Gender, Marital Status, and Hiring Practices in the United States

by

Olivia Hu

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Professor Marti G. Subrahmanyam	Professor Vishal Singh
Faculty Adviser	Thesis Adviser

ABSTRACT

Our personal and professional lives do not exist in separate spheres. In the same way that employee parenthood status has been linked to wage premiums for men and wage penalties for women, a job candidate's marital status may affect how he/she is perceived in the interview process. This study examines whether marital status affects men and women differently during the initial stages of hiring; specifically, we evaluate how 341 experiment participants rate hypothetical candidates differently on three measures: (1) interview chances, (2) competency, and (3) job fit. The hypothetical candidates are either male or female, married or single, and applying for either a male-typed job or a female-typed job. We find that for measure (2) competency, respondents preferred married candidates for the female-typed job and single candidates for the male-typed job. We also found surprising results regarding the influence of respondent political orientation on measures (1) and (3). Both liberal and conservative respondents preferred married male candidates over single male candidates. For female applicants, however, we see a different pattern: liberal participants rated single women higher than married women and conservative participants rated married women higher than single women. These results contribute to a growing cosmos of literature surrounding gender and work. This paper seeks to examine the results in the context of existing research, as well as to identify ways in which this study can be improved upon to achieve more widely applicable and actionable findings.

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I. INTRODUCTION

At the NYU Stern School of Business, a management professor shared a story with my undergraduate class: his male colleague, Jack, had purposely decided to purchase and wear a wedding ring to his job interview. This decision would not have warranted much suspicion from my classmates had Jack actually been married; however, he was as single as a 30-something bachelor could possibly be. He did not have a girlfriend, let alone a wife.

Although hiring discrimination on the basis of marital status is not forbidden by Federal law, almost half of the states and Washington D.C. prohibit this form of discrimination ("What is Marital Status Discrimination?"). Why, then, would Jack purposely go out of his way to appear married instead of unmarried? Why would he *not* want his marital status to remain undisclosed or ambiguous?

A quick Google search for "Should I wear a wedding ring to my job interview?" generates approximately 8.38 million results ranging from management websites to discussion boards. Many of these web pages provide anecdotal support to bolster arguments for either "yes" or "no", while some even cite recent sociological studies as evidence for their positions. From this search, two general sentiments emerge: (1) marriage appears to hurt a woman's hiring prospects and (2) marriage appears to help a man's hiring prospects. This thesis will examine whether or not the above two statements are true.

The relationship between marital status and candidate appeal becomes particularly complex when gender is injected into the analysis. American sociocultural norms, stereotypes, and expectations regarding the traditional nuclear household are likely recalled by employers during the hiring process, whether the recall is conscious or not. While some may argue that there are legitimate concerns associated with hiring married women, as well as legitimate benefits

associated with hiring married men, adherence to these unsubstantiated biases is hardly ever the most effective way to source talent. American human resource ("HR") departments may be running the risk of unnecessarily shrinking their applicant pools and thereby forgoing opportunities to hire invaluable men and women for their companies.

In this paper, we will first examine gender theory, as well as historical trends in marriage and women's labor force participation in the United States. We will then study the economic justifications for traditional household labor division and its implications for employer hiring decisions. The crux of this thesis focuses on analyzing primary survey data that we have collected in a controlled experiment testing for marriage biases in applicant screening. Finally, we will conclude with study limitations and applications, as well as suggestions for further research.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

II.I *Gender Theory*

There is an ever-growing cosmos of information about gender. Below, the American Psychological Association defines *gender* and *sex*:

- *Gender* encompasses "the attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that a given culture associates with a person's biological sex"
- *Sex* is "a person's biological status [indicated by] biological sex, including sex chromosomes, gonads, internal reproductive organs, and external genitalia"

There is generally no difference between sex and gender for those who subscribe to essentialism, whereas there is a defined separation between sex and gender for those who subscribe to social

constructionism ("Practice Guidelines for LGB Clients"). While scholars have developed many gender theories, we will focus on understanding only these two for the purpose of this paper.

Gender essentialists are more likely than social constructionists to believe that women are naturally nurturing and therefore better suited to childcare than men. Essentialists are also more likely to champion the traditional household division of labor wherein the husband earns one-hundred percent of the family income and the wife performs all of the homemaking duties. In "Essentialism in Everyday Thought," Dr. Susan A. Gelman writes, "Essentialism is the view that certain categories (e.g., women) have an underlying reality or true nature that one cannot observe directly…the underlying reality (or 'essence') is thought to give objects their identity, and to be responsible for similarities that category members share." Historically, womanhood has been perceived as a natural condition tied to childbirth. When a social characteristic is attributed to biology, it is perceived as inevitable, inflexible, and natural. Essentialists often use women's reproductive capacity, coupled with their historical commitment to childrearing, as an explanation for gender differences in the labor market and by extension, a partial justification for gender inequality.

Gelman explains that essentialism is often used as a reasoning heuristic ("Essentialism in Everyday Thought"). It is more convenient to attribute behaviors to well-defined and mutually exclusive categorical traits than it is to attribute behaviors to a multitude of complex social factors. Unfortunately, however, there are many dangers associated with essentialism. If, for example, an HR associate believes that the current gender wage gap is a result of natural differences in ability, s/he may perceive this as evidence of a fair status quo.

Research suggests that gender biases can often be traced to essentialist thinking. In a 1992 study, sociologists determined that when both male and female leaders were portrayed as uncaring autocrats, the female leaders were at a more substantial disadvantage than their male counterparts. The researchers argue that this difference in perception can be attributed to the violation of a gender stereotype, namely, the common belief that women are naturally more caring than men (Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 557).

Very few people would dare say that men and women are precisely the same; some experts argue, however, that across many variables, the actual difference between the genders is quite small compared with the *perceived* difference. Dr. Janet Shibley Hyde interpreted 46 meta-analyses and 124 effect sizes comparing males and females on a number of different characteristics. Approximately 30% of the effect sizes fell between 0 and 0.10 and 48% of the effect sizes fell between 0.11 and 0.35, indicating trivial and small differences between males and females on a host of measures (Hyde 375).

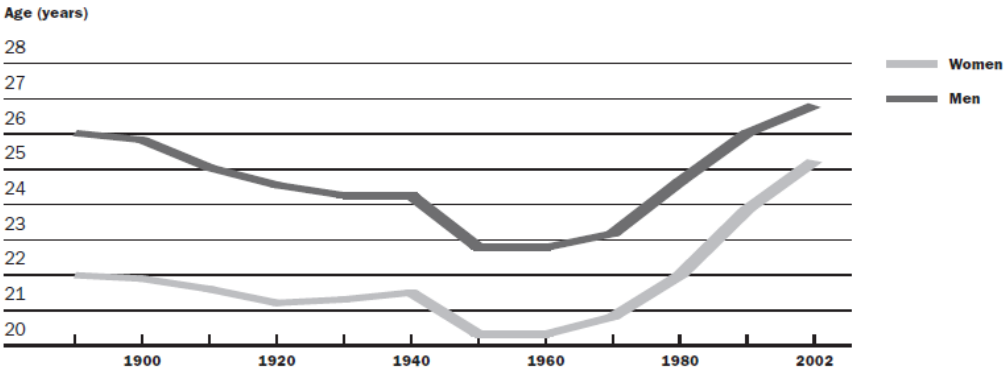
Cultural anthropologist Gayle Rubin explains that gender stereotypes exist despite these findings because there is "a taboo against the sameness of men and women" (39). Social constructionism seeks to break this taboo by separating gender from sex and focusing on the social factors that contribute to gender performance. This framework rests on the belief that there is "no essential, universally distinct character that is masculine or feminine." Instead, behaviors are shaped by factors like class and culture. Social constructionist theory can be used in part to explain why boys living in traditional families tend to aspire to masculine occupations, while daughters of mothers who work in male-dominated jobs tend to aspire to less sex-typical careers (Polavieja and Platt 49). If the gender essentialist view were to hold for career aspirations, then a child's

household makeup should not theoretically affect his/her propensities toward certain occupations. If females are really biologically wired to nurture, we should expect all girls to reject gender-atypical careers and aspire to homemaking.

Although much of the examined research supports social constructionism, this paper does not seek to entirely dismiss the importance of biology in shaping gender. It is critical, however, to recognize that "a biological female is not automatically a woman, nor is a male automatically a man" (Matthaei 198). Not every human behavior may be linked directly to a genetic cause, as genes interact with the environment in very complex ways in order to bring about a wide range of attitudes and behaviors. Dr. Cecilia Ridgeway explains, "Whatever biology contributes… it never acts alone, but in concert with a wide variety of social processes" (20). Both hard science and social science must be examined in order to understand the existence, and more importantly, the *persistence*, of gender in our society.

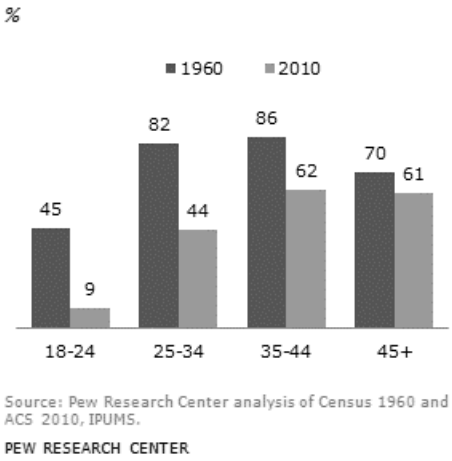
II.II *Historical Trends in Marriage*

GRAPH I. MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE, 1890-2002 (Cherlin 35)



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Estimated Median Age at First Marriage, by Sex: 1890 to Present," 2003, www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/tabMS-2.pdf (accessed July 23, 2004).

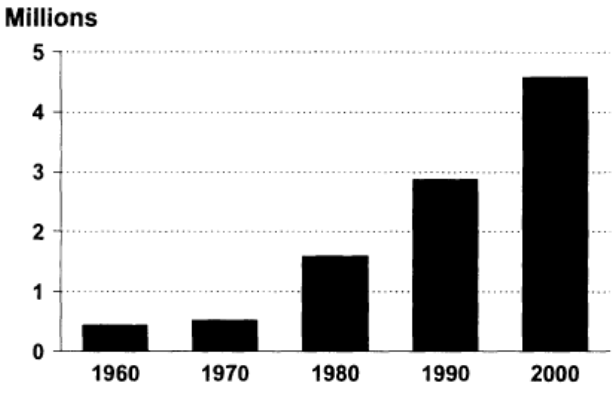
GRAPH II. SHARE CURRENTLY MARRIED BY AGE, 1960-2010 (Cohn, "Barely Half of U.S. Adults Are Married – A Record Low")



In the United States, first marriage rates have been declining since the end of World War II (Espenshade 205). Women at all education levels are marrying substantially later today than they have in the past (see Graphs I-II, above). Furthermore, the meaning of marriage has also shifted in the last half-century. Up until the late 1900s, any respectable person would have been married because remaining single through adulthood was considered socially suspect.

The primary reason for marriage had been practical and romance was often a secondary consideration for couples. Sociologist Andrew Cherlin explains a contemporary departure from this view of matrimony: "The rewards of marriage today are more individualized. Being married is less a required adult role and more an individual achievement—a symbol of successful self-development" (49). Remaining married, then, must also be regarded as an achievement, given that the divorce rate in America is approximately 50% (Espenshade 194). There was a sharp increase in divorces during the 1970s, but the rate has remained relatively steady since then (Teachman, Tedrow, and Crowder 1235).

