 (2006): 53–59, http://hbr.org/2006/10/sleep-deficit-the-performance-killer. For reviews on the cognitive impact of insufficient sleep, see Paula A. Alhola and Paivi Polo-Kantola, “Sleep Deprivation: Impact on Cognitive Performance,” Neuropsychiatric Disease and Treatment 3, no. 5 (2007): 553–67; and Jeffrey S. Durmer and David F. Dinges, “Neurocognitive Consequences of Sleep Deprivation,” Seminars in Neurology 25, no. 1 (2005): 117–29.

21. Suzanne M. Bianchi, John P. Robinson, and Melissa A. Milkie, The Changing Rhythms of American Family Life (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), 74–77. This study of the amount of time parents report taking care of their children finds that in 2000 both employed and nonemployed mothers spent, on average, almost 6.5 more hours per week on caregiving than their counterparts reported in 1975. Findings like these lead the authors to conclude, “It is as if a cultural shift occurred that propelled all mothers toward spending more time with their children” (p. 78). The increase in the amount of time parents spend with their children is largely explained by parents combining caregiving and leisure activities, which means that “either child care has become more oriented toward fun activities, or that parents are more frequently including children in their own leisure activities” (p. 85). This move away from adult-only leisure activities combined with an increase in multitasking while spending free time with children points to a willingness among parents to sacrifice personal time in order to spend more time with their children. A 2009 study found that in comparison to nonemployed mothers, full-time employed mothers spend less time per week in every leisure activity ranging from TV watching to community and socializing activities, resulting in ten less hours of leisure time per week. As opposed to mothers, there is little difference in the amount of leisure time between fathers with wives who work full-time versus fathers with wives who work less than full-time. See Melissa A. Milkie, Sara B. Raley, and Suzanne M. Bianchi, “Taking on the Second Shift: Time Allocations and Time Pressures of U.S. Parents with Preschoolers,” Social Forces 88, no. 2 (2009): 487–517.

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24. National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Findings for Children up to Age 4½ Years, The NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development, NIH Pub. No. 05–4318 (2006), 1, http://www.nichd.nih.gov/publications/pubs/upload/seccyd_06.pdf.

25. Ibid.; see also NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, “Child-Care Effect Sizes for the NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development,” American Psychologist 61, no. 2 (2006): 99–116. In some cases, the U.S. study showed that children who spent longer hours in child care exhibited higher instances of behavioral problems such as temper tantrums or talking back. These problems arose less often in high-quality child care settings and largely subsided by the sixth grade. As Kathleen McCartney, dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and a principal investigator of the study, noted, “The child care hours effect is small by any standard. Any risks associated with more hours in child care need

to be weighed against the benefits of maternal employment, including decreased maternal depression and more family income" (e-mail to author, February 26, 2012). For a discussion of these findings and issues, see Kathleen McCartney et al., "Testing a Series of Causal Propositions Relating Time in Child Care to Children's Externalizing Behavior," Development Psychology 46, no. 1 (2010): 1–17. For a meta-analysis of maternal employment and children's achievement, see Wendy Goldberg et al., "Maternal Employment and Children's Achievement in Context: A Meta-Analysis of Four Decades of Research," Psychological Bulletin 134, no. 1 (2008): 77–108.

Scholars have noted that while the preponderance of evidence shows that maternal employment has no adverse effect on young children's development, maternal employment in the first year of life has been linked with lower cognitive development and behavior issues for some children. Several factors moderate these findings, ranging from the level of parental sensitivity to the quality of the care babies receive. See Jane Waldfogel, "Parental Work Arrangements and Child Development," Canadian Public Policy 33, no. 2 (2007): 251–71.

Whether care is provided by a parent or another caregiver, studies consistently find that it is the quality of the caretaking that matters most. Children need to receive care that is sensitive and responsive to their particular needs. For a discussion, see Jane Waldfogel, What Children Need (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

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10. LET'S START TALKING ABOUT IT

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6. For a study on job applicants, see Rhea E. Steinpreis, Katie A. Anders, and Dawn Ritzke, "The Impact of Gender on the Review of Curricula Vitae of Job Applicants and Tenure Candidates: A National Empirical Study," Sex Roles 41, nos. 7–8 (1999): 509–28. For a study on gender bias and scholarships, see Christine Wennerås and Agnes Wold, "Nepotism and Sexism in Peer Review," Nature 387 (1997): 341–43. For the study on bias in orchestra tryouts, see Claudia Goldin and Cecilia Rouse, "Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of 'Blind' Auditions on Female Musicians," The American Economic Review 90, no. 4 (2000): 715–41.

