

CHAPTER FOUR

Workplace Evaluations of Parents by Race: Unraveling Perceptual Penalties and Premiums

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ABSTRACT

Mothers suffer a “perceptual penalty” in the professional workplace. In addition to their well-documented earnings penalty, research shows that mothers are perceived as less competent and less committed than their male and non-mother counterparts. With most research on parents in the workplace focused on whites, we know little about how perceptual penalties are distributed *among* mothers and fathers by race/ethnicity. The current study uses data from two parallel vignette experiments based on nationally representative samples of employed adults to examine how the performance and reward expectations of a job applicant vary by her/his race (African-American, Latino, Asian, and white) and parenthood status, including level of involvement with children. Performance and reward expectations were fairly comparable for men across parenthood categories by race with some evidence of a “childless premium” for African-American men applicants. Greater variation existed in expectations of women by motherhood status and race. Highly involved Asian mothers were privileged relative to other mothers in both performance and reward expectations, whereas highly involved white mothers were penalized in both domains. This “white motherhood penalty” was further moderated by respondent race, with minority respondents expecting white mothers to be less hardworking and white respondents offering them lower salaries.

INTRODUCTION

Are mothers and fathers perceived differently by race in the professional workplace? Given the array of culturally pervasive race-based parenting stereotypes – from the Deadbeat Dad to the Tiger Mother – we might expect that perceptions of parents in the workplace are filtered through the intersection of their gender and racial/ethnic statuses. The current study examines the perceptual penalties and premiums – the evaluative counterparts to mothers’ and fathers’ well-documented earnings penalties and premiums, respectively – incurred by parents in the workplace based on their race/ethnicity.

Perceptual penalties and premiums are critical to elucidate because they may explain, at least in part, dogged earnings inequality among parents extensively documented by survey researchers (Budig and England 2001; Hodges and Budig 2010; Kalist 2008; Killewald 2013; Loughran and Zissimopoulous 2007; Lundberg and Rose 2000; Zhang 2009). In other words, comparatively negative or unfavorable perceptions – a perceptual penalty – are likely associated with comparatively lower rewards – an earnings penalty. According to Expectation States Theory, how people are rewarded largely depends on how they and their actions are perceived, perceptions which are greatly influenced by salient status characteristics, such as race, gender, and parenthood (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch 1972; Correll and Ridgeway 2003; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Wagner and Berger 2002).¹ Thus, to better understand why people are differentially rewarded in the workplace, we must assess how they are perceived and the expectations held for them based on potentially consequential social status indicators. Gender, race, and parental status are, own their own, largely acknowledged as key social statuses in the

¹ Correll and Ridgeway (2003) define a status characteristic as an “attribute on which people differ (e.g., gender, computer expertise) and for which there are widely held beliefs in the culture associating greater social worthiness and competence with one category of the attribute (men, computer expert) than another (women, computer novice)” (p. 32).

workplace affecting both perceptions and rewards. Gaps remain, however, in our knowledge about how these three statuses *intersect* to affect workplace outcomes, especially in terms of perceptions and evaluations.

Research on parenthood, race, and work runs on parallel tracks. On one track, there is sophisticated work on how the interaction between gender and race affects individuals' workplace outcomes, especially wages (McCall 2001). This empirical research, based largely on the foundation of intersectionality theory (Collins 2000; Crenshaw 1991), posits and indeed confirms that people are subject to multiple and simultaneous dis/advantages at work based on their gender and race (Cotter et al. 1999; Misra and Browne 2003). Minority women, specifically African-American and Latina women exist at the bottom of the earnings ladder in the U.S. economy (Misra and Browne 2003; Cotter et al. 1999; England, Christopher, and Reid 1999). White men, conversely, are the highest earners, benefitted by their compounded advantage of being white and male (Wingfield 2012). Although this theoretically informed literature tells us a good deal about the interaction between race and gender in the workplace, it does not shed much light on the third dimension of potential dis/advantage, parental status, nor how this tri-status intersection is likely to affect perceptions at work.

The motherhood wage penalty and fatherhood wage premium literatures focus on how parents are differentially rewarded based on gender but with less attention to how these penalties and premiums, especially perceptual penalties and premiums, vary by race/ethnicity. Overall, research shows that fathers earn higher salaries and are more favorably regarded in the professional workplace than childless men and all women (Glauber 2008; Hodges and Budig 2010; Keizer et al. 2010), whereas mothers, conversely, earn less than (Benard and Correll 2010; Benard et al. 2008; Budig and England 2001; Zhang 2009) and are considered, among other

things, less competent and committed than, childless women and all men (Correll et al. 2007; Etaugh and Folger 1998; Fuegen et al. 2004). With a few notable exceptions (Correll et al 2007), however, this literature does not examine variation in how mothers and fathers are differentially regarded by race.

The current study will draw from these highly related yet disconnected literatures on parenthood, race, and the workplace through two nationally representative vignette experiments assessing evaluations of men and women applicants by parental status and race in the context of the professional workplace. Moreover, the study further contributes to these literatures by expanding beyond the customary binary comparisons of parent versus nonparent and white versus Black to examine how *four* categories of parents – non parents, nominal parents (identified as parents in name only), less involved parents, and highly involved parents – from *four* racial/ethnic categories – African-American, Latino, Asian, and white – are evaluated in terms of work and reward expectations. Finally, the size and nationally representative nature of the study samples allow for a unique analysis of the role of *respondent race* in the evaluation of parents in the workplace.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Race and Gender in the Workplace: Interactive Dis/advantages

Feminist and social psychological theories are focused on how race and gender intersect to affect people's experiences and outcomes, particularly in the context of the workplace, given its centrality for people's social and economic well-being. The feminist theoretical paradigm of intersectionality asserts that social statuses, such as race, ethnicity, and gender, cannot be adequately interpreted apart from each other because the intersection among them produces something uniquely different than from sum of the parts (Collins 2000; Crenshaw 1991; Glenn

1994; King 1988; Wingfield 2012). Instead, statuses are “simultaneous and linked,” especially in terms of their consequences for important material outcomes like wages and job prospects (Browne and Misra 2003: 488).

Relatedly, researchers have drawn on the social psychological language of Expectation States Theory (EST), and its constituent status characteristics and reward expectation theories, to understand how gender and race, as status characteristics, combine to affect others’ expectations of competence and deservingness. EST is designed to explain how dominance patterns are formed within task-oriented groups, such as those within the workplace, based on people’s constellation of social status characteristics (Correll and Ridgeway 2003; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Wagner and Berger 2002). The theory, in this way much like intersectionality, maintains that multiple status characteristics of an actor come together in others’ minds to form both aggregate performance (Ridgeway and Correll 2004) and reward expectations (Wagner and Berger 2002).² Discrepant expectations lead to discrepant opportunities to display competence, and, in a self-fulfilling cycle, yield discrepant rewards in the form of promotions and wages. In other words, using the vocabulary of the current study, perceptual penalties – comparatively unfavorable perceptions -- and earnings penalties – comparatively low earnings -- are inextricably connected.

Empirical earnings research based on these theories shows that minority women, specifically African-American women, are the lowest wage earners (Browne and Misra 2003; Cotter et al. 1999; England, Christopher, and Reid 1999; Padavic and Reskin 2002). England and

² According to Wagner and Berger (2002), reward expectations theory “deals with the formation of reward expectations in status situations in which differential rewards are to be allocated” (p. 54). As with performance expectations, actors rely on commonly held culturally held beliefs about how certain statuses are typically differentially rewarded (Wagner and Berger 2002). Reward and performance expectation processes work jointly in that when a high status individual has been rewarded, both the individual and others attribute the reward to high task competence. The cycle between perceived competence and actual performance thus perpetuates itself.

colleagues' (1999) analysis using the 1993 wave of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) found that white men (28-35 years old) reported the highest average hourly earnings, followed by Latino men, white women, African-American men, Latina women, and finally African-American women.³ Greenman and Xie (2008) clarify, however, that *relative* to their same-race male counterparts, white women incur the greatest wage penalty. Using data from the Public Use Micro Sample from the 2000 Census, the authors examined the gender earnings gap across 19 mutually exclusive racial-ethnic categories and found the widest gender earnings gap between non-Hispanic whites; that is, white women had a greater earnings penalty relative to their white male counterparts than women from any other racial-ethnic group.

Wage analyses are a critical lens through which to survey the unequal terrain of workplace outcomes based on the gender-race intersection. They tell us who earns more than whom and, to some extent, why. These studies do an excellent job of identifying how much of the variability in earnings can be attributed to factors, such as educational attainment or occupational sector, that are at once crucial for earnings potential and unequally distributed by race (in the case of educational attainment) and gender (in the case of occupational sector). Outside of a statistical residual, however, wage analyses cannot provide much insight in to what extent the workplace inequality we observe is attributable to workplace cultures and conscious or unconscious discriminatory employer practices, of which discrepant status-based perceptions are part.

There are some very revealing studies within the race-gender intersection literature that aim to do just that, largely through experiments and interviews with employers. Experimental research, for example, has consistently shown evidence of racial prejudice against African-

³ The authors note that the greater average earnings of white women than Black men is somewhat anomalistic compared to earlier periods where all women earned less than all men, regardless of race.

