Workplace Mistreatment of Middle Class Workers Based on Sex, Parenthood, and Caregiving

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Abstract

Research suggests that women suffer negative professional consequences if they have children but men do not (e.g., Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Fuegen, Biernat, Haines, & Deaux, 2004; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). These unequal consequences can be attributed to stereotypes about women's and men's roles as caregivers and breadwinners for their families, respectively. Two field studies of workplace mistreatment among middle-class employees examined whether fathers who violate these gender stereotypes by actively caregiving for their families suffer negative consequences at work. Study 1 ($N = 232$) examined masculinity harassment (being derogated as insufficiently masculine) and Study 2 ($N = 451$) examined general forms of mistreatment. Results showed that caregiving fathers experience more harassment and mistreatment than traditional fathers and men without children. Women without children experience more harassment and mistreatment than mothers, and non-caregiving mothers experience more harassment and mistreatment than caregiving ones. We discuss implications for theory and practice.

Keywords: gender, family, children, masculinity, discrimination, harassment, mistreatment

There are plenty of anecdotes about men getting teased and put down if they take leave, exercise flexible work options, or signal in other ways that they take care of children. One such anecdote comes from an employee at a public utility company, who took three weeks off when his second child was born. As he explained, "Comments were made and my work wasn't being covered… It made me feel like I wasn't a 'man' if I choose to stay home and take care of the kids. This same attitude manifests when I ask to take time off so I can take the kids to the doctor" (Berdahl, Magley & Waldo, 1996). An MBA student recently told us that when he took leave to care for his newborn after his physician wife had taken hers, he received phone calls and emails throughout the day from coworkers who expected him to keep working. His wife had not faced such expectations during her leave. In academic circles, we hear men faculty, but not women faculty, being derided for taking parental leave. Male faculty are suspected of using their leave to avoid teaching and concentrate on writing and publishing instead of caring for their child(ren), whereas women's leave taking tends to be viewed as legitimate.

If men and women typically face such different reactions to taking family leave and caring for their children, this suggests a form of sex discrimination that may be uniquely harmful to men. We know already that professional women with children face drastic career penalties. Working mothers are "mommy tracked," stereotyped as incompetent, and passed over for promotions, regardless of their qualifications or performance (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Crosby, Williams & Biernat, 2004; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Fuegen, Biernat, Haines, & Deaux, 2004). Fatherhood, on the other hand, generally appears to not harm (Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004), and even to benefit (Fuegen et al., 2004), professional men. This fatherhood benefit can be attributed to the stereotype that men become even more dedicated to work after having children because they are breadwinners for their families (Hodges & Budig, 2010).

But what if a man does not behave like a traditional father and instead curbs or alters his work hours to take care of his children? Does he experience backlash at work that traditional fathers do not? Is he treated as badly as a working mother, or does he face worse, or unique forms of, backlash? Preliminary evidence from vignette experiments suggests this might be the case (Allen & Russell, 1999; Butler & Skattebo, 2004; Wayne & Cordiero, 2003). We seek to establish how caregiving fathers fare in the workplace with two field studies of employees. Our studies focus on the experiences of middle-class employees to gain insight into the contingencies faced by most working women and men, as most to date has focused on managerial and upper-class professions (e.g., Blair-Loy, 2009; Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al, 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004; Wharton & Blair-Loy, 2006; see Dodson, 2012, for an exception).

We focus our studies on common acts of social mistreatment, such as being teased, put down, or excluded, as these acts provide the most immediate and informal feedback to employees about their social approval and status at work (Duffy, Ganster & Pagon, 2006). We conduct two field studies to provide insight into the actual and daily work experiences of employees to complement laboratory experiments that assess stereotypes and potential experiences (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004). We expect that a close and systematic look at everyday acts of mistreatment by coworkers and others in an employee's work environment will reveal that such social contingencies in the workplace serve to pull men out of the home and push women into it (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2002; Stone, 2007; Williams, 2010; Williams, Manvell & Bornstein, 2006).

Our first study focused on a specific form of mistreatment that appears to be aimed at men who violate traditional gender roles: Masculinity harassment, which involves derogating a target for being insufficiently masculine or too feminine (Berdahl et al., 1996; Berdahl & Moore,

2006; Waldo, Berdahl & Fitzgerald, 1998). Unionized employees were surveyed about their experiences of masculinity harassment and we examined whether men experienced more of it as the amount of childcare they performed at home increased. With a second study we broadened our lens to examine more general forms of mistreatment. We surveyed public service employees at a large organization about their experiences of a variety of forms of mistreatment at work, and examined whether mistreatment varied as a function of their sex, parental status, and domestic chores. We present our studies after reviewing the literature informing our hypotheses.

Mothers and Fathers at Work

Research shows that women's careers appear to be harmed, and men's appear to benefit, from having a child. People tend assume that women and men play sex stereotypical roles when it comes to parenting: Women are expected to take on the majority of caregiving responsibilities for their children, consistent with the traditional role of homemaker, and men are expected to put career first to maximize their income, consistent with the traditional role of provider or breadwinner. Terms like "mommy brain" reflect the idea that women's attention is scattered after having children because they can no longer focus solely on their work, or be counted on by their employer(s) to be there when needed, due to women's primary responsibility for meeting their children's needs. Terms like "breadwinner" and "provider" are often applied to fathers, who are assumed to have a wife who manages the care of his children while he focuses on his work and provides the family's income.

Consistent with such stereotyping, laboratory experiments show that professional mothers are evaluated as less competent and worthy of hiring, promotion, and salaries than professional fathers who have identical qualifications and levels of performance (Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004). Court cases suggest the motherhood penalty is both real and

costly. For example, Kelly Voelker, vice president at Deutsche Bank, returned to work after a

maternity leave to consistently receive higher performance ratings than her male peers. Despite

this, Voelker was passed over for promotion for 13 years as lower-performing men were

promoted within three to five. Seeing no other way out of her conundrum, Voelker sued for sex

discrimination, attributing her lack of promotion to her status as a mother (Stempel, 2011). In

another high profile case, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission sued Bloomberg LP

for discriminating against pregnant women and new mothers. The suit included insulting quotes

about working mothers made by senior officials at Bloomberg, which allegedly fired, demoted,

or failed to promote women once they became mothers.

Another way of looking at the motherhood penalty and the fatherhood benefit is to

compare mothers and fathers to women and men without children. One study showed that

mothers are especially disadvantaged compared to women without children, who are seen as the

most competent employees of all (Cuddy et al., 2004). Women without children may be seen as

particularly driven and dedicated to their career—willing to forego the personal fulfillment of

parenthood for the ambition of professional success. This may also be why this same study

showed that professional women without children are viewed as interpersonally cold. Fathers, on

the other hand, were evaluated as more competent, warm, and fit for promotion than men without

children. Such laboratory studies, which are able to hold employee qualifications and

performance constant, clearly demonstrate the penalty to women who become parents compared

to men who do and to women and men who do not (Correll et al., 2007).

