

ABSTRACT

ALEXANDER, ALYSSA JANE. The Price of Parenthood: Identity Mobilization and the Parenthood Wage Gap Among Paid Care Workers. (Under the direction of Dr. Anna Manzoni).

Becoming a parent has long lasting consequences on labor market earnings. Research exploring the effects of parenthood on earnings finds that mothers earn less than non-mothers (Budig and England 2001), and that this effect remains stable across cohorts (Avellar and Smock 2003; Abendroth, Huffman and Treas 2014). Men, however, experience a premium on their earnings once they become fathers (Hodges and Budig 2010). This parenthood penalty or premium primarily stems from ideologies at home and work that reinforce the idea that fathers are ideal workers (Acker 1990) and that mothers are homemakers and caretakers (Hays 1996).

Research on the earnings of parents focuses primarily on professional or managerial occupations, such as positions in law, business or tech (Budig and England 2001; Buchmann and McDaniel 2016). However, the consequences of parenthood may vary across occupations as occupations differ in the gender ideologies that shape occupational values, requirements for ideal workers, and the structures that reinforce these norms. This dissertation focuses on care work; care work employers value traits like love, compassion, altruism, and care - traits associated with parenthood – and, I argue, possession of these traits may result in greater rewards for parents (England 2005). Workers who are able to leverage their identity as parents to signal to employers appropriateness for care work may experience greater advantage – in the form of higher wages - than nonparents who are seen as less appropriate for care work (Cha and Roberts 2019). However, motherhood and fatherhood may also operate differently than parenthood broadly. Fathers may face a smaller premium than mothers but a larger premium than non-fathers in care work occupations, and mothers may have a larger premium than non-mothers and fathers alike, as mothers may be seen as more appropriate for care work than fathers (Wooten

and Branch 2012). Furthermore, I argue that these rewards will vary by care work sub-sectors, as gender stereotypes and ideal worker requirements vary across care work sectors. Finally, due to changing gender ideologies and demographic shifts, I argue that parents from younger cohorts will experience greater parenthood premiums than those from older cohorts.

Using the American Community Survey (ACS), I explore the effects of motherhood and fatherhood on care workers' earnings in care work broadly, within sub-sectors of care work, and across birth cohorts. Results suggest that mothers experience penalties compared to fathers and that mothers also experience penalties compared to non-mothers while fathers experience premiums compared to non-fathers, with some racial variations emerging as well. Furthermore, I find small variations by care work sector as fathers in education experience smaller premiums compared to non-fathers and mothers in social work experience premiums compared to non-mothers. Finally, I show that younger cohorts of mothers in care work experience slightly greater advantages compared to their non-mother counterparts than they do in older cohorts, while younger cohorts of fathers actually experience smaller premiums compared to non-fathers than they do in older cohorts.

Keywords: wage gap, parenthood, care work, gender, feminine capital, identity mobilization, gender stereotypes, appropriate labor

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The Price of Parenthood: Identity Mobilization and the Parenthood Wage Gap Among Paid Care
Workers

by
Alyssa Jane Alexander

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
North Carolina State University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Sociology

Raleigh, North Carolina
2021

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DEDICATION

“Seek first to understand, then to be understood.”

Stephen R. Covey

To Mom and Dad.

Thank you for teaching me to never give up on my dreams, to never stop learning, to listen, and to know where my strength and success truly come from. Your encouragement, your love, and those countless hours of helping me even if you had no clue what I was doing, have paid off I hope? Thank you for believing in me. I love you both.

BIOGRAPHY

Alyssa Jane Alexander was born on the East Coast of the United States but raised internationally in Germany, South Korea, and England by John and Connie Alexander. The youngest of three, and the only girl, her parents instilled a strong work ethic and a love of learning from a young age. Alyssa received a Bachelor of Science in Sociology from Brigham Young University in Provo, UT in 2015, where she quickly fell in love with sociology, especially with its perspective on family structure and family life. After graduating, Alyssa entered a master's program also at BYU; it was there that her advisor encouraged her to seek a doctorate. After graduating in 2017, her path soon led to Raleigh to attend North Carolina State University to continue her education on her path to becoming a college sociology professor. Her current research focuses on how children shape the wages of mothers and fathers in various care work occupations, though she also has interests in military families and work-family conflict among care workers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“Keep away from people who try to belittle your ambitions. Small people always do that, but the really great make you feel that you, too, can become great.”

Mark Twain

Without the help of many others, I would not be where I am today, and neither would this dissertation. To my advisor--Anna Manzoni--I am beyond grateful for your support, feedback, and patience as I have started and continued on this dissertation journey. To my committee – Celeste Curington, Steve McDonald and Kimberly Allen – thank you for your well wishes, encouragement, and feedback as well. All four of you are great examples to me of what it means to be a good scholar and a good teacher. All the advice, constructive criticism, and support I have received from you will stick with me wherever I go next. To all other professors at NCSU (as well as all past teachers that have gotten me to this point), thank you for your support. Thank you for helping me become even more excited about sociology.

To those in my PhD program, I am grateful that I’ve been able to spend the last four years in your presence and to have had the opportunity to learn from each of you in different ways. To Karen, your general encouragement and constant support to one of the few remaining family scholars even though I am not in your cohort, was absolutely vital to my success, so thank you. To Stacy and Meagan, you rock. I could not have made it through these last few years, especially this final year, without your frequent check-ins, your support and advice, and your friendship. I truly appreciate and love you both. Even though I may be leaving, I am always a text (as you know I avoid phone calls unless necessary) away.

To one of my best friends – Lisa – I express my utmost love and appreciation for you. Whenever I was struggling or needing help, you were always there to pick me up and offer your

help. To Lindsey and Jessica – even if we are all going through difficult times, I could feel your support from thousands of miles away. Thank you for being you. To my good friends from my master’s cohort – Daehyeon, Carolina, Flo, Daniela – I believe in you! You can do anything you put your mind to – remember, if you feel that God called you to this work, then there is always a way. I wish you all the best in your future endeavors. To my roommates – Emily and Kate – thank you for letting me vent and for your friendship. I’m truly blessed to know and learn from you both. To all my other friends and past roommates who are not listed here by name, don’t think that I don’t love and appreciate you the same! I am who I am because of the experiences I have had with each of you. I thank you for that.

To my family, I truly have no words to express how grateful I am for you. To my older brothers – Matt and Tyler and their families – Marci, Melissa, and all my nieces and nephews, thank you for all your support. Thank you for reading my work, even though it’s both long and sociologically complicated. To my mom and dad, thank you. From the get-go, you both have always supported me, have always offered help and advice, and have always encouraged me to shoot for the moon. You both constantly reminded me to never give up, but sometimes to slow down and have patience. You have both taught me that my strength comes from the Lord, and without that knowledge, I’m sure I would have floundered a lot more than I have. Thank you for reminding me that things will work out as long as I try my best, always face the future with a smile, and trust in my Heavenly Father and Savior. I love you.

All of this is for, and because of, all of you. I love you. Thank you.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background

Being a woman comes with disadvantages at work; being a mother comes with even more (Budig and England 2001; England 2005; Duffy 2007; Boushey 2008; Glauber 2008; Hodges and Budig 2010). On average, once women become mothers, they receive lower wages as a result of their new parent status (Budig and England 2001; England 2005; Duffy 2007; Boushey 2008; Glauber 2008; Hodges and Budig 2010; Williams 2010). Budig and England (2001) found that there was a 7% wage penalty per child for women. Past research has also found that the cost of motherhood increases with additional children (Budig and England 2001; Staff and Mortimer 2012; England et al. 2016). Anderson, Binder, and Krause (2002) found that mothers with two or more children experienced the largest penalty due to greater time out of the workforce. Fathers, instead, typically experience a boost to their wages after having children (Budig and England 2001; Avellar and Smock 2003; Correll, Benard and Paik 2007; Glauber 2007; Glauber 2008; Budig and Hodges 2010; Cooke 2014; England et al. 2016). However, there are racial, occupational, and cohort variations with regards to the size of the penalty or premium mothers and fathers face typically due to ideal worker expectations and other structural barriers (Budig and England 2001; Glauber 2008; Cooke 2014; Buchmann and McDaniel 2016; Lim 2019). Common explanations typically stem from two major strands: supply side explanations – linked to arguments highlighting the role of human capital – and demand side explanations – linked to discussions about the role of ideal worker norms, structural reinforcements of those norms, and employer held stereotypes the processes by which employer stereotype shape a (Acker 1990; Hays 1996; Wooten and Branch 2012).

Theoretical Explanations

Supply Side

According to human capital theory, individuals possess fixed amounts of effort to spend on work or family life (Becker 1985). Human capital theory argues that the skills, knowledge, and other characteristics workers possess all shape productivity, which in turn contributes to their wages (Becker 1985). Mothers not only possess lower levels of work-related effort than fathers, but also possess higher levels of family-related effort (Becker 1985). As such, when women take time off from work to care for children, their human capital is expected to or assumed to decrease and they are paid less (Becker 1985; Coltrane 1997; Budig and England 2001; Glauber 2008; Budig and Hodges 2010; Staff and Mortimer 2012). Current research echoes this; for instance, England and colleagues (2016) find that women with higher human capital suffer the greatest motherhood penalty, as they are more likely to lose job experience by taking more time off than mothers who work in jobs that are low skill or low wage (England et al. 2016). However, human capital measures do not completely eliminate the motherhood penalty or fatherhood premium (Budig and England 2001; Kmec 2011). To fill this gap, scholars turn towards demand side explanations, studying the impact of ideal worker norms and employer discrimination.

Demand Side

According to Acker (1990), employers and workplaces have assumptions about who is an ideal worker; typically, ideal workers are those who are committed to work and have few outside demands that prevent them from staying committed to work and fulfilling work demands (1990). The ideal worker typically is male (Acker 1990; Reskin 2008). Employers also typically reward men more than women after childbirth as they assume that men have to provide for their family,

which, in the eyes of employers, would make them more committed to doing a good job at work and thus more of an ideal worker (Correll, Benard and Paik 2007; Glauber 2007; Gungor and Biernat 2009; Cooke 2014; England et al. 2016). Performances of masculinity and expectations for masculinity shape the workplace. For instance, Kanter (1975) discusses how rationality, reason, a tough-minded approach to solving problems, and an ability to set aside personal tasks all permeate workplaces – all traits connected with masculinity – and thus shapes employer perceptions of women workers. This ideal worker expectation is also racialized, as it typically favors white men over men of color (Collins 2006; Hodges and Budig 2010; Wooten and Branch 2012; Alegria 2019), as cultural discourses surrounding who is more committed to work paint Black men as not committed as they are typically not seen as breadwinners.

This ideal worker preference is reinforced by workplace structures, such as overwork norms. Mothers are less likely to work overtime (Cuddy et al. 2004; Cha 2010). For instance, in studying the role of occupational structures, scholars find that women and mothers in occupations with stricter requirements for overwork face larger penalties than women in occupations with less strict overwork norms (Budig and England 2001; Solberg 2005; Cha 2013; Langdon 2013). Overall, professional and high-status occupations tend to have stricter overwork norms and thus stronger expectations of who the ideal worker is and their commitment level (Acker 1990; Williams 2010; Stone and Lovejoy 2019). However, some scholars find that employers typically view poor workers as failed workers, as they are often unable to find the resources that would cover childcare and thus had to take time off (Dodson 2009). Regardless of occupational status, taking time off of work prevents workers from fulfilling ideal worker norms.

In addition to ideal worker norms, other gendered stereotypes shape parents wages. For instance, Hays (1996) argues that mothers, especially white middle-class mothers, are

constrained by intensive mothering ideologies that expect them to be committed to devoting all their time to raising their children. Employers utilize these gender and parental stereotypes to discriminate against mothers by stereotyping them as less committed to work and less competent (Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007). Other scholars find that female applicants tended to be perceived as less committed making them less likely to be hired in blue-collar jobs that expects workers to be more traditionally masculine and committed (Gungor and Biernat 2009). However, if mothers can signal higher levels of work-devotion to employers, they tend to be viewed more favorably (Aranda and Glick 2013). Overall, the traits employers believe women to have – feminine traits like empathy and caring and cooperation – remain devalued (Alvesson and Billing 2009). Employers do not hold the same stereotypes about fathers and their ability to be committed to the work after having children as they do about women and mothers; in fact, employers often expect fathers to increase their work hours after childbirth in order to fulfill the expectation that fathers are breadwinners first (Connell 1995; Raley, Bianchi and Wang 2012).

Thus, parents' wages are shaped not only by the structure of the work and the assumptions about who is an ideal worker, but also by the process that occurs through signaling of both gender and racial stereotypes (Kennelly 1999; Alegria 2019; Cha and Roberts 2019). For instance, Alegria (2019) found that ideals of white femininity and the stereotypes employers held about women of color and their appropriateness for higher status positions led women of color to be excluded from these higher status positions compared to white women. Kennelly (1999) found that employers often held contradictory stereotypes about Black mothers at work – some viewed them as more dependable, desperate and thus more hardworking than Black men, while others viewed them as both poor employees and bad parents. As a result, employers were less likely to hire Black single mothers (Kennelly 1999). Thus, we see that the stereotypes that

employers possess not only about the workers but also about the work itself all matter for shaping worker wages. However, these stereotypes – both about the traits needed at work as well as the traits that workers are assumed to possess through their identity – also vary by occupation, yet little research explores care work – a female dominated and low-wage occupation where the stereotypes for who is appropriate for care work reflect the stereotypes attached to female gender identities, parental identities, and racial identities.

Occupational Variations

Overall, our current understanding of the effect of parenthood on worker wages focuses primarily on professional, managerial, or other high-status occupations (Acker 1990; Williams 2010; Stone and Lovejoy 2019; Williams 2010; Budig and England 2001; Glauber 2012; Buchmann and McDaniel 2016), and ignores other occupations where variations – within aspects such as ideal worker norms, flexibility or overwork norms, gender stereotypes, values, and expectations for who is appropriate labor – exist. This variation in the norms and values within occupations can have direct consequences for the premiums and penalties mothers and fathers face, especially in an occupation where employer expectations for workers reflect more closely the identities that workers possess – that of women, mother, or people of color - which are traditionally disadvantaged in other occupations. As these expectations, norms, and values vary based on occupation, grouping all low wage or all female-dominated – occupations with majority female – or female-typed occupations – occupations associated with women or femininity– together fails to capture the nuances that exist within the female-dominated umbrella.

Each female-dominated, low-wage and female-typed occupation comes with different values, organizational structures, and gendered beliefs about who is the ideal worker and who is

not (Duffy 2007; England 2005; Dwyer 2013; Hartmann et al. 2018). Even within this female-dominated occupational umbrella, some occupations come with more family-friendly environments, more access to part-time work schedules, and more connections with feminine traits and stereotypes (Acker 1990; England 2005; Glauber 2012; Garcia-Ael, Cuadrado, and Molero 2018). For instance, even between nurses and nursing assistants, nurses have greater flexibility than nursing assistants, regardless of both jobs being female-dominated (Gerstel and Clawson 2014). Furthermore, non-nurturant care occupations like food service do not have the same need for care focused traits and values as a child care does (Duffy 2007, 2011).

Some scholars have found that the wage gap between mothers and childless women is larger in female-dominated occupations than in male-dominated occupations like STEM, medicine, or law (Budig and England 2001; Budig and Hodges 2010; Glauber 2012; Killewald and Bearak 2014; Aranda and Glick 2013). Others, looking at low-wage occupations, which include both female and male-dominated sectors, find that women in low wage occupations experience smaller penalties than women in high-wage occupations (Brown 2010; England et al. 2016). However, other scholars find that both low wage and high wage earning women experience similar penalties to each other but experience smaller penalties to those middle-wage earning women (Killewald and Bearak 2014). Furthermore, studies have found that men in low wage occupations experience either penalties or smaller premiums after having children compared to men in high-wage or male-dominated professions (Cooke 2014; Glauber 2018).

The Current Study

In this introduction, I first, describe what is care work; next, I explain two theoretical frameworks that help to explain how the stereotypes employers hold about the work and workers

have direct connection to worker wages. I conclude by outlining the significance of this study and its contribution and by presenting an overview of the rest of this dissertation.

What is Care Work?

Cancian and Oliker (2000) define care work as work that includes “feelings of affection and responsibility combined with actions that provide responsively for an individual's personal needs or well-being, in a face-to-face relationship” (2000:2). Building on that definition of care work, Duffy (2011) argues nurturant care includes labor that directly involves face-to-face care and intimacy, such as the work of nurses or home health aides, child-care workers, teachers, social workers, and clergy (2011). Care work, among other female dominated occupations, is directly shaped by the gender makeup that leads to feminization and then devaluation. Employers tend to ascribe lower value and thus lower wages to work that involves large numbers of women or feminized tasks (England, Budig & Folbre 2002; England 2005). Even though numbers of male care workers have increased, and vary based on sub-sector of care work, nurturant care work remains female-dominated and low-wage (England 2005; Duffy 2011). Furthermore, an ever growing number of workers are minority or immigrant women; I argue this growing number of workers of color, because of the racialized stereotypes employers possess about these workers and care work itself, will result in different rewards for parents of color than white parents (England and Folbre 1999; England 2005; Hartmann et al. 2018). However, it is important to note that this automatic devaluation of women’s work, and care work more specifically, could result in greater disadvantage if one is seen as appropriate for the work itself, as opposed to being able to use one’s identity as an advantage.

Why Might Care Work Differ? Identity Mobilization and Appropriate Labor Frameworks

Wooten and Branch (2012) argued that in addition to ideal worker norms that employers use to judge a worker's commitment to work as a whole, employers also rank certain workers as more appropriate for a particular type of work (Wooten and Branch 2012). They argue that this appropriate worker concept is fluid and can fluctuate based on the changing workforce and its attached stereotypes (2012). Furthermore, they argue that the characteristics of an individual, such as race and gender, can lead to greater appropriateness if the social context and attached stereotypes reinforce it (Wooten and Branch 2012). For instance, the assumptions that women were expected to prepare home and family while their husbands worked directly shaped the perception that women were more suited towards domestic labor than men (Wooten and Branch 2012). As beliefs emerged that labeled black women as more suited for domestic work because of their past as servants or slaves, employers viewed these women as more appropriate labor compared to white women (Wooten and Branch 2012). Thus, it is not just about whether workers are seen as committed to the work but also about whether they are appropriate for the job itself.

Workers can signal appropriateness to their employers in many ways, but one such framework terms this process as identity mobilization. Scholars utilizing the identity mobilization framework argue that one's identity, whether actual or assumed, comes with attached "stereotypes and identity-related insights" (Cha and Roberts 2019:742), which can, if successfully utilized, be used as leverage. Connecting appropriate labor and identity mobilization frameworks, I argue that workers can use their parental, gender, or racial identity as a way to signal to employers that they fulfill certain stereotypes and are appropriate for the work itself. Care work may actually reward parents as a whole since parents embody what it means to be a care worker and their identity as parents serves as a resource signaling to employers that they are

appropriate for the work (England 2005; Huppertz 2012; Wooten and Branch 2012; Cha and Roberts 2019).

Significance of Study

Most people provide or require care whether for children, elderly family members, or sick or disabled persons (Montgomery, Holley, Deichert, and Kosloski 2005). While families tend to have fewer children today, the number of those that are elderly and unable to care for themselves has increased and is expected to increase further (Hartmann et al. 2018). In addition, families need more income to survive in the current economy and, as many workplaces do not have family friendly policies, many of them must turn to outside sources to provide care (Heymann, Toomey, and Furstenberg 1999). As such, the care economy has grown (Dwyer 2013; Hartmann et al. 2018). With rising rates of care workers and increasing demand for care (Montgomery et al. 2005), it is important to better understand occupations in this industry. Furthermore, studying care work matters as care workers perform work that benefits society as a whole (England 2005). Care workers help patients, whether children or the elderly, develop skills and habits that benefit both themselves and greater society (England and Folbre 2002; England 2005); as wages are likely to impact the likelihood of workers entering these fields, it is important to understand what shapes their wages.

By studying care work, scholars can better understand the mechanisms and factors that recreate or reproduce gender inequality. As care workers tend to be female, understanding their experiences with wages allows us to understand how inequality based on parental and gender status can be perpetuated both at work and at home. If women and mothers in care work are rewarded for traits we associate with their parenthood and gender status, scholars then gain a

better understanding of how entrenched gender ideologies and stereotypes remain and how they are perpetuated by the interactions we have. If women and mothers are not rewarded in care work, we learn that even in a sector where we would expect women to succeed, gender remains a powerful predictor of inequality.

By applying identity mobilization and appropriate labor frameworks to care work and the wages of parents, mothers and fathers, we understand more about one female-dominated and low-wage sector of work – care work – and how caring or other feminine stereotypes connected to one’s gender, racial or parental identity be used as a resource for advantage, which tells us more about how we as a society value and reward women’s work. As a result, this research expands analyses of gender inequality to an understudied sector, and highlights the permanency of ideal worker norms, but also the importance of understanding further the roles that employer stereotypes, assumptions about appropriateness for the job tasks itself, and identity, all play. Results showcase how ideal worker norms and gender ideologies continue to disadvantage mothers and care workers broadly, especially people of color (Risman 2004), and helps us understand how care work continues to be devalued.

Overview of Dissertation

This study examines the impact of parenthood on earnings of men and women in care work. The first empirical chapter (chapter 2) looks at the role of parenthood in care work, the intersection of gender and parenthood – motherhood versus fatherhood – and the intersection of gender, race and parenthood – mothers/fathers of color versus white mothers/fathers. The next empirical chapter (chapter 3) looks at the effect of motherhood and fatherhood and whether these effects vary by sector of care work, including child care, education, medical health care, religion, and

social work or counseling. The final empirical chapter (chapter 4) looks at the effect of motherhood and fatherhood across birth cohorts: Baby Boom, Generation X, and Millennials. Within each chapter, I introduce the background, hypotheses, data (American Community Survey) and methods, results, and conclude with a discussion. Tables and figures are located in the appropriate appendices.

