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The Impact of the Decision to be Childfree in Family-Friendly America

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Abstract

The topic of diversity and inclusion has garnered increased interest over the past decade, with 78% of executives listing the topics as critical initiatives (Forbes, 2011). One group that has received little attention but continues to be stigmatized is the childfree population, or those individuals who deliberately choose not to have children. Previous research has examined opinions of this group generally and in the workplace, specifically, but this research frequently considers childfree and childless people under the same umbrella. This study examined ratings of the childfree in the workplace compared to childless adults as well as to parents. The potential efficacy of inclusion policy statements, as well as their impact on implicit reactions, were also investigated. Results generally support findings in previous research such that childfree adults are more likely to be seen as deviating from societal expectations and are also seen as less warm than are their counterparts with children. Encouragingly, these results do not suggest any differential impact on work-related perceptions, including dedication to work, competence, and promotability. Implications for research and practice as well as suggestions for future study are incorporated.

*Keywords*: childfree, children, parent, inclusion, diversity, stigma, gender, implicit attitudes

The Public Consequences of a Personal Choice:

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Few topics garner as much attention and interest from upper level management in today's work world as diversity and inclusion initiatives (Bourke, Smith, Stockton, & Wakefield, 2014; Forbes, 2011). In a survey of 321 executives from large corporations like Mattel, L'Oreal, and AT & T, 78% suggested they planned to put more focus on diversity and inclusion initiatives over the next three years (Forbes, 2011). While often used interchangeably, diversity and inclusion are actually two different concepts: diversity refers to the representation of various groups and cultures within the organization, whereas inclusion relates to the experience within the organization (Ferdman, 2013). Taken together, diversity and inclusion initiatives have the potential to produce significant benefits for the organization by creating a range of ideas and experiences (Brief, 2008; Early & Mosakowski, 2000; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Furthermore, social exclusion has been linked to negative organizational performance as well as aggressive behaviors (Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001).

Whereas diversity and inclusion initiatives are commonly discussed in reference to race and gender, this research explores a lesser known subgroup: coupled adults who have chosen to not procreate, also known as the "childfree." This paper explores the childfree choice, discussing elements of the stigma they face, consequences for this group both in society and the workplace, and finally, how inclusion initiatives could potentially be expanded. This study expands on previous research on stigmatized groups and

inclusion initiatives, incorporating childfree workers with these efforts.  A discussion of

the extant literature and hypothesized relationships follows.

**Understanding the Childfree Choice**

Recent census reports consistently confirm that adults are waiting until later in life

to have children (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002).  It is becoming increasingly more common,

however, to forego having children entirely (Basten, 2009).  These individuals, often self-

titled the "childfree," are representative of a relatively recent trend that was quick to

develop in many Western European nations, but has only become a larger subgroup in the

U.S. in the past two decades (Sandler, 2013; Siegel, 2013).  Historically, adults without

children typically fell into one of two categories: couples who could not have children

biologically (e.g., infertility) and single adults who did not have children because they

were not married (Cain, 2001).  Today, the inability to have children may still lead to

child*less* adults, as can difficulty finding the right partner, or marrying later in life, but it

is becoming more and more common to remain child*free* (even when coupled) by choice.

Studies conducted by the Pew Research Center found that one in five American women

will now end their lives without having borne a child, whereas this figure was one in ten

in the early 1970s (Pew, 2010).

The feasibility of the childfree choice by heterosexual couples is unequivocally

possible due to the availability of effective birth control (Barnett & MacDonald, 1986).

Indeed, the percentage of American women in their early 40s who currently do not have

children has increased 30% in the past 30 years since birth control became available (U.S.

Census Bureau, 2002).  Birth control may have facilitated the movement, but it is also

important to understand why couples are making this choice with greater frequency.

More specifically, the availability of an effective method to prevent unintended

pregnancy does not explain why couples capable of supporting children are increasingly

choosing not to do so.  Primary motivations for the childfree choice stem from either a

"push away from parenthood," or a "pull toward freedom," (Basten, 2009).  Thus, some

individuals may experience negative thought patterns or experiences related to

parenthood as a result of early life with young siblings, current friends with children, or

destructive relationships with their own parents (push away).  Conversely, others may

simply enjoy the lives they lead that offer a freedom to travel and lack of the financial

burden of children (pull toward).  Indeed, the financial cost of having children is perhaps

the most striking factor for many.  Current figures from the U.S. Department of

Agriculture suggest it costs approximately $241,080 to raise one child in the United

States today (USDA, 2013).  Though this number is an approximation (and there are

certainly families spending much less), it is an average including everything from

prenatal care through high school graduation.  Notably, this figure does not include

college tuition.

Others making the childfree choice cite emerging concerns for the environment

and over-population of the earth as motivating forces.  These individuals base their

decision on the use of resources to raise a child and the strain this places on the

ecosystem (Cain, 2001; Park, 2002).  Early champions of this movement trace back

several decades to the Zero Population Growth (ZPG) group founded by Paul Ehrlich in

1968.  This organization strives to educate others of the consequences of continued

growth: "Rapid population growth consumes forests and agricultural land, contributes to

wildlife extinction, increases pollution and waste, exacerbates climate change, heightens

competition for scarce resources, multiplies urban problems, contributes to economic and

political instability, and threatens the health and welfare of present and future

generations" (Zero Population Growth in Cain, 2001). It is the profound belief of the

environmentally childfree that their decision is the *least* selfish act (Cain, 2001).

Individuals making the childfree choice will also commonly cite the career

disruption caused by a child (Dever & Saugeres, 2004). Finally, in a study conducted by

Dever and Saugeres, both men and women with long-term partners cited the potential of

children to similarly reduce the quality of their relationship in addition to their careers.

Despite the reasons listed, childfree adults, particularly when in heterosexual, long-term

relationships, are seen as deviating from social norms and may face stigma as a result of

this choice (Basten, 2009; Veevers, 1973).

**The Roots of Childfree Stigma**

The term stigma is a relatively widely used, but often misunderstood term (Link,

Phelan, & Hatzenbuehler, 2014). Whereas it was initially defined as the reaction to any

attribute or group that is seen as going against the typical expectations for one's cultural

group (Goffman, 1963), the definition has since expanded. Current conceptualizations

stress the multi-faceted nature of stigma as the convergence of four main concepts (Link

et al., 2014). First, stigma relates to something that is labeled as different. Second, this

attribute connotes an undesirable stereotype. Third, the presence of this different and

negative element can be used to separate one group from another. And fourth, as a result

of the separation from the group, the stigmatized group faces loss of status and potential

discrimination. Ultimately, "We apply the term stigma when elements of labeling,

stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination co-occur in a power situation that allows them to unfold," (Link and Phelan, 2001 in Link et al., 2014).

The pages that follow will illustrate how childfree adults are labeled as different, stereotyped, separated from their parent counterparts, and face potential loss of status and description as a result of their personal choice. Looking at the childfree through the stigma lens provides a framework through which negative social and professional consequences may occur.

The tendency to raise at least one child has clear biological and evolutionary as well as deeply historical ties which have persisted for centuries to create a tangible sense of deviation from social norms as it relates to childfree adults.  One of the most persistent elements related to this stigma is the classification of the United States (along with other Western nations) as a pronatal culture (Polit, 1978).  This term refers to those societies that encourage and reinforce procreation either overtly through words and actions or tacitly through social programs.  Though the U.S. continues to be classified as pronatal, the origin of this pronatalism is likely attributable to a need by early settlers to expand the nation and/or by immigrants to continue to build community (Coontz, 1992; Mintz, 2004).  In colonial times, children were also used as field laborers and subject to high infant mortality rates; thus, having more children both increased the likelihood of survival as well as facilitated farming (Ameristat, 2003; Mintz, 2004). Finally, having children was seen as a mechanism to ensure economic survival and transmission of property from one generation to the next (Hird & Abshoff, 2000).

This notion is further supported by consistent findings regarding normative family size.  Early research in this area suggested a normative family size of two to four children

(Polit, 1978) such that those with fewer than two children were viewed less positively.

Those with six to eight children, however, were glorified during this time period (1970s;

Polit, 1978).  Whereas the need to have many children to work in fields and to protect

against infant mortality fortunately has dissipated, social norms still dictate the

importance of the traditional family structure.  Recent research in this area does suggest

slight movement in that those with one child were not viewed significantly differently

than those with two, but those without any children were still seen in a negative light

(Mueller & Yoder, 1997).

The consistent majority preference for parents over non-parents is no more

obvious than when studying elements of the political process. First, family lobbying and

family protection programs were once largely Republican territory, used by pundits to

win over a conservative right.  Since the Clinton era, however, political debates and

electoral campaigns have been replete with child-friendly slogans and family-friendly

advocacy on both sides (Burkett, 2000).  Interests of childfree adults have been

consistently absent in this political discourse in nearly all relevant areas (e.g., college

tuition waivers, school vouchers, health care, etc.; Burkett, 2000).  Second, some of the

strongest evidence for continuing pronatalism in our culture comes from the tax benefits

given to those that have children compared to those who do not.  In any given year,

parents receive tax deductions for any dependents they may have and can earn tax credits

for childcare (IRS, 2013).  These deductions are on top of already federal and state-

sponsored education and, more recently, the prospect of school vouchers to send their

children to a school of their choice (including private and parochial institutions; Gill,

Timpane, Ross, Brewer, & Booker, 2007).

Family-friendly public policy advocates may dodge this issue, but some are more direct. Ben Wattenberg of the American Enterprise Institute went so far as to say that "People who have no children… are in a sense, cheating the system" (in Burkett, 2000). He saw these tax incentives as a way to penalize individuals for not having children, which decreases the birthrate of the United States. The underlying issue here becomes the availability of tax credits based on personal choice: there is little tolerance for tax credits based on other personal choices (geographical region, personal dress/wardrobe). Because it is now possible to choose whether or not to have a child, the continued efforts of pundits from both sides to provide them "for the family" can be seen as proof-positive that our society prioritizes the choice to have children when compared to other life choices.

Adults without children are thus labeled as different from others from the majority who do have children, and childfree adults take this one step further. Because they are seen as intentionally making a decision that goes against the habits and practices of the majority of other coupled adults, this decision offends the belief systems of the majority, resulting in negative views of the childfree person's identity (Rubington & Weinberg, 2005). It is expected that adults without children will be seen as more deviant when compared to parents, and, furthermore, that childfree adults will be seen as more deviant than will childless adults.

*Hypothesis 1: Adults without children will be seen as more deviant than will parents.*

*Hypothesis 2: Childfree adults will be seen as more deviant than will childless adults.*

**Cold, Selfish, and Deviant: Perceptions of the Childfree**

In addition to a perceived difference between childfree adults and the majority, the majority views of the childfree tend to be overwhelmingly negative. Indeed, one such summation of these individuals suggests they are viewed as "unhappily married, psychologically maladjusted, emotionally immature, materialistic, career-driven, selfish, lonely, unhappy, and misguided in their choice to remain childless" (Lampan & Dowling-Guyer, 1995 in Gentzler, 2011). Additionally, critics of this lifestyle often see childfree adults as individuals who have always disliked children (Park, 2002; Shehan & Kammeyer, 1997). These attitudes are not consistent with surveys of childfree adults, the majority of whom report spending time with friends' and relatives' children and indicated they may have wanted children earlier in their lives (Letherby, 2002; Park, 2002; Reed, 2008; Shehan & Kammeyer, 1997). It is this perceived dislike for children (which is present in only some of the childfree population; Cain, 2001) that is seen as most socially deviant. As a result, childfree adults regularly refrain from voicing negative opinions of children openly (Cain, 2001).

Critics may also attribute a selfish motivation to those who choose not to have children (Cain, 2001; Gillespie, 2000; Letherby, 2002; Park, 2002). Childfree adults are perceived to prioritize their own personal interests and desires over the desires of their family (parents, siblings) or a perceived need for the benefit of society. Again, this appears inconsistent when paired with research done on childfree adults who may be very active volunteers and engage in social activities within their surrounding communities (Cain, 2001; Reed, 2008). It also ignores the viewpoints offered by those refraining from procreation for environmental reasons. These messages can be internalized by those

making the childfree choice (Dever & Saugeres, 2004). Indeed, research on stigmas like

the childfree choice suggest those with concealable stigmas are more prone to assuming

they are alone and without similar others (Frable, 1993; Quinn, 2005).

Previous research typically delineates personality characteristics into facets. For

example, the Stereotype Content Model suggests that individuals are viewed along two

continua: warmth and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Koropeckyj and

colleagues (2007) used a three-dimensional structure consisting of warmth, agency (or

drive), and negative emotionality. Given the particular tendency in this literature to

portray childfree individuals as selfish and unlikeable, this research will also address

those two attributes specifically.

*Hypothesis 3: Childfree adults will be rated more highly negative emotionality, and*

*selfishness, but less highly on warmth and likeability.*

*Hypothesis 4: Perceived deviance will mediate the relationship between parent status*

*and personality ratings.*

These negative stereotypes of the childfree suggest they may also face real

consequences when evaluated on a variety of dimensions, and, further, feel excluded

from their larger group. Personality research has expanded from more traditional

components like those listed above to also include "darker" personality traits (Wille, De

Fruyt, & De Clercq, 2013). The most common of these are Machiavellianism,

narcissism, and psychopathy, collectively referred to as the Dark Triad (Paulhus &

Williams, 2002; Wille et al., 2013). These traits have their roots in clinical psychology,

but in certain contexts do not necessarily lead to severely impaired functioning (Wu &

LeBreton, 2011). Indeed, some research suggests that elevated levels of these traits can

lead to benefits in areas of one's life, positively relating to final selection decisions and self-rated competency scores (De Fruyt et al., 2009; Wu & LeBreton, 2011). These findings yielded recent interest within the Industrial-Organizational Psychology literature.

Prior research has examined how the childfree are rated on some variables like warmth, but has yet to expand this to more aberrant traits. Whereas there are multiple possible aberrant traits, this research seeks to integrate a select few that may be more relevant to this population. First, antisocial personality, typically referred to as psychopathy in organizational research, is a pervasive pattern of lack of concern for others as well as common social regulations (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Childfree adults are generally assumed to be selfish and regarded as deviating from social norms. As such, these tendencies are likely to result in higher ratings for perceived psychopathy when compared to parents. Second, narcissism refers to a feeling of entitlement or belief that one should receive special treatment without related effort. Whereas childfree adults may be rated higher on psychopathy by deviating from social norms, they may be rated more highly on narcissism as well by failing to procreate and contribute to the perceived benefit of society (Burkett, 2000).

*Hypothesis 5: Childfree adults will be rated more highly on aberrant traits (antisocial, narcissism) than will parents.*

Other aberrant traits have been studied in previous research (e.g., borderline tendencies, obsessive-compulsive behaviors), but they are not expected to be perceived as related to one's decision to parent or remain childfree. Whereas previous research suggests childfree adults will be rated as less likeable and warm and more selfish, this

research will also employ advances in studying implicit attitudes to add to our

understanding of childfree stigma.

**Implicit Reactions to the Childfree Choice**

Interest in implicit attitude research has growth exponentially in the past two

decades largely for its incremental predictive utility in conjunction with explicit ratings

(Bargh, 1999; Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Fazio, 1990).  In general, implicit attitudes are

evaluative beliefs that are automatic in nature and can be outside of an individual's

awareness (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).  In contrast to traditional explicit scales, implicit

scales allow the researcher to understand participant reactions to concepts that either are

not processed in conscious awareness or are socially sensitive, rendering them unlikely to

be responded to honestly (e.g., race and gender stereotypes; Hoffman, Gawronski,

Goshwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005).  Additionally, implicit attitudes have been shown to

predict different outcomes when compared to explicit attitudes (Bargh, 1999; Dovidio &

Fazio, 1992; Fazio, 1990).  The *Motivation and Opportunity as Determinants of*

*Processing* (MODE) model explains that implicit attitudes should be more predictive of

automatic behaviors.  Automatic behaviors refer to actions displayed when people lack

the motivation or opportunity to process them.  Conversely, explicit attitudes should be

more predictive of controlled, thought-out behaviors (Fazio, 1990).  For example,

Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, and Howard (1997) found that explicit racial

attitudes were more highly related with explicit evaluations of a black interviewer, but

implicit attitudes better predicted spontaneous behaviors like nonverbal actions and eye

contact.

Previous research on the topic of childfree adults has consistently shown negative

explicit reactions to these individuals, but there is some evidence to suggest that this

overt negativity could be changing (Koropeckyj-Cox & Pendell, 2007). The present

research seeks to integrate the implicit attitudes literature with that concerning childfree

adults.  Should explicit attitudes toward the childfree be changing due in large part to

their increasing prevalence in society, it is possible that implicit attitudes may tell a more

complete story.  Finally, implicit attitudes may also be more predictive of spontaneous

responses to the childfree when compared to explicit attitudes from the same participants.

*Hypothesis 6: Childfree adults will be evaluated more negatively using implicit methods*

*than will parents.*

*Hypothesis 7A: Implicit ratings will be predictive of spontaneous responses to questions*

*about the target.*

*Hypothesis 7B: Explicit ratings will be predictive of deliberate, explicit responses to*

*questions about the target.*

**Go Forth and Multiply: Conservatism and the Childfree**

Childfree men and women tend to be viewed more negatively than are parents,

but this is especially true for perceivers indicating adherence to a traditional religious

group and conservative ideologies (Blake, 1979; Gillespie, 2000; Halford, 2006; Heaton,

Jacobson, & Fu, 1992; Hook, 2012; Pearce, 2004; Rovi, 1994).  The United States is

classified as a predominantly Christian nation, with more than 50% of respondents

indicating a Christian-based religion (e.g., Protestant, Catholic; Pew Research, 2013).  A

primary tenant of traditional Christian denominations includes the obligation to welcome

children and to raise them according to your faith.  For example, in a Catholic wedding

ceremony, it is common practice to pledge (and for congregants to witness) to bear

children and raise them Catholic (Catechism #1631).  The likely motivation behind these

practices is similar to the need by early settlers to reproduce—having children represents

a reliable method for bringing in more members to the community that you can ensure

share the same initial ideals (Reissman, 2000).  The impact is also similar—childfree

adults are seen as intentionally deviating from this aim, thus denying the Church its

future disciples.

Previous research has found that, when compared directly, those indicating

Christian affiliation rated intentionally childless women more negatively than did those

without a Christian affiliation (Hook, 2012).  Expanded to additional religious groups,

those indicating no affiliation or affiliation with less conservative groups were more

likely to have positive views of the childfree lifestyle than those indicating Baptist or

Jewish affiliation (Koropeckyj-Cox & Pendell, 2007).  Individuals who indicate a more

traditional or conservative perspective should be more likely to make negative

evaluations of the childfree lifestyle.

*Hypothesis 8: Conservatism will be negatively related to ratings of parent status such*

*that those indicating strongly conservative viewpoints will rate childfree individuals more*

*negatively than will those indicating more liberal views.*

**Childfree Individuals in the Workplace**

Whereas interpersonal characteristics perceived of childfree adults generally trend

to negative, these same findings may not be necessarily true for childfree adults in the

workplace.  Indeed, prior research on childfree adults has demonstrated that they are

more likely to be seen as professionally driven than their peers with children

(Koropeckyj-Cox, Romano, & Moaras, 2007).  Even if they do have alternative

motivations for the childfree choice like concern for the environment, perceivers may see

the choice as a sacrifice for the one's career, greatly increasing perceived dedication to

that career.

Perceived dedication to the company is only one of many determinants impacting

how individuals are perceived at work (Serkownek, 2012).  Also integral is the degree to

which he/she is seen as competent in the current role.  The majority of research on adults

without children suggests they are viewed as lacking warmth, but findings also suggest

they are assumed to be competent (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Halford, 2006).  The extant

literature is unclear as to whether childfree adults are assumed to be *more* competent than

are parents.  For example, previous research has found that childless men are rated as

being similarly competent to fathers, whereas childless women are presumed to be more

competent than are mothers ("mommy effect"; Cuddy et al., 2004).  Notably, this

research compared adults with and without children, rather than specifically adults who

were childfree by choice. Similar results are expected here.

*Hypothesis 9a: Childfree adults will be rated more highly on perceived dedication and*

*perceived competence than will parents.*

*Hypothesis 9b: Childfree adults will be rated more highly on perceived dedication and*

*perceived competence than will childless adults.*

Perceived dedication and competence both reflect evaluations of an individual in

his/her current role, but organizations are also interested in the potential readiness of an

individual for promotion (Jawahar & Ferris, 2011).  In a longitudinal study evaluating

determinants of promotability, Jawahar and Ferris (2011) found that both judgments of

task performance and contextual performance were integral in predicting these ratings. In this study, contextual performance was operationalized using two dimensions: job dedication and interpersonal facilitation. Their research drew on prior studies which suggest that contextual performance is incrementally influential in impacting performance evaluations beyond traditional task performance (MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Fetter, 1993; Motowidlo & Van Scott, 1994; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bacharach, 2000; Van Scotter & Motowidlo, 1996). Ultimately, Jawahar and Ferris found that both contextual performance and task performance not only influenced promotability ratings, but interacted such that promotability ratings were highest when both dimensions were optimal. Additionally, the job dedication dimension explained 9% of the variance in promotability ratings, whereas interpersonal facilitation and task performance each explained 3%. This may be positive news for childfree adults because their dedication and competence are often evaluated favorably as previously discussed.

Evaluations of interpersonal facilitation, conversely, may prove more troublesome. Interpersonal facilitation refers to the degree to which someone is seen as helpful and cooperative to others (Jawahar & Ferris, 2011; Van Scotter & Motowidlo, 1996). Should childfree adults be perceived as less warm and more selfish, this could have direct impact on evaluations of interpersonal facilitation. Additionally, because social exclusion may be a common experience for stigmatized groups, childfree adults may be less proximal to some parties in the organization who would observe this collaboration.