Changing Family Roles

Increasingly, traditional assumptions about working mothers and fathers are likely to be

incongruent with reality. In the U.S., women now earn a majority Bachelor's, Master's, and even

Doctoral degrees (U.S. Department of Education, 2011) and women's representation in

traditionally male-dominated professions and ranks, including medicine, law, politics,

management, and academia, has increased significantly. In contrast to upper-class households,

during the past few decades the real income gains of middle-class households have been small

(Feller & Stone, 2009), necessitating dual-income households to keep up and, as a result,

changes in work/family arrangements among men and women. During the recent recession,

almost three men lost their job for every woman who did, largely as the manufacturing sector

declined and the service sector grew (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). While women are still

significantly under-represented at the top of companies (Catalyst, 2012), women now make up a

larger proportion of the workforce than men for the first time in American history, (U.S.

Department of Labor, 2010).

These trends contribute to the fact that 22 percent of married women in the U.S. now earn

more than their spouses do, compared to 4 percent in 1970 (Pew Research Center, 2010). In

addition, 40 percent of wives in dual-earner households earn as much or more than their

husbands (Bond, Thompson, Galinsky & Prottas, 2003; Freeman, 2000). The majority of women

with children under 18 (71%) participate in the labor force, and the majority of these women

work full time (U.S. Department of Labor, 2011). Consistent with economic incentives, families

tend to maximize their highest earner's work opportunities, with lower earning spouses covering

more of the domestic chores at home (e.g., Gupta, 2007). Shifting gender economics therefore

mean that fathers are increasingly staying home, taking leave, or working flexibly to care for

their children, while mothers are increasingly working long hours in demanding jobs.

Childcare and housework, however, is still viewed as low-status "women's work." In a

culture that valorizes masculinity and its components, such as individual ambition and credit and

institutional power and earnings, taking time out of one's day or career to care for one's children

or household is dismissively framed as a "choice," a "hobby," or a luxury that few can afford.

Traditionally performed in the home by unpaid wives or low-wage workers, childcare and

housework are not activities recognized with a company title or put on resumes to impress

coworkers and employers. Childcare in particular appears to be low in status, as earnings for

childcare workers are even lower than earnings for workers who perform the other tasks

traditionally performed by housewives, such as cooks, taxi drivers, and janitors (U.S.

Department of Labor, 2011). Research suggests that this is because childcare is specifically "care

work," a particularly gendered, or feminized, task (England, Budig, & Folbre, 2002). The vast

majority of child caregivers are women, whereas cooks, taxi drivers, and janitors are not (U.S.

Department of Labor, 2011).

Like a man who wears feminine attire, a man who engages in the highly feminized

activity of caring for his children may be disrespected and teased for being insufficiently

masculine. Men who are judged to be more masculine are accorded higher status and respect

than men who are judged as less masculine, or as feminine (e.g., Heilman & Wallen, 2010;

Kimmel, 2006; Moss-Racusin, Phelan & Rudman, 2010; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford &

Weaver, 2008). Traditional fathers may enjoy a fatherhood benefit in the workplace because they

conform to traditional notions of masculinity, but fathers who take time out of their day or career

to care for children are likely to be viewed as insufficiently masculine and less likely to enjoy the

status perks that fatherhood affords men.

Evidence from three vignette experiments suggest that working fathers may face even

worse professional outcomes than working mothers face when they take leave or experience

work-family conflict. Allen & Russell (1999) found that men who took a six-month leave of

absence for parental reasons were less likely than women who did so to be recommended for

organizational rewards. Wayne and Cordeiro (2003) found that male employees who took family

care leave were rated as worse organizational citizens than female employees who did so.

Finally, Butler & Skattebo (2004) found that men who experienced work-family conflict were

given lower performance ratings and bonuses than women who experienced work-family

conflict. Thus, caregiving fathers may face even worse sanctions than caregiving mothers if these

men are viewed as both bad workers and as failed men.

Workplace Mistreatment

The most immediate feedback about how those in our work environments see us is how

they treat us. When others ignore or exclude us, tease or insult us, or threaten or bribe us, they

convey dislike or disrespect for us. Such mistreatment serves as a warning sign that our status at

work is in peril, and that we may suffer loss of reputation, assistance, promotion, or even

employment. Workplace mistreatment is often used to punish those who have transgressed

unwritten social rules or who have violated valued norms and identities (e.g., Berdahl, 2007a;

Brodsky, 1976). For these reasons, employees are sensitive to and aware of being mistreated in

their work environments, and are motivated to do what they can to avoid such mistreatment.

Prior research has shown that workplace mistreatment is disproportionately targeted at

individuals who violate social norms. As the primary identity used to categorize individuals

(Fiske, Haslam & Fiske, 1991; Stangor, Lynch, Duan & Glass, 1992; van Knippenberg, van

Twuyver & Pepels, 1994), sex (being male or female) and the gender norms associated with it

(being masculine or feminine) are particularly subject to enforcement through gender contingent

treatment (Berdahl, 2007b). Research shows that gender "deviants" are subjected to significantly

higher levels of workplace mistreatment than gender conformers. For example, women in gender

atypical occupations (Berdahl, 2007a; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Glomb, Munson, Hulin, Bergman, & Drasgow, 1999; Gruber, 1998; Mansfield, Koch, Henderson, & Vicary, 1991), women with gender atypical personalities (Berdahl, 2007b), and individuals with gender atypical sexual preferences (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Waldo, Berdahl & Fitzgerald, 1998) are significantly more likely than others to be sexually harassed at work.

Most research on sex-based, or gendered, mistreatment has focused on women's experiences of sexual harassing behaviors that derogate women specifically as women (Berdahl & Raver, 2011). Systematic research on men's experiences of harassment that derogates men specifically as men is scarce. What little research there is shows that men can be subjected to harassment that involves questioning their courage, strength, sexuality, or some other aspect of their masculinity (Berdahl et al., 1996; Waldo et al., 1998). Consistent with research on sexual harassment against women, this gender harassment against men appears to penalize them for violating traditional gender roles. Court records of such cases support the idea that men who do conform to masculine stereotypes or ideals are subjected to severe forms of masculinity harassment at work (Franke, 1997; EEOC v. The McPherson Companies, Inc., 2011).

There is also some evidence that more general, or non-gender-specific, forms of mistreatment are levied against those who violate gender roles, such as sabotage against individuals who excel at gender atypical tasks (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004) and general mistreatment against employees who have gender atypical personalities (Berdahl, Moon, Muradov & Min, 2011). In short, various forms of workplace mistreatment appear to function to encourage workers to stay within the confines of traditional gender roles at work (Berdahl, 2007b). The failure to conform to gender roles outside of work, however, may also incur mistreatment in the workplace. Gender atypical activity in the home may not be as immediately

obvious to coworkers as having a gender atypical job or personality in the workplace. But because prior research shows that parental status can influence evaluations of an employee, knowledge of an employee's parental status and caregiving activities outside of work is likely to influence perceptions of that employee and therefore the treatment he or she experiences in the workplace.