CHAPTER 2: PARENTHOOD EFFECTS & PARENTAL GENDER EFFECTS ON CARE WORKER WAGES

Introduction

Mothers typically have lower wages than childless women (Anderson, Binder, and Krause 2002; Cuddy, Fiske and Flick 2004; Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007). However, this penalty also varies by racial group and occupation type. For instance, Glauber (2007) found the following about the effect of race on motherhood wages: White mothers faced a wage penalty; Hispanic mothers did not experience a wage penalty; and only Black mothers with two or more children experienced a penalty. Budig and Hodges (2010) found that Black women experienced the biggest negative penalties after motherhood. Fathers, however, typically experience a boost to their wages after having children (Correll, Benard and Paik 2007; Glauber 2007; Glauber 2008; Cooke 2014; England et al. 2016), though this premium is smaller for fathers of color, especially Black men (Hodges and Budig 2010). Scholars also find that this penalty for mothers and premium for fathers persists across female-dominated occupations (Budig and England 2001; Glauber 2012; Buchmann and McDaniel 2016), but they often conflate all female dominated occupations, merging those female dominated occupations that involve nurturant care and those that do not.

In addition to ideal worker norms that structure wage discrimination processes, employers rank workers on appropriateness for the job itself (Reskin 2008; Wooten and Branch 2012). Employers evaluate workers as appropriate by using worker identities and the attached stereotypes as markers of whether or not the individual possesses the skill or traits necessary to succeed in one occupation (Cha and Roberts 2019). Care work is one occupation that can help us to better understand this valuation process, and may actually lend itself to greater advantage for women and mothers over men and fathers. Scholars have argued that in some settings a feminine

identity which marks possession of specific gender stereotypes can actually lead to advantage (Huppertz 2012). Care work is one such setting; one's identity can serve as an advantage as long as the stereotypes about what type of person is appropriate for care work are in line with the traits attached to said identity. As workers leverage their identity – as women, parents, or as specific racial groups – to signal to employers that the resources that come from said identity make them more appropriate for the job, they may be rewarded with regards to their wages as they may still experience disadvantage and exploitation in other ways (Wooten & Branch 2012; Cottingham 2016; Cha and Roberts 2019). However, while I argue that mothers and fathers will both experience wage premiums – as they both possess a valued identity as parents –, I also argue that mothers will experience larger premiums than fathers because their identity as mothers helps them to fulfill more care work stereotypes than a father identity.

Using negative binomial regression analytic techniques, I analyze the American Community Survey to uncover the role that parenthood and gender play in shaping wages of care workers. This chapter is organized in the following way: first, I explore research looking at the wages of mothers and fathers, their racial and occupational variations; second, I present my main theoretical argument for why care work may differ from non-care work occupations, and list hypotheses where appropriate; fourth, I explain the data, key variables of interest, analytic technique and present results; fifth, I conclude with a discussion.

Background and Theoretical Framework

Parental Wages: Patterns and Variations

Budig and England (2001) found that there was a 7% wage penalty per child for women. Past research has also found that the cost of motherhood increases with additional children (Budig

and England 2001; Staff and Mortimer 2012; England et al. 2016). For instance, Anderson, Binder, and Krause (2002) found that mothers with two or more children experienced the largest penalty. Other scholars find similar results for the additive negative effect that children pose for women (Jee, Misra, and Murray-Close 2019). Fathers, on the other hand, typically experience a boost to their wages after having children (Correll, Benard and Paik 2007; Glauber 2007; Glauber 2008; Budig and Hodges 2010; Cooke 2014; England et al. 2016).

However, it is important that when studying the experiences of parents that we do so from an intersectional approach as experiences with gender and gender discrimination are not the same for all groups (Collins 2004). England and colleagues (2016) found white women experienced the highest wage penalties primarily because they possessed greater skills and wages that increased the risk that losing job experience poses for wages (England et al. 2016). Other scholars found that immigrant women experience smaller wage gaps after motherhood compared to U.S. native-born women (Srivastava 2018). Glauber (2007) found that Hispanic mothers experience no wage penalty, White mothers do pay a wage penalty, and only Black married mothers with two or more children pay a wage penalty. Others found that Asian mothers tend to have smaller penalties than white mothers (Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman 2003). However, there are inconsistencies with regards to the effect of race and its intersection with motherhood status. For instance, Pal and Waldfogel (2016) found that white women experience decrease in motherhood penalties while Black women's penalties remain consistent across the 70s-2000s. Budig and Hodges (2010) found that Black women experienced the biggest negative penalties after motherhood. Fatherhood premiums also varies by racial/ethnic group. For instance, Glauber (2008) found that children resulted in an increase in wages for married white and Latino fathers, while married Black men do not experience as big of an increase in their wages and earnings

after having children (2008). Hodges and Budig (2010) also find that Black men received smaller premiums than white men and Latino men.

Motherhood penalties and fatherhood premiums also vary by the location in the earnings distribution (i.e. low wage versus high wage), in that mothers at the bottom of the wage distribution tend to experience larger penalties (Budig and Hodges 2010; Glauber 2018) though some research suggest the opposite (Brown 2010; Killewald and Bearak 2014) . With regards to fathers, we also see differences based on location in the earnings distribution. Lower-wage or middle-wage men experienced smaller premiums (Glauber 2018), or in some cases experience penalties (Cooke 2014). As female dominated occupations also tend to be low-wage, scholars have also found that this penalty persists in these low-wage female dominated occupations, though they fail to look at the differences between care work occupations and non-care work occupations (Budig and England 2001; Glauber 2012; Buchmann and McDaniel 2016). For instance, Glauber (2011) found that mothers in more gender integrated or female-dominated professions experienced greater wage penalties than mothers in male-dominated professions. However, Buchmann and McDaniel (2016) found that women in STEM and medicine tended to experience a wage premium compared to women in business, all of which are not female-dominated occupations.

What About Care Work?

Care work occupations may provide support to the argument that some occupations may actually reward and favor mothers more than fathers, since care work values and rewards love and care - traits often associated with motherhood (England and Folbre 1999; England 2005; Brown 2010; Killewald and Bearak 2014; Glauber 2018; Hartmann et al. 2018) as long as workers are able to

leverage their identity as women, mothers, or parents successfully. Yet, little scholarship exists studying the intersecting effect of parenthood and gender on wages for mothers and fathers in care work. In this next section, I review what we know about gender and parenthood status in care work occupations.

Gender and race in care work. Even though numbers of male care workers have increased, nurturant care work remains female-dominated and low-wage; furthermore, an ever growing number of workers are minority or immigrant women (England and Folbre 1999; England 2005; Hartmann et al. 2018), though this does vary by care sub-sector and I focus on care work broadly in this chapter. As such, a brief discussion of the consequences of gender and race in care work is vital before discussing the reasons for why care work may reward parents and especially mothers. Many scholars have studied the role of gender and gender stereotypes in care work; women are generally assumed to possess qualities that encourage care and help and concern for others, and that they naturally excel at occupations that value warmth and selflessness, of which care work is one (Burgess and Borgida 1999; England 2005). These societal-held ideologies about the qualities of women and the qualities associated with care work often lead care work to be devalued and underpaid (England 2005; Meagher 2006; Folbre 2012). Kilbourne and colleagues (1994), in studying occupations requiring more nurturant skills found that these jobs resulted in wage penalties for workers (Kilbourne et al. 1994).

Scholars also find that gender stereotypes about care work also shape the experiences of men in these occupations. For instance, some scholars find that men working in female dominated jobs tend to distance themselves from the work and reframe care work as masculine work or find other strategies to rationalize their involvement in what is seen as women's work (Cross and Bagilhole 2002; Hrzenjak 2013). Since care work is seen as women's work, men are

pushed out of care work occupations because they are seen as above the work (Williams 1992). This distancing from the feminine nature of work is echoed in the work by Bagilhole and Cross (2006) who studied the experiences of men in nursing occupations, though they also found that some men emphasized the feminine traits that they did possess and found enjoyment in the typically female-typed occupation.

In addition to gendered assumptions care work being women's work, care work is also racialized (Glenn 1992; Duffy 2007, 2011). Workers of colors are overrepresented in these occupations and generally experience higher amounts of discrimination than white workers (Hodges 2020). According to Branch (2011), Black women who work in domestic service or care work are generally seen as fit for the work or as excellent servants (2011). Wooten and Branch (2012) echo this statement. However, Black women tend to be negatively impacted by working in care work occupations with regards to their wages, even if they have higher levels of seniority; as such they are typically paid less than Whites or Latinas (Kilbourne et al. 1994; England et al. 1999). The experiences of Black men in care work also differ from the experiences of white men as Williams (1992) originally argued; for instance, Black men are not pushed out of care work into higher status positions and are generally seen as less skilled at care work jobs (Harvey-Wingfield 2009; Williams 2013). However, Harvey-Wingfield (2009) also argues that Black men enter care work occupations and distance themselves from traditional white masculine ideals and because they desire to be engaged in helping Black communities thrive (2009). Other scholars find that Black men seek out female-dominated jobs because they put less pressure on workers to achieve traditionally masculine traits that they are unable to achieve (Barber 2008). Lamont (2000) argues that Black men in care work develop a caring self by emphasize their caretaking abilities to order to signal appropriateness to employers (2000).

Overall, even though we know much about the effect of gender and race on experiences within care work for men and women, we know little about how those interact with parenthood to shape wages within care work. For instance, we know little about how parents navigate gender stereotypes and ideal worker norms, and how employers may reward or not reward them for fulfilling these stereotypes or being unable to fulfill ideal worker norms. As I will explain below, care work may provide a context where parenthood results in an advantage for workers, since parenthood involves traits that are similarly valued or needed in care work occupations (England 2005; Pedersen 2012).

Appropriate Labor & Identity Mobilization

Wooten and Branch (2012) argued that in addition to ideal worker norms that may shape wages of parents, other expectations from employers can shape wage discrimination. According to Reskin (2008), the most preferable workers get the most preferable jobs, and those who are not preferable – or appropriate – get lower status jobs. This process of ranking certain workers suggests there are particular people that are better suited to a particular type of work (Wooten and Branch 2012). Thus, it is not just about whether workers are seen as committed to the work but also whether they are appropriate for the work.

Workers can signal to employers that they are appropriate through what is termed identity mobilization, especially if their identity is typically assumed to be a disadvantage. Workers can leverage and draw upon their disadvantaged identity as “a source of advantage at work” (Cha and Roberts 2019:739), because the identity comes with attached “stereotypes and identity-related insights” (Cha and Roberts 2019:742), which can be used to signal appropriateness to employers. These resources include “knowledge and perspectives stemming from one’s

experiences as a minority group member...can create a repository of identity group-related information, skills, understanding, and points of view” (Cha and Roberts 2019:742).

Furthermore, Cottingham (2016) argues that these resources and skills – especially emotional competence – are able to be both embodied by and practiced by workers and can give workers a better feel for the game and thus a better advantage. For instance, one empirical study found that gay men were able to take a traditionally negative stereotype about their gay identity and use it as an advantage in their job as beauticians (Mishel 2020); they were rated as more appropriate for that occupation than a straight male, primarily because of the stereotypes associated with hair cutting and sexuality (Mishel 2020).

When applying this framework to care work, possessing and signaling emotional competence, care, love, and altruism is an asset that can be leveraged by employees to signal greater skill and ability to succeed within care work, thus signaling to employers that they are appropriate for the work (Huppertz 2009, 2012; Wooten and Branch 2012; Cottingham 2016). This may be the case because the stereotypes attached to care work reflect the stereotypes attached to one’s identity as a parent. Care work typically values or requires feminine – and racialized – skills such as love, caring for children and others, and altruism (England 2005; Vincent and Braun 2011; Pedersen 2012). Parenthood traits include emotional competence, warmth, love, care, and providing for children (England 2005; Pedersen 2012). Typically, most individuals in society believe parents should focus on their child's quality of life, put their child’s needs above their own, and make sure their child feels loved (October et al. 2014). These traits - care and putting others first, sacrifice, emotional competence, and love - are in line with traits that are valued and necessary across care work occupations (England 2005).

I further argue that this ability to leverage one's identity and its associated resources will increase with each additional child. Past research in non-care work occupations found that each additional child leads to an increase in wages for fathers and a decrease for mothers (Budig and England 2001; Anderson, Binder, and Krause 2002; Staff and Mortimer 2012; England et al. 2016). For instance, Budig and England (2001) find that the penalty increases from 3 percent with one child to 9 percent with two children to 12 percent with three or more children (2001). One study found that care for children as well parenting behaviors got easier with another child than it was with first-time parents (Ketner, Gravesteyn, and Verschuur 2019). Having additional children allows greater time for parents to develop and showcase these valued parental traits. This line of thought leads to the first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Parents in care work will experience a wage premium compared to non-parents. This premium will increase with each additional child.

However, this leveraging of a parenthood identity that is simultaneously valued by care work and more salient for the work may not operate the same way for mothers as it does for fathers. Good mothering is often viewed as distinct from good fathering (Pedersen 2012). Women are assumed to be in natural possession of skills such as love, care, and emotional competence, or are assumed to be able to develop this skillset more easily than men (Skeggs 1997; Huppertz 2012). Gender stereotypes held by employers assume that women should focus on home and family, and that mothers possess warmer and more caring dispositions than fathers (Hays 1996), which can shape the wages of mothers and fathers in care work. For example, within child care, Uttal (2002) found that mothers wanted someone who would treat their child like a mother would, i.e. someone child oriented. Vincent and Braun (2011) found that mothering experience were valued within early childhood education or care.

Men, on the other hand, may experience identity mobilization differently. Men have not been and are typically not held to the same standards of intensive mothering as mothers are (Hochschild 1989; Hays 1996; Kaufman 2012), so they may be less able to fully leverage an identity through their fatherhood status to signal to employers that they are appropriate care workers. According to Connell (1995), hegemonic ideals of masculinity perpetuate stereotypes of men as self-confident, independent, assertive, which is often in opposition to necessary care work traits (England 2005). However, even though men may experience lower premiums than mothers in care work because they are unable to use the resources that come from a mother identity – fathers may be able to experience some advantage over non-fathers who do not possess any parental identity. According to Risman (1986), mothering is not an exclusively feminine trait, and men can develop these traits. Many men may attempt to demonstrate possession of emotional competence in order to succeed (Skeggs 2004; Huppertz 2012). For instance, Coltrane and Adams (2008) found that having children signaled to others that these fathers were kinder and more expressive men.

However, ideal worker norms and the structural constraints of care work occupations may overpower this leveraging process and may be more important to employers than workers being appropriate for the job. For instance, Alegria (2016) found that nursing required workers to spend long shifts away from home and enduring physical exhaustion; this could prevent them being fully committed to work and make them less ideal workers. Furthermore, care workers are increasingly facing high demand, standardization, constraint, and professionalization that may restrict their ability to be both a parent and an ideal worker (Cahusac and Kanji 2014; Duffy, Armenia, and Stacey 2015; Baines, Charlesworth and Daly 2016). While these ideal worker norms and constraints may result in a penalty for women in care work, I argue that appropriate

labor expectations still matter and may shape the wages of parents in positive ways, regardless of inability to fulfill ideal worker norms. These arguments lead to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2: Mothers will experience a larger wage premium than fathers. This premium will be larger for mothers with two or more children.

The Role of Race and Ethnicity

Care work is also racialized, with rising numbers of men and women of color and immigrants (Duffy 2007; Hartmann et al. 2018). Duffy (2007) also found that racial and gender stereotypes play a part in shaping the makeup of care work occupations (2007). According to Branch (2011), Black women who work in domestic service or care work are generally seen as fit for the work (2011). Wooten and Branch (2012) echo this statement. Other scholars find that Asian men experience greater amounts of feminization and are stereotyped to be less masculine than other races; it is this feminization that legitimizes their involvement in domestic work, at least in the past (Espiritu 1997). Kennelly (1999) found that employers viewed Black mothers as being loyal to children first – thus not ideal workers – but also as reliable and desperate. Furthermore, Rosenthal and Lobel (2016) found that one such racialized image of Black mothers – the mammy archetype which is still prevalent today – argues that Black mothers are content in the caregiving role especially for multiple children (2016). Latina mothers are assumed to be child and family oriented (Uttal 2002). These racialized gender stereotypes may advantage mothers of color more so than white mothers because one's combined identity as a mother of color signals to employers greater appropriateness for care work than one's identity as a white mother.

With regards to men and fathers of color, we may see different outcomes, though they remain understudied. Typically, Black fathers are typed as missing or uninvolved, even though fathers push back against these stereotypes (Connor and White 2006). Those fathers who are

unable to achieve typical breadwinner ideals switch to more compassionate and friend-like involvement with their children (Chaplin 2012; Edin & Nelson 2013). Harvey-Wingfield (2009) found that Black men, while typically assumed to unskilled at care work, emphasized the caring aspect of their identity in order to gain advantage. With regards to Hispanic men, the cultural stereotypical ideal of *machismo* often relates back to being a provider and in displaying masculinity (Saracho and Spodek 2008). However, in more recent research, Mexican American men are distancing themselves from this traditional display of masculinity to portray a more inclusive and loving father role (Saracho and Spodek 2008). Regardless, the racialized stereotypes that disadvantage fathers of color persist.

Little research explores this connection between mothers and fathers of color and their wages in an occupation that has such stereotypes. One study found that Black female nurses actually earned more than white female nurses and so did Black female K-12 teachers compared to white K-12 female teachers (Fisher and Houseworth 2012), but this does not look at parenthood. Uttal (2002) found that white mothers were more likely to hire Latina mothers to care for their children than other women of color due to cultural and gender stereotypes about who is child oriented (2002). Due to these stereotypes that view women of color as suited for this work, mothers of color who are able to leverage their racial-gender-parental identity successfully may experience higher wages than white mothers who experience stricter intensive mothering ideologies (Hays 1996). This leads to these next hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3a: All mothers of color will experience larger premiums than white mothers. Fathers of color will experience smaller premiums than white fathers.

Hypothesis 3b: Hispanic mothers will experience larger premiums than non-Hispanic mothers. However, Hispanic fathers will experience smaller premiums than non-Hispanic fathers.

Data, Measures, and Analytic Strategy

Data

I use data from the American Community Survey (ACS) to analyze the effects of parenthood on the earnings of care workers. The American Community Survey (ACS) is a large, publicly available and nationally-representative survey, conducted by the Census Bureau and United States Department of Commerce. The survey, conducted annually, includes questions related to various demographic measures such as sex or age, human capital measures such as education, work-related measures such as earnings and occupation type, and family structure measures, which makes it appropriate to study how care workers parental status shapes their wages, both within care work broadly and across various care work sectors. ACS has an annual sample size of about 3.3 million addresses. IPUMS USA – the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series – provides a database for accessing the ACS dataset (Ruggles, Flood, Goeken, Grover, Meyer, Pacas and Sobek 2020). The large care worker sample in the ACS allows us to examine parenthood wage gaps in detail.

For each year of the survey, the number of interviews conducted ranged between half a million to 2.4 million. The sample interviewed varies every year, so each year is not the same respondents¹. Data collection occurs in one of four ways: internet, mail, telephone, or in-person interviews. Internet surveys were the primary method of data collection. Response rates remains

¹ The Census retrieved their sample from the Census Bureau’s Master Address File. The ACS consists of two separate random stratified samples: housing units and group quarters such as college dorms, which were selected for each county and classified into one of three types: vacant, occupied mail/CATI, or occupied CAPI. From there, sampling rates were determined for each of those three types of housing units. After stratifying the housing units through their type and sampling weight, and sorting by census tract, weight, and other similar variables, the Census randomly sampled the housing units and the persons for interviewing.

over 90%. For more information, visit the Census's website on the American Community Survey at <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/methodology/design-and-methodology.html>.

Sample Selection

I first restricted the sample to those that are between the ages of 18 and 37 years old, as these are prime childbearing and childrearing ages. Furthermore, I restricted my sample to those that are currently working in care work occupations which include social work and counseling, religious care work, educational care work excluding higher education, medical or health care work excluding the work of doctors and other higher-status and higher paid professionals, and those in child care. Those that had reported zero yearly income but reported working were dropped from the sample. I chose not to include both those who reported zero income and those who had children prior to 16 years of age as their lives and workforce participation remains vastly different from parents who had children when they were older and so their experiences may not accurately reflect the vast majority of care workers. In order to not remove care workers who work below minimum wage or care workers who worked limited hours per week or for only a few weeks of the year, I do not remove anyone who reports low income (such as less than \$10). I selected the years 1980-2018 as these are the years in which the ACS has the main independent, dependent, and other control variables. All of these sample restrictions result in a final analytic sample of 805,786 individuals.

Measures

In this section, I describe my measurement decisions. Table 1 describes the variables used in analyses and presents descriptive statistics.

Dependent Variable

To examine the pay gap between parents and non-parents and between mothers and fathers within care work, I use yearly wages as the dependent variable. This variable captures the sum of wages, including bonuses and tips, earned in last year.

Independent Variables

Parenthood status. I measure parenthood status with a variable capturing the number of children in the household. I operationalize the number of children as a categorical variable that distinguishes between no children (reference), one child, and two or more children.

Gender. I include gender as a main predictor as I argue that the identity mobilization process varies by one's gender identity. The ACS asks respondents their sex, with response categories being "Male" and "Female".