*Hypothesis 10: Childfree adults will be rated more negatively on interpersonal facilitation than will parents.*

Finally, the construct of engagement is very popular in organizations today. Engagement refers to a positive work-related state that is characterized by energy, dedication, and absorption in work (Schaufeli, Salanova, Gonzalez-Roma, & Bakker, 2002). It is highly regarded in industry for its powerful impact on performance indicators as well as turnover (Innanen, Tolvanen, & Salmela-Aro, 2014). Engaged employees display positive attitudes about their work through enthusiasm and commitment, and this can result in optimal levels of performance while avoiding work addiction or burnout (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1992; Bakker & Demerouti, 2008). Engagement has permeated popular business press as well: Gallup's State of the Global Workforce assesses average employee engagement annually. Most recently, they reported that only 30% of the United States' workforce is engaged with their jobs (Gallup, 2014). Whereas this is higher than the global average of 13%, organizations are still highly interested in increasing their engagement (Gallup, 2013). Work units in the top quarter of engagement scores performed better than those in the bottom quarter on all metrics collected including turnover, customer ratings, productivity, and profitability.

Whereas there are many factors companies can rely on to increase the engagement of their workers, one primary influence on levels of engagement is the presence of friends in the workplace (Riordan, 2013). Indeed, Gallup polls agree that close work friendships can increase satisfaction with work by more than 50% and the likelihood of engagement with work more than seven times (Gallup, 2013). The reason why a friendship network at work is so highly related to engagement is it provides a sense of identity as well as a support network within one's environment (Riordan, 2013). This makes it more comfortable to voice creative ideas and take risks and increases the likelihood that you

will want to stay in the organization for an extended career.  Childfree workers, however, may be less likely to form these workplace relationships given the tendency of stigma to result in social exclusion.  In a study comparing the social network structures of voluntarily childless couples to couples with children, Wagner, Wrzus, Neyer, and Lang (2013) found that the social networks of childfree adults are distinguishably different from those with children. More specifically childfree adults, particularly women, were less likely to have ties to adults with children.  Given their minority status in society as well as the workplace, this could result in smaller numbers of friends within the workplace as well.  The contention of this research is not that childfree workers are necessarily less engaged, but it is possible that the restricted social network and potential social exclusion may make them appear as such.

*Hypothesis 11: Childfree adults will be rated more negatively on perceived engagement than will parents.*

**Another Glass Ceiling or a Broken Barrier**

Perceptions of childfree workers may be mixed, but one important variable that could impact these perceptions is the gender of the childfree worker.  Previous research comparing childfree men and women in general has yielded mixed results.  These studies suggest childfree women and men may be evaluated similarly (Halford, 2006; Lampan & Dowling-Geyer, 1995) or that women may be evaluated more negatively (Jamison et al., 1979).  Childfree women may face additional scrutiny than may childfree men as a result of traditional gender role expectations, particularly with regard to personality-related variables discussed earlier.  Whereas both men and women are seen as intentionally violating the societal expectation of having children and likely face reduction in

perceived warmth as a result, women are further seen as deviating from a cornerstone of their prescribed gender role. Feminist movements have championed the ability of women to succeed at work as well as at home, but women are seen as deficient or failing one of their key roles if children are not included (Gillespie, 2000). Relatedly, self-centeredness, one of the traits commonly assigned to childfree individuals, is classified as a "proscriptive" trait for women (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). Proscriptive traits refer to a list of elements that one should *not* be, contrasted with prescriptive traits, or what one *should* be. This trait was not found, however, to be proscriptive for men.

*Hypothesis 12: Gender will moderate the relationship between parent status and personality ratings such that childfree women will be rated more highly on negative emotionality and selfishness, but less highly on warmth and likeability, whereas this relationship will be weaker for men.*

Indeed, women are taught from a young age that they are now able to "have it all," implicitly suggesting that the lack of children is less than whole (Hewlett, 2002). The actual ability to have it all is debatable, but women who refrain from having children are often seen as childlike, unfeminine, or inappropriate (Gillespie, 2002; Letherby, 2002; Park, 2002). Furthermore, fatherhood is less central to the masculine identity than is motherhood to the feminine identity (White, 1994). Traditional expectations of men are more threatened by other deviations including displays of emotionality and risk aversion (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010). It is possible, however, that explicit evaluations of childfree men and women may not differ as greatly today as they have previously. This would be in keeping with increasing inclusion of women in the

workplace and disapproval of more traditional gender views in modern society (Hofmann et al., 2005).  Examining implicit attitudes toward these two groups may prove informative here.

*Hypothesis 13: Gender will moderate the relationship between parent status and implicit attitudes such that childfree women will be evaluated more negatively using implicit methods than will women with children, whereas this relationship will be weaker for men.*

The relationship between gender and perceptions of the childfree may be more complex when related to work, however.   First, as women making the childfree choice are seen as going against something integral to their gender role, making this choice in pursuit of one's career goals would be perceived as exceptionally driven to achieve those goals (Koropeckyj et al., 2007).  Second, mothers are assumed to invest more in their role as parent and to shoulder the majority of the responsibility for family obligations than are fathers (Bolino & Turnley, 2005; Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1993).  Lack of this responsibility would then free up more of a woman's time to devote to career ambitions.  Thus, it is possible that childfree women in the workplace may be viewed as *more* dedicated and available.

*Hypothesis 14: Gender will moderate the relationship between parent status and perceived dedication such that childfree women will be rated as more dedicated than will mothers, whereas this relationship will be weaker for men.*

Childfree women are likely to be rated as lacking in warmth, however, given the deviation from expected behavior.  In a study comparing women with and without children, Cuddy and her colleagues (2004) found that the working woman without

children was seen as significantly less warm than was the working woman with children.

The working father was also seen as significantly warmer than the childless man. These

results suggest that childfree men and women will likely both be seen as less warm than

their parent counterparts in the workplace. Similar to other studies, this study did not list

the man and woman as childfree, but ambiguously childless. The contention of this

research is that childfree women in the workplace will be rated as less warm than

childfree men, and that both childfree men and women are rated as less warm than men

and women with children. Additionally, this study seeks to understand if, despite this

reduction in warmth, the decision to be childfree may actually facilitate promotability

ratings for women. More simply, do perceived dedication and availability make up for

where perceived limits in interpersonal facilitation and warmth leave off?

*Hypothesis 15: Job dedication and interpersonal facilitation will be positively related to*

*promotability.*

*Research Question: Will the relationship between job dedication, interpersonal*

*facilitation, and promotability be moderated by gender?*

**Partners in Choice or Following the Leader**

Previous research has generally studied the degree to which childfree adults are

viewed positively or negatively. An additional component that could influence these

views is the degree to which the person of interest is seen as culpable for the childfree

choice. Whereas some couples may make this choice together during the course of their

relationship, it may also be the long-standing choice of one party in the relationship to

which the other party acquiesces over time (see Cain, 2001 for personal accounts).

Research findings suggest, however, that participants are more likely to attribute the

choice to be childfree to the female than to the male partner (Koropeckyj-Cox et al.,

2007). Evaluations follow as a result of this attribution: evaluations of the childfree party

seen as less responsible for the decision are correspondingly less negative. Indeed, in

these cases, Koropeckyj-Cox and colleagues explain that the childfree husband is seen as

the "supportive husband [who is] standing by his wife's reproductive choices." Whereas

this explanation may be true in some cases, Koropeckyj-Cox argues it is assumed true

without evidence.

This study seeks to understand if the attribution of choice varies in the working

environment and the degree to which this impacts evaluations. Conversely, if the choice

is attributed to the female partner, she may be seen as more dedicated still when

compared to other childfree women or mothers. The impact on evaluations of the male

partner is also unclear—is the childfree man seen as warmer in comparison in these

cases? By integrating attributed responsibility for the childfree choice, this research

hopes to better approximate the impact on perceptions for a group that may go

undiscussed in the workplace given its disenfranchised status. More specifically,

members of stigmatized groups are likely to anticipate their disenfranchised status, so are

less likely to discuss all of its nuances with others (Cain, 2001; Letherby, 2002; Reed,

2008). Thus, the perception of the key decision maker is arguably more important than

who made the decision in reality.

*Hypothesis 16: Attribution of choice will be negatively related to evaluations such that if*

*the individual is seen as responsible for the childfree choice, he or she will be more*

*negatively evaluated than if he or she is see as a co-decision-maker or as acquiescing to*

*the childfree choice.*

**Family-Friendly Policies**

Evaluations of employees are important for promotion decisions, but may also

play a role in the decision to allocate additional benefits.  Whereas family-friendly

elements in the tax code, for example, have a multiple decade legacy, family-friendly

policies in the workplace are much newer.  It is difficult to find an organization that does

not tout its family-friendly policies to new applicants largely for the beneficial role they

play in recruiting (Casper & Buffardi, 2004).  These policies range from on-site daycare

(or subsidized childcare) to flexible work schedules to telecommuting and are seen as

beneficial for myriad reasons.  One benefit is the ability to foster inclusion in the

workplace (Gasorek, 2000; Mor Barak, 2005; Ryan & Kossek, 2008).  Through the use of

programs like flexible scheduling and telecommuting, individuals can fit significant non-

work demands in with their already busy working lives.  Inclusive environments are the

outcome of work-life policy adoption only when attention is paid to policy

implementation, however (Ryan & Kossek, 2008).  More specifically, it is critical to

examine the degree to which policy access is universal, supported, negotiable, and

communicated.  The contention herein is that, when examining these policies from the

perspective of childfree adults, they are not.  The question is this: are family-friendly

policies disproportionally allocated to parents than to non-parents?

For work-life policies to be effective in fostering inclusion, they must be seen as

universally available.  Many policies, however, are only available or useful to parents.

For example, non-parents have little use for on-site daycare or insurance plans extendable

to dependent children.  Additionally, flexible schedules or telecommuting are more likely

to be extended to parents than to non-parents (Bagilhole, 2005).  Advocates of these

policies may claim varying degrees of equal access to those policies by all employees,

but the promise of equity and the experience of equity are two separate things. Parents are

also seen as having increased need for flexibility, leading to increased access and

eventual use (Bagilhole, 2005; Burkett, 2000).  Workers without children similarly

perceive greater expectations for hours worked—childfree adults are more likely to bear

the brunt of decisions regarding travel, jobs that require relocation, holiday hours, and

time made up for parents who are out of work (Casper, Weltman, & Kwesiga, 2007;

Kirby & Krone, 2002).  Lastly, despite progressive social change, gender-specific

stereotypical expectations regarding the division of labor in the home often dictate

performance of childcare and household chores.  Mothers are thus seen as requiring even

more flexibility than are fathers (Bagilhole, 2005). Thus, when examining work-life

policies from the perspective of childfree workers, work-life policies are not seen as

universally available.

Work-life policies also have to be supported by the supervisor and the

organization. The importance of supervisor support is critical for work-life policies to be

effective (Allen, 2001; Kofodimos, 1995; Shellenbarger, 1992).  Supervisor support has

been linked to important outcomes like promotion potential and tenure.  Lack of support,

conversely, has been linked to negative outcomes like social isolation and career

stagnation.  Thus, even if parents and non-parents are granted equal use of these policies,

outcomes may differ if supervisor support varies.  Singles and childfree workers are less

likely to feel as though their non-work roles are seen as important or taken seriously

(Casper, Herst, & Swanburg, 2003; Casper, Weltman, & Kwesiga, 2007; Young, 1999).

Additionally, parents are more likely to get time off approved than are non-parents

(Swanburg, Pitt-Catsouphes, & Drescher-Burke, 2005).  These findings suggest that use of family-friendly policies or benefits may not be accepted as readily when it is by childfree workers.  This research seeks to show that family-friendly policies are seen as less needed by childfree workers, and, ultimately, less supported if used.

*Hypothesis 17: Childfree adults will be seen as requiring less flexibility or related work-life benefits than will parents.*

*Hypothesis 18: Perceived need will mediate the relationship between parent status and allocation of benefits.*

**Two Approaches to Fostering Childfree Inclusive Environments**

It is unlikely that companies will cease providing family-friendly arrangements to their employees, particularly given their popularity globally and increasing popularity with Millennials as they enter the workforce (Pew, 2013).[1]  It is similarly unlikely that the trend of childfree living will reverse.  It is critical to understand how to foster an *inclusive* environment within an organization so that they these policies truly are universally available and accessible.  This study seeks to understand the possible effects of creating a childfree-friendly work environment on important outcomes including ratings of the childfree worker, support for program need and allocation, and promotability judgments.  Inclusion programs have not been developed or tested for this group, but are reminiscent of efforts made in appreciation of other forms of diversity (e.g., race, sexual orientation).  At their core, inclusion policies, or those policies designed to increase engagement in all aspects of the work environment, allow the organization to leverage the positive benefits of diversity (Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-

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[1] The term Millennial here is used to refer to the generation born after 1980, but before 2004 (Pew, 2011).

Burks, 2008).  Historically, multiple approaches to inclusion policies have had varying

degrees of efficacy.

Two commonly-used techniques, adapted to the childfree lifestyle, will be

compared in this research.  Many such procedures have centered on race as the primary

variant of diversity.  A recent approach has been *multicultural*, in that it emphasizes the

benefits of a varied workforce, treating diversity as a strength (Cox, 1991).  Examples of

these policies in action would include diversity luncheons with various types of ethnic

foods or workshops that attempt to shed light on a particular aspect of diversity (Kidder,

Lankau, Chrobot-Mason, Mollica, & Friedman, 2004; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999;

Stevens et al., 2008).  Whereas this acknowledges one's diverse attributes, it may create

resentment by non-minorities or may make one's category group more salient in some

unwanted way (Brief, Umphress, Dietz, Burrows, Butz, & Scholten, 2005; Kaley,

Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006; Mannix & Neale, 2006; Stevens et al., 2008).  The first condition

examined in this study will be a modification of a typical multicultural approach.

The second condition examined will represent the *AIM (all-inclusive*

*multicultural) approach,* which seeks to recognize the diversity of all employees on a

variety of characteristics rather than concentrating on one attribute or a specific

subsection of groups (Stevens et al., 2008).  Proponents of this approach suggest that it

works to maintain the identities of minorities on various attributes as well as seem

inclusive of majority group members.  Additionally, this approach works to foster

affirmation of each person's diverse qualities that can enhance organizational

effectiveness as well as appreciation for the qualities of others.  In so doing, the ultimate

goal is to facilitate learning and relationships among all employees in the organization

(Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000).

**Critical Components to Inclusive Experiences**

The AIM approach suggests positive results, but the process to best enact this

approach is less clear.  In a discussion of creating a singles-friendly work environment,

Casper and colleagues outline five key components that will be adapted for use in this

study with childfree workers.  First, social inclusion is critical.  Similar social

expectations and opportunities should be evident for those with and without children.  For

example, formal and informal events should have something to offer parents and non-

parents alike (Casper et al., 2007).  This has two beneficial outcomes: first, though an

out-group member, the childfree adult has more positive feelings about his/her value at

work; second, it improves self-esteem for these out-group members.

Second, ensure equal work opportunities for parents and non-parents.  Casper and

colleagues suggest three possible ways of allocating work: need, equality, and equity.

The need-based approach would provide beneficial assignments and compensation to the

parents as they have dependent children to support at home.  The equality approach

would provide access to everyone, and the equity approach would provide access based

on merit or seniority.  The authors suggest that the equality or equity approaches are the

best to create an inclusive environment.

Third, all employees should have equal access to benefits.  As reported

previously, single and childfree workers often experience inequity in their benefits

(Flynn, 1996; Young, 1999).  Equality can be ensured by offering benefits in a cafeteria-

like method where each employee has the same number of credits that can be used to

purchase benefits most applicable to them (Casper et al., 2007; Grandey, 2001).  For

example, parents could select daycare service and telecommuting one day/week, whereas

childfree adults could select use of employee gym facilities and a tuition credits to return

to school.

Fourth, all workers should feel that their non-work roles are respected equally.

As a workplace, the organization should acknowledge that, while childfree workers may

not have dependent children, they likely have parents, siblings, a spouse or partner, good

friends, and pets that all require care and attention.  Additionally, they are often

volunteers and active members of their community.  These non-work roles should be seen

as valuable and worthy of time-off.  This can be communicated in many ways from

granting time off as long as it is requested to recognition of community involvement and

volunteer service.

Finally, equal work expectations including travel and holiday work communicate

that these non-work roles have value.  Decisions about overtime and other commitments

should be made irrespective of one's family demands.  When examining these five

components from a singles-friendly lens, the authors found that singles who perceived

more equal work opportunities and social inclusion reported lower turnover intentions ($\beta$

$= -.22, p < .05$) and higher commitment to the organization ($\beta = .29, p < .05$).  Thus, the

benefits of creating an inclusive environment extend not only to the worker, but to the

organization as a whole.

**Use of Language in Facilitating Inclusion**

An important component for optimizing the efficacy of inclusion policies is to

ensure appropriate word choice.  More specifically, word choice in policy statements,

recruitment literature, and mission statements does matter (Stevens et al., 2008). In this communication, it is important to include both in-group and out-group members alike. The use of language can convey that the organization is childfree-friendly (or singles-friendly, or inclusive in general) by how work-life policies are described, for example. Organizations should avoid using words that appear to single out various groups (e.g., "ethnic"). Applied to the childfree context, the use of "work-family policy" typically implies children, though childfree workers strongly advocate that they have families that do not contain dependent children. Work-life policy, however, connotes the true intention of these policies to create harmony between in-work and out-of-work roles of various kinds.

Potential consequences of inclusion policies founded on the multicultural approach were discussed above, but it is also possible that any statement of an inclusive nature can backfire (Cappasso, 2005; Eyre, 2000; Schultz, 2003). In a study examining the potential for backlash from sexual harassment policies, Tinkler and colleagues (2007) had students view a policy statement prior to completing an implicit association task (IAT). Rather than finding lower overall levels of bias against women as expected, both male and female participants rated women as lower status, less competent, and less considerate following the manipulation. By comparing this condition to a baseline (no policy statement given) as well as a male-advantage statement (women were expected to perform worse on a subsequent task), the researchers were able to show the increased salience of gender was likely the factor that influenced their findings.

Negative reactions of majority group members are also possible due to feelings of *exclusion*. In a study investigating multiculturalism and race, Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, and

Sanchez-Burks (2011) found that white participants reacted more negatively to study descriptions based on multiculturalism than did minority participants. Subsequent analyses showed that these participants felt excluded from the multicultural focus on diversity, resulting in a lack of belonging. Whereas the multicultural statements prompted a sense of identity integration for minority participants, they signaled the opposite for white participants. Thus, both stigma salience and perceived lack of belonging can be powerful mechanisms by which inclusion statements can backfire.

Importantly, the policy statements included by the researchers mentioned were *not* overly elaborate, but were crafted deliberately similar to many statements used by universities and businesses throughout the United States. An innocuous statement of this format designed to foster inclusion of diverse employees like childfree workers may indeed have a beneficial impact on policy allocation, but it could also backfire by making this socially-deviant attribute more salient. Previous research suggests the likelihood of the multicultural approach to exclude and/or increase the salience of the diverse attribute, thus it is likely that these policy statements could have a similar impact on the childfree. Policy statements based on the AIM approach, however, might have a positive impact on provision of family-friend benefits given its appeal to all workers.

*Hypothesis 19: Childfree adults will be rated less negatively by those exposed to the AIM approach when compared to those in the multicultural or control conditions.*

*Hypothesis 20: Childfree adults will receive more inclusive treatment (e.g., allocation of work-life friendly benefits, etc.) by those exposed to the AIM approach when compared to those in the multicultural or control conditions.*

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants were 527 individuals recruited using Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). This methodology allows researchers to reach a broader sample of the population than is possible using other samples of convenience (e.g., student populations).  MTurk participants were paid $6 for their efforts, approximately minimum wage for the anticipated 45 minutes of work. Participants in the full sample ranged in age from 20 to 69 ($M = 34.31$, $\sigma = 9.95$). Slightly more than half (54.5%) of the participants were male ($N = 287$), 45.2% female ($N = 238$), and 2 declined to answer (.4%). Nearly 75% of the sample was white, non-Hispanic ($N = 389$), 9.3% Black ($N = 49$), 6.5% Asian ($N = 34$), 6.3% Hispanic ($N = 33$), and 4.2% listing other races, multi-racial, or declining to respond.  Though the majority of participants (62.8%) indicated they did not have children, 196 individuals identified as parents. Finally, participants ranged across household income levels:14.8% indicating they make less than $20,000 to 12.7% indicating they make more than $80,000 annually.

Due to failure to respond to all items in the study or incorrectly responding to the attention check items as listed below, the final sample included 449 participants. This sample was consistent with the initial sample on all demographic variables, not differing significantly on gender, race, religion, socioeconomic status, parent status, or age. Thus there is no reason to expect these variables impacted the ability of participants to respond to attention items correctly or their likelihood of completing the entire study. The majority of these participants were male ($N = 244$, 54.3%), white, non-Hispanic ($N = 334$, 74.4%), Atheist, Agnostic ($N = 192$, 42.8%), non-parents ($N = 276$, 61.5%), and made between $20,000-$40,000 annually ($N = 167$, 37.2%). The average age of

participants in the final sample was 34.89 (σ = 9.78). For specific demographic

information, please see Appendix A.

**Procedure**

This study was conducted and managed online using Qualtrics.  First, participants

viewed a consent form informing them of the purpose and components of the survey.

Consent was indicated by selecting the appropriate box on Qualtrics. Participants were

automatically assigned a random 10-digit number through the survey system. This ID

number was piped to the IAT portion of the research which allowed for matching of the

survey and IAT components. Next, participants read a brief introduction to the study

describing their assigned purpose as an External Human Resources Consultant, solicited

to assist with performance evaluation practices by a fictional organization.  All

participants read the same introduction.  See Appendix B.

Participants then reviewed one of three organizational profiles. The organizational

profile included the name of the organization and a brief description of its history.

Additionally, the profile included an inclusion policy statement. This study employed a 3

(inclusion policy: multicultural, AIM, and control) x 3 (parent status: childfree, childless,

parent) x 2 (gender: male, female) complete factorial design. The only element changed

in the organizational profile was the inclusion policy statement—all other details about

the organization were held constant. The inclusion policy manipulation consisted of

minor changes to a Workplace Culture statement participants read before making ratings

(See Appendix B).  First, the control condition had a basic statement regarding the

importance of innovation and support for employees, similar to culture statements

traditionally found on employment websites.