Ideal Men, Ideal Women, and Ideal Workers: Predictions for Workplace Mistreatment

As a penalty for violating valued identities and roles in the workplace, most mistreatment should target employees who violate injunctive gender and work norms. For men, these norms are congruent; for women they are not. Men, like employees in general, tend to be evaluated according to their professional dedication and competence; women, on the other hand, tend to be evaluated according to their personal warmth (e.g., Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Townsend, 2002). Because men and workers are judged based on competence, and competence elicits respect (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002), we posit that the main determinant of social approval and treatment for men and workers is respect. Men and workers who are respected should enjoy social approval and positive treatment, whereas men and workers who are disrespected should receive disapproval and mistreatment. Because women are judged based on perceptions of their warmth, and warmth elicits liking (Fiske et al., 2002), we posit that the main determinant of social approval and treatment for women is whether they are liked. Women who are liked should enjoy social approval and positive interpersonal treatment (even if evaluated as less competent workers), whereas women who are disliked should experience disapproval and mistreatment. When women are workers, evaluations of them as women and as workers are likely to combine so that perceptions of their warmth and perceptions of their competence are both important in determining their approval and treatment at work.

With this logic, we make predictions for men and women based on their parental status and caregiving activity below. We begin with predictions for men, starting with traditional fathers and then turning to caregiving fathers and to men without children. We follow with predictions for women, beginning with traditional (caregiving) mothers and then considering nontraditional mothers and women without children. Our predictions are summarized in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

Predictions for Men

Traditional fathers. Being a "real man" in our culture means being heterosexual, virile, dominant, and competent (Connell, 2005). Having a family at home establishes a man's heterosexuality and virility. Focusing on work rather than spending time caring for his children signals his economic dominance and provider status in the home. It also establishes him as a dedicated and reliable, or ideal, worker. Therefore, employed men with children who spend little time on childcare or domestic chores are likely to be seen both as good men and as good workers. They should therefore be both respected and well treated in the workplace. These traditional men should thus experience particularly low rates of mistreatment at work (see Table 1).

The other three types of employees—men who take care of children, men without children, women who take care of children, and women without children—fail to meet gender ideals, worker ideals, or both. These employees should therefore experience higher levels of mistreatment than traditional men.

Caregiving fathers. Employed men with children who spend a relatively large amount of time caring for them violate ideals for men as well as ideals for workers. Men who lack complete focus on and dedication to their work and who do the low-status "feminine" work of childcare and housework are likely to be seen both as failed men and as bad workers. Though as fathers these men have established their heterosexual virility, they are likely to be seen as "wimps" who are not sufficiently dominant at home because they do not have a woman doing most or all of the caregiving for them. There are innumerable insults for such a men, such as "henpecked" and being told his wife "wear the pants" in the family (i.e., plays the traditional dominant male role). Even comedies, like "Daddy Daycare" (2003), are made about men who, through accident or misfortune, end up being primary caregivers to children. In addition to being seen as failed men, caregiving fathers are also likely to be seen as bad workers. Like working mothers, they should be suspected of having split devotions between work and family and seen as unreliable and relatively incompetent. We therefore predict that caregiving fathers experience particularly high levels of social disrespect and mistreatment in their places of work.

Men without children. Men who do not have children are likely to fall between traditional fathers and caregiving fathers in terms of their masculine standing. On the one hand, men without children have not proven their heterosexual virility by becoming fathers, but on the other hand, they also have not lowered themselves to the low-status role of child caregiver. They should therefore be seen as mediocre, rather than as good or as failed, men. We also predict that men without children also fall between traditional fathers and caregiving fathers in terms of their standing as workers. They should not be seen as good workers to the degree that traditional father providers are, but they should also be seen as better workers than caregiving fathers whose attention and time is divided between workplace responsibilities and domestic chores. Therefore,

men without children are likely to be seen as mediocre workers and as mediocre men, and to be somewhat disrespected and mistreated in the workplace, falling between the high level of respect given to traditional fathers and the low level directed at caregiving ones.

Predictions for Women

   Caregiving mothers. Women employees who take time out of their work schedules or day to care for their children are likely to be seen as good women but as bad employees. Professional women with children are viewed as warm, and therefore as likeable, but are also judged to be incompetent, and thus are disrespected (Cuddy et al., 2004). Being liked may protect women who care for their children from mistreatment, but the disrespect caregiving mothers are likely to elicit as workers should result in moderate levels of mistreatment, especially when compared to the low levels directed at traditional men and the high levels directed at caregiving fathers.

   Nontraditional mothers. Women employees with children who do relatively little childcare or housework are likely to be more respected as workers than women who do more childcare and housework, but nontraditional mothers also likely to be disliked as women (Benard & Correll, 2010). Employed mothers who signal a primary devotion to work by spending little time with their children or on domestic chores are likely to be seen as bad mothers and as bad women. This, in turn, should cause them to be viewed as cold and to be disliked. Nontraditional mothers are also not likely to be fully respected as workers because they are mothers (Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004). Therefore, these nontraditional mothers should experience relatively high levels of mistreatment.

   Women without children. Finally, working women who do not have children may be viewed as ideal workers but are also likely to be viewed as failed women. Throughout history, derogatory terms like "old maid," "spinster," and "barren" have been reserved for women who

do not marry or have children. Today, professional women without children may be viewed as relatively competent but also quite cold (Cuddy et al., 2004), and are therefore likely to be respected as workers but disliked as women. We therefore predict that working women who do not have children are subject to particularly high amounts of mistreatment in the workplace compared to other women and to non-caregiving men.

The bulk of prior research has examined perceptions of hypothetical, or "paper thin," workers, and how these perceptions depend on whether a worker is a mother, father, or a woman or a man without children. This research has helped to establish that evaluations of such employees are largely based on stereotypical assumptions about their family roles. Fathers are assumed to be particularly dedicated to their work while mothers are assumed to be more dedicated to their families than to their jobs. In real world settings, coworkers have much more information about each other than their resumés and knowledge of their parental status. Employees who work together over time are likely to share information about their personal lives, such as what they do in the evening and on weekends, and information about their families and children and time spent with them. Employees may even spend time with each other outside of work and meet and interact with each other's families.

We propose that knowledge of an employee's caregiving activities may be even more important than knowledge of that employee's parental status in determining social reactions to and workplace treatment for that employee. While mothers are generally assumed to actively care for their children and fathers are not, employees' actual childcare and domestic activities are likely to not be merely inferred but to be shared and known in ongoing work relationships and environments. Such information may be especially relevant to judging whether an employee successfully performs gender as well as worker roles.

