



# Men, Fathers, and Work-Family Balance

By Erin Rehel and Emily Baxter February 4, 2015

---

## Introduction and summary

University of Oregon Sociologist Scott Coltrane and colleagues correctly stated that there is a “mismatch between the workplace and workforce” in the United States today.<sup>1</sup> While about half of American families in the 1970s had a breadwinning father and a homemaking mother, only about one-third of families today fit that description.<sup>2</sup> Dual-earner couples have become the norm in American society, thanks to women’s expanded workforce participation; both partners work in 59.1 percent of married couples with children, and 68.2 percent of single mothers are also employed outside the home.<sup>3</sup> The continued workforce participation of mothers with preschool-aged children has dramatically affected work and family life; in 2013, 63.9 percent of mothers with children younger than age 6 were in the labor force.<sup>4</sup>

The gender composition of the labor force is not the only significant shift of the past 40 years. A sharp decline in manufacturing jobs since the 1970s—jobs that were traditionally held by males—and a simultaneous rise of the often female-dominated service economy radically changed employment opportunities for the least educated American workers.<sup>5</sup> Well-paid, stable employment opportunities with good benefits have largely been replaced with less stable jobs with highly variable work hours and few benefits.<sup>6</sup> Women’s increased educational attainment has contributed to their earning potential, with more women holding bachelor’s degrees than men.<sup>7</sup> But the collapse of American manufacturing also set the stage for a shift in primary breadwinning. A Pew Research Center study found that 37 percent of married heterosexual mothers out-earn their husbands.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, according to the Center for American Progress, 40.9 percent of mothers are the sole or primary breadwinners for their family and another 22.4 percent are co-breadwinners, meaning they bring home between 25 percent and 49 percent of their family’s earnings.<sup>9</sup> The number of stay-at-home fathers—while still quite small—has increased at a remarkable rate, from 1.6 percent to 3.4 percent of all stay-at-home parents in the first decade of the new millennium.<sup>10</sup> Combine these shifts with an aging population and the corresponding increasing amount of unpaid elder care work in which many Americans, mainly women, are engaged,<sup>11</sup> and the U.S. workforce today is vastly different than it was just 50 years ago.

Despite these dramatic shifts, workplaces are still largely organized for the so-called ideal worker—an individual who is unencumbered by family responsibilities. Across the wage spectrum, employers expect and reward workers who demonstrate full commitment to work. Much research on overwork has documented the ways technology and increased expectations have expanded work hours for white-collar workers.<sup>12</sup> While these workers often work well in excess of 40 hours a week, workers at the opposite end of the work spectrum struggle with underwork—meaning too few hours due to an increased emphasis on last-minute scheduling to minimize labor costs.<sup>13</sup> For low-skilled, often hourly workers, an expectation of full availability at all business hours often accompanies variable schedules that are often erratic and do not offer enough hours. In fact, employers rank availability as important as work experience and rank it “more important than references or skill training,” according to an Urban Institute report.<sup>14</sup> Workers of all types struggle with unrealistically demanding workplaces, many of which offer few resources to balance work and family responsibilities.

Significant research exists on how the state of work in the United States disadvantages women. Some examples of the penalties and challenges women face in the workforce include the motherhood wage penalty, which is when mothers earn less than their male counterparts and women without children, potentially based on assumptions associated with motherhood and work. Sociologist Shelley Correll,<sup>15</sup> who has chronicled the motherhood penalty, has identified the potential negative impact that work interruptions after having a child can have on women’s earnings,<sup>16</sup> the career penalties stemming from pursuing flexible work arrangements,<sup>17</sup> and a more general bias against caregivers. For example, workers in jobs related to caregiving generally receive hourly pay lower than would be predicted based on the requirements and qualifications for those jobs.<sup>18</sup>

Whether it is the so-called mommy track,<sup>19</sup> leaning in,<sup>20</sup> or confidence gaps,<sup>21</sup> this wealth of research is often presented in the public sphere in such a way that work-family fit has largely been framed as a women’s issue; most often, it is framed as a mother’s issue specifically. In turn, important concerns such as flexible work options, paid family leave and paid sick days, and pay inequality are overlooked as policy challenges that require urgent attention.

However, these issues are not specifically women’s issues. Rather, they affect the work and family lives of all Americans. While it is important to address the specific needs of women and mothers as workers, the aim of this issue brief is to outline how work-life issues such as workplace flexibility, paid leave, and pay equity should very much be seen as issues affecting men directly, not just in their roles as partners, fathers, colleagues, and friends of women.

---

## Men, work, and family

Most of the research on work-life balance centers on women, with significantly less research focusing specifically on experiences of men.<sup>22</sup> Recent survey research, however, does reveal that men experience work-family conflict at similar rates as women.<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, at least one study found that men reported a higher instance of work-family conflict than women: the National Study of the Changing Workforce—a 30-year long study from the Families and Work Institute—found that between 1977 and 2008, the percentage of mothers in dual-earner couples who reported work-family conflict grew slightly from 41 percent to 47 percent, while the percentage of fathers who reported work-family conflict grew significantly more from 35 percent to 60 percent. For this study, work-family conflict was defined in a bidirectional way, where the researchers asked “employees with family responsibilities (defined as those who live with spouses or partners, children, parents or other family members—representing 85% of all employed men) how much their work and family responsibilities interfere with each other,” rather than only asking how work impeded on family responsibilities or vice versa.<sup>24</sup>

This rise in work-family conflict reported by men has grown alongside a new fathering ideal that has emerged in recent years. In this new ideal, being a good father requires more than what some have termed “earning as caring.”<sup>25</sup> Fathers today are expected to be involved in child care and domestic responsibilities, sharing care work with their partners rather than simply helping out when needed.<sup>26</sup> Increased social pressure to be active and engaged parents means more men now face the type of competing demands that women face. Research on fathers suggests that they hold these expectations for themselves as well; a survey of largely professional fathers from Boston College’s Center for Work and Family found that most fathers did not want to be only traditional breadwinners, but they also valued their role in caring for their children. They also found that fathers who tended to value their caregiving roles more also reported spending more time caregiving on a work day and that 65 percent of fathers believed that caregiving should be split evenly between spouses, even if that belief does not necessarily play out in reality.<sup>27</sup>

The persistence of the ideal worker norm—that is, a worker who is fully devoted to work without family responsibilities to infringe on work commitments<sup>28</sup>—combined with changing norms around fathering and masculinity means that men are facing increasing pressure at work and at home.<sup>29</sup>