Control Variables

I control for human capital measures and other demographic characteristics. With regards to human capital measures, I include educational attainment, part-time vs full-time work, and whether or not the respondent is in school. Scholars find lower penalties for highly educated mothers (Budig and England 2001; Buchmann and McDaniel 2016), and higher premiums for college graduated fathers (Hodges and Budig 2010). Respondent's educational attainment response categories are as follows: less than HS; HS or equivalent; some college; associates; bachelors; and masters or higher. I generate a variable capturing part-time vs full time work starting from indicators of usual work hours and weeks worked in the last year. This variable measures whether workers are full-time year round workers (full time and year round (35 or more hours for 50 weeks of the year); full time but not year round; not full time but year round; and not full time nor year round), as prior research found that working part-time reduces wages

of mothers (Staff and Mortimer 2012). Furthermore, attending school is captured by a dummy variable that gauges whether the respondent reported attending school in the last three months (not in school and in school).

I also control for various demographic characteristics such as respondents' age, marital status (married; separated, divorced, or widowed; and never married), race (White, Black, American Indian, Asian, Other, and Biracial/Multiracial), ethnicity (Hispanic or Not Hispanic), region (Northeast, Midwest, West, South), sector (private, non-profit, government, self-employed), birth cohort (Baby Boom, Generation x, and Millennials), and care work sub-sector (social work/counseling, religion, education, medical, childcare). All of these demographic characteristics have been shown to affect the wages of parents in non-care work occupations, so they are assumed to operate similarly in care work occupations (Budig 2003; Benard, Paik, and Correll 2008; Budig and Hodges 2010; Staff and Mortimer 2012; Smith and Glauber 2013; Yu and Kuo 2017; Fuller and Cooke 2018; Glauber 2018; Srivastava et al. 2018; Wang-Cendejas and Bai 2018; Landivar 2020). None of the variables have missing responses.

Analytic Strategy

To investigate the effects of children on the yearly wages of parents and mothers/fathers in care work, I employ negative binomial regression with robust standard errors. Negative binomial regression, typically used with count data, performs better with nonnegative skewed dependent variables than traditional ordinary least squares with a log transformation does (Gould 2011; Hilbe 2014; Witteveen and Attewell 2020). According to Hilbe (2014), running OLS on a skewed distribution would result in inappropriate results since residuals are not normally distributed. The variable capturing yearly wages is over dispersed and heavily right skewed,

which makes negative binomial regression a better technique. Other scholars have argued that Poisson regression is also acceptable for handling non-negative skewed data, even when not using count data (Gould 2011), though some scholars argue that a negative binomial regression results in a larger and less negative log-likelihood than Poisson and thus has better model fit (Witteveen and Attewell 2020). Furthermore, the outcome variable in this study is rounded to the nearest dollar which more closely reflects count data than non-count data. Overall, running negative binomial models are the best fit for my data given the suggestions of and critiques of past scholars (Gould 2011; Hilbe 2014; Witteveen and Attewell 2020).

I begin with a model using children, measured as one child and two or more children, with no children as the reference category, in order to test hypothesis 1 that the yearly wages of parents are higher than non-parents (Model 1). Next, in order to test hypothesis 2 – which argues that mothers would have larger premiums compared to non-mothers while fathers would have smaller premiums compared to non-fathers – I build upon model 1 by adding an interaction effect of parenthood and gender (model 2). Then, I add human capital indicators such as education level, full-time year round work status, and schooling (model 3), in order to test whether increasing levels of human capital reduce the effect of parenthood. Finally, I add the remaining demographic controls including race, marital status, age, ethnicity and region (model 4). All results from the models are presented in Table 3.

I conduct a contrasts test (results not shown) after model 4 estimation² to check whether the means of different groups were significantly different from each other. I also calculate marginal effect at the means (MEMs) and the predicted wages for men and women across different number of children (no children, 1 child, and 2 or more children) at the means of the

² This was calculated using STATA's contrast command.

control variables after the full model ³. MEMs allow us to understand how an outcome changes as a categorical predictor goes from the first category (0) to the next at the mean level of all other controls (Williams 2012). Table 4 shows the MEMs by the effect of parenthood status for men and women. Figure 1 shows the predicted wages for gender-parenthood interactions. I also calculated effect sizes to gauge whether coefficients were substantively significant.

Finally, I also ran analyses to look at the intersection between race or ethnicity, parenthood status and gender in order to test hypothesis 3a and 3b. These analyses include all controls in model 4 above but instead of including an interaction between parenthood status and gender, I run separate models for men and women and include an interaction between parenthood status and race/ethnicity. I call these separate models model 5 – race – and model 6 – ethnicity. Table 5 shows results for race while Table 6 shows results by ethnicity.

I present results in incidence rate ratios (IRRs) converted into percentages. An IRR above 1 suggests that the group of interest has higher wages or greater advantage than the reference group, while an IRR below 1 suggests that the reference group has higher wages than the group of focus. In other words, an IRR of 1.06 (or a coefficient in the table of 0.06) should be read as the group of interest having six percent higher wages than the reference group.

Results

Sample Description

Table 1 and 2 show weighted descriptive results. The first column of Table 1 represents the mean or proportion across variables for all respondents within the full sample; the second and third columns show the means and proportions by respondent's sex; the fourth and fifth columns

³ This was calculated using STATA's margins command

look at non-fathers and non-mothers only while the final two columns look at mothers and fathers only. Table 2 presents additional descriptive means of wages for the total sample, and parents compared to non-parents, and then gender specific parent or non-parent status (i.e. non-fathers, non-mothers, fathers and mothers), along with a calculated wage ratio for those groups. I computed the wage ratios using parent – or father or mother if that was the comparison – wages as the numerator and the non-parent equivalent as the denominator. Therefore, a value below one indicates that the parental category has lower wages than the non-parental category, while a value above one indicates the opposite.

As shown in Table 1, the analytical sample is 19% male and 81% female, which supports the notion that care work remains a female-dominated occupation (Hartmann et al. 2018). 42% of my sample has no children, 21% has 1 child, and 38% have at least 2 children. My sample is majority white and 15% Black, with 90% reporting they are non-Hispanic. 64% of my sample is married, and almost 60% of my sample has received a bachelor's degree or higher, which I expect is partly due to the number of individuals in higher status care work occupations like social work. The majority of my sample (60%) also works full time and year round.

Going deeper into descriptives presents more nuanced results. As Table 2 shows, the ratio of wages between parents and non-parents is 0.92, which suggest that parents have lower wages than non-parents on average; this shows preliminarily that parents do not experience a premium compared to non-parents (refuting hypothesis 1). However, this wage ratio varies by gender. The ratio of wages for mothers with one children compared to non-mothers is 0.92, and the wage ratio for mothers with two or more children compared to non-mothers is 0.85. However, when looking at the ratios for males separately, fathers with one child have higher wages than men with no children (a ratio of 1.13) and men with two or more children have even greater wages

than men with no children (ratio of 1.20). These descriptive results suggest mothers may actually be disadvantaged compared to non-mothers and fathers, which refutes hypotheses 2 that argued that mothers would experience a larger premium than fathers.

Parental and Parental Gender Gaps in the Effects of Children on Wages

This chapter aims to answer two questions: 1) do parents have higher wages than non-parents; and 2) are there gender differences in the effect of parenthood on care worker wages. Table 3 shows the results from models⁴ 1 to models 4 for mothers and fathers; model 1 looks directly at hypothesis 1 – the effect of parenthood – while model 2 through model 4 show results for gender differences in the effect of parenthood. For effects directly derived from the models, – such as the effect of children for the reference category (i.e. males) – coefficients in Table 3 show the effect. For non-reference category interaction effects – such as the difference in the effect of children for women – I calculated the effects by adding the main effect and the interaction effect for each category, which is also include in Table 3 for this chapter.

Looking at model 1, we see that being a parent is associated with lower wages compared to not being a parent, which refutes hypothesis 1 that argued that parents would have higher wages than non-parents. However, gender may be contributing to that negative association (model 2). When adding the interaction between parenthood and gender (model 2), we see that the effect of having one child for men is positive (β : 0.10), suggesting men have higher wages after having children. We see that the effect of one child for women is associated with a wage penalty ($0.10 - 0.16 = -0.06$; IRR: 0.94 or 6 percent lower wages); this difference in the effect of one child for women compared to men (interaction β : 0.16) is significant. Compared to men with

⁴ Regression analyses are not weighted as weighting estimates in regression can lead to inaccurate values (Horowitz and Manski 1998)

no children, men with two children have 19 percent higher wages (β : 0.19; IRR:1.19). Women with two children have 12 percent lower wages after having children ($-0.12 = 0.19 - 0.31$; IRR: 0.88). In regard to hypothesis 2 that mothers will have higher premiums compared to fathers, we see it is not supported as women experience lower wages than their male counterparts after having children.

When adding human capital variables (model 3) – education, schooling, and full time-year round status – we see different results. The effect of one child for women is positive ($0.04 = 0.06 - 0.02$), and remains the same for two or more children ($0.13 - 0.09 = 0.04$), which is the opposite direction than the previous models. Men with a child (β : 0.06) or two or more (β :0.13) have higher wages than childless men. Education operates as expected – in that increasing education is associated with higher wages – as do schooling and full-time year round status. Attending school within the last three months and not work full time and year round is associated with lower wages.

In model 4, we see results that reflect greater similarity with model 2 before adding human capital measures. The interaction term – mother with 1 child – (-0.09) shows the difference in the effect of one child for women and men; since it is negative, it suggests that women experience lower wages compared to their male counterparts. Mothers with one child experience six percent lower wages ($0.03 - 0.09 = -0.06$; IRR:0.94) after having children, and the negative effect of children for women is even larger with two or more children ($0.06 - 0.21 = -0.15$; IRR: 0.85). The corresponding MEM for women in Table 4 for one child is about a \$1501 decrease and a \$3498 decrease for two children. Compared to men with no children, fathers with one child experience three percent higher wages (0.03 ; IRR: 1.03) in their wages, while fathers with two children experience six percent higher wages (0.06 ; IRR 1.06). The corresponding

MEM is a \$919.40 increase for one child and a \$1704.17 increase for two children, as shown in Table 4. From these results, we can see that, compared to fathers, mothers experience a penalty not a larger premium, which refutes hypothesis 2. This finding is reflected in Figure 1, which shows that fathers experience wage premiums while mothers experience wage penalties.

However, with the exception of mothers with two or more children (small effect size), the results all signal no substantive effect which suggests it is primarily mothers with multiple children who face any substantive disadvantage compared to fathers.

In order to test whether the effect of the number of children itself is also significant for women, I ran a contrast test (results not shown) after model 4 that allowed me to test whether the effects of children for women (not just the difference compared to men) are significant. In this case, contrasts tests gauge whether the effect of children is significant for women. Results were statistically significant, suggesting that the effect of children on wages also results in a significant penalty for women and mothers.

Controls mostly operate as expected. For instance, increasing levels of education are associated with higher wages, as is working in the non-profit or government sector, being separated or divorced or widowed, working in education or medical health care, and being a Millennial. Attending school within the last three months, not working full time or year round, being single, and being in regions other than the Northeast are all associated with lower wages. However, we see interesting results by race and ethnicity. Being Hispanic is associated with slightly higher wages (β : 0.03) compared to being non-Hispanic. Black workers (0.01), Asian or Pacific Islander workers (0.07), those that are classified as “other” race (0.02), and those that are biracial or multiracial (0.01) all experience wage premiums compared to white workers.

American Indians experience a small decrease in their wages, though this may be partly explained by the smaller N.

Race, Ethnicity, Parenthood Status & Gender – Interaction Effects

Table 5 presents model 5 – the effect of race and parenthood status for men and women.

Table 6 presents model 6 – the effect of ethnicity and parenthood status for men and women.

Looking at the interaction of race and parenthood status for women, we see that the effect of one child is significantly associated with five percent lower wages for white women (β : -0.05; IRR:0.95), and this negative effect continues with two or more children (coefficient in Table 5: -0.14; IRR: 0.86). Having one child leads to slightly smaller penalties for women in an “other” racial category ($-0.05+0.03=-0.02$), which partially supports hypothesis 3a. When looking at the effect of two or more children, we see slightly different results by race. Having two or more children results in a smaller penalty for Black women ($-0.14+0.02=-0.12$; IRR: 0.88), American Indian women ($-0.14-0.10=-0.04$), Asian women ($-0.14-0.10=-0.04$) and for women in an “other” racial category ($-0.14+0.04=-0.10$). Effect sizes suggest it is only the effect for two or more children for white mothers that is practically significant, though this effect is still quite small. The results for men are different. We can see that both having one child or two or more children have a significant positive effect on white men’s wages (β : 0.02 and 0.04, respectively; IRR: 1.02 and 1.04). The difference in the effect of one child for other racial groups compared to white men is not significant. However, we do see significant results when looking at the effect of two or more children. Black men have a smaller premium ($0.04-0.03=0.01$; IRR:1.01) after having two or more children, which is a smaller premium than we see for white fathers. However, Biracial or Multiracial men with two or more children experience seven percent lower

wages after having children ($0.04-0.11=-0.07$; IRR: 0.93), and calculated effect sizes suggest that this biracial effect is the only practically significant result. Overall, these results partially support hypothesis 3a which argue that mothers of color would experience larger premiums than their white counterparts, as women of color experience slightly greater advantage than white women and mothers experience. Results also support hypothesis 3a as Black fathers do experience a smaller premium and biracial men experience a wage penalty.

Turning now to the effect of ethnicity, we see similar results for mothers and fathers (Table 6). Non-Hispanic women with one child experience five percent lower wages and this penalty increases when looking at two or more children (coefficient in Table 6: -0.05 and -0.13 , respectively; IRR: 0.95 and 0.87). The effect of one child is associated with four percent lower wages for Hispanic women ($-0.05+0.01=-0.04$; IRR: 0.96). Furthermore, the effect of two or more children for Hispanic women is associated with smaller penalties than for non-Hispanic women ($-0.13+0.02=-0.11$; IRR: 0.89). The results for men are different. Having one or two or more children both lead to two or three percent higher wages for non-Hispanic men (0.02 and 0.03 in Table 6; IRR: 1.02 and 1.03). The difference in the effect of one child for Hispanics compared to non-Hispanic men is not significant. However, we see different results when looking at two or more children. The effect of two or more children is associated with neither a premium nor penalty for Hispanic men ($0.03-0.03=-0.0$; IRR: 1.00). Only the effect of two or more children for non-Hispanic mothers met the lowest threshold for effect sizes to suggest any practical significance.

Hypothesis 1 was not supported since parents have lower wages than non-parents. Hypothesis 2 was not fully supported as mothers did not experience larger premiums than fathers, but actually experienced wage penalties; however, at least for fathers, this premium did

increase with each additional child. We see mixed support for the race-related hypothesis (3a) as racially disadvantaged groups including Black fathers experience smaller premiums than white fathers and Biracial fathers experience penalties. However, we see that white women experience larger motherhood wage penalties than some women of color. The ethnicity related hypothesis (3b) was also partially supported: Hispanic mothers experience smaller penalties compared to non-Hispanic mothers. However, even though results are statistically significant, effect sizes suggest that results are not practically significant except for two or more children for white women or no-Hispanic women, for two or more children for biracial men, and for two or more children for women more broadly. Overall, there is limited support for my hypotheses.

Sensitivity analyses

I ran sensitivity analyses to look at those who worked in care work but reported zero income (such as unpaid family workers). For the sample, I ran the same models as for the included sample. Model 1 captured parenthood; model 2 included parenthood and added both gender and an interaction between parenthood and gender; model 3 added human capital measures; model 4 added all other controls to the previous model. I ran these additional analyses as many care workers, especially parents, perform care work but receive no wage (Addati et al. 2019). After running sensitivity analyses, I found similar results between samples, especially in the final model; as such, I do not include them here. Results are available upon request.

Discussion and Conclusions

Past research argued that employers rank ideal employees on whether they are appropriate for the job or not; in other words it is less about whether workers are committed to the work and more

about are they fit for the work (Reskin 2008; Wooten and Branch 2012). Past research has shown that individuals were able to use their identities – such as a cultural or racial identity or their sexual orientation – in ways that lead to higher ratings of competency and higher wages (Huppatz 2012; Cottingham 2016; Cha and Roberts 2019; Mishel 2020). As such, I argued that parents would experience a premium in care work due to their ability to use their parental identity as a signal to employers that they are appropriate labor for care work. Possessing and signaling of emotional competence, care for others, and love can be used as an asset to gain higher wages if leveraged effectively, as long the ideals for parents and care work are in line with each other, and if ideal worker norms matter less than other gendered stereotypes. Research has also shown that the traits and values that make one a good parent – love, warmth, care for children and emotional competence – are also the traits that are reflected in care workers daily tasks and care work values more broadly (England 2005; Pedersen 2012). As such, I argued that parental status would serve as a marker to employers and an asset to leverage that signals appropriateness and fit for the job. Overall, results suggested limited support for those arguments. Hypothesis 1 was not supported as parents typically experience wage penalties.

However, much of this disadvantage parents experience in their wages is explained by gender and racial identity and the interaction between them. Earlier, I argued that mothers and fathers would experience different levels of premiums as the stereotypes employers have about mothers and fathers vary and the beliefs we have about mothers typically fall more in line with care work values. Women are typically assumed to possess greater amounts of love, care, and emotional competence (Huppatz 2012). On the other hand, men, while increasingly pushing back against traditional masculine ideals about what makes a good father, are not typically held to the same standards (Hochschild 1989; Kaufman 2012). I argued that fathers would be less able to

leverage their gender identity to signal to employers that they were appropriate for care work and thus have smaller premiums than mothers would; however, I also argued that fathers would experience premiums compared to childless men because fatherhood serves as a marker of greater involvement with children and emotional capacity (Risman 1986; Coltrane and Adams 2008). For instance, past research found that having children actually signaled to employers that fathers were kinder and more expressive – traits that are assets within care work (England 2005; Coltrane and Adams 2008). My analyses indicate that mothers and fathers do not receive similar advantages and that fathers receive wage premiums while mothers receive penalties. These results suggest that the motherhood penalty remains fairly constant even in occupations where one would expect to see mothers rewarded as they possess an identity valued in care work.

While I am unable to directly parse out whether the fatherhood premium in care work comes from successful leveraging of fatherhood status or from the ability to conform to ideal worker norms that typically favor fathers, these results show us something about how gender inequality remains deeply interwoven in work and home lives. These results show us that women and mothers remain at the bottom of the earnings distribution and experience greater disadvantage than fathers. The gender revolution remains especially in the workplace (England, Levine, and Mishel 2020); even as people become more egalitarian (Cotter 2018), structures, ideologies and policies at work remain fairly traditional. Even after controlling for various human capital measures, gender remains an incredibly salient identity for shaping equality. The socialization that men and women experience early in their lives has lasting consequences on their experiences at work as do the interactions between workers and employers that shape and reinforce gender stereotypes about appropriate gender roles (Risman 2004). The expectations that employers have about workers, especially about women, tend to continue to perpetuate

gender bias that is reflected in organizational practices and distribution of resources necessary for equality and mobility (Risman 2004). Overall, ideal worker norms remain strict and further disadvantage mothers (Cahusac and Kanji 2014; Duffy et al. 2015).

These results contradict past research that has argued that women can use their gender and parenthood status as mothers as an advantage in care work (Huppatz 2009; 2012), and showcases the persisting gender stereotypes that argue women's place is in the home (Hays 1996). This contradiction encourages scholars to further explore how parenthood status in care work operates in order to uncover whether there are any settings where mothers may experience advantage with regards to their wages and to uncover the process by which traditional gender ideologies disadvantage women in a sphere of work that seemingly should not.

Another main objective of this chapter was to uncover racial and ethnic differences in the effect of parenthood on wages. I argued that mothers of color would experience greater premiums than white mothers due to racialized gender stereotypes that believe women, and mothers especially, of color are appropriate labor for care work, while fathers of color would not experience those same advantages over white fathers (Espiritu 1997; Harvey-Wingfield 2009; Branch 2011; Chaplin 2012; Wooten and Branch 2012; Rosenthal and Lobel 2016). We see mixed support for the race hypothesis as racially disadvantaged groups including Black men and even Biracial men are disadvantaged compared to white men as they experience smaller premiums or larger penalties. These results speak to the continuing belief that Black men and men of color are seen as aggressive and unfit for caring jobs, not matter how much they try to leverage their caring natures (Harvey-Wingfield 2009). Men of color, especially Black men, remain at the bottom of the earnings distribution, which reflects past research on fatherhood premiums in non-care work occupations (Glauber 2008; Hodges and Budig 2010).

With regards to women and mothers of color, we see different results than for white mothers. Results suggest that white women experience larger motherhood penalties than women of color. This supports and builds upon past research that found that Black female nurses and K-12 teachers are advantaged compared to their white counterparts (Fisher and Houseworth 2012). Results also show that Asian women with two or more children experience the smallest penalty. Asian women may have been able to draw upon stereotypes about their racial identity that favor ideal worker characteristics than their gender stereotypes (Cha and Roberts 2019). This shows support for past research which found that Asian mothers tended to have smaller penalties than their white counterparts (Cotter et al. 2003). These results also shows support for research that found Black mothers in non-care work occupations experience smaller penalties (England et al. 2016; Van Winkle and Fasang 2020) which may be because ideologies painting work and mothering as incompatible may not be seen as applicable for mothers of color due to their greater involvement in paid work (Branch 2011). These results show mixed support for past research that argues Hispanic mothers experience no penalties (Glauber 2007) and that Latina mothers were more likely to be hired in care work as they fit with cultural and gendered stereotypes about appropriateness for the labor (Uttal 2002).