We analyzed data from two field studies to test our hypotheses. Both samples involved middle-class occupations that typically require a high school diploma or some university but not a graduate degree. We surveyed union workers at various organizations in Study 1 and public service workers in Study 2. Both studies took place in the same major metropolitan area in the northeast. In Study 1 we asked employees about their experiences of masculinity harassment, which seemed the most likely form of mistreatment to be levied against men for violating traditional gender and work roles. In Study 2, we broadened our lens to include a wide variety of forms of mistreatment to see whether workplace mistreatment in general is primarily directed against nontraditional men and women.

Study 1: Masculinity Harassment against Union Workers in Female-Dominated Workforce

Procedure and Participants

A union mailed our survey to the home addresses of about 750 of its members who worked in various organizations (ranging in size between 50 and 150 employees) in the same major metropolitan area. The mailing included a letter from the union explaining the study and encouraging the workers to complete the survey and mail it to the independent academic researcher in a pre-addressed and postage-paid envelope. Workers were assured that their responses would be anonymous. Those returning a completed survey were paid $20 for their time.

Just under one-third (232) of the union members returned completed surveys. This represents a good response rate for voluntary mail-in surveys (Fox, Crask, & Kim, 1988; Krosnick, 1999) and for surveys that address negative interpersonal experiences such as workplace harassment (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Fitzgerald, Weitzman, Gold, & Ormerod, 1988; Low, Radhakrishnan, Schneider & Rounds, 2007; Schneider, Hitlan & Radhakrishnan,

2000). Of those who completed the survey, 33 percent were men, consistent with the proportion

of men who were mailed a survey (35 percent) and the fact that two-thirds of the works mailed a

survey worked in female-domination occupations and organizations. Modal income was $30,000

to $45,000 per year. Most workers were 30-39 years (31 percent) or 40-49 years old (35 percent),

or of child-rearing age. Half of the sample (51 percent) had children at home: 48 percent of the

women and 52 percent of the men. Modal tenure was 10 to 19 years. The largest ethnic group

was White (48 percent), followed by Asian (28 percent), Black (16 percent), and 5 percent or

fewer identifying another group. See Table 2 for sample descriptive statistics.

Insert Table 2 about here

Measures

     Sex. Respondents indicated whether they were male (1) or female (0).

     Children at home. Respondents indicated whether they had children living with them at

home (0 = no, 1 = yes).

     Caregiving. Respondents indicated how many hours (1 = 0 hours, 2 = 1-3 hours, or 3 = 4

or more hours) they spent caring for the children in their home on an average workday ($M =$

2.97, $SD = 1.28$) and on an average day off ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.43$). Workday and day off hours

were highly correlated ($r = .72$, $p < .001$) and were therefore combined to compute average hours

spent on childcare per week. Based on the typical work week of five workdays and two days off,

this was done by multiplying average workday hours by five, average day off hours by two,

adding these products together, and dividing their sum by seven.

     Masculinity harassment. Respondents indicated how often they experienced four forms

of masculinity harassment in their work environment in the past two years, from 0 = Never, 1 =

Once or twice, 2 = A few times, 3 = Several times, to 4 = Most of the time: (1) Made you feel

like you were not tough enough (for example, assertive, strong, or ambitious enough) for the job,

(2) Made you feel you needed to act more tough & aggressive to be respected, (3) Made it

necessary for you to sacrifice family or personal time to be respected at work, and (4) Made fun

of you for being soft-spoken or shy. Responses to the four items were averaged to measure

masculinity harassment (M = .50, SD = .65; α = .61).

 Controls. We controlled for tenure in the organization (1 = less than 6 months, 2 = 6

months to 2 years, 3 = 2-5 years, 4 = 6-9 years, 5 = 10-19 years, 6 = 20 years or more), level of

education (1 = some high school or less, 2 = high school diploma or equivalent, 3 = high school

diploma plus some technical training or apprenticeship, 4 = some university, no degree, 5 =

graduated from university (B.A., B.S., or equivalent), 6 = some graduate school, and 7 =

graduate or professional degree (e.g., M.A., M.S., J. D., M.D., Ed.D., Ph.D.)), and ethnic

minority status (0 = White, 1 = Non-White). These variables are likely to relate to formal or

informal status in the organization and thus employees' likelihoods to be harassed.

Results

 Masculinity harassment by sex and children. We first conducted an ANCOVA to test

whether there was an interaction between sex and having children for predicting the amount of

masculinity harassment experienced by the workers. This interaction was not significant

($F(1,225)$ = .16, *ns*). There was no main effect for sex ($F(1,225)$ = 1.30, *ns*) or for having

children at home ($F(1,225)$ = 1.19, *ns*). The only control variable that was significant was ethnic

minority status: Non-Whites reported significantly more masculinity harassment than Whites

($F(1,225)$ = 7.77, p = .006).

Masculinity harassment by sex, children, and caregiving. With a second ANCOVA, we

added amount of childcare (median-split, where 0 = below median childcare, 1 = above median

childcare) as an independent variable to see if the relative amount of childcare performed by

those with children predicted the amount of masculinity harassment they experienced at work

and compared to workers without children[i]. There was a significant 3-way interaction between

sex, children, and childcare ($F(1,225) = 3.86$, $p = .05$). As Figure 1 shows, fathers who engaged

in a high amount of childcare experienced significantly more masculinity harassment ($M = .88$,

$SE = .18$) than other men, especially traditional fathers who did little childcare ($M = .39$, $SE =$

.13). Also consistent with our predictions, women without children experienced more harassment

($M = .67$, $SE = .19$) than other women, especially compared to women who performed a high

amount of childcare ($M = .30$, $SE = .11$).

Insert Figure 1 about here

Discussion

The results of this study largely support our predictions. Caregiving fathers were

subjected to the highest rates of masculinity harassment and women without children were

subjected to the second highest rates of masculinity harassment. Within-sex patterns of

masculinity harassment were also consistent with our predictions. Among men, caregiving

fathers experienced the most masculinity harassment, followed by men with no children and

traditional fathers. Among women, those without children experienced the most harassment,

followed by non-caregiving mothers and caregiving ones. We did not predict, however, that

caregiving mothers would experience the least harassment, which is what we observed—we had expected traditional men to experience the least harassment.

There are two reasons why our predictions may still be generally correct but this particular study was not entirely consistent with them. This sample primarily involved workers at female-dominated organizations and examined a particular form of mistreatment that may be specifically designed to derogate men: masculinity harassment. Prior research has shown that women experience masculinity harassment (Berdahl & Moore, 2006), but it may be especially pertinent to men who violate traditional gender and work roles. We observed that masculinity harassment experiences among employees in mostly female-dominated jobs generally fit our predictions for mistreatment, suggesting that women as well as men may perpetrate this form of harassment, and tend to aim it at men who violate gender roles by actively caring for their children. Perhaps this is due to a social identity threat posed by men to women who encroach on traditionally female territory, such as childcare (Berdahl, 2007).