Breadwinning continues to be a key aspect of how Americans understand masculinity,<sup>30</sup> and being a good provider is certainly still seen as an important component of being a good father.<sup>31</sup> The fatherhood wage premium—which is when fathers, especially new ones, earn higher wages based on a variety of factors—provides an example of how fatherhood continues to be an important and valued social role, which is rewarded in the workplace.<sup>32</sup>

According to the literature, this wage premium is largest for men who demonstrate other “markers of workplace hegemonic masculinity,” meaning those who are white, heterosexual, married with a traditional division of labor in the home—even a stay-at-home-wife—college graduates, and white-collar workers.<sup>33</sup> The fatherhood wage premium is smallest for men of color and those who earn the least; further research has even suggested that there is no premium, or even a wage penalty, for the lowest-earning fathers. Even in these instances where a fatherhood penalty may exist for some men, the reduction in wages is less than for motherhood penalties. As of yet, little data exist on whether gay fathers received the same benefits as their heterosexual counterparts.<sup>34</sup>

Research further suggests that men want to be more involved in their families, play a larger role in child care and domestic affairs, and want to support their partners in their career pursuits.<sup>35</sup> Although women still spend considerably more time in child care and housework, the amount of time women spend on housework has decreased since the 1960s—a decline that is often thought to go along with an increase in paid work participation by women. Meanwhile, time-use data, such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics’ American Time Use Survey, documents an increase in the number of hours men are spending on both child care and domestic labor. In 1965, fathers spent 4.4 hours per week on housework and 2.5 hours per week on child care. In 2008, fathers reported spending 9.5 hours per week on housework and 7.8 hours per week on child care.<sup>36</sup> A March 2013 Pew study echoed these findings,<sup>37</sup> and qualitative studies by sociologists and gender scholars have produced similar findings about men’s increased participation in domestic labor and child care.<sup>38</sup>

Despite these shifts in men’s attitudes, desires, and behaviors, a significant gap continues to exist between men’s and women’s paid and unpaid labor: Women’s paid labor has increased at a greater rate than men’s unpaid care and housework contributions.<sup>39</sup> Scholars have suggested many explanations for this persistent gap with little consensus.

Still, the explanations for this time gap generally fall into two categorical perspectives. The first perspective suggests ongoing convergence and moves toward greater equity, with women doing less housework and men doing more, even if the changes are uneven.<sup>40</sup> From that view, men and women are making rational choices about how best to divide housework and where to spend their time. For example, it is more common today for mothers to work for pay outside the home, which influences decisions about housework. However, part of the reason why a gender gap in housework persists is the fact that men’s paid labor continues to be more highly remunerated than women’s.<sup>41</sup>

In the second perspective, women and men continue to divide child care and housework unevenly because they are doing so-called gender work—traditionally gendered views of women’s work as caregivers and men’s work as breadwinning. These views influence what parents are willing to do, but others have been critical of this interpretation of data. Some researchers even theorize that this perspective is affected by income. For example, women who earn more than their partners are willing to do more housework because they violate the male-breadwinner expectation.<sup>42</sup>

Still, other more recent analyses have sought to complicate how researchers look at time-use data. For example, some questioned the popular second shift analysis—that working women were doing more work at home than their male partners—because when hours in paid and unpaid labor were taken together, men and women worked similar total hours. In fact, young couples often share housework rather evenly, but patterns start to diverge once they transition to parenthood. These patterns are often gendered in line with feminine/masculine expectations: Men tend to work more in paid work, women tend to work more at home. But previous studies haven't accounted for evolutions over time in family's distribution of paid and unpaid work. Moreover, child care can present more of a barrier to paid work than housework—dishes can be left in the sink, a baby cannot be left home alone—so studying housework and caregiving as equal forms of unpaid labor may be misleading.<sup>43</sup>

While research continues to evolve and expand in evaluating men's progress in the home, it is essential to consider the social ideologies and organizational cultures that constrain their opportunities for greater involvement. Joan Williams—distinguished professor of law at University of California, Hastings, and director of the Center for WorkLife Law—notes that workplaces organized around the ideal worker often serve to push women out of breadwinning while simultaneously pulling men away from caretaking.<sup>44</sup> Women have made tremendous strides in the workplace, but as the research above clearly demonstrates, they continue to be penalized for caretaking behavior. Men, meanwhile, have also made significant changes to their unpaid work at home, but the division of labor remains unequal and progress on both fronts of this intractable issue has slowed to a trickle.

---

## Flexibility

Flexible work arrangements, or FWA, come in many forms, from job sharing to a compressed workweek to part-time schedules. While certainly not new, they have become increasingly popular as more and more workers have partners who also work. These options are clearly not available to all workers; but rather, they are often privileged work configurations found among white-collar and professional workers. Research indicates that more men have access to FWAs than women,<sup>45</sup> primarily as the result of job sorting: Men are more likely to hold professional and managerial jobs than women, and these jobs are the most likely to offer flexibility options.

However, it is precisely these types of jobs that are most organized for the so-called ideal worker: jobs requiring long hours and significant face time in order to succeed. In other words, while men theoretically have more work flexibility than women, the reality of this flexibility is quite different. In fact, a study by James T. Bond and colleagues at the Families and Work Institute<sup>46</sup> found that while many private companies have flexible options in their policies, few people take advantage of them, especially men.<sup>47</sup>

Why, then, are men not making use of this available flexibility?

Research shows that managers are willing to grant some type of FWA, without penalty, to men looking to advance their careers.<sup>48</sup> In many ways, this aligns with social expectations around men, masculinity, and breadwinning; that is to say, men should be career-driven and competitive and should pursue additional training and education, which fits in well to this notion of the ideal worker. However, several themes emerge when scholars focus more specifically on the dearth of men using flexible work arrangements for family reasons.

Joan Williams terms this “flexibility stigma” and identifies it as something both men and women experience as the result of flexible work requests. A recent issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* was devoted to flexibility stigma, including research focusing exclusively on men.<sup>49</sup> This research supports previous work in the area, revealing that men do refrain from seeking FWAs at work because they fear negative ramifications.<sup>50</sup>

Unlike women, who play into certain traditional gender roles as mothers, men incur flexibility stigma for violating gender norms. Their participation in care work and family responsibilities runs counter to an ideal of masculinity that privileges breadwinning and distances itself from all things seen as feminine. By engaging in perceived nonmasculine behavior, men who pursue flexibility invite backlash that often manifests in the form of workplace penalties.<sup>51</sup>

Research suggests that these fears are well founded. Men who request workplace flexibility for family reasons receive lower wages, poorer performance evaluations, and fewer promotions than their counterparts who maintain regular work schedules.<sup>52</sup> Tammy D. Allen and Joyce E.A. Russell’s study of men who took paternity leave found new fathers who took six months off after the birth of a child were less likely to experience the types of organizational rewards that often come from fatherhood—for example, wage premium or promotions—than those fathers who did not.<sup>53</sup>

This research highlights the fact that work-life balance is not only a women’s issue. Men who pursue flexibility encounter the same types of penalties as women do, and policy must address the challenges men face as well.

