PAID MATERNITY LEAVE LEGISLATION: DO LAWS MANDATING PAID FAMILY LEAVE IMPACT ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORKING MOTHERS?

by

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ABSTRACT

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Prior research has shown that the availability of paid maternity leave for new mothers can influence a variety of factors such as women's mental health and life satisfaction, long-term career outcomes, and children's long run outcomes. However, scholars have suggested that there is a backlash effect among certain groups of people when particularly strong advancements are made in areas of women's rights. Research also suggests that attitudes towards certain behavior are impacted by legislation that attempts to regulate such behavior. The current research assessed whether the implementation of paid family leave impacted attitudes towards mothers in the workforce.

This study evaluated whether the implementation of paid family leave legislation in California as well as variance due to age, educate, sex, race, etc. impacted attitudes towards working mothers. The data used is from the General Social Survey which provided over 17,000 observations from 1998 to 2004. The results of this study indicate that there was significant backlash among a variety of subgroups of men after paid family leave was implemented in California, consistent with prior research that suggests an antifeminist backlash effect. This study therefore provides insight into the relevance of what backlash might exist in terms of paid family leave legislation as well as further women's rights legislation moving forward.

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Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Overview of Paid Family Leave in the United States

As women have become increasingly integral members of the workforce, maternity leave has gained greater recognition in political discourse. Common practices and legislation regarding paid maternity leave are antiquated in the United States compared to other industrialized countries. The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, a federal law implemented by Bill Clinton, mandated twelve weeks of unpaid leave for serious illness of a family member or the new addition of a child to the family. While substantial given the lack of leave available in the United States prior to the act, the FMLA is considerably less comprehensive than comparable legislation in other developed countries. Although some states have independently expanded provisions to provide more extensive benefits to new mothers, only California, New Jersey, and Rhode Island have implemented laws mandating that private employers to pay their employees with at least partial wage replacement.

In 2002 California implemented the Paid Family Leave (PFL) program through the State Disability Insurance program. This program extends unemployment disability benefits to individuals who take time off from work to take care of a seriously ill family member or to connect with a new minor child in the family. This program falls under the umbrella of the federal Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). However, California's PFL program provides an additional six weeks of leave and compensation. In New Jersey, employees are entitled to two-thirds of their average weekly wage with a cap of $524 per week which lasts up to six weeks. Similar to California, this program is considered a disability benefit and is provided to individuals who need to care of a seriously ill family member or bond with a newborn or newly adopted child. Likewise, employees in Rhode

Island receive four weeks of partial wage replacement with 60% wage replacement available. This report will focus on individuals in California as this is the earliest state to implement any form of paid leave in the United States. Therefore, residents will have had the most time to adjust to the newly applied program (Paid Family Leave, National Conference of State Legislatures). While this legislation is accessible to both men and women, this project will focus on the access to paid leave being granted to women as men are much less likely to paid or unpaid leave after the birth of a child (Klerman, Daley, and Pozniak, 2013).

The United States is one of very few industrialized nations without nationally mandated paid maternity or paternity leave. California is one of several states that have implemented a state level program to provide short-term paid leave to new parents. California's Paid Family Leave Program, enacted in 2002, more commonly referred to as the Family Temporary Disability Insurance program, allows individuals to take up to six weeks paid leave from work to care for a seriously ill family member or to bond with a new child. Understanding the effect the availability of leave like the Family Temporary Disability Insurance program has on individuals can be difficult, as most prior studies have focused on countries in which the leave available is much more generous.

Chapter II: Review of Existing Literature

2.1 Paid Maternity Leave Benefits

The existing literature on this specific topic is sparse. However, there are many empirical studies in both psychology and economics that touch on various aspects of paid maternity leave issues. While there has not been a study that directly measures how the implementation of paid maternity leave affects attitudes towards women in the workforce, there have been studies that discuss the benefits of paid maternity leave, the impact paid maternity leave has on the rate of labor force participation for women, and attitudes towards working women. Although there are no studies that expressly discuss attitudes towards paid maternity leave and women in the workforce, there are studies that suggest what might influence attitudes both towards women in the workforce and the enactment of new legislation that promotes feminist issues.

Shepherd-Banigan and Bell (2013) discuss the lack of research regarding employment benefits that are offered to women with infants. The study analyzes the relationship between factors such as geography, demographics, and socioeconomic status insofar as they relate to employment benefits. The motivation for this research came from both the absence of studies related to paid leave and employment benefits for mothers as well as the fact that the United States is one of very few developed nations without paid leave available to those who must miss work to care for a new child. The study uses cross-sectional data from a telephone and online survey that records women's experiences from the beginning of pregnancy to 18 months after their child is born. The data outlines the shortage of maternity leave benefits offered in the United States.

The results suggest that the majority (59%) of women did not receive paid maternity leave and those who did only received an average of 3.3 weeks. Demographically, paid maternity leave benefits are more substantial for older women, highly educated women, women with private insurance, women with partners, and women with higher incomes receiving the most generous leave packages. A critical finding is that the majority of women who returned to work within the first six months of childbirth report that they did not stay home as long as they would have liked to and 81% of those women specified finances as their primary reason for returning to work early. While there are some limitations to this study such as selection bias and the limited external generalizability of the study, the findings here are still important when discussing the importance of paid leave. The study shows that a major factor regarding how long a new mother takes time off work is the financial burden it places on the family, and that they would take more time off if it was economically feasible. This article suggests the need for further research regarding leave for new mothers and the impact not having paid leave, as is the case for the majority of mothers in the United States, has on families.

2.2 Labor Force Attachment and Outcomes

Hanel (2013) examines the impact paid maternity leave rights have on labor market outcomes for women. The study investigates whether access to paid maternity leave has an effect on a mother's decision to return to work and her wages following the birth of a child. The analysis, featuring women with similar pre-birth conditions, examines short-term paid leave that was provided to women by their employers. Using a statistical matching procedure Hanel (2013) controls for a variety of pre-birth labor conditions which allows a comparison to be made of the women's labor market outcomes. Hanel (2013) found that

women took advantage of such leave if it was provided and delayed their return to work by a few weeks or months compared to those who were not provided any short-term leave. However, there did not appear to be any ramifications in terms of employment prospects or wages for the women that took time off from work when it was made available. While this study does not highlight the possible benefits related to women's labor market outcomes, the findings of this study show that if new mothers are provided leave after the birth of a child they are likely to take it.

Byker (2016) discusses California's implementation of paid family leave in 2004 and the implications that paid leave had on labor force attachment for women. The study identified three main types of behavior for women nearing the birth of a child: continued attachment to their jobs, prolonged exits from the workforce, and brief exits from the workforce. The author differentiates between separating from one's employer. Thus actively leaving the labor force, and job-protected leave in which one it not currently working but is technically still in the labor force. Byker (2016) uses a sample of all women aged 24 to 45 who reported giving birth in the SIPP 48-month panel survey from 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008. The women's work trajectories for the 24 months before and after birth were compared to determine if there is a pattern of labor force attachment before and after the implementation of paid family leave laws in NJ and CA. The analysis suggests that paid leave such as that of California's program potentially increases the level of labor force attachment for new mothers. There is a substantial difference in women's labor force participation around the time of childbirth following the implementation of the law. This suggests that an increase in the availability of paid maternal leave for new mothers results in a less severe career interruption for those women who choose to continue to participate

in the labor force after childbirth. This evidence further suggests that rather than leaving the labor force entirely during the birth of a child, women with the option of protected maternity leave are likely to remain in the labor force after the birth of a child.

Rossin-Slater, Ruhm, and Waldfogel (2011) investigate the benefits of paid family leave specifically looking at California before and after legislation was enacted in 2002. Rossin-Slater et al. (2011) evaluate the impact California's paid family leave program has on whether new mothers took family leave and more specifically which population subgroups are most affected by the program. The study uses a difference-in-differences design to compare changes in leave-taking practices before and after California's policy was implemented. Leave-taking by mothers who are eligible for maternity leave is measured before and after 2004, when the benefits took effect. This is then compared to women who are unlikely to have been affected by paid maternity leave, mostly mothers with older children. The results suggest an overall 6 to 7 percent increase in the likelihood that a woman would take maternity leave after the policy was implemented. Furthermore, the gaps in total leave utilized between non-college educated and college educated women, unmarried and married women, and black non-Hispanic and Caucasian mothers all significantly decrease. These findings suggest that the availability of paid family leave increases the overall use of paid leave but this increase is especially true for less advantaged groups. The results of this study indicate the need for further research on the topic of paid maternity leave as it relates to subgroups in a population.

2.3 Effect on Mental Health and Life Satisfaction

There is also extensive literature on the impact the length of leave provided or taken has on women's career outcomes, mental health, and a variety of other factors. For

example, it has been shown that the earlier a new mother returns to work, the more family stress she experiences, which subsequently results in regrets regarding her returning to work (Avendano, Berkman, Brugiavini, and Pasini, 2015). However, women who return to work after a longer period of leave experienced the same level of family stress but do not relate this to regrets regarding returning to work (Wiese and Ritter, 2012). Studies also find that the duration of leave offered by employers plays a more significant role in determining when a new mother returns to work rather than whether the leave is paid (Guendelman, Goodman, Kharrazi, and Lahiff, 2013). This is in congruence with the aforementioned studies suggesting that if firms offered longer durations of maternity leave, women would in turn take longer leave, and as a result experience less regret upon returning to work when facing family stress. However, in the aggregate it seems that women with children in the United States earn less than women without children in the United States. It appears that there is an income penalty related to women taking breaks in their careers, suggesting that employment continuity is critical with regards to closing the wage gap for women (Arum, Arun, and Borooah, 2008). While there seem to be substantial benefits to women who take time off after childbirth, the penalties that exist in the workplace related to motherhood might be too severe for mothers to feel that they can take time off.

Avendano, Berkman, Brugiavini, and Pasini's (2015) research assesses the relationship between access to maternity leave and long-term mental health outcomes for mothers. While there is extensive research on the impact paid maternity leave has on factors such as labor market participation and the mother's mental health shortly after birth, there is limited literature on the long-run effects of maternity leave on women's

mental health. This study evaluates whether maternity leave has a lasting benefit on a mother's mental health, and more specifically whether it leads to a reduction in depressive symptoms in older age. The EURO-Depression scale asks participants whether during the past 12 months they have experienced any of 12 depressive symptoms resulting in a score from zero to twelve. Participants are also asked whether they took time off work when their children were born, and if so, for how long. A difference in differences approach was then used to compare women who had access to comprehensive maternity leave policies in contrast to those who received less generous policies. The findings suggest that comprehensive and widely available maternity leave benefits during the first year of childbirth are related to female depression levels in old age. Specifically, comprehensive maternity leave is associated with a 0.38 lower score on the EURO-Depression scale. This study suggests that while there are short-run benefits to maternity leave policies, such policies may also result in mental health benefits for working mothers that extend far past the first few years of childbirth.

Similarly, Berger (2011) focuses on the long-term life satisfaction of mothers depending on employment status. This study considers the effect of non-participation as well as part-time employment on life satisfaction of mothers. Berger addresses whether there was a difference in life satisfaction for mothers who did not work or were employed part-time compared to mothers employed full-time. To differentiate between non-participation in the labor force related to family issues and non-participation due to some other factor, the author divided participants into three categories: "family-related non-participation, labor-market-related non-participation, and non-participation without further intention to work." By doing this, Berger is able to isolate only those who are not

participating in the labor force for family related issues. To measure wellbeing, Berger uses an 11-point score of life satisfaction from the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP). The findings suggest that mothers who take time off from work or are in short-term part-time jobs are less satisfied with life compared to mothers who are employed full-time. These findings highlight the importance of the availability of paid maternity leave, as it has been shown that access to benefits increases the likelihood that women remain in the labor force long term thus increasing life satisfaction.