Americans in studies of hiring preferences (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004; Pager 2003; Pager and Quillian 2005). In their field experiment assessing rates of employer callbacks to fictitious resumes that varied on race and gender, Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) found that white men and women were more likely than their African-American counterparts to receive callbacks for sales job openings in Boston and Chicago. Similarly, Pager (2003) found that white men, even those with a criminal record, were more likely to receive an employment callback than African-American men without a criminal record in her experimental audit study.⁴

Qualitative research also finds evidence of prejudicial and discriminatory behavior in the workplace at the intersection of race and gender. Kirschenman and Neckerman (1992) interviewed employers in a representative sample of firms from non-professional industries in Chicago and found negative stereotypes of inner-city African-American men that affected screening and hiring processes; they did not, however, address how those stereotypes were mitigated or exacerbated by parental status to help or hinder perceptions of Black fathers, in particular. Through her interviews with employers about their perceptions of African-American and white women in the workplace, Kennelly (1999) found that employers typified women with the image of an undependable, weakly committed mother, even though the interview schedule did not include any questions on motherhood or parenthood explicitly. White employers, specifically, relied on the stereotypical image of the Black single mother to describe African-American women workers even when the women's motherhood status was not mentioned or known.

Although not originally incorporated into her study design, it is clear from Kennelly's (1999) results that parental status is a theoretically relevant and salient social status to employers

⁴ Although the difference was sizable, it was not statistically significant. The main effects of race and criminal record were significant but not the interaction between the two.

in the workplace. Surprisingly, although parenthood is recognized as a salient status characteristic in the workplace (Ridgeway and Correll 2004), little research in this area theorizes on or empirically examines the tri-status intersection among gender, race/ethnicity, and parental status. Indeed, in their recommendations for future research, Greenman and Xie (2008) identify this as a fruitful avenue, remarking that “the intersection of family and labor market outcomes may well hold the key to understanding the intersection of race and gender” (p. 1238). In the next section, I review a burgeoning literature that assesses how motherhood and fatherhood are interpreted in the workplace but that pays little attention to the moderating role of race.

Parenthood in the Workplace: Motherhood Penalties and Fatherhood Premiums

Research shows that mothers are disadvantaged relative to non-mothers (Budig and England 2001; Correll et al. 2007; Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2004; Waldfogel 1997) and that fathers are advantaged relative to non-fathers in the professional workplace (Glauber 2008; Hodges and Budig 2010; Killewald 2013; Lundberg and Rose 2000). Referred to as the fatherhood wage premium and motherhood wage penalty phenomena, most research finds wages of fathers between four and nine percent higher than non-fathers controlling for a range of human capital factors and the wages of mothers between five and seven percent lower than non-mothers controlling for a similar range of factors.

Scholars account for this well-established pattern of paternal advantage and maternal disadvantage through several explanations, including: a) that fathers are more productive (e.g., work longer hours) than their workmates and that mothers are less productive, b) that the same men who become fathers are just better workers and the same women who become mothers are just poorer workers (selection bias), and c) employers consciously or unconsciously perceive

fathers more favorably and perceive mothers less favorably, evaluating the former more positively, promoting them more readily, and offering them higher wages. Two additional explanations are common within the motherhood penalty literature to account for mothers' wage disadvantage – d) that mothers are more likely to work in occupational sectors that are less lucrative but more hospitable to seasonal and part-time work, and e) that mothers have amassed less education and work experience than their workmates because they have been bearing and caring for children. Overall, explanations a, b, d, and e account for a significant proportion – though not all -- of the observed wage penalties and premiums among mothers and fathers, respectively. Researchers contend, and indeed have found evidence to support, that biased employer perceptions (explanation c) are an important link helping to explain wage inequality by parental status.

Experimental research assessing evaluations of mothers' and fathers' workplace deservingness and performance finds evidence of bias toward fathers and against mothers, what I have been referring to as the perceptual penalties and premiums for mothers and fathers, respectively. Results from these experiments, largely based on samples of undergraduate students, show that mothers are seen as less competent and committed than childless women and all men (Correll et al. 2007; Cuddy, Fiske and Glick 2004), whereas the opposite is the case for perceptions of fathers (Etaugh and Folger 1998; Fuegen et al. 2004). For example, Cuddy and colleagues (2004) had a sample of undergraduates read short biographical sketches of fictitious consultants they were asked to evaluate that varied on the sex of the consultant and her/his parental status. They found that the mother consultant was rated as less hireable and less promotable than the father and childless consultants; further, they found that the mother

consultant was considered warm but not competent whereas the father consultant was considered both warm and competent.

Yet, there is little attention paid to race in the parenthood-workplace literature. In-depth interview studies on mothers' workplace experiences, such as Stone's (2007) research on high-status women's forced choice to exit the labor force or Blair-Loy's (2003) work on mothers' sense of competing work and family devotions, while rich and revealing, focus on the experiences and perspectives of white women. Damaske's (2012) more recent interview study on mothers' explanations of their work trajectories drew from a more diverse sample of women (of her 84 participants, two-thirds were white and the remaining one third were equally divided among African-Americans, Latinas, and Asians). Despite the differences in workforce trajectories, largely by class, Damaske found surprising uniformity in how the women explained their work/family choices mostly in "for the family" terms.

Earnings studies have been somewhat more attentive to variations in wage penalties and premiums by race/ethnicity. In studies of racial variation in mothers' wage penalty (Glauber 2007; Korenman and Neumark 1992; Waldfogel 1997) and fathers' wage premium (Glauber 2008; Hodges and Budig 2010), white mothers were shown to incur the greatest penalty and white fathers were shown to enjoy the greatest premium compared to African-Americans and Latinos. Killewald (2013), however, found no racial variation in wage premiums for fathers, a discrepancy which she attributed to including residential status and biological relationship in her models.

Existing research on how perceptions of mothers and fathers vary by race/ethnicity is extremely limited. Most experimental studies in this literature do not explicitly specify the race of the fictitious individual, but the people's names often imply that she/he is white (e.g., Ann

Davis and Scott Myers). Correll and colleagues' (2007) seminal laboratory experiment/audit study is an important exception. In the experimental component of their study, the authors had a sample of undergraduate students evaluate application materials for a position at a marketing firm from a woman applicant who varied on race (African-American and white) and parental status (their man applicant did not vary on race). They found that both white and African-American mothers were evaluated less favorably, in terms of promotion and management potential, likelihood of hire, and recommended salary, relative to their childless counterparts. Between white and Black mothers, they found that African-American mothers were significantly less likely to be hired than white mothers.

Although a critical contribution to the field, the study did not address several important questions about how perceptions of parents in the workplace may vary by race. First, given its focus on the motherhood penalty, the Correll study did not manipulate the race of the men applicants, leaving us with questions about how fathers are differently perceived by race in the workplace. Second, as is often the case, race was limited to a Black-white comparison, providing little insight into how mothers and fathers of other racial-ethnic backgrounds, including Latinos and Asian Americans, are viewed in the context of the workplace. Third, the authors did not take the race component of their experimental study into the field with their nearly identical audit study on employers, leaving us with valuable although somewhat limited conclusions about how a sample of undergraduate students evaluated mothers by race. The limited attention paid to racial variation in experimental studies, in general, is likely due to similar types of methodological limitations. The current study, based on two large samples of employed adults that are representative of the racial composition of the country, is not inhibited by sample size or composition.

Perceptions of Parenthood by Race in the Workplace: The Current Study

The current study, based on data from two nationally representative experimental vignette studies, accomplishes three things: 1) it elucidates how perceptions of mothers and fathers vary by race in the context of the professional workplace, a tri-status interaction that has been largely left unexplored in how it affects workplace perceptions; 2) rather than relying on the standard binary comparisons typically used in research on parents in the workplace, this study compares how *four* categories of parents – non parents, nominal parents, less involved parents, and highly involved parents – from *four* racial/ethnic categories – African-American, Latino, Asian (specifically, of Chinese descent), and white – are evaluated in the context of the professional workplace, and 3) the size and nature of the study’s samples allow for an examination of how the race of the respondent affects such evaluations.

The Role of Respondent Race

The size and nature of the study’s samples allow for a rare examination of how respondent race affects interpretations of applicants based on the applicant’s race and parental status. Qualitative research on employer perceptions of employees by race indicates that the race of the employer is an important consideration (Kennelly 1999; Moss and Tilly 2001). As previously mentioned, Kennelly’s (1999) interview study found that “[a]lmost a quarter of the white respondents (24 percent) explicitly used the single-mother image when referring to Black women” (Kennelly 1999: 179). Elvira and Town’s (2001) quantitative analysis of personnel data from a large U.S. corporation supports Kennelly’s finding. They found that employers were more favorable toward employees of the same race. Looking only at African-American and white superior-subordinate pairs, they found that white superiors scored their white subordinates higher

on performance and productivity ratings whereas African-American superiors scored their African-American subordinates higher on these measures. Given results from this research which suggests that employer race is consequential for their perceptions and evaluations, I examine here how respondents' race is related to their evaluations, if at all.

Research Questions

The current study asks two major research questions:

- 1) How does applicant race moderate the relationship between parenthood status and evaluations of work success for mothers and fathers?
- 2) How does respondent race further moderate these relationships?

I present results addressing both questions following a description of the study's methodological approach and analytical plan.

METHOD

Vignette Design

Data come from two parallel experimental vignette studies wherein nationally representative samples of employed adults rated a fictitious job applicant, one male and one female, who varied on race and parenthood status. Respondents acted as hiring managers of a marketing firm who received a memo drafted by the hiring company's human resources ("HR") department summarizing an interview with the fictitious applicant. Respondents received a short set of instructions, a description of the fictitious job, and the HR memo detailing the applicant's professional and personal history. The memo, with conditions in brackets, is shown in Appendix I.