Second, the multicultural approach focused on the stigmatized group of interest: the childfree, drawing attention to policies that may be most useful based on this particular variable, similar to what has been done with racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011), gender (e.g., Tinkler et al., 2007), and LGBT efforts (e.g., Bell, Ozbilgin, Beauregard, & Surgevil, 2011; Wright, Colgan, Creegany, & McKearney, 2006). More specifically, this inclusion statement mentioned programs of interest to employees regardless of whether or not they have children (gym, laundry facilities) and drew attention to the provision of flexibility irrespective of parent status. Additionally, participants were told the organization has an annual party where "any guests" are invited rather than a family picnic. Similar to previous studies employing the multicultural approach (e.g., Morrison et al., 2010; Stevens et al., 2008), the focus was on the socially-excluded group and elements it may find useful or most relevant.

Finally, the AIM approach acknowledged that each employee had different needs and that the organization hoped to be able to provide for myriad groups. For example, this statement included examples of benefits that would be of greater interest to parents as well as to non-parents. This statement also mentioned a cafeteria-style approach to best accommodate the unique needs of all associates, with and without children. The critical component in the AIM manipulation was to make each possible individual feel included or that the policy was written with him/her in mind (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008).

Following review of the inclusion policy statement, the participants reviewed the details of a case file including both a resume and complaint form for the target employee.

The only detail changed in the resume was gender (including related pronouns, names, and photograph). Everything else was held constant. The resume included information about the target employee and his/her role as a Purchasing Agent. This role was previously used as a gender-neutral role when job type was not manipulated (Heilman & Chen, 2005). The file also contained a sample performance appraisal rated as above average across all conditions. An exceptional review may have created a ceiling effect for promotability ratings, thus eliminating the potential for effects due to parent status, whereas a particularly negative review may have created a floor effect. Indeed, when asked to verify the performance of the target (using one item with options below average, average, above average, and top performer), nearly all participants indicated the target was an average (10.7%) to above average (86.4%) performer. This rating was not dependent on condition ($\chi^2 = 57.255$, $df = 51$, $p = .254$, $\Phi = .367$). See Appendix C for target employee materials.

Additionally, the case file contained a written complaint made by the target employee. The complaint form included a description of an event alleging unfair treatment based on parent status (See Appendix D). All elements of the complaint were consistent across conditions excluding parent status and the gender of the individual. All employees mentioned a spouse to signify that they were married so as to eliminate potential judgment of non-married employees with children, as well as to avoid the issue of whether non-married employees without children would eventually have children if they were wed. For similar reasons, all employees were described as being in heterosexual relationships.

In the complaint form, the target described a recent meeting he or she had with the manager of the team during which a request was made to work from home for three days the following week. The employee reported that he/she was denied the request despite having seen other individuals work from home in the past. The employee speculated that this was because of his/her parent status (See Appendix D for details and how this differed across conditions). Importantly, the form also mentioned that because the organization grew in size only recently, policies regarding working from home or other alternative work arrangements had not been formalized.

Next, participants made ratings on the dependent variables of interest (e.g., likeability, perceived personality traits, promotability, allocation of benefits) and responded to two attention check items. These attention checks verified the participant could identify the parent status and gender of the employee viewed. Participants needed to respond successfully to these two items to suggest that they had read the case file attentively. These items occurred after the ratings so as not to draw attention to the purpose of the study, but before additional scales to minimize forgetting information. Participants then completed various individual difference scales (e.g., religiosity and conservatism) followed by demographics (e.g., gender, race, age). Participants were asked to provide information relating to their own parent status and future intentions related to having children.

After all other measures were completed, participants completed two Single Category Implicit Association Tasks (SC-IAT) using Implicit by Millisecond software. An advantage of assessing implicit attitudes after other relevant dependent measures was that this structure reduces the possibility that the tasks may bias responses or more clearly

inform participants as to the study's purpose (e.g., Hekman, Aquino, Owens, Mitchell, Schilpzand, & Leavitt, 2010).

The SC-IAT is similar to a standard IAT, but does not require a comparison category (Bluemke & Friese, 2008; Bohner, Siebler, Gonzalez, Haye, & Schmidt, 2008; Karpinski & Steinman, 2006). They are most useful when a clear comparison category is not available or using one would be arbitrary (Karpinski & Steinman, 2006). This method was selected over a traditional IAT or a Multi-Category IAT for three reasons. First, the standard IAT as mentioned above requires one comparison category. This research seeks to compare childfree adults to both parents and childless adults. This is possible with the Multi-Category IAT, however the measurement produced is a comparative measure rather than evaluation (Axt, Ebersole, & Nosek, 2014). Because the primary purpose of this research was to determine how reactions to the childfree influence their judgments of the target, an implicit response to the target is most relevant (Bluemke & Friese, 2008). Finally, participants only viewed one target, so the same amount of information was not available on targets in the other two categories. Thus, performance on the Multi-Category IAT could be a function of this difference.

The first SC-IAT concerned the target viewed in this study specifically (which could be a childfree or childless adult or a parent). Because participants only viewed one employee packet, a comparison category for the target was not available. The second SC-IAT featured stimuli referring to childfree adults generally. Though previous research suggests the order of SC-IATs may not affect results (Bluemke & Friese, 2008), the SC-IATs occurred in this order (target first followed by childfree adults generally) so

as not to bias the results of the target-related task or confuse participants in non-childfree

conditions.

Implicit Association Tests function by comparing the relative speed with which

participants can recognize pairings between the category stimuli and positive and

negative evaluative terms.  The theoretical basis for this comparison is that it should be

easier (and therefore faster) to match category terms in the evaluative direction of your

beliefs than in the opposite direction (Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2005).  For example,

if the participant felt negatively about the childfree individual, it should have been more

difficult for him/her to pair the image with a positive evaluative term than with a negative

term.

At the conclusion of their participation, participants were thanked for completing

the study and the procedure for receiving payment was reiterated. When complete

participation of both parts was verified, participants were paid for their efforts.

**Materials**

Measures used in this study are included below with their reliabilities and

confirmatory factor analyses when relevant. Reliabilities and confirmatory factor

analyses reported are based on the final sample ($N = 449$). A full list of items can be

found in the Appendix.  Construction of the SC-IAT is described last.

**Social Deviance.** To assess the degree to which the employee was seen as

deviating from social norms, participants responded to items similar to those designed by

Brauer and Chekroun (2005) as well as Abrams and colleagues (2000).  Four items ($\alpha =$

.84) assessed the degree to which the employee was similar to society in general as well

as the extent to which the employee's choices were counter to those of society on a 7-

point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*). An example item is: "To what

extent do you consider the behavior to be counter to the norms of our society?"  For a full

list of items, see Appendix E.

**Personality Traits.** Participants rated the personality of the employee using

LeMastro's (2001) 28-item inventory.  This inventory was used to rate targets by

Koropeckyj-Cox and colleagues (2007) and corresponds to three major clusters of traits:

interpersonal warmth ($\alpha$ = .87), agency ($\alpha$ = .90), and emotionality ($\alpha$ = .78).  Participants

indicated their agreement on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly

Agree*).  Adjectives in the interpersonal warmth cluster included: caring, warm, likeable,

kind, sensitive, nurturing, sincere, traditional, and feminine.  The agency cluster included:

ambitious, hard-working, determined, success-oriented, career-oriented, successful,

confident, competent, stressed (which was reverse-scored), mature, and reliable.  The

negative emotionality cluster included: anxious, lonely, feels inferior, and feels sorry for

self.

Though the reliabilities for each factor were well within acceptable ranges, a

confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to verify appropriate loadings of each item

using AMOS 23. The initial model was not a great fit for the data ($\chi^2$ = 1178.61, *df* = 249,

*p* < .001, RMSEA = .14, CFI = .87, NNFI = .86). Two of the items demonstrated poor fit

with their intended factors: "stressed" with Agency ($\Lambda$ = .221, *p* < .001) and "feminine"

with Warmth ($\Lambda$ = .237, *p* < .004). The lowest loading item (stressed) was removed first,

producing a significant improvement in model fit ($\Delta\chi^2$ = 171.15, *df* = 22, *p* < .01; $\chi^2$ =

1007.46, *df* = 227, RMSEA = .09, CFI = .89, NNFI= .88). Feminine was then removed,

producing another significant change in model fit ($\Delta\chi^2$ = 52.07, *df* = 21, *p* < .01; $\chi^2$ =

955.39, *df* = 206, RMSEA = .09, CFI = .89, NNFI = .88). Though these changes were significant, because the items did load significantly on their intended factors and the factor reliabilities were in the appropriate range, they were retained in the scales in keeping with previous research.

Additionally, participants rated the target on general perceptions relating to likeability and selfishness as these characteristics have been documented in previous research.  Participants indicated their agreement with ten adjectives on the list developed by Halford (2006) using a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*). This list included: selfish, self-centered, considerate, instinctive, controllable, common, expected, positive, acceptable, and appropriate.

Halford (2006) performed a Principal Component Analysis determining that two over-arching factors emerged: self- versus other focus (e.g., selfish) and deficiency versus deviance focused (e.g., common).   This method was repeated, as this was scale developed specifically by Halford for the study mentioned, to see if these results could be replicated and what potential factors were most appropriate for the scale. Principal Components Analysis (PCA) using an Oblique Factor Rotation allowed for extraction of possible factor components. An oblique rotation was used as the variables within the data set were highly correlated. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity confirmed that this sample was appropriate for PCA ($\chi^2$ = 2964.87, *df* = 45, *p* < .01), and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .829, verifying that there is a sufficient degree of relationship between the data points (Meyers, Gamst, & Guarino, 2006, pg. 518). The initial extraction retained all variables for the proposed solution accounting for 75.01% of the variance. The first factor (containing items: Self-Centered, Selfish, Appropriate,

Acceptable, Positive, and Considerate), accounted for 49.45% of the variance; the second

(containing items: Expected and Common), accounted for 15.27%; and the third

(containing items: Instinctive and Controllable) accounted for 10.37%. The general

structure of the factors was consistent with that found by Halford (in that self-centered,

selfish, and considerate were in a separate factor from expected and common), however

the terms appropriate, acceptable and positive loaded more strongly on the first factor

than the second. A composite score ($\alpha = .92$) reflecting the emergent factor was created,

reverse-scoring self-centered and selfish as they were negatively related to the other

words within the factor. This factor generally represents positive feelings toward the

target and can be used as a general evaluation as mentioned in Halford (2006). To stay

consistent with previous research, however, the two factors found by Halford will also be

used: the self- versus other focused factor ($\alpha = .86$) will be used for hypotheses

concerning the relative selfishness of the target and the deficiency versus deviance factor

($\alpha = .87$) can be used to compare to the aforementioned measure of social deviance.

**Aberrant Traits**. Participants rated the degree to which the employee displayed

each of the aberrant personality traits as used by Wille and colleagues (2013).  These

items were drawn from themes in the Hogan Diagnostic Sale and DSM-IV described in

Burch and Foo (2010). Participants rated the degree to which they think the target

possessed each attribute on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*).

Attributes included schizotypal ($\alpha = .90$.), avoidant ($\alpha = .79$), borderline ($\alpha = .91$),

antisocial ($\alpha = .89$), narcissistic ($\alpha = .92$), obsessive-compulsive ($\alpha = .76$). Though all

scales indicate appropriate reliabilities, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted.

Results support that the expected structure is an appropriate fit for the model ($\chi^2 =$

2173.27, $df = 419$, $p < .01$, RMSEA = .10, CFI = .85, NNFI = .83). Modification indices suggest potential issues with the final adjective ("diligent") in the Obsessive-Compulsive scale and the final adjective ("imaginative") in the Schizotypal scale, as both factor loadings were less than .5. The lower of the two loading items ("diligent") was removed first, producing a significant improvement in model fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 124.30$, $df = 29$, $p < .01$; $\chi^2 = 2048.97$, $df = 390$, RMSEA = .10, CFI = .85, NNFI = .84), though the overall model fit was still below acceptable ranges. The second item ("imaginative") was removed, again producing a significant improvement in model fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 76.17$, $df = 28$, $p < .01$; $\chi^2 = 1972.80$, $df = 362$, RMSEA = .10, CFI = .86, NNFI = .84), but with the overall model fit below acceptable ranges.  Because the items loaded best on their intended factor and the removal of the items did not improve model fit to be within suggested ranges, all original items were retained in keeping with prior research.  For a complete list of adjectives, see Appendix F.

**Attribution of Choice.** The complaint text included mention of the individual's parent status, however the circumstances behind this status ware ambiguous.  For example, if the individual was childless, the case file did not suggest that the female employee could not have children.  Relatedly, the case file did not list that the husband never wanted children if the female employee was listed as childfree. Participants were asked with one item the perceived source of the situation: "Who do you see as the primary decision-maker in the couple's parent status?" with choices corresponding to the: employee, his/her partner, or both parties together.

**Religiosity.** Participants completed the Duke University Religion Index (DUREL) to measure their religious involvement.  This scale was used by Hook (2012) and consists

of 5 questions. Each question was rated on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*). There were two different types of items: the first two items (*r* = .58) concerned the frequency of religious activity, whereas the last three items (α = .95) concerned general religious behavior. Some sample items included: "I try to carry religion over into all other dealings in life" and "I spend a significant amount of time in private religious activities like prayer, meditation, and Bible study."

In addition to religiosity, participants completed the brief form of the Right-Wing Authoritarian (RWA) scale developed originally by Altemeyer (1981) and shortened by Rattazzi, Bobbio, and Canova (2007). This scale contained 15 items divided into two factors: authoritarian aggression and submission (α = .94) and conservatism (α = .92). This scale has been used in previous research as a broad measure of social conservatism (Cornelis, Van Hiel, Roets, & Kossowaska, 2008; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Rattazzi et al., 2007). For a full list of religiosity and RWA items, see Appendix G. A confirmatory factor analysis was used to verify that two factors were appropriate for the data. Though the model fit was slightly outside of the acceptable range ($\chi^2$ = 513.80, *df* = 89, *p* < .01, RMSEA = .10, CFI = .92, NNFI = .91), all items were significantly related to their intended factors, so the proposed structure was used in relevant analyses.

Finally, participants completed the Moral Foundations Questionnaire (Graham et al., 2011). This scale examined how participants make moral judgments on five main dimensions: the degree to which something harms another (α = .80), if it is seen as fair (α = .75), if someone is acting toward his/her in-group (also described as patriotism; α = .64), respect for authority (α = .73), and overall standards of purity (α = .84). A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to verify the five-factor solution was an

acceptable fit for the data ($\chi^2$ = 785.47, *df* = 160, *p* < .01, RMSEA = .09, CFI = .85, NNFI = .82). Though the CFI and NNFI fit indices were below desirable ranges, all items did load significantly on their intended factors and the factor reliabilities were in the appropriate range so all items were retained in keeping with previous research.

Whereas this scale does not measure conservatism specifically, it allowed for assessment of some of the complexity of moral judgments (Graham et al., 2011). For a full list of items in the MFQ, see Appendix H. This scale was scored using the method developed by Graham et al., 2011. This method created the factors listed above as well as an overall progressivism score (the difference between the values traditionally associated with liberalism (harm and fairness) and those values associated with more conservative viewpoints (in-group preference, authority, and purity). For additional explanation regarding this scale and the values measured, please see Haidt (2012).

**Perceived Dedication and Interpersonal Facilitation.** Participants rated the perceived dedication and interpersonal facilitation of the target using the method described by Jawahar and Ferris (2011) in their study of promotability judgments. This scale used the four facets of behaviors on the Moorman and Blakely (1995) assessment of contextual performance: interpersonal helping ($\alpha$ = .95), individual initiative ($\alpha$ = .88), personal industry ($\alpha$ = .92), and loyal boosterism ($\alpha$ = .94). The first two facets, interpersonal helping and individual initiative correspond to interpersonal facilitation ($\alpha$ = .93), whereas the second two facets, personal industry and loyal boosterism, correspond to perceived dedication ($\alpha$ = .93). Participants responded to these items on a 7 – point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*). For a full list of items, see Appendix I.

A confirmatory factor analysis was used to be certain the two-factor

(interpersonal facilitation and perceived dedication) approach provided the best fit for the

data. Though all items loaded significantly onto their appropriate factors, model fit

indices suggest there may be a better-fitting solution ($\chi^2 = 1853.15$, $df = 151$, $p < .01$,

RMSEA = .16, CFI = .78, NNFI = .75). A model specifying all four factors was then

tested, which provided a significantly better fit to the data ($\Delta \chi^2 = 1400.21$, $df = 5$, $p <$

.01; $\chi^2 = 452.94$, $df = 146$, $p < .01$, RMSEA = .07, CFI = .96, NNFI = .95). Though the

four-factor solution did provide a significantly better fit for the data, analyses involving

interpersonal facilitation and perceived dedication were run using the two-factor solution

in keeping with previous research. When relevant, additional analyses using the four

individual factors are reported to take this study's empirical results into consideration.

**Perceived Competence.** Participants rated the perceived competence of the target

using eight adjectives developed by Cuddy et al. (2004).  Participants indicated the

degree to which each adjective corresponded to the participant on a 7-point scale (1 = *not*

*at all* to 7 = *extremely*).  The list included: capable, efficient, skilled, intelligent,

independent, self-confident, aggressive, and organized ($\alpha = .80$).

**Perceived Engagement.** Perceived engagement of the employee was assessed

using a seven-item scale ($\alpha = .93$) developed by Swanberg, McKechnie, Ojha, and James

(2011).  This scale contained three dimensions measuring the perceived cognitive ($\alpha =$

.83), emotional ($\alpha = .86$), and behavioral ($\alpha = .88$) components of engagement.  An

example item is: "This employee cares a lot about the future of the company."  As used in

previous research, the combination of three dimensions (or an overall measure of

engagement) was used for the analyses in this study ($\alpha$ = .93), those differences between

dimensions were also examined. For a full list of items, see Appendix J.

**Promotability.** Perceived promotability was assessed using a three-item scale

created by Thacker and Wayne (1995, $\alpha$ = .92).  These items measured the extent to

which the employee was perceived as having the potential to move up with the

organization on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*).  Items

included: "I believe that this employee will have a successful career," "If I had to select a

successor for my position, it would be this employee," and "I believe that this employee

has high potential." Additionally, three items generated by Abrams, Marques, Brown, and

Henson (2000; $\alpha$ = .90) were used to assess the degree to which participants generally

liked the target, a potential explanation for differences across variables. For a complete

list of items, see Appendix K.

Participants also indicated the degree to which they would recommend the target

for specific promotions that corresponded to both managerial and non-managerial roles.

These items were used to distinguish for perceived potential as a leader versus perceived

technical potential that could be compared with ratings of competence and interpersonal

facilitation.  For a complete list of items, see Appendix L.

**Allocation of Benefits.** Participants were asked to indicate the degree to which

they believed a series of work-life balance programs are needed by this employee on a 7-

point (1 = *Definitely not needed* to 7 = *Definitely needed)* scale.  The list consisted of

programs typically offered within organizations including the program mentioned in the

complaint text. For a full list of programs, see Appendix M.

Additionally, participants completed a modified version of a 4-item scale ($\alpha$ =

.39) developed by Shin and colleagues (1989). This scale assessed the degree to which

the participants supported outside-of-work arrangements generally for the target on a 7-

point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*). Items included: "I would

allow this employee to switch schedules to accommodate outside-of-work

responsibilities," "I will provide advice to this employee on how to balance work and

non-work life," "I am critical of this employee's efforts to combine work and non-work

life," and "This employee does not require additional assistance to balance work- and

non-work life."

When the items were significantly related to each other, generally moderate

correlations were observed (see Appendix N). The largest correlation ($r$ = -.57, $p < .001$)

observed was between "I would allow this employee to switch schedules…" and "I am

critical of this employee's efforts…". PCA using an orthogonal factor rotation was

conducted to determine if any underlying factors would emerge though the items were

used independently in previous research. An orthogonal rotation was used as the

variables within the data set were not all significantly correlated. Bartlett's Test of

Sphericity confirmed that this sample was appropriate for PCA ($\chi^2$ = 242.76, $df$ = 6, $p <$

.01), though the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was only .49, so the

results should be interpreted with caution.

The initial extraction retained all variables within two factors for the proposed

solution accounting for 75.05% of the variance. The first factor (containing items: critical

of employee's efforts and allowing the target to switch schedules), accounted for 39.35%

of the variance; the second (containing items: providing advice and no assistance needed

by the target), accounted for 33.69%. The first two items do reflect the degree to which the participant was supportive of an accommodation, so a relationship makes practical sense as well. The second factor could be interpreted as approaching an accommodation more subtly either by providing advice or not seeing a large need for direct assistance. These two factors will be explored in relevant hypotheses, but based on previous research as well as potential issues with the PCA, caution should be taken when interpreting any significant results associated with this scale.

  **Continuous Response Measures.** To better assess the predictive utility of implicit measures, a series of items was asked with open-ended outcomes.  Because participants had a broad range of responses to consider (e.g., 1 to 100), they acted as more spontaneous response measures than do Likert-style questions. These questions were similar to those used by Correll, Benard, and Paik (2007).  These 4 items asked participants to suggest salary recommendations, bonus recommendations, expected percentage (score out of 100) on a management training exam, and number of days acceptable for the employee to arrive late or leave early in one month.  For exact text of the items, see Appendix O.