Research on workplace flexibility also reveals that men and women opt for different flexibility options. These choices, far from being the simple result of personal preference, stem from and reinforce gender norms around caregiving and providing. The paths to flexibility that women pursue make their caregiving lives outside of work very public at work. In many cases, cutting back is the only way to accommodate family and work, a reality tied to high cultural expectations around intensive mothering.<sup>54</sup> Telecommuting and adjusted hours, however, conceal the time spent on caregiving,

allowing fathers to maintain a public image of the ideal worker while also making increased contributions at home. Williams and colleagues aptly refer to the flexibility path chosen largely by men as “caring in secret.”<sup>55</sup> Previous research supports this stealth approach to how men reconcile work and family; men who request some type of flexibility rarely reveal that the request is informed by family obligations.<sup>56</sup>

Right-to-request laws, which have recently been enacted in Vermont and San Francisco,<sup>57</sup> allow workers to request some type of workplace flexibility while being protected from discrimination and retaliation in the workplace. These flexible arrangements can include changing work hours or location or requesting part-time options, among other possibilities. While an employer must provide a compelling reason when denying a request, the law does not make guarantees nor does it force employers to act in a certain way. The Vermont and San Francisco laws—enacted in 2013 and 2014, respectively—are too new to judge their successes, but anecdotal responses have been positive.<sup>58</sup> Such laws are an important public policy step in helping workers reconcile work and family and are admirably gender neutral; men and women are both able to make requests and can expect the same protections and rights.

Right-to-request laws are more common in the European Union. In the United Kingdom, for example, a right-to-request law was first introduced for some workers with caregiving responsibilities in 2003. In June 2014, the law was extended to all employees and requires that employers give requests “reasonable consideration,”<sup>59</sup> which is termed as a “soft law” approach. As such, the soft law designation comes from the fact that employers do not *have* to grant requests. The law has increased access to flexible work arrangements for U.K. workers, but women still make use of the right-to-request option more often than men, especially for child care purposes. This leads some researchers to believe that the law inadvertently reinforces existing gendered patterns. It is still true that mothers are more likely than fathers to have their requests granted, but formal requests have increased over time and the rate of acceptance for requests are high overall—79 percent—suggesting success.<sup>60</sup>

The right-to-request changes to work hours or other flexible work arrangements that do not have a fear of retribution are crucial for all working parents and caregivers, both men and women, because it sets a baseline standard to help workplaces evolve to the needs of today’s workforce. Still, certain workers, particularly those in low-wage, hourly, and service work, have schedules that lack stability with just-in-time scheduling, little advanced notice of schedules, or shift rigidity that does not allow workers to deal with family emergencies. These scheduling practices affect parents’ ability to plan child care effectively and cost efficiently, making it nearly impossible to find any true work-life balance.<sup>61</sup> Women make up two-thirds of the low-wage workforce; and mothers are 21 percent of the low-wage workforce, while fathers are only 6 percent.<sup>62</sup>

Federal legislation, such as the proposed Schedules That Work Act, has the potential to mitigate work-life imbalances and hardships that arise from rigid and unpredictable scheduling practices by creating baseline scheduling practices that fit the needs of mothers, fathers, and modern families.<sup>63</sup> The bill applies to any employer with 15 or more employees and includes right-to-request flexible and stable schedules. It also includes other regulations to stabilize schedules for workers in retail, food service, and cleaning industries. For example, an employer must give employees an extra hour of pay if their schedule is changed within 24 hours of their shift and they must pay a minimum of four hours' pay if an employee is sent home before the end of his or her shift, among other provisions.<sup>64</sup> The bill is unique in that it covers the needs of workers across the wage spectrum and applies to both men and women.<sup>65</sup>

Flexible, yet stable, workplaces can do much to help families meet the competing demands they face on a daily basis. Effective public policies need to take into account the gendered natures of workplaces and organizations and the ways larger cultural understandings influence individual behavior within organizations. Perhaps most importantly, however, policies need to be sensitive to the reality that men do desire greater flexibility but encounter real barriers to pursuing such options.

---

### Paid family leave and paid sick days

The debate around paid leave for American workers has gained significant momentum in the past several years. Events such as the White House Summit on Working Families<sup>66</sup> have brought these issues to a larger audience, and legislators have started proposing policies to create paid family leave of various kinds.

The issue of paid family leave is often discussed in connection with new mothers having to return to work quickly after the birth of a child. Access to paid family leave for mothers is incredibly important, but the conversation should also be expanded to include men. Not only do men have much to gain from paid leave, but the broader social implications of men's greater involvement in and responsibility for family caretaking support public policy efforts to create usable, gender neutral leave policies.

Paid family leave would provide some level of wage replacement for workers who need to take time off to care for family members. While the Family and Medical Leave Act, or FMLA, provides up to 12 weeks of unpaid job-protected leave to care for new children, seriously ill family members, or personal health problems, the act itself has had a limited impact since its introduction in 1993. The qualifying criteria are limiting: for example, it is only applicable in businesses with 50 or more employees, and employees have to have been employed by the business for at least one year. This leaves millions of workers—such as unrecognized lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, or LGBT, families or non-immediate family members—unable to apply for FMLA leave.<sup>67</sup>

Moreover, the unpaid nature of the leave makes it an unfeasible option for many workers. By one Department of Labor estimate, slightly more than 40 percent of the American workforce does not meet the FMLA's requirements.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, research indicates that while the FMLA influenced women's leave-taking behavior, it did not have an effect on men's behavior.<sup>69</sup>

Meanwhile three states—California, New Jersey, and most recently Rhode Island—have implemented paid family leave policies that are important stepping stones toward work and family reconciliation attempts by both male and female American workers. While men and women utilize these leave opportunities, statistics from California's program also reveal a gendered utilization pattern: 74 percent of workers who made use of paid family leave in California were women.<sup>70</sup>

This can possibly be seen as an instance in which policy has moved ahead of cultural change, even as both men and women support increasing father's leave-taking. One recent study surveyed college students and found that although men and women were nearly equal in ranking the importance of flexibility and work-life balance opportunities in future employment, "men were significantly less likely than women to report intentions to actually seek out such flexibility."<sup>71</sup> While intentions and hypothetical surveys do not necessarily predict actual future actions, there may be some reason for the young men's reticence: research on men who exit the workforce for family obligations found that they face wage penalties similar to, although less long-lasting, than women.<sup>72</sup>