The experiments were run separately by gender. One sample of respondents (n = 2,046) received the instrument with the women applicants (henceforth, the “mother sample”) and one sample of respondents (n =2,250) received the instrument with the men applicant (henceforth, the “father sample”).⁵

For the race manipulation, I followed precedent (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004; Kleykamp 2009) and signaled applicants’ race using “ethnically identifiable names” (Pager 2007: 609). The white applicant’s name is “Greg/Allison Baker,” the African-American applicant’s name is “Jamal/Keisha Washington,” the Latino applicant’s name is “Victor/Victoria Rodriguez,” and the Asian applicant’s name is “Samuel/Susan Wong.”

The experiment included four parental status indicators: childless, nominal parent (no involvement information specified), less involved parent, highly involved parent. Involvement information was communicated in the HR memo (see Appendix I) as a parenthetical statement intended to be interpreted as an HR interviewer note to the employer as if the candidate had discussed her/his home life during the interview and the interviewer is conveying her/his impression of that discussion.

The vignette was situated in the context of the professional workplace because the majority of experimental research on the topic of parents and workplace discrimination has taken place in the white-collar work sector. In order to engage with and expand upon existing research, I followed precedent and located the vignette in the context of the professional workplace. Further, wage analyses indicate that parental wage inequality may be greatest in this context. Research shows that the effects of gender discrimination are more severe at higher income levels

⁵ The vignette with the nominal father condition was included in the mother sample. I extracted the nominal father data and appended it to the father dataset.

(Cotter et al. 1999; Padavic and Reskin 2002), and indeed is where scholars have found the greatest fatherhood premiums (Hodges and Budig 2010).

All applicants were identified as married and living with their children because research shows that the fatherhood wage premium only exists among married co-residential fathers (Glauber 2008; Hodges and Budig 2010; Killewald 2013; Lundberg and Rose 2000; Percheski and Wildeman 2008) and that motherhood penalties are most severe for married women (Budig and England 2001).

Samples

The vignette experiments were administered each to a separate nationally representative sample of employed U.S. adults between the ages of 18 and 65 through two separate TESS (Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences) grants. TESS contracts with GfK, a government and academic research company, to field TESS studies online. GfK administers TESS studies to a representative sample of U.S. households (the “KnowledgePanel”). Households are recruited into the sample randomly through address-based sampling (ABS). Households selected into the sample without Internet access are provided both Internet access and the necessary computer equipment in order to participate in the Panel. The sample selection process employed by GfK results in a representative sample of the U.S. population, including representation of “difficult-to-survey” populations, such as racial minorities and cell phone-only households (GfK 2014). The mother and father samples are described in greater detail in Table 4.1.

Measures

Respondents completed an evaluation of the applicant based on their reading of the HR memo. All items were modeled after previous experimental studies in the parenthood-workplace literature (Correll et al. 2007; Fuegen et al. 2004; Gungor and Biernat 2009). I used a subset of these evaluation items for this analysis.

Dependent Variables: Performance and Reward Expectations

According to status characteristics theory (SCT) and reward expectation theory (RET), both sub-dimensions of expectation states theory, people form performance expectations (SCT) and reward expectations (RET) of others based on salient status characteristics. Therefore, I examined how respondents' performance and reward expectations differed for applicants based on the intersection of their gender, race/ethnicity, and parenthood status. To assess performance expectations, I analyzed evaluations of how hardworking the applicant was expected to be and how often she/he was expected to be late to work per month. The hardworking item asked: "How hardworking do you expect [candidate name] to be, relative to other employees in similar positions at the company?" Ratings ranged on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 was "not at all hardworking" and 5 was "extremely hardworking." The late item asked: "How many times per month would you expect [candidate name] to arrive late or leave early?" Ratings ranged on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 was "9+ times" and 5 was "0 times."⁶

To assess reward expectations, I analyzed evaluations of the likelihood that the applicant would be hired and a starting salary offer. The likelihood of hire item asked: "How likely are you to hire [candidate name] for this position?" Ratings ranged on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 was "Not at all likely" and 5 was "Extremely likely." The salary offer item asked: "In the event you

⁶ This item was reverse coded for analysis.

end up hiring [candidate name], what would you offer her/him as a starting salary?” Ratings ranged on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 was “\$60,000-\$65,000” and 5 was “\$80,000-\$85,000.”

When considered jointly, I refer to performance expectations and salary expectations together as “work expectations.”

Control Variables

In addition to answering the evaluation items, respondents also answered a battery of demographic profile items. These included their: race/ethnicity, the presence of children under 18 in the household (proxy for parental status), sex, age, education, household income, marital status, occupational sector, self-employment status, and region.

Respondent race/ethnicity is measured with a series of four dummy variables, including white, African-American, Latino, and Other. The white group serves as the reference category in the regression analysis. The parental status proxy is measured as a dummy variable for the presence of children in the household under the age of 18 (1 = yes, 0 = no). Respondent’s sex is coded as a dummy variable (1 = female; 0 = male). Respondent’s age is included as a linear variable and ranges from 18 to 65. Respondent educational attainment is a series of dummy variables indicating the highest level of education completed: some high school, high school diploma, some college, and college degree (reference category). Marital status is measured using a series of dummy variables, including married (reference category), divorced or separated, never married, widowed, and cohabiting.

The models also control for respondents’ work-related statuses (recall all respondents are employed in the labor force), including their occupational sector and self-employment status. Occupational sector is a series of three dummy variables indicating whether the respondent

works in the white-collar sector (reference category), blue-collar sector, or other sector. All respondents in the sample are currently working for pay, but a minority is self-employed. Self-employment status is included as a single item (1 = yes, 0 = no).

Finally, to control for any regional differences, the models include a series of four dummy variables to measure geographic location: whether the respondent lives in the Northwest (reference category), Midwest, South, or West region of the United States.

Analytic Approach

To address the study's two research questions, I conducted a two-part analysis. In the first part, I used ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analysis to examine how work expectations for nominal, less involved, and highly involved parents compared to expectations of childless applicants by applicant race. I did so using two-way interaction models to isolate whether and how applicant race moderated the relationship between parenthood status and performance and reward expectations.⁷ Asian applicants serve as the reference category for applicant race, and childless applicants serve as the reference category for applicant parenthood status in the two-way interaction analyses.⁸

In the second part, I used OLS to examine three-way interactions among applicant race, applicant parenthood status, and respondent race to assess whether and how respondent race

⁷ Table A.2 shows these relationships as stratified models rather than as interaction effects (i.e., the relationship between parenthood status and likelihood of hire if white==1, rather than the relationship between parenthood status × white and likelihood of hire). Both approaches address the research question similarly, but examining the relationships through interaction effects allows me to statistically isolate the moderating role of applicant race apart from the control variables.

⁸ I selected Asians as the reference category in both the men's and women's analysis because they are a privileged group in both samples. Table A.2 shows that highly involved Asian mothers are considered more hardworking ($p < .01$) than their childless counterparts; this is the *only* association wherein any category of mother (nominal, less involved, or highly involved) is evaluated *more* favorably than her childless counterpart. The highly involved Asian father is also privileged as he is offered a significantly higher salary than his childless counterpart (Table A.2, $p < .01$).

further moderates the relationship between applicant race, parenthood status and work expectations. For the purposes of the three-way interaction models, I grouped respondents into white and nonwhite (African-American, Latino, and Other) categories. In the three-way models, white respondents serve as the reference category for respondent race, and Asian and childless applicants continue to serve as referents for applicant race and parenthood status, respectively.

I conducted and present the two- and three-way interaction analyses separately by gender (first for men applicants, then for women applicants), following a description of the study variables.

RESULTS

Table 4.1 shows the descriptive results by sample. Overall, respondents from both samples rated the men and women applicants similarly, with the exception of anticipated late days; respondents from the mother sample expected the women applicants to be late to work more often than respondents from the father sample expected from the man applicants.⁹ The demographic composition of the samples was very similar. The majority of respondents from both the mother and father samples were white and middle-aged with at least some college experience. In both samples, over half of the respondents were married and 40 percent had children living at home. The only statistically significant demographic difference between samples was occupational sector: the father sample had proportionately fewer respondents from the white- and blue-collar work sectors than the mother sample.

[Table 4.1 about here]

⁹ This finding acts as a convincing “manipulation check” (Perdue and Summers 1986). In other words, this finding increases confidence that the involvement manipulation is salient to participants because the results are in the direction we expect.

Men Applicants, Part I: Moderating Role of Applicant Race

Tables 4.2 show results from the OLS interaction analysis designed to examine whether and how applicant race moderates the relationship between parenthood status (here, fatherhood status) and a) performance expectations (hardworking and late) and b) reward expectations (likelihood of hire and salary offer) for men applicants.

[Table 4.2 about here]

Overall, there is little statistically significant variation in performance and reward expectations of men applicants. This is the case regardless of the reference category, meaning that men's parenthood status is evaluated similarly across race.¹⁰ In terms of direction, evaluations of men followed a similar pattern – highly involved fathers were perceived more favorably than less involved fathers and, often, than childless men. In terms of magnitude, expectations favored Asian and white fathers somewhat more than Latino and African-American fathers, whereas Latino and especially African-American childless men were evaluated more favorably than their white and Asian counterparts. Figure 4.1 shows the predicted salary offer for all four racial categories of men by fatherhood status as a representative picture of the overall patterns by race.¹¹

[Figure 4.1 about here]

The two significant interaction effects shown in Table 4.2 deal with the relatively favorable performance and reward expectations for African-American childless men. Figure 4.2 clarifies what I refer to as a possible “childless premium” for Black men. The figure shows predicted hardworking ratings for the African-American and Asian men applicants by fatherhood

¹⁰ The one statistical distinction based on reference category is men's salary offer, discussed further below.