To see whether these results generalize to male-dominated organizations and to mistreatment in general, we conducted a second study of employees in a male-dominated occupation and examined their experiences of a variety of forms of general mistreatment. Combining different forms of mistreatment should provide a bigger picture of the overall levels of mistreatment that employees experience in their work environments. Masculinity harassment, for example, may be a relatively minor component of the overall mistreatment an employee experiences at work, and may be triggered in particular by perceptions of a men's failure to live up to masculine ideals. When different forms of mistreatment are considered that may be triggered by other social transgressions, different patterns of mistreatment by sex, children, and caregiving may be observed.

Study 2: General Mistreatment of Public Service Workers in a Male-Dominated Workforce

Procedure and Participants

Surveys were delivered by internal mail to employees at a large, male-dominated public

service organization in the same metropolitan area as the sample in Study 1. Only employees

above entry-level (i.e., level 2 or above in a 9-level organizational hierarchy) were included to

ensure they had sufficient time at the organization to comment on their treatment at work. A

letter from the head of human resources accompanied the survey, in which he expressed his

support for the survey and encouraged employees to complete it. The letter assured employees

that the survey was entirely voluntary and confidential and was being conducted by a team of

independent academic researchers. A monetary reward of $1,000 was given to the unit of the

organization with the highest response rate to purchase a collective gift, and everyone who

completed the survey was entered into a lottery for one $100 gift certificate.

Among the 1,310 surveys delivered, over one-third (451) were completed and mailed

directly to the researchers in the addressed and postage pre-paid envelope provided. This

response rate was higher than the organization had expected based on prior surveys its

employees had been asked to complete, which had yielded response rates of 10 to 15 percent.

Our response rate was also quite good for a mail-in survey and for surveys that address negative

interpersonal experiences such as workplace harassment (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006;

Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fox et al., 1988; Krosnick, 1999; Low et al., 2007; Schneider et al.,

2000). Of those who completed the survey, 81 percent were men, reflecting the highly male

dominated composition of this workforce. The average age of respondents was 46.55 (*SD* =

7.69). Most of the employees (91 percent) had children (77 percent of the women and 94 percent

of the men). A majority of the sample had attended "Some university" (28 percent) or earned a

"Bachelor degree" (31 percent). The average tenure of respondents in the organization was 22.95

years (*SD* = 7.62). Most respondents identified themselves as White (88 percent), approximately

six percent identified as Asian, three percent as Black, and the remaining three percent identified

another category. See Table 3 for sample descriptive statistics.

Insert Table 3 about here

Measures

Sex. Respondents indicated whether they were male (1) or female (0).

Children. Respondents were asked if they had children (0 = no, 1 = yes).

Caregiving. After providing information about children, respondents were asked to

indicate how many hours they spend on domestic-related tasks (childcare, household tasks, meal

preparation) on an average workday and how many hours they spend on these tasks on an

average non-workday. Workday and non-workday hours were highly correlated (*r* = .78, *p* <

.001) and were thus combined to compute average domestic chores. Based on the typical week of

five workdays and two non-workdays, average domestic chores was calculated by multiplying

the number of hours on an average workday by five, the number of hours on an average non-

workday by two, adding these two products, and dividing their sum by seven.

General mistreatment. To capture a variety of forms of general mistreatment that

employees can experience at work, 23 items were adapted from scales designed to measure

general forms of workplace aggression (Björkqvist, Österman, & Lagerspetz, 1994; Keashly, &

Neuman, 2004; Rospenda & Richman, 2004), incivility (Cortina et al., 2001), and bullying

(Einarsen, 2000) (see Appendix A). These items consisted of acts of exclusion (ignoring or

excluding an employee), derogation (insults, slander, and humiliation), and coercion (bribing, threatening, and pressuring). Respondents were asked how often in the past six months they had experienced each form of mistreatment from someone(s) at work (0 = Never, 1 = Once or twice, 2 = 3 or 4 times, 3 = 5 or more times). This time frame was considerably shorter than the two-year time frame given for masculinity harassment in Study 1, allowing for more specificity about frequency (e.g., "3 or 4 times" as opposed to "A few times" or "Several times"; Gutek et al., 2004). It is easier to estimate what happened in the past six months than in the past two years, and therefore this time frame should have also provided more accurate answers.

If respondents experienced a form of mistreatment at least once, they were asked to indicate how negative (e.g., bothersome, stressful, irritating) the experience was for them (0 = not at all negative, 1 = somewhat negative, 2 = negative, 3 = very negative). This allowed us to gauge how mistreated the employee felt, rather than assuming the experience was equally mistreating for all employees. General mistreatment was then calculated for each item by multiplying its frequency (0 to 3) by appraisal (0 to 3), and these 23 products were averaged to measure overall mistreatment ($\alpha = .91$; cf. Berdahl & Raver, 2011).

Controls. As in Study 1, we controlled for education (1 = some high school or less, 2 = high school diploma or equivalent, 3 = high school diploma plus some technical training or apprenticeship, 4 = some university (no degree), 5 = graduated from university (e.g., B.A., B.Sc.), 6 = some graduate school, and 7 = graduate or professional degree (e.g., M.A., M.S., J.D., M.D., Ph.D.)), organizational tenure (in years), and ethnic minority status (1 = Non-White, 0 = White), as these variables are likely to relate to formal or informal status in the organization and thus employees' likelihoods to be mistreated.

Results

Mistreatment by sex and children. Our first ANCOVA on mistreatment as a function of

sex and children revealed a significant main effect for sex ($F(1,387) = 13.95$, $p < .001$). Women

experienced significantly more mistreatment ($M = .78$, $SE = .11$) than men ($M = .27$, $SE = .08$) in

this organization. The interaction between sex and children was also significant ($F(1,387) = 4.33$,

$p < .05$). Women without children experienced the most mistreatment ($M = .95$, $SE = .19$),

followed by mothers ($M = .62$, $SE = .10$), followed by men with children ($M = .39$, $SE = .04$) and

men without children ($M = .14$, $SE = .16$).

Mistreatment by sex, children, and caregiving. Our second ANCOVA on mistreatment as

a function of sex, children, and domestic chores (median split[ii]) showed that the main effect for

sex ($F(1,304) = 46.55$, $p < .001$) remained significant. All two-way interactions (sex by children,

sex by domestic chores, and children by domestic chores) were also significant ($F(1,304) =$

21.78, 12.02, and 27.10, respectively, all $p \leq .001$), as was the three-way interaction between sex,

children, and domestic chores ($F(1,304) = 28.54$, $p < .001$). Plots of the estimated marginal

means (see Figure 2) show that women without children experienced by far the most

mistreatment ($M = 2.71$, $SE = .34$), followed by mothers who did few domestic chores ($M = 1.16$,

$SE = .19$), mothers who did a lot ($M = .46$, $SE = .15$), fathers who did a lot ($M = .39$, $SE = .06$),

fathers who did little ($M = .33$, $SE = .06$), and men without children ($M = .20$, $SE = .19$)

experienced the least mistreatment of all.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Discussion

For men in this organization, being a caregiving father resulted in the highest rate of

mistreatment, just as being a caregiving father in Study 1 resulted in the highest rate of masculinity harassment. Men without children, however, experienced slightly lower rates of general mistreatment in this Study, whereas in Study 1 they fell between traditional and caregiving fathers. In this organization, being a father made a man more vulnerable to mistreatment than not having children.