GRAPH III. U.S. COHABITING COUPLES, 1960-2000 (Seltzer 922)



Sources: Glick & Norton, 1979, Table 17; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000, Table 57; U.S. Bureau of the Census, www.census.gov, 2004, Table QT-P18.

While marriage rates have decreased, cohabitation has increased (see Graph III, above). Young adults cohabit with partners as either alternatives to legal marriage or, more commonly, as trial marriages. About 4.6 million US households are maintained by heterosexual cohabiting couples, of which half eventually marry (Seltzer 922). Interestingly, however, the percentage of cohabiting couples who eventually marry one another has been steadily decreasing in the United States (Seltzer 925). Young men and women consider cohabitation a step towards marriage, but marriage need not be the end result of each cohabitation experience.

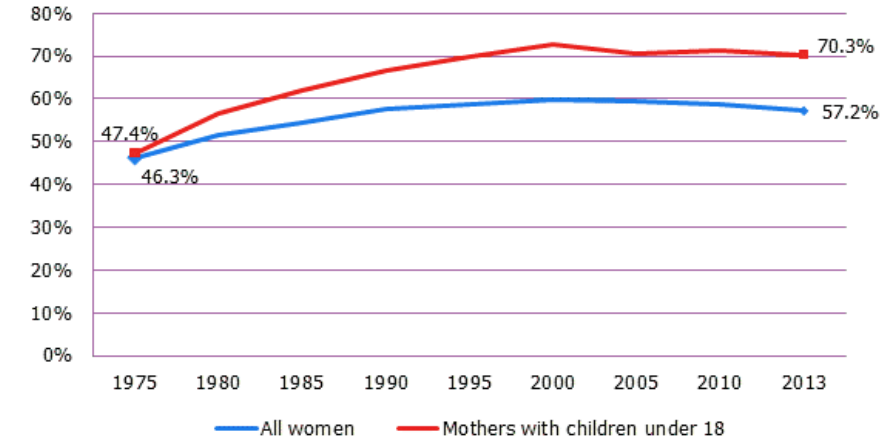
Given these trends, the importance of marriage appears to be decreasing in the United States. Younger men and women are increasingly choosing to participate in cohabiting unions in lieu of marriage and the United States has one of the highest divorce rates of any developed nation. Compared with most other Western countries, however, marriage is both more prevalent and more important in America. Some sociologists even believe that the symbolic significance of marriage is increasing in the United States (Cherlin 41).

Because the cultural importance of marriage is unlikely to disappear soon, we must examine how our perception of marriage and married employees affect judgments in the workplace. According to management consultant Fons Trompenaars, cultures are either more "specific" or more "diffuse" (Babel Group). Trompenaars would consider the United States a "specific" country in which people are encouraged by social norms to keep private lives and professional lives separate; however, the personal and the professional hardly ever exist independently in reality. Our cultural beliefs about the personal realm (e.g., marriage, childrearing, gender roles) will likely influence our behaviors in the professional realm (e.g., hiring practices, performance evaluations, promotions).

II.III *Women's Labor Force Participation*

Over half of all adult women are currently employed in the United States (Desai, Chugh, and Brief 331). Since the mid-1900s, women's labor force participation ("LFP") has increased dramatically; specifically, married white women's LFP saw a significant incline between 1950 and 1990 (Fernandez 472, see Graph IV, below). Approximately 75% of working women currently hold full-time jobs and American families are becoming more dependent on wives' incomes as a result (Desai, Chugh, and Brief 331). More remarkably, mothers have been joining the workforce in swelling numbers. In 1960, 1980, and 2009, the percentages of married women with children under 18 occupied in paid employment were 27.6%, 54.1%, and 69.8%, respectively (Alger and Crowley 78). Although the LFP gender gap has not noticeably narrowed since 2000, there have been significant changes in the work landscape since World War II.

GRAPH IV. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, 1975-2013 ("Women's Bureau: Women and Families")



Note: Participation rates for all women are 1975-2013 annual averages; participation rates for mothers with children under 18 are for March 1975-2013

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey (CPS)/ Graph by the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor

Historically, there was a rigid division of labor within each household. Because men were fully responsible for providing family income, there were very few women working for pay. Often, marriage would be postponed until the man's earnings were high enough to keep his wife at home. If an adult male could not earn enough money to support his family, his wife would need to provide supplementary household income. In these cases, the male adult was perceived to be less of a man because he could not properly perform hegemonic masculinity (Matthaei 199).

Whereas LFP signified adulthood for men, it characterized adolescence, widowhood, or failure for women. Economist Julie Matthaei argues that women's LFP did not actually challenge the ideal of domestic womanhood during the first half of the 20th century; rather, it reinforced gender roles. A woman who worked was perceived as a failure because she could not "keep a manly husband." These employed women were not "rejecting homemaking and traditional womanhood, but simply trying to extend or supplement it" because their family units could not afford to adhere to societal gender expectations (Matthaei 201).

Husbands therefore remained the breadwinners of American families and women would take on only part-time/seasonal opportunities out of necessity. Wives often accepted lower-paying service jobs that coincided with the popular belief that women were better suited to domestic tasks. Despite earning supplementary wages, women did not share household responsibilities with their husbands because these were still duties exclusive to wives. The jobs that female workers occupied eventually become known as "women's jobs" because "all but the most oppressed men refused such jobs, for they failed to offer the financial rewards or social recognition required for manhood" (Matthaei 199). It is important to note, however, that women were not actively fighting for, or even remotely interested in, taking on men's work during this time (Matthaei 199).

Many economic, legal, and social changes have taken place since the beginning of the 20th century. World War II created millions of jobs for women in the domestic workplace, as well as hundreds of thousands of opportunities in the military ("Partners in Winning the War"). As the higher education of women became less stigmatized, more female students sought college degrees. Coupled with a markedly reduced birth rate (due in part to medical advances such as improved female contraceptive methods), increased education qualified women for roles beyond the household. These trends increased the opportunity cost of staying at home for female adults.

The 1950s also saw the end of "marriage bars", which were policies that had been implemented at the turn of the 20th century to restrict married women from working in certain jobs (Goldin 1). Because marriage bars did not restrict lower-paid occupations, they had effectively discouraged women from attaining higher education for several decades preceding the two world wars. These marriage bars consisted either of (1) banning the hire of married women ("hire bar") or (2) terminating the employment of single women when they married ("retain bar"). Prior to the

Second World War, 87% of all school boards honored the hire bar and 70% honored the retain bar. By 1951, these numbers dropped to 18% and 10%, respectively (Goldin 6). In addition to structural changes in the economy that made it more difficult for households to survive on one income, the United States Congress also supported increased female LFP with the passage of the 1963 Equal Pay Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Regardless of these changes, there is still a substantial difference between men and women in the labor market. Women have moved more into male-dominated jobs than men have into female-dominated jobs. Because women's work has historically been regarded as less prestigious, male workers have had less of an incentive to enter gender-nontraditional industries (England, "The Gender Revolution: Uneven and Stalled" 151). Dr. Paula England explains, "There was nowhere near one man leaving the labor force to become a full-time homemaker for every woman who entered, nor did men pick up household work to the extent women added hours of employment" ("The Gender Revolution: Uneven and Stalled" 151). Women are still primarily responsible for household duties, despite earning as much as—or even *more* than—their male counterparts (Brines 664). As Matthaei explains, "The rise of the two-earner family does not in itself represent the disintegration of the sexual division of labor" (201). One would expect an increase in women's LFP to be complemented with a decrease in hours spent on domestic duties. This decrease should theoretically be offset by an increase in the husband's homemaking hours. The data show that this is far from the reality faced by most American families.

II.IV *Household Division of Labor*

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, approximately 20% of 2012 marriages are traditional marriages in which only the husband provides family income (Desai 331). For most American families—even dual-earner families—gender still decides the duties performed by husbands and wives. Both working women and nonworking women do more housework than men (Brines 682). When a wife is employed, the family only sees a very slight increase (1-2 hours per week) in the time the husband spends on domestic duties (Brines 653). For some families, an increase in the wife's income actually leads to a decrease in the husband's homemaking hours. In Arlie Hochschild and Anne Machung's ethnographic study, *The Second Shift,* the authors suggested that "the more severely a man's identity is financially threatened—by his wife's higher salary, for example—the less he can afford to threaten it further by doing 'women's work' at home" (221). On average, women spend 81% more time on housework. Women commit 29 hours each week to domestic duties, whereas men give only 16 hours. While men do spend more time on outdoor work, auto maintenance, and other "masculine" typed housework, the total time spent on these tasks is significantly less than the hours required of "feminine" housework like cleaning, meal preparation, and laundry (Schneider 1045).

Dr. Julie Brines believes that the benefits derived by male and female parties are unequal in this traditional give-and-take relationship because housework does not have any exchange value. It carries no significance beyond the specific home in which the woman performs these tasks. Brines writes, "This difference in the fungibility of resources allows for the emergence of an unequal exchange relation between two parties" (656). Whereas income can be exchanged for goods and services on the market, housework is illiquid and therefore renders women dependent upon their husbands for even the most basic necessities.

Despite these inequities, a division of labor should theoretically be efficient because specialization leads to increased productivity and greater overall income for the family unit. American women have taken on household *reproduction* because it was believed that they had a natural comparative advantage in childcare. Because men have exclusively carried out household *production* until recent decades, they generally receive broader technical training as well as more social encouragement for career advancement. Some experts suggest that many women underinvest in earnings-specific human capital because they do not receive as much social support throughout both childhood and adulthood to pursue wage-earning careers (Badgett and Folbre 295)

Despite this difference in male and female social norms, a greater number of educated women are opting to pursue lifelong careers in lieu of part-time work. Consistent with household economics, a wife's opportunity cost of staying home increases when she is qualified to earn more. Unfortunately, however, these working women face many personal and professional dilemmas due to the persistence of gendered household expectations. Sociologist Dr. Kathleen Gerson writes:

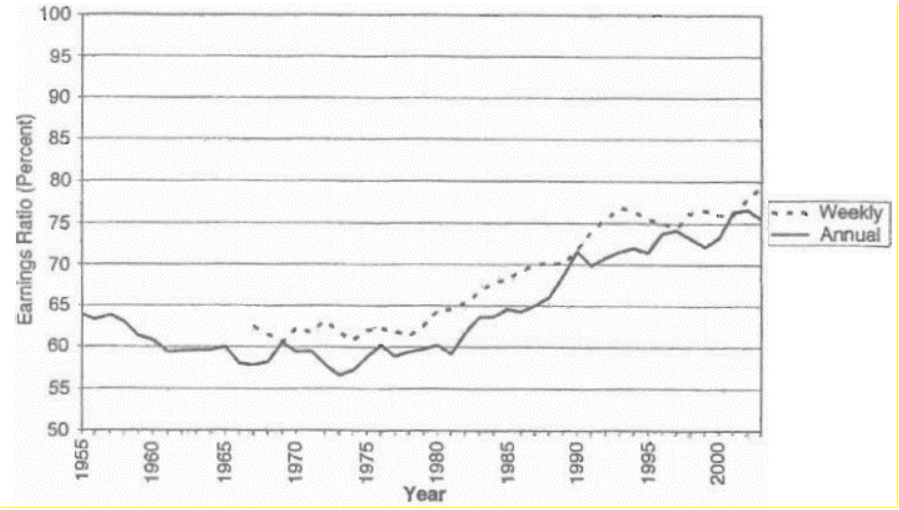
> "Women who chose to place family and children before other life commitments confronted the dilemmas of how to overcome the isolation that homemaking can impose and how to defend their choices against the growing social devaluation of domestic pursuits. In contrast, women who established committed ties to the workplace faced dilemmas about whether and how to integrate children into their lives. Although each group faced a different set of obstacles and central concerns, both confronted dilemmas that lacked established, institutionalized solutions" (123).