Some mothers of color may be better able to leverage their identities in ways that subscribe to the ideologies and stereotypes – however dangerous they may be – that employers hold and thus receive slightly higher wages after having children. However, this increase in wages for some mothers of color may be more about employer discrimination and continue subordination through assumptions about appropriateness and less about workers being able to use those stereotypes to their advantage through identity mobilization. We must acknowledge that, while some mothers of color experience slightly smaller penalties, that this does not negate

the fact that they often start out with lower wages in the first place and so a smaller penalty does very little to actually increase their wages (England et al. 2016). The advantage that may come from being seen as appropriate for care work, in terms of smaller wage penalties, does not negate other forms of disadvantage that still exist. In other words, white mothers with larger penalties due to their motherhood status are still affluent compared to mothers and women of color (England et al. 2016). Further research should look more in depth about the experiences of mothers of color in care work, beyond just studying the experiences of childless women (Collins 2004; Duffy et al 2007). Not all groups experience and can leverage their gender, racial and ethnic identities in the same way, nor do they all experience the same advantages and disadvantages (Collins 2004). Overall, this chapter suggests that being seen as appropriate does not result in real advantages, but can result in continued subordination (as per Wooten & Branch (2012)'s discussion of appropriate labor theory) and the perpetuation of racial and gender hierarchies even through benevolent sexism.

CHAPTER 3: MOTHERHOOD AND FATHERHOOD EFFECTS BY CARE SECTOR

Introduction

A growing number of scholars have looked at low-wage or female-dominated occupations and the effect of parenthood within those occupations (Brown 2010; Budig and Hodges 2010; Buchmann and McDaniel 2016). However, not all of these occupations are the same in terms of their structures or values, nor are all sub-sectors within each occupation the same. The assumptions that employers have about worker fit or appropriateness for the work matter, but remain understudied with regards to how they may vary within one occupation such as care work (Acker 1990; Wooten and Branch 2012; Cha and Roberts 2019). Past scholars have argued that, in some settings, a female identity can actually lead to greater advantage through leveraging of that identity because the stereotypes about said identity reflect the stereotypes about the setting (Huppatz 2012; Cha and Roberts 2019). I argue that within care work, different subsectors possess different values and structures that reinforce those values that may not shape parenthood effects in quite the same way as if we looked at care work as a whole, as done in chapter 2.

This chapter focuses specifically on the sub-sectors within care work including social work or counseling, religion, education, medical health care, and child care. Each of these sectors come with different assumptions about who is appropriate for the work, and also come with different structures and workplace characteristics that determine the salience of those assumptions and one's identity. For instance, child care may reward mothers more favorably than non-mothers due to their connections with the belief that mothers are better at providing for children, while religion may reward fathers because of traditional gender stereotypes that fathers are assumed to possess more of (Uttal 2002; Percy 2014; Galley 2020; Landivar 2020).

Using negative binomial regression analytic techniques, I analyze the American Community Survey to uncover the role that motherhood and fatherhood play in shaping wages of care workers in five sub-sectors in care work: social work or counseling, religion, education, medical health care, and child care. Results suggest that on average, mothers are disadvantaged compared to non-mothers in all care sectors except social work or counseling, and that fathers are advantaged in all sectors except education. These results highlights the prevalence and persistence of gender stereotypes and ideal worker norms within care work, that continue to disadvantage mothers in care work, but also help us to uncover the role of occupational context in shaping stereotypes and gender inequality especially during the transitions towards more greater gender egalitarianism at work and in society. This chapter is organized in the following way: first, I explore how identity mobilization and appropriate labor expectations vary within care work sub-sectors, and describe the different characteristics and values of each care sector and why they may matter for wages; second, I explain my data, key variables of interest, analytic technique; third, I present results; and fourth, I conclude with a discussion.

Background and Theoretical Framework

Variations by Care Sector

Even though the previous empirical chapter found that women, on average, tend to experience disadvantage in care work broadly, while men are able to experience wage premiums, there may be differences within care work sub-sectors. For instance, some scholars find that organizational characteristics – including gender makeup, required skill sets, educational qualification among others – all shape employer discrimination and thus wage gaps (Kilbourne et al. 1994; Barron and West 2013) in different ways. In some occupations, mothers may be rated

as more compatible for the work than in other occupations – for instance, teaching falls more in line with maternal expectations than politics do (Noonan, Lynn, and Walker 2020). While care work broadly values traits like emotional competence, altruism, and care, some sub-sectors may require these traits more fully and thus be more compatible with motherhood and less compatible with fatherhood than other care sectors (see Hirsch and Manzella 2015 for an example of how caring requirements typically penalize men). However, some care work sectors may also experience stricter ideal worker norms and reinforcing structures that would prevent mothers from being able to leverage their identity as women (Charlesworth, Baines, and Cunningham 2015; Yu and Kuo 2017; Fuller and Hirsh 2018; Wang-Cendejas and Bai 2018). As such, some care sectors may be more likely to reward workers for being appropriate labor for care work – as based on performances or assumptions not upon essential or natural identities - while others will reward workers for their fulfillment of ideal worker norms. This chapter focuses on the differences within five different care sectors – social work or counseling, religion, education, medical health care, and child care.

Social work or counseling. According to Chambers (1986) social work or other forms of counseling are seen as nurturing work and often stood in for mothering (see also Walton 1975). Walton (1975) argued that social work was a way to “provide substitute experience for single women unable to marry, or married without children” (1975:257). According to Huppertz (2012), women – and mothers – are able to use their feminine identity and its skillset as an advantage within social work because of the ideology that frames it as women’s work. Huppertz (2012) further argued that social work was created as a female profession, especially for white middle-class women, and so being a female was an advantage. Other scholars find that gay or bisexual men – or in other words men assumed to be less traditionally masculine - gravitate towards social

work due to the connection with the profession's values (Lupton 2000; Baines, Davis, and Saini 2009; Galley 2020). While not specifically looking at the effect of parenthood on wages, one can argue that due to the assumptions about what social work values, and due to the assumptions about social work being a women's field, mothers would experience advantages in their wages compared to non-mothers, while fathers would not.

In addition to the role of identity and stereotypes about appropriateness for social work or counseling, other more structural factors may reduce the importance of such identities and stereotypes. Some scholars found that care work jobs with higher educational and licensing requirements – such as social work - typically pay a wage bonus to workers (Budig, Hodges, and England 2019), though this does not look specifically at the effect of parenthood. Since social work requires greater education and licensing, specifically motherhood, may actually lend itself to a greater penalty due to taking time off of work as there is more to lose (Baines, Davis, and Saini 2009; Budig, Hodges, and England 2019). In addition, social workers often take extra hours to meet all the demands required of them and overwork has been shown to disadvantage mothers (Acker 1990; Cha 2013). Overall, as social work is a professional occupation, typically the boundaries between personal and professional lives remain strict, and thus ideal worker norms may prevent mothers from receiving higher wages (Baines, Davis, and Saini 2009).

Religious clergy. With regards to religious care work, such as clergy members, motherhood and fatherhood may be rewarded or penalized differently, not only due to gender stereotypes and expectations about who is appropriate but also due to workplace structures and ideal worker norms. Typically, religious care work values of care and concern and caring for those who cannot care for themselves tend to fall in line with motherhood ideals (Percy 2014). For instance, religious organizations often invoke familial imagery as they refer to priests as

“father”, since they oversee and care for their church family (Percy 2014). The roles of many clergy members reflect mothering ideals such as care, concern, and love; furthermore, priests tend to be involved in feminine work, such as caring for the sick, the dying, or the struggling (Percy 2014). According to Ferguson (2018), even with exceptions, clergy work is seen as an acceptable profession for women, though this does not look at mothers. Other scholars argue that clergy members tend to focus more on emotional work and less on ideal worker norms that might disadvantage mothers (Mellow 2006). As such, gender stereotypes about women’s work and feminine traits would reward workers – mothers compared to non-mothers – who can signal to employers possession of these traits and skills.

However, religion tends to instill more traditional and stricter gender ideologies about what is appropriate for women and mothers. Religion remains a male-dominated-and-oriented sector due to theological beliefs about the role of men and women at home (Wilcox 2004). These gender stereotypes may result in lower wages for mothers as they do not fit into what the appropriate worker is for religious care work (Ferguson 2018). Some also find that clergy members have been experiencing rising rates of education and training, which may advantage fathers over mothers (Beaumont 2011). Other scholars find that female clergy experience fewer advancements, receive lower pay, and are more likely to experience a second shift thus limiting their ability to fulfill ideal worker expectations than male clergy (Whitehead 2013).

Education (PreK-12th). Workers in early childhood education, one sector of educational care work, are expected to engage in emotion work as they work with young children (Andrew 2015). In other words, they are expected to portray greater levels of emotional competence, one stereotype that is attached to one’s gender and parental identity (Cha and Roberts 2019). Steedman (1985) argued that early childhood education teachers are “mothers[s] made

conscious” (1985:149). Teachers, especially those working with younger children, are expected to develop close bonds with the children in their care, which reflects mothering ideals as well (Colley 2006). Other scholars echo this and find that, when talking with teachers themselves, the most important expertise or skill needed is empathy and communication – traits associated with a female and mother identity (Rehn and Eliasson 2015). In addition, other scholars find that the appropriate worker in this sector involves aspects of motherhood and femininity (Vogt 2002). As such, typically societal beliefs see men as not-appropriate for work with children (Thorpe et al. 2018). Along this line of thought, mothers may be better able to use their gender and parental identity as leverage in gaining higher wages, while men may be less able to unless they are able to signal appropriateness through fatherhood. However, education also comes with it expectations for ideal worker fulfillment and involves structures that may reinforce those expectations and disadvantage mothers. Education typically involves higher levels of professionalization than other care work occupations do; their jobs require higher professional skills and expertise which reinforces ideal worker norms (Boyd 2013).

In studies that looked at earnings penalties for Preschool and Kindergarten teachers, scholars found that delaying childbirth for women actually resulted in lower earnings than if they had children earlier (Landivar 2020). Landivar (2020) also found that among teacher assistants received wage premiums if they had first births earlier rather than delayed, while secondary school teachers experienced wage penalties if they had children earlier, however. Other scholars found that mothers who worked as elementary school teachers still experienced wage penalties, but these were smaller penalties compared to child care workers (Regis 2012).

Medical health care. The majority of research looking at care work occupations and wage gaps, both with parents and with gender, looks at medical or health care professions. Gerstel and

colleagues (2007) found that having children shapes the hours of work nurses perform, but not nursing assistants or other medical health-care occupations (Gerstel, Clawson and Huyser 2007); however, this study looks at work hours not at wages. England and colleagues (2002) found that nursing was one of the few health care occupations that did not experience a pay penalty (England, Budig, and Folbre 2002). However, another study found nursing aides, licensed vocational nurses, and registered nurses all experienced a premium when they had children early on as opposed to delaying childbirth (Landivar 2020), which suggests that employers viewed having children as something valuable as it signals possession of skills needed in care work.

Butler (2013) found that workers were more likely to say that a good care worker was someone who was patient and more sensitive to the needs of others. Parenthood, especially motherhood, is often assumed to increase those skills (England 2005; October et al. 2014).

Selberg (2013) argues that nursing as a profession typically embodies the traits that are associated with mothering and femininity, and that many nurses themselves will say that men could never be a nurse because they do not possess those skills (2013). Ravenswood and Harris (2016) find that even managers speak of the importance of these feminine skills as they valued femininity more than masculinity in nursing and medical health care (2016). Randolph (2016) found that possession of soft skills gave workers the ability to provide better quality care.

Workers who are able to signal to employers that they possess these skills will experience wage premiums; as a result, mothers will experience greater advantages in nursing than other sectors.

Other scholars found that male nurses were more likely to gravitate towards areas of health care that were more masculine (Snyder and Green 2008). Overall, Cottingham (2013) found that individuals are able to utilize their masculinity or femininity in ways that shape their experiences at work by signaling to employers that they are fit for working in medical health care (2013).

Furthermore, scholars find that racial ideologies in medical health care prioritize and privilege expressions of white femininity (Henry 2017; Curington 2020); in this way, health care and medicine remain a racialized occupation that favors some workers over others (Sun 2020).

Even though medical health care comes with stereotypes that may reward mothers, this sector also comes with structures – shaped by broader gender ideologies and stereotypes – that reinforce ideal worker norms, which may counteract these appropriate labor expectations. For instance, health care is typically construed as an occupation in which workers are increasingly subject to efficiency demands and ideal worker constraints (Hayes and Moore 2016). Many health care occupations are under-resourced and involve higher amounts of work load and greater worker fatigue (Butler 2013; Selberg 2013; Portoghese et al. 2014; Rodriquez 2014; Sun 2020), which are all structures that would disadvantage mothers regardless of their supposedly favorable identity. However, for women especially, jobs in health care are typically seen as better jobs than other low-wage occupations as they provide higher wages on average, more benefits, more hours, and better job security (Dill and Hodges 2019). Landivar (2020) found that health care grants workers, especially mothers, higher autonomy levels and higher wages as well as greater flexibility which leads to higher wages.

Child care. Andrew (2015) found that child care workers were more likely to highlight emotional or relational skills over other more professional skills typically associated with a male or father identity (2015). For instance, Uttal (2002) found that mothers, especially Hispanic mothers, were more likely to be hired as childcare providers than non-mothers as they were seen as more warm and child-oriented because of gender stereotypes and ideologies. In studies that did look at earnings penalties for child care workers, scholars found that delaying childbirth for women actually resulted in larger penalties than if they had children earlier, though these early

childbirth women also had penalties (Landivar 2020); this penalty for delaying childbirth was stronger for child care workers than other occupations (Landivar 2020). This showcases how being a mother in childcare may be valued and rewarded more than being a non-mother – fathers were typically not studied within these occupations – and that having children earlier results in greater wages. This may be partly because women and mothers are able to signal to employers that their identity as a woman and as a mother lends them specific resources that make them appropriate for caring for children. Yet, this outcome still remains understudied.

Men, however, in childcare or early childhood education experienced greater difficulties being able to show care to their students as employers expected men to be more professional than parental (Sumsion 2000; Hansen and Mulholland 2005). Furthermore, Andrew (2016) found that men’s image of what care work entails is typically at odds with their masculinity (2016). Chen and Wang (2020), in their study of men in child care, found that older men were more likely to distance themselves from the work, and viewed masculinity as at odds with child care as an occupation. Past scholars argued that caring practices and skills are often “inseparable from personal dispositions” (Skeggs 1997:56), while other scholars find that emotions can be developed (Heller 1979). As a result, while men, especially white men, may not be assumed to possess these identity resources innately, they may be able to showcase possession of traits and skills valued by child care through their identity as fathers.

However, childcare workers receive lower wage, have fewer benefits, and often work in poor and exploitative working conditions (Colley 2006; Boyd 2013). Tuominen (2003) found that own providers granted more flexibility and autonomy in work hours compared to other child care work settings. Child care work remains a sub-occupation that may lead to lower wages for women and mothers, primarily because of the structures that reinforce and require ideal worker

fulfillment. Some scholars have studied the effect of parenthood on women's wages and found that these mothers experienced an earnings penalty greater than other occupations (Regis 2012).

These differences across care sectors lead me to present the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Mothers, compared to non-mothers, in social work/counseling, child care and education will receive the largest wage premiums, while mothers in religion or medical health care will experience smaller premiums.

Hypothesis 1b: Fathers, compared to non-fathers, will receive the largest premium in religion and medical/health care while fathers in social work, child care, and education will receive the smallest premiums compared to their non-father counterparts.

Data, Measures, and Analytic Strategy

Data

I again use data from the American Community Survey (ACS) to analyze the effects of parenthood on the earnings of care workers across five different care sectors. My final analytic sample is comprised of 805,786 individuals.

Measures

In this section, I describe my key variables and their operationalization. Table 1 describes these variables and presents descriptive statistics in more detail.

Dependent variable

I use yearly wages as my dependent variable, which is rounded to the nearest dollar and does not include those that report zero income.

Independent variables

Parenthood status. I measure parenthood status with a variable capturing the number of children in the household.

Care work sub sector. The categories of care work sub-sectors include the following categories: “Counseling or Social Work” including social workers and counselors (N=86,555); “Religious Care Work” including clergy (N=19,454); “Education” which consists of PreK, elementary, middle school, high school, special ed teachers, and teaching assistants (N=399,065); “Medical or Health Care Work” which consists of registered nurses, nursing and other medical aides or assistants, as well as personal care aides (N=260,641; and finally, “Childcare”, which includes child care workers (N=36,478).

Control Variables

To control for human capital factors, I include educational attainment, full-time year round work status and whether the respondent was in school within the last three months. I also control for respondents’ age, marital status, race, ethnicity, region, sector, and birth cohort.

Analytic Strategy

To investigate the effects of children on the yearly wages of mothers/fathers compared to their non-parent counterparts in care work sub-sectors, I employ negative binomial regression with robust standard errors. In chapter 2, I explained more fully why I use this regression technique instead of traditional OLS regression. Overall, running negative binomial models best fit my data given the suggestions of past scholars (Gould 2011; Hilbe 2014; Witteveen and Attewell 2020).

For this chapter, I run separate models for women and men. I begin with a model using children, measured as one child and two or more children, with no children as the reference category, along with care work sub sectors (social work is the reference category) and an interaction between parenthood status and care work sectors (Model 1). Next, I build upon model

1 by adding human capital indicators such as education level, full-time year round work status, and schooling (model 3) to test whether the effect of children is moderated by human capital measures as past research suggests it is. Finally, I add the remaining demographic controls including sector, age, race, ethnicity, marital status, birth cohort, and region (model 4). Table 7 shows results for models 1-4 for females, and Table 8 shows results for models 1-4 for males.

I also ran a contrasts test after model 4 estimation⁵ to test whether non-default comparisons of means are significantly different from each other; for instance, I test whether the effect of children is significantly different in religion compared to child care. I also calculate marginal effect at the means (MEMs) and the predicted wages for men and women across the five different sectors by the number of children (no children, 1 child, and 2 or more children) at the means of my control variables after the full model⁶. For example a MEM of 1,500 for a male with one child indicates that the change in wages for a male with one child compared to no children is higher by about 1500 dollars. Table 9 shows the marginal effect at the means. Figure 2 shows the predicted wages for females and Figure 3 shows the predicted wages for males at the mean of all variables across the five care sectors.

Results

Sample Description

Table 1 presents all variables I include in my analysis. Eleven percent of respondents work in counseling or social work, two percent work in religious care work, 45 percent work in education (Pre-K to 12th grade), 36 percent work in medical or health care, and 5 percent work in childcare.

Women make up more of social work, education, medical health care, and child care than

⁵ This was calculated using STATA's contrast command.

⁶ This was calculated using STATA's margins command

religion; however, a growing number of men make up religious care work and medical care work. Very few men work in child care (less than one percent). On average, workers in care work make around \$32681, though this varies by care sub-sector.

Going deeper into descriptives presents more nuanced and interesting results by care sector. The advantage for fathers over non-fathers holds in all care sectors, though there are variations in the size of the advantage. For instance, fathers – compared to non-fathers – in social work (ratio:1.16), education (ratio: 1.19), and medical/health care (ratio :1.18) all experience smaller premiums than fathers – compared to non-fathers – in religious care work (ratio: 1.30) and childcare (ratio: 1.36). Mothers on the other hand, regardless of sector, experience lower wages on average. However, there are differences in the size of penalties across sub-sectors, as mothers in social work and education experience the smallest penalties (ratio: 0.99 and 0.90 respectively), while mothers in religious care work (ratio: 0.82), and medical health care (ratio:0.82) experience the biggest penalties, as indicated by the wage ratios in Table 2.

Parental Gender Effects on Wages across Care Sectors

Female model 1. According to model 1, the effect of one child for women in social work and counseling is associated with higher wages than childless women in social work (β : 0.02). However, being a mother with one child is associated with lower wages in religion ($-0.06 = 0.02 - 0.08$), education ($0.02 - 0.05 = -0.03$), medical health care ($0.02 - 0.13 = -0.15$), and in child care ($0.02 - 0.21 = -0.23$). These differences in the effect of one child in education, medical, and child care sectors, compared to the effect of one child in social work or counseling are significant, which suggests that there are differences between social work or counseling and other sectors in the way that they reward mothers. When looking at the effect of two or more children, we see

similar results to the one child results, though the effect of two or more children is not significant for social work/counseling. However, compared to social work, mothers with two or more children have lower wages in religion (β :-0.28=0.01-0.29), education (β :-0.11=0.01-0.12), medical health care (β :-0.15=0.01-0.16), and in child care (β :-0.33=0.01-0.34).

Female model 2: Human capital. When adding human capital variables (model 2) – education, schooling, and full time-year round status – we see different results. For women in social work or counseling, having one child results in higher wages (β =0.12), while having two children is associated with an even higher wages (β =0.19). The effect of one child on women’s wages is a premium for women in education (0.12-0.10=0.02) and in medical health care (0.12-0.08=0.04) compared to social work/counseling, but a penalty for women in child care (0.12-0.18=-0.06). These penalties for child care, and premiums for religion and health care also persists when looking at two or more children. Overall, we see that compared to model 1, we no longer see a penalty for mothers in education, religion, or medical health care, but we still see a penalty for mothers in child care compared to social work.

Female model 3. Model 3 suggests that one child results in a wage premium (0.02; IRR:1.02) which is about two percent higher wages, corresponding to a \$368.74 increase as shown in Table 9. However, in other care sectors, having one child is associated with wage penalties (education: 0.02-0.08=-0.06 or an IRR of 0.94; medical health care: 0.02-0.07=-0.05 or an IRR of 0.95; and for child care: 0.02-0.14=-0.12, or an IRR of 0.88). The effect of two or more children on women’s wages is associated with 10.5 percent lower wages in religion (0.005-0.11=-0.105) – a \$1715.47 decrease –, 16.5 percent lower wages in education (0.005-0.17=-0.165) – a \$3350.55 decrease in wages –, 10.5 percent lower wages in medical health care (0.005-0.11=-0.105) – a \$3274.37 decrease –, and 27.5 percent lower wages in child care (0.005-

0.28=-0.275) – which corresponds to a \$4408.64 decrease in wages. This corresponds to Figure 2, which shows that except for religion – not significant – and counseling/social work, mothers experience lower wages. Looking at effect sizes, only the effect of one child in child care, and the effect of two or more children in both education and child care are practically significant, though this effect is still small.