  Prior to using these items in analyses, it was important to examine the appropriateness of the answers provided as participants were able to type in their own answers rather than be confined to multiple choice options. For the first item (recommended salary), it was likely that a portion of participants misinterpreted the question, thinking of it as the amount to be given for a raise rather than the overall salary number despite the phrasing of the question. This is evident by the number of participants ($N = 167$, 37%) indicating close to zero or a very low salary number ($0 - $15,000). This

tendency was not related to condition ($\chi^2 = 11.615$, $df = 17$, $p = .823$). Interpreting the

item in this way was also not related to the participant's own socioeconomic status ($\chi^2 = $

1.676, $df = 4$, $p = .795$, $\Phi = .061$). As such, these cases were transformed by adding the

proposed number to the average salary ($58,609.21) listed by cases within an appropriate

range ($N = 282$). Interpreting the item as a raise rather than a total salary value was also

not related to inclusion condition ($\chi^2 = 2.41$, $df = 2$, $p = .30$, $\Phi = .07$), parent status

condition ($\chi^2 = .32$, $df = 2$, $p = .85$, $\Phi = .03$), target gender condition ($\chi^2 = .01$, $df = 1$, $p = $

.94, $\Phi = .01$), participant gender ($\chi^2 = 1.34$, $df = 2$, $p = .51$, $\Phi = .06$), participant race ($\chi^2 = $

.03, $df = 1$, $p = .87$, $\Phi = .01$), participant religion ($\chi^2 = 2.06$, $df = 1$, $p = .15$, $\Phi = .07$), or

participant parent status ($\chi^2 = .79$, $df = 1$, $p = .37$, $\Phi = .04$).

For the second item (bonus recommendation), all numbers were within the

appropriate range ($0 to $10,000). The third item (expected percentage on a training

exam), functioned largely as expected with only one individual listing a number that was

outside of the possible range (190; 0-100). This value was recoded to the maximum score

(100). The final item (days acceptable to leave early) had all values within the acceptable

range (0-30). As such, no values were recoded.

**Single-Category Implicit Association Task (SC-IAT): Target-Specific.** The

SC-IAT was constructed similar to the process described by Karpinski and Steinman

(2006).  Seven category stimuli were used including a combination of words and images

related to the target.   Attribute stimuli consisted of 20 attribute words based on previous

research. The SC-IAT contained four blocks: the first block allowed participants to

practice pairing the first combination of attribute and category stimuli through 24 trials.

The second block contained 72 trials for the first concept-attribute pairing providing the

data for the first half of the evaluative pair.  A second series of 24 training trials

facilitated learning to switch the concept-attribute pairing and a second set of 72 trials

provided the data for the second half of the evaluative pair.  The response latencies for

the positive and negative halves can then be compared—the faster latency indicates the

relative direction of the implicit attitude.  Previous research suggests that while fewer

trials can provide adequate reliabilities, increasing trials increases reliability (Bluemke &

Friese, 2008).

The order of presentation (e.g., category with positive or category with negative)

was counter-balanced across participants to limit impact of order effects.  This was done

using the randomly-generated id number of the participant, with even-numbered

participants seeing the negative pairing first (target paired with the negative attribute) and

odd-numbered participants seeing the positive pairing first (target paired with the positive

attribute). There were no differences in SC-IAT scores for the target based on the order of

the presentation ($t$ (446) = .035, $p$ = .972). See Appendix O for all words and images used

within the SC-IATs.

**Single-Category Implicit Association Task (SC-IAT): Childfree.**  The same

process described above was used for the construction of the SC-IAT corresponding to

the childfree.  The category stimuli consisted of childfree words and images, and the

attribute dimension stimuli was the same across IATs.  There were no differences in SC-

IAT scores observed based on order of target-attribute pairing ($t$ (447) = 1.342, $p$ = .180).

See Appendix P for all words and images.

## Results

**Hypothesis Testing**

A correlation matrix for composite and continuous variables, means, and standard deviations is available in Table 1. A point biserial correlation table for dichotomous variables and continuous variables can be found in Table 2. Finally, a correlation table for categorical variables and continuous variables can be found in Table 3 and correlations between demographic variables in Table 4. Participants in all conditions were included in analyses except where otherwise noted. Tests for the hypotheses contained in this research are noted in this section in the order they appeared above. Additional analyses were included when needed.

**Social Deviance and Personality.** A primary hypothesis in this research was that adults without children would be seen as more deviant than would parents. To test this hypothesis, participants viewing targets in both the childfree and childless conditions were combined and compared to those viewing targets in the parent condition; though in the expected direction, targets without children were not seen as significantly more socially deviant than were targets with 2 children ($t$ (447) = .61, $p$ = .54, $d$ = .06). Childfree adults were rated as significantly more deviant than were childless adults, however, providing support for hypothesis 2 ($t$ (296) = 2.09, $p$ = .04, $d$ = .25). Childfree adults were not seen as more socially deviant than were parents ($t$ (292) = .1.63, $p$ = .10, $d$ = .19), nor were childless adults compared to parents ($t$ (304) = -.522, $p$ = .60, $d$ = .05). See Table 5 for group means and standard deviations.

The same analyses were performed using the deviance measure created with the Halford (2006) items. Similar to the previous social deviance measure, targets without children were not seen as more deviant than were parents ($t$ (447) = -.38, $p$ = .71, $d$ =

.04)[2]. Childfree adults were not seen as significantly more deviant than were childless adults, however ($t$ (296) = -.15, $p$ = .88, $d$ = .03), in contrast to the Brauer and Chekroun (2005) measure. Finally, childfree adults were not rated as significantly more deviant than were parents ($t$ (292) = -.39, $p$ = .69, $d$ = .03), nor were childless adults ($t$ (304) = -.26, $p$ = .79, $d$ = .02). Because these results were not significant, subsequent tests involving deviance (e.g., for mediation or moderation) will use the first social deviance scale. These two scales were significantly related to each other ($r$ (449) = -.61, $p < .01$).

Differences in perceived personality were also expected based on parent status. More specifically, hypothesis 3 proposed that childfree adults would be rated significantly higher on negative emotionality and selfishness, but lower on warmth and likeability. Significant differences were found with negative emotionality ($F$(2, 446) = 3.23, $p$ = .04, $\eta_p^2$ = .01), though the highest ratings were given to childless adults rather than childfree adults as hypothesized. Significant differences were also found on warmth, such that parents were rated as significantly warmer than were childfree adults, providing some support for hypothesis 3 ($F$(2, 446) = 7.13, $p$ = .001, $\eta_p^2$ = .03). No significant differences were found based on liking ($F$(2, 446) = 1.32, $p$ = .27, $\eta_p^2$ = .01) or selfishness as measured by the self- versus other factor on the Halford measure ($F$(2, 446) = .09, $p$ = .92, $\eta_p^2$ = .00), counter to hypotheses. As mentioned previously, items from the Halford scale can also be interpreted as a general positive evaluation. No significant differences were found on this variable ($F$(2, 446) = .08, $p$ = .92, $\eta_p^2$ = .00). See Table 6 for group means on each of the perceived characteristics listed above.

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[2] This measure contained positively worded items (e.g., common, expected), so lower values would suggest greater deviance. As such, a negative correlation would be anticipated with the prior measure of deviance.

Hypothesis 4 suggested differences on perceived characteristics would be mediated by social deviance. The PROCESS Macro developed by Hayes (2013, Model 4) was used to test for mediation. Mediation analyses determine if the relationship between the independent (parent status) and dependent (negative emotionality) variables occurred through the third, mediating variable (social deviance). Though the relationships between parent status and negative emotionality as well as social deviance and negative emotionality were significant, because the initial relationship between parent status and social deviance was not significant ($b$ = -.11, $t(447)$ = -1.61, $p$ =.11), an indirect effect could not be tested. Significant differences were found between childfree and childless adults, however, so analyses were conducted using only these two groups. When comparing childfree and childless adults, the relationship between parent status and social deviance is significant ($b$ = -.28, $t(296)$ = -2.09, $p$ =.04), as were the relationships between parent status and negative emotionality ($b$ = .28, $t(295)$ = 5.07, $p < .01$) as well as social deviance and negative emotionality ($b$ = .39, $t(295)$ = 2.92, $p < .01$). Though the relationship between parent status and negative emotionality remained significant with the inclusion of social deviance, there was a significant indirect effect (evidenced by the confidence interval which did not contain zero ($b$ = -.08, $CI$ (95) = $-.19 < a*b < -.01$)).

The same method was used to test for mediation between parent status and warmth. The initial analysis was conducted using the full sample. Consistent with the results observed for negative emotionality, because the initial relationship between parent status and social deviance was not significant, an indirect effect was not found ($b$ = -.11, $t(447)$ = -1.61, $p$ =.11). When these analyses were refined to compare childfree to childless adults specifically, the relationship between parent status and social deviance

was significant ($b$ = -.28, $t(296)$ = -2.09, $p$ =.04), as was the relationship between social

deviance and warmth ($b$ =-.42, $t(295)$ = -10.45, $p < .01$). The relationship between parent

status and warmth was no longer significant, however ($b$ = .12, $t(295)$ = 1.26, $p = .21$),

suggesting full mediation (further evidenced by the confidence interval which did not

contain zero ($b$ = .12, $CI$ (95) = .01 < $a*b$ < .24).

Modern methods of mediation do not require initial significant direct relationships

between the independent and dependent variables (Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty,

2011). As such, additional analyses were conducted to determine if social deviance acted

as a mediator between parent status (using only childfree and childless conditions) and

the remaining variables mentioned in hypothesis 4 (liking, selfishness, and the general

evaluation measure). As in prior analyses, the relationship between parent status and

social deviance was significant ($b$ = -.28, $t(296)$ = -2.09, $p$ =.04). There was also a

significant relationship between social deviance and general evaluation ($b$ =-.66, $t(295)$ =

-13.03, $p < .01$). The direct relationship between parent status and general evaluation

remained non-significant ($b$ = -.13, $t(295)$ = -1.09, $p = .28$), but there was a significant

indirect effect ($b$ = .19, $CI$ (95) = .01 < $a*b$ < .38).

When social deviance was examined as a mediator between parent status and

liking, there was a significant relationship between social deviance and liking ($b$ =-.79,

$t(295)$ = -12.96 $p < .01$). The direct relationship between parent status and liking

remained non-significant ($b$ = .02, $t(295)$ = .17, $p = .87$), though there was a significant

indirect effect ($b$ = .22, $CI$ (95) = .02 < $a*b$ < .45). Finally, when social deviance was

examined as a mediator between parent status and selfishness, there was a significant

relationship between social deviance and selfishness ($b$ =-.65, $t(295)$ = -10.85 $p < .01$).

The direct relationship between parent status and selfishness remained non-significant ($b$ = .02, $t(295)$ = .17, $p$ = .87), though there was a significant indirect effect ($b$ = .19, $CI$ (95) = .01 < $a*b$ < .37).

Additional differences in how targets were perceived were anticipated for aberrant personality traits. To test for differences in aberrant traits (Borderline, Antisocial, Avoidant, Narcissistic, Schizotypal, and Obsessive-Compulsive), a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was used due to the similarity in dependent variables and anticipated correlations among them. Results do not suggest differences across parent conditions for the antisocial ($F(2, 446)$ = .43, $p$ = .65, $\eta_p^2$= .002) or narcissism traits ($F(2, 446)$ = .44, $p$ = .65, $\eta_p^2$= .002) as hypothesized. Additionally, no differences were found between conditions for borderline ($F(2, 446)$ = 1.75, $p$ = .18, $\eta_p^2$= .008), schizotypal ($F(2, 446)$ = .93, $p$ = .52, $\eta_p^2$= .002), or obsessive-compulsive ($F(2, 446)$ = 2.36, $p$ = .10, $\eta_p^2$= .01) traits (though differences were not hypothesized here). Significant differences were found for the avoidant trait, however ($F(2, 446)$ = 3.51, $p$ = .03, $\eta_p^2$= .02), such that the childless targets were seen as significantly higher on this trait than were parents. See Table 7 for group means on each of the aberrant traits.

Hypothesis 6 concerned the potential impact of parent status on implicit ratings. It was expected that targets with children would receive more positive implicit reactions than would childfree adults, however this difference was not significant ($F(2, 445)$ = .91, $p$ = .40, $\eta_p^2$ < .01). See Table 8 for group means.

Hypothesis 7A suggested that implicit ratings would be related to more spontaneous responses about the target. Spontaneous measures in this study included the 4 items to which participants responded in an open text format rather than multiple

choice. The only significant relationship found between implicit attitudes toward the target and continuous response measures was between IAT score and the recommended salary measure, though the size of this relationship was small ($r = .11$, $p = .02$). This suggests that the stronger the positive implicit attitude toward the target, the greater the recommended salary allocation. Relationships with bonus percentage ($r = -.02$, $p = .72$), training score ($r = .09$, $p = .05$), and the number of days the target could arrive late or leave early ($r = .03$, $p = .58$) were not significant.

Hypothesis 7B proposed that explicit ratings would be related to other explicit, deliberate responses. As the Halford measure provides a general rating of the target, this will be used for the general explicit rating. Many of these explicit ratings were significant—see Table 1 for a full correlation matrix between explicit variables.

**Participant Conservatism.** Hypothesis 8 suggested that conservatism (self-reported by the participant) would be negatively related to evaluations based on parent status. Prior to testing for differences across parent status, correlations were calculated between overall ratings of the target (as assessed by the Halford scale) and the three measures of conservatism (the authoritarian aggression and submission and liberalism subscales from the RWA scale and the progressivism measure from the MFQ). Overall evaluations were positively related to the liberalism subscale ($r = .23$, $p < .001$) and the progressivism score ($r = .14$, $p = .001$), but not to the authoritarian aggression and submission scale ($r = -.08$, $p = .10$). To see if this relationship varies based on parent status, moderation analyses using Hayes' PROCESS Macro (Model 1) were conducted for the significant correlations. For liberalism, though there was a significant main effect of conservativism on evaluations ($b = .24$, $p = .03$), there was no significant main effect

of parent status ($b = .10$, $p = .71$), nor was there a significant interaction between the two

($b = -.02$, $p = .76$). For progressivism, there was no significant main effect of parent

status ($b = .16$, $p = .87$), no significant main effect of progressivism ($b = 1.16$, $p = .25$),

and no significant interaction between the two ($b = .0006$, $p = 1.00$).

Conservatism was also tested as a moderator to answer the question: does the

relationship between parent status and the dependent variable change based on the degree

to which the participant is conservative? The PROCESS Macro (Model 1) was used to

test this hypothesis. Overall, there was no main effect of conservatism on social deviance

($b = -.07$, $p = .48$), no main effect of parent status ($b = -.01$, $p = .96$), and no interaction

between the two ($b = -.02$, $p = .67$). Similarly, there was no main effect of conservatism

on interpersonal warmth ($b = .12$, $p = .12$), no main effect of parent status ($b = .32$, $p =$

.10), and no significant interaction between the two ($b = -.02$, $p = .53$). Finally, there was

no main effect of conservatism on negative emotionality ($b = -.10$, $p = .33$), no main

effect of parent status ($b = .02$, $p = .94$), and no significant interaction between the two ($b$

$= -.004$ $p = .93$).

These same relationships were also tested using the progressivism variable.

Overall, there was no main effect of progressivism on social deviance ($b = -.05$, $p = .58$),

no main effect of parent status ($b = -.11$, $p = .31$), and no interaction between the two ($b =$

$-.01$, $p = .97$). Similarly, there was no main effect of progressivism on interpersonal

warmth ($b = .10$, $p = .17$). There was a significant main effect of parent status ($b = .26$, $p$

$< .01$), but no significant interaction between the two ($b = -.03$, $p = .37$). Finally, there

was no main effect of progressivism on negative emotionality ($b = .01$, $p = .93$), no main

effect of parent status ($b = .07$, $p = .51$), and no interaction between the two ($b = -.04$, $p = .40$).

**Work-Related Variables.** In addition to the perceived characteristics reported above, parent status was also hypothesized to impact ratings on work-related variables including dedication to work and competence. There were no significant differences between childfree adults and parents on perceived dedication to work ($t (292) = -.50$, $p = .62$, $d = .05$) or competence ($t (292) = .54$, $p = .59$, $d = .05$), however, as proposed in hypothesis 9a. When perceived dedication was broken into its two component parts (personal industry and loyal boosterism), no significant differences were found between childfree adults and parents on either variable ($t (292) = -.19$, $p = .85$, $d = .04$; $t (292) = -.67$, $p = .50$, $d = .08$, respectively). Similarly, significant differences were not found between childfree and childless adults on dedication to work ($t (296) = -.25$, $p = .80$, $d = .02$) or perceived competence ($t (296) = .06$, $p = .95$, $d = .01$), as proposed in hypothesis 9b. Consistent results were found when the perceived dedication measure was analyzed by factor ($t (296) = -.32$, $p = .75$, $d = .04$; $t (296) = -.16$, $p = .88$, $d = .02$, respectively). See Table 9 for group means.

Hypotheses 10 and 11 predicted a difference between childfree adults and parents on interpersonal facilitation and engagement. Childfree adults were not rated significantly differently than were parents on interpersonal facilitation ($t (292) = -.12$, $p = .91$, $d = .01$) or engagement variables ($t (292) = .12$, $p = .91$, $d = .02$). See Table 10 for group means. As both the engagement and interpersonal facilitation variables contained sub-scales, a comparison between childfree adults and parents was conducted here as well. No significant differences were found between childfree adults and parents for interpersonal

helping ($t$ (292) = -.52, $p$ = .60, $d$ = .07), individual initiative ($t$ (292) = .40, $p$ = .69, $d$ =

.04), the cognitive component of engagement ($t$ (292) = .41, $p$ = .68, $d$ = .05), the emotion

component of engagement ($t$ (292) = .47, $p$ = .64, $d$ = .06), or the behavioral component

of engagement ($t$ (292) = -.63, $p$ = .53, $d$ = .08).

**Gender as a Moderator.** Hypothesis 12 introduced the potential effect of gender

on the relationship between parent status and evaluations. First, it was expected that the

relationship between parent status and perceived social deviance would be stronger for

women than for men. To test for moderation, a multivariate analysis of variance was used

incorporating both the parent status condition and gender condition as categorical

variables and testing for the presence of a significant interaction. The overall model was

not significant ($F$(5, 443) = .99, $p$ = .42, $\eta_p^2$ = .01). When examined together, there was no

longer a main effect for parent status ($b$ = .24, $p$ = .22), no main effect of gender ($b$ = .01,

$p$ = .98), and no significant interaction between the two ($b$ = -.03, $p$ = .90).  See Table 11

for group means and Figure 1 for a graph of the relationships.

Next, the same analysis was conducted for interpersonal warmth, showing

significant differences ($F$(5, 443) = 9.44, $p$ < .01, $\eta_p^2$ = .10). When examined together,

there was a main effect for parent status ($b$ = -.36, $p$ = .02), a significant main effect for

gender ($b$ = -.56, $p$ < .01), but no significant interaction between the two. See Table 11

for group means and Figure 2 for a graphic representation of the relationships. Across all

parent conditions, the female target was rated more highly on warmth. Similarly, for both

the male and female targets, the parent condition was rated more highly than were the

childfree or childless conditions.  No significant moderating relationships were found for

negative emotionality ($F(5, 443) = 1.55$, $p = .17$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$), selfishness ($F(5, 443) = .75$, $p = .59$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), or likeability ($F(5, 443) = .95$, $p = .45$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$).

As in hypothesis 12, a MANOVA was used to test whether the relationship between parent status and aberrant traits varied based on the gender of the target. Though a significant effect was found earlier within the Avoidant trait, no significant differences were found when comparing across the six conditions ($F(5, 443) = 1.62$, $p = .15$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). Additionally, no significant results were found for Borderline ($F(5, 443) = .1.19$, $p = .31$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), Narcissistic ($F(5, 443) = .38$, $p = .87$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), Antisocial ($F(5, 443) = .45$, $p = .81$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), Schizotypal ($F(5, 443) = .48$, $p = .79$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), or Obsessive-Compulsive ($F(5, 443) = 1.57$, $p = .17$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) traits. See Table 12 for group means.

Hypothesis 13 proposed potential differences in implicit attitudes scores with the inclusion of the gender variable. More specifically, it was expected that stronger, negative implicit reactions may be seen for the childfree woman than for the childfree man or parents. No significant differences were found for implicit attitudes toward the target ($F(5, 442) = 1.08$, $p = .37$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$). See Table 13 for group means.

Hypothesis 14 proposed a difference on the perceived dedication variable, more specifically that childfree women may be rated as significantly more dedicated than would mothers, but that this relationship may be weaker (or not exist) for men. An analysis of variance was used to test this hypothesis. Results were not significant ($F(5, 443) = .33$, $p = .90$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), though the means were in the expected direction for the female target. See Table 14 for group means.

**Promotability.** Hypothesis 15 sought to confirm the original research by Jawahar and Ferris (2011) as to the incremental utility of task and contextual performance on

perceived promotability judgments. Both interpersonal facilitation ($r = .64$, $p < .01$) and perceived dedication ($r = .71$, $p < .01$) were significantly related to promotability. They were also significantly correlated with each other ($r = .73$, $p < .01$), so relative weights analysis was used. This method helps to determine the degree to which interpersonal facilitation provided incremental predictive power above and beyond that of perceived dedication. These results suggest that while, as expected, perceived dedication accounted for the majority of the variance in promotability judgments ($R^2 = .31$, 58.2% of the variance explained), interpersonal facilitation did explain a large portion of the variance as well ($R^2 = .22$, 41.8% of the overall variance explained). These results are consistent with previous literature as well as Hypothesis 15 in this research.

Given the previously reported CFA results, an additional relative weights analysis was conducted comparing the relationships with all four variables and perceived promotability. Consistent with the two-factor RWA results, the two elements of perceived dedication (personal industry and loyal boosterism) explain a greater percent of the variance ($R^2 = .18$, 32.9% and $R^2 = .14$, 24.2% respectively) than did the elements of interpersonal facilitation. Interpersonal helping, however, explained nearly three times the variance ($R^2 = .18$, 32% of the variance explained) than did individual initiative ($R^2 = .06$, 10.9%). These results could suggest greater overlap between the interpersonal facilitation variables than the perceived dedication variables, however both pairs were highly correlated with each other ($r(449) = .62$, $p < .01$ and $r(449) = .63$, $p < .01$ respectively). These results are more likely due to a stronger relationship between interpersonal helping and promotability ($r(449) = .67$, $p < .01$) relative to that between individual initiative and promotability ($r(449) = .47$, $p < .01$). Future research should

continue to examine the relative impact of individual initiative on perceived

promotability judgments.