There are data indicating that norms are changing and that men want access to parental leave. A survey from Boston College's Center for Work and Family found that around half of the human resource professionals surveyed noticed increased uptake in paternity leave. Moreover, Millennial fathers were more in favor of paid paternity leave than Generation Xers or Baby Boomers: 93 percent of Millennials said it was somewhat, very, or extremely important, compared to 88 percent of Gen Xers and 77 percent of Baby Boomer fathers. Data from this same study suggested that fathers will take advantage of the full amount of paid paternity leave that is available to them: 49 percent of those with access to one week of paid leave, 64 percent of those with two weeks, and 41 percent of those with four weeks of leave took the full allotment of time off.<sup>73</sup>

Still, international research on men's leave-taking behaviors demonstrates that fathers are most likely to make use of family leave when it is paid at a high level of wage replacement. This is especially true of those policies that include a use-it-or-lose-it portion for fathers that cannot be transferred to mothers—colloquially referred to as daddy days—and for policies that are available to as many workers as possible. Countries with nontransferable leave for fathers have the highest rates of paternity-leave taking.<sup>74</sup> The experience of the Scandinavian countries highlights how particular types of family leave policies can influence behavior, drawing fathers into family care by providing a legitimating framework for their caregiving.

Sweden stands out in the international community as a leader in using public policy to address issues of work-family fit and to provide support for a more equitable division of labor between men and women. After Sweden reorganized their family leave in 1995 and 2002 to include a nontransferable portion for men to use before their children turned 8 years old, the percentage of fathers taking leave rose dramatically from 4 percent to 80 percent in 2010.<sup>75</sup> The introduction of a paternity quota in Norway had similar results. Leave-taking among Norwegian fathers currently hovers around 89 percent.<sup>76</sup> These statistics show, however, the strategic importance of use-it-or-lose-it father-only leave; even in Norway, only 15 percent of fathers avail themselves of any of the available leave that can be split between parents. Mothers, on the other hand, take all of this type of leave.<sup>77</sup>

Looking a bit closer to home, recent research examining the Canadian province of Quebec's experience with paid paternity leave illustrates how public policy that takes seriously men's caregiving can influence behavior in a significant way. Qualitative research illustrated that the paid nature of the paternity leave made leave-taking an option for new fathers, while the experience of being on leave helped new fathers develop the skills and confidence to co-parent alongside their female partners.<sup>78</sup>

What makes the Quebec case particularly interesting is the immediate impact of the paternity leave policy. In 2005, just 32 percent of Quebec fathers took paternity leave. By 2011, this percentage had risen to almost 80 percent. With three to five weeks of father-only leave, at a wage replacement level of up to 70 percent,<sup>79</sup> Quebec's leave program supports what other research on leave-taking policies has shown: Men do want to be part of the caregiving process and will use available leave to do so when that leave is organized in a particular way.

In all these countries, public policies continue to evolve as gender dynamics and the labor force change. But the increasing number of fathers taking advantage of leave policies shows that truly supportive policies facilitate fathers' involvement in family life and help to change the ideal worker paradigm.

The aforementioned examples aside, it is important to remember, however, that such paid leave is not available to many American workers across the wage spectrum. In fact, only 12 percent of workers have access to paid family leave through their employers.<sup>80</sup> The FAMILY Act, introduced by Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) and Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT), is one effort to provide all workers with up to 12 weeks of high-paid leave following the birth or adoption of a child, to care for a seriously ill member of their immediate family, or to address their own medical condition. In the FAMILY Act, wages are replaced at up to 66 percent of monthly wages with a maximum amount of \$1,000 per week. Similar to Social Security, this leave would be an earned benefit to which employees would contribute 0.2 percent of their wages in order to use the leave.<sup>81</sup>

In discussing fathers' and men's use of leave related to family and work-life balance, the focus is often on new fathers and fathers with young children. The FAMILY Act is important because it also provides workers, both men and women, with a better ability to take care of adult family members.<sup>82</sup> According to the Pew Research Center, 39 percent of Americans care for adults or children with significant health issues, and men and women report caring in similar numbers—37 percent to 40 percent, respectively.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, 30 percent of people with at least one parent older than 65 say that they help them with day-to-day activities and needs.<sup>84</sup> Sixty-two percent of these caregivers have full-time jobs and, in 2009, nearly 70 percent reported making adjustments at work to accommodate their caregiving responsibilities.<sup>85</sup> Currently, women are more likely to care for elderly family members or adults and children with special needs and are more likely to leave the workforce due to caregiving responsibilities.<sup>86</sup> Increased access to paid leave and workplace flexibility arrangements for both men and women could promote more equitable caregiving arrangements and mitigate the financial ramifications of working fewer hours to care for loved ones.

Lastly, 49 million workers—or 39 percent of the workforce older than 18—lack access to paid sick days.<sup>87</sup> According to the Institute for Women's Policy Research, slightly fewer men have access to paid sick days than women—60 percent compared to 62 percent.<sup>88</sup> Access to paid sick days should be a basic aspect of the American workplace for all workers because, besides creating a healthier workplace, it can improve work-family balance. Earned sick days can allow workers to tend to their own health needs or to look after family members and children when they are sick. Such basic policies have already been put into place for some workers. Paid sick days gained remarkable ground in 2014 at the local level; prior to 2014, six cities and one state had paid sick. In 2014, California, Massachusetts, and 10 cities passed paid sick day ordinances. So far in 2015, Tacoma, Washington, has also passed paid sick days.<sup>89</sup>

Paid, nontransferable paternity leave—as well as increased access to caregiving leave and paid sick days for all workers—has the potential to recalibrate expectations and norms around caregiving and breadwinning. By providing fathers the opportunity to bond with their children and develop the skills and confidence necessary to parent autonomously, the door is left open for negotiations and strategizing at the family level about how best to appropriate caregiving and breadwinning.<sup>90</sup>

---

## Pay inequality

The causes of pay inequality between men and women are varied and complex, but shouldering the majority of care work and domestic responsibility figures prominently into the gender wage gap. Despite this, the gap persists even for younger women who are less likely to have caregiving responsibilities.<sup>91</sup> In the absence of policies that facilitate men's care work and the persistence of workplace ideologies that discourage men from pursuing available options for balancing work and family, care work will continue to fall disproportionately to women and the gender wage gap will persist.