¹¹ When African-Americans are the reference category, the difference between childless and less involved white fathers is statistically significant ($b = -0.46$, $p < .05$) (data not shown). This is the only disparity in significant effects when the reference category is not Asians.

status. Given that the significant interaction ($b = -0.30, p < .05$) is for Black nominal fatherhood status, I show only the comparison between childlessness and nominal fatherhood for Black men and Asian men as the referent. Relative to Asians, the difference in hardworking ratings for childless and nominal fathers is significant for Black men. I interpret this as a childless premium rather than as a fatherhood penalty because Asian and Black nominal fathers are expected to be similarly hardworking, but childless Black men are expected to be significantly more hardworking than their father counterparts ($p < .05$).¹² Results for the hiring expectation are similar; relative to Asians, the Black childless applicant was rated as more hireable compared to the Black highly involved father applicant ($b = -0.36, p < .05$, Table 4.2).

[Figure 4.2 about here]

Men Applicants, Part II: Moderating Role of Respondent Race

To examine how respondent race may have further moderated the relationships among fatherhood status, race, and expectations, I conducted three-way interaction analyses. Table 4.3 shows the results of these three-way interactions from OLS regressions for men applicants. Overall, applicants' fatherhood status had less bearing on how white respondents evaluated the men applicants than it did on how minority respondents evaluated them.

Looking further at the “childless premium” for African-American men, Figure 4.3 shows that this premium was driven largely by minority respondents. Although white and minority respondents rated the nominal Black father similarly in terms of a hardworking performance expectation, minority respondents, relative to white respondents, saw the childless Black applicant as significantly more hardworking than the nominal father ($p < .001$, Table 4.3).

¹² Although statistically this difference is small, the notion of a “childless premium” for Black men was supported by the interview results.

Respondent race moderated the hirability relationship shown in Table 4.3 in much the same way – with fatherhood status negligibly affecting white respondents’ reward expectations of Black men but with childlessness being favorably evaluated relative to Black fatherhood ($p < .05$) by minority respondents.

[Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3 about here]

Women Applicants, Part I: The Moderating Role of Applicant Race

I next present results from the two- and three-way interaction analyses for women applicants.

Tables 4.4 show results from the OLS interaction analysis designed to examine whether and how applicant race moderated the relationship between motherhood status and performance and reward expectations for women applicants.

There is more statistically significant variation in how motherhood status is evaluated across applicant race for women applicants compared to men applicants (Table 4.2). The interaction analyses presented in Table 4.4 yield two notable findings about differences in performance and reward expectations of women based on their race and motherhood status. First, highly involved white mothers are penalized in both performance and reward expectations.¹³ Second, highly involved Asian mothers are privileged in both of these domains.

¹³ I focus on the perceptual penalties for white mothers because they receive comparatively lower evaluations than their childless counterparts in *both* performance and reward expectation domains. Table 4.4 shows several statistically significant interaction effects for Latina mothers, but the results are mixed and even conflicting for Latinas. In terms of performance expectations, Table 4.4 shows a significant interaction for all three categories of Latina mothers relative to their childless counterpart. This, however, is not because Latina mothers are rated so poorly but because childless Latina applicants are rated so favorably relative to Asians (data not shown). In terms of reward expectations, highly involved Latina mothers are expected to be least hireable compared to the other highly involved applicants, but they are also offered the highest salaries of *all* women applicants across race and motherhood status (data not shown). Thus, although highly involved Latina mothers appear to be at a hiring disadvantage, they experience an earnings premium and are considered more hardworking than highly involved white mothers. For their part, African-American women fall in the middle of performance and reward expectations compared to the other racial groups; they are neither the most privileged nor the most penalized on any evaluative dimension. Therefore, I focus on white and Asian mothers because the former are penalized in both performance and

[Table 4.4 about here]

Figures 4.4 and 4.5 demonstrate these patterns graphically. Figure 4.4 shows the predicted hardworking ratings for white and Asian women by motherhood status (childless, less involved, highly involved).¹⁴ High maternal involvement is associated with being more hardworking than childlessness for Asian mothers whereas the opposite is the case for white mothers (Table 4.4, $b = -0.64$, $p < .001$). Interesting in Figure 4.4 is that low involvement is associated with the same predicted hardworking expectation for both white and Asian women, but it is the difference between childlessness and high involvement that is significantly different between white and Asian women. The same pattern can be found in terms of reward expectations, as well ($b = -0.46$, $p < .05$, Table 4.4). Figure 4.5 shows that the relationship between motherhood status and salary offer is reversed for Asian and white women, with the difference in salary offer for highly involved versus childless women being significant for these two groups ($b = -0.46$, $p < .05$, Table 4.4).

[Figures 4.4 and 4.5 about here]

Women Applicants, Part II: Moderating Role of Respondent Race

To examine how respondent race may have further moderated the relationships among motherhood status, race, and expectations, I conducted three-way interaction analyses. Table 4.5 shows the results of these three-way interactions from OLS regressions for women applicants. Findings are particularly useful in clarifying who propagates the perceptual penalty for white mothers identified in the results above.

[Table 4.5 about here]

reward domains and are never more positively evaluated than the childless white applicant, whereas the latter are privileged in both domains and evaluated more favorably than the childless Asian applicant on several items.

¹⁴ For the sake of parsimonious interpretation, I omit the nominal mother category from the graph.

In terms of performance expectations, Table 4.5 shows a significant interaction effect between respondent race and the hardworking expectations for highly involved white mothers ($b = -0.91, p < .05$). This effect is translated graphically in Figure 4.6, showing that minority respondents expected highly involved white mothers to be less hardworking than white respondents expected them to be; minority respondents also expected highly involved white mothers to be least hardworking compared to all other categories of women (data not shown).

[Figure 4.6 about here]

Highly involved white mothers were penalized by white respondents in terms of reward expectations. Figure 4.7 shows how salary offers to white mothers differed by respondent race.¹⁵ Relative to minority respondents, white respondents offered the highly involved white mother a significantly lower salary than they offered the childless white woman. Meanwhile, in results not shown, there was greater consensus between white and minority respondents on expectations for Asian mothers; both groups held higher expectations for the highly involved Asian mother than they did for either the less involved Asian mother or the Asian non-mother.

[Figure 4.7 about here]

Summary of Results

In all, results from each of the two-part analyses yield three primary findings. First, there was greater variation in how applicant race moderated the relationship between parenthood status and work expectations for women applicants than for men applicants. Expectations of men applicants tended to follow a similar pattern, varying more in magnitude than in direction, with

¹⁵ The two-way interaction between motherhood status and race is significant for white women and salary (see Table 4.4). Although this relationship is not significant as a three-way interaction when Asian women are the reference category (as shown in Table 4.5), it *is* significant when Latina women are the reference category ($b = 1.18, p < .05$, data not shown).

childless Black men receiving comparatively more favorable evaluations than other childless men, and white and Asian fathers receiving comparatively more favorable evaluations than other fathers. (See Figure 4.1 for a graphical summary). Positive expectations for the African-American childless applicant stood out as statistically significant in Table 4.2, leading me to suggest the existence of a potential “childless premium” for Black men driven predominantly by minority respondents (Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3).

Greater variation existed in how applicant race moderated the relationships between motherhood status and work expectations. Such variation can be categorized largely into two phenomena: a white motherhood penalty and Asian motherhood premium. Results presented in Tables 4.4 and 4.5, along with Figures 4.4 through 4.7, show that highly involved white mothers were expected to be less hardworking and were offered lower salaries compared to their childless counterparts, relative to Asian women. Further, white mothers incurred this penalty from both white and nonwhite respondents. Asian mothers, by contrast, were comparatively favorably viewed, being seen as significantly *more* hardworking than their childless counterparts (Figure 4.4). I discuss the implications of these phenomena below.

DISCUSSION

This study sought to expand our understanding of the distribution of perceptual penalties in the professional workplace by examining how parental involvement was perceived and evaluated differently by race. Research outside of the work-family literature shows that race is an important status characteristic moderating both employees’ earnings (Greenman and Xie 2008)

and perceptions of them in the workplace (Kennelly 1999; Pager 2003; Pager and Quillian 2005). Although, based on this body of literature, we would expect expectations and perceptions of *parents* to vary by race/ethnicity in the context of the workplace, existing research has disregarded race, focusing predominantly on perceptions of white mothers and fathers (Cuddy et al. 2004; Etaugh and Folger 1998; Kmec, Huffman, and Penner 2014).

The current study filled this void by examining performance and reward expectations for men and women job applicants based on four categories of race/ethnicity (white, African-American, Latino, Asian) and four categories of parenthood status (childless, nominal parent, less involved parent, highly involved parent). According to Expectation States Theory, people's status characteristics, such as their race, gender, and parental status, can consequentially inform others' expectations of and for them, including both how they are expected to perform and how they should be rewarded. Outside of the experimental setting, expectations about behaviors and rewards established, in part, by status characteristics then influence actual opportunities for people to behave in ways that are in accordance with the expectations established. In a self-fulfilling cycle, the theory effectively posits that higher expectations yield better performance and ultimately better rewards whereas lower expectations yield the opposite. For this reason, it is critical to study not only people's outcomes, including their wages, but to assess how perceptions and expectations of people vary by central status characteristics in an effort to understand how the two may be linked.

Expectations documented here suggest three perceptual phenomena that privilege some groups of parents over others in terms of how well they are expected to perform and be rewarded: a perceptual premium for childless Black men and Asian mothers and a perceptual penalty for highly involved white mothers.