The research question posed by this study questioned if the effect of interpersonal

facilitation and perceived dedication on promotability may vary based on the gender of

the target. To test for moderation, a univariate ANOVA was used with the continuous

independent variables (Interpersonal Facilitation and Perceived Dedication) entered as

covariates, the categorical variable (Target Gender) entered as a fixed factor, and

promotability entered as the dependent variable. Though the overall model was

significant ($F(7, 441) = 73.03$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .54$) and there were significant main effects

of interpersonal facilitation ($b = .47$, $p < .01$) and perceived dedication ($b = .82$, $p < .01$),

there was not a significant main effect of target gender ($b = -.44$, $p = .69$). These results

suggest that though both interpersonal facilitation and perceived dedication were related

to promotability (as established in hypothesis 15), target gender did not significantly

impact promotability ratings. Additionally, there was not a significant interaction

between gender and interpersonal facilitation ($F(2, 441) = .557$, $p = .46$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$) nor

gender and perceived dedication ($F(2, 441) = .05$, $p = .82$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), nor a significant

interaction between the three variables ($F(2, 441) = 1.67$, $p = .19$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$).

Participants were also asked to rate the degree to which they would recommend

the target for a promotion to 7 different positions that corresponded to both managerial

and non-managerial roles. There were no significant difference in overall promotability

based on parent status ($F(2, 446) = .09$, $p = .91$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$).Additionally, there were no

significant differences on any of the individual promotion items by parent status. See

Table 15 for ANOVA results and group means.

**Attributed Decision-Maker.** Hypothesis 16 suggested that the degree to which the individual was seen as responsible for his/her status may be related to evaluations of the individual. More simply, if the individual was seen as responsible for the decision of the couple to be childfree, that would result in more negative evaluations than if both members of the couple were seen as equally responsible. There were significant differences between conditions on the likelihood of being seen as the decision-maker ($\chi^2 =$ 45.49, df = 10, $p < .01$). Being seen as the decision-maker was not significantly related to general evaluations as measured using the Halford scale ($F(2, 446) = 1.32$, $p = .27$, $\eta_p^2 =$ .01). See Table 16 for group means. This is likely a result of the relatively small proportion of participants indicating that the target was responsible for the decision when compared to both partners. However, participants viewing the female childless and female parent targets were significantly more likely to respond in this way than were participants viewing male targets or female targets in the childfree condition. Ultimately, there was no main effect of being the decision maker ($F(2, 432) = 2.64$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 =$ .01), condition ($F(5, 432) = 1.18$, $p = .32$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), or interaction between the two ($F(9,$ $432) = 1.62$, $p = .11$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$) on the general evaluation measure.

**Work-Life Balance Policies.** To determine perceived need for flexibility in hypothesis 17, the scale used by Shin and colleagues was examined for differences across conditions. Significant differences were found for the third element of this scale—the degree to which the participant was critical of the efforts undertaken by the target to balance work and home life—by parent status ($F(2, 446) = 3.30$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$), such that participants were significantly more critical of efforts of childfree adults when compared to childless adults, consistent with hypothesis 17. This relationship was in the

same direction comparing parents and childless adults, but was not significant. No

significant differences were seen on the degree to which participants would allow the

target to switch ($F(2, 446) = 2.68$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), would provide advice ($F(2, 446) =$

.23, $p = .79$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), or see the individual as not requiring any assistance whatsoever

($F(2, 446) = .34$, $p = .72$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$). See Table 17 for group means. Each of these

elements was related to numerous work-life benefit choices listed (see Table 18 for

correlations).

When the previous hypothesis was examined using the two-factor approach

suggested by the PCA, no significant differences were found for the first factor (critical

of efforts and allowing a switch; $F(2, 446) = 2.82$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$) nor for the second

factor (providing advice and no assistance needed; $F(2, 446) = .43$, $p = .65$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$).

Parent status was also significantly related to the likelihood of being granted paid

family leave ($F(2, 446) = 27.95$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$) as well as healthcare for others in the

family ($F(2, 446) = 8.81$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$). These results are important as all targets

were listed as having spouses, but the childfree and childless adults were significantly

less likely to be granted both benefits when compared to parents, providing some support

for Hypothesis 17. See Table 19 for group means for all work-life balance initiatives.

Because both paid family leave and family healthcare were also related to the

criticality item from the Shin scale, moderation analyses were conducted to see if parent

status significantly influenced the relationship between the criticality variable and

allocation of the benefit (hypothesis 18). Though there was a main effect of parent status

on being allocated paid family leave ($b = 1.03$, $p < .001$), there was no main effect of

criticality ($b = .01$, $p = .97$), and no significant interaction between the two ($b = -.07$, $p =$

.26). Additionally, though parent status was related to the provision of health care for others above, there was no main effect of parent status on being provided health care for others ($b = .41$, $p = .08$) when examined as part of this moderation analysis. There was also no main effect for criticality ($b = -.22$, $p = .08$), and no interaction between the two ($b = .002$, $p = .97$). Together, these results are not consistent with expected relationship in hypothesis 18.

**Inclusion Statements.** Hypotheses 19 and 20 concerned the impact of the inclusion condition (Multicultural, AIM, or control) on evaluations of childfree adults. Though there were significant differences in perceived organizational inclusiveness ($F(2, 446) = 4.22$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$) and acceptance ($F(2, 446) = 5.94$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), the significant differences were found between the multicultural and control conditions, rather than between the AIM condition and the other two types (though the AIM condition means were in the expected direction). These results suggest that the inclusion statements were functioning as intended, in that those participants who viewed an inclusion statement did indeed see their organization as more inclusive than did participants viewing the control statement. See Table 20 for condition means. Importantly, there were no significant differences in inclusiveness ($F(2, 443) = .61$, $p = .69$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$) nor acceptance ($F(2, 443) = .95$, $p = .45$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$) based on the gender x parent status interaction. This means that the organization was not seen as more or less inclusive between the childfree male condition and female parent condition (for example), but that the statements themselves were impacting perceived inclusivity.

When taking the inclusion manipulation into account, there were no significant differences in overall evaluation comparing the childfree, childless, and parent targets

$(F(8, 440) = .42, p = .91, \eta_p^2 < .01)$, nor were there significant differences in perceived

negative emotionality $(F(8, 440) = .98, p = .45, \eta_p^2 = .02)$. However, there was a

significant difference between groups on interpersonal warmth $(F(8, 440) = 2.34, p = .02,$

$\eta_p^2 = .04)$. When the group means were examined, childfree adults in all conditions had

lower means than did parents in all inclusion conditions with the significant difference

between the childfree adult in the multicultural condition (which had the lowest warmth

rating) and the parent in the AIM condition (which had the highest warmth rating). These

results do suggest that the inclusion manipulation may subtly impact perceived

interpersonal warmth, however childfree adults were still seen as lower in interpersonal

warmth than were parents, consistent with results in hypothesis 4. See Table 21 for group

means.

Hypothesis 20 concerned the degree to which participants' allocation of benefits

may be more consistent across parent conditions for those exposed to the AIM condition

than for those in the multicultural or control conditions. Because the only benefits that

varied by parent condition were paid family leave and health care for others, only these

two variables will be tested in this hypothesis. Moderation analysis using the PROCESS

macro was used to test this hypothesis. There was a main effect of inclusion condition on

the likelihood of allocating family health benefits $(b = -.64, p - .03)$, but there was no

significant impact of parent status $(b = -.01, p = .97)$, and no significant interaction

between the two $(b = .23, p = .09)$. For allocation of paid family leave, there was no

significant main effect of parent status $(b = .54, p = .07)$, no main effect of inclusion

condition $(b = -.17, p = .55)$, and no significant interaction between the two $(b = .15, p =$

$.28)$.

**Additional Analyses**

Though not formally hypothesized in this study, additional analyses were

conducted using scales and demographic variables collected in this research. First,

perceived agency and interpersonal warmth were both included in the LeMastro (2001)

scale in addition to negative emotionality. Though differences in interpersonal warmth

were found across parent conditions, there were also significant differences based on the

gender of the target such that the female target (Sarah) was seen as warmer than was the

male target (Steven; $F(1, 447) = 36.11$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$). These results are consistent

with previous research which generally rates females as warmer than males (Cuddy,

Fiske & Glick (2004), however, the female target was also rated as significantly higher

on the agency variable in this study ($F(1, 447) = 4.30$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), though this

result was small in magnitude and likely not practically significant.

The female target was also rated significantly higher on interpersonal helping

($F(1, 447) = 15.79$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) and interpersonal facilitation ($F(1, 447) = 5.67$, $p =$

.04, $\eta_p^2 = .01$) than was the male target. Interestingly, there were no significant

differences in promotability ($F(1, 447) = .62$, $p = .43$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), competence ($F(1, 447) =$

.70, $p = .40$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$), or likeability ($F(1, 447) = 1.05$, $p = .31$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$).

When work-life balance policies were examined for potential differences based on

the gender of the target, four significant differences were found. Each of these differences

were directed toward Sarah, suggesting that participants were more likely to allocate

these benefits to the female target than to the male target. More specifically, participants

were more likely to grant telecommuting ($F(1, 447) = 18.53$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), a home

office ($F(1, 447) = 16.54$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), flex-time ($F(1, 447) = 17.20$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 =$

.02), and a compressed work week schedule ($F(1, 447) = 14.17$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$) to Sarah than to Steven. These results are in the same direction as previous research which suggested that consequences may be more likely for men taking advantage of these policies than for women (Butler & Skattebo, 2004). See Table 22 for group means based on target gender.

Differences based on participant gender were also examined. In general, female participants were more favorable when allocating work-life balance policies than were male participants. These results were significant for allocating a pension ($F(1, 447) = 4.82$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), telecommuting privileges ($F(1, 447) = 5.04$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$), a home office ($F(1, 447) = 11.96$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$), and a compressed work week ($F(1, 447) = 7.81$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$).

Previous research also suggests that the parent status of the participant may impact ratings of childfree individuals as well. As such, additional analyses were conducted based on whether or not the participant indicated he/she had children. At an individual level, participants with children rated themselves significantly higher on authoritarianism ($F(1, 447) = 18.96$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$) and lower on both liberalism ($F(1, 447) = 7.62$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) as well as progressivism ($F(1, 447) = 7.32$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) compared to those without children. Though not hypothesized in this study, these results are consistent with previous research by Rauscher and Conley (2013) which suggested that parents, particularly parents with more daughters than sons, are more likely to hold conservative view points than are non-parents. See Table 23 for group means.

It is possible that adults without children may view the childfree more positively than would parents. As such, moderation analyses were conducted using an ANOVA to determine if there was a significant main effect of parent status or interaction between parent status of the participant and parent status of the target. There was no main effect of participant parent status on social deviance ($b = .34$, $p = .26$), interpersonal warmth ($b = .20$, $p = .40$), or negative emotionality ($b = -.16$, $p = .61$). Correspondingly, there was not a significant interaction between parent status of the participant and parent status of the target on social deviance ($b = -.06$, $p = .65$), interpersonal warmth ($b = .01$, $p = .95$), or negative emotionality ($b = .10$, $p = .69$). These results suggest that differences found for these variables cannot be explained by whether or not the participant has children of his/her own.

## Discussion

### Potential Implications for Research and Practice

The results of this study have several implications. First, in general, childfree adults were rated more negatively than were parents, particularly for perceived social deviance and interpersonal warmth. Consistent with previous research, the childfree choice is seen as going "against the grain." Interestingly, though childfree adults were not seen as significantly more deviant than were parents, they were seen as significantly more deviant than were childless adults. This could have two potential explanations: first (and similar to previous research), childless adults are more likely to receive sympathy rather than negative judgment; second, childless adults are seen as having *wanted* children, but were just unable to have them. This may imply that the socially deviant

aspect of the childfree choice is the lack of desire for children rather than the lack of

presence of children in the household.

        As expected, childfree adults were also rated as possessing less interpersonal

warmth than were parents. Consistent with previous research comparing parents and non-

parents in the workplace, both mothers and fathers are seen as warmer than their

colleagues without children. However, this same result was not found for childless adults,

suggesting again that it is the *desire* or intention to have children rather than the presence

of children that impacts perception. An important recommendation for future research in

this area would be to carefully define the non-parent conditions, as results may vary

between non-parents choosing not to have children and non-parents who could not (or do

not currently) have children.

        Though not hypothesized, it is worth noting that childless adults were rated more

highly on the negative emotionality scale. This scale included adjectives like "lonely"

and "feels sorry for self." Higher scores on this variable may reflect sympathy for the

target. It is possible that participants felt sorry for the childless individual and believed

him/her to be of a similar emotional state. Perceived negative emotionality is important to

recognize because this variable was negatively correlated with positive constructs like

interpersonal facilitation, perceived dedication to work, perceived engagement, and

promotability. Thus, though childless adults may be tempted to turn to colleagues for

comfort (particularly if the outcome is relatively recent), these results may suggest

caution before doing so.

        Promotability, a key variable when understanding how an employee is perceived

at work, was a major focus of this research. This study examined promotability as

previously popularized by Jawahar and Ferris (2011) and supported the role of both

interpersonal facilitation and perceived dedication. Results do not suggest differences

based on parent status for these variables.  Importantly, these relationships did not differ

by gender, suggesting that both male and female associates in the workplace should pay

attention to the interpersonal and task elements of their roles. This result is encouraging

for research on performance evaluation and gender in the workplace.

Next, informed by previous research, it was expected that being seen as

"responsible" for one's parent status would engender more negative reactions. To test

this, the background for the target's parent status was deliberately left ambiguous—

though the majority of participants assumed both parties made the decision to have

children (or not) jointly, a subset of the sample did attribute parent status to the target

they viewed. Interestingly, this was significantly more likely to be true for the female

targets who were childless or parents than for the male targets in any condition. Given the

existing research on mothers in the workplace, it is possible that perceived

"responsibility" may play a role in some of those relationships. Most notably, this may be

relevant for research suggesting mothers are less dedicated to their jobs than are fathers,

post-birth (Correll, Benard & Paik, 2007; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008).

This research also sought to integrate provision of work-life balance efforts

popular in many organizations today. Though the majority of the policies examined did

not show differences based on parent status, provision of paid family leave and healthcare

for others in the family were significantly more likely to be allocated to parents than to

childfree adults. Though all adults are entitled to unpaid leave (if qualified) under the

Family Medical Leave Act, organizations are now more and more likely to provide paid

leave, particularly for parents of new babies. The results described in this study are consistent with this trend, even though the reason for the leave is kept ambiguous. Further, most organizations allow health coverage for one's spouse (or, potentially others living in the household) under an existing health care plan, but these results suggest support for using the plan may vary. Both inform practice such that the childfree adult may want to use additional discretion when discussing the need for leave or healthcare benefits with the Human Resources department or his/her supervisor as necessary.

Ultimately, numerous hypotheses were not supported in this research. Childfree adults were not rated more highly on the aberrant personality traits. Demonstrably more negative than traditionally-used personality variables, the aberrant traits are strongly negatively correlated with positive evaluations and workplace outcomes. It could be seen as encouraging that childfree adults were not rated more highly on these variables than were childless adults or parents. Not hypothesized in this research, childless adults were more highly rated on the trait of "Avoidant," however, which included items like "Hypersensitive," "Cautious," and "Prone to Feelings of Inadequacy." Likely similar in rationale to the results for Negative Emotionality, these results may suggest that childless adults take caution when discussing their parent status in depth in the workplace. Instead, it may be worth seeking external support outside of the office.

A focal point of this research was the examination of childfree adults in the workplace, as opposed to society at large. As such, various workplace variables were included to see if differences between childfree and childless adults and parents would be found. The majority of these hypotheses were not supported in the current study. It is possible that the impact the childfree status has on perception in society does not carry

over to workplace as it generally may not be seen as job-relevant. This rationale would

counter results found examining parents in the workplace, however, which consistently

finds differences between parents and non-parents. Another potential explanation stems

from the increased media exposure and attention to the childfree choice over the last five

years.  That is, it could be that the current findings do not represent a departure from past

findings, but instead reflect a great degree of acceptability and changing attitudes in

society.  Additional explanations and limitations are explored in the next section.

   Another contribution of this research was the use of SC-IATs to examine the

implicit attitudes toward childfree adults. Though there was variability in these scores

across participants, scores did not vary due to the parent status or gender of the target and

were not highly related to continuous response measures like the bonus or training course

scores. The SC-IAT was chosen for the ability to examine implicit attitudes without a

comparison category, but future research should incorporate other implicit measures (e.g.,

the Go/No-Go Association Task) or use a standard IAT comparing childfree adults to

parents directly.

   Finally, a goal of this research was to integrate inclusion statements to see if

information about the organization could influence the degree to which childfree adults

were viewed more negatively than were parents. It was hypothesized that, were the

organization to feel more inclusive, fewer differences in allocated benefits may be

observed. Though the multicultural and AIM conditions did show higher levels of

acceptance and inclusiveness than did the control condition, these statements did not

significantly impact outcome variables of interest or minimize differences based on

parent status. It is possible that these statements alone were unable to impact perceptions

of specific employees when provided with a target profile and complaint statement.

Additionally, mission or inclusion statements are relatively ubiquitous. It is possible that

the ability of these statements to impact behavior is quite limited. The power of

organizational inclusion initiatives to affect reactions and evaluation may come when this

inclusion can be felt and experienced rather than read.

**Additional Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research**

This data was collected using an online sample from Amazon Mechanical Turk

that was paid for their efforts. Though the sample was relatively diverse and varied in age

and socioeconomic status, 74.4% of the sample listed themselves as white, non-Hispanic,

a greater percentage than is reflective over the U.S. population (61.6%, U.S. Census).

This number suggests increased diversity compared to the standard mTurk sample,

however (83.5%, Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012). Previous research suggests the

potential for more conservative viewpoints toward childfree adults from African-

American and Hispanic groups, so it is possible that the number of non-supported

hypotheses in this study could be a function of a predominantly white sample. Future

should seek to include more ethnically diverse individuals when possible.

Additionally, 42.8% of the sample identified as Atheist/Agnostic compared to the

estimated 22.8% for the population of the United States at large (Pew Research Center,

2014). The number of non-religious participants in the current sample was very similar to

that of previously-reported mTurk samples (41.8%, Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012).

Given the previously reported differences based on religious affiliation (e.g., Halford,

2006; Hook, 2012; Koropeckyj-Cox & Pendell, 2007; Pearce, 2004), it is possible that a

more religiously diverse sample could have produced different results. More specifically,

it is possible that some of the currently non-supported hypotheses may have been

significant with a more religious sample. Future research should consider alternative

methods of data collection to obtain a greater proportion of religious respondents,

particularly more characteristically conservative ideologies (e.g., Baptist, Orthodox

Jews).

Last, 61.5% of the sample indicated they did not have children. Though this

number is only slightly more than what would be expected from the mTurk population

(57.2%, Shapiro, Chandler, & Mueller, 2013), there was a great proportion of non-parents

than would be expected from the U.S. population (47% among adults 18-40, 14% among

adults 45+, Newport & Wilke, 2013). Though the ratings of childfree adults by parents

has conflicted in prior research, it is possible that the relatively limited number of parents

may have influenced the results reported herein.

There were also characteristics of the methodology that future should consider.

This study requested participants imagine themselves in the situation at hand, rather than

truly being present in the situation or imagining an individual known to the participant. It

is possible that results would vary if the participant were an existing employee of the

organization, rating someone they knew personally, or actually serving as the role

intended in the study. An interesting follow-up study could compare organizations known

for their inclusive culture (or lack thereof) and see if responses to unknown childfree

targets may vary accordingly. A related concern is all manipulations in this study were

text-based. This results in the participants having to read a fair amount in order to attend

to the different conditions. Though the vast majority of participants did respond to the

manipulation check items correctly, future research should consider alternative means of relaying this information (e.g., video or audio).

The subtlety of the manipulations could also explain the lack of differences found. Videos depicting the target could be used rather than written statements and pictures to see if this added detail makes the manipulations more tangible and salient to the participants. Future research could also explore other, perhaps less discrete, methods for notifying participants of the target's parent status. For example, participants could watch a video-taped conversation between the target and another coworker during which this information was provided.

As with previous research in this area, this study compared childfree and childless adults to parents, all in heterosexual and married couples. Given the multitude of family types in today's world, future research should examine the impact of other arrangements on ratings. For example, are childfree adults in non-married or non-monogamous couples rated more highly than are parents in these same couples? Are parents in homosexual couples rated more negatively than are childfree adults or parents in heterosexual couples? Also, future research should examine adults who have made the decision to be childfree but are not currently in a committed relationship. Given the tendency of many to think adults in these circumstances will "change their minds," additional research in this area would be an interesting addition to understanding the impact of the choice to parent (or not) as well as on parents and non-parents in the workplace.

Also similar in scope, this research compared two white, non-Hispanic adults. Though important to minimize confounds in the current study, future research should see if results are consistent or diverge when comparing two African American, Hispanic,

Asian, or racially ambiguous adults. Furthermore, a comparison between adults of

different races would create an interesting comparison between parent status, gender, and

race that could greatly inform future research and practice in this area and today's

increasingly global and diverse workforce.

The results of this study suggest the potential for variance based on the individual

who is seen as "responsible" for the decision to be childfree. Though this study did not

manipulate this variable specifically, future research should examine if results vary if the

decision-maker is mentioned directly. It is possible that the sex of the target could

magnify existing differences between parents and non-parents.

This study also did not manipulate the job type of the target, but rather chose a

deliberately gender-neutral job type. Given the impact of parent status on interpersonal

warmth found in the study, it would be interesting to examine if this result is augmented

when in a more traditionally female-dominated job type (e.g., nurse, teacher) or

attenuated when in a traditionally male-dominated job type (e.g., engineer). In addition to

job type, different industries could be studied as well. It is possible that differences based

on parent status could be found when comparing more traditional industries (e.g.,

manufacturing) to more progressive industries (e.g., technology). Variance may emerge

on workplace variables surrounding promotability as a result.