The number of homemaking husbands has not increased proportionally with the number of professional income-earning wives. Similarly, the number of hours men commit to domestic duties has not increased in proportion with the amount of money women commit to the family income. If wives continue to perform the majority of household duties, they are essentially taking on two

full-time jobs. Present household and work patterns violate the economic principle of comparative advantage, which had been the justification for household division of labor in the first place. As this is not the most effective way to maximize average household productivity, both men and women's livelihoods can be improved by a shift in attitudes and expectations.

II.V *Gender Hiring Discrimination*

GRAPH V. FEMALE-TO-MALE EARNINGS RATIOS OF FULL-TIME WORKERS, 1955-2003 (Blau and Kohn 844)



One of the most well-known and frequently-cited statistics in gender research is the gender wage gap. In the United States, women make 78% less than men on average. Across the fifty states, the pay gap varies: In Louisiana, women earn an average of 34 cents less than men; in Ohio, 23 cents; and in New York, 14 cents ("America's Women and the Wage Gap"). In this section, we will explore how gender discrimination and other factors contribute to this pay differential.

Occupational gender segregation is partly responsible for the gender wage gap (Reskin 58). Because women and men work in very different industries, approximately 40% of the labor force would have to change major occupational categories in order to achieve equal representation of

both genders in all jobs (Williams 253). Masculine or male-typed industries tend to offer higher incomes than feminine or female-typed industries. As Sociologist Barbara Reskin suggests, "Although femaleness is not always devalued, its deviation from maleness in a culture that reserves virtues for men has meant the devaluation of women" (63). This explains why the masculinity of a job is generally a strong predictor of salary and status. In his study, Dr. Peter Glick found that even female-dominated jobs value and require masculine traits (Glick 361). In another sociological study conducted by Dr. Elizabeth Gorman, women constituted a smaller portion of newly hired employees when the selection criteria included more masculine characteristics (Gorman 720).

In addition to having less representation in better-paid, masculine industries, women also hold a smaller number of leadership jobs across most industries in the labor market (Williams 253). These managerial jobs tend to be better compensated than associate-level positions; thus, such a large leadership gender difference is likely to also contribute to the gender wage gap. In an experiment in which comparable hypothetical male and female candidates were both described as "masculine", the female applicant was less likely to be interviewed or hired to be a sales manager. On the other hand, female applicants who were described as either masculine *or* feminine were overwhelmingly preferred over male applicants for the job of dental receptionist/secretary (Glick, Zion, and Nelson 185). In another study examining the perception of female and male engineering students, there was greater discrimination against women in evaluations for technical-managerial jobs compared with evaluations for purely technical jobs, even with highly competent candidates (Gerdes, Proctor, and Garber 307). The existing research suggest that leadership is closely tied to masculinity, which puts women at a disadvantage when it comes to acquiring managerial jobs.

Masculine-typed occupations also tend to offer more opportunities for leadership, which further widens the managerial gender gap. Women may also hold a smaller number of senior

positions because they experience more discontinuous careers (England, "Gender Inequality in Labor Market: The Role of Motherhood and Segregation", 265). For instance, women are more likely than men to move in and out of the labor market based on family considerations like childbirth and childcare. When they exit the professional sphere to tend to family life, they are effectively doing so at the cost of gaining more labor market experience. Seniority, as we know, is partially determined by how much time one has committed to a specific line of work. It is more difficult for women to compete with their male counterparts if they do not spend an equal amount of time employed in the workforce to begin with.

Because women may anticipate these career disruptions, they may actually invest less in their human capital. Some women may consciously choose careers with less intensive and less specific job training because the skills they gain from such jobs are portable after, for example, maternity leave. Unfortunately, however, firms are more interested in providing specific job- or company-related training because they want to cultivate and retain talent. Employee "poaching" discourages businesses from providing their employees with general, widely applicable knowledge.

Even when women do apply for the same positions as men, there is evidence that gender discrimination exists in hiring practices. In a 1998 study, researchers found that both male and female recruiters rated male applicants and female applicants similarly for entry-level accountant positions; unfortunately, however, female applicants received less favorable *future* job performance evaluations (Snipes, Oswald, and Caudill 92). In a similar study focusing on entry-level auditors, researchers found that female recruiters offered significantly higher salaries (approximately $3000 higher) to male candidates than to female candidates (Hardin, Reding, and Stocks 261).

Although employer discrimination is not alone responsible for the gender wage gap, many studies suggest that it is a significant contributing factor because "competence is stereotypical of men, but is not generally expected of women" (Gerdes and Garber 308). When marriage and parenthood are incorporated into the analysis, our understanding of work and gender becomes even more complex.

II.VI *Marriage and Parenthood Discrimination*

Work and family compete for time, one of our most precious resources. They are greedy institutions that constantly wrestle attention away from one another. In America, the ideal worker is associated with "continuous availability with productivity" just as the ideal spouse/parent is associated with full-time commitment and care (Bailyn 107). Trying to become both can lead to frustration, stress, and disappointment, as these two ideals are mutually exclusive. Interestingly, however, women and men experience work/life interactions quite differently.

For male workers, marriage either has a neutral or beneficial impact on wages. Male marital premiums may be responsible for approximately one-third of gender based wage discrimination in the United States (Korenman and Neumark 303). Husbands tend to receive higher performance reviews than single men when education, race, region, age, work experience, occupation, and industry are controlled for. Even when detailed human capital controls are put in place, hourly wage premiums paid to married men are large (Korenman and Neumark 303). Sociologists believe that this male marriage premium can be attributed to a combination of factors:

(1) Wives help perform household duties, thereby lessening the homemaking burden for husbands. Married men become more productive in the workplace as a consequence.

(2) Employers tend to favor married men because married men are associated with loyalty, commitment, and overall positivity (e.g., "a family man") (Kmec, Huffman, and Penner 465).

(3) Employers assume that married men are the primary earners of their households. They may believe that husbands should be better compensated because they are responsible for the livelihoods of others.

(4) Marriage does not *cause* a male wage premium. Married men happen to be located in higher income brackets (England, "Gender Inequality in Labor Market: The Role of Motherhood and Segregation", 265).

For female workers, the research is much more inconsistent and shows either no marital effect on wages or a marital wage penalty (Kelly and Grant 872). There is, however, a wealth of research supporting a *motherhood* pay penalty in the United States. As one study suggests, women are perceived to be less competent after giving birth (Crowley 193). Employers may be wary about hiring mothers because women are more likely to split their time between childcare and work. Experts have come up with a few explanations for the wage differential between mothers and non-mothers:

(1) Women are more likely than their husbands to reduce work hours to accommodate household and childcare demands (Ruppanner and Huffman 213). This has a negative effect on wages because career momentum is important for career progression in the United States.

(2) Employers discriminate against mothers.

(3) Mothers, anticipating work/life conflicts, may trade higher wages for "family friendly" benefits. They may also choose to work in lower-paid "mother-friendly" industries or departments that require less on-the-job training (England, "Gender Inequality in Labor Market: The Role of Motherhood and Segregation", 279).

(4) Mothers may be less productive. If the father does not contribute to housework or childcare, mothers are effectively taking on two full-time jobs. They may experience more exhaustion and stress compared with non-mothers and men.

(5) Mothers may feel less qualified after giving birth; therefore, they may accept lower-paying jobs instead of the positions they are actually qualified for (Berggren and Lauster 57)

(6) Motherhood does not *cause* a female wage penalty. Women with lower earning potentials just so happen to have children at higher rates.

Interestingly, mothers are penalized more in states where motherhood is perceived to be the woman's personal decision (Kricheli-Katz 561). Unlike gender, motherhood is increasingly considered in common discourse as a "status of choice." When research participants are told that a woman *chose* to leave the labor force, they are more likely to believe that gender discrimination no longer exists in the workplace (Kricheli-Katz 561).

Whereas women's earnings decrease by approximately 5% for each child, men's earnings increase by 5% per child after a 12% earnings boost from marriage (Kricheli-Katz 557, Osterman 458). In a 2004 study, both male and female parents were perceived as less committed to work than non-parents; however, fathers were held to more lenient standards than mothers and childless men. Mothers were also less likely to be hired and promoted than non-parent female candidates (Fuegen, et. al. 737).

All in all, there appears to be strong support for fatherhood premiums, male marital premiums, and motherhood penalties. Although a significant number of women—and more specifically, mothers—have entered the workforce in the last half century, cultural expectations of male and female roles within a family are contributing to the gender inequality we observe in today's labor market.

III. HYPOTHESIS

Existing research tends to revolve around the relationships between marriage and wages, children and wages, and gender and wages. While there is also substantial research focusing on the influence of parenthood and gender on hiring, there does not appear to be much literature on the relationship between marital status and hiring. Some may argue that such research is unnecessary because marriage discrimination is explicitly illegal in certain states ("What is Marital Status Discrimination?"). Further, an applicant's marital status may not be as obvious to employers as an applicant's gender upon first glance. Whereas male and female pronouns can usually be assigned based on names and appearances, marital status is not always immediately clear.

As mentioned previously, however, an applicant's personal and professional lives do not exist in completely separate spheres. An unintentional slip of the tongue can result in the unveiling of one's marital status. On the other hand, some candidates even go out of their way to bring up personal topics. Just like chatting about the weather or discussing sports highlights, mentioning certain personal aspects of one's life can help a candidate build rapport with his interviewer before delving into specific job-related questions. Such discussions may also add a more human dimension to the candidate beyond his/her written credentials. Regardless of how this osmosis

takes place, there is a chance that such individuating information will be revealed or uncovered during the hiring process. When it is, it may color the employer's perception about the candidate and affect their hiring decisions. This can be dangerous for companies because, as the age-old adage suggests, things—and *people*—may not be what they seem.

This paper will examine 341 respondents' evaluations of eight hypothetical applicants. These applicants were either male or female, married or single, and applying for a masculine-type job or a feminine-type job. For each type of position, the credentials were identical. My hypotheses are as follows:

> *Hypothesis 1:* Men will benefit from being married in the hiring process. Employers will give married men higher ratings than single men, all other things equal.
>
> *Hypothesis 2:* Women will benefit from being single in the hiring process. Employers will give single women higher ratings than married women, all other things equal.

Based on the literature review, it appears that women are both *expected* to take on most of the household duties and actually carry out the majority of these duties in reality (Brines 682). Employers may believe that women are less hirable than men because the institution of marriage still implicates a division of labor between couples. Just as husbands may be perceived as more productive because they do not have to cook or clean, women may be perceived as less productive because they do the cooking and cleaning. Similarly, just as husbands may be less likely to take time off for family considerations, wives may be more likely to have discontinuous careers.

Although marriage is no longer a necessary social prerequisite for family formation, it is often perceived by Americans as an ideal prelude. Wives become mothers and husbands become fathers. Employers may anticipate the possibility of childbirth for married candidates with ambiguous parenthood statuses. Upon learning a candidate's marital status, it is possible that recruiters are already thinking about the differences between motherhood and fatherhood roles, specifically, how these different roles interact with workplace expectations regarding commitment, dedication, and constant availability.