For African-American men, the observed perceptual premium for the childless applicant may derive, paradoxically, from enduring cultural stereotypes about the “deadbeat dad” (Furstenberg 1988; Tamis-Lemonda and McFadden 2010); this image of an irresponsible minority father who shirks paternal obligations is common in popular culture (Douglas 2003), despite social scientific evidence to the contrary (Jones and Mosher 2013; Wingfield 2012). The engrained image of the irresponsible, nonresident Black father may have pervaded respondents’, and especially minority respondents’ (see Figure 4.3), thinking and affected their expectations accordingly.¹⁶

The explanation may be somewhat more complex, however, in that it was not that expectations of Black fathers were necessarily that different from expectations of fathers of other races; but instead that Black childless men were especially well-regarded. In this way, respondents may have still drawn on the deadbeat dad stereotype when evaluating the childless man, effectively rewarding the Black childless applicant for *not* being a father. In other words, respondents may have interpreted the married childless Black men as atypical; unlike the other men, Black men have been seen as responsible for “avoiding” the “inevitability” of deadbeat dadhood. It is somewhat unclear why minority respondents would be more inclined to reward childlessness among the African-American candidates (Table 4.3 and Figures 4.3). It could be that minority respondents, specifically Black respondents, are more familiar with and frequently exposed to such stereotypes, rendering them more salient and likely to be drawn on in evaluative settings like this.

¹⁶ Recent research casts doubt on the stereotype that African-American fathers are less involved with their children than fathers from other racial groups (Jones and Mosher 2013). The study from the National Center for Health Statistics using 2006-2010 National Survey of Family Growth data found that non-Hispanic Black fathers, in fact, spent *more* time in certain activities with their children than men of other races, including feeding them, dressing them, transporting them, and helping them with homework, regardless of residential status.

For women, the analysis of the moderating role of applicant race shows greater variation. Indeed, just as Glenn (1994, p. 7) argues that “mothering is not just gendered, but also racialized,” I find that motherhood penalties may also be racialized. Results present evidence of a white motherhood penalty and an Asian motherhood premium. The former is in many ways a confirmation of existing knowledge; the latter is a newer and compelling insight into perceptions of parents by race in the workplace.

Given that most existing experimental research documenting a perceptual penalty for mothers has used ostensibly white women’s names in their instruments (e.g., “Ann Davis” in Etaugh and Folger 1998 or “Kate” in Cuddy et al. 2004), it is perhaps not surprising that we observe a similar penalty in the current study.¹⁷ The knowledge gained from the current study about this penalty, however, is that the perceptual motherhood penalty appears to be *strongest* for white women. In other words, without much evidence from racial comparison groups in existing studies, it was unknown whether the motherhood penalty observed in those studies was a function of the women’s motherhood status, racial status, or the intersection of the two. Results from the current study find that white mothers are faced with a ubiquitous perceptual penalty in the context of the professional workplace – both in terms of how they are perceived (lower performance *and* reward expectations) and by whom (white *and* minority respondents).

How do we account for white mothers’ perceptual penalty? We can speculate with at least two possible discrimination explanations. First, a statistical discrimination explanation would suggest that respondents evaluated the white mother applicant based on patterns observed of that group as a whole, using her group membership as a proxy for her expected individual behavior (Bielby and Baron 1986; Browne and Kennelly 1999; Kirschenman and Neckerman

¹⁷ This observed perceptual penalty is also in keeping with existing motherhood wage penalty research which finds that white mothers incur the greatest earnings penalty compared to African-American and Latina mothers (Glauber 2007).

1991). To the extent that respondents have observed white mothers as less hardworking, they may have based their performance and reward expectations on the statistical likelihood that the individual applicant's behavior would be consistent with the group behavior.¹⁸ There is some indirect evidence to support the claim that white mothers are more likely to exit the labor force than other women. Alon and Haberfield (2007) found that college-educated white women between the ages of 25 and 34 are less likely than African-American women and *more* likely than Latina women of the same age and educational background to be in the workforce. Although these data do not compare mothers specifically, given the age range, it does indirectly suggest that highly educated white women of childbearing age are less likely to be employed than some but not all categories of women in their age and educational brackets. Nevertheless, to the extent that sample respondents are aware of this information and/or have observed a similar pattern in their own workplace, they may have based their ratings of commitment and work ethic on the statistical likelihood that the individual applicant's behavior would be consistent with the group's (white mothers') average behavior and eventually pull back from the workforce.

Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, a normative discrimination explanation suggests that respondents rated highly involved white mothers less favorably based on beliefs about "appropriate" behavior for these women (Benard and Correll 2010). Based on this perspective, the thinking is that highly involved white mothers – i.e., good white mothers – should be at home

¹⁸ However in supplemental mediation analyses (data not shown), I did not find that expectations of mothers' behavior – in this case, lateness – mediated the relationship between high involvement and hardworking ratings for white women. (Notably, white nominal and highly involved mothers were expected to be late most often compared to their other-race counterparts, although the differences are not statistically significant). If respondents were engaging in statistical discrimination to make their comparatively poorer judgments of highly involved white mothers, we would expect that expectations about white mothers' lateness would partially or fully explain why they are seen as less hardworking and/or offered lower salaries. Although other work behaviors besides lateness, such as absenteeism or reducing work hours, could explain comparatively poor judgments of white mothers based on a statistical discrimination approach, it is surprising that lateness does very little to explain the relationship if respondents were engaging in statistical discrimination alone to make their evaluations.

with their children, not employed in the labor force. Content analyses of media products, such as magazines and advertisements, provide evidence of the devoted white mother as a pervasive cultural image. These studies find white women are both more likely to be portrayed in the domestic sphere than in the public sphere and are more likely to be portrayed as mothers than minority women (Johnston and Swanson 2003; Smith 2001). For example, Smith (2001) examined how white and minority women were portrayed in mass-market magazines. She found that white women were portrayed as workers and mothers but predominantly as mothers, whereas minority women were exclusively portrayed as workers. These studies reveal the omnipresent cultural image of the white mother whose suitable place is in the home, an image which may have penetrated respondents' thinking and influenced their evaluations.

The pervasive cultural image of the “good” white mother, although arguably oppressive to white women's advancement in the workforce, originated from a position of social privilege. Intersectional and feminist theorists of color point out that only white mothers are beholden to a homemaker image because there has historically only ever been a cultural imperative to “protect” white families (Dill 1988; Glenn 1994). Because, as Glenn (1994) argues, people of color were “incorporated into the United States largely to take advantage of their labor, there was little interest in preserving [their] family life” (p. 5). In contrast to white middle-class mothers, there was no cultural imperative to emphasize or exalt the mothering work of women of color because their family life was considered secondary to their work (for white families) in the public sector. Therefore, although the white motherhood penalty observed here is not itself a privileging phenomenon, it is important to recognize that the perceived incompatibility for white mothers between being a good mother and a good worker derives from their privileged social status.

In contrast to white mothers, Asian mothers experienced a perceptual premium and were, in many ways, evaluated more similarly to the men applicants than to the other women applicants. As illustration, Figure 4.8 shows the predicted salary offers for white men and women applicants and Asian men and women applicants. High involvement was associated with a salary offer increase for everyone but white women, for whom motherhood – highly involved or not – was associated with a decreased salary offer.

[Figure 4.8 about here]

The real life implications of these patterns are especially interesting given the high degree of racial homogamy in marriage in the U.S. (Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Kalmijn 1998). First, the gender disparity in salary offers for whites is consistent with existing wage research which finds the greatest gender earnings gaps among whites out of 19 racial/ethnic categories (Greenman and Xie, 2008). White mothers are being pushed out of the labor force (Stone 2007) while white fathers are being rewarded. In a highly problematic cycle, white women suffer from poorer performance and reward expectations, and indeed poorer objective rewards (i.e., wage penalties), ultimately being forced out of the labor force into being full-time at-home mothers and wives (Stone 2007) to the white fathers who are being rewarded for being involved with their children. This cycle perpetuates the cultural image of the “good mother” as the white housewife. All mothers – regardless of race or income level – feel the effects of inhospitable workplaces that do very little to accommodate the needs of their family lives; yet, it is professional white women most likely to be married to professional white men and, thus, most able to quote-unquote “opt out” of the workforce (Stone 2007). Thus, the rewarding of white men for being fathers and the penalizing of white women for being mothers further feeds the narrative that “good” white mothers stay at home and out of the labor force.

Much less work has been done in the work-family literature on the experiences and perceptions of Asians, men or women. Asian women stand out in this study for being seen as more hardworking and deserving of greater rewards, consistent in many ways with the also pervasive “model minority” stereotypes.¹⁹ Again, given the high degree of racial homogamy in marriage in the U.S., the relatively high performance and reward expectations held for Asian men and women may have interesting implications for the status of Asian-Americans in the professional sector. If Asian mothers, in particular, are seen simultaneously as good mothers *and* good workers, or that one begets the other, they could one day be the women leading the charge to the upper echelons of the corporate structure where women continue to be disproportionately outnumbered (Reskin and Padavic 2002; Stone 2007).²⁰

The perceptual penalties and premiums observed in this study support sociologists and feminist theorists who caution against conceiving of statuses, and their attendant dis/advantages, in purely additive terms (McCall 2001; Greenman and Xie 2008). As Wingfield (2012) notes in her interview study of Black professional men, it is vital to theorize and empirically examine multi-status interactions, and be especially sensitive to the effects of social context (here, the professional workplace), rather than rely on assumptions about relative disadvantage based on an additive status approach given that “the subtle machinations of power, domination, and subordination work in complex ways for various groups” (p. 3).

The overall goal of this study was to better understand how parenthood is perceived in the context of the professional workplace by race and ethnicity. Existing research tells us that

¹⁹ Wage analyses of Asian-American women point to conflicting conclusions. Greenman (2011) finds that Asian women are advantaged in the U.S. labor force relative to white women, whereas Kim and Zhao (2014) argue that previous studies were inadequately specified and find no relative advantage for Asian women once field of study, college type, and region of residence are taken into consideration.