Finally, part of the request made by the target across the conditions in this

research is for the organization to develop a formal work-from-home policy that

stipulates the requirements to work-from-home and makes it possible for fairness to be

achieved across the board. Though actual support and acceptance of the policy may vary

from team-to-team or job-to-job, future research should examine the role of formal policy

statements on ratings, particularly as they pertain to work-life balance provisions. As

more and more organizations embrace flexible work arrangements and telecommuting

plans, the need to understand and correctly interpret these policies becomes more and

more critical.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Demographic Information (Final Sample)

Gender:

|  | n | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Male Participants | 244 | 54.3% |
| Female Participants | 203 | 45.2% |
| "Prefer Not to Answer" | 2 | .4% |

Race:

|  | n | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| White, Non-Hispanic | 334 | 74.4% |
| Hispanic | 24 | 5.3% |
| Black | 43 | 9.6% |
| Asian | 27 | 6.0% |
| Pacific Islander | 1 | .2% |
| Native American | 1 | .2% |
| Multiracial | 16 | 3.6% |
| Prefer Not To Answer | 3 | .7% |

Religious Affiliation:

|  | n | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Christian, Catholic | 64 | 14.3% |
| Christian, Protestant | 74 | 16.5% |
| Christian, Baptist | 23 | 5.1% |
| Christian, Other | 23 | 5.1% |
| Jewish | 9 | 2% |
| Muslim | 5 | 1.1% |
| Hindu | 1 | .2% |
| Buddhist | 7 | 1.6% |
| Atheist/Agnostic | 192 | 42.8% |
| None of the Above | 51 | 11.3% |

How Many Children Do You Have?

|  | n | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| No Children | 279 | 62.14% |
| 1 | 65 | 14.48% |
| 2 | 59 | 13.14% |
| 3 | 26 | 5.79% |
| 4 | 11 | 2.45% |
| 5 | 5 | 1.11% |
| 6 | 1 | .22% |
| 7 | 0 | 0% |
| 8 | 0 | 0% |
| 9 | 1 | .22% |
| 10+ | 2 | .45% |

Parenthood Intentions:

| Do You Plan To Have More Children In The Future? | | |
|---|---|---|
|  | n | Percent |
| No | 114 | 25.39% |
| Potentially | 44 | 9.80% |
| Yes | 12 | 2.67% |
| N/A | 279 | 62.14% |
| Do You Think You Will Have Children In The Future? | | |
|  | n | Percent |
| No | 102 | 22.72% |
| Potentially | 126 | 28.06% |
| Yes | 51 | 11.36% |
| N/A | 170 | 37.86% |

Annual Household Income:

| | *n* | Percent |
| --- | --- | --- |
| < $20,000 | 62 | 13.8% |
| $20,000-$40,000 | 167 | 7.2% |
| $40,000-$60,000 | 100 | 22.3% |
| $60,000-$80,000 | 61 | 13.6% |
| $80,000+ | 57 | 12.7% |
| "Prefer Not To Answer" | 2 | .4% |

Appendix B

Introduction and Inclusion Statements

**Introductory statement:**

Hello, and thank you for participating in this study. Today you will review one case file

and make several ratings about the packet you view as well as respond to some questions

about yourself.

When making these ratings, please keep in mind the following information about your

role:

You are assigned to serve as an External Human Resources Consultant for Shaw

Corporation. Shaw Corporation is a medium-sized company with 400 employees across

all levels. They've been growing recently, but have been a proud member of their

community for 20 years. They've called you in to review a case that has recently come up

in one of their departments. They hope that an external perspective can provide some

additional insight into the situation.

It is highly important that you take these ratings seriously to make sure the comparison is

as valuable as possible to Shaw Corporation. So, when making the ratings, think critically

about how the person you view corresponds to the items listed.

The case file begins on the following page.

**Condition 1: Multicultural Approach**

We at Shaw Corporation believe having a corporate culture of mutual respect, cross

collaboration and inclusion is a shared responsibility that drives growth and innovation,

and enhances our operational excellence-while making a positive impact in the

communities we serve.

We are committed to being a leader in our business sector and in fostering a productive

environment for our employees at all levels. All employees can take advantage of our

many benefits and workplace perks, designed to let you prioritize our non-work life

regardless of what that may include. For example, we have an on-site gym and laundry

facilities as well as flexible scheduling for all employees regardless of whether they have

dependent children at home. Here at Shaw Corporation, we host an annual get-together

for our associates and any guests they would like to include. When it comes to benefits,

we believe you should have equal access and recognition of all those important in your

life.

Shaw Corporation, Working for a Better Future


**Condition 2: All-Inclusion Model Approach**

We at Shaw Corporation believe having a corporate culture of mutual respect, cross

collaboration and inclusion is a shared responsibility that drives growth and innovation,

and enhances our operational excellence-while making a positive impact in the

communities we serve.

We are committed to being a leader in our business sector and in fostering a productive

environment for our employees at all levels. We recognize that there are many factors

that make up what an employee looks for and needs out of his/her employer. When it

comes to benefits, many personal choices need to be made taking into consideration

family and friends, personal commitments, and long-term goals. We have events to which

you may bring children, but also events just for significant others, and still other events

only for our associates. For example, we have an on-site daycare, an on-site gym, a

laundry facility, and we can arrange travel for you. At Shaw Corporation, we believe in

providing many different options, so you can choose the benefits that fit best for you.

Shaw Corporation, Working for a Better Future

**Condition 3: Control Condition**

We at Shaw Corporation believe having a corporate culture of mutual respect, cross

collaboration and inclusion is a shared responsibility that drives growth and innovation,

and enhances our operational excellence-while making a positive impact in the

communities we serve. We are committed to being a leader in our business sector and in

fostering a productive environment for our employees at all levels.

Shaw Corporation, Working for a Better Future

Appendix C

Target Employee Packet Contents

Employee Résumé included:

- Employee data sheet (personal information)
    - Name
        - Male: Steven Johnson
        - Female: Sarah Johnson
    - Photo (See Appendix O)
    - Degree (same across conditions)
        - B.S. in Business Administration
    - Title (same across all conditions)
        - Purchasing Agent, II
    - Years with the company (same across all conditions)
        - 5
    - Supervisor name (same across all conditions)
        - Kris Day
    - Direct reports (same across all conditions)
        - 0
    - Date of last performance review (same across all conditions)
        - January 15, 2015
    - Employee number (same across all conditions)
        - 10589435
    - Hobbies: reading, camping, exploring the city, and hiking
    - Software: Microsoft Excel, Microsoft Access, SAP
- Performance Evaluation
    - Overall rating: Above Average (4)
    - Most recent performance appraisal competency ratings:
        - Influence: 4/5
        - Initiative: 4/5
        - Collaboration: 4/5
        - Understands roles and responsibilities: 5/5
        - Results Focus: 3/5

Appendix D

Complaint Form

An official complaint form was filed by (Target Name).

Position: Purchasing Agent II

Department: Purchasing


Date of Incident: November 11

Individual(s) Involved in Incident: Supervisor Kris

Brief Description of Incident:

I have a very busy few weeks coming up, so I was hoping I would get the opportunity to work from home. Not having to commute to work each day would free up more time for me to accomplish what I need and still maximize the amount of time available to work.

I approached my supervisor optimistic that I would be able to work from home for two days each week over the next three weeks. I've seen other people in my department work from home occasionally, so I thought it would be fine. We don't have a formal policy about this, so it was really up to my supervisor.

After hearing my request, my supervisor denied it, saying that they weren't able to allow me to work from home during the time requested. I was surprised, and couldn't initially figure out why. **I tend to be pretty private at work, but I opened up to my coworker about the decision my (husband/wife) had made to not have children. This information got around my work group. My supervisor must have used this information in the decision to not grant my work from home request.  I understand**

**that it's ultimately decided on a case-by-case basis, but I feel like I'm being singled out.**

I'm filing this complaint to hopefully be able to work from home during the time requested. I don't see a reason I shouldn't be given the same privileges.

Condition 2: Childless

**I tend to be pretty private at work, but I opened up to my coworker about how my (husband/wife) and I cannot have children. This information got around my work group. My supervisor must have used this information in the decision to not grant my work from home request. I understand that it's ultimately decided on a case-by-case basis, but I feel like I'm being singled out.**

Condition 3: Parent

**I tend to be pretty private at work, but I opened up to my coworker about the two children my wife and I have. This information got around my work group. My supervisor must have used this information in the decision to not grant my work from home request. I understand that it's ultimately decided on a case-by-case basis, but I feel like I'm being singled out.**

Have you discussed this complaint with your supervisor: Yes

Is this complaint related to your performance appraisal: No

What would be the preferred remedy to this situation:

I would like to be granted the work-from-home time I requested. More importantly, I think we should develop a formal policy so that everyone knows the requirements to work from home and can be treated the same.

I hereby signify that the content of this complaint form is as accurate as possible, and that I understand making a formal complaint is not to be taken likely. I will provide additional information if necessary to help personnel understand this issue.

Signature:

Date:

Appendix E

Social Deviance

Brauer, M. & Chekroun, P. (2005). The relationship between perceived violation of

social norms and social control: Situational factors influencing the reaction to deviance.

*Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 35*, 1-22.

Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following items:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Slightly Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |

1. To what extent do you consider the behavior to be counter to the norms of our

   society?

2. To what extent is the behavior appropriate for the situation you reviewed? (R)

3. Based on the information you reviewed, how similar would you expect this

   individual to be to other employees at this company? (R)

4. How much would you expect this employee to have in common with other

   employees at this company? (R)

Note: The final three items were reverse-scored so interpretation of scores could yield

higher scores relating to higher levels of perceived deviance.

Appendix F

Aberrant Personality Traits

Burch, G. St. J. & Foo, G. (2010). Schizotypal and dependent personality characteristics and managerial performance. *Australian Psychologist, 45*(4), 290-298.

Please indicate the degree to which each of the following characterizes the target:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all | Not very much | Very little | Neutral | Slightly true | Good match | Very much |

Borderline (*category titles were removed):

1. Inappropriate anger
2. Unstable
3. Prone to intense relationships
4. Moody
5. Hard to please

Avoidant:

1. Socially inhibited
2. Prone to feelings of inadequacy
3. Hypersensitive to criticism or rejection
4. Cautious
5. Reluctant to take risks

Narcissistic:

1. Arrogant
2. Prone to haughty behaviors
3. Grandiose sense of self-importance
4. Entitled
5. Bold
6. Unusually self-confident

Antisocial:

1. Disregard for the truth
2. Impulsive
3. Often fails to plan ahead

4. Refuses to conform to social norms
5. Mischievous

Schizotypal:

1. Possesses odd beliefs
2. Behaves oddly
3. Eccentric
4. Peculiar
5. Imaginative

Obsessive-Compulsive:

1. Preoccupied with orderliness
2. Perfectionist tendencies
3. Overly-conscientious
4. Inflexible
5. Diligent

Appendix G

Religiosity

Duke University Religion Index

Frequency of religious behavior:

1. How often do you attend church or other religious meetings?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Never | Once a year or less | A few times a year | A few times a month | At least once a week |

2. How often do you spend time in private religious activities, such as prayer, meditation, or study?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Never | A few times a month or less | Once a week | Two or more times a week | At least once a day |

Religious ideology/general behaviors:

The next three items used this scale:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Slightly Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |

3. In my life, I experience the presence of the divine (i.e., God).

4. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.

5. I try hard to carry my religion over into all other dealings in life.

Shortened Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale

Rattazzi, A. M., Bobbio, A., & Canova, L. (2007). A short version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale. *Personality and Individual Differences, 43*, 1223-1234. Doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2007.03.013.

Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following items:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Slightly Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |

Authoritarian Aggression and Submission

1. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.

2. The majority of those who criticize proper authorities in government and religion only create useless doubts in people's minds.

3. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest method would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.

4. What our country really needs instead of more "civil rights" is a good stiff dose of law and order.

5. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn.

6. The fact on crime, sexual immorality and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers, if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.

7. What our country needs most is disciplined citizen, following national leaders in unity.

Conservatism:

1. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.

2. A lot of our rules regarding sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow.

3. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.

4. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values."

5. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if makes them different from everyone else.

6. People should pay less attention to religious organizations and religious figures, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.

7. It is good that nowadays young people have greater freedom "to make their own rules" and to protest against things they don't like.

8. We should treat protestors and radicals with open arms and open minds, since new ideas are the lifeblood of progressive change.

Appendix H

Moral Foundations Questionnaire

Graham, J., Nosek, B. A., Haidt, J., Iyer, R., Koleva, S., & Ditto, P. H. (2011). Mapping

the moral domain. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 101*(2), 3660385. DOI:

10.1037/a0021847.

Part 1: Moral Relevance

When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following

considerations relevant to your thinking?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all relevant | Not very relevant | Slightly relevant | Neither relevant nor not relevant | Somewhat relevant | Very relevant | Extremely relevant |

Factor 1: Harm

1. Whether or not someone suffered emotionally

2. Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable

Factor 2: Fairness

1. Whether or not some people were treated differently from others

2. Whether or not someone acted unfairly

Factor 3: In-group

1. Whether or not someone's action showed love for his or her country

2. Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group

Factor 4: Authority:

1. Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority

2. Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society

Factor 5: Purity

1. Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency

2. Whether or not someone did something disgusting

Part II: Please indicate your agreement with the following items:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Slightly Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |

Factor 1: Harm

1. Compassion for those who are suffering is the most critical virtue

2. One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.

Factor 2: Fairness

1. When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.

2. Justice is the most important requirement for a society.

Factor 3: In-group

1. I am proud of my country's history.

2. People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done

   something wrong.

Factor 4: Authority:

1. Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.

2. Men and women each have different roles to play in society.

Factor 5: Purity

1. People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.

2. I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.

Appendix I

Perceived Dedication

Moorman, R. H. & Blakeley, G. L. (1995). Individualism-collectivism as an individual difference predictor of organizational citizenship behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 16*, 127-142.

Please indicate the degree to which you think each statement corresponds to the employee packet you received:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all | Not very much | Very little | Neutral | Slightly true | Good match | Very much |

Interpersonal helping:

1. Goes out of his/her way to help co-workers with work-related problems

2. Voluntarily helps new employees settle into job

3. Frequently adjusts his/her work schedule to accommodate other employees' requests for time-off

4. Always goes out of the way to make newer employees feel welcome in the work group.

5. Shows genuine concern and courtesy toward co-workers, even under the most trying business or personal situations

Individual initiative:

1. For issues that may have serious consequences, expresses opinions honestly even when others may disagree

2. Often motivates others to express their ideas and opinions

3. Encourages others to try new and more effective ways of doing their job

4. Encourages hesitant or quiet co-workers to voice their opinions when they otherwise might not speak-up

5. Frequently communicates to co-workers suggestions on how the group can improve

Personal industry:

1. Rarely misses work even when he/she has a legitimate reason for doing so

2. Performs his/her duties with unusually few errors

3. Performs his/her job duties with extra-special care

4. Always meets or beats deadlines for completing work

Loyal Boosterism:

1. Defends the organization when other employees criticize it

2. Encourages friends and family to utilize organization products

3. Defends the organization when outsides criticize it

4. Shows pride when representing the organization in public

5. Actively promotes the organization's products and services to potential users

Appendix J

Perceived Work Engagement

Swanberg, J. E., McKechnie, S. P., Ojha, M. U., & James, J. B. (2011). Schedule control, supervisor support and work engagement: A winning combination for workers in hourly jobs? *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 79*, 613-624.

Please indicate your agreement with each of the statements below:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Neither Agree Nor Disagree | Slightly Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |

Cognitive:

1. It would take a lot to get this employee to leave the company.

2. This employee would like to be working for the company one year from now."

3. Compared with other employees, this employee thinks the company is a great place to work."

Emotional:

1. This employee really cares about the future of the company.

2. This employee is an important part of the company's success.

Behavioral:

1. This employee would recommend the company to a friend seeking employment.

2. This employee is willing to give extra effort to help the company succeed.

Appendix K

Liking Items

Abrams, D., Marques, J. M., Brown, N., & Henson, M. (2000). Pro-norm and anti-norm deviance within and between groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*(5), 906-912.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all | Not very much | Very little | Neutral | Slightly true | Good match | Very much |

1. How much do you like the target?

2. How much would like you to work with the target?

3. How similar are you with the target?

Appendix L

Specific Promotion Items

Please indicate the degree to which you think the target would be a good fit for the role

listed below:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all | Not very much | Very little | Neutral | Slightly true | Good match | Very much |

1.  Promotion to manager leading a group of 4 associates

2.  Promotion to manager leading a group of 10 associates

3.  Promotion to technical manager (no direct reports)

4.  Promotion to Senior Purchasing Agent

5.  Promotion to project manager

6.  Lateral move to an agent in a related group

7.  Stay in current position

Appendix M

Frequently Provided Benefit Options

Please indicate the degree to which you think the employee described in the file you

received needs the benefit below:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all | Not very much | Very little | Neutral | Slightly true | Good match | Very much |

1. Financial Benefits

    a.  Pension

    b.  Paid time off

2. Location

    a.  Telecommuting (general)

    b.  Work from home

    c.  Home office set-up

3. Time

    a.  Flexible scheduling (general)

    b.  Compressed work week

    c.  Additional breaks throughout the day

    d.  Job sharing

    e.  Part-to-full-time transition

4. Health

    a.  Employee Assistance Programs (counseling, rehab, etc.)

    b.  Paid family leave

       c.   Health care (self)

       d.   Health care (others)

       e.   Health risk-appraisal

       f.   Health education

       g.   Dietitian, nutrition, personal trainer

       h.   Health membership

5. Education

       a.   Second (or additional) language

       b.   Sponsored degree completion

       c.   Tuition reimbursement

6. Misc.

       a.   Autonomy in projects

       b.   Results only work environment (ROWE)

Appendix N

Shin Measure

Shin, M., Wong, N. W., Simko, P. A., & Ortiz-Torres, B. (1989). Promoting the well-being of working parents: Coping, social support, and flexible job schedules. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 17*, 31-55.

| Item | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|------|---|---|---|---|
| "I would allow this employee to switch schedules to accommodate outside-of-work responsibilities" | 1 | | | |
| "I will provide advice to this employee on how to balance work and non-work life" | .053 | 1 | | |
| "I am critical of this employee's efforts to combine work and non-work life" | -.57** | .11* | 1 | |
| "This employee does not require additional assistance to balance work- and non-work life" | -.04 | -.34** | -.05 | 1 |

Note: ** Indicates correlations significant at the *p* < .01 level; * Indicates correlations significant at the *p* < .05 level.

Appendix O

Continuous Response Measures

Correll, S. J., Benard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty?

*American Journal of Sociology, 112*(5), 1297-1338. doi: 10.1086/511799

Please respond to the items below using the scale noted:

1. This individual is currently eligible for a raise in salary. What would you allocate for a total annual salary? (Indicate response is U.S. dollars)

2. What bonus percentage would you recommend for this individual? (0-100%)

3. What percentage would you expect this employee to score during his/her recent management training course? (0-100%)

4. How many days could this applicant arrive late or leave early per month before you would no longer recommend him/her for continued employment? (0-30 days)

Appendix P

Implicit Attitude Stimuli

**SC-IAT Stimuli (Verbal)**

Campbell, W. K., Bosson, J. K., Goheen, T. W., Lakey, C. E. & Kernis, M. H. (2007). Do narcissists dislike themselves "Deep down inside"? *Psychological Science, 18*(3), 227-229.

Cunningham, W. A., Preacher, K. J., & Banaji, M. R. (2001). Implicit attitude measures: Consistency, stability, and convergent validity. *Psychological Science, 12*(2), 163-170.