2.4 The Impact on Fathers and Children

Literature on whether paid maternity leave has a significant impact on fathers is limited. Available information suggests that even when available, fathers utilize paternity leave less than comparable mothers. Whitehouse, Diamond, and Baird (2007) found that a high percentage of Australian fathers take some leave when they have a child. However, very few take advantage of the parental leave entitlement provided by the Australian government. Rather fathers utilize leave provided by employers despite the fact that the leave offered is less generous than government provided leave benefits. Furthermore, fathers that do not work full-time, hold temporary positions, or work in especially small firms, are much less likely to take leave compared to fathers who are employed in the public sector or are members of a union. Using data collected on father's employed full-time, Rege and Solli (2013) assesses if there is a difference in earning between years for fathers whose youngest child is between 1 and 8 years old and fathers whose youngest child is not. Using a differences in differences approach, this data is compared before and after the introduction of a paternity leave quota for the father's employer. Analysis of the data collected regarding the impact that leave has on fathers' future earnings suggests that

as fathers take more parental leave their future earning potential decreases (Rege and Solli, 2013). This suggests that for fathers, the benefits of taking leave are mitigated by having less job security; if fathers feel as if their job is less secure they are less likely to take paternal leave due to fear of backlash. However, these findings also indicate that fathers are much less likely to take paid leave when it is made available to them as compared to women.

Carneiro, Loken, and Salvanes (2015) focus on the long-run benefits family leave has on children's future outcomes. Before 1977, mothers in Norway were entitled to 12 weeks of unpaid leave but no sort of paid leave. Starting July 1, 1977, mothers were entitled to 4 months of paid leave with an additional 12 months of unpaid leave available. In studying the differences in children's outcomes later in life before and after maternity leave reform, this research explores the possible impacts maternity leave has on children's future prospects. Using data from the Norwegian Registry, the authors are able to determine dropout rates from high school, college attendance, and earnings of children at age 30. Through comparing these rates before and after the policy reform, the researchers are able to contrast those children whose mothers had access to comprehensive maternity leave with those whose mothers did not. The findings suggest that the maternity leave policy implemented in 1977 resulted in lower high school dropout rates and higher earnings at age 30 for the children born after 1977. The results of this study demonstrate that an increase in the amount of time a mother is able to spend with her child has a positive impact on that child's outcomes later in life. This effect is even stronger for children whose mothers would have taken very low levels of leave in the absence of these reforms. These

findings give even more credence to the suggestion that the benefits of the availability of paid maternity leave extend beyond just the mother.

Arnarson and Mitra (2010) discuss the Act on Maternity/Paternity Leave and Parental Leave which was enacted in 2000 in Iceland and extended leave from six to nine months and also provided wage replacement up to 80% of parents' average salaries. The researchers hypothesize that as more men in Iceland take paternity leave and spend more time with their children, women will see more positive prospects in the labor market. Using data from Statice, the National Statistical Institute of Iceland, they find that the legislation that was enacted reduced the likelihood that employers would discriminate against women due to fear that they would leave the workforce to have children. In addition, the study finds that a higher percentage of women were participating in the labor market in 2005 compared to 1991, and conversely a lower percentage of men were participating in the labor market in 2005 compared to 1991. Furthermore, women spent more hours working, while men spent fewer hours working. Overall, the act seems to enable families to have more flexibility in terms of their work and homes lives resulting in more flexibility for women in particular due to reduced discrimination and the ability to seek higher paying and higher status jobs.

2.5 Attitudes Towards Working Women

The literature regarding attitudes towards working mothers in terms of their parenting ability suggest differences in how mothers are perceived by adults outside the family compared to their own children. Okimoto and Heilman (2012) assess how effective working mothers are perceived as parents. Participants are given a description of a person and told that the study is measuring first impressions. They are then asked a variety of

questions including how effective of a parent they think this person is. Responses indicate that people find working mothers to be less effective with regards to parenting compared to non-working mothers. This is especially true for women working in a male dominated occupation, and is even more intense when the woman is more successful. This is typically only found to be true for women who are working out of choice rather than women working out of economic need.

In contrast, children of working mothers have a much more positive perception of their parents when compared to children of non-working mothers. Gursoy and Bicacki (2007) assess both how children spend their time and how they perceive their parents, notably their working mothers. The researchers asked 280 children who either have working or nonworking mothers general questions about their lives. When asked how they liked to spend their spare time, 44.1% of children of working mothers say they like to play sports, 44.6% say they like to read, and 15.3% say they like to talk with friends. This is compared to the children of nonworking mothers where 20% play sports, 38.4% like to read, and 41.6% like to talk with friends (Gursoy and Bicacki, 2007). Children also report that they perceive their mothers (M=67.22, M=32.66) and fathers (M=62.43, M=*31.33*) to be more loving and less punishing when their mothers are working compared to nonworking mothers. The findings suggest that children of working mothers not only seem to be fonder of their parents, but also have beneficial social outcomes such as an increase in sports activities and reading compared to talking with friends. This literature demonstrates the need for further research regarding attitudes towards mothers in the workplace given the measurable benefits children seem to have when their mother works compared to the negative response adults seem to have.

Donnelly, Twenge, Clark, Shaikh, Beiler-May, and Carter (2015) investigate the general tenor and movement of attitudes towards working women from 1967 – 2013. Unsurprisingly, attitudes towards gender division of labor at home and work become more egalitarian during this time period. This study uses two surveys; the Monitoring the Future Survey (MtF), which surveys high school seniors, and the GSS, which surveys adults across the nation. The results indicate that attitudes for both adults and high school seniors become more egalitarian over time. However, the surveys did indicate that millennials (the high school seniors) hold more traditional values in regards to gender roles within a marriage compared to GenXers (adults surveyed). While this does indicate that there is widespread support for working mothers, it also illustrates a difference between beliefs towards women's work and beliefs towards women in the home. This is noteworthy when evaluating attitudes towards working mothers; although approval of mothers working could be high, there might still be the expectation that the mother also completes all of the housework as well.

Yu and Lee (2013) investigate this disparity further by specifically looking at the difference in attitudes towards maternal employment and gender roles within the home. They find that in general, there is a gap between the level of support for women in the workforce and attitudes towards gender equality within the home. The researchers note that this gap is greater in more egalitarian societies, suggesting that support for women in the workforce and support for gender equality within the home do not go hand in hand. Within more gender equal societies, women have more control in terms of their professional lives. The authors posit that because of this, people are more inclined to support more rigid gender roles within the home to counteract the lack of differentiation

between women and men in the workforce. Older, more religious, married, and not employed are all characteristics associated with lower approval of maternal employment. These findings suggest that a change in attitudes towards maternal employment may not be as simple as it seems. The authors end with the less than optimistic opinion that even with support for women within the workforce, without more support for egalitarianism within the home women are not likely to increase their labor force participation. Therefore, implementing laws that encourage more female labor force participation might result in backlash.

Kim (2001) considers what effect an organization's policy regarding paid maternity leave has on individual's attitudes and subsequent behavior. Research indicates that an organization's support and commitment to paid maternity leave facilitates the implementation of paid maternity leave within organizations. Kim (2001) defines impact of family leave policy as "how family leave policy is associated with employee productivity, work stress, family integrity, work satisfaction, and organizational commitment in agencies." The findings suggest that employees have generally positive attitudes towards paid family leave policy as it relates both to them personally and the organization they work for. Kim (2001) highlights the importance of this research as it relates to both policies regarding paid maternity leave as well as how the implementation of leave can influence satisfaction of workers. This study also indicates an important relationship between an individual's opinion of paid maternity leave and their employer's commitment to providing substantial benefits.

2.6 Antifeminist Backlash

Using in-depth interviews Kaufman and White (2014) investigate married men's opinions towards their wives working and how couples arrived at the decision for their wives to work or not after childbirth. This study uses data obtained from 50 interviews with married men who are 55 years or younger and have at least one child under the age of 13. Kaufman and White (2014) created four typologies using men's ideal situation regarding their wives working and the reality. Two of these typologies have matching ideals and realities; traditional men's wives don't work and egalitarian men's wives do work. Alternatively, expectant traditional men would prefer their wives not to work but they in fact do work, and expectant egalitarian men prefer their wives to work but they do not work.

Using these four typologies, patterns are determined regarding men's opinions towards their wives working. Most importantly, for traditional fathers the most common reason for wanting their wives to stay home is the concern that the children would not receive as good of care as that which could be provided by their wives. Traditional fathers express the importance of the father being the provider for their family, whereas egalitarian men express strong support for their wives working. Expectant traditional men have two main reasons for the incongruity between their ideals and reality; either the family cannot afford for the wife to stay at home or the wife wants to work despite the husband's disapproval. Expectant traditional men express a sense of failure regarding their wives working when the family has young children at home. This research suggests that while men may differ in their opinions regarding mothers working, these opinions seem to be rooted in traditional ideals of what is best for raising a family. Further research must be

conducted to understand men's opinions towards mothers working outside of their own family structure. However, this research does indicate that men hold a variety of opinions regarding women working.

Sandra K. Gill (1985) uses various feminist conceptualizations to explain support for the Equal Rights Amendment of 1972. Gill (1985) hypothesizes that class, along with ten other variables, influence individuals support for the Equal Rights Amendment. Gill (1985) used the 1977 National Opinion Research Center's survey, which asks respondents if they are familiar with the ERA and if they are, what they think of it on a four-point Likert scale. Using multiple regression analysis, Gill (1985) concludes that women who oppose the ERA are likely to be conservative, affiliated with fundamental religions, religious, married, residents of nonurban areas, white, and working class (Gill, 1985). Factors such as education, economic contribution to income, and labor force status do not seem to contribute to opinions towards the ERA. Men who oppose the ERA are likely to be white, politically conservative, married, and be married to a housewife (Gill, 1985). An interesting finding in this study is that while full-time homemakers do not seem to support the ERA any less, their husbands are likely to oppose it. These findings highlight a difference in the factors that influence support for women's issues for men and women.

Yeung, Kay, and Peach (2013) use System Justification Theory (SJT) to explain the presence of an antifeminist backlash among certain people. SJT suggests that people are driven to prove that their society is just even in the face of inequality usually by ignoring or rationalizing the injustices observed. Because feminism is rooted in the idea that in order to achieve gender equity the status quo must change, Yeung, Kay, and Peach (2013)

hypothesize that antifeminist backlash may be in part a result of individuals feeling the need to defend the status quo due to SJT.

In three studies, two using student samples and one using an internet sample, researchers assess the effect of SJT and the use of the feminist label on participants' agreement with an ideological target. In the first two studies, participants are given an article describing either a system threat (e.g., their home country was rated negatively on a variety of factors) or a system affirmation (e.g., their home country was rated positively on a variety of factors). Participants are then asked to read a female target's profile that is either feminist or not feminist and rate their agreement with statements made about the female target. This study is then replicated with a non-female target and with internet participants. As predicted, the findings indicate that agreement with the feminist target decreases in the system threat condition, suggesting that when system justification is heightened by system threat, agreement with feminist ideals is less likely. That is, when respondents feel the need to defend the equitability of their home country they are less likely to agree with feminist principles. This study is critical when looking at research regarding legislation for women's rights issues such as paid maternity leave. These findings indicate that when feminist legislation is proposed or enacted there could be an antifeminist backlash due to a perceived threat to the status quo as is posited by System Justification Theory.