²⁰ Cohen and Huffman (2007) find that greater representation of women in high-status managerial positions is related to a narrowed gender wage gap.

earnings and perceptions of parents vary – sometimes considerably – by gender but tells us little about how those perceptions vary by race/ethnicity, a social location characteristic whose significance for workplace outcomes cannot be underestimated. Acknowledging that parents may be perceived – and ultimately, rewarded – differently based on their race, gender, *and* parental statuses and then empirically assessing those perceptions to unravel who enjoys perceptual premiums and who suffers perceptual penalties in the professional workplace provides additional support for the theoretical premise that social statuses interlock in subtle, complex, and context-dependent ways to affect workplace outcomes.

Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics for Dependent Variables and Controls, by Applicant Gender

	Men Applicants		Women Applicants			Significant Difference
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	
<u>Dependent Variables</u>						
<i>Performance Expectations</i>						
Hardworking	3.78	0.77	3.78	0.77	1 - 5	
Late Days	1.78	0.92	1.86	0.92	1 - 5	**
<i>Reward Expectations</i>						
Hire	3.71	0.85	3.71	0.85	1 - 5	
Salary	2.12	1.06	2.12	1.06	1 - 5	
<u>Respondent Characteristics</u>						
<i>Race</i>						
White	0.67	0.47	0.67	0.47	0 - 1	
African-American	0.10	0.32	0.11	0.32	0 - 1	
Latino	0.15	0.35	0.14	0.35	0 - 1	
Other	0.08	0.27	0.08	0.27	0 - 1	
Parental Status (1=parent)	0.40	0.49	0.39	0.49	0 - 1	
Gender (1=female)	0.47	0.50	0.47	0.50	0 - 1	
Age	41.52	12.59	41.40	12.59	18 - 65	
<i>Education</i>						
Some High School	0.08	0.27	0.08	0.27	0 - 1	
High School Diploma	0.27	0.44	0.27	0.44	0 - 1	
Some College	0.30	0.46	0.31	0.46	0 - 1	
College Degree	0.35	0.48	0.34	0.48	0 - 1	
<i>Marital Status</i>						
Married	0.58	0.50	0.55	0.50	0 - 1	
Divorced/Separated	0.10	0.31	0.11	0.31	0 - 1	
Never Married	0.21	0.42	0.23	0.42	0 - 1	
Widow	0.01	0.12	0.02	0.12	0 - 1	
Cohabiting	0.11	0.29	0.10	0.29	0 - 1	
<i>Occupational Sector</i>						
White-Collar	0.53	0.50	0.56	0.50	0 - 1	*
Blue-Collar	0.31	0.48	0.36	0.48	0 - 1	***
Other	0.16	0.27	0.08	0.27	0 - 1	***
Self-Employed (1=yes)	0.11	0.32	0.11	0.32	0 - 1	
<i>Region</i>						
Northwest	0.18	0.39	0.18	0.39	0 - 1	
Midwest	0.22	0.42	0.22	0.42	0 - 1	
South	0.37	0.48	0.37	0.48	0 - 1	
West	0.23	0.42	0.23	0.42	0 - 1	
N	2,250		2,046			

Note: Percentages and means are weighted.

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 4.2. Performance and Reward Expectation Items Regressed on Interaction between Applicant Race and Parenthood Status with Controls for Men Applicants

	Performance Expectations		Reward Expectations	
	Hardwork	Late	Hire	Salary
<u>Applicant Race x Parenthood Status¹</u>				
White x Nominal	-0.06	0.24	-0.09	-0.13
White x Less Involved	0.04	0.16	0.12	0.18
White x Highly Involved	0.05	-0.07	-0.08	-0.11
Black x Nominal	-0.30 *	0.12	-0.22	-0.09
Black x Less Involved	-0.11	0.36	-0.08	-0.25
Black x Highly Involved	-0.29	0.24	-0.36 *	-0.37
Latino x Nominal	-0.09	0.27	0.07	-0.10
Latino x Less Involved	-0.10	0.32	0.00	-0.22
Latino x Highly Involved	-0.21	0.19	-0.09	-0.37
N	2,236	2,221	2,221	2,218
R-squared	0.07	0.06	0.08	0.06

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Note: Data are weighted. Models control for participant race, parental status, gender, age, education, marital status, occupational sector, self-employment status, and region

¹ Asian and childless serve as the reference categories

Table 4.3 Performance and Reward Expectation Items Regressed on Interaction among Applicant Race, Applicant Parenthood Status, and Respondent Race with Controls for Men Applicants

	Performance Expectations		Reward Expectations	
	Hardwork	Late	Hire	Salary
<u>Applicant Race x Parenthood Status x Respondent Race¹</u>				
White x Nominal x Nonwhite	-0.59	-0.39	-0.50	-0.27
White x Less Involved x Nonwhite	-0.01	-0.35	-0.07	-0.78
White x Highly Involved x Nonwhite	0.13	-0.91 *	-0.36	-0.31
Black x Nominal x Nonwhite	-1.21 ***	-0.40	-0.91 *	0.22
Black x Less Involved x Nonwhite	-0.32	-0.28	-0.75 *	-0.57
Black x Highly Involved x Nonwhite	-0.75 *	-0.05	-0.95 *	0.08
Latino x Nominal x Nonwhite	-0.33	-0.38	0.03	-0.26
Latino x Less Involved x Nonwhite	0.53	-0.07	-0.15	-0.50
Latino x Highly Involved x Nonwhite	-0.21	-0.71	-0.07	-0.12
N	2236	2221	2221	2218
R-squared	0.09	0.07	0.08	0.07

¹ Asian applicant, childless applicant, and white respondent serve as the reference categories

Note: Showing weighted coefficients from models controlling for participant parental status, gender, age, education, marital status, occupational sector, self-employment status, and region

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 4.4. Performance and Reward Expectation Items Regressed on Interaction between Applicant Race and Parenthood Status with Controls for Women Applicants

	Performance Expectations		Reward Expectations	
	Hardwork	Late	Hire	Salary
<u>Applicant Race x Parenthood Status¹</u>				
White x Nominal	-0.25	0.22	-0.28	-0.35
White x Less Involved	-0.19	-0.09	0.06	-0.31
White x Highly Involved	-0.64 ***	0.33	-0.25	-0.46 *
Black x Nominal	-0.28	0.03	-0.24	-0.39
Black x Less Involved	-0.26	0.21	-0.07	-0.12
Black x Highly Involved	-0.40 *	0.25	-0.19	-0.21
Latina x Nominal	-0.40 *	0.16	-0.43 *	-0.18
Latina x Less Involved	-0.47 *	0.05	-0.26	0.12
Latina x Highly Involved	-0.63 **	0.30	-0.57 **	0.08
N	2,024	2,019	2,019	2,014
R-squared	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.04

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Note: Data are weighted. Models control for participant race, parental status, gender, age, education, marital status, occupational sector, self-employment status, and region

¹ Asian and childless serve as the reference categories

Table 4.5 Performance and Reward Expectation Items Regressed on Interaction among Applicant Race, Applicant Parenthood Status, and Respondent Race with Controls for Women Applicants

	Performance Expectations		Reward Expectations	
	Hardwork	Late	Hire	Salary
<u>Applicant Race x Parenthood Status x Respondent Race¹</u>				
White x Nominal x Nonwhite	0.04	-0.08	-0.26	-0.22
White x Less Involved x Nonwhite	0.33	0.23	0.87	0.54
White x Highly Involved x Nonwhite	-0.91 *	0.97 *	-0.12	0.62
Black x Nominal x Nonwhite	0.24	0.06	0.13	-0.46
Black x Less Involved x Nonwhite	0.10	0.30	0.14	-0.22
Black x Highly Involved x Nonwhite	-0.33	0.12	-0.71	0.03
Latino x Nominal x Nonwhite	-0.30	0.52	-0.60	-0.85
Latino x Less Involved x Nonwhite	-0.17	0.56	-0.09	-0.50
Latino x Highly Involved x Nonwhite	-0.38	1.16 **	-0.43	-0.56
N	2,024	2,019	2,019	2,014
R-squared	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.05

¹ Asian applicant, childless applicant, and white respondent serve as the reference categories

Note: Showing weighted coefficients from models controlling for participant parental status, gender, age, education, marital status, occupational sector, self-employment status, and region

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Figure 4.1 Predicted Salary Offer for Men Applicants by Fatherhood Status and Race