7. Economists Claudia Goldin and Cecilia Rouse examined the hiring practices among top orchestras in the United States and found that changing to blind auditions, in which judges could hear but not see the applicant, reduced discrimination against women. They estimate that the switch to blind auditions accounts for 30 percent of the increase in the proportion of women among new hires. See Goldin and Rouse, "Orchestrating Impartiality," 715–41.

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9. Eric Luis Uhlmann and Geoffrey L. Cohen, "Constructed Criteria: Redefining Merit to Justify Discrimination," Psychological Science 16, no. 6 (2005): 474–80. Overall, this study found that when a man possessed a particular characteristic or trait, then that quality was rated as a more important hiring criterion than when he did not possess that quality. Even typically female qualities such as "being family oriented" or "having children" were rated as more important hiring criteria when a man had these qualities than when he did not. This kind of favoritism was not shown toward the female applicant. In fact, when it came to possessing a strong educational record, the study found a trend toward the reverse in that when a female applicant had a strong educational record that quality was rated as a less important hiring criterion then when she did not possess a strong educational record. However, this reversal trend did not reach statistical significance.

This study found that evaluators redefine hiring criteria for gender-stereotypical jobs to match the specific experiences and credentials that a candidate of the desired gender happens to possess. For the stereotypically male job of police chief, the male candidate was favored. But when the authors conducted the same kind of experiment for a stereotypically female job of women's studies professor, the female applicant got a boost. In this case, having a strong record of public advocacy on women's issues was rated an important hiring criterion when the female candidate had the strong record and not important when the female candidate did not have a strong record. No such favoritism was extended to the male candidate. Other research supports the idea that evaluators can subtly shift the criteria they base their hiring decision upon to the detriment of gender- or racial-atypical candidates. For example, a 2008 study by Phelan et al. examined the hiring criteria used to evaluate male and female agentic (highly competent, confident, ambitious) or communal (modest, sociable) managerial job applicants. The results found that evaluators "weighed competence more heavily than social skills for all applicants, with the exception of agentic women, whose social skills were given more weight than competence." The authors conclude that "evaluators shifted the job criteria away from agentic women's strong suit (competence) and toward their perceived deficit (social skills) to justify discrimination."

Uhlmann and Cohen report that in the police chief experiment the pro-male bias was driven largely by the male evaluators. While both male and female evaluators tended to construct hiring criteria favorable to the male candidate, men exhibited this bias more. When it came to hiring evaluations, male evaluators gave more positive evaluations to the male applicant than to the identical female applicant, while women gave equivalent evaluations. In the women's studies professor experiment the bias was driven by the female evaluators. It was the female evaluators, not the male evaluators, who redefined hiring criteria to the female applicant's benefit and who favored the female candidate over the male candidate in hiring evaluations. Importantly, this study found that when evaluators were asked to commit to the hiring criteria that were important for a job before learning about the applicant's gender, neither men nor women showed gender bias in their hiring evaluations. This finding suggests that to reduce discrimination, unambiguous standards of merit should be agreed upon prior to the review of job candidates.

This study illustrates that people can shift hiring criteria so that they fit with the experiences and credentials of the person (male or female) they would like to hire, particularly for gender-stereotypical jobs, thereby using "merit" to justify discrimination. Since those who felt most confident about their powers of objectivity showed the most bias in the police chief experiment, the authors suggest that this group may have felt "that they had chosen the right man for the job, when in fact they had chosen the right job criteria for the man" (p. 478). Due to time constraints, the authors did not assess self-perceived measures of objectivity in the women's studies professor experiment. Also see Julie E. Phelan, Corinne A. Moss-Racusin, and Laurie A. Rudman, "Competent Yet Out in the Cold: Shifting Criteria for Hiring Reflect Backlash Toward Agentic Women," Psychology of Women Quarterly 32, no. 4 (2008): 406–13. For more research showing that belief in one's objectivity is linked with an increase in gender discrimination, see Eric Luis Uhlmann and Geoffrey L. Cohen, " 'I Think It, Therefore It's True': Effects of Self-Perceived Objectivity on Hiring Discrimination," Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes 104, no. 2 (2007): 207–23.

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in neotraditional marriages (men married to women who work part-time) were more likely than men in modern marriages to hold negative attitudes and beliefs about women in the workplace.

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11. WORKING TOGETHER TOWARD EQUALITY

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Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What to Do About It (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

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