2.7 The Impact of Laws on Attitudes

While no research thus far focuses specifically on how the availability of family leave is related to attitudes towards women in the workforce, the available literature suggests how these two topics might interact. The research conducted by Jakobsson and Kotsadam

(2010) on how law change impacts attitudes, and all of the literature on attitudes towards women in the workforce, gender roles, and paid maternity leave, reveal the need to assess this interaction more closely. There seems to be a way in which attitudes can be influenced by change in laws. Thus, a policy so deeply entwined with attitudes towards women in the workforce should be the target of further research.

Jakobsson and Kotsadam (2010) examine the impact criminalizing prostitution has on attitudes towards prostitution in Norway. The authors discuss how the enactment of laws signal to the general public what lawmakers, and by extension society, consider to be sound policies and values. However, the researchers note that this does not necessarily mean that attitudes will change in the direction that legislative agencies intend. Citing social response theory, the change in law may change people's attitudes in the intended manner, but it may instead have the opposite effect (Carbonara et al., 2008). This research went on to hypothesize that the more a person is exposed to the practicalities of a change in a law, the more their attitudes will change. The research use surveys that ask respondents' opinions about prostitution in 2008, before the law went into effect, and 2009, after the law went into effect. While the results suggest that the law did not impact people's attitudes towards prostitution in the aggregate, people who live in the capital of Norway and as a result were more exposed to prostitution exhibit a shift towards more negative attitudes regarding prostitution. This research indicates that the impact laws have regarding attitudes may be linked to how salient the laws are to the public.

2.8 Purpose of Paper

This study examines the influence that the availability of paid maternity leave has on attitudes towards women in the workplace. Using data from the General Social Survey

(GSS), this study examines the difference in attitudes towards women in the workplace before and after California implemented mandatory paid family leave. Building upon prior research, this paper evaluates whether gender, political affiliation, income, marital status, and age influences whether attitudes towards women in the workplace become more positive or negative when paid family leave is made available.

Based on previous research that addresses attitudes regarding gender roles and research on how changes in laws might in turn change attitudes; we hypothesize that an increase in the availability of paid maternity leave will result in stronger attitudes towards women in the workforce but in a polarized manner (Jakobsson and Kotsdam, 2010). Younger, highly educated and wealthy individuals will have more positive attitudes towards mothers working. However, older, married, and less educated and lower income individuals will have less positive attitudes towards mothers working. We also expect that although women will express more approval in general, this polarization will still exist for women as well as men (Kaufman and White, 2014 and Gill, 1985).

Research like this is important for a variety of reasons. First, it has been shown that public perception of issues drives political action. Therefore, people's attitudes towards women in the workforce, and especially mothers, is an important factor when discussing the possibility of paid family leave legislation in the United States. Furthermore, if an increase in the availability of paid family leave results in more negative feelings towards working mothers, this suggests the need for further research into why this effect exists and the ways in which it might be possible to counteract it.

Chapter III: Theory on the Impact of Laws on Attitudes Towards Working Mothers

3.1 General Theories

Based on prior research, it is expected that the availability of paid family leave will change attitudes towards women in the workforce, but not necessarily result in a positive shift for all people. Based on the research by Sandra K. Gill (1985), Kaufman and White (2014), and Yu and Lee (2013) we expect that for women, being conservative, fundamental, strongly religious, married, white, and working class will be associated with lower approval of working mothers when paid maternity leave is implemented. For men, we anticipate that being white, conservative, married to a fulltime housewife, and unemployed will also be associated with lower approval of working mothers (Gill, S.K, 1985, Yu and Lee, 2013, & Kaufman and White, 2014). Conversely, we expect highly educated, wealthier, less religious and less conservative respondents to have more positive feelings towards mothers working after paid maternity leave is implemented. We also anticipate that there will be a gap in women and men regarding attitudes towards women in the workforce, and that this gap will become greater as the availability of paid maternity leave increases.

3.2 Social Response Theory

Working off of theories of attitude formation with respect to newly enacted laws outlined by Jakobsson and Kotsadam (2010), results might indicate that the implementation of paid maternity leave laws impact attitudes by signaling to the public what society deems as good social values. As the authors note however, this does not necessarily mean that attitudes will become more favorable. Social response theory suggests that the change in law may result in a reaction that could strengthen the intended

effect but also could undermine the intended effect (Carbonara et al., 2008). In the case of paid family leave, we expect support for working mothers to change in a polarized manner; this is supported by Rossin-Slater, Ruhm, and Waldfogel's (2011) research which assesses what population subgroups are most affected by the implementation of California's paid family leave program.

3.3 Backlash

Based on the research conducted by Yeung, Kay, and Peach (2013) regarding Social Justification Theory and feminism, we expect that there is a negative backlash with regards to mandated paid maternity leave. This backlash will most likely manifest in those who are likely to view women's rights legislation to be a threat to their current social order. Various subgroups of men are most likely to exhibit this backlash; specifically, men who would neither directly nor indirectly benefit from paid maternity leave or whose values would suggest more conservative values regarding women's gender roles.

Chapter IV: Empirical Model

This chapter details the econometric model that is used in the analysis of this paper as well as an explanation of the variables chosen for the analysis.

4.1 Econometric Model

Model A:

$$A_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 PML_i + \beta_2 DEM_{ist} + \beta_3 ECO_{ist} + \beta_4 CUL_{ist} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{ist}$$

4.2 Model Explanation

The basic economic model uses data from the GSS that asks questions related to demographics, economic circumstances, cultural attachments and attitudes towards mothers in the workforce. A_{it} is the outcome variable of interest (attitudes towards working mothers) and is measured using a composite variable generated from three questions from the General Social Survey (GSS). PML_i is a dummy variable that equals one if there is mandated paid maternity leave in the state *s* and time *t* when the individual *i* is surveyed and zero if there is no mandated paid maternity leave.

This analysis will also incorporate fixed effects using both α_i and γ_t. Fixed effects are used in order to compare differences in attitudes between California and the rest of the country, because α_i is time invariant, any omitted variables that are correlated with the regressor that are specific to California specifically are controlled for. Similarly, γ_t controls for any changes over time that might be correlated with the regressor but apply to all states, such as a national trend to become more liberal regarding social issues over time. Finally, ε_{ist} functions as an error term.

4.3 Subgroup Regression Model

There is also a sub-model that assesses the interaction between paid maternity leave and a variety of dummy variables representing different demographics that may interact with resulting attitudes towards women in the workforce. The same variables used in the basic regression model are used in the subgroup regression. This sub-model will identify the differential impact of paid maternity leave across different population subgroups. The following model is used:

Model B:

$$A_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 PML + \beta_2 PML*SUB + \beta_2 DEM_{ist} + \beta_3 ECO_{ist} + \beta_4 CUL_{ist} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{ist}$$

4.4 Subgroup Regression Model Explanation

The dummy variable, SUB equals zero when the population subgroup is being considered and one when the subgroup is being considered. These subgroups are different subsets of the population considered such as women, minority women, women under 40, married men, married people (female or male) with children or not, etc. Similarly, a dummy variable, PML equals the availability of paid maternity leave. The control variables that are used to assess interaction terms in the sub-model are listed in the Appendix.

Chapter V: Discussion of the Data

5.1 General Social Survey

Data was obtained from the General Social Survey (GSS). The GSS collects data on a wide range of topics in order to track societal change and trends in the opinions, experiences, attitudes, etc. of the American population. While the GSS asks a large number of questions covering an extensive number of issues that may be important, this study focuses on a small section of the data collected. A complete list of the variables used in this study is provided (See Appendix)

5.2 Dependent Variables

The data from three questions in the GSS are used as the dependent variables for this study. The first, FECHLD asks "A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work." Respondents are asked how much they agree or disagree on a 4-point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=disagree and 4=strongly disagree. A new variable, FECHLD2 is generated to use in this analysis in order to switch the Likert scale to 4=strongly agree 3=agree 2=disagree and 1=strongly disagree for the purpose of standardization. That is, to maintain higher numerical values as more supportive of women in the workforce and lower numerical values to represent lower support of women in the workforce. This question generated 8,883 responses between 1998 and 2008, the years that are evaluated in this study.

A second variable, FEPRESCH, measures how much the respondent thinks a working mother impacts preschool aged children. FEPRESCH asks "A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works." Respondents are asked how much they agree or disagree

on a 4-point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=disagree and 4=strongly disagree. This question generated 8,883 responses between 1998 and 2008, the years that are evaluated in this study.

A third variable, FEFAM, measures how much the respondent thinks a working mother impacts preschool aged children. FEFAM asks "It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family." Respondents are asked how much they agree or disagree on a 4-point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree 2=agree 3=disagree and 4=strongly disagree. This question generated 8,883 responses between 1998 and 2008, the years that are evaluated in this study.

These three variables are then combined in order to create a composite variable measuring the overall attitudes towards women in the workforce. These variables are summed to create a final dependent variables WOMENWORK which measures overall attitudes on a scale from 0 to 12. Chronbach's Alpha is then calculated for these three variables in order to assess the reliability of the variables used to generate the dependent variable WOMENWORK. This calculation indicates a strong internal consistency between these three variables ($\alpha = 0.708$).

Interaction terms are also created for the subgroup regression model. Each subgroup that is used is multiplied by the basic PML variable, where 0 = all states other than California, and California before paid maternity leave was implemented and 1 = California respondents after paid maternity leave was implemented. To easily identify these interaction terms, they all begin with the prefix "pmlx" followed by the subgroup the variable is being interacted with.

5.3 Independent Variables

The independent variables used in the basic regression are listed in the Appendix. These variables can be split into three basic groups: Economic Factors, Demographics, and Cultural.

All of the variables in the Economic Factors cluster are variables that relate to the respondent's economic status. WORKING is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent is currently working, 0 = not working 1 = working (part-time or full-time). SPOUSEWORKS is a dummy variable that equals 0 if the respondent's spouse is not currently working and 1 if the respondent's spouse is currently working. COLLEGE is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent has completed some coursework in college, whether 0 = no college experience and 1 = some college experience. INCOME measures the respondent's income in clusters of $5,000. INCOMEHIGH is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent has an income above $25,000 where 0 = below $25,000 and 1 = above $25,000.

Second, the Demographic cluster are all variables that relate to particular features of each respondent. MARRIED is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent is married or not, 0 = not married and 1 = married. CHILDS measures the number of children a respondent currently has while HASKIDS is a dummy variable where 0 = respondent does not have kids and 1 = respondent does have kids. AGE measures the respondent's age and SEX measures the gender the respondent identifies with. WHITE is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent is a minority or not where 0 = not white and 1 = white. DIVWKIDS is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent is divorced with children where 0 = either not divorced or doesn't have children, or both and 1 = divorced

with children. LOWED/INCOME is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent is both considered low income and does not have college experience where 0 = either not low income or has college experience, or both and 1 = low income and no college experience. UNDER40 is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent is under 40 years of age where 0 = over 40 and 1 = under 40. MARRWRKINGKIDS is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent is married, working, and has children, where 0 = respondent is not married, working, and has children, and 1 = respondent is married, working, and has children. LOWED_RW is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent has college experience and identifies as right wing where 0 = some college experience or doesn't identify as right wing, or both and 1 = no college experience and identifies as right wing. MARRIED_RW is a dummy variable where 0 = not married or not right wing, or both and 1 = married and identifies as right wing.