In order to test whether the effect of the number of children itself is also significant for other care sectors, I ran a contrast after the full model that allowed me to test the effects of children for women in different sectors specifically. Results that were significantly significant and in the negative direction all suggest, that after adding controls, that women working in education and in child care experience the greatest penalties, followed by medical health care and religion, while mothers in counseling experience the greatest advantages.

Male model 1. I present results for models 1-4 for males in Table 8. Men in social work or counseling experience higher wages (β : 0.12) after having one child. The difference in the effect of one child in other care sectors compared to fathers and childless men in social work is not significant. When looking at the effect of two children, however, we see different results. Men in social work or counseling who have two or more children have higher wages (β :0.20), and men in religion have higher wages (interaction and main effect: $0.10+0.20=0.30$); the difference in the effect of two or more children for men in religion compared to men in social work is significant.

Male model 2: Human capital. When adding human capital variables (model 2) – education, schooling, and full time-year round status – we see similar results, though we see that the size of the coefficients have decreased, suggesting that human capital measures explain away some of the premiums for fathers and childless men. Having a child (β : 0.09) or two or more

(β :0.17) is associated with higher wages for men in counseling or social work. The effect of one child on men's wages is smaller for men in religion ($0.09-0.03=0.06$) – though still a premium – and larger for men in child care ($0.09+0.13=0.22$); this difference between child care or religion and social work/counseling is significant. The effect of two or more children is associated with higher wages in religion ($0.17+0.05=0.22$) and lower wages in education ($0.17-0.05=0.12$) compared to social work/counseling, though still a wage premium.

Male model 3. The effect of one child is significant for men in social work/counseling and associated with about four percent higher wages (0.04 in Table 8; IRR: 1.04), corresponding to a \$1013.80 increase according to Table 9; this wage premium is larger for men with two or more children. However, we see that the effect of one child on men's wages is associated with smaller premium for men in education, or about one percent higher wages ($0.04-0.03=0.01$; IRR: 1.01). As shown in Table 9, the wage premium for fathers in education corresponds to a \$321.06 increase. Men in religion have nine percent higher wages after having two children ($0.05+0.04=0.09$; IRR: 1.09) and men in education have smaller premiums, or about two percent higher wages ($0.05-0.03=-0.02$; IRR: 1.02). The corresponding MEM is a \$2192.44 increase for religion and a \$429.42 increase for education, as shown in Table 9. This is reflected in Figure 3, which shows a consistent increase after having children for fathers in all sectors.

In order to test whether the effect of the number of children itself is also significant for other care sectors, I ran a contrast test to test whether the effect of children is significantly different for men in one care sector compared to another sector. Results suggest that overall, the effect of parenthood on the wages of those in other care sectors are significant. Religious care work tends to have the most advantages for fathers while education care work holds the least amount of advantages. However, none of the effect sizes calculated met the threshold for even a

small practical significance, suggesting that there are few differences between care sectors for men.

Discussion and Conclusions

Past research looking at the effect of parenthood on worker wages fails to explore the variations in characteristics and values across sub-sectors within one occupation and how these differences shape the wages of mothers and fathers compared to their non-parent counterpart in care work. Some scholars look at the role that organizational structures play in reinforcing ideal worker constraints (Acker 1990; Budig and England 2001; Solberg 2005; Williams 2006; Cha 2013; Langdon 2013), and find that these organizational structures further disadvantage women and mothers. However, also of importance are the roles that gender stereotypes and other employer expectations play. Appropriate labor explanations argue that some workers are better suited towards the nature of the job itself (Reskin 2008; Wooten and Branch 2012). Identity mobilization theory posits that individuals, through their various minority identities – racial, gender, and in this case parental identities – possess knowledge and skills that they are able to leverage as an advantage (Cha and Roberts 2019). Workers who possess these identities – or who are assumed to possess these identities – are rewarded more. In this way, the assumptions employers hold about who is appropriate for a job and its tasks or nature are directly connected to the identities and the stereotypes attached to those identities. However, very few scholars utilize this framework to understand the role that parental identity – as well as a parent’s gender – plays in shaping wages, especially in a field that may reward mothers and fathers differently than traditional understanding expects.

Applying this framework, I enrich our understanding of gender inequality by analyzing how, through this identity mobilization process, parenthood status may the wages of care workers across five different care sectors: social work or counseling, religion, education, medical health care, and child care. Care work typically values or requires gendered skills such as love, caring for children and others, and altruism, skills we associated with women and mothers, but also parents broadly (England 2005; Vincent and Braun 2011; Pedersen 2012). I argued that one's motherhood or fatherhood status, due to the gender and parental stereotypes attached to those identities, would result in greater advantages for mothers in some care sectors and greater advantages for fathers in others. However, results suggest that ideal worker norms and the structures that reinforce them remain much more vital in continuing gender inequality. This dissertation shows us that, on average, even working in a sector which is associated with femininity and women's work, women and mothers experience disadvantage. The majority of the suggested there was limited practical significance and hypotheses did not align with the theoretical framework. However, some care sectors do penalize mothers differently, such as the effect of having two or more children in child care or educational care sectors; these variations are worth exploring further in order to uncover what it is about these sectors that punish mothers more so than other sectors. Doing so can help us uncover why identity mobilization does not operate within these sectors or how being labeled as appropriate continues to perpetuate subordination and exploitation even if – and perhaps because – wages increase.

My results also show that except for mothers in social work, mothers in other care sectors experience disadvantage. In fact, mothers in social work and counseling tend to experience a wage premium, which may be partially attributed to their appropriateness for the work itself, or because of the higher status and greater flexibility that social work offers women and mothers

(Walton 1975; Huppertz 2012; Budig, Hodges, and England 2019; Galley 2020). Future research should explore social work or counseling, child care, and medicine more fully to uncover how mothers of color experience advantage or disadvantage in those sectors of care work, as the field continues to experience growing numbers of women of color.

My results suggest that fathers in education receive smaller premiums than fathers in other sectors. My results also suggest that fathers in religion tend to experience the greatest premium for two or more children. I argued earlier that religion may reward fathers more than other sectors primarily because religion is often associated with more traditional gender stereotypes and that suggest women are not suited for the work (Wilcox 2004; Mellow 2006; Percy 2014). I also argued that fathers in education would experience greater disadvantage primarily because of the belief that teaching is associated with mothering abilities and that fathers are unsuited for or seen as problematic if they work with children in these settings (Thorpe et al. 2018). While I am unable to uncover just exactly what is going on that rewards fathers more in religion and less in education other care sectors, this project speaks to the importance of looking further within industries to uncover various nuances, even though these results do not suggest practical significance.

Overall, these results speak to the fact that, while fathers may experience greater variation in their wages, mothers on average tend to experience disadvantage at work, regardless of whether they are viewed as appropriate for the work itself. These results also speak to the original use of appropriate labor theory which sees the use of external stereotypes as perpetuating and justifying subordination (Wooten & Branch 2012); suppression from the top seems more likely than push back from the workers at the bottom and has lasting consequences for the continuation of the gender hierarchy and devaluation of caring labor. However, there are

variations on the basis of sector, suggesting that the gender stereotypes attached to individual's gender identity do shape the assumptions employers have about workers and the rewards they give to those workers. These findings highlight the importance of studying variations in care sectors and in looking at other employer expectations that may shape the wages of parents beyond just worker ability to fulfill ideal worker norms and whether there are any instances where push back from the bottom may result in a changing of the structure.

CHAPTER 4: THE EFFECT OF MOTHERHOOD AND FATHERHOOD ON CARE WORKER WAGES BY BIRTH COHORT

Introduction

Few studies have looked at cohort differences in the effect of parenthood on wages (Avellar and Smock 2003; Jee et al. 2019; Lim 2019). Some scholars find that motherhood penalties do not differ by cohort (Avellar and Smock 2003; Jee et al. 2019), while others find that there are variations across cohorts (Lim 2019). For instance, Lim (2019) found that younger cohorts of women experience smaller penalties than older cohorts. Another example relates to the fatherhood premium: Lundberg and Rose (2000) found that older cohorts of fathers experienced larger premiums than younger cohorts of fathers do.

Overall, these cohort differences in the effect on the wages of parents can be attributed to increasing levels of human capital among parents – especially mothers – but more importantly can be attributed to shifts in the structure of and attitudes toward work and shifts in gender ideologies (Anderson 2010; Nixon 2009; Ridgeway 2011; Kaufman 2012; Selberg 2013; Maume 2016; Chanfreau 2019; Lim 2019). However, research largely ignores looking at these cohort effects and explanations within care work; care work may be more susceptible to changes in gender ideologies, parental ideals, and the nature of work as gender ideologies and parental ideals have direct salience for the stereotypes associated with care work as a whole (Anderson 2010; Wooten and Branch 2012; Kaufman 2012; Selberg 2013).

Looking at cohort effects within care work allows us to better understand the connection between these changes and the effect of parenthood on wages in an occupation where these changes in gender ideologies and workplace structures and ideals may be more salient to one's identity as a mother or father or parent and as a care worker. For instance, gender ideologies

about what makes a good mother or father have become more egalitarian over time (Kaufman 2012). As parental ideals fall more in line with employer expectations about what makes a good care worker, we would expect to see cohort differences in the effect of parenthood on wages as ideologies, structures and identities become more similar.

I employ both identity mobilization and appropriate labor theoretical frameworks (Wooten and Branch 2012; Cha and Roberts 2019) to better understand how the changes in societal beliefs and structures and the identities parents hold interact together to shape the wages of mothers and fathers across birth cohorts. Using the American Community Survey, I answer whether parenthood premiums and penalties vary across three cohorts: Baby Boom, Generation X, and Millennial. This chapter is organized as follows: first, I explore cohort differences in parental wages and explain three main explanations for why these differences exist; second, present hypotheses; third, describe the data, variables, and analytic strategy; fourth, present results; and fifth, end with a discussion and conclusion.

Background & Theoretical Framework

Cohort Differences in Parental Wages

Past research found that motherhood penalties and fatherhood premiums have remained stable in professional occupations across cohorts (Avellar and Smock 2003; Jee, Misra, and Murray-Close 2019), with some variations. For instance, Avellar and Smock (2003) examined motherhood and wages for baby boomers and generation x women and found that the motherhood wage penalty stayed similar across cohorts. Jee and colleagues (2019) compared different periods (1986-1995, 1996-2004, and 2006-2014) and found that the motherhood wage penalty remained stable across cohorts, and that this negative effect for mothers with one child did not lessen after controlling

for human capital indicators (Jee et al. 2019). Lundberg and Rose (2000) found that the fatherhood premium was larger for the baby boom cohort than the generation x cohorts. Lim (2019), looking at baby boom women and millennial women in professional occupations, found that millennial mothers actually receive a smaller or no penalty compared to baby boom mothers. While this past research all suggests that there are differences across cohorts, research fails to look at Generation X and at care work. Within this study, I look at Generation X, besides Baby Boomers and Millennial, and provide a more comprehensive picture of the differences between all the three cohorts. Furthermore, little research looks at these cohort effects within care work. Looking at parenthood effects on wages across three cohorts can help us understand how levels of inequality have changed over historical time, and how this impacts the mechanisms behind employer discrimination – such as norms and stereotypes. Looking at cohort differences in care worker wages helps us to understand how demographic, structural, and gender ideology shifts across cohorts all directly influence care work values and employer expectations about who is appropriate and thus, parental wages.

Why Are There Differences By Cohort? Three Main Explanations

A birth cohort is a group of people who were born and raised in a similar time period. On average, birth cohorts tend to hold similar values about gender, work, and family (Berkowitz and Schewe 2011; Gursoy, Chi, and Karadag 2013; Gordon 2017), which makes studying parenthood wages by cohort vital for understanding how changes in gender ideologies, demographic shifts, and the changing nature of work effect on wages. Scholars utilize these explanations – changes in gender ideologies, demographic shifts, and the changing nature of work – for why there may be cohort differences in the effect of motherhood and fatherhood on worker wages. Throughout

this section, I explain how these shifts shape the identity mobilization process, and can lead to cohort differences within care work specifically.

Demographic shifts. Education levels and labor force participation rates vary across cohorts, with each cohort often accumulating greater amounts of education and work experience than the previous one (Autor et al. 2006; Lim 2019). For instance, Millennial women, but also men, are more likely to be college-educated than prior cohorts (Lim 2019). More women have entered the labor market over the last few decades (Autor et al. 2006; Goos and Manning 2007; U.S. Department of Labor 2017), especially between the Baby Boom cohort and Generation X cohort, though levels remain similar for Millennial and later cohorts (U.S. Department of Labor 2017). Overall, on average, more women remain in the workforce after childbirth (Marini 1989), and younger cohorts also return more often to work after childbirth (Chanfreau 2019).

With regards to care workers, we see that the majority of direct care workers in medical health care are in the Generation X cohort, and the majority of direct care workers have a high school diploma or some college (Scales et al. 2020), which is less than the average education level for women. However, care workers in more recent cohorts are better educated (Charles, Ellis, and England 2015; Hartmann et al. 2018), especially for early childhood education workers in center-based organizations (Thomason et al. 2018). Other scholars find that the demand for child care workers to increase education levels will follow the shift towards increasing education among nurses and those in the medical health care field (Smith 2017). Medical health care, among other care sectors, has increasingly shifted towards a more professional occupation, with greater need for higher education and training (Duffy 2011). With demographic shifts in the population and within care work occupations, individuals' investments in human capital accumulation grow larger. As younger cohorts gain more human capital and delay childbearing

until later years and thus gain greater work experience, and as care work shifts towards requiring more education and training as cohorts age, one would expect that younger cohorts of care workers would experience greater advantages than older cohorts.

Changing structure of and attitudes toward work. Another explanation for why there are cohort differences in parent's wages focuses on the shifting structure of work along with cohort differences in attitudes towards work. As workers gain greater education and remain in the workforce longer, employer expectations about who is appropriate begin to greater reflect the shifts in work that reinforce specific skills and stereotypes that are connected to individual's identities – such as greater training and professionalization. As such, younger cohorts of care workers would be expected to be seen as more qualified by employers because they possess more of the required traits. Throughout the years, the structure and nature of work broadly – but also care work - has shifted back and forth between demanding more from workers and their time and becoming more flexible and understanding of other commitments. On average, this shift towards demanding more of workers in care work includes a greater demand for overworking (Cha 2013; Cha and Weeden 2014), a greater need for efficiency (Hayes and Moore 2016), more irregular schedules (Selberg 2013), increased competition among workers (Bullough, Hall-Kenyon, MacKay, and Marshall 2014); and greater burnout and emotional exhaustion, especially in the medical care work sector and the educational care work sector (Stremmel, Benson, and Powell 1993; Selberg 2013; Portoghese et al. 2014; Charlesworth, Baines, and Cunningham 2015). Motherhood and fatherhood identities have direct consequences on the ability of workers to signal to employers that they can meet these increasing demands. As such, one would expect younger cohorts – since they are more impacted by this intensification –

to experience greater disadvantage after becoming parents because of their inability to signal appropriateness for care work.

Attitudes towards work and expectations for work also vary by generational cohort. For instance, Ruspini (2020) found that Millennial fathers were more impacted by ideal worker norms that expected them to put work as a priority and should work longer hours, compared to their female counterparts (2019). Other scholars find that, even though ideal worker norms still exist, younger generations are more likely to expect to find a work-life or work-family balance than their previous counterparts (Gursoy, Chi and Karadag 2013). Furthermore, Smola and Sutton (2002) found that older cohorts of men at work expected work to be more nurturing and involve more relational skills than the hierarchical nature that their grandparents would have expected (2002).

However, even with all these shifts in the structure of work that may disadvantage parents in care work, the increasing demand for “soft” skills may advantage parents, especially mothers, if they are able to leverage their identity – and its associated skills – to signal stereotype fulfillment to employers (Randolph 2016). Nixon (2009) argued that the growth of the service sector – which includes care work – has led women to be able to trade utilize their identity as women and mothers to signal to employers they are appropriate for care work since they are assumed to possess these soft skills such as friendliness and emotional competence. This shift in the demand for soft skills has direct connection with the shifts in gender ideologies and parental ideals. As we shift from an older cohort to a younger cohort, the stereotypes attached to one’s identity as a father or mother shift, and fall more in line with the values necessary in care work that signal appropriateness.

Changing gender ideologies, parenthood ideals, and parenthood styles. As care work occupations involve and value care, emotions, and love, they may be directly influenced by changes in gender ideologies and parenting styles, especially among white men and women and men and women of color (England 2005). Gender ideologies typically refer to a set of beliefs about what is appropriate for men and women; more traditional ideologies advocate for separate spheres where women are primarily responsible for the home, whereas more egalitarian ideologies advocate for a more equal division especially at home (Hochschild 1989; Hays 1996). Past research shows society values men and fathers more than they value women and mothers (Acker 1990; Budig and England 2001), though recent research shows that gender ideologies about men and women's work are becoming more egalitarian across cohorts (Judge and Livingston 2008). It is vital we understand how changing attitudes can shape the wages of workers in an occupation like care work where the gender ideologies held by employers directly shape the stereotypes they hold about worker identities and the traits necessary to be appropriate for care work..

Since the 1970s, gender ideologies have become more egalitarian, especially related to the roles of fathers (Cotter 2018). For instance, fathers, who previously were expected to subscribe to ideal worker norms and be less involved in home life, are now encouraged to be more involved in their children's lives and fulfill the role of an involved father, not just a primary breadwinner (Kaufman 2012; Edin and Nelson 2013; Olah, Kotowska and Richter 2018). Anderson (2010) found that younger cohorts of men were more likely to embrace other non-traditional types of masculinity. As such, being a good father has increasingly become a more salient and larger part of men's identities, especially among Millennial men (Livingston 2018). Furthermore, some scholars have found that traditionally masculine fathers are less involved in

expressive parenting and are more likely to be harsh discipliners – which contradicts expectations for an ideal care worker as someone who is loving and caring – (Petts, Shafer, and Essig 2018). However, even though men and fathers are expected to be more involved in family life among younger cohorts, especially with regards to child care, ideal worker norms and separate spheres ideologies do still perpetuate the expectation that good fathers are providers first (Ridgeway 2011; Maume 2016). As ideals about fathers become more in line with care work values, we would expect to see cohort wage differences for fathers.

With regards to women, we see that gender essentialism persists even today, even though many women are entering higher education and work and becoming socially mobile (England 2010). This persistence of traditional gender beliefs could increase the discrimination mothers face by perpetuating ideal worker norms and intensive mothering ideologies that say they are not compatible with paid work (Avellar and Smock 2003; Correll et al. 2007; Benard and Correll 2010; Ridgeway and Correll 2004). Other scholars have even found that intensive mothering ideologies and expectations about what makes a good mother have become more strict for recent cohorts (Scarborough, Sin, and Risman 2019). However, few scholars have found that gender egalitarianism has increased since the 70s (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, and Lappegard 2015; Cotter 2018; Olah et al. 2018), as more women have entered the workplace and gender roles and stereotypes have shifted over time.

Research has also shown that parenting styles have become more intensive since the 1970s (Lam, Kwong, and To 2019), which can also shape the wages of parents as it shapes their ability to fulfill both workplace and parenthood demands. If parents are more involved in their children's lives, to an extreme extent, and if parenthood now involves a broader range of demands and resources (Tulgan 2000; Lam et al 2019), ideal worker expectations may clash with

the identity mobilization processes by shaping the stereotypes about how parents should act. For instance, some research has found that helicopter parenting is more prevalent among Baby Boomers than among Generation X (Tulgan 2000).

These changes in parenthood ideals and parenting styles have direct consequences for the wages of mothers and fathers in care work by birth cohorts. For instance, if fatherhood ideals have fallen more in line with care work, we would expect to see that younger cohorts of fathers would experience greater advantages at work as their involvement in care work falls more in line with egalitarian beliefs about fatherhood and masculinity definitions and performances. As gender egalitarianism increases, the stereotypes attached to the identity of mother, however, may no longer be in line with care work values, which would lead to greater disadvantage among younger cohorts of women. On the other hand, we may see greater advantages among younger cohorts of women because they have higher human capital and because ideal worker norms and intensive mothering ideologies are less strict than before, which is the line of argument that I prioritize here. This line of thought leads to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Millennial mothers will experience larger premiums compared to their non-mother counterparts compared to Baby Boom and Generation X cohorts.

Hypothesis 1b: Millennial fathers will experience larger premiums compared to their non-fathers counterparts than fathers do in the Baby Boom or Generation X cohorts.

Data, Measures, and Analytic Strategy

Data

I use data from the American Community Survey (ACS) to analyze the effects of parenthood on the earnings of care workers across birth cohorts. The American Community Survey (ACS) is a large, publicly available and nationally-representative survey, which has a wealth of information

on work, parenthood, and demographic factors, include larger number of different cohorts. The sample size is 805,786.

Measures

Table 1 describes the following variables in depth. Descriptive results are weighted.

Dependent variable

To examine cohort differences, I use yearly wages as the dependent variable.

Independent variables

Parenthood status. Parenthood status, which distinguishes between no children (reference category), one child, and two or more children is the main independent variable.

Birth cohort. Using respondent's birth year and the year of the survey, I constructed a variable for respondent's birth cohort. Response categories include: Baby Boom (1946-1964); Generation X (1965-1980); and Millennials (1981-1996).

Controls

I control for human capital measures including education level, full-time year-round work status, and whether respondents were in school the last three months – as well as various demographic factors such as respondents' age, marital status, race, ethnicity, sector, and care work sub-sectors.

Analytic Strategy

To investigate the effects of children on the wages of mothers/fathers compared to their non-parent counterpart across cohorts, I use negative binomial regression, which has been shown to be more appropriate than other techniques such as OLS when the dependent variable is right skewed, as is the case for yearly earnings (Gould 2011; Hilbe 2014; Witteveen and Attewell

2020). In the first empirical chapter, I explained more fully why I use this regression technique instead of traditional OLS.