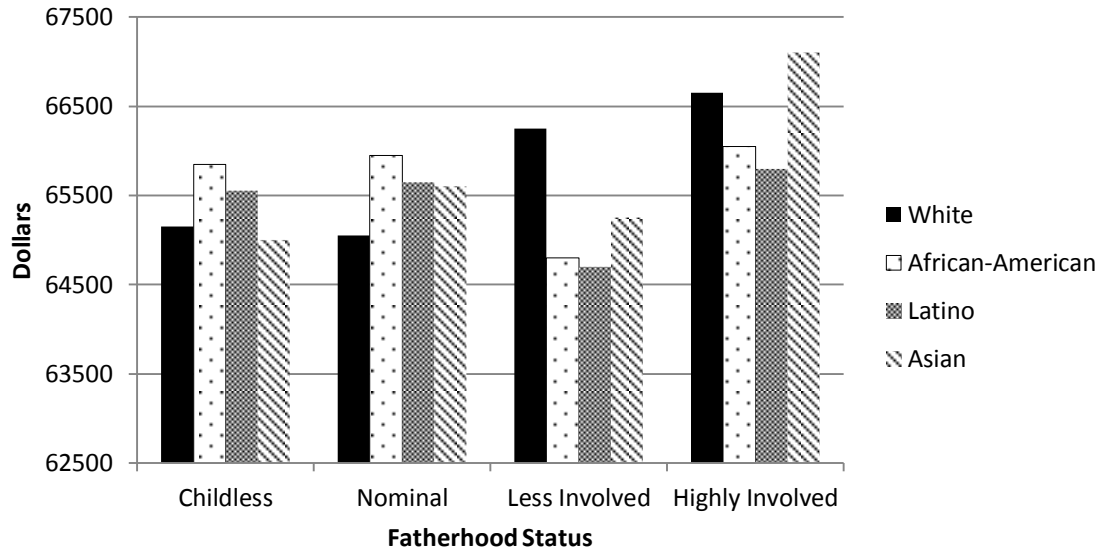


Figure 4.2 Predicted Hardworking Ratings by Fatherhood Status for African-American and Asian Men Applicants

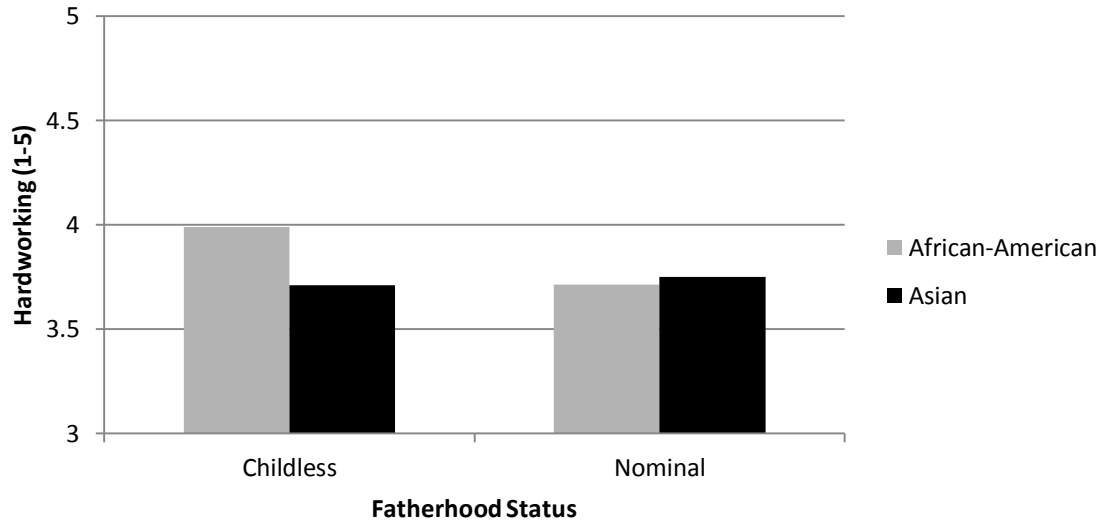


Figure 4.3 Predicted Hardworking Ratings for African-American Men Applicants by Fatherhood Status and Respondent Race

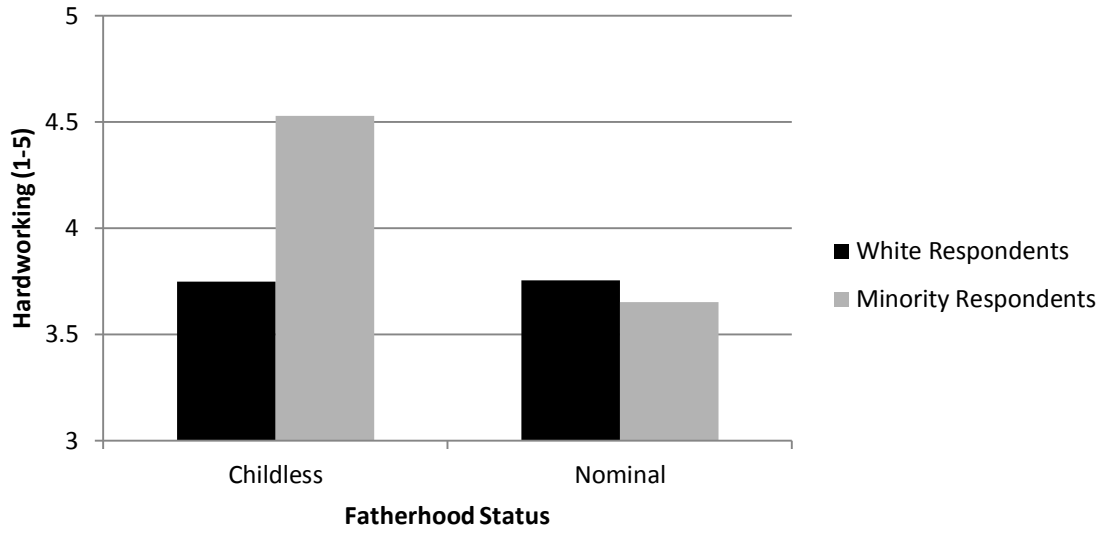


Figure 4.4 Predicted Hardworking Ratings by Motherhood Status for White and Asian Women Applicants

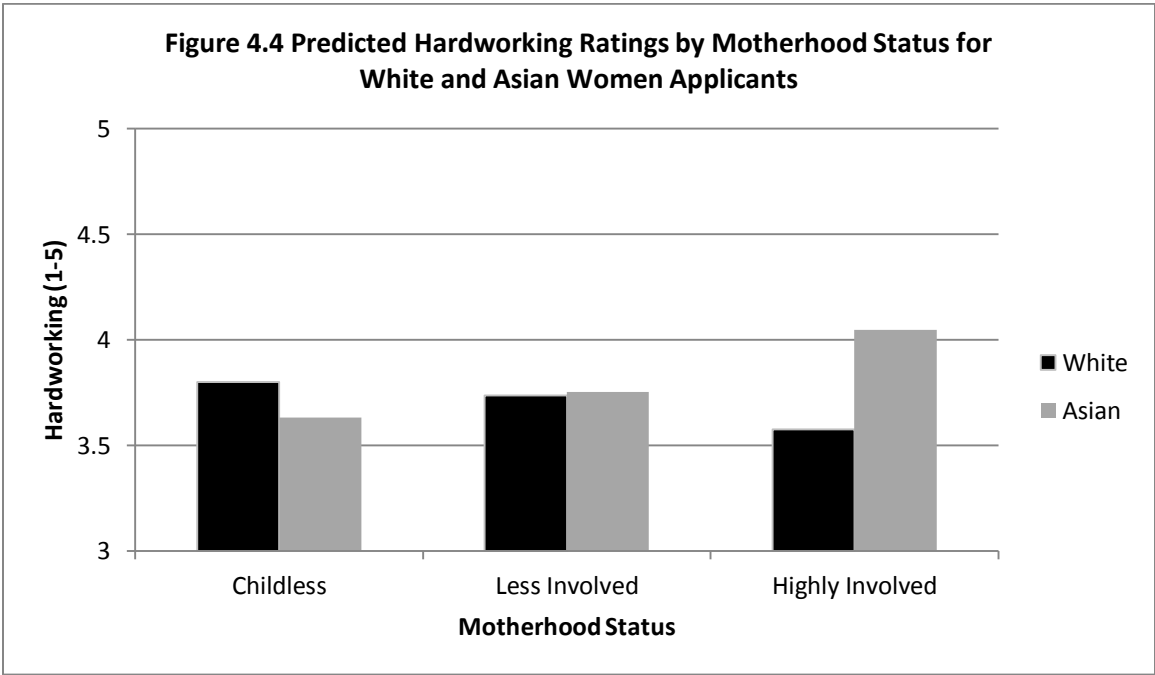


Figure 4.5 Predicted Salary Offer by Motherhood Status for White and Asian Women Applicants