IV. EXPERIMENT METHODOLOGY

IV.I *Participants*

The factorial design of the present study included Applicant Gender (male, female) × Applicant Marital Status (married, single) × Job Type (feminine, masculine). A sample of 341 respondents participated in this online study, which was created on NYU Stern Qualtrics ("Qualtrics") and distributed via Amazon Mechanical Turk ("mTurk"). Each participant was randomly assigned to one of eight versions of the survey and then asked to answer demographic questions. Upon completion of the survey, respondents were given a code as proof of completion.

62.5% of the sample identified as male and 37.5% identified as female. The age breakdown is as follows: 20 and younger (5.9%), 21-30 (59.5%), 31-40 (24.0%), 41-50 (6.7%), 51-60 (2.9%), and 61 and older (0.9%). Over three-quarters of the sample are between 21 and 40 years old. 208 of the 341 respondents were single (61.0%), 110 were married (32.3%), 13 were divorced (3.8%), and 10 selected "Other" for marital status (2.9%). A large majority of the sample identified racially as White (71.6%) and approximately one-tenth identified as Asian (12.6%). There was an equal percentage of Black/African-American respondents and Hispanic/Latino respondents (6.5%), as

well as an equal percentage of American Indian/Alaska Native respondents and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander respondents (0.3%). 2.3% of the sample selected "Other" when asked to specify their race (see Appendix A, Tables 1-5)

When asked about the highest level of schooling completed, 138 respondents indicated that they hold professional degrees (40.5%). 27.3% hold bachelor degrees and 12.6% have received trade/technical/vocational training. About half of the respondents have total household incomes ranging from $20,000 to $59,999. The sample also tends to be more liberal than conservative. On a scale of 0 (very conservative) to 100 (very liberal), the sample mean was 61.79 with a standard deviation of 26.193. Lastly, only 2.9% of the total sample worked in Human Resources and only 7.3% worked in Finance, although we do not know which specific roles these individuals hold in these two departments (see Appendix A, Tables 6-9).

IV.II *Independent Variables*

Male-typed job vs. Female-typed job – For the masculine job, job descriptions for the role of Senior Finance Manager ("SFM") were created using sections of various SFM job descriptions from LinkedIn.com. For the feminine job, the same process took place using sections of various Senior HR Manager ("SHRM") job descriptions from LinkedIn.com. Whereas the SFM job description included responsibilities like "creating financial forecasts", "modeling and quantifying financial risk", and "acting as a financial lead supporting sales division VP", the SHRM job description focused on responsibilities like "increasing employee engagement", "improving employee relations and workforce planning", and "improving organizational and individual capabilities." The former are male-typed because they focus on analytical and mathematical

competencies that are stereotypical of men but not of women. The latter are female-typed because they more closely mirror the nurturing, communal "nature" of women, which is often regarded as both innate and unchangeable.

Male applicant vs. Female applicant – The hypothetical male applicant's name is Daniel L. Hubbard and the hypothetical female applicant's name is Sarah L. Hubbard. Respondents are first made aware of the applicant's gender when they read the cover letter. The cover letters highlight realistic credentials, as they were constructed using experiences from several resumes provided by Indeed.com. The credentials in both male and female SFM cover letters are identical, just as the credentials in both male and female SHRM cover letters are identical.

Cover letters were used to convey competency because they are generally more ambiguous than resumes. Resumes clearly delineate accomplishments on a line-by-line basis, making it easier for respondents to consider only what is on the resume and not what is revealed about the applicant's gender and marital status. Online surveys are unlike face-to-face interviews; the candidate's personal characteristics (e.g. appearance, voice, personality) are completely absent when they are reduced to just words. Providing a detailed resume may encourage participants to scrutinize and fixate their attention on specific accomplishments instead of considering the applicant as a multidimensional person. Because cover letters are vague, the respondents must resort to assumptions about the applicant to determine whether or not he/she is a good fit for the job in question. Providing only a cover letter helps us to determine whether some of these assumptions are gender- and/or marital status-based.

Married applicant vs. Single applicant – After reading through the job description and cover letter, respondents were given a candidate Information Sheet with some demographic information about the applicant. In this study, there were eight different configurations (2

Applicant Gender × 2 Applicant Marital Status × 2 Job Type). This is where marital status (either married or single) was revealed to the respondent, along with information about the hypothetical candidate's age, race, location and education.

IV.III *Dependent Variables*

All eight job candidates were rated on three measures on a scale of 1 to 9: (1) interview chances, (2) competency, and (3) job fit. Asking respondents to rank how likely they would be to interview the hypothetical candidate is directly related to the primary objective of this paper; unfortunately, however, there is less risk involved in interviewing a candidate than there is in, for example, *hiring* a candidate. Whereas the decision to hire may involve several considerations (e.g., qualifications, personality, location, etc.), the decision to interview may only be based upon whether or not the candidate appears qualified at first glance. Unless the applicant is extremely underqualified, it would not hurt the company to at least give him/her a chance to come in for an interview. Because we expected that the low risks associated with interviewing may skew ratings for "interview chances" toward higher numbers, measures (2) and (3) were also included in the study.

IV.IV *The Hypothetical Candidates*

Age, race, location, and education were held constant across configurations. The hypothetical candidates were all 33 years old. Generally, American students graduate with undergraduate degrees with they are 21-23. Assuming that these students enter the workforce shortly after graduation, they will have received approximately ten years of continuous work

experience by age 33. It is not unreasonable to believe that professionals at this age will be pursuing management roles in their departments. Furthermore, the marital expectations of a 33 year old vary more than the marital expectations of a 20 year old (e.g., should be single and never married) or a 65 year old (e.g., should be married or divorced) across respondents of different backgrounds and political orientations; this is useful in mitigating any interactions that may exist between age and marital status expectations.

It was also important to eliminate ambiguity regarding race. All eight hypothetical candidates were listed as "White." This information was provided to the respondents after the job description and the cover letter. Traditional Anglo-American names (Sarah Hubbard and Daniel Hubbard) were selected to lessen the possibility of varied race assumptions, as this was not the focus of the experiment.

Additionally, "New York, NY" was listed under every applicant's location. Location and relocation are often issues facing many HR departments and job candidates. The location of a career opportunity can singlehandedly affect whether or not an applicant chooses to accept or reject a job offer. Since geographic distance may influence whether participants perceive the applicants to be good or bad fits for the two positions, all of the hypothetical candidates live in the same city as the experiment company (Visa).

Lastly, every hypothetical candidate graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with a grade point average ("GPA") of 3.7/4.0. A prestigious school and high GPA were selected to direct participant attention away from education and towards the content of the cover letters. While the school and GPA were held constant, candidates applying to the SHRM position held Bachelor degrees in Communication and candidates applying to the SFM position held Bachelor degrees in Finance.

IV.V *Survey Design*

A pretest was created on Qualtrics and administered through mTurk before the distribution of the finalized study. 284 respondents comprised the pretest sample. Here, instead of using a 2 × 2 × 2 factorial study with eight hypothetical candidates who varied on gender, marital status, and job type, we created a 2 × 3 study with only six hypothetical candidates. These six candidates were either male or female marketing professionals applying for a Senior Marketing Manager ("SMM") position at Visa, Inc. Their marital statuses were either married, single, or unspecified. The initial findings from this pretest showed that respondent ratings for single applicants and applicants with an unspecified marital status followed similar patterns, suggesting that the latter were assumed to be single. As a result, "unspecified marital status" was removed from the survey altogether for the finalized study, reducing the options for marital status from three to two.

An SMM position was selected for the pretest specifically because marketing tends to be a gender-neutral branch of business ("Employed Persons by Detailed Industry, Sex, Race, and Hispanic or Latino Ethnicity"). Since there were no significant interactions between gender and marital status for any of the three measures (interview chances, applicant competency, and applicant job fit) for the SMM position, a "job type" variable was added as an attempt to capture any differences that may exist between traditionally masculine jobs and traditionally feminine jobs.

The finalized survey consisted of nine parts, shown to the respondents in the following order:

1. Brief description of task
2. Job posting
    a. Finance
    b. HR

3. Candidate's cover letter
    a. Finance/Male
    b. Finance/Female
    c. HR/Male
    d. HR/Female

4. Candidate information sheet (demographic information)
    a. Finance/Male/Married
    b. Finance/Male/Single
    c. Finance/Female/Married
    d. Finance/Female/Single
    e. HR/Male/Married
    f. HR/Male/Single
    g. HR/Female/Married
    h. HR/Female/Single

5. Measure of applicant's interview chances

6. Measure of applicant's competency

7. Measure of job fit

8. Measure of perceived job masculinity/femininity

9. Questions about respondent demographics: gender, age, marital status, race, annual household income, political orientation, highest education received, and job industry

After answering all of the survey questions, respondents were given a unique code as proof of completion. A complete survey can be found in Appendix B.

V. RESULTS

V.I *Job Perception*

On a scale of 1 (job is best for men) to 9 (job is best for women), the SFM position received an average rating of 5.88 (std dev=0.938) and the SHRM position received an average rating of 6.15 (std dev=0.930). After running an Independent Samples T-Test, we determined that the difference between the two means was statistically significant (p=0.008; p<0.05). Interestingly,

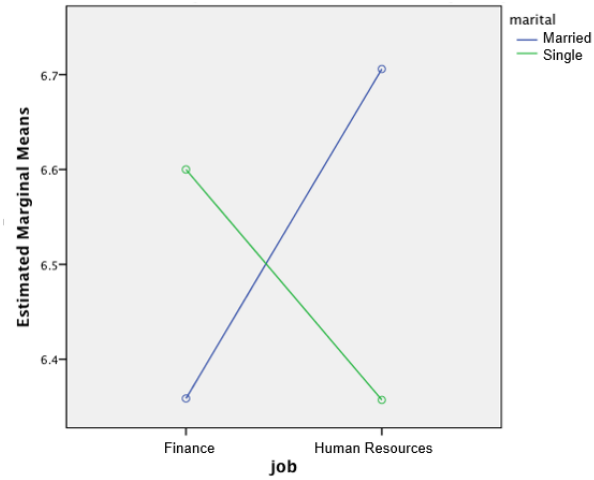
both positions were perceived to be slightly more feminine than masculine. Even though the Finance position was perceived to be more masculine than the HR position, the skew towards feminine job type was not at all expected when the two jobs were initially selected for this study. The perception of these two job types allows us to compare any differences in applicant perception between *relatively* masculine and *relatively* feminine positions; it is important to keep in mind, however, that on average, both positions are perceived as more female-typed than male-typed (see Appendix C, Tables 1A-1B).

V.II *Job Type, Gender, and Marital Status*

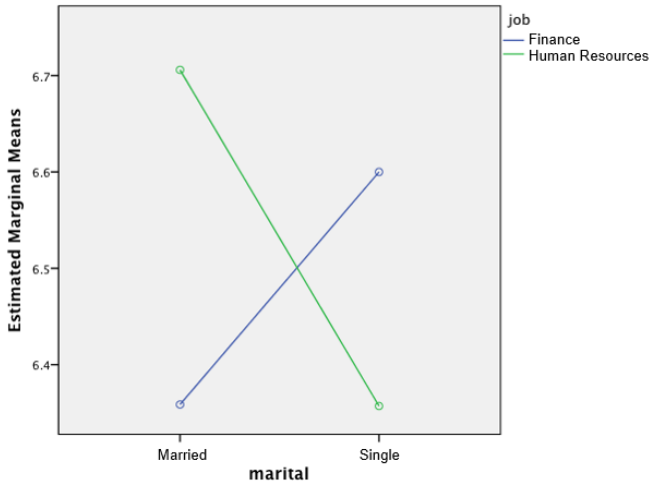
After running ANOVA tests for measures (1) interview chances and (3) job fit, we determined that there were no statistically significant interactions between job type, applicant gender, and applicant marital status (see Appendix C, Tables 2A-2B; Tables 4A-4B). While we cannot confidently explain why we did not find significant mean differences for these two measures, we believe that perhaps the measures themselves are inherently flawed. As mentioned previously, allowing a candidate to interview for a position is less risky than actually hiring the candidate. The company does not need to commit many resources to a potential applicant during the initial interview screening process. In contrast, when respondents rate each candidate on measures (2) competency and (3) job fit, they are considering the *hirability* of the applicant, which involves more obligation and risk. Whereas the mean ratings for all job type/gender/marital status configurations fell between 6 and 7 for measures (2) and (3), mean ratings fell between 8 and 9 for measure (1). On average, respondents were more likely to recommend all of the candidates for interviews than they were to consider them highly competent or extremely good fits for the jobs.