Third, the Cultural cluster are variables related to the cultural attachments respondents might have. BORNINUS is a dummy variable where 0 = respondent was not in the United States and 1 = respondent was born in the United States. PARBORNINUS is also a dummy variable where 0 = respondent's parents were not born in the United States and 1 = respondent's parents were both born in the United States. RELIGIOUS is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent identifies with any religion without any attention to specific faith or denomination, where 0 = not religious and 1 = religious. FUNDAMENTAL is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent considers themselves to be fundamental or not where 0 = not fundamental and 1 = fundamental. CONSERVATIVE is a dummy variable that measures whether the respondent considers themselves to be conservative or not where 0 = not conservative and 1 = conservative.

Chapter VI: Discussion and Results

6.1 Model A Results

First, a basic econometric model is used to better understand the various factors that impact respondents' attitudes towards women in the workforce. *Model A* is used for this analysis, and approval of mothers working is regressed against a variety of basic variables that can be grouped into three clusters: economic, demographic, and cultural. These regressions can be seen in Table 1: Basic Regressions (see Appendix). While paid maternity leave implementation is not significant for this analysis, it is noteworthy that there is an observed .132 point decrease in the index of approval for working mothers overall. However, many of these basic variables are found to be significant for approval towards working mothers in the overall sample.

The variables used in the basic regression can be grouped into the three clusters as outlined previously. As seen in Table 1, the economic factors such as income, work status, and education are all signficiant (see Appendix). These factors are also all associated with an increase in the index of support for working mothers. Interestingly, both working full or part time and having obtained some college experience are both associated with more than 6 times the point increase that income is associated with. That is, being employed is associated with the same difference in attitudes as an additional $30,000 of income. Similarly, having gone to college is associated with the same difference in attitudes as an additional $40,000 in income.

Table 1 also shows demographic variables that are evaluated, these are also all found to be signficant (see Appendix). Being female is associated with the largest numerical increase in the support for mothers working index, more than double the increase going to

college is associated with. However, age, being white, number of children and being married are all associated with a decrease in the support for working mothers index. That is, respondents who are white, older, have a greater number of children, or are married are predicted to have less positive attitudes towards mothers working compared to individuals who do not posesses these characterstics.

Lastly, Table 1 shows cultural variables such as whether the respondent and the respondents parents were born in the United States, and whether the respondent considers themselves fundamental, conservative, or religious (see Appendix). The most interesting finding is that less positive attitudes towards mothers working become increasingly negative for people who are religious, fundamental, and conservative respectively. For example, identifying as fundamental is associated with twice as negative attitudes as being religious. Being conservative is associated with three times as negative of attitudes as being religious is. Not being born in the United States is also associated with a substantial decrease in the approval of working mothers index, almost double the response that is associated with being fundamental. Similarly, having both parents born in the United States is associated with a meaningful increase in the approval for working mothers index, a little more than a third of the increase being female is associated with.

6.2 Model B Results

Next, *Model B* was used to investigate whether people belonging to different groups – defined by observable characteristics like race, age, income, gender, and marital status – respond differently to paid maternity leave implementation. Using an interaction term, this model compares a combination of the impact of paid maternity leave implementation and being part of a particular subgroup to those who are not part of that subgroup. This model

tests whether there is a significantly different interaction for group members and non-members. To test whether the implementation of paid maternity leave has a substantial impact on attitudes towards mothers working for various subgroups we introduce interaction terms between a dummy variable (PML) and a dummy variable describing a specific subgroup. Subgroups are chosen based on what prior research has identified as likely characteristics to influence attitudes towards women's rights and feminist issues as well as characteristics that are found to be highly significant in the basic model.

We begin by considering interactions for cultural values: individuals that consider themselves religious, fundamental, or conservative. Tables 2, 3, and 4 show these results respectively (see Appendix). Surprisingly, the only significantly different interaction for group members and non-group members is for religious people, neither fundamental nor conservative individuals were found to have a significant difference in attitudes. However, for religious men there was a difference, such that religious men had a significantly different response to paid maternity leave compared to non-religious men. For example, religious men's negative reaction to paid maternity leave is equivalent to the positive increase in female attitudes towards mothers in the workforce observed in the basic model (see Table 2, Appendix).

Next we assessed family structure using six groups: married people (Table 6), people with children (Table 7), people whose spouses have jobs (Table 5), married working people with kids (Table 16), divorced people with kids (Table 13), and people under 40 (Table 15). One finding that is noteworthy is the similarity in response for married people, people whose spouses work, and married working people with children. The results indicate a significant decrease in the approval of working mothers index for married

people, people whose spouses work, and married working people with children when paid maternity leave is implemented (see Table 6, Table 5, Table 16 in Appendix). For these three interactions, this significant difference in approval is associated with approximately the same amount of decrease in approval. Similarly, all three interactions show an even further decrease in approval when the respondents are restricted to only male respondents. As shown in column (2) of Tables 6, 5, and 16, male respondents show an even greater decrease in the approval index as compared to the decrease exhibited in the entire population. For example, for the three subgroups highlighted above the decrease in approval for men when paid maternity leave legislation is implemented is equivalent to the increase in approval attitudes towards working mothers for females overall.

Surprisingly, there is not a significantly different interaction for people who have children and people who do not, nor is there a significant difference when looking at just women or just men (see Table 7 in Appendix). Similarly, there is not a significantly different interaction for people under 40 compared to people over 40 (see Table 15 in Appendix). While there is not a significant interaction for divorced people with children, there is a significant difference when this subgroup is restricted to just men. As column (2) of Table 13 shows, there is a significantly different interaction for men who are divorced with children and men who are not. Most notably, this difference is a substantial increase in approval when paid maternity leave is implemented that is equivalent to almost twice the approval increase that is seen in females overall.

We then considered other cultural values: whether the respondent is a minority, and whether the respondent and the respondent's parents were born in the United States. Surprisingly, there was not a significantly different interaction for whites compared to

nonwhites (see Table 8 in Appendix). This finding is noteworthy as being white was associated with a significant decrease in attitudes overall. While there is not a significantly different interaction for whites and nonwhites, the increase in approval for whites when paid maternity leave is implemented is equivalent to the decrease in approval for whites in the basic model. This is interesting, as there seems to be a reversal in attitudes when paid maternity leave is implemented for whites. Similarly, having parents who are born in the United States was not associated with a significantly different interaction (see Table 11 in Appendix). Likewise, being born in the United States was not associated with a significantly different interaction (see Table 20 in Appendix).

Next we assessed economic factors: income, degree, and work status. Results indicate that there is not a significantly different interaction for high income and low income respondents in the overall population (see Table 10 in Appendix). However, as column (2) in Table 10 shows, there is a significantly different interaction for high and low income approval ratings among men. That is, when paid maternity leave is implemented men who earn above $25,000 a year exhibit an increase in the approval of working mothers index that is greater than the increase females demonstrate in their approval of working mothers overall. Table 12 shows that there is a significantly different interaction for respondents who have had some college experience and respondents who have not (see Appendix). These results indicate that for people who have had some college experience there is an increase in attitudes towards mothers in the workforce when paid maternity leave is implemented that is equivalent to half of the increase that is associated with being female overall. As is shown in column (2) and (3) of Table 12, both men and women are not found to be significantly different. However results do indicate that there is a similar

increase for men and women. Similarly, there does not appear to be a significantly different interaction for working and nonworking people. These findings suggest that for economic factors, income seems to have a substantial influence on attitudes towards working mothers when paid maternity leave is implemented compared to work status or degree obtainment.

Lastly, more complex variables were used to measure political elements, four variables were used: low educated low income people, low educated people who consider themselves right wing, married people who consider themselves right wing, and people who would be considered part of the religious right. Table 14 shows a significantly different interaction for people who are less educated and low income compared to those who are not (see Appendix). Similarly, there is a significantly different interaction for less educated low income men when paid maternity leave is implemented. For example, when paid maternity leave is implemented being less educated and low income is associated with almost the same decrease in approval as being religious when paid maternity leave is implemented both for the overall population and for men. Likewise, there is a significantly different interaction for less educated right wing individuals when paid maternity leave is implemented (see Table 17 in Appendix). The decrease in the approval of working mothers index for people who do not have any college experience and are considered right wing is equivalent to the decrease for less educated low income individuals and religious individuals when paid maternity leave is implemented. Surprisingly, there was not a significantly different interaction when this was restricted to only men in the population.

There was also a significantly different interaction for married people who are considered right wing (see Table 18 in Appendix). When paid maternity leave is

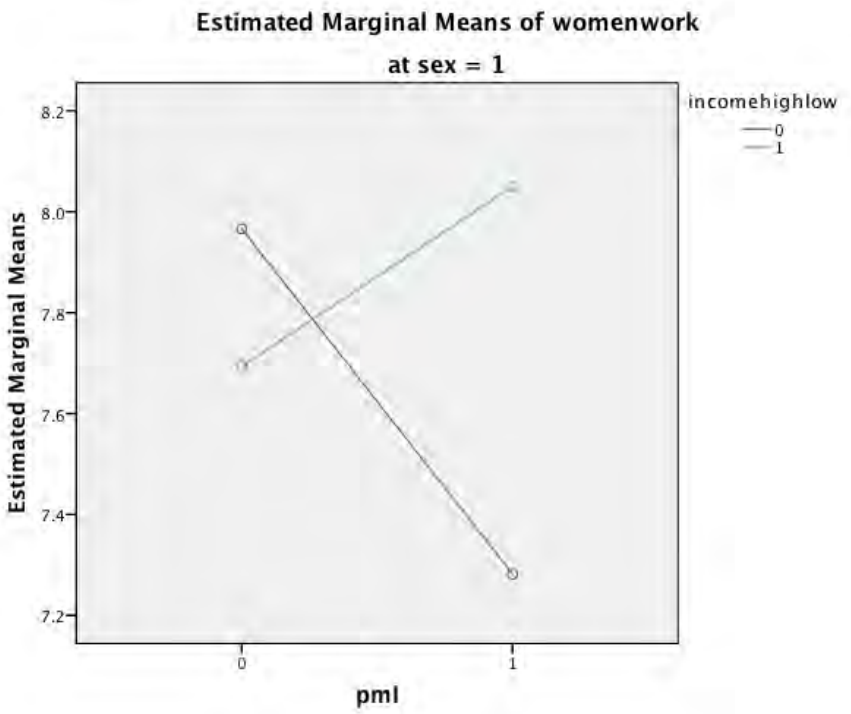
implemented people who are married and right wing significantly differ from those who are not in their approval of mothers working. People who are married and right wing exhibit a decrease in approval compared to those who are not, this decrease is equivalent to that of religious individuals when paid maternity leave is implemented. Column (2) of Table 18 also shows that there is also a significantly different interaction for married people who are right wing when the population is restricted to only men. For example, when paid maternity leave is implemented the decrease in approval that married right wing men show is equivalent to the increase in approval for mothers working that females experience overall. Lastly, there is a significantly different interaction for respondents who would be considered part of the religious right (see Table 19 in Appendix). When paid maternity leave is implemented there is a decrease in the approval of mothers working index for people considered part of the religious right compared to people who are not. This difference is significant both for the overall population and when the population is restricted to only men. Interestingly, this decrease in approval when paid maternity leave is implemented is equivalent to the decrease exhibited by married people both for the overall population and for men respectively.