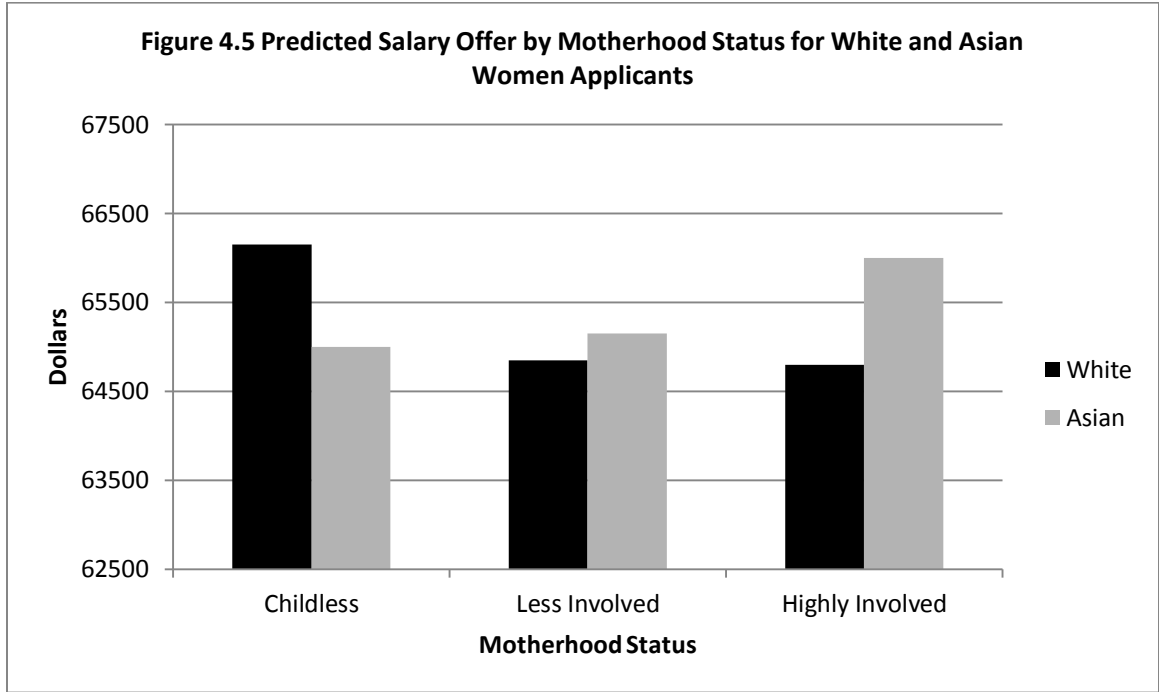
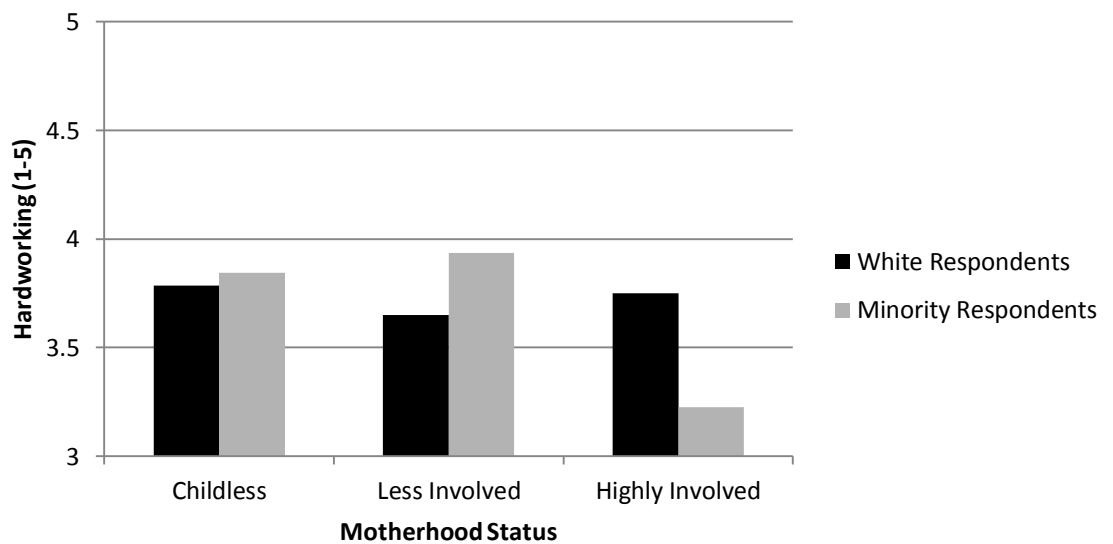


Figure 4.6 Predicted Hardworking Ratings for White Women Applicants by Motherhood Status and Respondent Race



**Figure 4.7 Predicted Salary Offer for White Women Applicants by
Motherhood Status and Respondent Race**

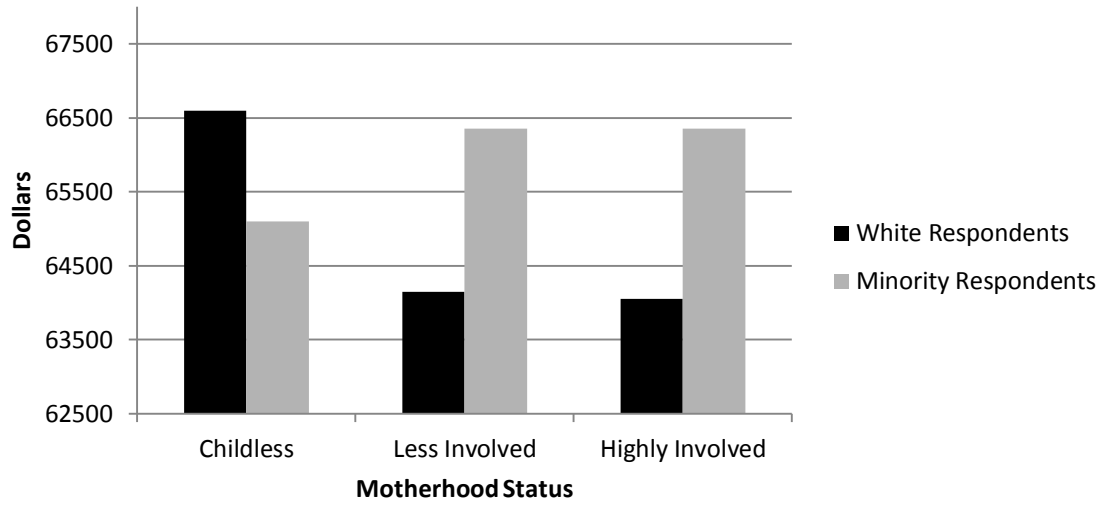


Figure 4.8 Predicted Salary Offer for White Men and Women Applicants and Asian Men and Women Applicants

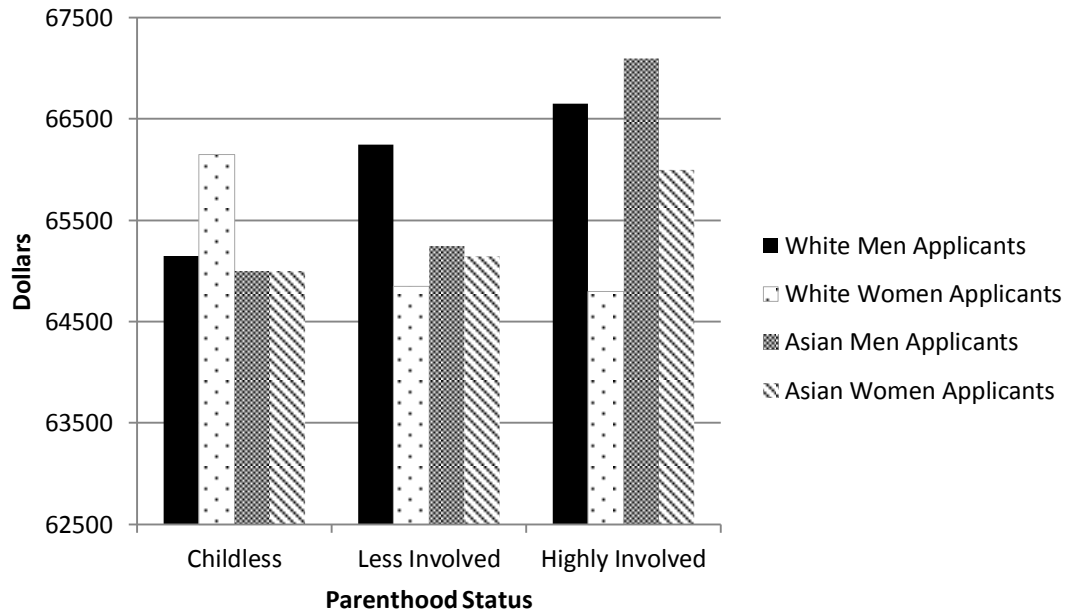


Table A.2 Performance and Reward Expectations Regressed on Applicant Parenthood Status by Race with Controls, by Applicant Gender

	Men Applicants				Women Applicants			
	Hard-working	Late Days	Hire	Salary	Hard-working	Late Days	Hire	Salary
All¹								
White	0.03	-0.02	-0.08	0.01	-0.10	0.13	-0.07	-0.06
African-American	0.10	-0.07	0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.08	-0.09	-0.06
Latino	0.09	-0.05	-0.08	-0.06	-0.01	0.04	-0.06	0.08
All¹								
Nominal	-0.07	0.10	-0.09	0.03	-0.05	0.20**	-0.10	0.02
Less Involved	-0.17**	0.16**	-0.35***	-0.03	-0.10	0.18*	-0.23***	-0.03
Highly Involved	0.01	0.13*	0.03	0.20*	0.00	0.44***	-0.09	0.05
White¹								
Nominal	-0.03	0.17	-0.13	-0.02	-0.07	0.31*	-0.14	-0.10
Less Involved	-0.09	0.13	-0.24*	0.21	-0.05	0.05	-0.11	-0.24
Highly Involved	0.17	-0.03	0.09	0.28	-0.20	0.55***	-0.08	-0.22
African-American¹								
Nominal	-0.26*	0.06	-0.23*	0.02	-0.09	0.10	-0.08	-0.17
Less Involved	-0.23*	0.31*	-0.42***	-0.21	-0.19	0.37*	-0.25*	-0.06
Highly Involved	-0.15	0.27*	-0.17	0.05	0.03	0.43**	0.01	-0.06
Latino¹								
Nominal	-0.05	0.20	0.03	-0.06	-0.25*	0.28*	-0.31**	0.12
Less Involved	-0.23*	0.28*	-0.37**	-0.20	-0.35**	0.20	-0.41**	0.23
Highly Involved	-0.08	0.22*	0.05	-0.02	-0.18	0.49***	-0.38**	0.32
Asian¹								
Nominal	0.05	-0.08	-0.02	0.12	0.18	0.05	0.12	0.22
Less Involved	-0.13	-0.04	-0.35**	0.06	0.12	0.09	-0.16	0.04
Highly Involved	0.11	0.03	0.18	0.42**	0.38**	0.21	0.14	0.24

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Note: Showing weighted coefficients from models controlling for participant race, parental status, gender, age, education, marital status, occupational sector, self-employment status, and region

¹Asian applicants and childless applicants serve as the reference categories

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