For this chapter, I run separate models for men and women. Model 1 includes parenthood – no children as the reference category –, birth cohort, and an interaction between parenthood and birth cohort. Next, I build upon model 1 by adding human capital measures, including education, full-time year round work status, and schooling (model 2). Finally, I add the remaining demographic variables as additional controls – including sector, age, race, marital status among others (model 3). Table 10 shows results for women, and Table 11 shows results for men.

I also calculate marginal effect at the means (MEMs) and the predicted wages for mothers and fathers across cohorts by the number of children at the means of my control variables. MEMs represent the change in dollars for men and women as the number of children increases. Table 12 shows the marginal effect at the means, while Figure 4 and 5 visually show the predicted wages for women and men.

Results

Sample Description

Table 1 shows that Baby Boomers make up 7% of the sample, while Generation X makes up 53%, and Millennials make up 40%.

Table 2 includes the mean wages of parents vs non-parents, mothers vs non-mothers and fathers vs non-fathers across birth cohorts, along with the associated wage ratios. Looking at the ratios of parents compared to non-parents – results suggest that parents on average have lower yearly wages in the Baby Boom (ratio: 0.98) and Generation X (ratio: 0.90) cohorts compared to

their non-parent counterpart. Millennial parents, however, have slightly higher yearly wages than millennial non-parents (ratio: 1.01). However, we see different results when looking at fathers compared to non-fathers and mothers compared to non-mothers by cohort. Overall, there are few differences for fathers across cohorts, as average wages increase for each cohort of fathers, and their average wages are higher than non-fathers' average wages for each cohort. However, while mothers wages have increased across cohorts, the gap between mothers and non-fathers remains similar as mothers, regardless of cohort, have lower wages than their non-mother counterparts. At first glance this suggests that there are differences in the effect of parenthood across cohorts, and suggests that mothers tend to experience greater disadvantage compared to their non-mother counterparts.

Parental Gender Effects in Wages across Birth Cohort

Table 10 and 11 present regression results for women and men, respectively. For effects directly derived from the models, – such as the effect of children for the reference category (i.e. baby boom) – results are included in the tables. Since the baby boom cohort is the reference category, the main effect for children indicates the effects for this cohort. Interaction coefficients capture the difference in the effect between the Baby Boom cohort and other cohorts. To calculate the effect of children for the interaction group of interest – such as for mothers with one child in the Millennial cohort – I added the main effect (number of children for the reference) and the interaction effect for the appropriate category.

Female model 1. Looking at model 1, among baby boomer females, motherhood is associated with decreases in wages, and this penalty, on average, increases for each additional child (-0.08 and -0.20 in Table 10). When looking at the effect of having one child, we see that

while Baby Boom mothers experience wage penalties with both one child and two or more children, Generation X and Millennial mothers also experience penalties, though smaller penalties, both with one child and with two or more children.

Female model 2. Differences in the effect of children on wages changes slightly when adding human capital measures in model 2. For instance, when looking at the effect of having one child, we see that the effect of parenthood is no longer significant for Baby Boom women's wages; we also see that Generation X mothers experience wage premiums and Millennial mothers experience penalties after having children while Baby Boomers experience larger penalties (Generation X: $0.037 = -0.003 + 0.04$; Millennial: $0.037 = -0.003 + 0.04$). When looking at the effect of two or more children, we see that Generation X and Millennial mothers actually experience wage premiums, while Baby Boom mothers experience wage penalties (main effect coefficient in Table 10: -0.05). In other words, newer cohorts of mothers seem to experience greater advantage than older cohorts do.

Female model 3. After adding in more controls such as marital status, and race, results more closely reflect model 1 not model 2. The effect of having one child for Baby Boom women is -0.08 (Table 10), which corresponds to a \$1174.40 decrease in wages as Table 12 shows; an IRR of 0.92 suggests that one child results in about eight percent lower wages for Baby Boom mothers. Having one child results in a smaller penalty for Generation X women ($-0.08 + 0.04 = -0.04$; IRR: 0.96 or about four percent lower wages), and a wage penalty for Millennial mothers, though this penalty is smaller than the penalty for Baby Boom mothers ($-0.08 + 0.03 = -0.05$). The differences across cohorts in the effect of children are statistically significant, suggesting that there are cohort differences between Baby Boom and Generation X and Millennial cohorts. This penalty for all cohorts remains similar when looking at the effect of additional children.

However, calculated effect sizes suggest that the effect of two or more children is only practically significant for Baby Boom mothers. Results show that the effect of two or more children is associated with a wage penalty for all cohorts, but an overall smaller penalty for newer cohorts. As Table 12 shows, for Baby Boom mothers, this corresponds to a \$2852.93 decrease in wages; for Generation X, it is a \$2692.00 decrease; and for Millennials, it is a \$3326.11 decrease, which is reflected in Figure 4. These results show mixed support for hypothesis 1a, as there are limited differences between the two newer cohorts but that there are differences between the two newer cohorts and the Baby Boom cohorts.

The results of the contrasts tests for women by cohort suggest that there are also significant differences in the effect of children on Generation X and Millennial mother's wages. Overall, model and contrast test results suggest that it both younger cohorts experience greater advantage to Baby Boomers. Effect sizes suggest that there is limited difference between the two newer cohorts,

Male model 1. Looking at model 1, among baby boomer males, fatherhood is associated with increases in wages ($\beta: 0.13$), and this increases for each additional child ($\beta: 0.25$). We see similar results for the other cohorts, though the size of the effect is, at times, significantly different across cohorts. For instance, compared to men with one child in the Baby Boom cohort, Millennial men with one child experience a larger wage premium ($0.13+0.02=0.15$). Generation X men with two or more children have smaller premiums ($0.25-0.06=0.19$) than Baby Boom fathers with two or more children, as do Millennial men with two or more children ($0.25-0.03=0.22$). Overall, these results suggest that fathers experience wage premiums regardless of cohort, though fathers with two or more children experience smaller wage premiums in younger cohorts than in the Baby Boom cohort.

Male model 2. Looking at model 2, we see similar results. For men in the Baby Boom cohort, having one child is associated with higher wages (β : 0.08), as is having two or more children (β :0.17). This suggests that for Baby Boom men, even after controlling for human capital measures, that having children is associated with a wage premium. Having two or more children is associated with a smaller premium in both the Gen X ($0.17-0.02=0.15$) and Millennial cohort ($0.17-0.001=0.1699$) than the Baby Boom cohort. Controls operate as expected, with the exception of having a bachelor's degree which is associated with a smaller increase than other education levels.

Male model 3. After adding in the remaining controls, we see different results. For men in the Baby Boom cohort, the effect of having a child or having two or more children both result in smaller premiums, about three percent higher wages for one child and about five percent higher wages for two or more children, than previous models (0.03 and 0.05 in Table 11;IRR: 1.03 and 1.05). Men in Generation X cohort with two or more children have a smaller premium, or about three percent higher wages (interaction effect: -0.02), which corresponds to a \$1107.08 increase as shown by the MEMs in Table 12. We do see interesting results with regards to Millennial fathers with two or more children, which contradicts past research on fatherhood premiums. For Millennial fathers the effect of having two or more children is zero ($0.05-0.05=-0.0$), indicating neither a wage penalty nor premium, though they have lower wages than their Baby Boom counterparts, corresponding to about a \$140 increase in wages according to Table 12. Figure 5 shows that Millennial men have slightly lower wages the more children they have.

Human capital controls operate similarly to the previous model. Additional controls show some interesting results. For instance, either working in both a non-profit sector or working in a government sector is associated with increases in wages for men compared to working in a

private sector. When looking at the results of the contrasts tests for men by cohort, they suggest that there are also significant results with regards to the effect of parenthood on Generation X and Millennial cohorts, not just the difference in the effect for the Baby Boom cohorts compared to newer cohorts. Overall, fathers experience wage premiums in all cohorts, though it is newer cohorts that experience smaller premiums. This refutes hypothesis 1b, that younger cohorts of fathers would experience larger premiums.

Discussion and Conclusions

I aimed to explore cohort differences in the effect of parenthood on the wages of mothers and fathers in care work occupations, compared to their same-gender non-parent counterparts.

Previous research suggested that millennial mothers, regardless of occupation, would experience smaller penalties than baby boom mothers (Lim 2019), partially due to increasing levels of human capital as well as changes in employer discrimination and gender bias that disadvantage women and mothers less today than in previous cohorts (U.S. Department of Labor 2017; Cotter 2018). I argued that these results would hold within care work for younger cohorts as well. As the beliefs about gender roles and what makes one an appropriate care worker fall more in line with the stereotypes about one's maternal or paternal identity, I expected to see younger cohorts of mothers and fathers experience greater advantages than their older counterparts.

Results suggest that there are cohort differences in the effect of parenthood on care worker wages, though perhaps in the opposite direction than what is expected and dependent on the number of children. I find that it is not Millennial mothers who experience the greatest amount of advantage with one child, but Generation X mothers, and that it is Millennial mothers who experience the greatest amount of advantage with two or more children. Overall, these

results do support past research, such as Lim (2019) who found that Millennial mothers experienced smaller penalties than Baby Boom mothers, but I add an additional layer of depth to the literature by showcasing the differences between Generation X cohorts and other cohorts.

Since this cohort effect seems counterintuitive, I speculate upon potential reasons why Generation X mothers experience the greatest advantage with one child and Millennials with two, even though I cannot capture these mechanisms explicitly. The shift in demands for soft skills, as well as the trend towards relaxing ideal worker norms and gender egalitarian may advantage Generation X mothers more than other cohorts, but still advantages Millennial mothers – at least compared to Baby Boom mothers (Nixon 2009; Randolph 2016). Furthermore, Generation X women work overtime less (Becton, Walker, and Jones-Farmer 2014), have more education than Millennial mothers (Xiong, Spaccarotella, Quick, and Byrd-Bredbenner 2019), and employ helicopter parenting techniques less often than Baby Boomers (Tulgan 2000). If being a helicopter parent prevents one from signaling to employers that they are able to fulfill demands, we would expect that cohorts with more helicopter mothers experience greater disadvantage. Furthermore, millennials, especially millennial women, may be pushing back against stereotypical gender roles and gender hierarchy (Olah et al. 2018), which may lead to them avoiding care work jobs as these are stereotypically feminine and devalued. In addition, a recent report showcased that Millennial individuals are not embracing gender equality – as measured by agreement with the statement “men do not have to be the breadwinner” - more so than Gen X or Baby Boomers (The Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality 2019:9). According to this report, while Millennials are more likely to reject traditional gender identities for themselves, they are not necessarily more accepting of non-traditional gender roles than Gen X or Baby Boomers (The Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality 2019)

With regards to men, we see different effects of birth cohort on wages. I found that Generation X fathers and Millennial fathers are typically disadvantaged compared to Baby Boomers. In other words, Baby Boom men experience the greatest premium, then Generation X, and then Millennial men, which refutes Hypothesis 1a. The shifting trends towards more involved fatherhood and more inclusive masculinities (Anderson 2010; Kaufman 2012) may be in conflict with ideal worker norms that would lead to higher wages for newer cohorts. When strict traditional gender ideologies reigned supreme – such as in the Baby Boom cohort – fathers may not have been seen as appropriate labor for care work because their identity as a father – and its attached stereotypes and ideals – did not line up with the values needed in and the traits necessary for care work (Connell 1995). If ideal worker norms remain powerful and prevalent, and if care work is seen as not men’s work, then this explains why younger cohorts of fathers in care work experience smaller premiums or no effect in the case of Millennial men with two or more children. Their work in care work contradicts traditional understandings of masculinity and fatherhood. If younger cohorts of fathers are disadvantaged compared to their older cohorts, this showcases that even as society claims they are shifting towards more inclusive definitions of fatherhood, that employers and workplace structures or policies do not yet reflect that change.

Overall, this study showcases further how the gender revolution has stalled unevenly for men and women; newer cohorts of men – fathers – are not experiencing greater advantage at work at the same levels as previous cohorts, though we do see favorable change with regards to women and mothers across cohorts. Even with changing ideals of parenthood, gender, and work, there has been little change in the actual devaluation of traditionally female-held careers, such as care work, especially for men within this occupation, which supports England’s work on the stalled revolution (England 2010; The Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality 2019). For

women, we see that there has been some shift towards gender equality, but it seems as though the trend towards egalitarianism has stalled for the Millennial cohort.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

We know much about the effect that parenthood plays on the wages of those in professional or managerial occupations, and less about female-dominated or low-wage/low-status occupations. Furthermore, studies looking at these female-dominated or low-wage occupations tend to group them together into one category, which leads us to missing the nuances within this large umbrella (Budig and England 2001; Glauber 2012; Buchmann and McDaniel 2016). What we do know about these female-dominated occupations is often contradictory; some scholars find that women in female-dominated occupations – primarily because they are low wage – have larger penalties while others find that male-dominated occupations disadvantage women more due to their high status and inflexible nature (Budig and England 2001; Glauber 2012; Killewald and Bearak 2014; England et al. 2016). This study aimed to explore how parenthood, gender, and race all intersect to shape the wages of care workers, one such female-dominated occupation. Regardless of past contradictory evidence for female-dominated occupations as one group, results of this dissertation tend to reflect evidence that suggests female-dominated occupations disadvantage women (Budig and England 2001; England 2005; Duffy 2007, 2011; Folbre 2012). In this way, even in an occupation that should value traditional expressions of femininity, women continue to be devalued and underpaid.

Within the first empirical chapter, the objective was to examine the effect of children on the wages of care workers, first for parents compared to non-parents and then for mothers and fathers specifically. Parents, especially mothers, should receive a wage premium primarily because employers utilize stereotypes that are attached to one's gender – or any other identity – to label workers as appropriate or not appropriate for care work (Reskin 2008; Wooten and Branch 2012; Cha and Roberts 2019). This should be the case since gendered and racialized

stereotypes about parents that employers possess fall in line with the assumptions about what skills and traits are necessary for care work (England 2005; October et al. 2014). As a result, parents and especially mothers should receive higher wages than non-parents and fathers alike. However, final results indicate that mothers and fathers do not receive similar advantages. Parents receive penalties, but this is primarily because mothers experience penalties while fathers experience wage premiums within care work. There are some small racial variation, in that Black fathers tend to experience bigger penalties than white fathers do, but that Black mothers and Hispanic mothers experience smaller penalties compared to white mothers.

The objective in the second empirical chapter was to look at the effects of parenthood within specific care work sectors, as the values and structures of each vary. For instance, within social work, one would expect that mothers would experience advantage because of the assumption that mothers are more appropriate for that occupation as it involves caring for others (Lupton 2000; Huppatz 2012; Galley 2020). Within child care and education, research has shown that typically we think of mothers or women being suited for this work (Andrew 2015; Andrew 2016; Thorpe et al. 2018). Within religion, past research has shown that traditional and strict gender ideologies frame women as unsuitable for this type of care work (Percy 2014; Ferguson 2018). Other research highlights how the structures within each of these sub-sectors – such as lack of flexibility, or greater need for education or training, or more heavy workloads and less autonomy – may outweigh appropriate labor expectations and thus reinforce ideal worker norms that disadvantage women (Budig and England 2001; Selberg 2013; Chen and Wang 2020). As a result of these structural and value differences across care work sectors, mothers – compared to non-mothers – in childcare and education were argued to experience a larger premium while those in religion or medical/health care would experience a smaller premium. Results suggest

that within social work/counseling, mothers actually receive a small premium compared to non-mothers, though this effect is not practically significant, and that mothers in childcare experience the greatest disadvantage. These results suggest that identity mobilization is either not occurring or that expectations from employers – suppression from the top – outweigh any pushback from workers themselves. This suggests that while being seen as appropriate might result in some small advantages across sectors, that this advantage is minimal or can still justify subordination from employers. I also argued that fathers will experience a greater premium in religion or medical/health care work while fathers in other sectors would experience a smaller premium. However, results suggest there are similar levels of wage premiums across care work sectors for fathers and childless men. For fathers, ideal worker expectations and the structures that reinforce them continue to advantage them over mothers.

Finally, the third empirical chapter aimed to explore effect of birth cohort on the wages of mothers and fathers compared to their non-parent counterpart in care work broadly. Previous research suggested that millennial mothers would experience greater premiums than baby boom mothers (Lim 2019), as millennial mothers possess higher levels of education and labor force participation (both factors predicting wages), and since gender ideologies have shifted and become more equal showcasing that women can work outside the home (U.S. Department of Labor 2017; Cotter 2018). Millennial mothers and fathers should experience greater premiums than Baby Boom cohorts. Analyses contradict previous research that finds that millennial mothers and fathers, with the addition of human capital, experience more advantages compared to previous cohorts (Lim 2019). According to the models, it is dependent on the number of children for deciding which cohort of mothers experiences greater advantage: Gen X mothers experience the largest advantages with one child, and Millennial mothers experience greater

advantage with two or more children. Models also suggest that Generation X fathers and Millennial fathers, compared to Baby Boom fathers, do experience smaller premiums, thus suggesting that perhaps, society still views men and fathers as unsuitable for care work, and that ideal worker norms remain strongest for older cohorts.

Overall, my results suggest that care work operates similarly to professional or managerial occupations. Women tend to assume or are expected to assume greater responsibilities in the home and experience disadvantage when at work (Acker 1990; Hays 1996). While gender ideologies have become more egalitarian for both men and women, with men being encouraged to be involved in their children's lives (Kaufman 2012; Cotter 2018), ideal worker norms and intensive mothering ideologies continue to exist and shape the work experiences and wages of men and women. Even though women are assumed to possess traits that make them good at paid care work (Hays 1996; England 2005), this study highlights how these assumptions which seem favorable may not actually result in advantages. However, this study also begins to uncover how there are variations within industries, by cohort, and by racial group that all allow us to further understand how structures within workplaces, and gender and racial stereotypes built into in care work combine together to shape the wages of mothers and fathers, and how some advantages actually continue to perpetuate stereotypes about appropriateness and hierarchies.

This study further showcases how devalued women and mothers are as workers, especially as care workers, and how inequality is reproduced at both the institutional level and the interactional level as Risman (2004) suggests. Results showcase how long-lasting gender ideologies and ideal worker norms are (Cahusac and Kanji 2014; Duffy et al. 2015), and how these norms have major consequences for women and mothers at work. The interactions between

workers and employers – which is shaped by expectations about gender, what is appropriate for work, and who is an ideal worker – reinforce the gender hierarchy we already have in the United States (Risman 2004). This greater understanding of inequality and how it is reproduced in one sector that should advantage women and mothers has implications for general society as well as specific policies. If women are more likely to enter these caring occupations or are pushed into these occupations, they are further resigned to a work that remains devalued. Studying care workers and the effect of parenthood on their wages tells us something about how we view women and mothers – and the work they do – in society. If women and mothers continue to remain disadvantaged, the likelihood of achieving gender equality in this lifetime is slim. If policy makers are able to enact laws and policies that bring back value to care work, and enact policies that allow mothers and fathers to better balance their work-family lives, society can only improve. Care work has direct impact on the wellbeing of individuals and workers, and should be valued accordingly.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This research, however, is subject to several limitations. For instance, there are few research studies and datasets looking at the parental experiences of care workers and their wages. I am unable to directly parse out whether it is ideal worker norms and structures or if it is more about identity mobilization and appropriate labor expectations, especially as this is not a causal analysis, but I do speculate on these mechanisms. Future research should develop the appropriate labor and identity mobilization frameworks utilizing datasets that capture these mechanisms more explicitly, as these two frameworks can help us to understand occupations that operate differently from professional occupations, or where these frameworks may be more salient

towards understanding employer bias and inequality. Future scholars will then be better equipped to understand both the similar – ideal worker norms and human capital – and unique mechanisms – identity mobilization and appropriate labor – operating within this field that shape the wages of workers differently compared to non-care work. This work takes the first step in doing so. Furthermore, qualitative research exploring the dynamics between employers and their stereotypes and the way they reward specific workers over others will allow researchers to better connect theoretical frameworks to this understudied phenomenon. Conducting qualitative or audit studies to uncover which mechanisms – ideal worker expectations or identity mobilization/appropriate labor – are working to disadvantage mothers and advantage fathers will help us understand whether all occupations and sectors operate similarly in regard to perpetuating gender inequality. Policy makers can use results, both from this study and from future research, to implement policies that can reduce the bias that mothers and fathers face, especially as younger cohorts increasingly enter the care sector.

In addition, in this study I chose to focus on nurturant care as the theoretical frameworks I selected are better suited towards explaining caring labor. However, care work also involves non-nurturant care – and has greater numbers of men of color – and a study of this aspect of care work may lend itself to better understanding mechanisms of discrimination (Duffy 2007, 2011). Also, due to size constraints, this dissertation focuses on care sectors as a whole; however, there may be important structural differences – especially with regards to the gender and racial hierarchy and ideal worker constraints – that vary within a sector – for instance, between the work experiences of nursing assistants and registered nurses. I am also unable to capture occupational characteristics or organizational level variables – such as job experience or tenure, firm size, family leave or other family friendly policies, and degree of flexibility or autonomy.

These occupational variables, all known to shape wages in non-care work occupations, vary even within care sector sub-fields such as medical health care and should be explored more in depth in future studies exploring this phenomenon. Other studies should also look at combining data with occupational information, such as the O*NET database, in order to include occupational characteristics and variables that are important for shaping parental wages – such as autonomy level, or degree of competition, or the need to work in groups (Yu and Kuo 2017). Adding these variables in will allow scholars to better study how work-level characteristics shape wages, both in care work as a whole and within sub-sectors.

Some racial categories have small cell sizes, which makes it difficult to parse out the differences between sectors for men and within care work for racial groups other than Blacks and Asians. As more and more care workers are from disadvantaged racial groups, it is important to look at their experiences more fully. First, scholars should utilize and create other datasets that include larger numbers of care workers, with larger samples of people of color.

