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Pushed Out or Opting Out? Integrating Perspectives on Gender Differences in Withdrawal Attitudes During Pregnancy

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In light of recent research suggesting mothers are more likely to withdraw from work than fathers are, we assess the relative contributions of popular “pushed-out” and “opting-out” perspectives over the course of their pregnancies. As pregnancy is a pivotal time for the reevaluation of work and life roles, we investigate the degree to which gender differences in changes in turnover intentions and intentions to return to the workforce are explained by changes in perceived career encouragement from organizational members (a pushed-out factor), as well as changes in the employees’ own career motivation (an opting-out factor), throughout pregnancy. We also examine the relationships between these pushed-out and opting-out variables over time. Using latent growth modeling, we find support for the notion that women’s perceptions of being pushed out may lead to women’s opting out of their organizations. We find that gender (being female) indirectly relates to an increase in turnover intentions and a decrease in career motivation throughout pregnancy, as explained by decreases in perceptions of career encouragement (for women) at work. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

Keywords: gender, work-family, career, turnover intention, pregnancy

Recently, debate regarding how to best retain female employees both within their organizations and in the workforce more generally has increased in academia and the popular press (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016; Hoobler, Wayne, & Lemmon, 2009; Parsi, 2017; Pew, 2017; Turner, 2017). Part of this interest stems from the growing recognition that gender diversity in the workforce improves organizational and national economic competitiveness (Credit Suisse, 2012; Jeong & Harrison, 2017; World Bank, 2014). Organizations that support women also attract and retain more talent and have reduced turnover costs, enhanced organizational performance, and a more robust leadership pipeline (ABI, 2014). One conventional explanation for why women leave their organi-

zations and the workforce, while men remain, relates to divergent career trajectories that begin when couples start a family (Barth, Kerr, & Olivetti, 2017).

Scholars seeking to explain gender differences in career trajectories have generally done so using one of two explanatory mechanisms. Based on social role theory (Eagly, 1987), the pushed-out perspective suggests that when women become pregnant, they experience gender biases from others, including the expectation that mothers will assume the role of primary caregiver. These biases can be accompanied by the experience of unfair and detrimental treatment at work and can reduce the desire of working mothers to remain within their organizations and/or in the workforce more generally (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Fox & Quinn, 2015; Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013). Fathers, however, often reap the benefit of gender biases at work. Studies suggest a “fatherhood premium” in which men receive additional career support and are subject to breadwinner expectations upon becoming fathers (Budig & England, 2001; Glauber, 2008; Waite & Denier, 2015).

The second mechanism, often referred to as *opting out*, is also grounded in social role theory (Eagly, 1987) and proposes that career outcomes are a product of personal values and choices that develop from internalized societal gender role expectations that define women as caregivers and men as breadwinners (Kossek, Su, & Wu, 2017; Wood & Eagly, 2009). This perspective suggests that working women who have children become less motivated in their careers and, ultimately, choose to reduce their participation in their jobs or leave the workforce altogether to focus on their caregiving role. Pregnancy and

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child rearing are thought to have the opposite effect on fathers, increasing expectant fathers' career motivation due to a sense of heightened financial responsibilities (Glauber & Gozjolko, 2011; Höfner, Schadler, & Richter, 2011). As a result, men expecting children may increase their participation in and commitment to their careers (Kaufman & Uhlenberg, 2000).

Interestingly, both mechanisms suggest that as men and women become parents, their work-related attitudes change. The pushed-out perspective emphasizes parents' perceptual changes regarding others' attitudes toward them, while the opting-out perspective predicts changes in parents' own internal career attitudes (Kossek et al., 2017). Little research has examined gender differences in attitudinal changes over time, particularly when the changes are likely to be important—namely, during pregnancy. Pregnancy is a crucial life transition (Ladge, Clair, & Greenberg, 2012)—a time for reexamining career perspectives, for individuals to coordinate and manage new family demands, and for biases around gender and parenthood to become salient in the workplace (Abendroth, Huffman, & Treas, 2014; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; Lewis & Cooper, 1987; Smith, 1997). In the current study, we examine changes in expectant parents' work attitudes from before to after the disclosure of their pregnancy at work, and as the pregnancy progresses over time. We investigate the degree to which gender differences in changes in turnover intentions and intentions to return to the workforce are explained by a pushed-out factor—changes in perceived career encouragement from organizational members, as well as an opting-out factor—changes in the employees' career motivation. Studying changes in turnover intentions and intentions to return to the workforce during pregnancy is a critical step in developing a deeper understanding of working parents' career trajectories, as these intentions are the most powerful predictor of turnover behavior (Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000; Hom, Caranikas-Walker, Prussia, & Griffeth, 1992).

Our research contributes to theory, research, and practice in a number of ways. First, although social role theory proposes that biases based on a gendered division of labor affect social perceptions of men and women, as well as internalized attitudes toward the self (Eagly, 1987; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000), our understanding of how these variables may influence one another is limited. Although many studies emphasize pushed-out or opting-out factors in isolation, our research seeks to better address a primary challenge in examining these pushes and pulls, namely their interconnectedness (Kossek et al., 2017). By examining how initial levels, as well as changes in motivation or encouragement might influence changes in each other, we contribute to theory aimed at understanding how pushes and pulls, and their interconnectedness, can drive changes in withdrawal attitudes.

Second, although research on pregnant employees has increased in recent years (Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007; Jones, King, Gilrane, McCausland, Cortina, & Grimm, 2016; King & Botsford, 2009; Ladge et al., 2012; Little, Hinojosa, & Lynch, 2017; Little, Major, Hinojosa, & Nelson, 2015; Morgan, Walker, Hebl, & King, 2013), little is known about how the experiences of expectant female workers may differ from the experiences of their male counterparts. To understand gender differences in the workplace retention of parents better, we investigate the explanatory mechanisms related to changes in expectant women and men's withdrawal attitudes during pregnancy. In so doing, we hope to

inform workplace interventions aimed at retaining and engaging pregnant workers and mothers.

Third, our use of latent growth modeling among working expectant parents enables us to test theory in ways that extend the current literature. Research investigating the pushed-out framework has used vignette-based experiments to investigate gender biases related to job candidate selection, competence, commitment, and salary for mothers and fathers (e.g., Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). Although this work has been instrumental in our increased understanding of gender- and parent-based biases, lab studies or studies that rely on vignettes are often criticized because they are artificial and have potentially limited external validity (e.g., Bowen, Swim, & Jacobs, 2000; Gordon & Arvey, 2004; Scandura & Williams, 2000). It is important to understand how these biases are demonstrated in real organizations.

In the opting-out literature, many studies rely on retrospective designs to study men and women's career decisions and trajectories (Cabrera, 2007; Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005; Frear, Paustian-Underdahl, Heggstad, & Walker, 2018). This work supports the existence of gender differences in career trajectories and outcomes upon having children, yet the explanatory mechanisms behind these differences are difficult to ascertain because of limitations in retrospective recall. Our study examines changes in career motivation during a significant and common life transition and may help explain differential changes in withdrawal attitudes for mothers versus fathers. Moreover, the longitudinal, reciprocal design and investigation of attitudinal changes is critical as it allows us to understand better a pushed-out factor (changes in career encouragement at work), an opt-out factor (changes in career motivation), the interplay between these variables, and how they may explain the differential effects of parenthood on men and women's retention.

Gender, Pregnancy, and Being Pushed Out

Social role theory (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000; Eagly, 1987; Eagly et al., 2000) proposes that negative biases against mothers in the workplace stem from long-held societal stereotypes based on sex-based divisions of labor, which associate men with breadwinner roles and women with caregiver roles. Fathers are paid more and are considered more hireable and competent than childless men (Correll et al., 2007; Hodges & Budig, 2010; King, 2008), whereas mothers receive fewer promotions and face wage penalties compared to childless women (Correll et al., 2007; Budig & Hodges, 2010). Consistent with this work, Heilman and Okimoto (2008) conducted two experimental studies showing that participants had a bias against mothers regarding competence expectations and hiring recommendations compared to fathers and nonmothers. These judgments can hurt mothers and favor fathers and are based on assumptions that mothers are not as interested in or committed to career advancement compared to fathers (Morgan et al., 2013; Schultz, 1990). As a result, working mothers are not viewed as dedicated to their careers and may violate the ideal worker norm that expects workers to be fully committed to paid work and "always there" for their employer (Williams, 2001).