Positive:

1. Love
2. Joy
3. Triumph
4. Happy
5. Terrific
6. Champion
7. Honest
8. Smart
9. Bright
10. Success
11. Splendid
12. Valued
13. Noble
14. Strong
15. Proud
16. Competent
17. Worthy
18. Nice
19. Wonderful
20. Great
21. Talent

Negative:

1. Awful
2. Terrible
3. Hatred
4. Agony

5. Failure
6. Detest
7. Nightmare
8. Stupid
9. Useless
10. Vile
11. Weak
12. Ashamed
13. Hated
14. Guilty
15. Awkward
16. Rotten
17. Despised
18. Ugly
19. Filth
20. Maggot
21. Wrong

**SC-IAT Stimuli (Pictures)**

Female: (Sarah Johnson)

Male: (Steve Johnson)

Childfree:

Tables

Table 1

*Correlation Matrix, Means, and Standard Deviations*

| | M | SD | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social Deviance | 3.25 | 1.14 | .84 | | | | | | | | | |
| Borderline | 2.42 | 1.41 | .588** | .91 | | | | | | | | |
| Avoidant | 3.1 | 1.23 | .357** | .597** | .79 | | | | | | | |
| Narcissistic | 3.07 | 1.48 | .556** | .742** | .491** | .92 | | | | | | |
| Antisocial | 2.35 | 1.3 | .611** | .758** | .534** | .751** | .89 | | | | | |
| Schizotypal | 2.47 | 1.34 | .566** | .749** | .554** | .646** | .808** | .90 | | | | |
| Obsessive Compulsive | 3.43 | 1.15 | .210** | .421** | .524** | .450** | .426** | .442** | .76 | | | |
| Warmth | 4.62 | 0.93 | -.513** | -.505** | -.271** | -.517** | -.507** | -.441** | -.137** | .87 | | |
| Agency | 5.08 | 0.90 | -.508** | -.550** | -.385** | -.519** | -.604** | -.530** | -.107* | .358** | .90 | |
| Emotionality | 5.39 | 1.19 | .295** | .516** | .507** | .465** | .514** | .461** | .361** | -.328** | -.487** | .78 |
| General Evaluation | 4.73 | 1.27 | -.620** | -.708** | -.394** | -.731** | -.687** | -.611** | -.245** | .697** | .752** | -.533** |
| Unselfishness | 4.8 | 1.65 | -.513** | -.653** | -.398** | -.716** | -.647** | -.560** | -.265** | .529** | .688** | -.515** |
| Interpersonal Facilitation | 4.35 | 1.17 | -.463** | -.465** | -.332** | -.429** | -.424** | -.1372** | -.114* | .597** | .614** | -.400** |
| Perceived Dedication | 4.62 | 1.33 | -.474** | -.526** | -.299** | -.465** | -.514** | -.463** | -.127** | .647** | .708** | -.382** |
| Engagement | 4.59 | 1.23 | -.524** | -.571** | -.372** | -.544** | -.568** | -.501** | -.227** | .602** | .679** | -.468** |
| Competency | 5.27 | 0.81 | -.371** | -.348** | -.277** | -.253** | -.379** | -.336** | -.040 | .413** | .626** | -.328** |
| Liking | 5.58 | 1.51 | -.607** | -.632** | -.361** | -.621** | -.603** | -.537** | -.224** | .698** | .714** | -.474** |
| Promotability | 4.76 | 1.44 | -.544** | -.602** | -.397** | -.581** | -.568** | -.519** | -.231** | .600** | .702** | -.482** |
| Salary | $59,400 | $11,825.17 | -.083 | -.127** | -.094* | -.140** | -.109* | -.102* | -.021 | .163** | .180** | -.102* |
| Bonus % | 66.74 | 589.14 | -.015 | .016 | .016 | .006 | .013 | .050 | .009 | .119* | .296** | .008 |
| Training Score | 79.73 | 19.68 | -.222** | -.235** | -.165** | -.231** | -.258** | -.190** | -.093* | .295** | .324** | -.142** |

*Notes.* * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 1 Continued.

| | M | SD | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social Deviance | 3.25 | 1.14 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Borderline | 2.42 | 1.41 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Avoidant | 3.1 | 1.23 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Narcissistic | 3.07 | 1.48 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Antisocial | 2.35 | 1.3 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Schizotypal | 2.47 | 1.34 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Obsessive Compulsive | 3.43 | 1.15 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Warmth | 4.62 | 0.93 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Agency | 5.2 | 0.86 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Emotionality | 5.39 | 1.19 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| General Evaluation | 4.73 | 1.27 | .92 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unselfishness | 4.8 | 1.65 | .848** | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Interpersonal Facilitation | 4.35 | 1.17 | .664** | .554** | .93 | | | | | | | | |
| Perceived Dedication | 4.62 | 1.33 | .689** | .549** | .725** | .93 | | | | | | | |
| Engagement | 4.59 | 1.23 | .740** | .610** | .662** | .792** | .93 | | | | | | |
| Competency | 5.27 | 0.81 | .456** | .349** | .494** | .593** | .547** | .80 | | | | | |
| Liking | 5.58 | 1.51 | .804** | .655** | .641** | .700** | .750** | .502** | .90 | | | | |
| Promotability | 4.76 | 1.44 | .761** | .610** | .640** | .705** | .793** | .548** | .842** | .92 | | | |
| Salary | $59,400 | $11,825.17 | .194** | .140** | .202** | .238** | .197** | .141** | .215** | .257** | 1 | | |
| Bonus % | 66.74 | 589.14 | .043 | .027 | .098* | .085 | .066 | .068 | .072 | .079 | .116* | 1 | |
| Training Score | 79.73 | 19.68 | .323** | .274** | .275** | .370** | .410** | .366** | .347** | .396** | .147** | .049 | 1 |

*Notes.* $* p < .05.$ $** p < .01.$

Table 1 Continued.

| | M | SD | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arrive Late/Early | 6.09 | 5.06 | -.101* | -.037 | -.012 | -.009 | -.020 | -.039 | -.028 | .080 | .097* | -.014 |
| Target IAT | 0.14 | 0.31 | -.091 | -.114* | -.080 | -.117* | -.071 | -.100* | -.002 | .120* | .019 | -.039 |
| Childfree IAT | 0.05 | 0.29 | -.060 | .015 | -.031 | -.030 | -.030 | -.045 | .019 | -.032 | .070 | -.001 |
| Religious Frequency | 1.86 | 1.13 | -.008 | .058 | .076 | .051 | .059 | .040 | .082 | -.014 | -.010 | .098* |
| Religious Behavior | 2.92 | 2.05 | -.007 | .063 | .039 | .038 | .058 | .047 | .076 | .011 | .035 | .072 |
| Authoritarianism | 2.97 | 1.6 | .050 | .100* | .007 | .048 | .084 | .083 | .058 | -.001 | .022 | .001 |
| Liberalism | 5.22 | 1.41 | -.130** | -.167** | -.073 | -.125** | -.176** | -.139** | -.031 | .111* | .170** | -.127** |
| Harm | 5.5 | 1.13 | -.078 | -.008 | .018 | -.044 | -.110* | -.042 | .084 | .165** | .222** | -.074 |
| Fairness | 5.71 | 0.92 | -.117* | -.062 | -.051 | -.054 | -.154** | -.118* | .041 | .139** | .225** | -.099* |
| In-group | 3.99 | 1.19 | -.007 | .072 | .039 | .000 | .045 | .077 | .100* | .067 | .046 | .075 |
| Authority | 3.99 | 1.25 | -.008 | .058 | .001 | -.010 | .015 | .023 | .056 | .035 | .040 | .048 |
| Purity | 3.64 | 1.72 | .016 | .036 | -.071 | .014 | .006 | .032 | .029 | .053 | .037 | -.024 |
| Progressivism | 1.73 | 1.48 | -.068 | -.072 | .008 | -.036 | -.109* | -.093* | -.009 | .058 | .117** | -.084 |

Notes. * p < .05. ** p < .01.

Table 1 Continued.

| | M | SD | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arrive Late/Early | 6.09 | 5.06 | .053 | .047 | .092 | .106* | .089 | .047 | .131** | .166** | .113* | .055 | .042 |
| Target IAT | 0.14 | 0.31 | .118* | .097* | .163** | .096* | .103* | .023 | .152** | .139** | .107* | -.017 | .092 |
| Childfree IAT | 0.05 | 0.29 | .024 | .012 | -.046 | .020 | .039 | .065 | .043 | .043 | -.033 | -.004 | .093* |
| Religious Frequency | 1.86 | 1.13 | -.094* | -.067 | -.004 | -.032 | -.050 | .036 | -.031 | -.068 | -.033 | -.026 | .007 |
| Religious Behavior | 2.92 | 2.05 | -.074 | -.047 | .028 | .004 | -.006 | .028 | -.031 | -.040 | .010 | -.008 | .028 |
| Authoritarianism | 2.97 | 1.6 | -.078 | -.037 | .002 | -.063 | -.027 | -.011 | -.079 | -.052 | -.061 | .056 | -.049 |
| Liberalism | 5.22 | 1.41 | .231** | .186** | .118* | .181** | .147** | .142** | .230** | .202** | .098* | .037 | .062 |
| Harm | 5.5 | 1.13 | .148** | .100* | .158** | .137** | .088 | .168** | .150** | .087 | .047 | .028 | -.013 |
| Fairness | 5.71 | 0.92 | .172** | .125** | .159** | .127** | .128** | .165** | .137** | .105* | .116* | .021 | .070 |
| In-group | 3.99 | 1.19 | -.006 | -.016 | .065 | .028 | .041 | .019 | .030 | .030 | .000 | .039 | .029 |
| Authority | 3.99 | 1.25 | -.024 | -.048 | .020 | -.027 | .007 | .072 | -.053 | -.038 | -.030 | .036 | .000 |
| Purity | 3.64 | 1.72 | -.056 | -.033 | .061 | -.007 | -.011 | .074 | -.059 | -.021 | -.075 | .046 | -.003 |
| Progressivism | 1.73 | 1.48 | .140** | .108* | .063 | .095* | .065 | .061 | .130** | .077 | .092 | -.021 | .010 |

Notes. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 1 Continued.

| | M | SD | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arrive Late/Early | 6.09 | 5.06 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Target IAT | 0.14 | 0.31 | .026 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Childfree IAT | 0.05 | 0.29 | -.027 | .115* | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Religious Frequency | 1.86 | 1.13 | .097* | .048 | .010 | .58 | | | | | | | | | |
| Religious Behavior | 2.92 | 2.05 | .102* | .028 | -.007 | .825** | .95 | | | | | | | | |
| Authoritarianism | 2.97 | 1.6 | .001 | -.019 | -.042 | .299** | .419** | .94 | | | | | | | |
| Liberalism | 5.22 | 1.41 | -.068 | .041 | .069 | -.476** | -.574** | -.647** | .92 | | | | | | |
| Harm | 5.5 | 1.13 | -.104* | .055 | .007 | .019 | .062 | -.088 | .287** | .80 | | | | | |
| Fairness | 5.71 | 0.92 | -.094* | .073 | .055 | -.090 | -.066 | -.144** | .367** | .602** | .75 | | | | |
| In-group | 3.99 | 1.19 | .027 | .024 | -.003 | .242** | .314** | .494** | -.325** | .097* | .061 | .64 | | | |
| Authority | 3.99 | 1.25 | -.049 | -.017 | -.038 | .286** | .378** | .682** | -.548** | -.044 | -.048 | .639** | .73 | | |
| Purity | 3.64 | 1.72 | -.020 | -.006 | -.034 | .325** | .437** | .605** | -.532** | .106* | .006 | .488** | .718** | .84 | |
| Progressivism | 1.73 | 1.48 | -.055 | .044 | .045 | -.293** | -.357** | -.639** | .672** | .515** | .537** | -.582** | -.764** | -.680** | 1 |

Notes. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Correlation Matrix Key for Table 1:

| Table Variable Name | Description |
|---|---|
| 1. Social Deviance | Social Deviance Score (Higher = More Deviant) |
| 2. Borderline | Borderline Aberrant Personality Trait |
| 3. Avoidant | Avoidant Aberrant Personality Trait |
| 4. Narcissistic | Narcissistic Aberrant Personality Trait |
| 5. Antisocial | Antisocial Aberrant Personality Trait |
| 6. Schizotypal | Schizotypal Aberrant Personality Trait |
| 7. Obsessive Compulsive | Obsessive-Compulsive Aberrant Personality Trait |
| 8. Warmth | Interpersonal Warmth |
| 9. Agency | Agency/Agentic Behavior |
| 10. Emotionality | Negative Emotionality |
| 11. General Evaluation | General Overall Evaluation (Halford) |
| 12. Unselfishness | Unselfishness |
| 13. Interpersonal Facilitation | Interpersonal Facilitation (Interpersonal Helping and Individual Initiative |
| 14. Perceived Dedication | Perceived Dedication (Personal Industry and Loyal Boosterism) |
| 15. Engagement | Overall Engagement (Cognitive, Emotional, and Behavioral) |
| 16. Competency | Competence Rating |
| 17. Liking | Liking of the Target |
| 18. Promotability | Promotability |
| 19. Salary | Suggested Salary Number |
| 20. Bonus % | Bonus Percentage Allocated |
| 21. Training Score | Training Score (1-100) |
| 22. Arrive Late/Early | Number of Days Permitted to Arrive Late or Leave Early (0-30) |
| 23. Target IAT | IAT Score for Target |
| 24. Childfree IAT | IAT Score for Childfree Adults in General |
| 25. Religious Frequency | Frequency of Religious Behaviors (e.g., go to Church) |
| 26. Religious Behavior | Religious Behaviors in General |
| 27. Authoritarianism | Authoritarian Preference |
| 28. Liberalism | Conservative Values (Higher = Liberal) |
| 29. Harm | Value Placed on Harm |
| 30. Fairness | Value Placed on Fairness |
| 31. In-group | Value Placed on In-Group Preference |
| 32. Authority | Value Placed on Authority |
| 33. Purity | Value Placed on Purity/Sanctity |
| 34. Progressivism | Overall Progressivism Score (Based on Above 5 Factors) |

Table 2

*Point Biserial Correlations between continuous and demographics variables*

| | Gender Condition | Gender: | White vs Non-White | Religious or non-religious | Do you have children? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social Deviance | -.009 | -.066 | -.002 | -.035 | -.091 |
| Borderline | .045 | -.111* | -.006 | -.108* | -.044 |
| Avoidant | .007 | -.040 | .000 | -.046 | -.022 |
| Narcissistic | -.047 | -.107* | -.028 | -.076 | -.042 |
| Antisocial | -.045 | -.081 | -.008 | -.084 | -.051 |
| Schizotypal | .038 | -.096* | -.023 | -.099* | -.060 |
| Obsessive Compulsive | .034 | -.015 | -.005 | -.078 | -.035 |
| Interpersonal Warmth | .273** | .035 | -.044 | .039 | .099* |
| Agency | .080 | .027 | -.063 | .013 | .098* |
| Emotionality | .013 | .013 | -.030 | -.111* | -.017 |
| General Evaluation | .052 | .096* | -.015 | .074 | .058 |
| Selfishness | .060 | .107* | .004 | .039 | .075 |
| Halford Deviance | -.001 | .121* | .045 | .079 | .042 |
| Interpersonal Helping | .135** | .044 | .032 | .035 | .092 |
| Individual Initiative | .031 | .014 | .086 | .019 | .035 |
| Interpersonal Facilitation | .096* | .033 | .063 | .031 | .073 |
| Personal Industry | .054 | .032 | -.031 | .047 | .022 |
| Loyal Boosterism | .007 | .031 | -.014 | .018 | .096* |
| Perceived Dedication | .030 | .035 | -.024 | .034 | .071 |
| Cognitive Engagement | .009 | .042 | -.043 | .062 | .080 |
| Emotional Engagement | .006 | .031 | -.014 | .063 | .071 |
| Behavioral Engagement | -.007 | .018 | -.052 | .087 | .082 |
| Overall Engagement | .003 | .034 | -.040 | .075 | .084 |
| Competence | .040 | .025 | -.043 | -.010 | .056 |
| Individual Initiative | .048 | .035 | -.094* | .065 | .059 |
| Promotability | .037 | .009 | -.069 | .056 | .027 |
| Criticality | .010 | .004 | -.119* | .108* | .022 |
| Salary | -.085 | -.037 | .025 | -.026 | .005 |
| Bonus (0-100) | .088 | .058 | -.039 | -.096* | .017 |
| Training (0-100) | .107* | .043 | -.081 | -.055 | .052 |
| Arrive late/leave early | -.013 | -.119* | -.004 | -.099* | .041 |

*Notes. *p < .05, **p < .01*

Table 3

*Correlations between categorical demographics and continuous variables*

|  | Participant Parent Status | Socioeconomic Status | Inclusion Condition |
|---|---|---|---|
| Social Deviance | -.096* | .050 | -.002 |
| Borderline | -.035 | .077 | -.031 |
| Avoidant | -.017 | .048 | -.041 |
| Narcissistic | -.060 | .107* | -.010 |
| Antisocial | -.052 | .091 | -.015 |
| Schizotypal | -.055 | .055 | .022 |
| Obsessive Compulsive | -.054 | .080 | -.002 |
| Interpersonal Warmth | .126** | -.049 | -.017 |
| Agency | .107* | -.056 | -.024 |
| Emotionality | .008 | .037 | .005 |
| General Evaluation | .074 | -.080 | .011 |
| Selfishness | .095* | -.071 | .011 |
| Halford Deviance | .067 | -.055 | .006 |
| Interpersonal Helping | .114* | -.011 | -.032 |
| Individual Initiative | .056 | -.068 | .051 |
| Interpersonal Facilitation | .097* | -.041 | .007 |
| Personal Industry | .011 | -.056 | .000 |
| Loyal Boosterism | .101* | -.012 | -.039 |
| Perceived Dedicaiton | .069 | -.034 | -.025 |
| Cognitive Engagement | .057 | -.068 | -.060 |
| Emotional Engagement | .057 | -.071 | -.004 |
| Behavioral Engagement | .068 | -.042 | -.045 |
| Overall Engagement | .064 | -.066 | -.042 |
| Competence | .041 | -.042 | -.080 |
| Individual Initiative | .086 | -.050 | -.022 |
| Promotability | .054 | -.070 | -.012 |
| Criticality | .006 | -.047 | -.007 |
| Salary | .026 | .175** | -.008 |
| Bonus (0-100) | .014 | -.055 | -.034 |
| Training (0-100) | .057 | -.020 | -.076 |
| Arrive late/leave early | .071 | .071 | -.078 |

*Notes. *p < .05, **p < .01*

Table 4

*Correlations between categorical and continuous demographic variables*

| | Participant Gender: | White, Non-White | Religion, Non-Religious | Children, No Children | Participant parent status | Socioeconomic status |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Religious Frequency | .117* | -.005 | -.689** | .220** | .249** | .054 |
| Religious Behavior | .157** | .035 | -.716** | .223** | .234** | .045 |
| Authoritarian | .145** | -.006 | -.327** | .202** | .201** | .010 |
| Conservatism | -.109* | -.055 | .386** | -.131** | -.122** | -.011 |
| Harm value | .054 | -.047 | -.063 | .010 | -.007 | -.072 |
| Fairness value | -.012 | .062 | .020 | -.008 | .000 | -.006 |
| Ingroup value | -.028 | -.088 | -.289** | .177** | .210** | .011 |
| Authority value | .106* | .053 | -.303** | .165** | .202** | .059 |
| Purity Value | .113* | .069 | -.307** | .088 | .137** | -.041 |
| Progressivism | -.049 | -.017 | .264** | -.127** | -.169** | -.033 |

*Notes.* *$p < .05$, *$p < .01$
Coding Information:
Participant gender: Male = 1, Female = 2
White, Non-White: White = 1, Non-White = 2
Religious, Non-Religious: Religious = 1, Non-Religious = 2
Children, No Children: Children = 1, No Children = 2
Participant Parent Status: Childfree = 1, Maybe in the future = 2, Parent = 3
Socioeconomic Status: Higher values = higher level of socioeconomic status

Table 5

*Social Deviance by Parent Status*

| No Children *M(SD)* | Childfree *M(SD)* | Childless *M(SD)* | Parent *M(SD)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3.08 (1.17) | 3.23 (1.20)* | 2.94 (1.14)* | 3.01 (1.08) |

*Note. *p < .05, ** p < .01*

Table 6

*Personality Ratings by Parent Status*

| Trait | Childfree *M(SD)* | Childless *M(SD)* | Parent *M(SD)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Evaluation | 4.70 (1.33) | 4.76 (1.23) | 4.72 (1.24) |
| Negative Emotionality | 3.27 (1.11)* | 3.58 (1.25)* | 3.29 (1.18) |
| Selfishness | 3.24 (1.71) | 3.16 (1.65) | 3.21 (1.61) |
| Warmth | 4.40 (.93)** | 4.64 (.95)** | 4.80 (.85)** |
| Likeability | 4.41 (1.54) | 4.66 (1.52) | 4.66 (1.47) |

*Note. *p < .05, ** p < .01*

Table 7

*Aberrant Trait Ratings by Parent Status*

| Trait | Childfree *M(SD)* | Childless *M(SD)* | Parent *M(SD)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Borderline | 2.52 (1.52) | 2.49 (1.43) | 2.24 (1.26) |
| Antisocial | 2.41 (1.34) | 2.37 (1.29) | 2.28 (1.27) |
| Avoidant | 3.14 (1.24) | 3.26 (1.19)* | 2.90 (1.25)* |
| Narcissistic | 3.16 (1.51) | 3.05 (1.46) | 3.00 (1.48) |
| Schizotypal | 2.50 (1.36) | 2.53 (1.38) | 2.38 (1.27) |
| Obsessive-Compulsive | 3.39 (1.16) | 3.58 (1.14) | 3.31 (1.13) |

*Note. *p < .05, ** p < .01*

Table 8

*Implicit Attitudes (toward the Target) by Parent Status*

| Childfree *M(SD)* | Childless *M(SD)* | Parent *M(SD)* |
|---|---|---|
| .14 (.32) | .12 (.33) | .17 (.27) |

*Note. *p < .05, ** p < .01*

Table 9

*Perceived Dedication and Competence Ratings by Parent Status*

| Variable | Childfree *M(SD)* | Childless *M(SD)* | Parent *M(SD)* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Perceived Dedication | 4.58 (1.10) | 4.62 (1.15) | 4.65 (1.15) |
| Competence | 5.29 (.83) | 5.28 (.76) | 5.24 (.84) |
| *Note. *p < .05, ** p < .01* | | | |

Table 10

*Interpersonal Facilitation and Engagement Ratings by Parent Status*

| Variable | Childfree *M(SD)* | Childless *M(SD)* | Parent *M(SD)* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Interpersonal Facilitation | 4.35 (1.09) | 4.33 (1.20) | 4.37 (1.21) |
| Cognitive Engagement | 4.57 (1.20) | 4.59 (1.25) | 4.51 (1.25) |
| Emotional Engagement | 4.75 (1.34) | 4.71 (1.43) | 4.68 (1.34) |
| Behavioral Engagement | 4.50 (1.41) | 4.52 (1.42) | 4.61 (1.37) |
| Overall Engagement | 4.60 (1.19) | 4.60 (1.27) | 4.60 (1.22) |
| *Note. *p < .05, ** p < .01* | | | |

Table 11

*Group Means for Parent Status by Target Gender*

| Group | Social Deviance | Interpersonal Warmth | Negative Emotionality | Selfishness | Likeability |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Male, Childfree *M(SD)* | 3.21 (1.21) | 4.20 (.80)* | 3.26 (1.04) | 3.33 (1.71) | 4.33 (1.43) |
| Male, Childless *M(SD)* | 2.94 (1.08) | 4.43 (.87) | 3.50 (1.16) | 3.22 (1.66) | 4.62 (1.31) |
| Male, Parent *M(SD)* | 3.01 (1.01) | 4.48 (.80) | 3.37 (1.16) | 3.46 (1.67) | 4.50 (1.35) |
| Female, Childfree *M(SD)* | 3.24 (1.19) | 4.68 (1.04)* | 3.30 (1.22) | 3.10 (1.72) | 4.53 (1.69) |
| Female, Childless *M(SD)* | 2.94 (1.20) | 4.82 (.99)** | 3.66 (1.32) | 3.11 (1.64) | 4.61 (1.69) |
| Female, Parent *M(SD)* | 3.01 (1.14) | 4.62 (.93)** | 3.39 (1.19) | 3.01 (1.52) | 4.58 (1.51) |
| *Note. *p < .05, ** p < .01* | | | | | |