## Cities and states with paid sick days laws

San Francisco, California (2006)  
Washington, D.C. (2008)  
Connecticut (2011)  
Seattle, Washington (2011)  
Portland, Oregon (2013)  
New York City, New York (2013)  
Jersey City, New Jersey (2013)  
Newark, New Jersey (2014)  
San Diego, California (2014)  
Eugene, Oregon (2014)  
California (2014)  
Passaic, New Jersey (2014)  
East Orange, New Jersey (2014)  
Patterson, New Jersey (2014)  
Irvington, New Jersey (2014)  
Oakland, California (2014)  
Montclair, New Jersey (2014)  
Trenton, New Jersey (2014)  
Massachusetts (2014)  
Tacoma, Washington (2015)

As such, women struggle with the penalties described above, causing them to fall further behind their male counterparts in earnings. In turn, social patterns develop that naturalize a cyclical social system where men specialize in breadwinning and women specialize in caretaking, lending support to unequal pay.

Men and women also tend to cluster in different occupations, and those dominated by women pay less on average.<sup>92</sup> The fact that men and women end up in different careers is not based solely on choice; it is also based on naturalized, but not always beneficial, beliefs about “women’s work” and “men’s work,” among other things. Moreover, when mothers find themselves in jobs that pay less than their husband’s or partner’s, they may make the decision to reduce their work hours or stop working altogether to accommodate their families’ caregiving needs. As Sarah Jane Glynn of the Center for American Progress explains, “In turn, that reduction in job hours and job tenure both lowers women’s wages overall and contributes to the cultural notion that women are not as devoted to employment once they have children.” Moreover, in certain occupations, working shorter or longer hours can lead to a disproportionate decrease or increase in wages.<sup>93</sup>

Beyond the cyclical ramifications of primarily female caregivers earning less over their work lives because of the time not worked for family reasons, there is the underlying association of mothers with caregiving and less attachment to work. In other words, some argue that there is a “femininity stigma” that equates mothers—or actions perceived as feminine or maternal, such as caregiving—with being less committed workers. For men, behaving in a way that is not seen as stereotypically masculine—for example, by violating gender norms and requesting flexible work arrangements related to family—can lead others to perceive them as less devoted workers as well. One admittedly very preliminary study from 2013 suggested that men who sought these arrangements were also seen as having negative traits that are associated with femininity, such as weakness and lack of agency, among others.<sup>94</sup> And, while these associations appear to lead to pay penalties for fathers, they are not as long lasting as they are for women.<sup>95</sup>

Given these stigmas, developing truly gender neutral policies and shifting organizational cultures to make such policies viable options for men and women will allow men to be the caregivers they want to be while allowing women to be the workers they want to be. At the same time, critically examining the prevalence of stigma related to the ways in which gender norms play out in the workplace are necessary to change work-life culture.

---

## Conclusion

Considerable research has focused on the imbalances of and barriers to adequate work-life fit for women and mothers. But there has been far less research focused on the ways in which gendered notions of the so-called ideal worker and an out-of-date workplace clash with modern notions of fatherhood. Still, increasing both men and women's access to and use of policies such as flexible work arrangements, paid family leave, and paid sick days can move the workplace forward to meet the needs of the 21st century workforce. At the same time, breaking down the gendered notions and stigmas around so-called "women's work" and "men's work," as well as around caregiving, can create a more equitable and better-balanced work-life experience for all American workers.

*Erin M. Rehel is a consultant with the Clinical Operations Board at The Advisory Board Company. Emily Baxter is a research associate for Women's Economic Security at the Center for American Progress.*