Asking respondents to rate how well they believed the candidate would fit the job also raises several issues. Many more considerations are involved in determining this rating. Whereas measure (2) only asks respondents to consider competency and qualifications, measure (3) asks respondents to make assumptions about the personality of the applicant, as well about the culture of the company. As we did not provide information beyond what was necessary to determine competency, respondents may have made very different assumptions about the candidates and the company that consequently affected their ratings in unpredictable ways.

GRAPH VI(a). COMPETENCY RATINGS BY JOB TYPE AND MARITAL STATUS

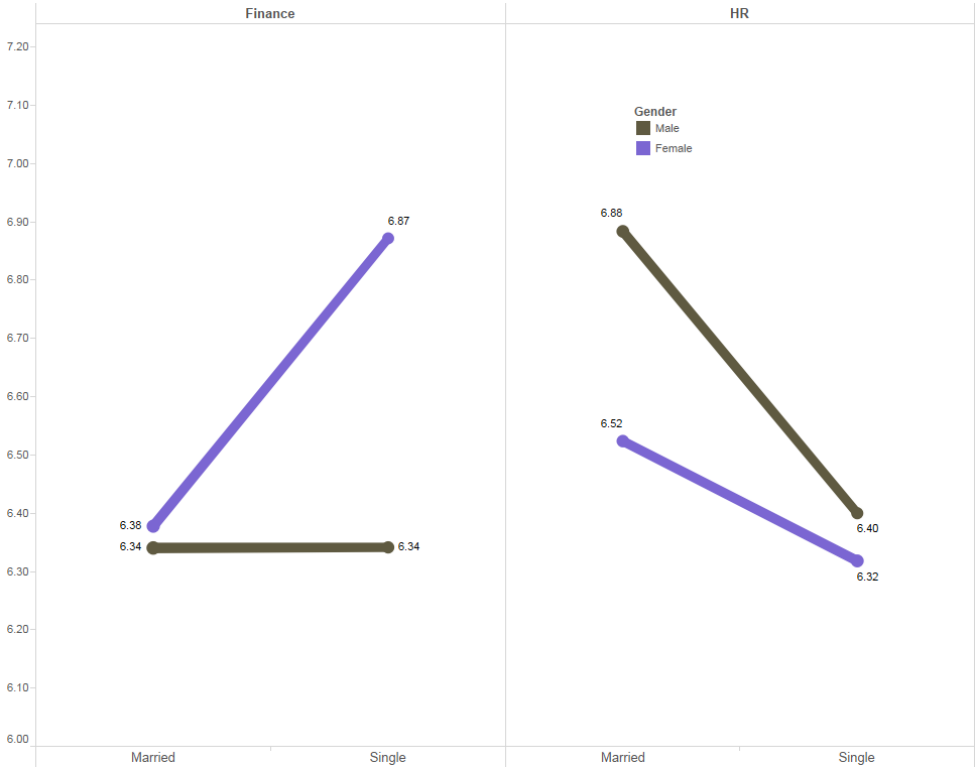


GRAPH VI(b). COMPETENCY RATINGS BY MARITAL STATUS AND JOB TYPE



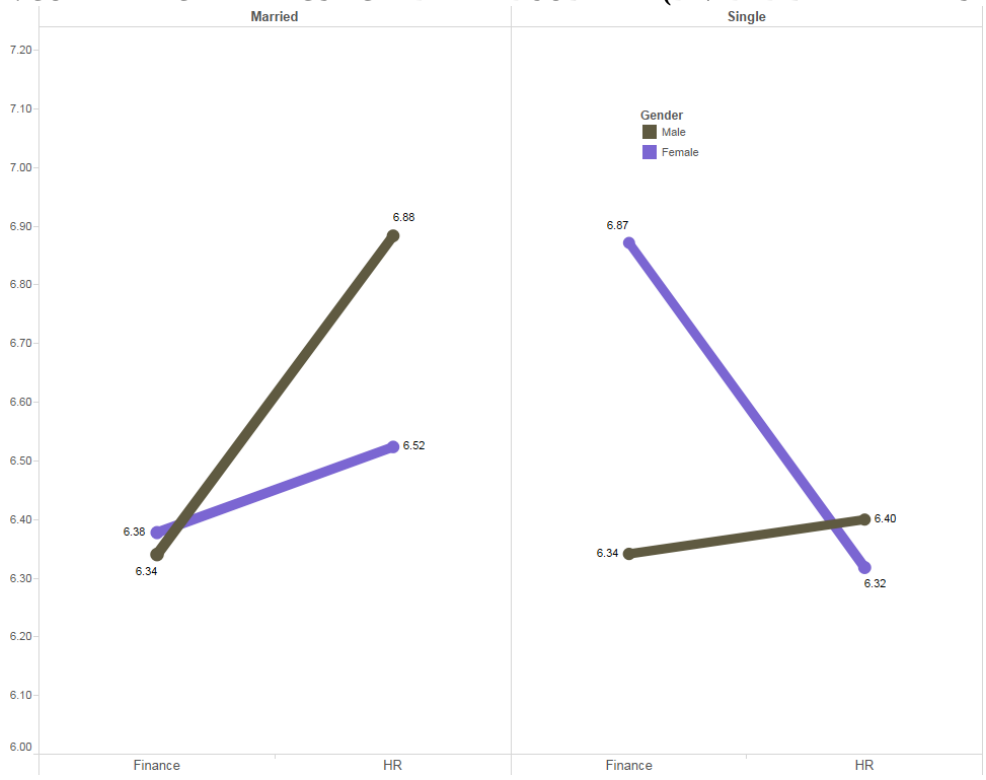
For measure (2) competency, we did find a statistically significant interaction between job type and marital status (p=0.026; p<0.05), shown above in Graph VI(a) and VI(b). Although the interaction between job type, marital status, and gender was not statistically significant for this measure (p=0.685; p>0.05, see Appendix C, Tables 3A-3B), the graphs below will segment the data by gender for increased clarity.

GRAPH VII. COMPETENCY RATINGS – GENDER AND MARITAL STATUS (DIVIDED BY JOB TYPE)



For the SFM position ("Finance"), single candidates received higher average ratings than married candidates. For the SHRM position ("HR"), married candidates received higher average ratings than single candidates. Whereas men applying for Finance did not appear to be rated differently across marital statuses, women applying for Finance saw higher competency ratings when they were single instead of married. For HR, both women and men received higher ratings when they were married, although the effect appears to be more pronounced for men (see Graph VII, above).

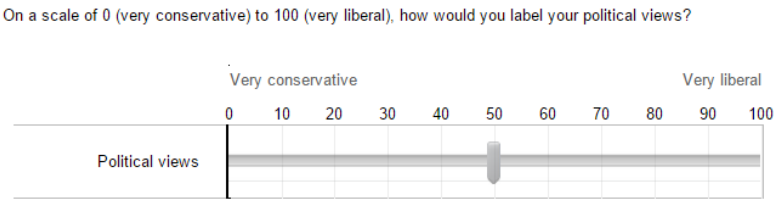
GRAPH VIII. COMPETENCY RATINGS – GENDER AND JOB TYPE (DIVIDED BY MARITAL STATUS)



Graph VIII illustrates the same competency data by dividing the information into ratings for married candidates and ratings for single candidates. Married candidates appear to fare better in HR than in Finance across both genders. For single candidates, women are rated more highly in Finance than in HR. Single men, on the other hand, are rated similarly across both job types.

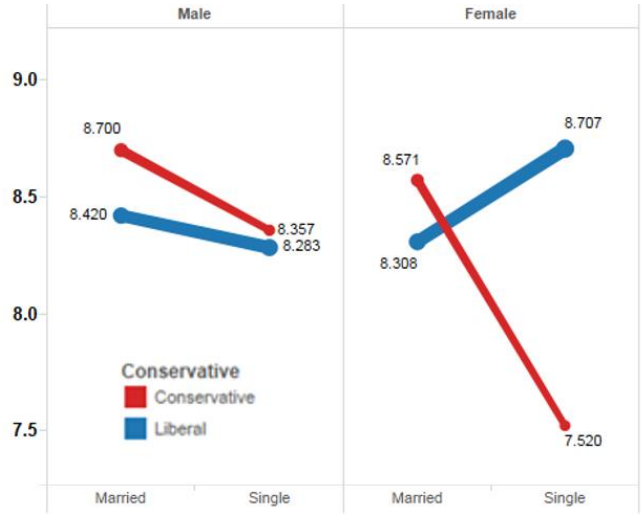
V.III *Respondent Political Orientation*

FIGURE I. POLITICAL ORIENTATION SCALE



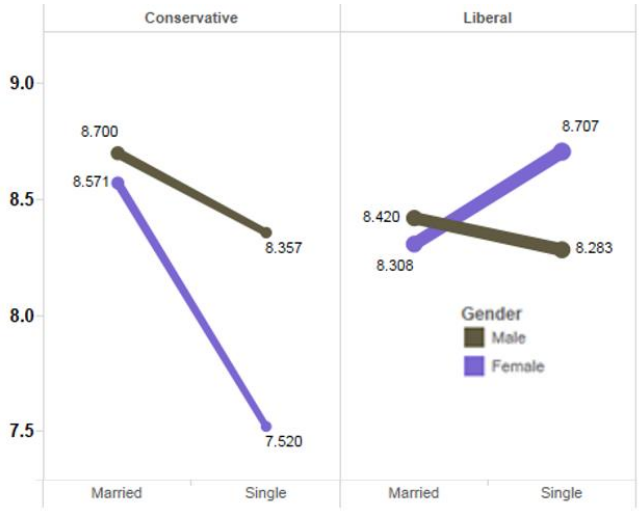
After respondents completed the survey tasks, they were asked to answer a number of demographic questions. When asked to describe their political orientation, participants were given a 0-100 point scale in which 0 represented "very conservative" and 100 represented "very liberal" (see Figure I, above). These scale values were then coded into two nominal categories: values from 0-50 were coded as "conservative" and values from 51-100 were coded as "liberal." Surprisingly, there were statistically significant interactions for two measures (interview chances and job fit) between applicant gender, applicant marital status, and respondent political orientation (see Appendix C, Tables 5-7).

GRAPH IX. INTERVIEW CHANCES – RESPONDENT POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND APPLICANT MARITAL STATUS (DIVIDED BY APPLICANT GENDER)



As shown in Graph IX, both conservative and liberal respondents rated married men as more likely to obtain interviews than single men, although the difference for liberal respondents appears smaller in magnitude. In contrast, patterns for female interview ratings seem to have been more influenced by the political orientation of the respondent. Whereas conservative participants rated married women (mean=8.571) higher than single women (mean=7.520), liberal respondents rated single women (mean=8.707) higher than married women (mean=8.308).