Finally, this study looks only at the United States, and care work is increasingly common in other countries around the world. Looking at care work and parenthood wages cross-culturally can allow us to further uncover how more macro-level and organizational processes shape parental wages.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. TABLES

Table 1. Variable Description and Weighted Sample Descriptives by Gender, Non-Parent Status, and Parent Status (N=805,786)									
Variable	Description	Total	Males (all)	Females (all)	Non-Fathers	Non-Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	
Care Work	<i>Variable consisting of the different subsectors of care work</i>								
	Counselors, Social Workers	0.11	0.02	0.09	0.03	0.10	0.02	0.07	
	Religious	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	
	Education	0.45	0.10	0.35	0.13	0.36	0.08	0.34	
	Medical/Health	0.36	0.04	0.32	0.05	0.26	0.03	0.37	
	Childcare	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.05	
Yearly Salary or Wages	<i>Money received from yearly wages/salary, reported in dollars; does not include those that reported zero income; ranges from \$1 to \$718,000. Rounded to the nearest dollar</i>								
	Average Wage	32,682	38,774	31,247	35,666	33,766	42,072	29,616	
Number of Children	<i>Number of own children in household</i>								
	No Child	0.42	0.10	0.32	0.24	0.76	N/A	N/A	
	1 Child	0.21	0.03	0.17	N/A	N/A	0.06	0.30	
	2+ Child	0.38	0.06	0.32	N/A	N/A	0.10	0.54	
Sex	<i>Respondent sex</i>		0.19	0.81	0.24	0.76	0.16	0.84	
Age	<i>Respondent age</i>		30.34	30.66	30.27	29.15	28.21	32.26	31.60
Race	<i>Race of respondent</i>								
	White	0.76	0.15	0.61	0.18	0.61	0.13	0.61	
	Black	0.15	0.02	0.13	0.03	0.09	0.02	0.15	
	American Indian or Alaska Native	0.01	0.001	0.01	0.001	0.004	0.001	0.01	
	Asian or Pacific Islander	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.03	
	Other	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.004	0.03	
	Biracial or Multiracial	0.02	0.004	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.003	0.02	
Hispanic	<i>Whether respondent reports Hispanic/Latino ethnicity on survey</i>								
	Not Hispanic	0.90	0.17	0.73	0.21	0.70	0.14	0.74	
	Hispanic	0.10	0.02	0.08	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.10	

Table 1 (continued).								
Marital Status	<i>Marital Status of respondent; married includes those that have spouse present in home and those with spouse absent</i>							
	Married	0.64	0.13	0.51	0.10	0.36	0.15	0.62
	Separated, Divorced, or Widowed	0.08	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.04	0.005	0.09
	Never Married	0.28	0.05	0.23	0.12	0.36	0.01	0.14
Education	<i>Education level of respondent</i>							
	Less than HS	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.04
	HS or equivalent	0.10	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.12
	Some College	0.16	0.03	0.14	0.04	0.11	0.02	0.16
	Associates	0.11	0.01	0.10	0.02	0.07	0.01	0.12
	Bachelors	0.38	0.08	0.30	0.11	0.35	0.06	0.26
	Masters, Professional, or Doctoral	0.21	0.05	0.16	0.05	0.18	0.05	0.14
Schooling	<i>Whether the respondent reported attending school in the last 3 months</i>							
	Not in School	0.81	0.15	0.66	0.17	0.58	0.13	0.72
	In School	0.19	0.04	0.15	0.06	0.18	0.03	0.13
Sector	<i>Sector where respondent works for wages</i>							
	Private	0.38	0.05	0.33	0.06	0.28	0.04	0.37
	Non-Profit	0.22	0.05	0.17	0.06	0.17	0.04	0.17
	Government	0.39	0.09	0.30	0.11	0.30	0.08	0.29
	Self Employed	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
Full-Time Year Round	<i>Variable measuring whether respondent works full time and year round constructed from usual hours worked and weeks worked in the last year; full time is measured as >35 hours, and year round is measured as >50 weeks</i>							
	Full Time & Year Round	0.60	0.14	0.47	0.16	0.49	0.12	0.46
	Full Time but Not Year Round	0.19	0.04	0.16	0.05	0.16	0.03	0.15
	Not Full Time but Year Round	0.11	0.01	0.10	0.02	0.06	0.01	0.12
	Neither Full Time nor Year Round	0.10	0.01	0.09	0.02	0.06	0.00	0.11

Table 1 (continued).

Region	<i>Region of Residence</i>							
	Northeast	0.18	0.04	0.15	0.05	0.15	0.03	0.15
	Midwest	0.25	0.05	0.21	0.06	0.19	0.04	0.22
	South	0.37	0.07	0.31	0.08	0.27	0.06	0.33
	West	0.19	0.04	0.15	0.05	0.15	0.03	0.15
Birth Cohort	<i>Birth Cohort of respondent</i>							
	Baby Boomer (1946-1964)	0.07	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.01	0.06
	Generation X (1965-1980)	0.53	0.10	0.43	0.11	0.32	0.10	0.50
	Millennial (1981-1996)	0.40	0.07	0.33	0.11	0.39	0.04	0.28

Source: American Community Survey (1980, 1990, 2000-2018)

Table 2. Average Wages by Care Work Sector, Number of Children, and Birth Cohort (N=805,786)

	Non Parent		Parent			Ratio (Parent: Non Parent)	
Wages	34,214		31,589			0.92	
	Total	Non Fathers	Non Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Wage Ratio (Father: Non Father)	Wage Ratio (Mother: Non Mother)
Wages	32,682	35,666	33,766	42,072	29,616	1.18	0.88
Wages by Care Work							
<i>Counselors, Social Workers</i>	34,228	33,590	33,989	38,860	33,503	1.16	0.99
<i>Religious Care Work</i>	31,940	28,744	25,890	37,250	21,190	1.30	0.82
<i>Education (PreK to HS)</i>	32,319	35,295	32,221	41,933	29,159	1.19	0.90
<i>Medical/Health</i>	35,306	41,212	38,712	48,486	31,884	1.18	0.82
<i>Childcare</i>	13,383	17,143	14,665	23,297	12,302	1.36	0.84
Wages by # Children	Total	Non Fathers	Non Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Wage Ratio (# Child Father: Non Father)	Wage Ratio (# Child Mother: Non Mother)
<i>No Children</i>	34,214	35,666	33,766	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>1 Child</i>	32,619	N/A	N/A	40,318	31,096	1.13	0.92
<i>2 Children</i>	31,019	N/A	N/A	43,107	28,806	1.21	0.85
Wages by Birth Cohort	Total	Non Fathers	Non Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Wage Ratio (Father: Non Father)	Wage Ratio (Mother: Non Mother)
<i>Baby Boomer</i>	17,353	18,215	17,404	22,473	15,877	1.23	0.91
<i>Gen X</i>	33,550	37,669	35,355	43,721	30,057	1.16	0.85
<i>Millennial</i>	34,212	36,249	34,576	44,675	31,640	1.23	0.92

Note: Wages rounded to nearest dollar for easier viewing

Table 3. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Children on Wages of Men and Women in Care Work (N=805,786) (Robust standard errors in parentheses; effect of children for significant interactions also included)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Number of Children (ref: no child)				
1 child	-0.02 (0.002)***	0.10 (0.01)***	0.06 (0.01)***	0.03 (0.004)***
2+ children	-0.06 (0.002)***	0.19 (0.004)***	0.13 (0.004)***	0.06 (0.003)***
Female (ref: male)		-0.04 (0.003)***	-0.04 (0.003)***	-0.06 (0.002)***
Sex##Parenthood				
Mother, 1 child		-0.16 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.06	-0.02 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.04	-0.09 (0.004)*** Effect: -0.06
Mother, 2 children		-0.31 (0.004)*** Effect: -0.12	-0.09 (0.004)*** Effect: 0.04	-0.21 (0.004)*** Effect: -0.15
Education (ref: less than HS)				
HS or equivalent			0.33 (0.01)***	0.15 (0.01)***
Some College			0.29 (0.01)***	0.27 (0.01)***
Associates			0.97 (0.01)***	0.63 (0.01)***
Bachelors			0.97 (0.01)***	0.75 (0.01)***
Masters or higher			1.28 (0.01)***	0.98 (0.01)***
Schooling (ref: not in school)				
In School (within last 3 months)			-0.07 (0.002)***	-0.05 (0.001)***
Full Time Year Round (ref: full time AND year round)				
Full time but not year round			-0.45 (0.002)***	-0.25 (0.001)***
Not full time but year round			-0.44 (0.003)***	-0.47 (0.002)***
Neither full time nor year round			-1.19 (0.004)***	-1.03 (0.004)***
Sector (ref: private)				

Table 3 (continued).				
Non-Profit				0.037 (0.002)***
Government				0.10 (0.002)***
Self Employed				-0.04 (0.01)**
Age				0.04 (0.002)***
Race (ref: white)				
Black				0.01 (0.002)*
American Indian				-0.03 (0.01)**
Asian				0.07 (0.004)***
Other				0.02 (0.01)***
Biracial or Multiracial				0.01 (0.01)
Hispanic (ref: non- Hispanic)				0.03 (0.003)***
Marital Status (ref: married)				
Separated/Divorced/ Widowed				-0.01 (0.003)***
Never Married				-0.03 (0.002)***
Care Work (ref: social work)				
Religion				-0.13 (0.004)***
Education				0.01 (0.002)***
Medical Health Care				0.38 (0.002)***
Child Care				-0.26 (0.01)***
Birth Cohort (ref: Baby Boom)				
Generation X				0.53 (0.002)***
Millennial				0.68 (0.002)***
Region (ref: Northeast)				
Midwest				-0.11 (0.002)***
South				-0.13 (0.002)***
West				-0.02 (0.002)***
Constant	10.33 (0.001)***	10.36 (0.003)***	9.63 (0.01)***	8.06 (0.01)***

Table 3 (continued).				
/lnalpha	-0.40 (0.002)	-0.41	-0.85 (0.002)	-1.11 (0.003)
alpha	0.67 (0.001)	0.66	0.43 (0.001)	0.33 (0.001)
Wald Chi2	959.95***	12392.09***	375593.82***	767152.31***
Pseudo R2	0.0001	0.0006	0.0235	0.0365
Note: * p-value <0.05; ** p-value <0.01; *** p-value <0.001.				

Table 4. Average Marginal Effects at the Means – Changes in Wages of Men & Women in Care Work (Chapter 2)

	Dy/Dx (Slope – Discrete Change from Base Outcome)	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interval	
No Child (Base Outcome)				
1 Child Male	919.40***	110.22	703.374	1135.43
1 Child Female	-1500.99***	49.97	-1598.93	-1403.04
2 Child Male	1704.17***	97.74	1512.60	1895.74
2 Child Female	-3497.94***	48.21	-3592.43	-3403.46

Table 5. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Children on Wages of Men and Women in Care Work by Race (N=805,786) (Robust standard errors in parentheses; effect of children for significant interactions also included)

	Model 5 (Female N=646,426)	Model 5 (Male N = 159,360)
Number of Children (ref: no child for White)		
1 child	-0.05 (0.002)***	0.02 (0.004)***
2+ children	-0.14 (0.002)***	0.04 (0.004)***
Race (ref: white)		
Black	0.01 (0.005)*	-0.03 (0.01)***
American Indian	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.03)**
Asian	0.05 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.02)**
Other	-0.001 (0.01)	0.04 (0.02)*
Biracial or Multiracial	0.001 (0.01)	0.04 (0.03)
Parenthood##Race		
1 child Black	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
1 Child American Indian	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.05)
1 Child Asian	0.2 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.03)
1 Child Other	0.03 (0.01)* Effect: -0.02	-0.04 (0.03)
1 Child Biracial/Multiracial	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.04)
2+ children, Black	0.02 (0.01)* Effect: -0.12	-0.03 (0.01)** Effect: 0.01
2+ children American Indian	0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)
2+ children Asian	0.10 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.04	-0.02 (0.02)
2+ children Other	0.04 (0.01)** Effect: -0.10	-0.03 (0.03)
2+ children Biracial/Multiracial	0.03 (0.02)	-0.11 (0.003)** Effect: -0.07
Education (ref: less than HS)		
HS or equivalent	0.17 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Some College	0.03 (0.01)***	0.15 (0.02)***
Associates	0.70 (0.01)***	0.37 (0.02)***
Bachelors	0.82 (0.01)***	0.42 (0.02)***

Table 5 (continued).		
Masters or higher	1.06 (0.01)***	0.62 (0.02)***
Schooling (ref: not in school)		
In School (within last 3 months)	-0.04 (0.002)***	-0.08 (0.003)***
Full Time Year Round (ref: full time AND year round)		
full time but not year round	-0.26 (0.002)***	-0.21 (0.003)***
not full time but year round	-0.47 (0.002)***	-0.53 (0.01)***
neither full time nor year round	-1.04 (0.004)***	-0.92 (0.01)***
Sector (ref: private)		
Non-Profit	0.04 (0.002)***	0.03 (0.01)***
Government	0.11 (0.002)***	0.05 (0.004)***
Self Employed	-0.07 (0.01)***	0.06 (0.03)
Age	0.04 (0.0002)***	0.05 (0.001)***
Hispanic (ref: non-Hispanic)	0.04 (0.004)***	0.01 (0.01)
Marital Status (ref: married)		
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	-0.01 (0.003)***	-0.01 (0.01)
Never Married	-0.02 (0.002)***	-0.05 (0.004)***
Care Work (ref: social work)		
Religion	-0.18 (0.01)***	-0.10 (0.01)***
Education	-0.01 (0.002)*	0.08 (0.005)***
Medical Health Care	0.38 (0.002)***	0.32 (0.01)***
Child Care	-0.24 (0.01)***	-0.21 (0.02)***
Birth Cohort (ref: baby boom)		
Generation X	0.52 (0.002)***	0.60 (0.003)***
Millennial	0.66 (0.002)***	0.75 (0.004)***
Region (ref: Northeast)		
Midwest	-0.11 (0.002)***	-0.10 (0.004)***
South	-0.14 (0.002)***	-0.07 (0.004)***
West	-0.03 (0.003)***	-0.02 (0.004)***
Constant	8.01 (0.01)***	8.07 (0.02)***
/lnalpha	-1.07 (0.003)	-1.36 (0.01)
alpha	0.34 (0.001))	0.26 (0.002)

Table 5 (continued).		
Wald Chi2	638762.43***	156637.44***
Pseudo R2	0.0372	0.0335
Note: * p-value <0.05; ** p-value <0.01; *** p-value <0.001.		

Table 6. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Children on Wages of Men and Women in Care Work by Hispanic Ethnicity (N=805,786) (Robust standard errors in parentheses; effect of children for significant interactions also included)

	Model 6 (Female N=646,426)	Model 6 (Male N = 159,360)
Number of Children (ref: no child for Non-Hispanic)		
1 child	-0.05 (0.002)***	0.02 (0.004)***
2+ children	-0.13 (0.002)***	0.03 (0.004)***
Hispanic (ref: non-Hispanic)	0.03 (0.005)***	0.03 (0.01)**
Hispanic##Parenthood		
1 Child Hispanic	0.01 (0.01) Effect: -0.04	-0.02 (0.01)
2+ children, Hispanic	0.02 (0.01)** Effect: -0.11	-0.03 (0.01)* Effect: -0.00
Education (ref: less than HS)		
HS or equivalent	0.17 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Some College	0.29 (0.01)***	0.15 (0.02)***
Associates	0.68 (0.01)***	0.37 (0.02)***
Bachelors	0.82 (0.01)***	0.42 (0.02)***
Masters or higher	1.06 (0.01)***	0.62 (0.02)***
Schooling (ref: not in school)		
In School (within last 3 months)	-0.04 (0.002)***	-0.08 (0.003)***
Full Time Year Round (ref: full time AND year round)		
full time but not year round	-0.26 (0.002)***	-0.21 (0.003)***
not full time but year round	-0.47 (0.002)***	-0.53 (0.01)***
neither full time nor year round	-1.04 (0.004)***	-0.92 (0.01)***
Race (ref: white)		
Black	0.02 (0.003)***	-0.04 (0.01)***
American Indian	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.10 (0.02)***
Asian	0.09 (0.005)***	0.04 (0.01)***
Other	0.02 (0.01)***	0.02 (0.01)
Biracial or Multiracial	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)

Table 6 (continued).		
Sector (ref: private)		
Non-Profit	0.04 (0.002)***	0.03 (0.01)***
Government	0.11 (0.002)***	0.05 (0.004)***
Self Employed	-0.08 (0.01)***	0.06 (0.03)
Age	0.04 (0.0003)***	0.05 (0.001)***
Marital Status (ref: married)		
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	-0.01 (0.003)**	-0.02 (0.01)
Never Married	-0.02 (0.002)***	-0.04 (0.004)***
Care Work (ref: social work)		
Religion	-0.18 (0.01)***	-0.10 (0.01)***
Education	-0.01 (0.002)*	0.08 (0.005)***
Medical Health Care	0.38 (0.002)***	0.32 (0.01)***
Child Care	-0.24 (0.01)***	-0.21 (0.02)***
Birth Cohort (ref: baby boom)		
Generation X	0.52 (0.002)***	0.60 (0.003)***
Millennial	0.66 (0.002)***	0.75 (0.004)***
Region (ref: Northeast)		
Midwest	-0.11 (0.002)***	-0.10 (0.004)***
South	-0.14 (0.002)***	-0.07 (0.004)***
West	-0.03 (0.003)***	-0.02 (0.004)***
Constant	8.01 (0.01)***	8.07 (0.02)***
/lnalpha	-1.07 (0.003)	-1.36 (0.01)
alpha	0.34 (0.001)	0.26 (0.01)
Wald Chi2	638765.41***	155929.87***
Pseudo R2	0.0371	0.0335
Note: * p-value <0.05; ** p-value <0.01; *** p-value <0.001.		

Table 7. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Children on Wages of Women across Care Work Sectors (N=646,426) (Robust standard errors in parentheses; effect of children for significant interactions also included)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Number of Children (ref: no child for Social Work)			
1 child	0.02 (0.01)***	0.12 (0.01)***	0.02 (0.01)***
2+ children	0.01 (0.01)	0.19 (0.01)***	0.005 (0.005)
Care Work (ref: Social Work)			
Religion	-0.30 (0.02)***	-0.20 (0.01)***	-0.15 (0.01)***
Education	-0.10 (0.003)***	0.06 (0.003)***	0.06 (0.003)***
Medical Health Care	0.16 (0.004)***	0.42 (0.004)***	0.43 (0.003)***
Childcare	-0.85 (0.01)***	-0.07 (0.01)***	-0.11 (0.01)***
Care Work##Parenthood			
Religion, 1 child	-0.08 (0.03)* Effect: -0.06	0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Education, 1 child	-0.05 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.03	-0.10 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.02	-0.08 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.06
Medical Health Care, 1 child	-0.13 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.11	-0.08 (0.02)*** Effect: 0.04	-0.07 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.05
Childcare, 1 child	-0.21 (0.02)*** Effect: -0.19	-0.18 (0.02)*** Effect: -0.06	-0.14 (0.02)*** Effect: -0.12
Religion, 2+ children	-0.29 (0.03)*** Effect: -0.28	-0.08 (0.02)** Effect: 0.11	-0.11 (0.02)*** Effect: -0.105
Education, 2+ children	-0.12 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.11	-0.19 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.0	-0.17 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.165
Medical Health Care, 2+ children	-0.16 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.15	-0.13 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.06	-0.11 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.105
Childcare, 2+ children	-0.34 (0.02)*** Effect: -0.33	-0.33 (0.02)*** Effect: -0.15	-0.28 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.275
Education (ref: less than HS)			
HS or equivalent		0.32 (0.01)***	0.16 (0.01)***
Some College		0.29 (0.01)***	0.28 (0.01)***
Associates		0.83 (0.01)***	0.68 (0.01)***
Bachelors		1.03 (0.01)***	0.81 (0.01)***
Masters or higher		1.41 (0.01)***	1.06 (0.01)***

Table 7 (continued).			
Schooling (ref: not in school)			
In School (within last 3 months)		-0.04 (0.002)***	-0.04 (0.002)***
Full Time Year Round (ref: full time AND year round)			
full time but not year round		-0.40 (0.002)***	-0.26 (0.002)***
not full time but year round		-0.50 (0.003)***	-0.47 (0.003)***
neither full time nor year round		-1.15 (0.004)***	-1.04 (0.004)***
Sector (ref: private)			
Non-Profit			0.04 (0.002)***
Government			0.11 (0.002)***
Self Employed			-0.06 (0.01)***
Age			
			0.04 (0.0003)***
Race (ref: white)			
Black			0.02 (0.003)***
American Indian			-0.02 (0.01)*
Asian			0.09 (0.005)***
Other			0.02 (0.01)***
Biracial or Multiracial			0.01 (0.01)
Hispanic (ref: non-Hispanic)			
			0.04 (0.004)***
Marital Status (ref: married)			
Separated/Divorced/Widowed			-0.01 (0.003)**
Never Married			-0.02 (0.002)***
Birth Cohort (ref: Baby Boom)			
Generation X			0.51 (0.002)***
Millennial			0.66 (0.002)***
Region (ref: Northeast)			
Midwest			-0.11 (0.002)***
South			-0.14 (0.002)***
West			-0.03 (0.003)***
Constant	10.34 (0.003)***	9.34 (0.01)***	7.95 (0.01)***
Chi2	-0.42 (0.002)	-0.90 (0.003)	-1.07 (0.003)
Alpha	0.66 (0.001)	0.40 (0.003)	0.34 (0.001)

Table 7 (continued).			
Wald Chi2	37917.97***	394303.74***	641092.53***
Pseudo R2	0.0035	0.0289	0.0372
Note: * p-value <0.05; ** p-value <0.01; *** p-value <0.001.			