---

## Endnotes

- 1 Scott Coltrane and others, "Fathers and the Flexibility Stigma," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2013): 280–302.
- 2 Rich Morin, "Study: More Men on the 'Daddy Track'" (Washington: Pew Research Center, 2013), available at <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/17/more-men-on-the-daddy-track/>.
- 3 Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment Characteristics of Families – 2013* (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013), available at <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/famee.pdf>.
- 4 Ibid.; Coltrane and others, "Fathers and the Flexibility Stigma."
- 5 Arne Kalleberg, Barbara Reskin, and Ken Hudson, "Bad Jobs in America: Standard and Nonstandard Employment Relations and Job Quality in the United States," *American Sociological Review* 65 (2000): 256–278; Department for Professional Employees, "The Service Sector: Projections and Current Stats" (2011), available at <http://dpeaflcio.org/programs-publications/issue-fact-sheets/the-service-sector-projections-and-current-stats/>.
- 6 Arne Kalleberg, "Precarious Work, Insecure Workers: Employment Relations in Transition," *American Sociological Review* 74 (1) (2009): 1–23; Joan C. Williams, Mary Blair-Loy, and Jennifer L. Berdahl, "Cultural Schemas, Social Class, and the Flexibility Stigma," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 209–234.
- 7 U.S. Department of Labor, *Women's Employment During the Recovery* (2011), available at [http://www.dol.gov/\\_sec/media/reports/FemaleLaborForce/FemaleLaborForce.pdf](http://www.dol.gov/_sec/media/reports/FemaleLaborForce/FemaleLaborForce.pdf).
- 8 Wendy Wang, Kim Parker, and Paul Taylor, "Breadwinner Moms" (Washington: Pew Research Center, 2013), available at <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/05/29/breadwinner-moms/#fnref-17132-1>.
- 9 Sarah Jane Glynn, "Breadwinning Mothers, Then and Now" (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2014), available at <http://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Glynn-Breadwinners-report-FINAL.pdf>.
- 10 Brad Harrington and others, "The New Dad: A Work (and Life) in Progress" (Boston: Boston College Center for Work & Family), available at <http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/centers/cwf/pdf/The%20New%20Dad%202013%20FINAL.pdf>.
- 11 Lynn Feinberg and Rita Choula, "Fact Sheet: Understanding the Impact of Family Caregiving on Work" (Washington: AARP Public Policy Institute, 2012), available at [http://www.aarp.org/content/dam/aarp/research/public\\_policy\\_institute/ltc/2012/understanding-impact-family-caregiving-work-AARP-ppi-ltc.pdf](http://www.aarp.org/content/dam/aarp/research/public_policy_institute/ltc/2012/understanding-impact-family-caregiving-work-AARP-ppi-ltc.pdf).
- 12 Teresa A. Sullivan, "Greedy Institutions, Overwork, and Work-Life Balance," *Sociological Inquiry* 84 (1) (2013): 1–15; Youngjoo Cha and Kim A. Weeden, "Overwork and the Slow Convergence in the Gender Gap in Wages" (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2012), available at [http://www.soc.cornell.edu/faculty/weeden/cha\\_weeden\\_overwork\\_2012-09.pdf](http://www.soc.cornell.edu/faculty/weeden/cha_weeden_overwork_2012-09.pdf).
- 13 Susan J. Lambert and others, "Schedule Flexibility in Hourly Jobs: Unanticipated Consequences and Promising Directions," *Community, Work and Family* 15 (3) 2012.
- 14 Gregory Acs and Pamela J. Loprest, "Low-Skill Jobs, Work Hours, and Paid Time Off Brief No. 2" (Washington: The Urban Institute, 2008), available at <http://www.urban.org/publications/411802.html>; Gregory Acs and Pamela J. Loprest, "Understanding the Demand Side of the Low-Wage Labor Market" (Washington: The Urban Institute, 2008), available at <http://www.urban.org/publications/411680.html>.
- 15 Shelley J. Correll, Stephen Benard, and In Paik, "Getting a Job: Is There a Motherhood Penalty?" *American Journal of Sociology* 112 (5) (2007): 1297–1339.
- 16 Silke Aisenbrey, Marie Evertsson, and Daniela Grunow, "Is There a Career Penalty for Mothers' Time Out?: A Comparison of Germany, Sweden and the United States," *Social Forces* 88 (2) (2009): 573–605.
- 17 Joan C. Williams, Mary Blair-Loy, and Jennifer L. Berdahl, "Cultural Schemas, Social Class, and the Flexibility Stigma," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 209–234.
- 18 Paula England, Michelle Budig, and Nancy Folbre, "Wages of virtue: The relative pay of care work," *Social Problems* 49 (4) (2002): 455–473.
- 19 Elizabeth Ehrlich, "The Mommy Track: Juggling Kids and Careers in Corporate America Takes a Controversial Turn," *Business Week*, March 20, 1989, p. 126–134.
- 20 Sheryl Sandberg, *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013).
- 21 Katty Kay and Claire Shipman, *The Confidence Code: The Science and Art of Self-Assurance—What Women Should Know* (New York: Harper Collins, 2014).
- 22 Joseph Vandello, "When equal isn't really equal: The masculine dilemma of seeking work flexibility," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 303–321.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Kerstin Aumann, Ellen Galinsky, and Kenneth Matos, "National Study of the Changing Workforce: The New Male Mystique" (New York: Families and Work Institute, 2011), available at <http://familiesandwork.org/downloads/New-MaleMystique.pdf>.
- 25 Margaret O'Brien, "Shared caring: bringing fathers into the frame." Working Paper 18 (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2005).
- 26 Aumann, Galinsky, and Matos, "National Study of the Changing Workforce."
- 27 Harrington and others, "The New Dad."
- 28 Joan Williams *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Joan Williams, *Reshaping the Work-Family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).
- 29 Kerstin Aumann, Ellen Galinsky, and Kenneth Matos, "The New Male Mystique" (New York: Families and Work Institute, 2011), available at <http://familiesandwork.org/site/research/reports/newmalemystique.pdf>.
- 30 Sarah Thebaud, "Masculinity, Bargaining, and Breadwinning: Understanding Men's Housework in the Cultural Context of Paid Work," *Gender & Society* 24 (3) (2010): 330–354.
- 31 Nicholas Townsend, *Package Deal: Marriage, Work and Fatherhood in Men's Lives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).
- 32 Rebecca Glauber, "Gender and Race in Families and at Work: The Fatherhood Wage Premium," *Gender & Society* 22 (1) (2008): 8–30; Chris Knoester and David Eggebeen, "The effects of the transition to parenthood and subsequent children on men's well-being and social participation," *The Journal of Family Issues* 27 (2006): 1532–1560.
- 33 Melissa J. Hodges and Michelle J. Budig, "Who Gets the Daddy Bonus? Organizational Hegemonic Masculinity and the Impact of Fatherhood on Earnings," *Gender & Society* 24 (6) (2010): 717–745.
- 34 David J. Eggebeen, Chris Knoester, and Brandon McDaniel, "The Implications of Fatherhood for Men." In Natasha J. Cabrera and Catherine S. Tamis-LeMonda, eds., *Handbook of Father Involvement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, 2nd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2012).