For women in this organization, having no children resulted in higher rates of mistreatment than being non-caregiving mother, which resulted in higher rates of mistreatment than being a caregiving mother. This is similar to the pattern of harassment observed in Study 1. In other words, the more women violated notions of what it means to be a good woman, the more women were mistreated in their work environments. The key difference between the two studies is that women without children experienced the most mistreatment of all employees by quite a margin in Study 2, whereas in Study 1 it was caregiving fathers who experienced more masculinity harassment than other workers. Again, this is likely due to the fact that we studied a male-dominated organization and measured general mistreatment. In sum, being a mother, especially being a "good" mother, made woman less vulnerable to mistreatment than not having children in both of our studies, while the opposite pattern was observed for men.

The patterns of mistreatment by parenthood and domestic chores observed in this study were highly similar to the patterns of masculinity harassment by parenthood and childcare observed in Study 2—within sex. Between the sexes, the overwhelmingly higher level of mistreatment experienced by women in this highly male-dominated organization shifted patterns for overall mistreatment. Including appraisals in our calculation of mistreatment may have raised women's scores relative to men's if women on average appraise mistreatment more negatively than men. We also conducted analyses with frequencies alone, however, and the pattern

remained the same. More possible is that the shift is the result of two things: First, that we measured general acts of mistreatment—such as ignoring, exclusion, derogation, sabotage, threats, and bribes—rather than limiting our analysis to masculinity harassment, and second, that we studied employees in a male-dominated context, where women are more likely than men to be mistreated (e.g., Aquino & Bradfield, 2000; Björkqvist, Österman & Hjelt-Bäck, 1994; Cortina, Magley, Williams & Langhout, 2001; Gruber, 1998; Lim, Cortina & Magley, 2008).

General Discussion

This is the first study to show that workplace mistreatment is systematically related to employees' gender performance outside the workplace and inside the home. Our results showed that women who violated traditional gender roles by not having children, or by not actively caring for them outside of work, experienced more workplace mistreatment than traditional mothers. Men who violated traditional gender roles by actively caring for children outside the home experienced more workplace mistreatment than men who did not actively care for children. Knowledge of domestic gender role violations may only available to those one knows well, such as those one has worked with over time.

Rather than finding more evidence for a motherhood penalty and a fatherhood benefit at work, which have been documented for discrete employment decisions with vignette experiments and audit studies, we found almost the opposite pattern for employee experiences of mistreatment at work. Rather than a motherhood penalty, we found a motherhood benefit: Mothers, especially those who did relatively high amounts of childcare and housework in the home, experienced less workplace mistreatment than women without children. Rather than a fatherhood benefit, we found a fatherhood penalty for dads who did relatively high amounts of childcare and domestic chores at home. These caregiving fathers experienced the most

masculinity harassment and mistreatment among men. Thus, the fatherhood benefit appears to be limited to traditional fathers, who do relatively little caregiving in the home.

The key distinction between the current studies and prior research on the motherhood penalty and fatherhood benefit is that our studies examined everyday treatment at work among co-workers rather than discrete managerial decisions and outcomes regarding pay and promotion. It is entirely possible, for example, that working mothers who are highly involved in caregiving in their homes are treated with relative kindness in their everyday work lives but are also less likely than other employees to receive pay and promotions in recognition of their work. Such mothers may be seen as good women, and thus treated kindly, but as bad employees, and thus not promoted. Traditional fathers, who are likely to be seen as both good men and good employees, may experience both good treatment and promotions, while nontraditional fathers, who are neither seen as good men nor as good employees, may experience both mistreatment and career stagnation.

A further distinction between the current studies and prior research is the focus on middle-class workers. During the past few decades, the real income of middle-class workers has not increased at the same, rapid pace as income earned by elite professionals. While women have made significant strides in their representation in the general workforce, this is less so the case for jobs at the top of organizations (e.g., only 3.6% of Fortune 500 CEOs; Catalyst, 2012). Taken together, these factors suggest that upper-class households may be able to afford (and choose) to enact a clear division of work/family labor—typically a male breadwinner and female caregiver—that middle-class households cannot. In a qualitative study comparing fathering by upper-class (physicians) and middle-class (emergency medical technicians) men, for example, it was found that the middle-class men were significantly more involved in the daily care of their

children than their upper-class counterparts (Shows & Gerstel, 2009). This occurred as families

were highly dependent on physician men for their standard of living, and therefore wives often

engaged in less demanding jobs and more intense mothering. In contrast, the income gap

between the emergency medical technician men and their wives was significantly smaller

($32,000, compared to $177,000), and wives were more likely to insist that their husbands be

available for childcare. In effect, while those at the top of organizations may have a

disproportionate influence on gender stereotypes (Fiske, 1993), their experiences are increasingly

at odds with the experience of a majority of working men and women—yet the current studies

suggest that the norms and stereotypes of upper-class men and women influence the day-to-day

(mis)treatment of their middle-class counterparts.

The results of this research suggest that after one or two decades at an organization (the

average tenure of employees in these studies), most employees are systematically judged, and

treated, based on how well they conform to traditional family roles. Such contingent workplace

treatment is likely to serve as a powerful force for social control. If men and women are punished

with social disapproval and negative treatment for failing to conform to traditional family roles,

they are likely to feel pressured to conform to these roles to avoid mistreatment and protect their

status at work. If long-term career outcomes, such as raises and promotions, are based on an

employee's perceived dedication to work rather than to their family, this social phenomenon is

particularly likely to economically and professionally penalize women. If long-term personal

outcomes, such as knowing one's children and being close to one's family, are based on

spending dedicated time caring for these family members, this social phenomenon is particularly

likely to emotionally and personally penalize men.

Given changing trends in family economics and social mores, men are increasingly

expected to actively participate in the caregiving of their children. A large majority of families with young children now have employed mothers, and in a significant (and growing) proportion of these families, wives earn more than their husbands. Fathers are thus increasingly needed to cover the childcare and housework traditionally done by women in the home. Considering the mistreatment fathers are likely to face at work if they are relatively active caregivers in their homes, however, men are now likely to perceive a trade-off between having a career and having children that women have long perceived. This may be why men between 21 and 39 now list family-friendly work environments as more important than high pay, prestige, and job security (Radcliffe Public Policy Center, 2000). Unless the nature of these trade-offs change, increasing numbers of employed men and women are likely to opt out of having children, consistent with the declining birthrates of countries in which women and men have similar professional opportunities but continue to face traditional family role ideologies (e.g., Joshi, 1998).