Norms and biases against mothers and in favor of fathers in the workplace can create gender discrepancies in career-related support and treatment received by expectant parents (Carnevale &

Smith, 2014; King & Botsford, 2009). Career encouragement at work, or the degree to which employees receive organizational encouragement in the workplace for advancing their careers (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990), has been shown to be especially important for women's career achievement (Tharenou, 2001; Tharenou, Latimer, & Conroy, 1994), as well as a problematic source of social inequity between men and women (Corning, 2000). We argue that men and women will experience differences in career encouragement and that expectant mothers will perceive reduced career encouragement throughout pregnancy as their approaching due date reminds others of the pending obligations of caregiving (Gatrell, 2013; Jones et al., 2016). The stereotypes often associated with pregnancy—that mothers are not serious about their jobs, compared to fathers (Eagly, 1987; Jones et al., 2016)—influence others' perceptions of expectant women's work performance and commitment, and thereby, decrease the career encouragement that expectant mothers perceive throughout the course of their pregnancy. Because societal expectations are that men are more committed to their work and act as primary breadwinners for their families (Aranda & Glick, 2014; Eagly, 1987; Wood & Eagly, 2012), we propose that coworkers and supervisors will increasingly encourage expectant fathers to advance in their careers (Humberd, Ladge, & Harrington, 2015) and thus, father's perceptions of career encouragement will increase. Specifically, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1: There are gender differences in the degree to which one perceives career encouragement from one's workplace throughout pregnancy such that women experience a decrease in career encouragement (a), and men experience an increase in career encouragement over time (b) from before to after the disclosure of the pregnancy.

Research shows that workplace career encouragement positively relates to job and career outcomes (Tharenou, 2001). Social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) suggests that employees who receive support and resources from their workplaces, such as greater access to information and resources and more challenging job assignments, should have more positive attitudes about their job, organization, and career overall (Tsui, Pearce, Porter, & Tripoli, 1997). Career encouragement and support provided by mentors, supervisors, and organizations positively relate to organizational commitment (Allen, Drevs, & Ruhe, 1999; Banerjee-Batist & Reio, 2016) and negatively relate to turnover intentions (Singh, Ragins, & Tharenou, 2009). Also, perceived career support at work is associated with reduced turnover intentions for employees (Culpan & Wright, 2002; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Wayne, Shore, & Liden, 1997). Individuals who receive career encouragement from their organizations and supervisors report higher levels of career satisfaction (Nikandrou, Panayotopoulou, & Apospori, 2008; Wickramasinghe & Jayaweera, 2010). Based on these established relationships, changes in career encouragement should initiate changes in turnover intentions and intentions to return to the workforce. Based on social role and social exchange theories (Blau, 1964; Diekman & Eagly, 2000; Eagly, 1987; Eagly et al., 2000), we argue that biases prevalent in society will affect the treatment of men and women at work, such that men (women) will experience an increase (decrease) in career encouragement at work after they disclose their expectant status. These changes will, in

turn, explain changes in gender differences in withdrawal attitudes throughout pregnancy.

Hypothesis 2: Changes in perceived career encouragement mediate the relationship between employee gender and changes in turnover intention and intention to return to the workforce, such that (a) women experience increases and men experience decreases in turnover intention and (b) women experience decreases and men experience increases in intentions to return to the workforce, via changes in career encouragement.

Gender, Pregnancy, and Opting Out

In addition to changes in career encouragement, research suggests that mothers and fathers may also experience different trajectories regarding changes in their career goals and motivation as they become parents—consistent with opting-out explanations. According to social role theory (Eagly, 1987), from a very early age, people build and internalize schemas about gender-appropriate roles and behaviors (Martin & Ruble, 2004). Beliefs about what is viable and acceptable for their gender influence individuals' educational and vocational choices (Eccles, 1987). There is a host of evidence suggesting that decisions regarding work and home tend to conform to gender roles. The division of infant care among dual-career couples tends to fall along gendered lines (Kotila, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Dush, 2013), with women investing more time into parenting. Women are more likely to prioritize work-family balance, whereas men are more likely to prioritize their careers (Hakim, 2000). Studies of dual-career couples with small children at home have shown that mothers tend to report higher caregiver identities than fathers, whereas fathers report higher breadwinner identities compared to mothers (Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001).

Based on these findings, we suggest that women may feel compelled to reduce their goals for career advancement more dramatically than men, as women prepare for a new child to join their family. Career motivation involves the degree to which employees immerse themselves in activities related to their job and their organization, work hard to pursue their goals, view themselves as a professional or technical expert, and express pride in their employer and career (London, 1983). In addition, career motivation involves the centrality of work to an individual's self-perceptions (London, 1983, 2002; London & Mone, 1987) and includes the extent to which an individual pursues opportunities for advancement and recognition and sacrifices nonwork activities in pursuit of career goals (Day & Allen, 2004). Pas, Peters, Eisinga, Doorewaard, and Lagro-Janssen (2011) examined career motivation in women physicians and found that those without children have significantly higher levels of career motivation than those with children. Further, research on expectant and new fathers showed that fathers increasingly discuss their financial responsibilities as the provider throughout and following pregnancy (Chin, Hall, & Daiches, 2011). Therefore, fathers and mothers may develop different trajectories of career motivation throughout their transition to parenthood, which could lead to expectant mothers' waning career motivation compared to expectant fathers. As both parents prepare for their child's impending arrival and, with it, the inherent increased responsibilities for both parents, the influence

of gender and parental expectations will become stronger (e.g., Cowan et al., 1985), leading to differential changes in career motivation for men and women as the pregnancy progresses. Specifically, we propose the following:

Hypothesis 3: There are gender differences in career motivation throughout pregnancy such that women experience a decrease in career motivation (a), and men experience an increase in career motivation over time (b).

Career motivation reflects an individual's commitment to his or her career (Hoobler, Lemmon, & Wayne, 2014) and is associated with job, organizational, and professional involvement, as well as the need for career advancement and recognition (Day & Allen, 2004). London's (1983) theory of career motivation proposes that those with higher career motivation more strongly identify with their careers and desire mobility upward. As these individuals invest resources and effort toward achieving their career goals, they experience increased commitment and loyalty toward their career and organization (London, 1983). Consistent with this theory, Blau (1989) found that career motivation negatively relates to career withdrawal attitudes and turnover. In addition, career motivation for advancement is also positively related to affective commitment (Alnıaçık, Alnıaçık, Akçin, & Erat, 2012), as well as career satisfaction (Ballout, 2009). Given that career motivation is positively associated with a variety of work and career outcomes for men and women (Aryee & Tan, 1992; Day & Allen, 2004; Lyons, Schweitzer, & Ng, 2015), we expect that changes in career motivation will influence changes in turnover intention and intentions to return to the workforce. Thus, we propose that men (women) may have increased (decreased) career motivation throughout pregnancy. According to London's (1983) theory of career motivation, changes in career motivation should explain gender differences in withdrawal attitudes over time. Formally,

Hypothesis 4: Changes in career motivation mediate the relationship between employee gender and changes in turnover intention and intentions to return to the workforce, such that (a) women experience increases and men experience decreases in turnover intention and (b) women experience decreases and men experience increases in intentions to return to the workforce, via changes in career motivation.

Gender Role Attitudes and Opting Out

We also acknowledge that individual beliefs may influence changes in opting in or opting-out variables. Specifically, women and men with traditional gender role attitudes may show more dramatic changes in their career motivation and subsequent decisions about opting out than those with more egalitarian attitudes. Gender role attitudes are the degree to which individuals agree that men and women should conform to traditional expectations associating women with caregiver roles and men with paid work roles (Livingston & Judge, 2008; Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman, 2011). Individuals who are more egalitarian believe men and women should equally contribute to both work and home, whereas individuals who are more traditional think men should put their efforts toward the work sphere and women toward the home sphere (Mason & Lu, 1988; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Lindsey, 2015).

Traditional gendered obligations of parenthood may become increasingly apparent as the birth of the baby approaches (Cowan

et al., 1985) through physical changes the mother undergoes as well as social events like baby showers and doctor's visits (Bailey, 2001; Fischer & Gainer, 1993). Men and women who feel that women should care for children and men should work outside the home should be more strongly affected by the growing salience of these traditional roles, resulting in more significant changes in their feelings about their work. Pregnant women with traditional gender role attitudes, for example, are likely to conform to their expectations of what it means to be a mother (Whatley & Knox, 2005). In comparison to more egalitarian women, traditional women will show increasing dedication toward family and home paired with a greater loss of career motivation and subsequent gain in turnover intentions. Expectant fathers with more traditional attitudes may show greater increases in career motivation and reductions in turnover intentions—because of their belief that fathers should be breadwinners, compared to their egalitarian counterparts. As such, we expect that men and women with egalitarian gender role attitudes to experience less change over time in their turnover intentions and intentions to return to work, through career motivation, than men and women with more traditional attitudes.

Hypothesis 5: Gender role attitudes moderate the indirect relationship between gender and turnover intentions such that (a) women with more traditional gender role attitudes will experience a greater increase in turnover intentions throughout pregnancy, compared to women with more egalitarian gender role attitudes, via the mediator of changes in career motivation; and (b) men with more traditional gender role attitudes will experience a greater decrease in turnover intentions throughout pregnancy compared to men with more egalitarian gender role attitudes, via the mediator of changes in career motivation.