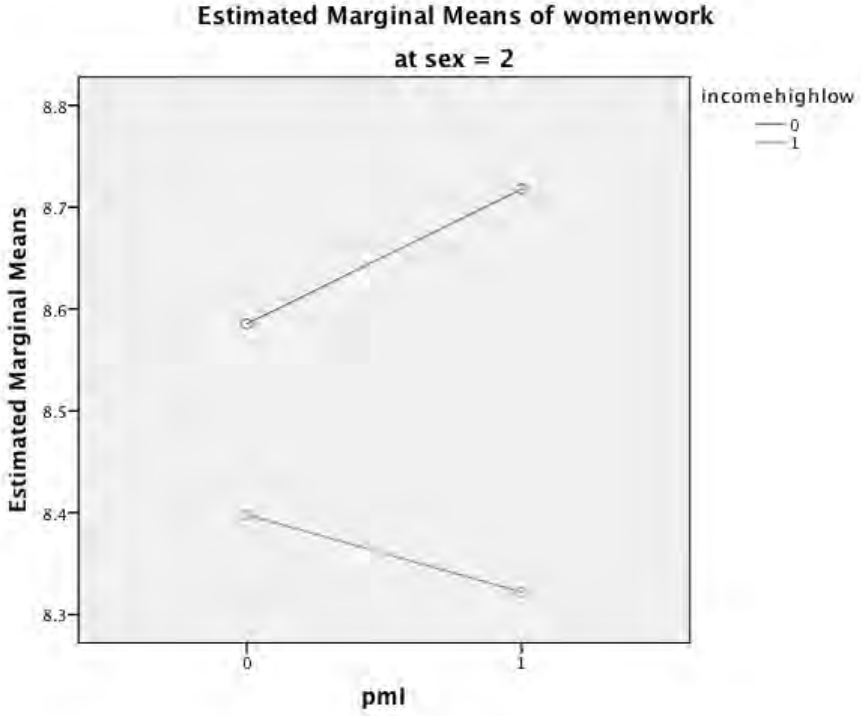
6.3 Three-Way Interaction Results

As can be seen from the findings in the previous sections, many of the significantly different interactions highlighted above seem to be rooted in factors related to socioeconomic status. These findings also indicate a significantly different interaction among low income men when paid maternity leave is implemented but not overall or among women. Therefore, further analysis was done to breakdown this interaction to better understand these findings. First, we performed an extensive SPSS analysis on a basic

population subgroup we theorized would have a significant response toward paid maternity leave legislation. Due to the anti-feminist backlash theory highlighted previously, as well as research suggesting the importance fathers placed on providing for their families, a three-way interaction analysis was performed on paid maternity leave implementation, income, and gender.

Approval towards mothers in the workforce was submitted to a 2 (income: high, low) x 2 (PML: before, after) x 2 (gender: male, female) analysis of variance (ANOVA). There was no effect of income, $F(1, 8469) = 0.028$, p=.867, such that people with high incomes (M=8.116) did not differ from people with low incomes (M=8.131) in their approval of mothers working. There was also no effect of paid maternity leave implementation, $F(1, 8469) = .267$, p=.605, such that people who had maternity leave mandated in their state (M=8.093) did not differ from people who did not have maternity leave mandated in their state (M=8.161). There was however an effect of gender, $F(1, 8469) = 33.479$, p<.001, such that there was a difference in approval of mothers working for men (M=7.748) compared to women (M=8.506). The graphs for these interactions are shown below and are also featured in the Appendix.


Estimated Marginal Means of womenwork
at sex = 1
incomehighlow
0
1
Estimated Marginal Means
8.2
8.0
7.8
7.6
7.4
7.2
0
1
pmI


Estimated Marginal Means of womenwork
at sex = 2
incomehighlow
0
1
Estimated Marginal Means
8.8
8.7
8.6
8.5
8.4
8.3
0
1
pmI

These effects were qualified by income x sex interaction, $F(1,8469) = 4.244$, p<.039. There was no interaction of income x paid maternity leave, $F(1,8469) = 2.527$, p=.112. There was also no interaction of paid maternity leave x sex, $F(1,8469) = 2.124$, p=.463. These effects were also qualified by a three-way income x paid maternity leave x sex interaction, $F(1,8469) = 5.688$, p=.017.

Given the three-way interaction, the components of this interaction were decomposed to better understand the relationship between the variables. I then tested the income (high, low) x PML (before, after) two-way interaction predicting attitudes toward working mothers among females. Among females, there was no effect of income, $F(1,4738) = 2.302$, p=.129, such that low income women (M=8.652) did not differ from high income women (M=8.360). There was also no effect of paid maternity leave implementation, $F(1,4738) = .022$, p=.883, such that women with paid maternity leave implemented in their state (M=8.52) did not differ from women without paid maternity leave implemented in their state (M=8.492). There was also no interaction of income x paid maternity leave, $F(1,4738) = .293$, p=.588.

A different pattern emerged among males. Males' scores were also submitted to an income (high, low) x PML (before, after) two-way interaction predicting attitudes toward working mothers. For males, there was no effect of income, $F(1,3731) = 1.976$, p=.16, such that those with high income (M=7.66) did not differ from those with low income (M=7.83). There was also no effect of paid maternity leave implementation, $F(1,3731) = .863$, p=.353, such that people who had paid maternity leave implemented in their state (M=7.872) did not differ from those who did not (M=7.624). However, there was an interaction on income

x paid maternity leave, $F(1,3731) = 8.719$, p=.003. Further decomposition was done to understand this interaction.

Among men with low income, the implementation of paid maternity leave did affect approval of working mothers, $t(898)=2.236$, p=.026, such that men with paid maternity leave implemented in their state had lower approval of working mothers (M=7.28) compared to men without paid maternity leave implemented (M=7.97). Among men with high income, the implementation of paid maternity leave also had an effect on attitudes towards working mothers, $t(2833)=-2.145$, p=.032, such that men with paid maternity leave implemented in their state had higher approval of working mothers (M=8.05) compared to men without paid maternity leave implemented in their state (M=7.69).

Chapter VII: Conclusions

7.1 Summary of the Findings

Using data from the GSS from 1998-2004, this study evaluates the effect paid maternity leave legislation has on approval of mothers working. Unlike previous studies on the topic of paid maternity leave, this study assesses whether there is a shift in attitudes rather than behavior after paid maternity leave is implemented.

This study finds that there is a difference in attitudes towards mothers in the workforce when comparing attitudes before and after paid maternity leave is implemented in California. Consistent with what previous studies suggest, there seems to be a negative backlash among certain groups of men when paid maternity leave was put into effect in California. Most notably, men who have a negative response to paid maternity leave legislation are likely to be religious, be less educated and low income, and be considered part of the religious right. Additionally, married men exhibit a significant decrease in approval especially for married men who are married to housewives, working and have children, and identify as right wing. While none of the regressions performed produced significant results for women, findings did show that for some subgroups of men there was a positive response to paid maternity leave implementation. These men are likely to make over $25,000 a year or be divorced and have children. Overall, respondents exhibited an increase in approval when they had some college experience and a decrease in approval when they had less education and identified as right wing. While these findings were not significant when restricted to just males and females, the findings still noteworthy. These findings were discovered using a fixed effect model that specifically explored the

interaction between paid maternity leave implementation and different subgroups in the population.

7.2 Policy Implications

These findings suggest that although paid family leave legislation provides much needed benefits to women and families, there might be negative consequences that policies cannot control. Attitudes cannot be legislated. However future policies regarding paid maternity leave should still take the potential backlash among men into consideration when contemplating legislation of this kind. Paid family leave is obviously a difficult issue to legislate but it is important to continue to fight for it as there are many benefits to having access to comprehensive paid leave. For example, if legislators frame paid family leave as a policy that will benefit entire families rather than just women, perhaps the backlash will be less severe. If the negative reaction found in this study is due in part to a backlash effect resulting from pro-women legislation, distancing these policies from the feminist label could result in less of a backlash.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations of the current study that should be noted. First, the measure used in this study to indicate approval towards mothers working clearly does not represent respondents' complete feelings. While the composite variable did possess a sufficient alpha level, combining the answers to the three questions used does not necessarily equate to a question directly asking about attitudes towards mothers working after the implementation of paid maternity leave. Therefore, the composite variable might not measure respondents' attitudes towards working mothers in a holistic manner.

One notable limitation of this study is likely to be the generalizability of the findings. The study was conducted using respondents from California post 2002 and comparing them to respondents from the rest of the United States. Given that people from California are not representative of the rest of the country, these findings might not generalize to other states that are implementing similar legislation. California is a very diverse, typically liberal state and as a result, the backlash among those that do not identify with these groups could be more extreme in general to changes that they perceive to be threats to the status quo.

Additionally, the data set was comprised of a set of questions measured in the General Social Survey. Therefore, I did not have the ability to collect more data to enhance this data set to fit the specifications of this project. For example, there are no significant findings of the effect of paid maternity leave implementation on attitudes towards working mothers for women. However, if I was able to directly collect data for this project I could have obtained information that would have allowed me to analyzed groups of women likely to be impact by the law more closely.

The limited time period used in this study is also a significant limitation. Although California implemented the PFL program in 2002, the benefits did not go into effect until 2004. We were only able to use data from the GSS up to 2004. Therefore, we were not able to compare attitudes before and after the policy was actually put into practice, only before and after it was implemented. Thus, the small time frame (1998-2004) used in this study is a significant limitation as it is not clear whether attitudes began to differ once mothers were able to utilize the benefits. While findings were significant, it is not clear to what

extent the backlash found is consistently significant after paid maternity leave is implemented or whether it softens once policies are actually put into effect.

7.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Future research should assess whether the observed backlash has staying power throughout time. That is, using more recent data this study should be replicated in order to determine whether the observed effects continue to persist after the legislation has been fully enacted. While this study found a significant backlash effect among men, this may be due to the increased attention to the law surrounding its implementation. However, this backlash might decrease once the law has been put into practice and the benefits are fully realized.

Another interesting avenue for future research would be a direct comparison of respondents' attitudes before and after paid maternity leave is implemented. While this study evaluated data on a national level, it would be interesting to see what the response to paid maternity leave availability is in a singular office. Researchers could survey office workers about their attitudes towards mothers working, mothers returning to work after having a child, etc. Then, the company could announce that they are implementing paid maternity leave for female workers, proceeded by a follow-up survey. If such a study were conducted, we would expect to find the same backlash among men that we found in our study. However, we would also expect to find an increase in support among women in the office. This is due to the fact that the policy is directly impacting the employees more so than state level legislation.

Lastly, another idea for future research is whether this backlash effect is specific to paid maternity leave or whether it expands to all women's rights legislation. While paid

maternity leave is framed as a feminist issue, there are many benefits that extend beyond just the benefits incurred by the mother. Therefore, it would be interesting to evaluate what other policies result in a backlash effect. Access to abortion and equal pay for equal work are two policy issues that we would expect would produce similar backlash effects among men.

7.6 Conclusion

There is a substantial amount of research on paid maternity leave and feminist issues in general. Previous research has shown that there is an antifeminist backlash and that legislation can impact attitudes. Our research built upon this previous research by showing that there is a backlash effect among men when paid maternity leave is implemented. This effect was found across a variety of different subgroups of men. Therefore, our research shows the important impact legislation can have on respondents' attitudes, most notably that this response is not necessarily in a positive direction. Although the purpose of policies aiming to create a more egalitarian society are well intended, negative reactions from the public should be taken into account.