There are questions raised by this research that cannot be answered with the current studies and that future research can address. In the female-dominated study, for example, men who engaged in relatively high amounts of childcare experienced the most masculinity harassment at work. We know that most harassment is perpetrated by coworkers, so it seems likely that men's female coworkers were perpetrating masculinity harassment against them. Future research can establish whether the sex of perpetrators of such harassment is disproportionately male or female when organizational sex ratios are controlled for. Theory would suggest that individuals feel threatened by those who blur traditional boundaries between the sexes, if these boundaries are important ones or provide a unique source of power or status to one's sex (Berdahl, 2007a). It is therefore possible that women feel threatened by men who violate traditional family roles by taking on a significant amount of the caregiving of children

and the running of the household, which may account for masculinity harassment against men in

a female-dominated environment. In the male-dominated study, women without kids, and

women who did little caregiving, were especially likely to be mistreated. Again, this could be

due to their predominantly male coworkers feeling threatened by nontraditional women.

Experimental methodologies are better suited to address the social psychological causes for such

behavior (e.g., Dall'Ara & Maass, 1999; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri & Grasselli, 2003; Siebler,

Sabelus & Bohner, 2008).

Our theorizing considered the consequences to men and women of violating gender and

worker ideals. We reasoned that men's treatment at work is largely based on how much others

respect them as workers and as men, and that women's treatment is largely based on how much

others respect them as workers and like them as women. Our results suggest that gender

performance drives mistreatment more than work performance does, as women with no children,

who are likely to be seen as ideal workers who are highly competent and dedicated to their work

(Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004), were mistreated more than mothers, who are unlikely

to be seen as ideal workers but who are likely to be seen as good women. An interesting goal for

future research is to establish whether it is primarily respect that determines social reactions to

and workplace treatment of men but primarily liking that determines social reactions to and

workplace treatment of women.

Though field research provides unique and real-world insight into what is happening in

the lives of working men and women, it is never without its limitations. Our cross-sectional

designs make causality something we can only infer, not establish. For example, it is possible

that caregiving fathers experience more mistreatment than other men not because their

caregiving incites mistreatment but because workplace mistreatment causes them to caregive at

home. That is, being mistreated at work may drive men to seek refuge and buffer their identities with more positive experiences and involvement at home (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). If this were a general reaction to mistreatment, however, we would not expect women who experience the lowest levels of mistreatment at work to also be the most actively caregiving mothers, which we observed. It is possible that this dynamic works differently for women, so that women who feel supported and approved of at work feel free to care for their children and do housework at home. These explanations are less parsimonious and seem less likely than our theoretical one based on a relatively large body of research establishing negative social reactions to gender role violators. Nonetheless, these and other causal ambiguities result from cross-sectional field research.

Another limitation of field studies such as those reported here is that they rely on the voluntary completion of mail-in surveys, which typically do not yield response rates above 25 or 30 percent (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fox et al., 1988; Krosnick, 1999; Low et al., 2007; Schneider et al., 2000). Attempts to increase this response rate require more coercive strategies, such as exerting management pressure on employees to complete the survey or offering disproportionate rewards for survey completion. These strategies, however, do not qualify for ethical standards for research on human subjects and are likely to resort in poor quality data as a result of disingenuous survey responses. In addition, achieving higher response rates or correcting for sample composition bias also does not appear to yield more accurate results (for a review, see Krosnick, 1999). The employees who chose to complete our surveys may have been more (or less) likely to experience mistreatment at work, or may have differed in some other way from the employees who did not complete our surveys. Though demographically similar, the experiences of one-third of employees may not have reflected the experiences of the other two-thirds, and thus our results must be interpreted with that potential limitation in mind.

Conclusion

A basic tenet of economic theory is that people tend to make rational decisions that maximize their economic resources. A basic tenet of psychological theory is that people tend to do what they are rewarded for doing, and tend to avoid what they are punished for doing. For a growing proportion of workers, these forces are increasingly at odds with one another. What may be economically rational in a household that is primarily supported by a mother's income, for example, appears to be psychologically irrational given the social contingencies individuals face in their work environments. At this point, neither organizations nor their members are likely to fulfill the neoclassical and neoliberal ideals of economic efficiency, meritocracy, equal opportunity, and individual freedom. We encourage future research and policy to consider further how these dynamics unfold so that we can build a better society that is free of family-based sex discrimination.

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Table 1

Predictions for Workplace Mistreatment at Work as a Function of Gender and Childcare.

	Male Employee	Female Employee
No Children	Good Worker but Mediocre Man *Somewhat Disrespected* Moderate Mistreatment	Good Worker but Failed Woman *Respected but Very Disliked* High Mistreatment
Low Caregiving	Good Worker and Good Man *Respected* Low Mistreatment	Mediocre Worker and Bad Woman *Somewhat Disrespected & Disliked* Moderate to High Mistreatment
High Caregiving	Bad Worker and Failed Man *Disrespected* Severe Mistreatment	Bad Worker but Good Woman *Disrespected but Liked* Moderate Mistreatment

Note. Ideals for workers and for men are based on competence. Competence elicits respect.

Workers and men are therefore judged based on perceptions of their competence and the result of

these judgments is respect. Ideals for women, however, are based on warmth. Warmth elicits

liking. Women are therefore judged based on perceptions of their warmth and the result of this

judgment is liking.

Table 2

Study 1 Means, Standard Deviations, Correlation Coefficients, and Reliabilities of Main

Variables

	N	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Education	226	3.66	1.63	--						
2. Tenure	232	3.76	1.41	-.36***	--					
3. Non-White	232	.52	.50	.17*	-.20**	--				
4. Man	232	.33	.47	-.13	.55***	-.14*	--			
5. Kids at home	232	.49	.50	-.07	.05	.11	.03	--		
6. Childcare per week	232	2.07	2.89	-.09	.02	.02	-.02	.43***	--	
7. Masculinity Harassment	232	.50	.65	.05	.04	.17*	.05	-.03	.01	(.61)

Note. Reliabilities are shown along the diagonal in parentheses. *p < .05; **p < .01.

Table 3

Study 2 Means, Standard Deviations, Correlation Coefficients, and Reliabilities of Main

Variables

	N	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Education	434	3.97	1.28	--						
2. Tenure	450	22.95	7.62	-.05	--					
3. Non-White	435	.11	.32	.06	-.17***	--				
4. Man	446	.81	.39	-.07	.19***	.07	--			
5. Parent	406	.91	.28	-.02	.11*	-.03	.21***	--		
6. Domestic chores	422	4.54	3.22	-.03	-.28***	.06	-.09	.15**	--	
7. General Mistreatment	449	.42	.73	.04	-.03	.07	-.16**	-.02	.05	(.91)

Note. Reliabilities are shown along the diagonal in parentheses. *p < .05; **p < .01.