Hypothesis 6: Gender role attitudes moderate the indirect relationship between gender and intentions to return to work such that (a) women with more traditional gender role attitudes will experience a greater decrease in intentions to return to work throughout pregnancy, compared to women with more egalitarian gender role attitudes, via the mediator of changes in career motivation; and (b) men with more traditional gender role attitudes will experience a greater increase in intentions to return to work throughout pregnancy compared to men with more egalitarian gender role attitudes, via the mediator of changes in career motivation.

Relationships Between Career Encouragement and Career Motivation

Scholars have recently emphasized the need to study the inter-relatedness of pushed-out and opting-out mechanisms (i.e., Kossek et al., 2017). Attitudes about one's career may be affected by the career-related support that an individual perceives at work, and the career support that one receives at work may be influenced by an individual's career motivation. Previous research provides some support for this notion. London and Bray (1984) examined career motivation in an assessment center with interviews and decision-making exercises. They found that employee career motivation was higher when the situation provided more support for employ-

ees' career development. Supportive managerial behaviors have been associated with higher levels of employee motivation, and employee ratings of perceived career empowerment and career development at work positively relate to supervisor ratings of employee career motivation (London, 1983; Noe, Noe, & Bachhuber, 1990).

It is also possible that as employees exhibit higher career motivation by being deeply involved in their work, volunteering for important assignments, and requesting promotional consideration, organizational members will respond to such efforts with increased career encouragement toward the employee. For instance, Wong, Hui, and Law (1998) reported that job satisfaction related to increased organizational resources assessed two years later. Similarly, Salanova, Bakker, and Llorens (2006) found that work-related flow experiences among teachers are associated with access to organizational resources over time. Employees with high levels of career motivation are intrinsically motivated to fulfill their work objectives, which should foster job resources in the workplace such as career encouragement from supervisors and coworkers.

Because of the limited theorizing and empirical support for the interconnectedness of these variables, we aim to explore how both initial levels of career encouragement and career motivation (early in pregnancy) and the trajectories of these variables, will influence one another throughout pregnancy. For example, changes in attitudes about one's career may be affected by the changes in career-related support that an individual perceives at work and vice versa. Changes in career-related support may be influenced by initial values of motivation before disclosure and changes in motivation may be related to initial levels of career-related support.

Research Question: How do the initial status and slope of career encouragement relate to the slope of career motivation throughout pregnancy, and how do the initial status and slope of career motivation relate to the slope of career encouragement throughout pregnancy?

Method

Participants and Procedures

The data reported in this article were collected as part of a larger data collection. This is the first publication from this dataset, and at the time of this writing, the variables included in the current study do not overlap with variables being examined in future studies using this dataset. After institutional review board approval from Florida International University (Protocol Number: IRB-15-0054; entitled: Dual-Career Couples and Pregnancy Disclosure at Work), participants were recruited via advertisements placed on online parenting communities and forums (i.e., BabyCenter.com). To receive data from expectant men and women, we targeted pregnant workers and their male partners in dual-earner couples (married and/or cohabiting) in the United States who were in the early stages of pregnancy, worked at least 30 hours per week, and had not yet disclosed their pregnancy statuses to their workplaces. If the respondents did not meet these inclusion criteria, their survey ended, and they did not participate in the study. Male and female partners were asked to complete six waves of online surveys throughout the pregnancy individually.

We administered the first survey before the pregnancy disclosure. This survey captured demographic characteristics, as well as baseline levels for each variable. In addition, we asked participants to indicate when they planned to disclose the pregnancy to their organization. Survey 2, which participants completed one to two weeks after the first survey, included this question, as well as repeated measures of our primary study variables. We emailed the third survey to participants a few days before they planned on disclosing and asked them to complete it within a week following their disclosure. We distributed the fourth survey to participants about two weeks following the disclosure so that reactions to the disclosure could potentially influence participants' career and job-related attitudes. We emailed Survey 5 to participants between Weeks 25 and 26 of the pregnancy, about two to three months following disclosure. We did so to allow sufficient time to observe changing attitudes following the disclosure. Finally, participants completed survey six between Weeks 30 and 35 of the pregnancy to allow us to examine changes in attitudes from early (predisclosure) to late pregnancy. Participants were compensated with a \$5 gift card after each survey they completed, and couples received a \$20 bonus gift card if both members of the couples completed all of the surveys.

We included nine attention checks throughout the six survey waves. Thirty individuals failed two or more of the checks, and we removed these individuals from the sample. We removed an additional two participants because they stated they were self-employed and thus could not adequately respond to workplace-related items. The number of participants who responded and were employed at Times 1 through 6 ranged from 149 to 104 for women and 114 to 74 for men. Of the 178 participants (104 women, 74 men) who completed all six surveys, 76.5% were White (78.8% women (_w), 73% men (_m), 9.5% were Black (7.7%_w, 12.2%_m), 7.3% were Hispanic (6.7%_w, 8.1%_m), and 4.5% were Asian (4.8%_w, 4.1%_m). The majority of the participants had bachelor's degrees (41.3%_w, 45.9%_m), as well as master's degrees (40.4%_w, 18.9%_m), some college (5.8%_w, 20.3%_m), a high school degree (1%_w, 8.1%_m), or an advanced graduate degree (11.5%_w, 6.8%_m). They worked across organizational levels: 67.6% were nonmanagers (69.2%_w, 64.9%_m), 18.4% were team leaders or supervisors (16.3%_w, 21.6%_m), 8.4% were middle managers (9.6%_w, 6.8%_m), and 5.6% were senior managers (4.8%_w, 6.8%_m). For most of the participants (45.3%), this was their first pregnancy, whereas 38% already had one child at home, and 16.2% had two or more children already. The participants were 31.50 years of age (30.72_w, 32.66_m), had worked for their current organization for 4.05 years (3.84_w, 4.35_m), and worked 40.56 hr per week (39.61_w, 41.92_m), on average, at Time 1.

Measures

We measured all continuous variables using a 5-point, Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) unless otherwise noted.

Gender. Participants self-reported their gender in survey 1, along with other demographic variables (male = 0, female = 1).

Career encouragement. We measured career encouragement using a six-item scale developed by Ragins and McFarlin (1990) and used by Hoobler and colleagues (2014) to measure career encouragement. This scale measures the extent to which an em-

ployee perceives encouragement from members of his or her workplace about advancing his or her career. Some example items include the following: "People in my workplace give me advice on how to attain recognition in the organization; People in my workplace use their influence to support my advancement in the organization."

Career motivation. Consistent with previous research investigating career motivation (Hoobler et al., 2014), we used Day and Allen's (2004) seven-item career identity subscale. The career identity subscale captures whether or not an individual is motivated to advance his or her career. Scale items included, "I am very involved in my job; I see myself as professional and/or a technical expert; I spend free time on activities that will help my job; I have taken courses toward a job-related degree; I stay abreast of development in my line of work; I have volunteered for important assignments with the intent of helping to further my advancement possibilities; I have requested to be considered for promotions."

Turnover intentions. We measured turnover intentions using O'Reilly, Chatman, and Caldwell's (1991) three-item measure: "To what extent would you prefer another more ideal job than the one you now work in?; To what extent have you thought seriously about changing organizations since beginning to work here?; If you have your own way, will you be working for this organization three years from now?" We used a 5-point response scale, ranging from 1 (*definitely not*) to 5 (*definitely yes*).

Intention to return to the workforce. We measured intention to return to the workforce using two items by Fox and Quinn (2015): "I plan to return to work following the birth of my child; I am confident I will return to work after the birth of my child."

Gender role attitudes. We measured this construct at Time 1 with five items validated by Judge and Livingston (2008). The following is a sample item: "It is much better if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family."

Control variables. When examining the outcomes of career encouragement and career motivation, we controlled for education level, organizational level, and the number of children each participant had. We controlled for gender role attitudes in the model that did not include this variable as a moderator because research suggests that beliefs about appropriate roles for men and women may differentially relate to changes in career motivation and encouragement for men and women (Kaufman & Uhlenberg, 2000). We controlled for participants' education level (1 = less than bachelor's degree, 2 = bachelor's degree, 3 = master's degree or higher) and their organizational level (1 = nonmanager, 2 = team leader/supervisor, 3 = middle manager, 4 = upper manager, 5 = executive/senior manager) as these constructs also may be related to gender and changes in motivation and encouragement (Hoobler et al., 2014). Finally, we controlled for the effects of the number of children the employees already had because this differentially affects career and family aspirations for men and women, as well as how others see men and women at work (Hoobler et al., 2009). We also controlled for participants' gender role attitudes when examining the outcomes of turnover intentions and intentions to return to the workforce. We suspected that this variable could affect the relationship between changes in attitudes and one's likelihood to leave (stay in) their current organization or the workforce more broadly, after having a baby. We did not propose that education, number of children, or orga-

nizational level influenced these relationships; however, as can be seen in the results section below, we ran an alternative model and conducted a chi-square difference test to support this decision.