Table 8. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Children on Wages of Men across Care Work Sectors (N=159,360) (Robust standard errors in parentheses; effect of children for significant interactions also included)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Number of Children (ref: no child)			
1 child	0.12 (0.01)***	0.09 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.02)**
2+ children	0.20 (0.01)***	0.17 (0.01)***	0.05 (0.01)***
Care Work (ref: Social Work)			
Religion	-0.17 (0.01)***	-0.17 (0.01)***	-0.12 (0.01)***
Education	0.06 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.01)***
Medical Health Care	0.36 (0.01)***	0.44 (0.01)***	0.33 (0.01)***
Childcare	-0.64 (0.04)***	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.03)***
Care Work##Parenthood			
Religion, 1 child	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Education, 1 child	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.01)* Effect: 0.06	-0.03 (0.01)* Effect: 0.01
Medical Health Care, 1 child	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Childcare, 1 child	0.10 (0.06)	0.13 (0.07)* Effect: 0.22	0.10 (0.05)
Religion, 2+ children	0.10 (0.02)*** Effect: 0.30	0.05 (0.01)** Effect: 0.22	0.04 (0.01)** Effect: 0.09
Education, 2+ children	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.05 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.12	-0.03 (0.01)** Effect: 0.02
Medical Health Care, 2+ children	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Childcare, 2+ children	0.01 (0.06)	0.06 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)
Education (ref: less than HS)			
HS or equivalent		0.35 (0.02)***	0.11 (0.02)***
Some College		0.22 (0.02)***	0.15 (0.02)***
Associates		0.67 (0.02)***	0.38 (0.02)***
Bachelors		0.71 (0.02)***	0.42 (0.02)***
Masters or higher		1.06 (0.02)***	0.62 (0.02)***
Schooling (ref: not in school)			
In School (within last 3 months)		-0.10 (0.004)***	-0.08 (0.003)***

Table 8 (continued).			
Full Time Year Round (ref: full time AND year round)			
full time but not year round		-0.35 (0.004)***	-0.21 (0.003)***
not full time but year round		-0.52 (0.01)***	-0.53 (0.01)***
neither full time nor year round		-1.04 (0.01)***	-0.92 (0.01)***
Sector (ref: private)			
Non-Profit			0.03 (0.01)***
Government			0.05 (0.004)***
Self Employed			0.06 (0.03)
Age			0.05 (0.001)***
Race (ref: white)			
Black			-0.04 (0.01)***
American Indian			-0.10 (0.02)***
Asian			0.04 (0.01)***
Other			0.02 (0.01)
Biracial or Multiracial			0.01 (0.02)
Hispanic (ref: non-Hispanic)			0.01 (0.01)
Marital Status (ref: married)			
Separated/Divorced/Widowed			-0.02 (0.01)*
Never Married			-0.05 (0.004)***
Birth Cohort (ref: Baby Boom)			
Generation X			0.60 (0.003)***
Millennial			0.75 (0.004)***
Region (ref: Northeast)			
Midwest			-0.10 (0.004)***
South			-0.07 (0.004)***
West			-0.02 (0.004)***
Constant	10.27 (0.01)***	9.67 (0.02)***	8.06 (0.02)***
Lnalpha	-0.73 (0.004)	-1.06 (0.01)	-1.36 (0.01)
Alpha	0.48 (0.002)	0.35 (0.002)	0.26 (0.002)
Wald Chi2	7338.57***	54797.86***	156603.25***

Table 8 (continued).

Pseudo R2	0.0028	0.0190	0.0335
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Note: * p-value <0.05; ** p-value <0.01; *** p-value <0.001.

Table 9. Average Marginal Effects at the Means – Predicted Wages of Men and Women across Care Work Sectors (Chapter 3)

Females				
	Dy/Dx (Slope – Discrete Change from Base Outcome)	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interval	
No Child (Base Outcome)				
1 Child Counseling or Social Work	368.74***	105.02	162.90	574.57
1 Child Religion	437.19	468.89	-481.82	1356.19
1 Child Education	-1309.84***	60.47	-1428.40	-1191.31
1 Child Medical Health Care	-1646.33***	101.32	-1844.90	-1447.75
1 Child Childcare	-2135.29***	245.87	-2617.18	-1653.40
2+ Children Counseling or Social Work	96.61	102.53	-104.34	297.58
2+ Children Religion	-1715.47***	378.58	-2457.47	-973.46
2+ Children Education	-3350.55***	55.77	-3459.86	-3241.23
2+ Children Medical Health Care	-3274.37***	93.20	-3457.05	-3091.70
2+ Children Childcare	-4408.64***	205.96	-4812.32	-4004.97
Males				
	Dy/Dx (Slope – Discrete Change from Base Outcome)	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interval	
No Child (Base Outcome)				
1 Child Counseling or Social Work	1013.8**	293.71	438.15	1589.45
1 Child Religion	1203.28***	300.43	614.45	1792.11
1 Child Education	321.06*	134.75	56.96	585.16
1 Child Medical Health Care	288.82	442.06	-577.60	1155.24
1 Child Childcare	3034.55**	1136.94	806.18	5262.91

Table 9 (continued).

2+ Children Counseling or Social Work	1319.15***	265.99	797.81	1840.50
2+ Children Religion	2192.44***	238.70	1724.59	2660.29
2+ Children Education	429.42**	129.31	175.98	682.87
2+ Children Medical Health Care	1365.05***	365.07	649.52	2080.59
2+ Children Child care	1166.67	897.14	-591.45	2924.79

Table 10. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Children on Wages of Women Across Cohorts (N=646,426) (Robust standard errors in parentheses; effect of children for significant interactions also included)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Number of Children (ref: no child for Baby Boom)			
1 child	-0.08 (0.004)***	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.08 (0.004)***
2+ children	-0.20 (0.004)***	-0.05 (0.004)***	-0.19 (0.004)***
Birth Cohort (ref: Baby Boom)			
Generation X	0.81 (0.003)***	0.50 (0.003)***	0.48 (0.003)***
Millennial	0.80 (0.003)***	0.51 (0.003)***	0.63 (0.003)***
Birth Cohort##Parenthood			
Gen X, 1 child	0.02 (0.01)** Effect: -0.06	0.04 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.037	0.04 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.04
Millennial, 1 child	0.02 (0.01)** Effect: -0.06	0.04 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.037	0.03 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.05
Gen X, 2+ children	0.05 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.15	0.10 (0.005)*** Effect: 0.05	0.08 (0.004)*** Effect: -0.11
Millennial, 2+ children	0.09 (0.01)*** Effect: -0.11	0.12 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.03	0.08 (0.005)*** Effect: -0.11
Education (ref: less than HS)			
HS or equivalent		0.22 (0.01)***	0.17 (0.01)***
Some College		0.33 (0.01)***	0.28 (0.01)***
Associates		0.93 (0.01)***	0.68 (0.01)***
Bachelors		0.94 (0.01)***	0.82 (0.01)***
Masters or higher		1.20 (0.01)***	1.06 (0.01)***
Schooling (ref: not in school)			
In School (within last 3 months)		-0.09 (0.002)***	-0.04 (0.002)***
Full Time Year Round (ref: full time AND year round)			
full time but not year round		-0.35 (0.002)***	-0.26 (0.002)***
not full time but year round		-0.42 (0.003)***	-0.47 (0.003)***
neither full time nor year round		-1.11 (0.004)***	-1.04 (0.004)***
Sector (ref: private)			
Non-Profit			0.04 (0.002)***

Table 10 (continued).			
Government			0.11 (0.002)***
Self Employed			-0.08 (0.01)***
Age			0.04 (0.0003)***
Race (ref: white)			
Black			0.02 (0.003)***
American Indian			-0.02 (0.01)
Asian			0.09 (0.005)***
Other			0.02 (0.01)***
Biracial or Multiracial			0.01 (0.01)
Hispanic (ref: non-Hispanic)			0.04 (0.004)***
Care Work Sector (ref: social work)			
Religion			-0.18 (0.01)***
Education			-0.01 (0.002)*
Medical Health Care			0.38 (0.002)***
Childcare			-0.24 (0.01)***
Marital Status (ref: married)			
Separated/Divorced/Widowed			-0.01 (0.003)**
Never Married			-0.02 (0.002)***
Region (ref: Northeast)			
Midwest			-0.11 (0.002)***
South			-0.14 (0.002)***
West			-0.03 (0.003)***
Constant	9.68 (0.002)***	9.20 (0.01)***	8.03 (0.01)***
Lnalpha	-0.51 (0.002)	-0.93 (0.003)	-1.07 (0.003)
Alpha	0.60 (0.001)	0.39 (0.001)	0.34 (0.001)
Wald Chi2	172244.96***	503263.09***	650245.17***
Pseudo R2	0.0084	0.0304	0.0372
Note: * p-value <0.05; ** p-value <0.01; *** p-value <0.001.			

Table 11. Negative Binomial Regression Effects of Children on Wages of Men Across Cohorts (N=159,360) (Robust standard errors in parentheses; effect of children for significant interactions also included)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Number of Children (ref: no child for Baby Boom)			
1 child	0.13 (0.01)***	0.08 (0.01)***	0.03 (0.01)***
2+ children	0.25 (0.01)***	0.17 (0.01)***	0.05 (0.01)***
Birth Cohort (ref: Baby Boom)			
Generation X	0.86 (0.01)***	0.68 (0.01)***	0.60 (0.01)***
Millennial	0.82 (0.01)***	0.67 (0.01)***	0.77 (0.01)***
Birth Cohort##Parenthood			
Gen X, 1 child	-0.01 (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)
Millennial, 1 child	0.02 (0.01)* Effect: 0.15	0.02 (0.01)* Effect: 0.10	-0.02 (0.01)
Gen X, 2+ children	-0.06 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.19	-0.02 (0.01)** Effect: 0.15	-0.02 (0.01)** Effect: 0.03
Millennial, 2+ children	-0.03 (0.01)** Effect: 0.22	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.05 (0.01)*** Effect: 0.0
Education Level (ref: less than HS)			
HS or equivalent		0.17 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Some College		0.19 (0.02)***	0.15 (0.02)***
Associates		0.61 (0.02)***	0.37 (0.02)***
Bachelors		0.53 (0.02)***	0.42 (0.02)***
Masters or higher		0.80 (0.02)***	0.62 (0.02)***
Schooling (ref: not in school)			
In School (within last 3 months)		-0.13 (0.004)***	-0.08 (0.003)***
Full Time Year Round (ref: full time AND year round)			
full time but not year round		-0.23 (0.003)***	-0.21 (0.003)***
not full time but year round		-0.53 (0.01)***	-0.53 (0.01)***
neither full time nor year round		-0.96 (0.01)***	-0.92 (0.01)***
Sector (ref: private)			
Non-Profit			0.03 (0.01)***
Government			0.05 (0.004)***

Table 11 (continued).

Self Employed			0.06 (0.03)
Age			0.05 (0.001)***
Race (ref: white)			
Black			-0.04 (0.01)***
American Indian			-0.10 (0.02)***
Asian			0.04 (0.01)**
Other			0.02 (0.01)
Biracial or Multiracial			0.01 (0.02)
Hispanic (ref: non-Hispanic)			0.01 (0.01)
Care Work Sector (ref: social work)			
Religion			-0.10 (0.01)***
Education			0.08 (0.004)***
Medical Health Care			0.32 (0.01)***
Childcare			-0.21 (0.02)***
Marital Status (ref: married)			
Separated/Divorced/Widowed			-0.01 (0.01)
Never Married			-0.05 (0.004)***
Region (ref: Northeast)			
Midwest			-0.10 (0.004)***
South			-0.07 (0.004)***
West			-0.02 (0.004)***
Constant	9.70 (0.004)***	9.43 (0.02)***	8.06 (0.02)***
L_{nl}alpha	-0.95 (0.01)	-1.21 (0.01)	-1.36 (0.01)
Alpha	0.40 (0.002)	0.30 (0.002)	0.26 (0.02)
Wald Chi2	64651.80***	111990.68***	156299.73***
Pseudo R2	0.0138	0.0266	0.0335

Note: * p-value <0.05; ** p-value <0.01; *** p-value <0.001.

Table 12. Average Marginal Effects (at Means) for Men & Women Across Cohorts (Chapter 4)

Females				
	Dy/Dx	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interval	
No Child (Base Outcome)				
1 Child Baby Boom	-1174.40***	64.00	-1299.83	-1048.97
1 Child Generation X	-1001.17***	84.79	-1167.35	-835.00
1 Child Millennials	-1420.25***	96.57	-1609.52	-1230.98
2+ Children Baby Boom	-2852.93***	55.48	-2961.66	-2744.20
2+ Children Generation X	-2692.00***	75.10	-2839.20	-2544.80
2+ Children Millennials	-3326.11***	98.11	-3518.40	-3133.82
Males				
	Dy/Dx	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interval	
No Child (Base Outcome)				
1 Child Baby Boom	474.44***	122.23	234.88	714.00
1 Child Generation X	768.15***	209.78	357.00	1179.31
1 Child Millennials	352.70	292.27	-220.13	925.53
2+ Children Baby Boom	996.16***	106.24	787.93	1204.40
2+ Children Generation X	1107.08***	184.48	745.51	1468.65
2+ Children Millennials	139.80	282.49	-413.88	693.46

APPENDIX B. FIGURES

Figure 1. Predicted Wages of Men and Women in Care Work

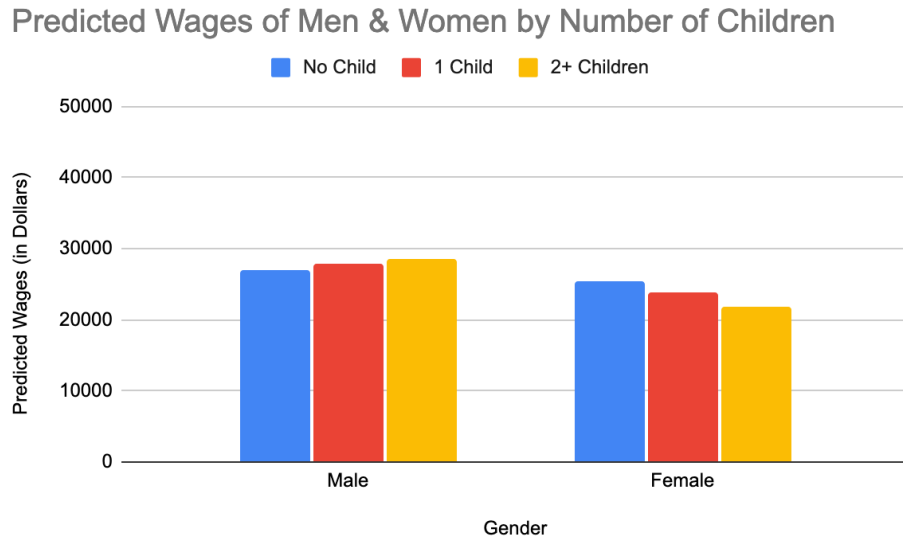


Figure 2. Predicted Wages of Women in Care Work Across Care Sectors

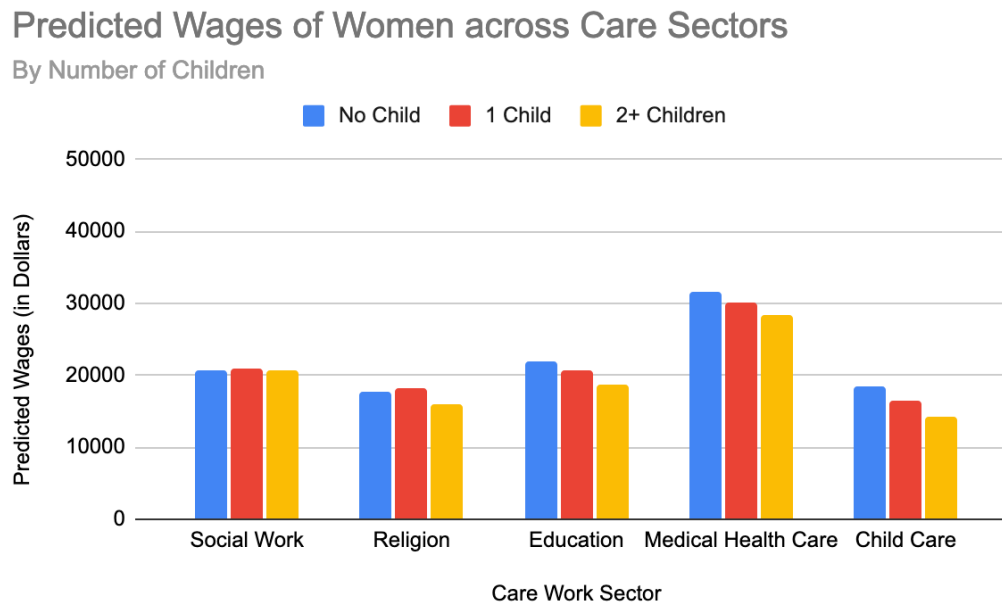


Figure 3. Predicted Wages of Men in Care Work Across Care Sectors

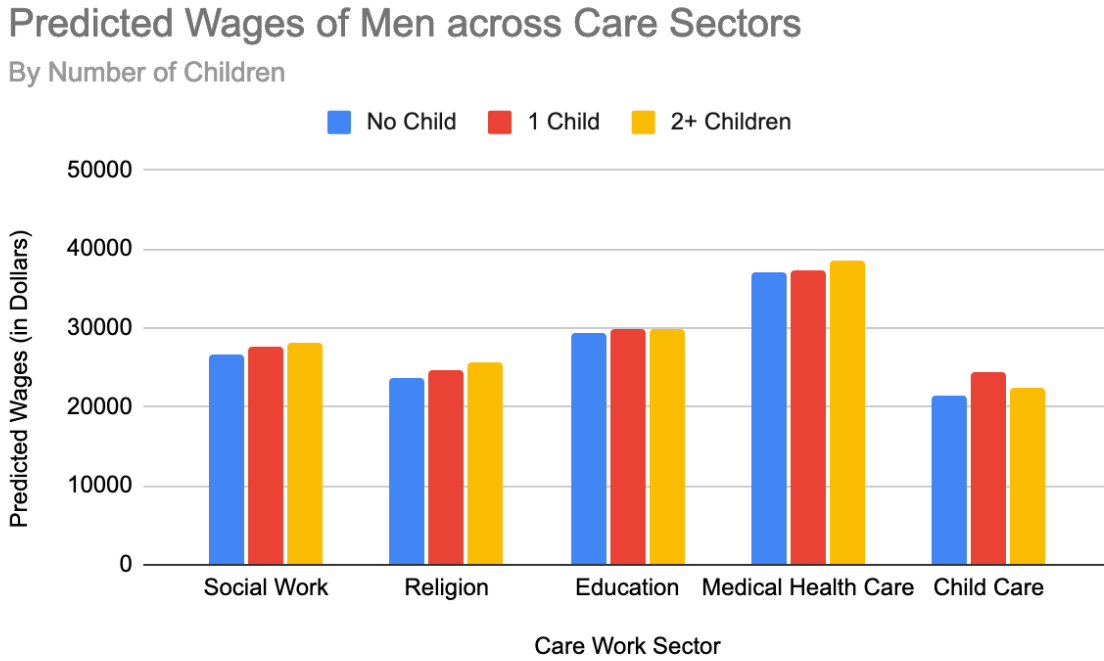


Figure 4. Predicted Wages of Women in Care Work Across Birth Cohorts

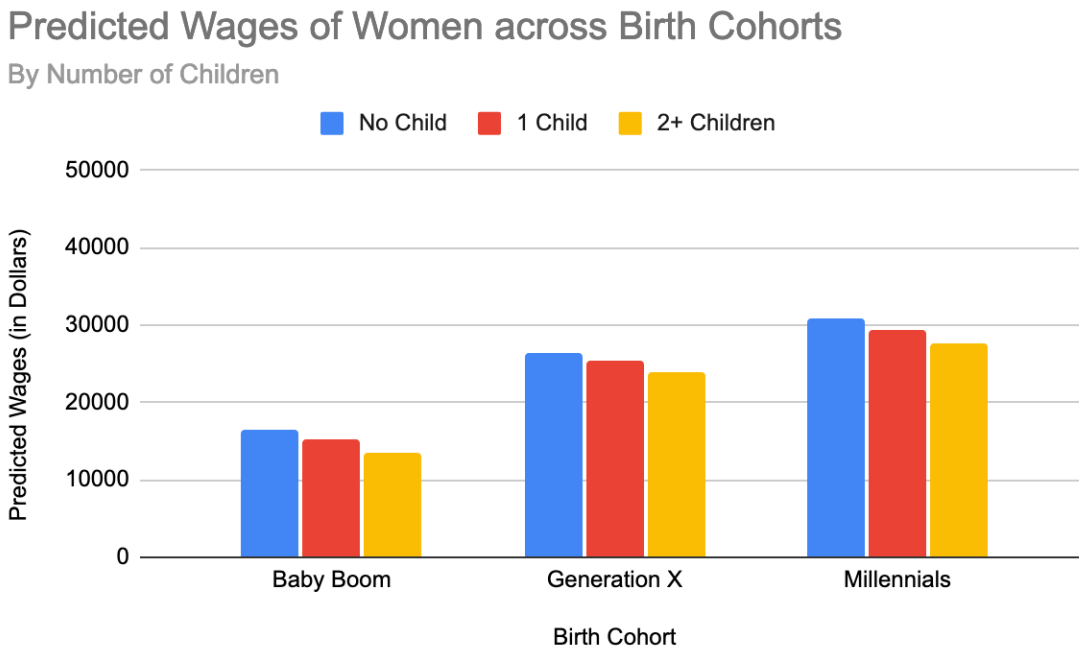


Figure 5. Predicted Wages of Men in Care Work Across Birth Cohorts

Predicted Wages of Men across Birth Cohorts

By Number of Children