- 35 Sabrina Askari and others, "Men Want Equality But Women Don't Expect It: Young Adults' Expectations for Participation in Household and Child Care Chores," *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 34 (2010): 243–252; Kathleen Gerson, "Falling Back on Plan B: The Children of the Gender Revolution Face Uncharted Territory," In Barbara J. Risman, ed., *Families as They Really Are* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010); Berit Brandth and Elin Kvande, "Masculinity and Child Care: The Reconstruction of Fathering," *The Sociological Review* 46 (2) (1998): 293–313; Kerry J. Daly, "Spending Time with the Kids: Meanings of Family Time for Fathers," *Family Relations* 45 (4) (1996): 466–476.
- 36 Susan Bianchi, "Family Change and Time Allocation in American Families," Focus on Workplace Flexibility Conference, November 2010, available at [http://workplaceflexibility.org/images/uploads/program\\_papers/bianchi\\_-\\_family\\_change\\_and\\_time\\_allocation\\_in\\_american\\_families.pdf](http://workplaceflexibility.org/images/uploads/program_papers/bianchi_-_family_change_and_time_allocation_in_american_families.pdf).
- 37 Kim Parker and Wendy Wang, "Modern parenthood" (Washington: Pew Research Center, 2013), available at <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/03/14/modern-parenthood-roles-of-moms-and-dads-converge-as-they-balance-work-and-family/>.
- 38 Gillian Ranson, "Men, paid employment and family responsibilities: Conceptualizing the 'working father,'" *Gender, Work & Organization* 19 (6) (2012): 741–761; O.G. Holter, "Men's work and family responsibilities in Europe," *Men and Masculinities* 9 (2007): 425–427; Berit Brandth and Elin Kvande, "Masculinity and Child Care: The Reconstruction of Fathering," *The Sociological Review* 46 (2) (1998): 293–313; Laura Sanchez and Elizabeth Thompson, "Becoming mothers and fathers: Parenthood, gender, and the division of labor," *Gender and Society* 11 (1997): 747–772.
- 39 Gillian Ranson, "Men, Paid Employment and Family Responsibilities: Conceptualizing the 'Working Father,'" *Gender, Work & Organization* 19 (6) (2012): 741–761; Gretchen Webbers and Christine Williams, "Part-Time Work and the Gender Division of Labor," *Qualitative Sociology* 31 (1) (2008): 15–36; Gillian Ranson, "Men at Work: Change - or No Change? - in the era of the 'new father,'" *Men and Masculinities* 4 (1) (2001): 3–26; Scott Coltrane, "The Future of Fatherhood: Social, Demographic, and Economic Influences on Men's Family Involvements." In William Marsiglio, ed., *Fatherhood: Contemporary Theory, Research, and Social Policy* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1995); Charlie Lewis and Margaret O'Brien, "Constraints on Fathers: Research, Theory and Clinical Practice," in Charlie Lewis and Margaret O'Brien, ed., *Reassessing Fatherhood: New Observations on Fathers and the Modern Family* (London: Sage Publications, 1987); Scott Coltrane, *Family Man: Fatherhood, Housework, and Gender Equity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Annette Lareau, *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000); Ralph LaRossa, *The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Alan Booth and Ann C. Crouter, *Men in Families: When Do They Get Involved?: What Difference Does It Make?* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998); Kathleen Gerson, *No Man's Land: Men's Changing Commitments to Family and Work* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Arlie Hochschild and Anne Machung, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (New York: Viking Press, 1989).
- 40 Suzanne Bianchi, "Family Change and Time Allocation in American Families" (Washington: Workplace Flexibility 2010), available at [http://workplaceflexibility.org/images/uploads/program\\_papers/bianchi\\_-\\_family\\_change\\_and\\_time\\_allocation\\_in\\_american\\_families.pdf](http://workplaceflexibility.org/images/uploads/program_papers/bianchi_-_family_change_and_time_allocation_in_american_families.pdf).
- 41 Liana Sayer, "Gender, Time and Inequality: Trends in Women's and Men's Paid Work and Free Time," *Social Forces* 84 (1) (2005): 285–303.
- 42 Michael Bittman and others, "When Does Gender Trump Money? Bargaining and Time in Household Work," *American Journal of Sociology* 109 (1) (2003): 186–214.
- 43 Suzanne Bianchi "Housework: Who Did, Does or Will Do It, and How Much Does it Matter?," *Social Forces* 91 (1) (2012): 55–63.
- 44 Joan Williams, *Reshaping the Work-Family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).
- 45 Ellen E. Kossek, Brenda Lautsch, and Shane Eaton, "Flexibility enactment theory: Implications of flexibility type, control, and boundary management for work-family effectiveness," In E. Kossek and S. Lambert, eds., *Work and Life Integration: Organizational, Cultural, and Individual Perspectives* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006).
- 46 James Bond and others, "National Study of Employers" (New York: Families and Work Institute, 2005).
- 47 E. Jeffrey Hill and others, "Studying 'Working Fathers': Comparing Fathers' and Mothers' Work-Family Conflict, Fit, and Adaptive Strategies in a Global High-Tech Company," *Fathering* 23 (1) (2003): 239–261.
- 48 Victoria L. Brescoll, Jennifer Glass, and Alexandra Sedlovskaya, "Ask and Ye Shall Receive? The Dynamics of Employer-Provided Flexible Work Options and the Need for Public Policy," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 367–388.
- 49 Victoria L. Brescoll, Jennifer Glass, and Alexandra Sedlovskaya, "Ask and Ye Shall Receive? The Dynamics of Employer-Provided Flexible Work Options and the Need for Public Policy," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 367–388; Scott Coltrane and others, "Fathers and the Flexibility Stigma," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 279–302; Joseph Vandello, "When Equal Isn't Really Equal: The Masculine Dilemma of Seeking Work Flexibility," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 303–321.
- 50 Mary Blair-Loy and Amy S. Wharton, "Employee's Use of Work-Family Policies and the Workplace Social Context," *Social Forces* 80 (3) (2002): 813–845.
- 51 Victoria L. Brescoll, Jennifer Glass, and Alexandra Sedlovskaya, "Ask and Ye Shall Receive? The Dynamics of Employer-Provided Flexible Work Options and the Need for Public Policy," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 367–388.
- 52 Amy Wharton, Sarah Chivers, and Mary Blair-Loy, "Use of Formal and Informal Work-Family Policies on the Digital Assembly Line," *Work and Occupations* 35 (2008): 327–350; Jennifer Glass, "Blessing or Curse? Work-Family Policies and Mother's Wage Growth," *Work and Occupations* 31 (2004): 367–394; Mary Blair-Loy and Amy S. Wharton, "Organizational Commitment and Constraints on Work-Family Policy Use: Corporate Flexibility Policies in a Global Firm," *Sociological Perspectives* 47 (2004): 243–267.
- 53 Tammy D. Allen, and Joyce EA Russell, "Parental Leave of Absence: Some Not So Family-Friendly Implications," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 29 (1999): 166–191.
- 54 Stone, Pamela, and Meg Lovejoy, "Fast-track women and the 'choice' to stay home," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 596 (1) (2004): 62–83.
- 55 Joan C. Williams, Mary Blair-Loy, and Jennifer L. Berdahl, "Cultural Schemas, Social Class, and the Flexibility Stigma," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 209–234.
- 56 Sharon Foley and Gary N. Powell, "Reconceptualizing work-family conflict for business/marriage partners: A theoretical model," *Journal of Small Business Management* 35 (1997): 36–47; Kathleen Gerson, "Gender and Modernization: Women, Men, and Moral Dilemmas in an Age of Gender and Family Change," 1995.
- 57 Bryce Covert, "San Francisco Give Workers Ability to Request Flexible Schedules," ThinkProgress, October 18, 2013, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/economy/2013/10/18/2803571/san-francisco-flexible-schedules/>.
- 58 Jennifer Ludden, "If You Want Flextime But Are Afraid to Ask, Consider Moving," NPR, April 29, 2014, available at <http://www.npr.org/2014/04/29/307956811/if-you-want-flextime-but-are-afraid-to-ask-head-to-vermont>.
- 59 Doug Pyper, "SN01086: Flexible Working" (London: Library of the House of Commons, 2014).