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analysis and Measurement Invariance Tests

We report correlations, alpha reliabilities, and omega reliabilities (McNeish, 2018) at the individual level in Table 1. Some of our individual data is nested within couples, and thus, the fundamental independence assumption underlying single-level confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) is violated. We conducted a multi-level CFA for each construct with three or more items (Chen, Mathieu, & Bliese, 2005; Geldhof, Preacher, & Zyphur, 2014; Kozlowski & Klein, 2000; Little, Lindenberger, & Nesselrode, 1999). The fit indices for the three multilevel CFAs indicate that the models fit the data well at the individual (within) level: career encouragement, $\chi^2 = 115.27$, $df = 18$, comparative fit index (CFI) = .92, Tucker Lewis index (TLI) = .86, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .14, within standardized root mean residual (SRMR) = .07; between-level SRMR = .44; career motivation, $\chi^2 = 62.33$, $df = 28$, CFI = .93, TLI = .90, RMSEA = .07, within SRMR = .05, between-level SRMR = .41; and turnover intentions, $\chi^2 = 11.17$, $df = 3$, CFI = .98, TLI = .95, RMSEA = .10, within SRMR = .09, between-level SRMR = .68, supporting our decision to examine the hypothesized effects at the individual level, while taking into account the nested nature of our data (some participants are within couples).

Next, we performed measurement invariance tests to investigate whether the measurements of career encouragement, career motivation, turnover intentions, and intentions to return to the workforce were equivalent across time (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). Following Vandenberg and Morelli's (2016) updated recommendations for testing measurement equivalence, we tested configural invariance or equivalence with regard to the pattern of the factor loadings across the measurement occasions. All items were specified as loading on a single factor corresponding to the occasion in which they were measured. The fit statistics (see Table 2) supported configural invariance for all the variables measured at multiple times. Next, we assessed metric invariance in which the items' factor loadings were constrained to be equal across measurement occasions. The fit statistics reflected good fit (see Table 2). These statistics supported measurement equivalence for our focal constructs across the measurement periods.

Latent Growth Models

To test our hypotheses, we analyzed our data using latent growth models (LGM) with MPlus 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2017). We chose LGM rather than a cross-lagged model because LGMs assess changes in variables over time and examine how these changes relate to other constructs in a nomological network. Cross-lagged models, on the other hand, account for stability rather than change (e.g., Hamaker, Kuiper, & Grasman, 2015). LGMs involve specifying factor loadings for the latent intercept factor (representing the average initial status of individuals on a measure) and the slope factor (representing the rate of change over time) for the vari-

Table 1
Correlations and Reliabilities

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1. Gender	—																										
2. Education	.30	—																									
3. Gender role attitude	-.03	-.25	.87; .89																								
4. Number of children	-.11	.09	-.07	.08	—																						
5. Organizational level	.07	.15	-.13	.04	.11	.92; .94																					
6. Encouragement ¹¹	.08	.05	-.07	.02	.08	.78	.94; .99																				
7. Encouragement ¹²	.03	.13	-.06	.00	.11	.75	.80	.94; .99																			
8. Encouragement ¹³	.01	.12	-.10	-.04	.04	.74	.81	.83	.95; .99																		
9. Encouragement ¹⁴	-.08	.07	-.10	-.05	.05	.69	.78	.80	.83	.95; .99																	
10. Encouragement ¹⁵	.00	.06	.00	-.02	-.05	.67	.74	.76	.77	.84	.96; 1.00																
11. Encouragement ¹⁶	.11	.32	-.14	.10	.24	.50	.40	.44	.44	.33	.23	.79; .82															
12. Career motivation ¹¹	.02	.31	-.13	.11	.17	.43	.39	.42	.44	.35	.29	.75	.78; .99														
13. Career motivation ¹²	-.03	.25	-.11	.08	.20	.50	.44	.52	.51	.42	.38	.73	.80	.82; .99													
14. Career motivation ¹³	.02	.26	-.16	.08	.15	.46	.47	.50	.55	.41	.35	.74	.80	.82	.83; 1.00												
15. Career motivation ¹⁴	.00	.20	-.12	.07	.18	.37	.38	.45	.46	.42	.34	.69	.77	.82	.88	.80; .98											
16. Career motivation ¹⁵	.02	.14	.01	-.00	.09	.36	.43	.43	.46	.43	.47	.63	.67	.76	.80	.76; 1.00											
17. Career motivation ¹⁶	-.02	-.03	.13	-.11	.00	-.44	-.45	-.43	-.40	-.40	-.40	-.35	-.28	-.29	-.33	-.29	-.21	-.24	.88; .99								
18. Turnover intent ¹²	-.04	-.03	.08	-.14	.03	-.42	-.38	-.40	-.38	-.38	-.32	-.25	-.26	-.30	-.28	-.21	-.23	.87	.87; .98								
19. Turnover intent ¹³	-.03	-.06	.12	-.04	-.02	-.42	-.43	-.44	-.45	-.43	-.39	-.30	-.28	-.32	-.30	-.24	-.27	.89	.89	.87; 1.00							
20. Turnover intent ¹⁴	.02	-.03	.12	-.07	-.04	-.40	-.41	-.40	-.40	-.43	-.39	-.28	-.29	-.34	-.26	-.25	-.27	.84	.85	.89	.86; 1.00						
21. Turnover intent ¹⁵	.01	-.03	.12	-.06	.06	-.41	-.40	-.39	-.38	-.42	-.45	-.16	-.19	-.26	-.21	-.14	-.23	.82	.81	.85	.86	.88; 1.00					
22. Turnover intent ¹⁶	-.28	.09	-.11	.05	.15	.20	.15	.20	.21	.21	.21	.23	.30	.25	.28	.26	.30	-.22	-.21	-.27	-.28	-.27	.97; .99				
23. Intentions to ret ¹²	-.26	.10	-.16	.07	.09	.20	.21	.27	.32	.32	.24	.21	.23	.24	.30	.19	.21	-.22	-.27	-.25	-.27	-.25	.65	.97; .99			
24. Intentions to ret ¹³	-.29	.14	-.23	.05	.08	.26	.20	.28	.30	.28	.32	.25	.34	.28	.32	.23	.27	-.32	-.35	-.36	-.36	-.39	.79	.73	.98; 1.00		
25. Intentions to ret ¹⁴	-.33	-.04	-.21	.02	.13	.15	.12	.15	.14	.21	.16	.15	.20	.21	.21	.20	.21	-.27	-.30	-.30	-.30	-.27	.76	.57	.72	.98; 1.00	
26. Intentions to ret ¹⁵	-.30	-.02	-.13	.11	.08	.17	.20	.17	.16	.24	.23	.15	.19	.20	.20	.17	.23	-.27	-.31	-.29	-.29	-.34	.73	.58	.71	.84	.96; 1.00
27. Intentions to ret ¹⁶																											

Note. Correlations equal or greater than .16 are significant at $p < .01$; Correlations equal or greater than .13 are significant at $p < .05$. Gender (0 = male; 1 = female) is a dummy coded variable. Reliabilities are reported on the main diagonal. The first number is coefficient alpha and the second number is omega.

Table 2
Measurement Invariance Tests

Variable	χ^2	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
Configural invariance							
Career encouragement	1,094.87	494	.93	.91	.08		
Career motivation	1,101.32	699	.94	.92	.06		
Turnover Intentions	49.09	50	1.00	1.00	.00		
Intentions to return	11.86	5	1.00	.98	.09		
Metric invariance							
Career encouragement	1,125.44	519	.93	.92	.08	30.6	35
Career motivation	1,146.96	729	.93	.92	.06	45.6	30
Turnover Intentions	67.85	58	1.00	.99	.03	18.8	8
Intentions to return	25.16	9	1.00	.97	.10	13.3	4

Note. CFI = comparative fit index; TLI = Tucker Lewis index; RMSEA = root mean square approximation of error.

ables of interest. LGMs allow for predictions of continuous changes (i.e., incremental changes) or discontinuous changes (i.e., sudden changes) in variables over time. In the current model, we investigated continuous changes over the course of the pregnancy for career motivation and each of the withdrawal attitudes. As such, we labeled each measurement occasion with time scores (starting with 0) in a continuous fashion across each time period. Career encouragement, because it is externally driven, was not expected to change until after disclosure and, thus, the initial status (0) was set to reflect the two time periods before disclosure and then change in a continuous fashion after disclosure (Bollen & Curran, 2006; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002; Singer & Willett, 2003).