GRAPH X. INTERVIEW CHANCES – APPLICANT GENDER AND APPLICANT MARITAL STATUS (DIVIDED BY RESPONDENT POLITICAL ORIENTATION)



Graph X shows the same data divided by respondent political orientation. Conservative participants rated married men (mean=8.700) and married women (mean=8.571) similarly on interview chances. While they preferred married men to single men and married women to single women, this "marital premium" in ratings was more pronounced for female candidates. The results for liberal respondents illustrate a different picture: while married male candidates (mean=8.420) received a very slight advantage over single male candidates (mean=8.283), single female candidates (mean=8.707) received a more noticeable advantage over married female candidates (mean=8.308).

VI. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

VI.I *Job Type, Marital Status, and Competency*

When evaluating candidates for Finance, respondents assigned a higher average rating to single applicants. When evaluating candidates for HR, however, respondents assigned a higher average rating to married applicants. As the introduction of applicant gender does not generate a

statistically significant interaction, we will focus only on the influence of job type and marital status on perceived competency for this analysis.

As mentioned previously, the two hypothetical job positions were perceived differently in terms of masculinity and femininity; however, we do not know *why* respondents rated the jobs as they did. A participant may have believed that Finance was better suited for men because the duties listed on the job posting correspond with gender stereotypes regarding male superiority in math-related subjects. Another participant who also believed that Finance was more male-typed may have rated this position accordingly for a different reason: he/she could have, for example, believed that Finance was masculine because the SFM position seemed time-consuming. Careers that require employees to be constantly accessible may be perceived as male-typed because men are assumed to have minimal homemaking responsibilities. Consequently, they should also have more time to devote to work.

When we remove gender from the picture and only consider differences in marital status, single candidates may be more readily and constantly available than married candidates simply because they are not bound to anyone else (e.g., a spouse, children). They may also be perceived as more geographically mobile and flexible for the same reason. Respondents may have believed that Finance was a time-intensive, time-sensitive, and demanding industry best suited for those with less rigid lifestyles (e.g., single applicants).

Other assumptions could have been made about the two job positions. Participants may have relied on their understanding of what HR entails to make judgments about competency; specifically, they may have thought of HR qualifications in terms of conflict resolution capabilities, teamwork experience, and "people skills." A Senior HR Manager will no doubt be in constant communication with different employees across all branches of the organization. Perhaps

for HR, these particular skills are more characteristic of married men and women who, by virtue of being married, are constantly "teammates" to their spouses.

Marriage generally involves a degree of confrontation and negotiation that bachelorship does not. Partners may not always agree with each other at first; however, because separation (e.g., divorce) is often more complicated in marriage, husbands and wives are often forced to work together to arrive at an agreed-upon solution. While we cannot confidently attribute competency rating patterns to the above reasons, we can acknowledge that these rating differences are significant for this particular sample of respondents.

VI.II *Marital Status, Gender, and Political Orientation*

There is a significant interaction between applicant marital status, applicant gender, and respondent political orientation for measures (1) interview chances and (3) job fit (see Appendix C, Tables 5-7). For interview chances, conservatives assigned both men and women marital premiums; they were more likely to recommend married male candidates and married female candidates for interviews compared with single male candidates and single female candidates, respectively. This difference in average ratings was larger for female candidates being evaluated by conservative respondents (see Graph X). As these trends were significant, they warrant further investigation.

Although all eight hypothetical candidates were assigned identical attributes except for their gender, marital status, and academic major (which corresponded with job type), perhaps respondents from different political backgrounds assigned different *meanings* to these identical attributes. Age, when taken into consideration with marital status, may generate different

assumptions about the applicants depending on whether the respondent identified as conservative or liberal.

Conservative participants, for example, may be more likely to champion a traditional division of household labor wherein the married woman does not work at all. This gender role expectation would have led us to believe that conservative participants would give married women lower ratings than single women. As we observe in our responses, however, the opposite is true: conservative participants rated married women higher than single women. This gap between our intuitive expectations and our survey results may be attributed to how conservative participants perceive age 33. To a group of individuals who generally believe in earlier first marriage ages (Cahn and Carbone, "Talk of the Nation: Family Values in Red States v. Blue States"), 33 may be too old for both men and women to be single. Applicants who remain single through this age may, through the eyes of conservative individuals, have an inherent character flaw; perhaps these candidates are unable to find spouses because they are unlikeable, uncooperative, or unreliable. These very same negative personality traits can be translated into negative employee characteristics. Perceiving single 33-year-old candidates in this way may have led to lower measure (1) ratings for conservative respondents.

In contrast, liberal participants provided responses that more closely mirrored our initial hypotheses; namely, female candidates benefited from being single and male candidates benefited from being married. Initially, we had expected liberal respondents to rate both genders similarly across marital statuses, as they are more likely to champion gender equality and progressive gender roles than their conservative counterparts. This expectation was not supported by the data and liberal respondents did not appear to be immune to gender and marital stereotypes.

Age 33, for liberals, may be perceived as the *beginning* of marriage and family formation. In New York, for example, the median first marriage age is 29 for women ("Median Age at First Marriage for Women"). It is not unreasonable to assume that newlyweds may be thinking about beginning families approximately 2-4 years after marriage. Given the existing trends in household work division, it is also not unreasonable to assume that the married female candidates will be taking on the majority of the housework once these couples begin settling down (Brines 682). Unlike conservative respondents, perhaps liberal participants were less concerned with *when* women should get married and more concerned with *how* their availability will be affected once they are.

Although there is no conclusive proof supporting the claim that married men are more productive than single men, there is evidence to suggest that women are more likely than men to take time off for family considerations (England, "Gender Inequality in Labor Market: The Role of Motherhood and Segregation", 265). This may partly explain why both liberals and conservatives assigned higher ratings to married men than to single men. Whereas husbands are assumed to have wives who take care of cooking, cleaning, and childcare, bachelors are assumed to be responsible for these tasks themselves. As such, single men may not be as readily available and constantly accessible as married men. In addition, respondents may have also assigned positive traits to married men (e.g., loyal, committed, hardworking), which only further widens the measure (1) ratings gap between the two marital statuses (Kmec, Huffman, and Penner 465).

VII. APPLICATIONS

> *Hypothesis 1:* Men will benefit from being married in the hiring process. Employers will give married men higher ratings than single men, all other things equal.
>
> *Hypothesis 2:* Women will benefit from being single in the hiring process. Employers will give single women higher ratings than married women, all other things equal.

While we were unable to find sufficient evidence to support either hypothesis, we identified a statistically significant relationship between marital status and job type for measure (2) competency. For the purposes of identifying applications for this research, we will assume that this sample interaction can be applied to the American population at large. Assuming, also, that hiring married candidates brings forth legitimate concerns regarding accessibility and job commitment, it is nonetheless important to remember that Americans marriage rates are declining alongside the rise of cohabitation (Seltzer 925). If cohabitation is rising as a replacement for institutionalized marriage, then perhaps using *legal marital status* to determine a candidate's competency is even less accurate today than it had been half a century ago. After all, the relationships between married couples and cohabiting couples are becoming increasingly similar; more and more cohabiting couples are having children with their partners without seeking official marriage licenses (Seltzer 925).

A candidate who is legally single may actually be involved in a relationship that closely mirrors legal marriage. Assigning this single candidate a competency premium or penalty based upon marital status therefore becomes senseless and unfair to the applicant, as well as to the

company. Using unsubstantiated levers to determine candidate competency will likely shrink a company's applicant pool unnecessarily and make it more difficult for HR departments to source the best possible talent.

When respondent political orientation was injected into the analysis, we did find interactions between applicant marital status and applicant gender for measures (1) interview chances and (3) job fit in support of both Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2. Specifically, liberal respondents rated single female candidates and married male candidates higher than married female candidates and single male candidates, respectively. In order to better understand these relationships, further research must be conducted to understand the political differences both within a company and between companies/industries. If, for example, conservative employees tend to be more highly concentrated in the leadership and decision-making roles of a particular company, this political makeup may skew the demographic of new hires unfairly towards married men and married women. In contrast, if liberal employees tend to be more highly concentrated towards the top of an organizational pyramid, perhaps more new hires will be single women instead of married women.

It is important to further examine the relationship between an employer's political orientation and an applicant's gender/marital status, especially if future research detects a particular political makeup across most organizations instead of just one. If conservatives tend to hold gatekeeping managerial roles across many organizations, the effects of employer political orientation on candidate screening will be more systematic.

VIII. LIMITATIONS & FURTHER RESEARCH

VIII.I Threats *to Internal Validity*

Maturation Effect – Maturation effects can take place during the very short term. While the Qualtrics survey should have taken respondents no more than 15-20 minutes to complete, it is unlikely that all 341 subjects were fully focused on the task at hand for the entire duration of the experiment. Factors such as tiredness, boredom, and inattention can occur when participants answer all the survey questions. Experimental fatigue can also take place if reading through the application materials is too mentally demanding. Further, whereas real HR representatives are invested in candidate screening decisions because their career prospects and salaries are tied to their job performance, survey respondents may be more easily distracted or affected by boredom because they have less at stake.

Selection-Maturation Effect – It is also possible that certain participant groups experienced a higher rate of maturation than other participant groups. For example, most of the sample respondents did not work in Finance (see Appendix A, Table 9). Participants who were asked to evaluate a Finance candidate may have found it difficult to understand the industry-specific terminology used in the job posting. This difficulty could have led to higher rates of boredom and inattention amongst those evaluating Finance candidates compared to those evaluating HR candidates.

Testing Effect – A pretest was created and administered via Amazon mTurk before the finalized survey questionnaire was distributed through the same channel. While we were able to prevent the same participants from taking the finalized study more than once, we could not, through Qualtrics and mTurk, prevent a participant from taking the finalized survey after he/she has already taken the pretest. Subjects who took the pretest may have anchored their later responses

upon what they had rated previously. Instead of carefully reading through the finalized study materials, respondents could have simply recalled the structure and general content of the pretest. Their familiarity with this structure and content could have influenced their applicant ratings for the finalized survey.

VIII.II *Threats to External Validity*

Non-representative Sample – Only 2.9% of survey participants work in HR (see Appendix A, Table 8). As such, the sample is not representative of the target population. Ideally, the experiment participants would be real HR Sourcing employees working at the company being studied. Unlike the respondents of this study, HR employees may be more cognizant of gender and marital status biases in the interview process. They would also have a clearer understanding of the corporate culture, as they are immersed in the organization on a daily basis. Most importantly, HR representatives are more experienced in applicant sourcing; perhaps they rely on different employee attributes than members of the sample population to make judgments about interview chances, competency, and job fit. Altering this study to include only real HR employees can help lessen the effects of non-representative sampling. We can also consider expanding this study into a field experiment in which false applications and resumes are submitted to real HR departments. Instead of measuring perceived competency and job fit, we could measure only interview chances based upon employer response rate (e.g., email, telephone call, etc.)

Reactive Bias – Participants may have exhibited unusual behavior simply because they are aware of their involvement in the experiment. The purpose of the study was not explicitly stated before the participants began evaluating applicants. We were afraid that such information would

encourage respondents to assign ratings that departed from their true evaluations. As we did not reveal the experiment objective, respondent ratings may have been influenced by what participants believed the survey was testing. When asked to leave comments at the very end of the survey, one respondent typed, "Pretty sure you can't legally ask for marital status." Another wrote, "I think all jobs are for both sexes and it should not be a consideration in a hiring scenario." A third participant explained, "I feel like race should be left off of applications. Gender too (though it's easier to tell given a name)." These comments suggest that some participants were keenly aware of the fact that individuating information was provided to them. In order to appear nondiscriminatory, for example, some participants may have adjusted their ratings to what they believed were "correct."