- 60 Deborah Smeaton, Kath Ray, and Genevieve Knight, "Costs and Benefits to Business of Adopting Work Life Balance Working Practices: A Literature Review" (London: Policy Studies Institute, 2014), available at [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/323290/bis-14-903-costs-and-benefits-to-business-of-adopting-work-life-balance-working-practices-a-literature-review.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/323290/bis-14-903-costs-and-benefits-to-business-of-adopting-work-life-balance-working-practices-a-literature-review.pdf); Ariane Hegewish and Janet C. Gornick, "Statutory Routes to Workplace Flexibility" (Washington: Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2008), available at <http://www.lisdatacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/flex-work-report.pdf>.
- 61 Joan C. Williams, Mary Blair-Loy, and Jennifer L. Berdahl, "Cultural Schemas, Social Class, and the Flexibility Stigma," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 209–234.
- 62 National Women's Law Center, "Underpaid and Overloaded: Women in the Low-Wage Workforce" (2014), available at <http://www.nwlc.org/resource/underpaid-overloaded-women-low-wage-jobs>.
- 63 *Schedules That Work Act*, H.R. 5159, 113th Congress, 2d sess. (2014), available at <http://democrats.edworkforce.house.gov/sites/democrats.edworkforce.house.gov/files/documents/7.22.14-SchedulesThatWorkAct-BillText.pdf>.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 National Partnership for Women & Families, "Guide to the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA)" (2013), available at <http://www.nationalpartnership.org/research-library/work-family/fmla/guide-to-fmla.pdf>; Liz Ben-Ishai, "The Schedules that Work Act" (Washington: CLASP, 2014), available at <http://www.clasp.org/resources-and-publications/publication-1/schedules-that-work-act-CLASP-3.pdf>.
- 66 The White House Summit on Working Families, available at <http://workingfamiliesummit.org/> (last accessed August 2014).
- 67 National Partnership for Women & Families, "Guide to the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA)" (2013), available at <http://www.nationalpartnership.org/research-library/work-family/fmla/guide-to-fmla.pdf>.
- 68 Abt Associates Inc., "Family and Medical Leave in 2012: Executive Summary" (2012), available at <http://www.dol.gov/asp/evaluation/fmla/FMLA-2012-Executive-Summary.pdf>.
- 69 Wen-Jui Han and Jane Waldfogel, "Parental Leave: The Impact of Recent Legislation on Parents' Leave Taking," *Demography* 40 (1) (2003): 191–200.
- 70 Lisa Belkin, "Calling Mr. Mom?," *The New York Times*, October 21, 2010, available at [http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/24/magazine/24fob-wwln-t.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/24/magazine/24fob-wwln-t.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0).
- 71 Joseph Vandello, Vanessa Hettinger, Jennifer Bosson, and Jasmine Siddiqi, "When Equal Isn't Really Equal: The Masculine Dilemma of Seeking Work Flexibility," *Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 303–321.
- 72 Scott Coltrane and others, "Fathers and the Flexibility Stigma," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 279–302.
- 73 Harrington and others, "The New Dad."
- 74 Katherine Marshall, "Fathers' use of paid parental leave" (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2008), available at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-001-x/2008106/pdf/10639-eng.pdf>.
- 75 Lisa Belkin, "Calling Mr. Mom?," *The New York Times*; Linda Haas and Carl-Philip Hwang, "Programs and Policies Promoting Women's Economic Equality and Men's Sharing of Child Care in Sweden," *Organizational Change and Gender Equity* (2000): 133–162; Carl-Philip Hwang and Michael E. Lamb, "Father Involvement in Sweden: A Longitudinal Study of Its Stability and Correlates," *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 21 (3) (1997): 621–632; Linda Haas, *Equal parenthood and social policy: A study of parental leave in Sweden* (New York: SUNY Press, 1992); Laurie Rudman and Kris Mescher, "Penalizing Men Who Request a Family Leave: Is Flexibility Stigma a Femininity Stigma," *Journal of Social Issues*, 69 (2) (2013): 322–340.
- 76 International Network on Leave Policies and Research, "10th International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research 2014" (2014).
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Erin M. Rehel, "When Dad Stays Home Too: Paternity Leave, Gender, and Parenting," *Gender & Society* (2013).
- 79 Erin M. Rehel, "When Dad Stays Home Too: Paternity Leave, Gender, and Parenting," *Gender & Society* (2013).
- 80 Jane Farrell and Sarah Jane Glynn, "The Family Act: Facts and Frequently Asked Questions" (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2013), available at <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/labor/report/2013/12/12/81037/the-family-act-facts-and-frequently-asked-questions/>.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Susannah Fox, Maeve Duggan, and Kristen Purcell, "Family Caregivers are Wired for Health," (Washington: Pew Research Internet Project, 2013), available at <http://www.pewinternet.org/2013/06/20/family-caregivers-are-wired-for-health/>.
- 84 Kim Parker and Eileen Patten, "The Sandwich Generation: Rising Financial Burdens for Middle-Aged Americans" (Washington: Pew Research Social and Demographic Trends, 2013), available at <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/01/30/the-sandwich-generation/>.
- 85 Sarah Jane Glynn and Jane Farrell, "Family Matters: Caregiving in America" (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2014), available at <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/labor/report/2014/02/05/83427/family-matters/>.
- 86 National Alliance for Caregiving and AARP, "Caregiving in the U.S. 2009" (2009), available at [http://www.caregiving.org/data/Caregiving\\_in\\_the\\_US\\_2009\\_full\\_report.pdf](http://www.caregiving.org/data/Caregiving_in_the_US_2009_full_report.pdf); Paula Span, "Work, Women and Caregiving," *The New York Times*, November 21, 2013, available at [http://newold-age.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/11/21/work-women-and-caregiving/?hp&\\_r=1](http://newold-age.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/11/21/work-women-and-caregiving/?hp&_r=1).
- 87 Rachel O'Connor, Jeff Hayes, and Barbara Gault, "Fact Sheet: Paid Sick Days Access Varies by Race/Ethnicity, Sexual Orientation, and Job Characteristics" (Washington: Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2014).
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Bryce Covert, "Here's the First City to Heed Obama's Call to Pass Paid Sick Leave," *ThinkProgress*, January 28, 2015, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/economy/2015/01/28/3616402/tacoma-paid-sick-leave/>.
- 90 Erin M. Rehel, "Work Time: Conflict, Control, and Change by Cynthia L. Negrey (review)" *Labour/Le Travail* 73 (2014): 396–398.
- 91 Christianne Corbett and Catherine Hill, "Graduating to a Pay Gap: The Earnings of Women and Men One Year after College Graduation" (Washington: The American Association of University Women, 2012), available at <http://www.aauw.org/files/2013/02/graduating-to-a-pay-gap-the-earnings-of-women-and-men-one-year-after-college-graduation.pdf>.
- 92 Sarah Jane Glynn, "Explaining the Gender Wage Gap" (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2014), available at <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/report/2014/05/19/90039/explaining-the-gender-wage-gap/>.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Laurie Rudman and Kris Mescher, "Penalizing Men Who Request a Family Leave: Is Flexibility Stigma a Femininity Stigma?," *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 322–340.
- 95 Scott Coltrane and others, "Fathers and the Flexibility Stigma" *Journal of Social Issues* 69 (2) (2013): 279–302.