Gender differences in career encouragement and motivation. First, we specified a subgroup LGM examining the repeated measures (Ployhart & Vandenberg, 2010). This allowed us to examine the slopes of career encouragement and career

motivation for men and women (Hypotheses 1 and 3). The model fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 715.57$, $df = 418$, CFI = .95, TLI = .94, RMSEA = .07) and suggested that women's career encouragement diminished after disclosure ($\gamma = -.03$, $p = .04$; $SE = .01$; see Figure 1), whereas men's change in career encouragement was positive, yet nonsignificant ($\gamma = .03$, $p = .06$, $SE = .03$), supporting Hypothesis 1a but not 1b. Career motivation, on the other hand, increased for both men and women (see Figure 2). Thus, supporting Hypothesis 3b but not 3a, the estimated means for the slope of career motivation for men and women were statistically significant and positive (men: $\gamma = .05$, $p = .00$, $SE = .01$; women: $\gamma = .02$, $p = .02$, $SE = .01$).

Indirect effects and research question. Next, we tested a conditional LGM by including participant gender, changes in career encouragement and motivation, and changes in turnover intentions and return to work, to examine the indirect effects specified in Hypotheses 2 and 4 (see Figure 3 and Tables 3 and 4). We examined growth across all six-time points for our mediators and growth from Time 2 to Time 6 for our outcome variables. In doing so, we follow best practices to temporally separate predictors and outcomes (e.g., Daniel & Sonnentag, 2014), as changes in our mediators are theorized to occur before changes in our outcome variables. We used the Huber-White sandwich estimator to take into account the nested nature of the data (men and women nested within couples; Heck & Thomas, 2015; Huber, 1967; White, 1982).

The overall model fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 556.62$, $df = 297$, CFI = .94, TLI = .94; RMSEA = .06). Supporting Hypothesis 2a, gender (being female) was positively and significantly related to changes in turnover intentions, via changes in career encouragement. Hypothesis 2b, which predicted an indirect effect of gender on intentions to return to work, was not supported (see Tables 3 and 4). In addition, neither of the indirect effects of gender on changes in the two outcomes via

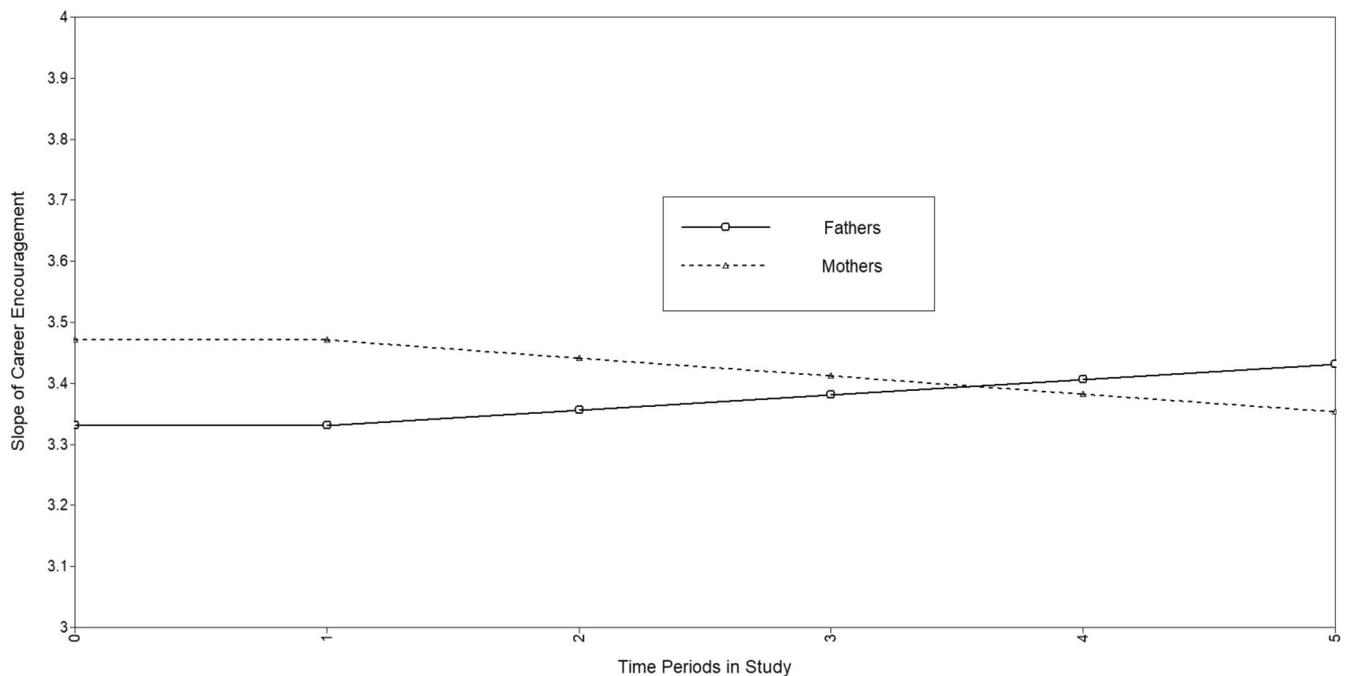


Figure 1. Slope of career encouragement for mothers and fathers.

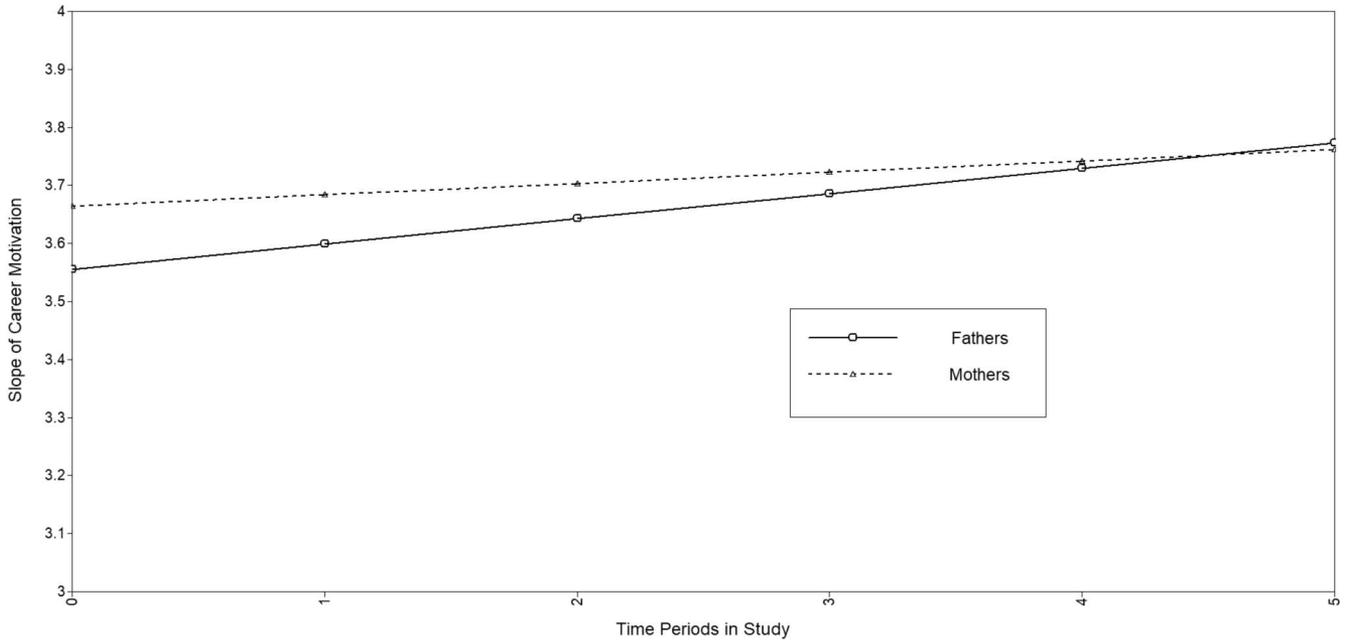


Figure 2. Slope of career motivation for mothers and fathers.

changes in career motivation were statistically significant (Hypotheses 4a and 4b), likely because gender was not significantly related to changes in career motivation (instead, career motivation increased positively for men and women).