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APPENDIX
LIST OF VARIABLES

YEAR	GSS YEAR FOR THIS RESPONDENT
ID	RESPONDENT ID NUMBER
FIPSSTAT	STATE
FIPSSTATNUM	STATE BY NUMBER
PML	0 = 1 IF YEAR>2004 AND FIPSSTAT==6 (CA)

DVS:

WOMENWORK	**COMPOSITVE VARIABLE OF FECHLD2, FEPRESCH, FEFAM**
FECHLD2	MOTHER WORKING DOESNT HURT CHILDREN
FEPRESCH	PRESCHOOL KIDS SUFFER IF MOTHER WORKS
FEFAM	BETTER FOR MAN TO WORK, WOMAN TEND HOME

Economic factors:

WORKING2	IS THE RESPONDENT CURRENTLY IN THE LABOR FORCE
SPWORK2	IS SPOUSE IN THE LABOR FORCE
EDUC	HIGHEST YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED
DEGREE2	DOES RESPONDENT HAVE COLLEGE EXPERIENCE
INCOME	INCOME
INCOMEHIGH	IS RESPONDENT'S INCOME ABOVE $25K

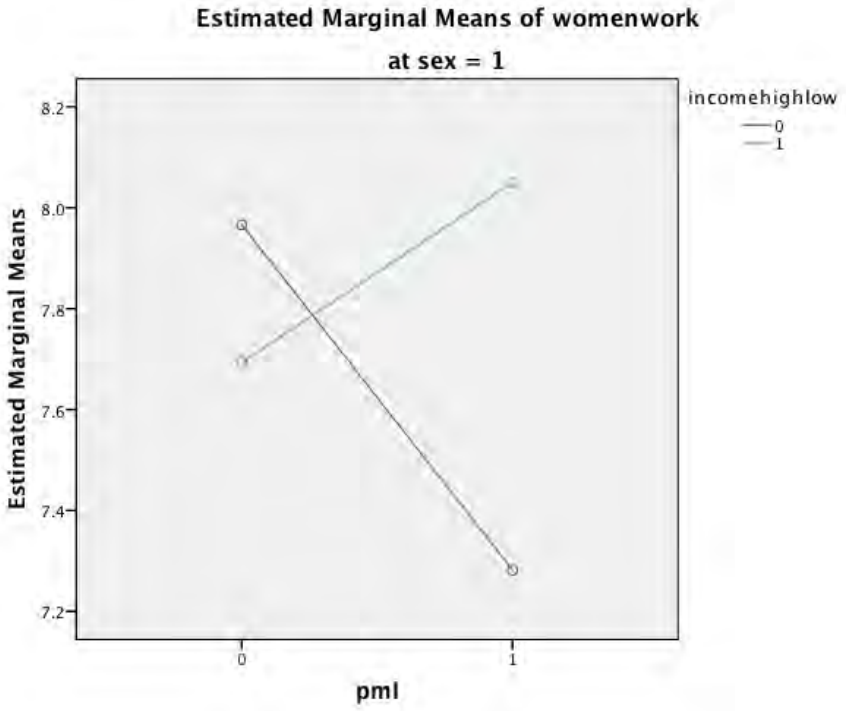
Demographics:

MARRIED	IS RESPONDENT MARRIED
CHILDS	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
KIDS	DOES RESPONDENT HAVE KIDS
AGE	AGE OF RESPONDENT
SEX	RESPONDENTS SEX
WHITE	IS RESPONDENT WHITE
DIVWKIDS	R IS DIVORCED WITH CHILDREN
NODEG_LOWINC	R HAS NO COLLEGE EXPERIENCE AND LOW INCOME
UNDER40	R IS UNDER 40
MARRWRKINGKIDS	R IS MARRIED, WORKING, AND HAS KIDS
LOWED_RW	R HAS NO COLLEGE EXPERIENCE AND IS RIGHT WING
MARRIED_RW	R IS MARRIED AND RIGHT WING

Cultural:

BORNINUS	WAS R BORNINUS IN THIS COUNTRY
PARBORNINUSINUS	WERE BOTH OF RS PARENTS BORNINUS IN THIS COUNTRY
RELIG2	IS R RELIGOUS
FUND2	IS R FUNDAMENTAL
CONS2	IS R CONSERVATIVE

Graph 1 and 2


Estimated Marginal Means of womenwork
at sex = 1
incomehighlow
0
1
Estimated Marginal Means
8.2
8.0
7.8
7.6
7.4
7.2
0
1
pmI

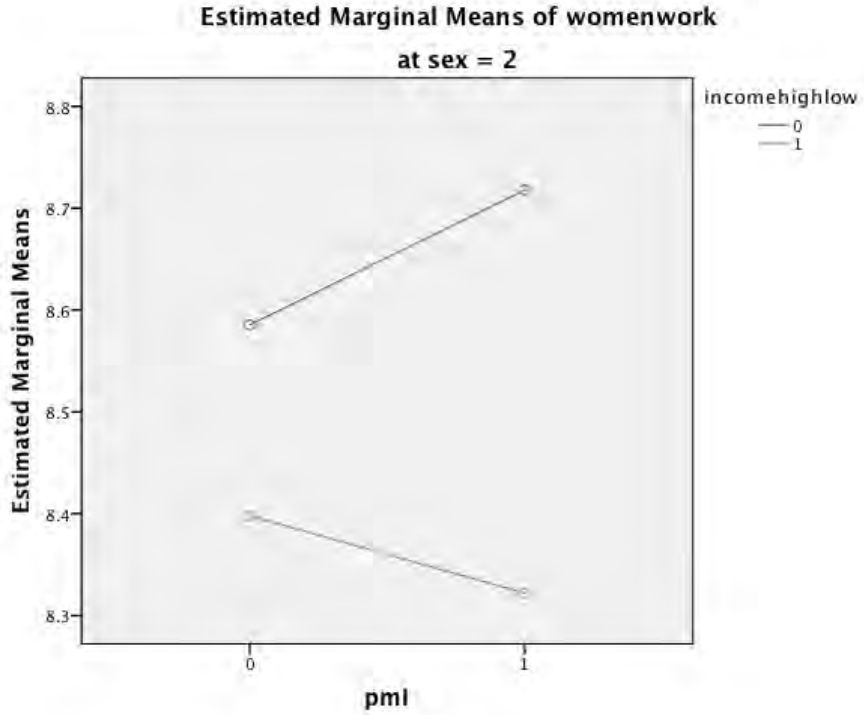

Estimated Marginal Means of womenwork
at sex = 2
incomehighlow
0
1
Estimated Marginal Means
8.8
8.7
8.6
8.5
8.4
8.3
0
1
pmI

Table 1: Basic Regressions

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork	(2) womenwork	(3) womenwork	(4) womenwork
womenwork				
pml	-0.132	-0.140	-0.157	-0.119
	(-1.154)	(-1.229)	(-1.393)	(-1.045)
age	-0.0228***	-0.0222***	-0.0223***	-0.0186***
	(-15.66)	(-15.14)	(-15.50)	(-12.05)
female	0.804***	0.818***	0.765***	0.846***
	(18.22)	(18.50)	(17.56)	(19.12)
income	0.0633***	0.0641***	0.0591***	0.0432***
	(6.172)	(6.255)	(5.853)	(4.099)
white	-0.175***	-0.177***	-0.116**	-0.184***
	(-3.092)	(-3.135)	(-2.063)	(-3.231)
childs	-0.0801***	-0.0778***	-0.0695***	-0.0777***
	(-5.333)	(-5.181)	(-4.694)	(-5.195)
married	-0.234***	-0.223***	-0.175***	-0.233***
	(-4.894)	(-4.665)	(-3.696)	(-4.891)
borninUS	-0.769***	-0.754***	-0.767***	-0.578***
	(-10.11)	(-9.903)	(-10.23)	(-5.055)
fundamental	-0.434***	-0.383***	-0.359***	-0.445***
	(-8.711)	(-7.440)	(-7.286)	(-8.938)
college	0.551***	0.552***	0.584***	0.518***
	(10.65)	(10.67)	(11.45)	(10.01)
religious		-0.251***		
		(-3.888)		
year	0.0313***	0.0305***	0.0314***	0.0334***
	(5.081)	(4.957)	(5.168)	(5.448)
conservative			-0.677***	
			(-14.93)	
parborninUS				0.255**
				(2.410)
working				0.402***
				(7.741)
Constant	-54.16***	-52.49***	-54.09***	-59.18***
	(-4.392)	(-4.258)	(-4.452)	(-4.815)
Observations	7,422	7,422	7,422	7,422
R-squared	0.136	0.138	0.161	0.144

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 2: PmlxReligion

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxreligious	-0.514**	-0.653**	-0.222
	(-2.042)	(-2.089)	(-0.536)
religious	-0.255***	-0.340***	-0.162*
	(-4.078)	(-4.133)	(-1.720)
pml	0.261	0.398	-0.0279
	(1.176)	(1.485)	(-0.0739)
age	-0.0266***	-0.0262***	-0.0275***
	(-20.27)	(-13.11)	(-15.67)
female	0.793***		
	(18.91)		
incomehigh	0.199***	0.0428	0.329***
	(4.034)	(0.585)	(4.901)
white	-0.117**	-0.202**	-0.0404
	(-2.200)	(-2.546)	(-0.563)
haskids	-0.00716	-0.138*	0.102
	(-0.136)	(-1.853)	(1.365)
married	-0.211***	-0.0124	-0.365***
	(-4.540)	(-0.182)	(-5.705)
borninUS	-0.817***	-0.770***	-0.864***
	(-11.59)	(-7.493)	(-8.944)
fundamental	-0.420***	-0.489***	-0.374***
	(-8.654)	(-6.839)	(-5.683)
college	0.591***	0.510***	0.655***
	(12.04)	(7.389)	(9.429)
year	0.0324***	0.0298***	0.0351***
	(5.591)	(3.563)	(4.390)
Constant	-55.66***	-49.40***	-59.62***
	(-4.793)	(-2.950)	(-3.724)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.136	0.117	0.111

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3: PmlxFundamental

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxfundamental	-0.105	0.0440	-0.197
	(-0.337)	(0.104)	(-0.436)
fundamental	-0.472***	-0.581***	-0.398***
	(-9.944)	(-8.336)	(-6.161)
pml	-0.109	-0.0553	-0.179
	(-0.934)	(-0.359)	(-1.030)
age	-0.0272***	-0.0270***	-0.0279***
	(-20.91)	(-13.53)	(-16.10)
female	0.777***		
	(18.57)		
incomehigh	0.197***	0.0429	0.327***
	(3.991)	(0.584)	(4.867)
white	-0.113**	-0.193**	-0.0383
	(-2.134)	(-2.426)	(-0.534)
haskids	-0.0196	-0.158**	0.0948
	(-0.372)	(-2.117)	(1.271)
married	-0.222***	-0.0250	-0.372***
	(-4.793)	(-0.364)	(-5.830)
borninUS	-0.837***	-0.807***	-0.871***
	(-11.86)	(-7.832)	(-9.014)
college	0.591***	0.510***	0.654***
	(12.02)	(7.363)	(9.414)
year	0.0333***	0.0312***	0.0356***
	(5.743)	(3.723)	(4.455)
Constant	-57.59***	-52.44***	-60.73***
	(-4.956)	(-3.122)	(-3.795)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.133	0.110	0.110

t-statistics in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4: PmlxConservative