In addition, the hypothetical candidate's demographic information was not presented to study participants in an organic way. A respondent noted, "My answers were predicated upon the lack of a resume. The only information I saw about the applicant were the cover letter, basic demographics, and schooling. There was no resume that showed job experience and accomplishments. Anyone applying for this position ought to have one." Expanding this study into a field experiment would decrease the effects of both non-representative sampling and reactive bias. A realistic cover letter can be created to reveal marital status more discreetly than simply listing an applicant's marital status on an unrealistic information sheet. The field experiment subjects would be evaluating what they believe to be real applicant credentials.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

This study contributes to an ever-growing, ever-changing school of literature on gender and work. Hiring experiments tend to revolve around gender discrimination because a candidate's

gender is often easy to identify through his/her name, as well as through his/her physical presentation. We believe, however, that while such research is important, it does not capture all of the biases that arise when employers evaluate candidates. According to this study, respondents perceive single candidates and married candidates differently depending on the type of jobs they apply for. There are also significant interactions between applicant marital status, applicant gender, and respondent political orientation that warrant more exploration in future studies.

Marital status is not restricted to the personal sphere. A comment as innocuous as "I'm meeting my wife after this interview" can reveal a candidate's marital status. A quick flash of a wedding band can do the same. Whether such information benefits or hurts the applicant in the hiring process seems to depend on a variety of factors (e.g., stereotypes, expectations, etc.) outside of the applicant's own control. If we want to be able to hire the best possible talent for our companies and organizations, we should examine these factors in further detail. If stereotypes regarding heightened productivity of married men and decreased productivity of married women are not legitimate, relying even partly on applicant marital status may needlessly decrease the size of company applicant pools. Filtering out a hardworking, qualified candidate who otherwise would have been best suited for the job will undoubtedly hurt the company just as it hurts the candidate.

X. APPENDIX A: SAMPLE DESCRIPTIVES

TABLE 1. *Gender of Respondents*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	213	62.5	62.5	62.5
	2	128	37.5	37.5	100.0
	Total	341	100.0	100.0	

1. Male
2. Female

TABLE 2. *Age of Respondents*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	20	5.9	5.9	5.9
	2	203	59.5	59.5	65.4
	3	82	24.0	24.0	89.4
	4	23	6.7	6.7	96.2
	5	10	2.9	2.9	99.1
	6	3	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	341	100.0	100.0	

1. 20 and below
2. 21-30
3. 31-40
4. 41-50
5. 51-60
6. 61+

TABLE 3. *Marital Status of Respondents*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	208	61.0	61.0	61.0
	2	110	32.3	32.3	93.3
	3	13	3.8	3.8	97.1
	4	10	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	341	100.0	100.0	

1. Single
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Other

TABLE 4. ***Race of Respondents***

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	1	.3	.3	.3
	2	43	12.6	12.6	12.9
	3	22	6.5	6.5	19.4
	4	1	.3	.3	19.6
	5	244	71.6	71.6	91.2
	6	22	6.5	6.5	97.7
	7	8	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Total	341	100.0	100.0	

1. American Indian or Alaska Native
2. Asian
3. Black or African American
4. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
5. White
6. Hispanic or Latino
7. Other

TABLE 5. ***Highest Education Level of Respondent***

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3	3	.9	.9	.9
	4	43	12.6	12.6	13.5
	5	22	6.5	6.5	19.9
	6	93	27.3	27.3	47.2
	7	10	2.9	2.9	50.1
	8	138	40.5	40.5	90.6
	9	22	6.5	6.5	97.1
	10	6	1.8	1.8	98.8
	11	4	1.2	1.2	100.0
	Total	341	100.0	100.0	

1. Some high school, no diploma
2. High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent (for example, GED)
3. Some college credit, no degree
4. Trade/tech/vocational training
5. Associate degree
6. Bachelor’s degree
7. Master’s degree
8. Professional degree
9. Doctorate degree

TABLE 6. ***Total Annual Household Income of Respondents***

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	20	5.9	5.9	5.9
	2	27	7.9	7.9	13.8
	3	41	12.0	12.0	25.8
	4	53	15.5	15.5	41.3
	5	42	12.3	12.3	53.7
	6	39	11.4	11.4	65.1
	7	20	5.9	5.9	71.0
	8	23	6.7	6.7	77.7
	9	18	5.3	5.3	83.0
	10	13	3.8	3.8	86.8
	11	33	9.7	9.7	96.5
	12	12	3.5	3.5	100.0
	Total	341	100.0	100.0	

1. < $10k
2. 10k-19,999
3. 20k-29,999
4. 30k-39,999
5. 40k-49,999
6. 50k-59,999
7. 60k-69,999
8. 70k-79,999
9. 80k-89,999
10. 100k-149,999
11. 150k+

TABLE 7. ***Political Views of Respondents***

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
On a scale of 0 (very conservative) to 100 (very liberal), how / would you label your political views? -Political views	341	0	100	61.79	26.193
Valid N (listwise)	341				

TABLE 8. ***Percentage of Respondents Working in Human Resources***

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	10	2.9	2.9	2.9
	2	331	97.1	97.1	100.0
	Total	341	100.0	100.0	

1. Works in HR
2. Does not work in HR

TABLE 9. ***Percentage of Respondents Working in Finance***

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	25	7.3	7.3	7.3
	2	316	92.7	92.7	100.0
	Total	341	100.0	100.0	

1. Works in Finance
2. Does not work in Finance

XI. APPENDIX B: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

FIGURE 1. *Brief description of the task*

On the following page, you will find (1) a job posting from Visa Inc., (2) an applicant's cover letter, and (3) an information sheet with details about the applicant.

The applicant has applied for the position through a career website. Please carefully read the documents. You will later be asked to answer a few brief questions.

Please hit "next" when you are ready to carefully read the documents.

FIGURE 2A. *Job Posting (Finance)*

Company: Visa, Inc.
Position: Senior Finance Manager
Location: New York, NY

If you are passionate about leveraging your financial and analytical skills to help others succeed and drive profitable growth, then this job could be for you.

Primary Responsibilities:

- Acting as financial lead supporting sales division VP and sales team in driving top-line growth profitability
- Providing financial budget and target clarity
- Managing divisional financial risk and opportunity process
- Modeling and quantifying financial impact potential strategies
- Creating financial forecasts
- Representing the division in assessing resources required to drive top-line growth
- Providing financial expertise for sales division VP, sales directors, and customer/account managers
- Performing and sharing ROI insights on customer promotional activity
- Training and educating division on financial KPIs and ROI
- Providing financial input to strategic direction
- Analyzing and sharing Divisional financial performance
- Finding divisional efficiency opportunities
- Designing, developing, and maintaining division reporting tools to drive accountability
- Incorporating specific customer and business insights into the company's planning process
- Analyzing each brand and segment performance and recommending the needed corrective actions
- Acting as key liaison between financial services and divisional sales team
- Working together as an integral part of division sales team and sales finance team

Desired Skills and Experience:

- Bachelor level studies (MBA would be a plus)
- CPG Sales Finance experience preferred
- Strong analytical skills
- Experience managing P&L
- ROI and financial analysis experience
- People management preferred
- Managerial and leadership competencies
- 10+ years of relevant experience

FIGURE 2B. *Job Posting (Human Resources)*

Company: Visa, Inc.
Position: Senior Human Resources Manager
Location: New York, NY

The Senior Human Resources Manager is primarily responsible for the strategic and executional leadership of all aspects of the HR function and department: staffing and recruiting, talent management, diversity and inclusion, employee relations, employee engagement, workers' compensation, leadership development/training, and community involvement. Additionally, this role is an intricate part of the Business Unit HR Leadership team.

Primary Responsibilities:
Develops and executes initiatives that:

- Increase employee engagement and continue to lead company towards a performance-driven, values-led culture that delivers business results
- Build the leadership pipeline and improve organizational and individual capabilities
- Improve employee relations and workforce planning
- Continue engagement with local community initiatives
- Maintain positive employee relations through effective communications and issue resolution, as well as through the administration of company policies and procedures
- Ensure that short- and long-term training and development programs are developed and executed in line with business needs
- Ensure talent management processes are in place to include performance management, development planning and goal setting, succession planning, etc.
- Responsible for all diversity and inclusion activities
- Responsible for all staffing and recruitment activities for the facility

Desired Skills and Experience:

- Bachelor's Degree in Business, Human Resources, Communications or related field
- A minimum of 8-10 years of progressive Human Resources experience
- A minimum of 3 years of management/supervisory experience
- Experience working within a team-based environment required
- Excellent communication and presentation skills and the ability to work individuals across all levels of the organization
- Excellent drive for results, problem solving and conflict management abilities
- Strong strategic planning and execution
- Ability to deal with ambiguity
- Demonstrated leadership and good organizational skills
- Experience in Union and non-Union environments
- Ability to travel up to 5% required

FIGURE 3A. *Cover Letter (Finance)*

Dear Hiring Manager,

This letter is to express my interest in the Senior Finance Manager position posted on Monster.com. If you are seeking to augment your leadership team at Visa with an experienced and accomplished finance professional, please consider my enclosed resume.

As the Finance Manager for Budget & Planning at Verizon, I manage the Business Intelligence/Category Data Collection (CDC) database, including monthly (SAP subsidiaries), quarterly, budget and latest estimate category data loads and financial analysis. I am responsible for managing the reconciliation of category profit and loss data, as well as providing quarterly financials to Senior Management as support for earnings release.

Perhaps most importantly, I offer a history of proven results, as evidenced by the following accomplishments at Verizon:

- Overhauled processes and technical tools to more efficiently interpret and report financial performance against stated targets
- Assisted and influenced the implementation of several company-wide initiatives by creating financial models and providing strategic analysis
- Took lead and facilitated the company-wide ERP implementation of Hyperion for the New York finance team

In addition, I have also held Financial Analyst positions at Viacom Media Networks and State Street Corporation. Given the opportunity, I am confident in my ability to achieve similar breakthrough results for Visa, Inc.

I would welcome the chance to discuss your finance objectives and ways I can help you attain them. Feel free to call me at 555-555-5555 or email me at xxxxxxxx at your convenience. I look forward to speaking with you.

Sincerely,

Daniel L. Hubbard

FIGURE 3B. *Cover Letter (Human Resources)*

Dear Hiring Manager,

This letter is to express my interest in the Senior Human Resources Manager position posted on Monster.com. If you are seeking to augment your leadership team at Visa with an experienced and accomplished HR professional, please consider my enclosed resume.

As the Senior HR Manager at Verizon, I am responsible for developing and implementing talent and organizational development strategies to support increased profitability across the entire company. I served as an HR Business Partner and was responsible for overseeing three direct reports. Furthermore, I lead a cross functional "Customer First" task force.

Perhaps most importantly, I offer a history of proven results, as evidenced by the following accomplishments at Verizon:

- Initiated global employee engagement team: launched baseline survey and created intervention strategy
- Created and executed on new succession planning processes for all department heads in New York.
- Launched "talent tracker" tool to track and segment talent pools for appropriate nominations and actions
- Started an 8-month 1:1 mentoring program pilot for 6 SVPs as mentors and 6 high-potential managers/directors; trained mentors and created tracking process to measure success of the program

I have also held HR Manager positions at Johnson & Johnson and Kraft Foods, Inc. Given the opportunity, I am confident in my ability to achieve similar breakthrough results for Visa, Inc.