Concerning our research question, we found that the initial status of career encouragement ($\gamma = .02, p = .01, SE = .01$) and the slope of career encouragement ($\gamma = .35, p = .00, SE = .12$) significantly related to the slope of career motivation. However,

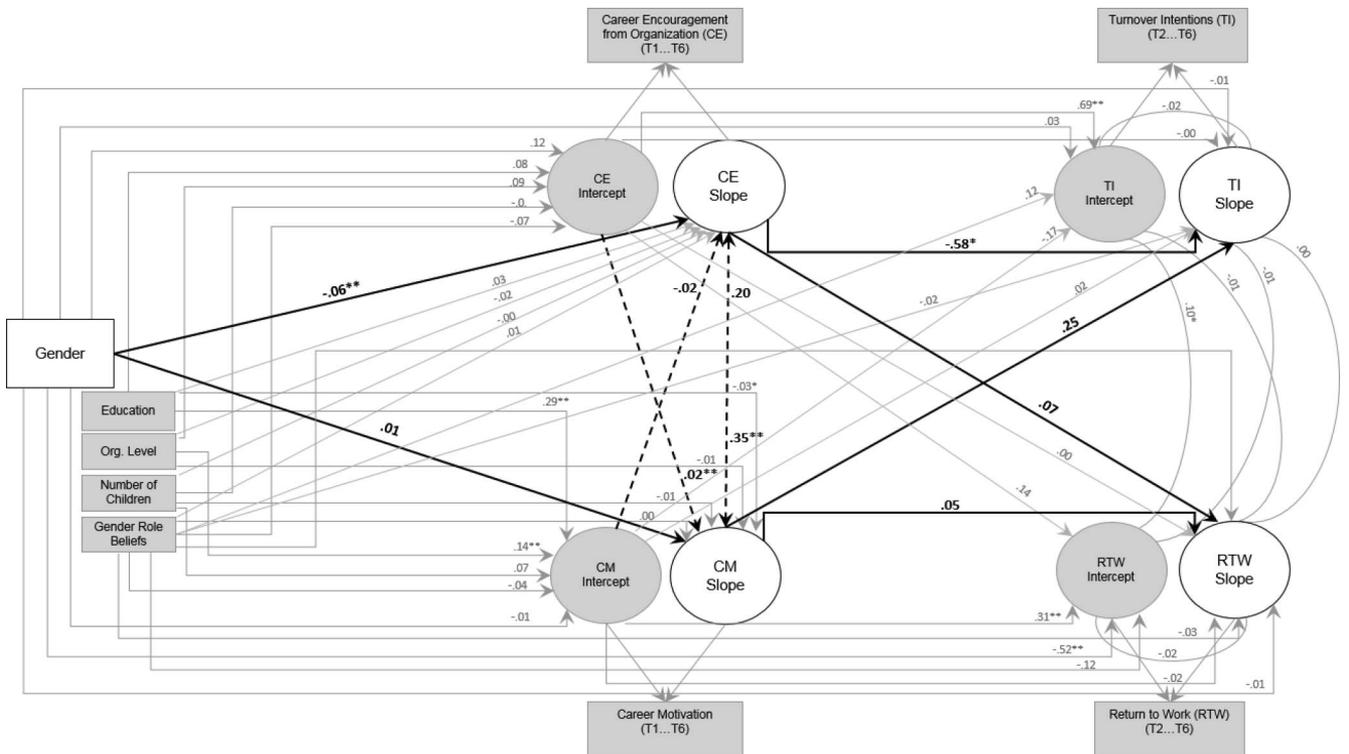


Figure 3. Indirect effects model. Study results: Path coefficients are unstandardized. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, two-tailed. Black arrows represent hypothesized paths and gray shaded variables are the control variables.

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Table 3
Parameter Estimates of Latent Growth Model

Parameter	IS Career Mot.	SL Career Mot.	IS Encour.	SL Encour.	IS TI	SL TI	IS Return	SL Return
Education	.29** (.06)	-.03* (.01)	.08 (.07)	.03 (.02)				
Org. level	.14** (.04)	-.01 (.01)	.09 (.07)	-.02 (.01)				
# Children	.07† (.04)	-.01 (.01)	-.00 (.05)	-.00 (.01)				
Gender	-.01 (.08)	.01 (.02)	.12 (.10)	-.06** (.02)	.03 (.14)	-.01 (.03)	-.52** (.09)	-.01 (.02)
Gender Role A.	-.04 (.06)	.00 (.01)	-.07 (.08)	.01 (.02)	.12 (.09)	-.02 (.02)	-.12† (.07)	-.03† (.02)
IS Career Mot.				-.02 (.02)	-.17 (.14)	.02 (.03)	.31** (.11)	-.02 (.02)
SL Career Mot.				.20 (.58)		.25 (.49)		.05 (.30)
IS Encour.		.02** (.01)			-.70** (.09)	-.00 (.02)	.14† (.08)	.00 (.02)
SL Encour.	.35** (.12)					-.57** (.28)		.07 (.12)

Note. $N = 178-263$. IS = initial status; SL = slope; Gender Role A. = gender role attitudes; Career Mot. = career motivation; Encour = encouragement; TI = turnover intentions; Return = intentions to return to work. Results include unstandardized effects. Standard errors in parentheses.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

neither the initial status ($\gamma = -.02$, $p = .37$, $SE = .02$) nor the slope of career motivation ($\gamma = .20$, $p = .74$, $SE = .58$) significantly related to the slope of career encouragement (see Table 3). Thus, the average initial status of career encouragement and the rate of change of career encouragement during pregnancy related to positive changes in career motivation, but not vice versa. We also tested an additional indirect effect—the effects of gender on changes in career motivation via changes in career encouragement (see Table 4). We report these analyses in addition to our hypothesized effects for transparency and because they yield additional insight which can help guide future research (Hollenbeck & Wright, 2017). The indirect effect from gender to changes in career motivation via changes in career encouragement was significant and negative ($\gamma = -.03$; 95% confidence interval [CI] $[-.05, -.00]$).

Moderated indirect effects. To examine the potential moderating role of gender role attitudes (Hypotheses 5 and 6) on the indirect relationships between gender and the outcomes, we added the path representing the interaction between gender and gender role attitudes on the slope of career motivation and examined the conditional indirect effects (see Figure 4 and Table 5). The overall model fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 581.29$, $df = 317$, CFI = .94, TLI = .94; RMSEA = .06); however, neither Hypothesis 5 or 6 was supported. The indirect effects of gender on changes in turnover intentions via changes in career motivation were not significant at lower levels of gender role attitudes ($-1 SD$; more egalitarian; $\gamma = .000$, $SE = .01$, 95% CI $[-.01, .01]$), or at higher levels of gender

role attitudes ($+1 SD$; more traditional; $\gamma = .003$, $SE = .01$, 95% CI $[-.01, .02]$). The indirect effects of gender on changes in intentions to return to work via changes in career motivation were not significant at lower levels of gender role attitudes ($-1 SD$; more egalitarian; $\gamma = .000$, $SE = .00$, 95% CI $[-.001, .001]$), or at higher levels of gender role attitudes ($+1 SD$; more traditional; $\gamma = .000$, $SE = .00$, 95% CI $[-.01, .01]$).

Post hoc Robustness Tests

To ensure the robustness of the results, we conducted several post hoc tests. First, we ran an alternative model to support our decision regarding the control variables. This model included additional paths from education, organizational level, and number of children and the outcomes: changes in turnover intentions and return to work. Because the hypothesized model is a nested model, we could not use the normal-theory chi-square statistic, and thus, we computed the difference test scale correction for both the hypothesized and the alternative model before we assessed the chi-square difference (Satorra, 2000; Satorra & Bentler, 2010). Results provided support for our hypothesized model. Adding the additional paths did not significantly improve the fit of the model ($\Delta TRd = 13.91$, $\Delta df = 12$; $p = .23$; alternative model $\chi^2 = 534.03$, scaling correction factor = 1.04, $df = 285$, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .06).

Next, we investigated couple level effects to rule out potential alternative explanations for our results. Here, we used the matched

Table 4
Indirect Effects of Gender on Outcomes

Mediated relationship	R^2	Mediators	Indirect Effects (95% CI)
Gender → IS of turnover intentions	.25**	IS of career encouragement IS of career motivation	-.08 (-.22, .06) .00 (-.03, .03)
Gender → Slope of turnover intentions	.33	Slope of career encouragement Slope of career motivation	.04 (.00, .07) -.00 (-.02, .02)
Gender → IS of intentions to return to work	.21**	IS of career encouragement IS of career motivation	.02 (-.01, .05) -.00 (-.05, .04)
Gender → slope of intentions to return to work	.07	Slope of career encouragement Slope of career motivation	-.01 (-.02, .01) -.00 (-.01, .01)
Gender → slope of career motivation	.61**	Slope of career encouragement	-.03 (-.05, -.00)

Note. IS = initial status. Bold font indicates 95% CIs excluding zero.