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxconservative	-0.184	-0.333	0.0111
	(-0.816)	(-1.107)	(0.0333)
conservative	-0.674***	-0.707***	-0.647***
	(-15.61)	(-11.47)	(-10.77)
pml	-0.0959	0.00384	-0.221
	(-0.752)	(0.0229)	(-1.155)
age	-0.0266***	-0.0264***	-0.0273***
	(-20.70)	(-13.48)	(-15.89)
female	0.746***		
	(18.06)		
incomehigh	0.200***	0.0407	0.334***
	(4.112)	(0.566)	(5.038)
white	-0.0572	-0.103	-0.00413
	(-1.090)	(-1.319)	(-0.0583)
haskids	0.0172	-0.112	0.121
	(0.331)	(-1.522)	(1.638)
married	-0.175***	0.0312	-0.330***
	(-3.809)	(0.461)	(-5.226)
borninUS	-0.835***	-0.829***	-0.851***
	(-12.02)	(-8.210)	(-8.913)
fundamental	-0.401***	-0.522***	-0.320***
	(-8.622)	(-7.698)	(-5.017)
college	0.608***	0.557***	0.647***
	(12.54)	(8.180)	(9.416)
year	0.0331***	0.0304***	0.0357***
	(5.781)	(3.691)	(4.527)
Constant	-56.88***	-50.62***	-60.91***
	(-4.969)	(-3.071)	(-3.854)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.159	0.144	0.132

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5: PmlxSpouse Working

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxspouseworks	-0.484**	-0.757**	-0.280
	(-2.037)	(-2.171)	(-0.846)
spouseworks	0.352***	0.692***	0.0216
	(5.516)	(8.066)	(0.224)
pml	0.0103	0.117	-0.109
	(0.0818)	(0.735)	(-0.552)
age	-0.0256***	-0.0252***	-0.0279***
	(-19.21)	(-12.67)	(-15.33)
female	0.739***		
	(17.40)		
incomehigh	0.166***	-0.0161	0.324***
	(3.341)	(-0.220)	(4.797)
white	-0.121**	-0.173**	-0.0414
	(-2.274)	(-2.194)	(-0.576)
haskids	-0.0314	-0.157**	0.0934
	(-0.598)	(-2.124)	(1.245)
married	-0.410***	-0.334***	-0.379***
	(-7.008)	(-4.237)	(-4.295)
borninUS	-0.839***	-0.780***	-0.872***
	(-11.92)	(-7.640)	(-9.015)
fundamental	-0.476***	-0.568***	-0.403***
	(-10.15)	(-8.314)	(-6.283)
college	0.590***	0.531***	0.654***
	(12.01)	(7.728)	(9.396)
year	0.0343***	0.0339***	0.0356***
	(5.916)	(4.073)	(4.451)
Constant	-59.51***	-57.88***	-60.71***
	(-5.127)	(-3.474)	(-3.791)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.137	0.126	0.110

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6: PmlxMarried

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxmarried	-0.560***	-0.720**	-0.452
	(-2.650)	(-2.574)	(-1.432)
married	-0.199***	0.0117	-0.357***
	(-4.218)	(0.166)	(-5.506)
pml	0.146	0.302	0.00620
	(0.985)	(1.518)	(0.0282)
age	-0.0272***	-0.0269***	-0.0280***
	(-20.92)	(-13.53)	(-16.12)
female	0.778***		
	(18.59)		
incomehigh	0.193***	0.0375	0.325***
	(3.913)	(0.512)	(4.835)
white	-0.114**	-0.191**	-0.0403
	(-2.150)	(-2.408)	(-0.562)
haskids	-0.0206	-0.164**	0.0957
	(-0.392)	(-2.198)	(1.283)
borninUS	-0.834***	-0.802***	-0.870***
	(-11.83)	(-7.801)	(-9.004)
fundamental	-0.474***	-0.581***	-0.402***
	(-10.10)	(-8.446)	(-6.276)
college	0.592***	0.511***	0.655***
	(12.05)	(7.382)	(9.429)
year	0.0332***	0.0311***	0.0354***
	(5.718)	(3.716)	(4.434)
Constant	-57.29***	-52.27***	-60.39***
	(-4.931)	(-3.115)	(-3.774)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.134	0.112	0.110

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7: PmlxHaskids

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxhaskids	-0.305	-0.0264	-0.586
	(-1.326)	(-0.0895)	(-1.631)
haskids	-0.00682	-0.157**	0.115
	(-0.127)	(-2.055)	(1.525)
pml	0.0907	-0.0323	0.227
	(0.467)	(-0.133)	(0.730)
age	-0.0272***	-0.0270***	-0.0280***
	(-20.92)	(-13.54)	(-16.12)
female	0.777***		
	(18.56)		
incomehigh	0.196***	0.0428	0.327***
	(3.970)	(0.583)	(4.864)
white	-0.112**	-0.193**	-0.0366
	(-2.109)	(-2.425)	(-0.511)
married	-0.223***	-0.0253	-0.372***
	(-4.801)	(-0.368)	(-5.822)
borninUS	-0.835***	-0.807***	-0.871***
	(-11.84)	(-7.841)	(-9.013)
fundamental	-0.474***	-0.580***	-0.402***
	(-10.10)	(-8.418)	(-6.281)
college	0.591***	0.510***	0.650***
	(12.01)	(7.363)	(9.355)
year	0.0333***	0.0312***	0.0356***
	(5.740)	(3.723)	(4.450)
Constant	-57.57***	-52.43***	-60.65***
	(-4.954)	(-3.122)	(-3.791)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.133	0.110	0.110

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 8: PmlxMinority

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxwhite	0.407*	0.354	0.537
	(1.833)	(1.218)	(1.580)
white	-0.133**	-0.214***	-0.0602
	(-2.461)	(-2.635)	(-0.826)
pml	-0.388**	-0.269	-0.577**
	(-2.145)	(-1.165)	(-2.031)
age	-0.0272***	-0.0269***	-0.0279***
	(-20.88)	(-13.52)	(-16.08)
female	0.776***		
	(18.53)		
incomehigh	0.198***	0.0448	0.326***
	(3.999)	(0.611)	(4.853)
haskids	-0.0219	-0.160**	0.0916
	(-0.415)	(-2.137)	(1.229)
married	-0.221***	-0.0252	-0.370***
	(-4.770)	(-0.367)	(-5.791)
borninUS	-0.826***	-0.795***	-0.862***
	(-11.67)	(-7.689)	(-8.909)
fundamental	-0.476***	-0.580***	-0.405***
	(-10.13)	(-8.426)	(-6.319)
college	0.591***	0.508***	0.656***
	(12.01)	(7.329)	(9.434)
year	0.0332***	0.0310***	0.0356***
	(5.720)	(3.695)	(4.451)
Constant	-57.32***	-51.96***	-60.63***
	(-4.933)	(-3.094)	(-3.790)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.134	0.111	0.110

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 9: PmlxWorking

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxworking	0.0637	-0.126	0.191
	(0.280)	(-0.380)	(0.596)
working	0.424***	0.0688	0.631***
	(8.754)	(0.895)	(10.04)
pml	-0.176	0.0459	-0.342
	(-0.924)	(0.157)	(-1.356)
age	-0.0226***	-0.0262***	-0.0217***
	(-16.21)	(-11.78)	(-11.94)
female	0.828***		
	(19.70)		
incomehigh	0.118**	0.0309	0.207***
	(2.350)	(0.414)	(3.068)
white	-0.112**	-0.195**	-0.0286
	(-2.109)	(-2.457)	(-0.403)
haskids	-0.0378	-0.164**	0.0984
	(-0.722)	(-2.182)	(1.334)
married	-0.220***	-0.0288	-0.338***
	(-4.766)	(-0.419)	(-5.334)
borninUS	-0.845***	-0.812***	-0.851***
	(-12.03)	(-7.876)	(-8.896)
fundamental	-0.472***	-0.579***	-0.399***
	(-10.09)	(-8.413)	(-6.291)
college	0.548***	0.504***	0.577***
	(11.13)	(7.256)	(8.344)
year	0.0360***	0.0315***	0.0403***
	(6.221)	(3.755)	(5.089)
Constant	-63.39***	-53.08***	-70.73***
	(-5.471)	(-3.158)	(-4.460)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.141	0.111	0.129

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 10: PmlxIncome

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxrincomehigh	0.390	0.932***	-0.153
	(1.571)	(2.784)	(-0.420)
rincomehigh	-0.0361	-0.0993	0.00938
	(-0.738)	(-1.338)	(0.144)
pml	-0.409*	-0.771***	-0.0777
	(-1.873)	(-2.590)	(-0.245)
age	-0.0273***	-0.0268***	-0.0281***
	(-20.30)	(-13.28)	(-15.42)
female	0.765***		
	(18.21)		
white	-0.0924*	-0.178**	-0.0108
	(-1.745)	(-2.253)	(-0.151)
haskids	-0.0214	-0.149**	0.0765
	(-0.406)	(-1.996)	(1.025)
married	-0.169***	-0.0164	-0.266***
	(-3.792)	(-0.244)	(-4.421)
borninUS	-0.841***	-0.802***	-0.875***
	(-11.92)	(-7.795)	(-9.037)
fundamental	-0.482***	-0.584***	-0.410***
	(-10.26)	(-8.496)	(-6.392)
college	0.630***	0.522***	0.718***
	(12.89)	(7.587)	(10.40)
year	0.0350***	0.0325***	0.0377***
	(6.023)	(3.876)	(4.696)
Constant	-60.81***	-54.91***	-64.69***
	(-5.224)	(-3.270)	(-4.028)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.132	0.112	0.105

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 11: PmlxParents BorninUS in US

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxparborninUS2	0.296	0.574*	0.0231
	(1.325)	(1.943)	(0.0692)
pml	-0.284	-0.388	-0.190
	(-1.573)	(-1.632)	(-0.698)
parborninUS	0.286***	0.223	0.348**
	(2.893)	(1.568)	(2.534)
age	-0.0269***	-0.0268***	-0.0276***
	(-20.64)	(-13.43)	(-15.84)
female	0.778***		
	(18.61)		
incomehigh	0.198***	0.0426	0.329***
	(4.005)	(0.582)	(4.901)
white	-0.136**	-0.222***	-0.0581
	(-2.549)	(-2.763)	(-0.806)
haskids	-0.0239	-0.165**	0.0948
	(-0.455)	(-2.207)	(1.271)
married	-0.223***	-0.0241	-0.376***
	(-4.813)	(-0.352)	(-5.882)
borninUS	-0.586***	-0.590***	-0.582***
	(-5.563)	(-3.962)	(-3.938)
fundamental	-0.488***	-0.589***	-0.420***
	(-10.34)	(-8.529)	(-6.517)
college	0.589***	0.503***	0.656***
	(11.97)	(7.271)	(9.443)
year	0.0330***	0.0307***	0.0354***
	(5.684)	(3.659)	(4.434)
Constant	-57.39***	-51.74***	-60.97***
	(-4.942)	(-3.084)	(-3.812)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.135	0.112	0.111

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 12: PmlxDegree or No

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxcollege	0.477**	0.485	0.519
	(2.073)	(1.622)	(1.476)
pml	-0.268**	-0.209	-0.352*
	(-2.075)	(-1.195)	(-1.867)
college	0.570***	0.484***	0.635***
	(11.34)	(6.819)	(8.984)
age	-0.0273***	-0.0271***	-0.0280***
	(-20.96)	(-13.60)	(-16.13)
female	0.778***		
	(18.58)		
incomehigh	0.199***	0.0452	0.329***
	(4.028)	(0.617)	(4.894)
white	-0.112**	-0.194**	-0.0363
	(-2.114)	(-2.441)	(-0.506)
haskids	-0.0175	-0.157**	0.0988
	(-0.332)	(-2.105)	(1.324)
married	-0.224***	-0.0253	-0.374***
	(-4.822)	(-0.368)	(-5.860)
borninUS	-0.832***	-0.801***	-0.867***
	(-11.79)	(-7.788)	(-8.972)
fundamental	-0.475***	-0.581***	-0.403***
	(-10.11)	(-8.439)	(-6.287)
year	0.0333***	0.0312***	0.0356***
	(5.743)	(3.721)	(4.458)
Constant	-57.57***	-52.37***	-60.76***
	(-4.955)	(-3.120)	(-3.798)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.134	0.111	0.110