Figure 1

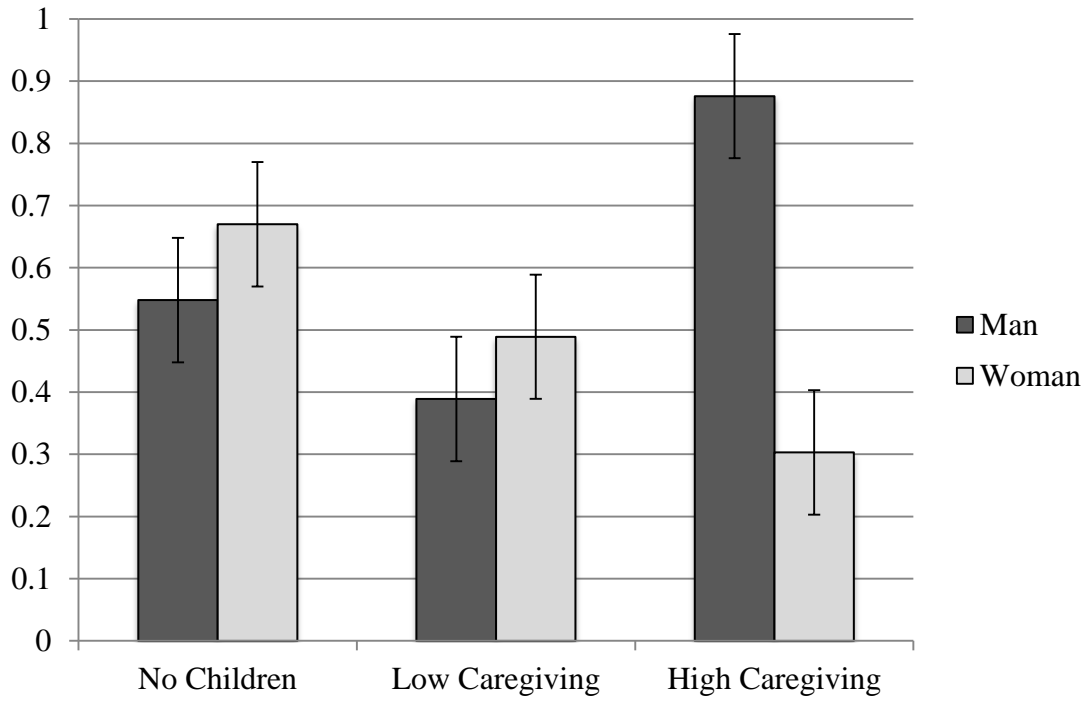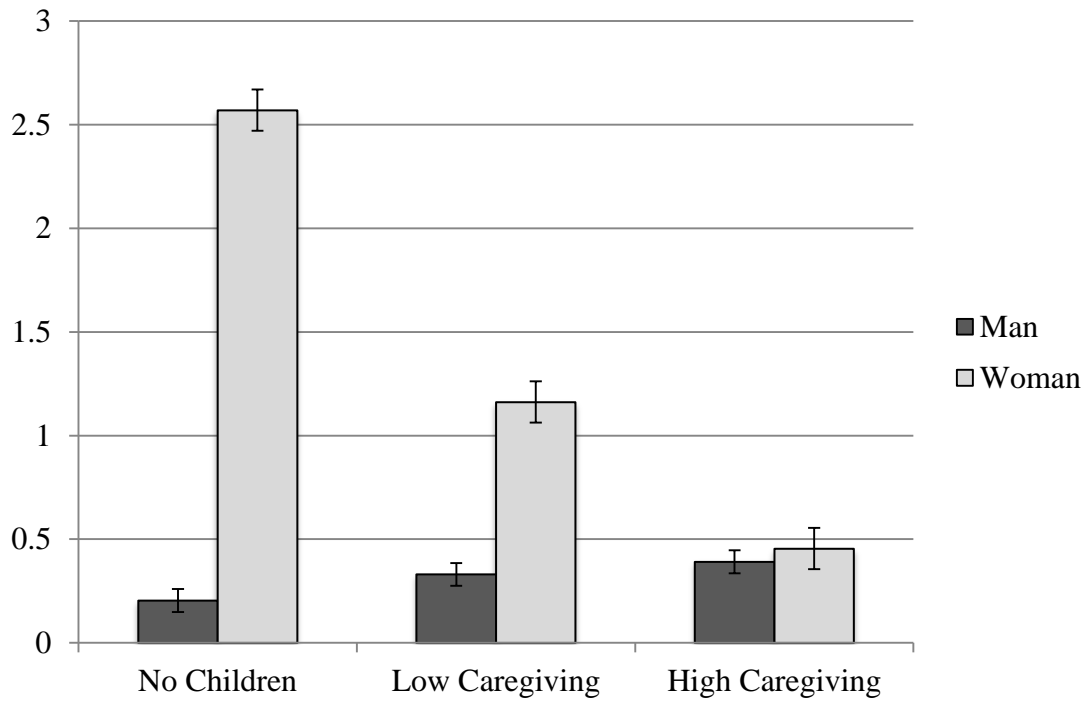*Study 1: Masculinity Harassment by Sex, Children, and Caregiving*

Figure 2

Study 2: General Workplace Mistreatment by Sex, Children, and Caregiving

Appendix A: General Mistreatment Items

1. Prevented or discouraged you from expressing your opinion.

2. Tried to silence you.

3. Ignored or failed to respond to your communication (email, phone, in person, etc.)

4. Paid little attention to your statement or shown little interest in your opinion.

5. Treated you as non-existent.

6. Refused to speak with you or given you the "silent treatment."

7. Excluded you from important work activities or meetings.

8. Excluded you from influential roles or committee assignments.

9. Delayed action on matters that were important to you.

10. Kept information from you that you should have known.

11. Failed to warn you about impending dangers.

12. Slandered you or spread damaging rumours about you.

13. Tried to turn others in your work environment against you.

14. Made comments about you to others that put you down.

15. Humiliated or belittled you in front of others.

16. Did things to embarrass you.

17. Teased you in a hostile way.

18. Called you something demeaning or derogatory.

19. Flaunted their status or treated you in a condescending manner.

20. Threatened or harassed you for "blowing the whistle" about activities at work.

21. Offered you a subtle or obvious bribe to do something that you did not agree with.

22. Pressured you to change your beliefs or opinions at work.

23. Threatened to "get back at you" if you resisted doing something that you thought was wrong or if you challenged things about the workplace.

Endnotes

[i] Hours spent on childcare was a continuous variable, making regression a more fine-tuned approach than ANOVA for analyzing the effects of childcare on mistreatment. Results for regression and ANOVA analyses were similar, and because ANOVA results are more straightforward to plot and interpret, we report them here instead.

[ii] Similar to hours spent on childcare in Study 1, hours spent on domestic chores in Study 2 was a continuous variable, making regression richer approach than ANOVA for analyzing the effects of domestic chores on mistreatment. Similar to Study 1, however, results for regression and ANOVA analyses were similar, and because ANOVA results are more straightforward to plot and interpret, we report them here instead.