** $p < .01$.

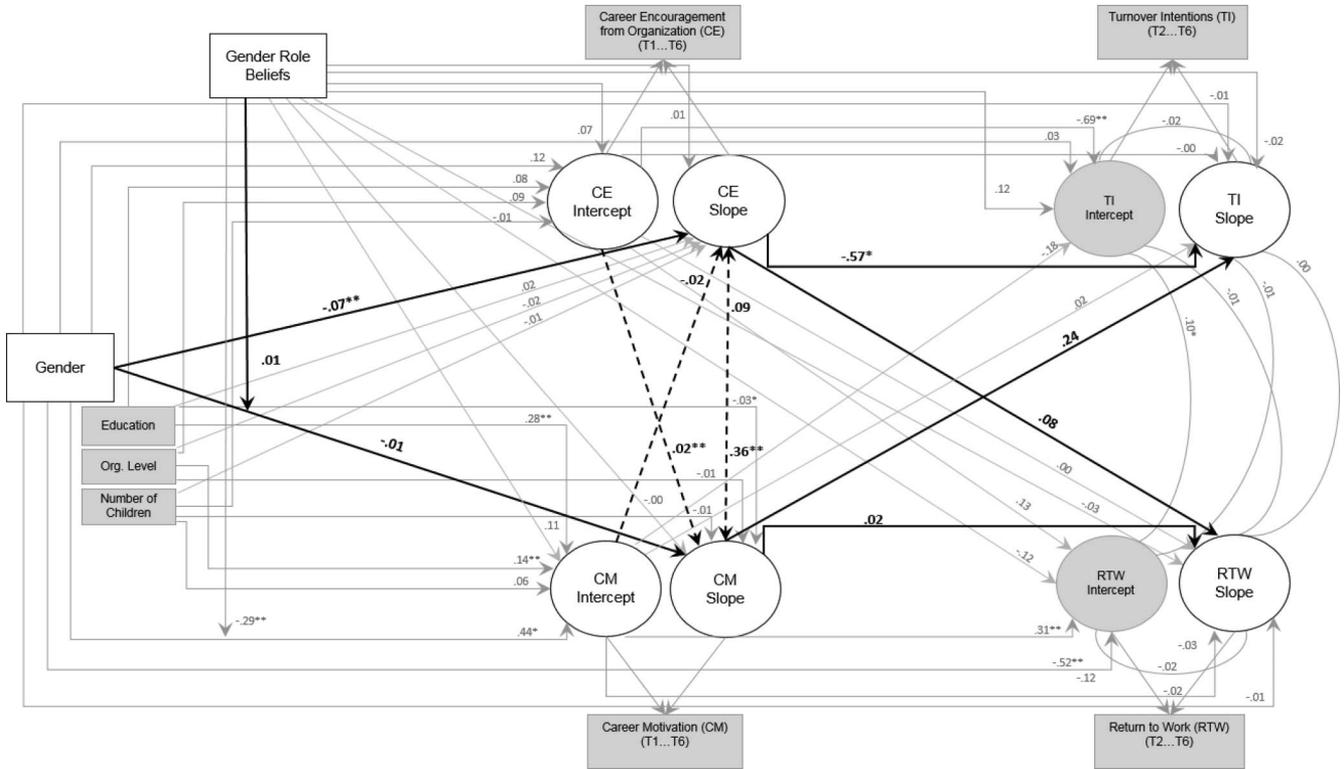


Figure 4. Moderated-mediated model. Study results: Path coefficients are unstandardized. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, two-tailed. Black arrows represent hypothesized paths and gray shaded variables are the control variables.

couple data in our sample and focused on alternative explanations for changes in career motivation, career encouragement, turnover intentions and returning to work throughout a pregnancy. For example, it is possible that men demonstrate increased career motivation over the course of their female partners' pregnancy because they are compensating for their female partner's turnover considerations and/or her decreased career encouragement. We examined whether male partner's increases in career motivation are related to women's negative changes in perceived career encouragement and increases in turnover intentions. We found that

women's slope of career encouragement ($\gamma = .07, p = .66, SE = .16$) and their slope of turnover intentions ($\gamma = .17, p = .51, SE = .26$) were not significantly related to their partner's slope of career motivation. For these analyses, we controlled for men's number of children, education, organizational level, and gender role attitudes, though the results were highly consistent without controls.

It is also possible that women's career motivation decreases as their partner's career motivation increases, and vice versa. As in our primary model, we controlled for the women's number of children, education, organizational level, and gender role attitudes,

Table 5
Parameter Estimates of Latent Growth Model Including Gender Role Attitudes as a Moderator

Parameter	IS Career Mot.	SL Career Mot.	IS Encour.	SL Encour.	IS TI	SL TI	IS Return	SL Return
Education	.28** (.06)	-.03* (.01)	.08 (.07)	.02 (.02)				
Org. Level	.14** (.04)	-.01 (.01)	.09 (.07)	-.02 (.07)				
No. Children	.07† (.04)	-.01 (.01)	-.00 (.05)	-.02 (.05)				
Gender	.44* (.19)	.01 (.04)	.12 (.10)	-.07** (.10)	.40 (.14)	.02 (.03)	-.52** (.09)	.01 (.02)
GRA	.11 (.09)	.00 (.01)	-.07 (.08)	.01 (.02)	-.03 (.09)	-.01 (.02)	-.12† (.07)	-.03† (.02)
Gender × GRA	-.29** (.11)	.01 (.02)						
IS Career Mot.				-.02 (.02)	-.18 (.14)	.02 (.03)	.31** (.11)	-.02 (.02)
SL Career Mot.				.10 (.02)		.24 (.48)		.02 (.31)
IS Encour.		.02** (.01)			-.70** (.09)	-.00 (.02)	.13† (.08)	.00 (.02)
SL Encour.		.36** (.12)				-.57** (.27)		.08 (.16)

Note. $N = 178-263$. IS = initial status; SL = slope; Gender Role A. = gender role attitudes; Career Mot. = career motivation; Encour = encouragement; TI = turnover intentions; Return = intentions to return to work; Gender × GRA = Gender × Gender Role Attitudes interaction. Results include unstandardized effects. Standard errors in parentheses.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

and found that the slope of male partners' career motivation did significantly relate to the slope of female partner's career motivation ($\gamma = .39, p = .03, SE = .18$). We discuss implications of this finding below. Further, we controlled for men's number of children, education, organizational level, and gender role attitudes, and we found that the slope of female partners' career motivation did not significantly relate to the slope of male partner's career motivation ($\gamma = 1.04, p = .09, SE = .61$). These findings support the robustness of our hypothesized results.

Discussion

In this longitudinal study of male and female employees expecting a baby, we tested the relative contributions of pushed-out and opting-out explanations for mothers' increased likelihood of withdrawing from the organization and workforce relative to fathers. Consistent with the pushed-out model (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000; Eagly, 1987; Eagly et al., 2000), we found that expectant mothers perceived declining career encouragement over the course of their pregnancy, whereas expectant fathers experienced a nonsignificant increase in career encouragement. Further, gender differences in changes in career encouragement served to explain gender differences in changes in turnover intentions seen throughout pregnancy. Contrary to expectations, career motivation increased for both men and women over the pregnancy. We also examined the interplay between pushed-out and opting-out variables. Our results indicated that both the initial status and the slope of career encouragement predict positive changes in career motivation, but the initial status and the slope of career motivation did not significantly predict changes in career encouragement. Finally, we found that gender relates to changes in career motivation via changes in career encouragement throughout pregnancy, supporting the notion that a pushed-out factor such as decreased career encouragement may lead to women's opting out of their careers throughout pregnancy via reduced career motivation.

Theoretical Implications

Our findings provide several implications for theory regarding gender differences in career experiences and withdrawal attitudes for expectant parents. First, building on well-established research examining the effects of gender role biases on judgments of mothers and fathers at work (Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004), the present study sheds light on the initial stages of the motherhood penalty and fatherhood premium by investigating when and how the attitudinal changes affecting turnover begin. Our findings support the pushed-out theoretical perspective and suggest that women's perceptions of declining career encouragement during pregnancy push them away from their organization and careers—as changes in career encouragement predicted changes in turnover intentions and career motivation overall. Changes in encouragement did not predict changes in the desire to return to the workforce. Women may first become disenchanted with their organization following reduced perceptions of career encouragement at work. Should the lack of encouragement continue at other organizations, perhaps then women may become disillusioned with the workforce in general. Future research should investigate these relationships post-pregnancy.

Second, and importantly, our findings along with other recent studies suggest that gender schemas may be shifting, and a reex-

amination of the boundary conditions of existing theoretical perspectives may be needed. Based on social role theory and a host of extant research, we expected career motivation to decrease for mothers throughout pregnancy; however, we found the opposite to be true. Supporting a potential shift, recent studies show that pregnant workers are often strongly motivated to preserve their legitimacy at work. These women report engaging in image management behaviors such as shortening maternity leave, going the extra mile, maintaining the same work pace as before pregnancy, and not requesting accommodations (Little et al., 2015; Little, Hinojosa, Paustian-Underdahl, & Zipay, 2018)—which may reflect increased career motivation. In addition, qualitative research shows that members of dual-career couples are “heavily committed to both [work and family] identities” (Bird & Schnurman-Crook, 2005: 157). Relatedly, in one of our robustness tests, we found that changes in male partners' career motivation significantly influenced changes in women's career motivation. As such, we encourage future research to examine potential changes in gender schemas within dual-career couples, as well as the possible crossover-effects of career-related attitudes among expectant parents.