Table 12

*Group Means for Parent Status by Target Gender (Aberrant Traits)*

| Group | Avoidant | Borderline | Narcissistic | Antisocial | Schizotypal | Obsessive-Compulsive |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male, Childfree *M(SD)* | 3.06 (1.18) | 2.48 (1.45) | 3.20 (1.57) | 2.46 (1.39) | 2.43 (1.32) | 3.25 (1.18) |
| Male, Childless *M(SD)* | 3.24 (1.20) | 2.31 (1.31) | 3.17 (1.46) | 2.36 (1.31) | 2.43 (1.22) | 3.56 (1.13) |
| Male, Parent *M(SD)* | 2.96 (1.30) | 2.23 (1.16) | 3.02 (1.54) | 2.40 (1.30) | 2.40 (1.33) | 3.37 (1.19) |
| Female, Childfree *M(SD)* | 3.24 (1.33) | 2.57 (1.62) | 3.09 (1.43) | 2.34 (1.27) | 2.60 (1.42) | 3.58 (1.11) |
| Female, Childless *M(SD)* | 3.29 (1.18) | 2.66 (1.52) | 2.95 (1.46) | 2.38 (1.29) | 2.62 (1.52) | 3.60 (1.15) |
| Female, Parent *M(SD)* | 2.85 (1.22) | 2.25 (1.33) | 2.97 (1.44) | 2.18 (1.25) | 2.37 (1.23) | 3.26 (1.08) |

*Note.* $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$

Table 13

*Group Means for Parent Status by Target Gender (Implicit Attitudes)*

| Group | Implicit Attitudes |
|---|---|
| Male, Childfree *M(SD)* | .11 (.30) |
| Male, Childless *M(SD)* | .09 (.27) |
| Male, Parent *M(SD)* | .16 (.29) |
| Female, Childfree *M(SD)* | .19 (.35) |
| Female, Childless *M(SD)* | .14 (.37) |
| Female, Parent *M(SD)* | .17 (.25) |

*Note.* $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$

Table 14

*Group Means for Parent Status by Target Gender (Perceived Dedication)*

| Group | Perceived Dedication |
|-------|----------------------|
| Male, Childfree *M(SD)* | 4.49 (1.09) |
| Male, Childless *M(SD)* | 4.62 (1.10) |
| Male, Parent *M(SD)* | 4.66 (1.08) |
| Female, Childfree *M(SD)* | 4.72 (1.17) |
| Female, Childless *M(SD)* | 4.61 (1.20) |
| Female, Parent *M(SD)* | 4.64 (1.21) |
| *Note.* *p < .05, ** p < .01 | |

Table 15

*ANOVA and Group Means for Specific Promotion Items by Parent Status*

| Item | *Df* | *F* | η | *p* | Childfree | Childless | Parent |
|------|------|-----|---|-----|-----------|-----------|--------|
| Manager leading a group of 4 | 2, 446 | 1.05 | < .01 | .35 | 3.80 (1.78) | 4.09 (1.80) | 3.91 (1.72) |
| Manager leading a group of 10 | 2, 446 | 1.43 | < .01 | .24 | 3.33 (1.71) | 3.63 (1.73) | 3.60 (1.65) |
| Technical manager | 2, 446 | .27 | < .01 | .77 | 4.19 (1.72) | 4.09 (1.69) | 4.23 (1.59) |
| Senior Purchasing Agent | 2, 446 | .89 | < .01 | .43 | 4.00 (1.83) | 4.26 (1.76) | 4.06 (1.69) |
| Project manager | 2, 446 | .01 | < .01 | .99 | 3.86 (1.76) | 3.88 (1.63) | 3.89 (1.66) |
| Lateral move | 2, 446 | .70 | < .01 | .50 | 4.67 (1.56) | 4.79 (1.51) | 4.59 (1.49) |
| Stay in current role | 2, 446 | .26 | < .01 | .78 | 5.52 (1.35) | 5.46 (1.34) | 5.42 (1.19) |
| General Promotability | 2, 446 | .09 | < .01 | .91 | 4.72 (1.53) | 4.76 (1.40) | 3.79 (1.39) |
| *Note.* *p < .05, **p < .01 | | | | | | | |

Table 16

*Group Means for Parent Status by Target Gender (Source of Decision and General Evaluation)*

|  | General Evaluation | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Group | Target Viewed | Other Partner | Both Parties |
| Male, Childfree *M(SD)* | 4.08 (1.41) | 4.39 (1.11) | 4.73 (1.22) |
| Male, Childless *M(SD)* | 4.04 (1.05) | 4.56 (1.51) | 4.86 (1.06) |
| Male, Parent *M(SD)* | 5.10 (.96) | 3.67 (.17) | 4.55 (1.28) |
| Female, Childfree *M(SD)* | 3.90 (1.54) | N/A | 4.88 (1.43) |
| Female, Childless *M(SD)* | 4.87 (1.14) | 5.72 (1.11) | 4.71 (1.39) |
| Female, Parent *M(SD)* | 4.54 (1.16) | 4.06 (1.84) | 4.96 (1.26) |

*Note.* $*p < .05$, $** p < .01$

Table 17

*Perceived Need for Flexibility Measure (Shin) by Parent Status*

| Item | Childfree *M(SD)* | Childless *M(SD)* | Parent *M(SD)* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Allow Switch | 5.08 (1.60) | 5.24 (1.43) | 5.48 (1.38) |
| Provide Advice | 4.85 (1.56) | 4.83 (1.55) | 4.95 (1.56) |
| Criticality | 3.59 (1.85)* | 3.07 (1.64)* | 3.28 (1.73) |
| No Assistance Needed | 3.80 (1.63) | 3.83 (1.64) | 3.69 (1.58) |

*Note.* $*p < .05$, $** p < .01$

Table 18

*Correlation Matrix: Need for Flexibility and Work-Life Benefits*

| | M | SD | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Allow** | 5.27 | 1.473 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| **Advice** | 4.88 | 1.553 | .053 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| **Critical** | 3.31 | 1.747 | -.569** | .110* | 1 | | | | | | | |
| **No Need** | 3.78 | 1.612 | -.038 | -.336** | -.045 | 1 | | | | | | |
| **Pension** | 4.84 | 1.848 | .195** | .097* | -.209** | -.100* | 1 | | | | | |
| **PTO** | 4.93 | 1.876 | .264** | .073 | -.205** | -.111* | .575** | 1 | | | | |
| **Telecom** | 5.16 | 1.689 | .326** | .080 | -.245** | -.176** | .309** | .327** | 1 | | | |
| **WFH** | 5.75 | 1.561 | .500** | .092 | -.332** | -.163** | .158** | .261** | .482** | 1 | | |
| **Home Off** | 5.37 | 1.668 | .402** | .170** | -.277** | -.139** | .251** | .401** | .510** | .663** | 1 | |
| **Flex** | 5.63 | 1.457 | .330** | .093* | -.246** | -.194** | .301** | .387** | .482** | .525** | .525** | 1 |
| **Compress** | 4.45 | 1.751 | .204** | .152** | -.085 | -.193** | .342** | .400** | .470** | .347** | .447** | .441** |
| **Additional** | 3.22 | 1.708 | .092 | .109* | .051 | -.212** | .249** | .380** | .207** | .165** | .267** | .249** |
| **Job Share** | 3.56 | 1.721 | .128** | .119* | -.072 | -.134** | .417** | .415** | .283** | .145** | .238** | .253** |
| **Part to full** | 2.88 | 1.848 | .072 | .119* | .053 | -.077 | .208** | .298** | .128** | .122** | .192** | .128** |
| **EAP** | 3.09 | 1.860 | -.080 | .112* | .089 | -.132** | .245** | .319** | .086 | -.050 | .057 | .039 |
| **Paid Leav** | 4.57 | 1.987 | .214** | .063 | -.137** | -.067 | .422** | .526** | .228** | .298** | .359** | .353** |
| **Healthcar** | 5.01 | 1.876 | .192** | .097* | -.155** | -.122** | .608** | .537** | .320* | .173** | .257** | .296** |
| **Other Heal** | 4.85 | 1.888 | .249** | .033 | -.212** | -.092 | .640** | .536** | .270** | .188** | .253** | .298** |
| **Risk Ap** | 3.18 | 1.661 | .021 | .124** | .056 | -.127** | .341** | .359** | .132** | .017 | .131** | .088 |
| **HealthEdu** | 3.24 | 1.708 | .076 | .057 | -.073 | -.079 | .383** | .386** | .146** | .054 | .151** | .121* |
| **Nutrition** | 2.82 | 1.558 | .080 | .082 | -.038 | -.136** | .353** | .347** | .145** | .029 | .093* | .082 |
| **Gym** | 3.55 | 1.689 | .085 | .126** | -.056 | -.102* | .428** | .449** | .210** | -.008 | .122** | .152** |
| **ESL** | 2.53 | 1.518 | .122** | .018 | -.032 | -.006 | .325** | .267** | .155** | .080 | .131** | .108* |
| **Degree** | 3.11 | 1.760 | .108* | .053 | -.036 | -.047 | .381** | .393** | .125** | .041 | .143** | .084 |
| **Tuition** | 3.08 | 1.768 | .155** | .020 | -.086 | -.067 | .423** | .436** | .150** | .079 | .153** | .152** |
| **Autonomy** | 4.47 | 1.731 | .288** | .110* | -.221** | -.094* | .378** | .439** | .408** | .285** | .334** | .320** |
| **ROWE** | 3.82 | 1.643 | .042 | .141** | .003 | -.048 | .359** | .274** | .217** | .009 | .178** | .163** |

Notes. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 18 Continued.

| | M | SD | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allow | 5.27 | 1.473 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Advice | 4.88 | 1.553 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Critical | 3.31 | 1.747 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No Need | 3.78 | 1.612 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pension | 4.84 | 1.848 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PTO | 4.93 | 1.876 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Telecom | 5.16 | 1.689 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WFH | 5.75 | 1.561 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Home Off | 5.37 | 1.668 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Flex | 5.63 | 1.457 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Compress | 4.45 | 1.751 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Additional | 3.22 | 1.708 | .371** | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Job Share | 3.56 | 1.721 | .320** | .358** | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Part to full | 2.88 | 1.848 | .281** | .396** | .377** | 1 | | | | | | | |
| EAP | 3.09 | 1.860 | .236** | .394** | .404** | .431** | 1 | | | | | | |
| Paid Leav | 4.57 | 1.987 | .267** | .338** | .370** | .315** | .253** | 1 | | | | | |
| Healthcar | 5.01 | 1.876 | .311** | .258** | .396** | .199** | .258** | .352** | 1 | | | | |
| Other Heal | 4.85 | 1.888 | .311** | .223** | .422** | .166** | .233** | .491** | .651** | 1 | | | |
| Risk Ap | 3.18 | 1.661 | .247** | .400** | .452** | .430** | .540** | .276** | .374** | .317** | 1 | | |
| HealthEdu | 3.24 | 1.708 | .249** | .449** | .472** | .493** | .514** | .325** | .372** | .344** | .659** | 1 | |
| Nutrition | 2.82 | 1.558 | .247** | .451** | .382** | .435** | .522** | .254** | .314** | .291** | .604** | .614** | 1 |
| Gym | 3.55 | 1.689 | .274** | .404** | .370** | .335** | .345** | .275** | .396** | .370** | .466** | .540** | .626** |
| ESL | 2.53 | 1.518 | .222** | .319** | .360** | .466** | .419** | .267** | .209** | .247** | .400** | .482** | .467** |
| Degree | 3.11 | 1.760 | .261** | .362** | .413** | .515** | .495** | .253** | .317** | .331** | .465** | .576** | .537** |
| Tuition | 3.08 | 1.768 | .230** | .348** | .437** | .498** | .411** | .320** | .328** | .348** | .462** | .515** | .508** |
| Autonomy | 4.47 | 1.731 | .311** | .201** | .310** | .164** | .180** | .276** | .373** | .381** | .250** | .281** | .313** |
| ROWE | 3.82 | 1.643 | .285** | .298** | .286** | .335** | .317** | .142** | .297** | .268** | .280** | .299** | .342** |

Notes. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 18 Continued.

| | M | SD | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Allow** | 5.27 | 1.473 | | | | | | |
| **Advice** | 4.88 | 1.553 | | | | | | |
| **Critical** | 3.31 | 1.747 | | | | | | |
| **No Need** | 3.78 | 1.612 | | | | | | |
| **Pension** | 4.84 | 1.848 | | | | | | |
| **PTO** | 4.93 | 1.876 | | | | | | |
| **Telecom** | 5.16 | 1.689 | | | | | | |
| **WFH** | 5.75 | 1.561 | | | | | | |
| **Home Off** | 5.37 | 1.668 | | | | | | |
| **Flex** | 5.63 | 1.457 | | | | | | |
| **Compress** | 4.45 | 1.751 | | | | | | |
| **Additional** | 3.22 | 1.708 | | | | | | |
| **Job Share** | 3.56 | 1.721 | | | | | | |
| **Part to full** | 2.88 | 1.848 | | | | | | |
| **EAP** | 3.09 | 1.860 | | | | | | |
| **Paid Leav** | 4.57 | 1.987 | | | | | | |
| **Healthcar** | 5.01 | 1.876 | | | | | | |
| **Other Heal** | 4.85 | 1.888 | | | | | | |
| **Risk Ap** | 3.18 | 1.661 | | | | | | |
| **HealthEdu** | 3.24 | 1.708 | | | | | | |
| **Nutrition** | 2.82 | 1.558 | | | | | | |
| **Gym** | 3.55 | 1.689 | 1 | | | | | |
| **ESL** | 2.53 | 1.518 | .378** | 1 | | | | |
| **Degree** | 3.11 | 1.760 | .458** | .596** | 1 | | | |
| **Tuition** | 3.08 | 1.768 | .466** | .570** | .730** | 1 | | |
| **Autonomy** | 4.47 | 1.731 | .346** | .212** | .286** | .303** | 1 | |
| **ROWE** | 3.82 | 1.643 | .356** | .300** | .367** | .373** | .338** | 1 |

*Notes.* $* p < .05.$ $** p < .01.$

Correlation Matrix Key for Table 18:

| Table Variable Name | Description |
|---|---|
| 1. Allow | "I would allow this employee to switch schedules to accommodate outside-of-work responsibilities" |
| 2. Advice | "I will provide advice to this employee on how to balance work and non-work life" |
| 3. Critical | "I am critical of this employee's efforts to combine work and non-work life" |
| 4. No Need | "This employee does not require additional assistance to balance work- and non-work life" |
| 5. Pension | Pension |
| 6. PTO | Paid Time Off |
| 7. Telecom | Telecommuting (General) |
| 8. WFH | Work From Home |
| 9. Home Off | Home Office Set-Up |
| 10. Flex | Flexible Scheduling |
| 11. Compress | Compressed Work Week |
| 12. Additional | Additional Breaks Throughout The Day |
| 13. Job Share | Job Sharing |
| 14. Part to Full | Part-To-Full-Time Transition |
| 15. EAP | Employee Assistance Program (Counseling, Rehab, Etc.) |
| 16. Paid Leav | Paid Family Leave |
| 17. Healthcar | Health Care (Self) |
| 18. Other Heal | Health Care (Others) |
| 19. Risk Ap | Health Risk Appraisal |
| 20. HealthEdu | Health Education |
| 21. Nutrition | Dietitian, Nutritionist, Personal Trainer |
| 22. Gym | Health Club Membership |
| 23. ESL | Second (Or Additional) Language Education |
| 24. Degree | Sponsored Degree Completion |
| 25. Tuition | Tuition Reimbursement |
| 26. Autonomy | Autonomy In Projects |
| 27. ROWE | Results Only Work Environment (ROWE) |

Table 19

*Work-Life Balance Policy Need by Parent Status*

| Policy | Childfree *M(SD)* | Childless *M(SD)* | Parent *M(SD)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pension Benefit | 4.78 (1.86) | 4.66 (1.98) | 5.09 (1.67) |
| Paid Time Off | 4.83 (1.74) | 4.97 (1.94) | 4.98 (1.94) |
| Telecommuting | 5.01 (1.67) | 5.25 (1.78) | 5.21 (1.62) |
| Work from home | 5.58 (1.59) | 5.77 (1.59) | 5.89 (1.49) |
| Home office set-up | 5.17 (1.75) | 5.41 (1.75) | 5.51 (1.56) |
| Flexible scheduling | 5.45 (1.45) | 5.68 (1.42) | 5.4 (1.49) |
| Compressed week | 4.43 (1.78) | 4.32 (1.80) | 4.61 (1.66) |
| Additional breaks | 3.13 (1.75) | 3.15 (1.62) | 3.37 (1.76) |
| Job sharing | 3.42 (1.68) | 3.46 (1.73) | 3.81 (1.74) |
| Part-to-full transit. | 3.11 (1.90) | 2.65 (1.81) | 2.89 (1.81) |
| EAP | 3.06 (1.81) | 3.23 (2.00) | 2.98 (1.76) |
| Paid Family Leave | 3.75 (1.95)** | 4.53 (1.97)** | 5.38 (1.70)** |
| Healthcare (self) | 5.05 (1.77) | 4.85 (1.98) | 5.13 (1.86) |
| Healthcare (others) | 4.45 (1.85)** | 4.75 (1.93)* | 5.34 (1.79)*, ** |
| Health risk appraisal | 3.34 (1.63) | 3.12 (1.72) | 3.09 (1.63) |
| Health education | 3.30 (1.66) | 3.21 (1.71) | 3.21 (1.76) |
| Dietitian, nutrition | 2.85 (1.54) | 2.81 (1.65) | 2.79 (1.49) |
| Health club member | 3.63 (1.63) | 3.54 (1.73) | 3.47 (1.70) |
| Second language | 2.62 (1.60) | 2.35 (1.49) | 2.64 (1.46) |
| Degree completion | 3.27 (1.83) | 2.89 (1.68) | 3.18 (1.76) |
| Tuition reimburse. | 3.22 (1.84) | 2.92 (1.75) | 3.13 (1.72) |
| Autonomy | 4.59 (1.62) | 4.30 (1.87) | 4.52 (1.68) |
| ROWE | 4.03 (1.57) | 3.62 (1.67) | 3.82 (1.66) |

*Note.* *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 20

*Manipulation Check Ratings for Inclusion Conditions*

| Rating | Multicultural *M(SD)* | AIM *M(SD)* | Control *M(SD)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inclusive | 4.84 (1.39)* | 4.70 (1.41) | 4.64 (1.34)* |
| Accepting | 5.18 (1.35)* | 4.92 (1.48) | 4.62 (1.33)* |

*Notes*. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 21

*Parent Status and Inclusion Condition Personality Ratings*

| Group | General Evaluation | Negative Emotionality | Interpersonal Warmth |
|---|---|---|---|
| Childfree, Multicultural *M(SD)* | 4.63 (1.28) | 3.28 (1.18) | 4.29 (.97)* |
| Childfree, AIM *M(SD)* | 4.65 (1.42) | 3.31 (1.14) | 4.43 (.98) |
| Childfree, Control *M(SD)* | 4.81 (1.31) | 3.24 (1.05) | 4.47 (.87) |
| Childless, Multicultural *M(SD)* | 4.81 (1.23) | 3.60 (1.23) | 4.75 (1.03) |
| Childless, AIM *M(SD)* | 4.88 (1.12) | 3.56 (1.27) | 4.72 (.86) |
| Childless, Control *M(SD)* | 4.61 (1.33) | 3.58 (1.25) | 4.47 (.95) |
| Parent, Multicultural *M(SD)* | 4.58 (1.35) | 3.23 (1.39) | 4.73 (.87) |
| Parent, AIM *M(SD)* | 4.84 (1.14) | 3.15 (1.08) | 4.88 (.81)* |
| Parent, Control *M(SD)* | 4.72 (1.27) | 3.41 (1.03) | 4.62 (.93) |
| *Notes.* * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ | | | |

Table 22

*Additional Analyses: Ratings by Target Gender*

| Variable | Sarah | Steven |
|---|---|---|
| Interpersonal Warmth *M(SD)* | 4.87 (.95)** | 4.36 (.83)** |
| Agency *M(SD)* | 5.28 (.90) | 5.11 (.82) |
| Interpersonal Helping *M(SD)* | 4.34 (1.43)** | 3.97 (1.33)** |
| Interpersonal Facilitation *M(SD)* | 4.46 (1.25)* | 4.24 (1.07)* |
| Telecommuting *M(SD)* | 5.36 (1.63)* | 4.95 (1.73)* |
| Home Office *M(SD)* | 5.56 (1.61)* | 5.17 (1.71)* |
| Flex-Time *M(SD)* | 5.82 (1.32)** | 5.43 (1.56)** |
| Compressed Work Week *M(SD)* | 4.63 (1.76)* | 4.27 (1.72)* |
| *Notes.* * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ | | |

Table 23

*Additional Analyses: Participant Variables by Parent Status*

| Variable | Non-Parents | Parents |
|---|---|---|
| Authoritarianism *M(SD)* | 2.72 (1.52)* | 3.38 (1.66)* |
| Conservatism (high scores = more liberal) *M(SD)* | 5.36 (1.39)* | 4.99 (1.41)* |
| Progressivism *M(SD)* | 1.88 (1.55)* | 1.49 (1.32)* |
| *Notes.* * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ | | |

Figures
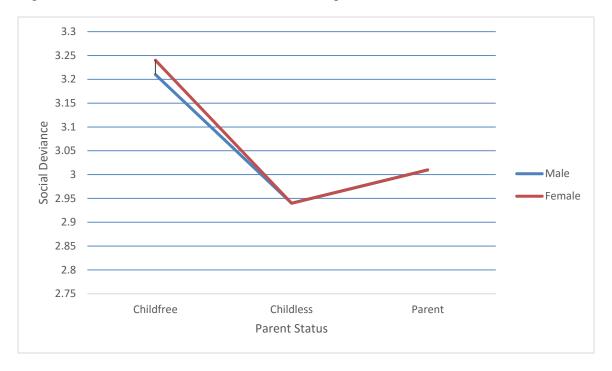
Figure 1. Social Deviance for Parent Status x Target Gender



Figure 2. Interpersonal Warmth for Parent Status x Target Gender