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 13: PmlxDivorced with haskids

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxdivwhaskids	0.327	1.214***	-0.381
	(1.148)	(3.099)	(-0.927)
pml	-0.201*	-0.264*	-0.156
	(-1.703)	(-1.690)	(-0.879)
divwhaskids	0.299***	-0.0500	0.529***
	(5.093)	(-0.558)	(6.780)
age	-0.0244***	-0.0244***	-0.0240***
	(-18.13)	(-11.88)	(-13.45)
female	0.795***		
	(19.14)		
incomehigh	0.154***	0.0378	0.250***
	(3.248)	(0.531)	(3.927)
white	-0.166***	-0.225***	-0.117
	(-3.135)	(-2.831)	(-1.643)
childs	-0.0967***	-0.0979***	-0.0907***
	(-7.025)	(-4.891)	(-4.784)
borninUS	-0.841***	-0.792***	-0.891***
	(-11.99)	(-7.748)	(-9.270)
fundamental	-0.467***	-0.566***	-0.404***
	(-9.973)	(-8.248)	(-6.324)
college	0.560***	0.488***	0.601***
	(11.40)	(7.073)	(8.643)
year	0.0340***	0.0316***	0.0359***
	(5.866)	(3.784)	(4.499)
Constant	-58.98***	-53.29***	-61.36***
	(-5.083)	(-3.184)	(-3.840)
Observations	8,417	3,710	4,707
R-squared	0.138	0.117	0.115

t-statistics in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 14: PmlxUneducated Poor

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxlowed/income	-0.569**	-0.603**	-0.571
	(-2.389)	(-1.968)	(-1.546)
pml	0.283	0.342	0.235
	(1.383)	(1.323)	(0.728)
lowed/income	-0.568***	-0.450***	-0.669***
	(-10.95)	(-6.197)	(-9.114)
age	-0.0251***	-0.0246***	-0.0257***
	(-18.52)	(-11.90)	(-14.24)
female	0.774***		
	(18.52)		
white	-0.112**	-0.222***	-0.0165
	(-2.099)	(-2.791)	(-0.230)
childs	-0.113***	-0.114***	-0.115***
	(-6.515)	(-4.385)	(-4.928)
haskids	0.215***	0.0755	0.323***
	(3.289)	(0.809)	(3.529)
married	-0.181***	-0.00574	-0.295***
	(-4.035)	(-0.0850)	(-4.883)
borninUS	-0.812***	-0.780***	-0.850***
	(-11.52)	(-7.596)	(-8.775)
fundamental	-0.475***	-0.572***	-0.408***
	(-10.12)	(-8.312)	(-6.356)
year	0.0339***	0.0310***	0.0368***
	(5.853)	(3.703)	(4.604)
Constant	-58.19***	-51.52***	-62.39***
	(-5.010)	(-3.075)	(-3.894)
Observations	8,417	3,710	4,707
R-squared	0.135	0.114	0.108

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 15: PmlxUnder 40

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxunder40	0.410*	0.260	0.597*
	(1.942)	(0.928)	(1.898)
pml	-0.333**	-0.183	-0.517**
	(-2.179)	(-0.903)	(-2.254)
under40	0.341***	0.199*	0.460***
	(4.838)	(1.941)	(4.754)
age	-0.0355***	-0.0320***	-0.0388***
	(-17.04)	(-10.20)	(-13.89)
female	0.780***		
	(18.67)		
incomehigh	0.182***	0.0385	0.300***
	(3.685)	(0.525)	(4.461)
white	-0.116**	-0.198**	-0.0366
	(-2.179)	(-2.488)	(-0.512)
haskids	-0.0267	-0.166**	0.0923
	(-0.507)	(-2.219)	(1.241)
married	-0.228***	-0.0256	-0.381***
	(-4.924)	(-0.374)	(-5.971)
borninUS	-0.824***	-0.802***	-0.851***
	(-11.70)	(-7.795)	(-8.832)
fundamental	-0.476***	-0.583***	-0.400***
	(-10.14)	(-8.465)	(-6.259)
college	0.585***	0.505***	0.650***
	(11.91)	(7.289)	(9.383)
year	0.0325***	0.0308***	0.0345***
	(5.605)	(3.673)	(4.323)
Constant	-55.72***	-51.45***	-58.19***
	(-4.800)	(-3.064)	(-3.645)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.136	0.112	0.115

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 16: PmlxMarried Working with Haskids

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxmarrwrkinghaskids	-0.523**	-0.682**	-0.349
	(-2.240)	(-2.291)	(-0.947)
pml	0.0120	0.143	-0.126
	(0.0939)	(0.822)	(-0.681)
marrwrkinghaskids	0.120**	-0.0106	0.254***
	(2.336)	(-0.147)	(3.442)
age	-0.0239***	-0.0245***	-0.0234***
	(-17.54)	(-11.72)	(-12.92)
female	0.809***		
	(19.33)		
incomehigh	0.0960**	0.0376	0.123*
	(1.965)	(0.515)	(1.872)
white	-0.174***	-0.221***	-0.134*
	(-3.280)	(-2.778)	(-1.876)
childs	-0.0928***	-0.0928***	-0.0847***
	(-6.562)	(-4.388)	(-4.417)
borninUS	-0.861***	-0.789***	-0.920***
	(-12.23)	(-7.685)	(-9.525)
fundamental	-0.469***	-0.564***	-0.397***
	(-9.997)	(-8.215)	(-6.198)
college	0.550***	0.495***	0.609***
	(11.17)	(7.172)	(8.729)
year	0.0345***	0.0315***	0.0370***
	(5.947)	(3.760)	(4.618)
Constant	-60.00***	-52.97***	-63.42***
	(-5.162)	(-3.161)	(-3.954)
Observations	8,417	3,710	4,707
R-squared	0.136	0.116	0.108

t-statistics in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 17: PmlxUneducated Right Wing

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxlowed_rw	-0.458**	-0.457	-0.508
	(-1.980)	(-1.514)	(-1.439)
pml	0.260	0.332	0.215
	(1.340)	(1.328)	(0.714)
lowed_rw	-0.624***	-0.557***	-0.677***
	(-12.42)	(-7.827)	(-9.584)
age	-0.0275***	-0.0275***	-0.0281***
	(-21.01)	(-13.67)	(-16.13)
female	0.768***		
	(18.25)		
incomehigh	0.218***	0.0754	0.340***
	(4.392)	(1.019)	(5.047)
white	-0.0244	-0.115	0.0515
	(-0.464)	(-1.444)	(0.729)
haskids	-0.0477	-0.172**	0.0602
	(-0.903)	(-2.281)	(0.806)
borninUS	-0.734***	-0.694***	-0.780***
	(-10.44)	(-6.729)	(-8.126)
married	-0.241***	-0.0595	-0.384***
	(-5.169)	(-0.860)	(-5.987)
year	0.0332***	0.0305***	0.0357***
	(5.679)	(3.599)	(4.454)
Constant	-56.89***	-50.67***	-60.58***
	(-4.867)	(-2.990)	(-3.771)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.123	0.094	0.103

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 18: PmlxMarried Right Wing

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxmarried_rw	-0.558***	-0.701**	-0.456
	(-2.624)	(-2.485)	(-1.438)
pml	0.210	0.368*	0.0642
	(1.406)	(1.831)	(0.292)
married_rw	-0.217***	-0.0235	-0.366***
	(-4.565)	(-0.333)	(-5.631)
age	-0.0275***	-0.0273***	-0.0281***
	(-20.97)	(-13.60)	(-16.13)
female	0.768***		
	(18.26)		
incomehigh	0.213***	0.0679	0.336***
	(4.279)	(0.919)	(4.988)
white	-0.0264	-0.112	0.0474
	(-0.501)	(-1.412)	(0.671)
haskids	-0.0507	-0.179**	0.0572
	(-0.960)	(-2.370)	(0.767)
borninUS	-0.736***	-0.694***	-0.783***
	(-10.48)	(-6.739)	(-8.158)
college	0.646***	0.582***	0.697***
	(13.13)	(8.395)	(10.03)
year	0.0330***	0.0304***	0.0356***
	(5.654)	(3.594)	(4.430)
Constant	-57.23***	-51.12***	-60.88***
	(-4.897)	(-3.019)	(-3.789)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.124	0.095	0.103

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 19: PmlxReligious Right

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxreligiousright	-0.460**	-0.607*	-0.279
	(-1.992)	(-1.904)	(-0.838)
pml	-0.0165	0.0547	-0.120
	(-0.130)	(0.331)	(-0.614)
religiousright	-0.631***	-0.751***	-0.540***
	(-14.87)	(-12.26)	(-9.208)
age	-0.0264***	-0.0259***	-0.0273***
	(-20.40)	(-13.14)	(-15.78)
female	0.768***		
	(18.49)		
incomehigh	0.207***	0.0597	0.334***
	(4.223)	(0.824)	(5.005)
white	-0.0866*	-0.139*	-0.0283
	(-1.661)	(-1.789)	(-0.401)
haskids	0.00915	-0.124*	0.117
	(0.175)	(-1.682)	(1.576)
married	-0.191***	0.0174	-0.350***
	(-4.154)	(0.257)	(-5.500)
borninUS	-0.875***	-0.885***	-0.883***
	(-12.52)	(-8.692)	(-9.223)
college	0.605***	0.545***	0.655***
	(12.45)	(8.014)	(9.501)
year	0.0343***	0.0317***	0.0369***
	(5.964)	(3.823)	(4.634)
Constant	-59.51***	-53.19***	-63.14***
	(-5.162)	(-3.207)	(-3.966)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.147	0.133	0.119

t-statistics in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 20: PmlxBorninUS in US

VARIABLES	(1) womenwork All	(2) womenwork Men	(3) womenwork Women
womenwork			
pmlxborninUS	-0.278	-0.473	-0.131
	(-1.165)	(-1.515)	(-0.361)
borninUS	-0.813***	-0.759***	-0.862***
	(-11.08)	(-7.040)	(-8.627)
pml	0.232	0.560	-0.0424
	(0.717)	(1.309)	(-0.0876)
age	-0.0272***	-0.0270***	-0.0279***
	(-20.89)	(-13.53)	(-16.09)
female	0.777***		
	(18.56)		
incomehigh	0.196***	0.0411	0.326***
	(3.966)	(0.560)	(4.857)
white	-0.116**	-0.197**	-0.0397
	(-2.173)	(-2.478)	(-0.553)
haskids	-0.0204	-0.159**	0.0938
	(-0.388)	(-2.121)	(1.258)
married	-0.222***	-0.0237	-0.372***
	(-4.775)	(-0.346)	(-5.823)
fundamental	-0.474***	-0.581***	-0.402***
	(-10.09)	(-8.434)	(-6.274)
college	0.590***	0.507***	0.654***
	(11.99)	(7.314)	(9.409)
year	0.0333***	0.0312***	0.0356***
	(5.736)	(3.714)	(4.454)
		-	-
Constant	-57.54***	-52.31***	-60.72***
	(-4.951)	(-3.116)	(-3.794)
Observations	8,438	3,719	4,719
R-squared	0.133	0.111	0.110

t-statistics in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1