Third, we answer a recent call for researchers to explore the interplay of opt out and pushed-out factors in explaining gender differences in career experiences (Kossek et al., 2017). We found that the initial status of career encouragement and the slope of career encouragement significantly related to the slope of career motivation. We also found a significant indirect effect of gender on changes in career motivation via changes in career encouragement. As women (men) experience decreased (increased) encouragement for their careers from their workplace, this carried over to affect decreased (increased) career motivation. Career motivation may increase for women in general during pregnancy, but in the presence of certain career-related obstacles such as decreased career encouragement, career motivation may decrease. These initial findings suggest that what research considers common indicators of opting out (i.e., changes in career motivation) may be a function of reduced support and potential bias.

Finally, we did not find empirical support for the moderating role of gender role attitudes on the relationship between gender and changes in turnover intentions and intentions to return to work, via changes in career motivation. We found that gender and gender role attitudes significantly interacted to relate to the initial status of career motivation (see Table 5). Rather than experiencing change in motivation over the course of the pregnancy, women with more traditional gender role attitudes may begin their career and/or pregnancy with lower levels of career motivation. One could reason that any change in career motivation due to gender role attitudes may occur as soon as participants know they are expecting or very shortly after that and thus, may not drive the extent to which their career motivation would change over the course of the pregnancy. Further research is needed to better understand how gender role attitudes affect short and long-term work attitudes of parents as they begin to embark on family planning, and beyond.

Practical Implications

This research also offers several important practical implications. First, our findings suggest that pregnant women perceive decreased career encouragement from their workplaces, which

may be due to implicit biases of coworkers (Eagly, 1987; Cortina, Kabat-Furr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013). Managers should be cognizant of the subtle demonstrations of implicit bias that may lead to pregnant workers perceiving reductions of career encouragement, and further educate their workforce to reduce such biases. Managers can encourage pregnant workers by assigning more challenging, autonomous, and long-term career assignments and goals or by implementing a mentoring program or other peer support system (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004). Giving expectant parents the opportunity to network with and learn from working parents could allow opportunities for employees to develop strategies, uncover resources, or seek support for their careers. Supervisor support for family roles and responsibilities is known to improve employees' ability to integrate work and family life, as well as improve career outcomes (Haddock, Zimmerman, Lyness, & Ziemba, 2006; Hammer, Kossek, Yragui, Bodner, & Hanson, 2009; Kossek, Pichler, Bodner, & Hammer, 2011).

Second, expectant mothers should be aware that increases in their own career motivation during pregnancy may not co-occur with increases in career encouragement from others. Further, these reductions in career encouragement may drive their turnover intentions. Leaving their current job may be a viable and productive strategy for some women. Indeed, nearly 20% of mothers who were working prior to their first birth and who returned to work following the birth were working for a different employer than they were prior to the birth (U.S. Census, 2011). Where finding a new job is not possible or is ill-advised, expectant women may need to consider managing their image and/or increasing their agency to cope with reduced career encouragement at work. Extant research suggests that behaviors aimed at maintaining a pre-pregnancy professional image can reduce burnout and discrimination (Little et al., 2015) while greater perceptions of agency can reduce negative perceptions associated with maternity leave (Hideg, Krstic, Trau, & Zarina, 2018).

Lastly, economic and sociological researchers have reported that parenthood results in a wage premium for fathers (Glauber, 2008; Hodges & Budig, 2010) and a wage penalty for mothers (Budig & Hodges, 2010; Harkness & Waldfogel, 2003; Sigle-Rushton & Waldfogel, 2007; Waldfogel, 1998); and yet, the reason for this wage gap is not clearly understood. Budig and England (2001) found that hours worked, work experience, employment breaks, sex composition of jobs, and several other individual and job characteristics explained only one third of the wage gap. They argued that the remaining wage gap might be explained because employed mothers are somehow less dedicated to their work than nonmothers (and fathers), or because employers discriminate against mothers (or some combination of the two processes). We find support for the idea that mothers' perceptions of declining career encouragement push women away from their work during pregnancy—which may provide further explanation for the existence of the wage gap.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Research

A strength of our study is that we examined both expectant fathers' and mothers' experiences throughout pregnancy. As our sample included dual-career couples, we statistically controlled for the effects of individuals being nested within couples in our hypothesized models. Although we only examined couple-level

effects as post hoc robustness tests, we recognize that couple-related dynamics may be an important direction for future research to examine more closely. For example, there may be differences in which partner is primarily responsible for household income and which partner is primarily responsible for childcare following childbirth (Baxter, 2014; Bulanda, 2004; Marks, Lam, & McHale, 2009). Another strength of our study is the longitudinal design, capturing changes in perceived career encouragement, career motivation, turnover intention, and plans to return to the workforce, from before disclosing the pregnancy to the organization to late stages of pregnancy. Although longitudinal research can help establish the nature of covariation between variables, the temporal order of variables, and reciprocal relationships, it cannot definitively establish causality, including eliminating competing explanations (e.g., third-variable effects; Taris & Kompier, 2014; Wang, 2013). Although it is not feasible to employ true experimental methods in an investigation of the reasons for gender differences in work withdrawal for expectant parents, quasi-experimental research may help support causal relationships in the present model (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002).

In addition, we encourage future research to increase sample diversity in job type (blue collar vs. white-collar jobs), race, and nationalities, as well as socioeconomic differences, as it may increase our understanding of how pushed-out and opt-out models may vary across people or contexts. For example, our sample reported fairly egalitarian beliefs (for men, the $M = 1.54$, $SD = .67$; for women, the $M = 1.52$, $SD = .64$ on a 5-point scale). Future research should investigate whether these statistics are representative of working parents or if certain demographic characteristics tend toward more traditional beliefs. It is also important that future research goes beyond pregnancy to test how career motivation and career encouragement may continue to change for men and women following childbirth and parental leave. Future research could compare the workplace experiences of childless women to those going through pregnancy, to better understand the pushed-out factors that may apply more broadly to turnover intentions of women in general (e.g., Kossek et al., 2017).

Further, incorporating family motivation or salience into pushed-out and opting-out models may be important as it could influence these important decisions for both mothers and fathers. Interestingly, Katz-Wise, Priess, and Hyde (2010) observed changes in family and work identity salience for expectant parents from 5 months pregnant to 12 months postpartum and found a significant gender difference in the linear effect suggesting that mothers increased in family salience at a higher rate than did fathers. However, this effect became nonsignificant when including education and income as control variables. Perhaps differential changes in family motivation or salience could relate to women's opting-out decisions. Relatedly, we encourage researchers to continue to study gender difference in changes in career motivation or closely related opting-out variables, given that our findings did not support our hypothesis that women may experience decreases in career motivation throughout pregnancy.

Understanding the motives around reduced career encouragement may also be important. King and colleagues (2012) found that benevolent sexism—the belief that women need to be protected and provided for—is negatively related to men's assignment of challenging experiences to female targets, even though men and women were equally likely to express interest in challenging

experiences. Future research should examine to what extent benevolent sexism may continue to affect women's perceived career encouragement, and subsequently their promotion opportunities, following maternity leave. Future research could also investigate the specific nature of the changes in career encouragement and whether these relate primarily to advancement or are also inclusive of encouragement in one's current career.

In our model, we found that women experienced decreased career encouragement from their workplace during their pregnancies, which increased their desire to leave. However, women also experienced increased career motivation throughout pregnancy (similar to men). Taken together, these results could mean that rather than being enthusiastic about leaving, women may be "reluctant leavers" who feel compelled to quit (Hom, Mitchell, Lee, & Griffith, 2012). Future research should examine whether expectant women experiencing low levels of encouragement are, in fact, reluctant leavers by conducting a fuller examination of the multiple forces that influence proximal withdrawal states for these employees.

Finally, we acknowledge that the disclosure, concealment, and management of concealable social identities at work is an ongoing process that varies across people and contexts (Buchanan & Settles, 2018), and may not always be voluntary (e.g., Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2018; Trau, O'Leary, & Brown, 2018). In the present study, we tested a single instance of disclosure—the formal, intentional disclosure of one's pregnancy to one's organization (99% of our sample reported disclosing to their supervisor)—as a potential turning point in our discontinuous change model. Although formal and intentional pregnancy disclosure is theorized to be significant for employees (e.g., King & Botsford, 2009), it is ultimately only one point in a dynamic system. Future work should examine individual differences in the significance, voluntariness, and dynamics of pregnancy disclosure at work, and how these relate to workplace outcomes.

Conclusion

By investigating workplace perceptions across multiple time points in a sample of men and women expecting a new baby, we empirically test pushed-out and opting-out explanations for gender differences in withdrawal attitudes. Our findings support social role theory (Eagly, 1987), suggesting that women are pushed out of the workplace due to decreased career encouragement at work during pregnancy, while men perceive increased encouragement. We also examine the relationship between these pushed-out and opting-out variables over time, finding that women's perceptions of being "pushed out" may lead to women's opting out of their organizations and careers.

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