I would welcome the chance to discuss your HR objectives and ways I can help you attain them. Feel free to call me at 555-555-5555 or email me at xxxxxxxx at your convenience. I look forward to speaking with you.

Sincerely,

Sarah L. Hubbard

FIGURE 4. *Candidate Demographic Information*

NAME: Sarah L. Hubbard

AGE: 33

RACE: Caucasian

GENDER: Female

MARITAL STATUS: Single

LOCATION: New York, NY

EDUCATION: B.A., Communication, University of Pennsylvania (GPA 3.7/4.0)

FIGURE 5A. ***Survey Questions***

Based upon your examination of the application materials, information sheet, and job posting, please answer the following questions.

How likely would you be to recommend contacting this applicant for an interview? (1 = not likely to recommend at all; 9 = extremely likely to recommend)

not likely to recommend at all								extremely likely to recommend
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

How competent is the applicant on a scale of 1 (not competent at all) to 9 (extremely competent)?

not competent at all								extremely competent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Is the applicant a good fit for the job? Rank the applicant on a scale of 1 (not a good fit at all) to 9 (an extremely good fit).

not good fit at all								extremely good fit
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Do you believe that the above job is best for men or best for women? (1=best for men; 9=best for women)

best for men				best for men and for women				best for women
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

XII. APPENDIX C: RESULTS

TABLE 1A. *Job Perception (Descriptive)*

	job	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Do you believe that the above job is best for men or best for / women? (1=best for men; 9=best for...	1	172	5.88	.938	.072
	2	169	6.15	.930	.072

1. Finance
2. Human Resources

Rating of 1: Job is best for men
Rating of 9: Job is best for women

TABLE 1B. *Job Perception (Independent Samples T-Test)*

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
								95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	.057	.812	-2.669	339	.008	-.270	.101	-.469	-.071
Equal variances not assumed			-2.669	338.972	.008	-.270	.101	-.469	-.071

TABLE 2A. *Interview Chances (Descriptive)*

job	gender	marital	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1	1	1	8.32	1.253	47
		2	8.24	1.374	41
		Total	8.28	1.304	88
	2	1	8.40	.889	45
		2	8.56	1.447	39
		Total	8.48	1.177	84
	Total	1	8.36	1.085	92
		2	8.40	1.411	80
		Total	8.38	1.244	172
2	1	1	8.79	.989	43
		2	8.38	1.675	40
		Total	8.59	1.371	83
	2	1	8.43	1.434	42
		2	8.16	1.778	44
		Total	8.29	1.615	86
	Total	1	8.61	1.235	85
		2	8.26	1.722	84
		Total	8.44	1.503	169
Total	1	1	8.54	1.153	90
		2	8.31	1.522	81
		Total	8.43	1.342	171
	2	1	8.41	1.177	87
		2	8.35	1.634	83
		Total	8.38	1.415	170
	Total	1	8.48	1.163	177
		2	8.33	1.575	164
		Total	8.41	1.377	341

Job: (1) Finance (2) HR
Gender: (1) Male (2) Female
Marital: (1) Married (2) Single

Rating of 1: Not likely to recommend contacting the candidate for an interview at all
Rating of 9: Extremely likely to recommend contacting the candidate for an interview

TABLE 2B. *Interview Chances (ANOVA)*

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	11.513[a]	7	1.645	.865	.534
Intercept	24036.760	1	24036.760	12648.391	.000
job	.272	1	.272	.143	.706
gender	.166	1	.166	.088	.768
marital	1.888	1	1.888	.994	.320
job * gender	5.090	1	5.090	2.679	.103
job * marital	3.181	1	3.181	1.674	.197
gender * marital	.789	1	.789	.415	.520
job * gender * marital	.046	1	.046	.024	.876
Error	632.827	333	1.900		
Total	24749.000	341			
Corrected Total	644.340	340			

a. R Squared = .018 (Adjusted R Squared = -.003)

TABLE 3A. *Competency (Descriptive)*

job	gender	marital	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1	1	1	6.34	1.290	47
		2	6.34	1.175	41
		Total	6.34	1.231	88
	2	1	6.38	1.051	45
		2	6.87	.923	39
		Total	6.61	1.018	84
	Total	1	6.36	1.173	92
		2	6.60	1.086	80
		Total	6.47	1.136	172
2	1	1	6.88	.731	43
		2	6.40	1.614	40
		Total	6.65	1.254	83
	2	1	6.52	1.292	42
		2	6.32	1.459	44
		Total	6.42	1.376	86
	Total	1	6.71	1.056	85
		2	6.36	1.526	84
		Total	6.53	1.319	169
Total	1	1	6.60	1.089	90
		2	6.37	1.400	81
		Total	6.49	1.248	171
	2	1	6.45	1.169	87
		2	6.58	1.260	83
		Total	6.51	1.213	170
	Total	1	6.53	1.128	177
		2	6.48	1.331	164
		Total	6.50	1.229	341

Job: (1) Finance (2) HR
Gender: (1) Male (2) Female
Marital: (1) Married (2) Single

Rating of 1: The candidate is not competent at all
Rating of 9: The candidate is extremely competent

TABLE 3B. *Competency (ANOVA)*

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	16.500[a]	7	2.357	1.580	.140
Intercept	14389.924	1	14389.924	9646.397	.000
job	.200	1	.200	.134	.714
gender	.084	1	.084	.056	.812
marital	.200	1	.200	.134	.714
job * gender	5.410	1	5.410	3.627	.058
job * marital	7.449	1	7.449	4.993	.026
gender * marital	3.157	1	3.157	2.116	.147
job * gender * marital	.245	1	.245	.164	.685
Error	496.750	333	1.492		
Total	14927.000	341			
Corrected Total	513.249	340			

a. R Squared = .032 (Adjusted R Squared = .012)

TABLE 4A. *Job Fit (Descriptive)*

job	gender	marital	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1	1	1	6.13	1.227	47
		2	6.05	1.244	41
		Total	6.09	1.228	88
	2	1	6.22	1.085	45
		2	6.67	1.493	39
		Total	6.43	1.301	84
	Total	1	6.17	1.154	92
		2	6.35	1.397	80
		Total	6.26	1.272	172
2	1	1	6.65	.948	43
		2	6.32	1.670	40
		Total	6.49	1.347	83
	2	1	6.50	1.384	42
		2	6.18	1.514	44
		Total	6.34	1.452	86
	Total	1	6.58	1.179	85
		2	6.25	1.582	84
		Total	6.41	1.399	169
Total	1	1	6.38	1.128	90
		2	6.19	1.467	81
		Total	6.29	1.299	171
	2	1	6.36	1.239	87
		2	6.41	1.514	83
		Total	6.38	1.376	170
	Total	1	6.37	1.180	177
		2	6.30	1.491	164
		Total	6.33	1.337	341

Job: (1) Finance (2) HR
Gender: (1) Male (2) Female
Marital: (1) Married (2) Single

Rating of 1: The candidate is not at all a good fit for the job
Rating of 9: The candidate is an extremely good fit for the job

TABLE 4B. *Job Fit (ANOVA)*

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	16.720[a]	7	2.389	1.345	.228
Intercept	13661.944	1	13661.944	7695.648	.000
job	1.865	1	1.865	1.051	.306
gender	.928	1	.928	.523	.470
marital	.413	1	.413	.232	.630
job * gender	5.382	1	5.382	3.032	.083
job * marital	5.416	1	5.416	3.051	.082
gender * marital	1.499	1	1.499	.844	.359
job * gender * marital	1.410	1	1.410	.794	.373
Error	591.169	333	1.775		
Total	14290.000	341			
Corrected Total	607.889	340			

a. R Squared = .028 (Adjusted R Squared = .007)

TABLE 5. *Interview Chances and Political Orientation (ANOVA)*

Dependent Variable: How likely / would you be to recommend contacting this applicant for an / interview? (1 = not likely...

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	46.385[a]	15	3.092	1.681	.053
Intercept	20964.209	1	20964.209	11394.450	.000
job	3.094	1	3.094	1.682	.196
marital	7.164	1	7.164	3.894	.049
gender	3.155	1	3.155	1.715	.191
political	2.249	1	2.249	1.223	.270
job * marital	.366	1	.366	.199	.656
job * gender	1.700	1	1.700	.924	.337
job * political	9.381	1	9.381	5.099	.025
marital * gender	.207	1	.207	.113	.738
marital * political	14.321	1	14.321	7.784	.006
gender * political	8.525	1	8.525	4.634	.032
job * marital * gender	.292	1	.292	.159	.691
job * marital * political	.333	1	.333	.181	.671
job * gender * political	.663	1	.663	.360	.549
marital * gender * political	8.213	1	8.213	4.464	.035
job * marital * gender * political	.040	1	.040	.022	.882
Error	597.955	325	1.840		
Total	24749.000	341			
Corrected Total	644.340	340			

a. R Squared = .072 (Adjusted R Squared = .029)

TABLE 6. *Competency and Political Orientation (ANOVA)*

Dependent Variable: How competent is the applicant on a scale of 1 (not competent at / all) to 9 (extremely competent)?

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	38.643[a]	15	2.576	1.764	.039
Intercept	12605.783	1	12605.783	8632.159	.000
job	.635	1	.635	.435	.510
marital	1.861	1	1.861	1.275	.260
gender	.176	1	.176	.121	.728
political	1.132	1	1.132	.775	.379
job * marital	4.877	1	4.877	3.340	.069
job * gender	4.262	1	4.262	2.918	.089
job * political	.555	1	.555	.380	.538
marital * gender	.974	1	.974	.667	.415
marital * political	11.387	1	11.387	7.798	.006
gender * political	2.512	1	2.512	1.720	.191
job * marital * gender	.167	1	.167	.114	.736
job * marital * political	.351	1	.351	.241	.624
job * gender * political	.020	1	.020	.014	.907
marital * gender * political	4.509	1	4.509	3.087	.080
job * marital * gender * political	1.858	1	1.858	1.272	.260
Error	474.607	325	1.460		
Total	14927.000	341			
Corrected Total	513.249	340			

a. R Squared = .075 (Adjusted R Squared = .033)

TABLE 7. *Job Fit and Political Orientation (ANOVA)*

Dependent Variable: Is the / applicant a good fit for the job? Rank the applicant on a scale / of 1 (not a good fit at...

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	49.870[a]	15	3.325	1.936	.019
Intercept	11823.846	1	11823.846	6886.420	.000
job	6.816	1	6.816	3.970	.047
marital	3.607	1	3.607	2.101	.148
gender	.397	1	.397	.231	.631
political	4.606	1	4.606	2.683	.102
job * marital	1.279	1	1.279	.745	.389
job * gender	1.308	1	1.308	.762	.383
job * political	8.018	1	8.018	4.670	.031
marital * gender	.064	1	.064	.037	.848
marital * political	8.836	1	8.836	5.146	.024
gender * political	9.069	1	9.069	5.282	.022
job * marital * gender	.063	1	.063	.037	.848
job * marital * political	.613	1	.613	.357	.551
job * gender * political	2.093	1	2.093	1.219	.270
marital * gender * political	10.527	1	10.527	6.131	.014
job * marital * gender * political	.168	1	.168	.098	.755
Error	558.018	325	1.717		
Total	14290.000	341			
Corrected Total	607.889	340			

a. R Squared = .082 (Adjusted R Squared = .040)

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