The Motherhood Penalty and Maternity Leave Duration: Evidence from a Field Experiment

by

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Abstract

There is evidence that women continue to struggle in the labour market across a number of employment outcomes. This is despite the adoption of policies and practices that are designed to support women in achieving equality in the workplace. There is also evidence that women with children face particular challenges in the labour market. This is commonly referred to as the motherhood penalty. The literature offers evidence of the motherhood penalty in the recruitment process but the role of maternity leave has not been examined directly. The purpose of this study is to explore the motherhood penalty in employment-to-employment and nonemployment-to-employment transitions. A field experiment is conducted to examine the effect of maternity leave duration on firm behaviour in the hiring decision. The results indicate that the probability of receiving a callback from potential employers decreases initially with a maternity leave absence but it does not continue to decrease with longer maternity leave absences. There is recent experimental research on duration dependence that does not find similar results for unemployment spells. The evidence from this study then suggests that policies to increase the employment of and the labour force participation of women should be targeted specifically to women, in particular women with young children.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

A research question related to the challenges faced by women in the labour force is still of significant importance now as women continue to experience a pattern of differential treatment in the workplace. The plight of women can still be characterized by lower pay and occupational segregation in addition to other adverse employment outcomes even though there is some gender convergence (Blau and Kahn, 2010, Goldin, 2014). There is also still a gap in the ratio of male to female labour participation rates even though women represent almost 50 percent of the labour force (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015a). There is not full participation of women in the labour market. There is persistent gender disparity. This is despite the adoption of policies and practices to promote the participation of women in the labour market.

There are anti-discrimination laws to ensure equal opportunity in the labour market. The federal employment laws in the United States prohibit discrimination based on gender in the workplace. Section 703 of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states that it is unlawful for an employer:

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual’s race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees or applicants for employment in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual’s race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 amends Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include pregnancy, childbirth or related medical conditions in the terms “because of sex” or “on the basis of sex”. There are also state employment laws that prohibit gender discrimination in the United States. There are similar laws in Canada that prohibit discrimination based on gender in the workplace. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the Constitution Act of 1982 protects individuals from actions by federal, provincial or territorial and municipal governments and agencies under governmental jurisdiction with the guarantee of equal rights before and under the law without discrimination. The federal and provincial or territorial jurisdictions in Canada prohibit discrimination in the workplace through human rights legislation. Section 7 of the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1985 stipulates, “It is a discriminatory practice, directly or indirectly, (a) to refuse to employ or to continue to employ any individual, or (b) in the course of employment, to differentiate adversely in relation to an employee, on a prohibited ground of discrimination.” Section 3 of the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1985 defines the prohibited grounds of discrimination as race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, marital status, family status, disability and conviction for which a pardon has been granted or a record suspended and sex is further defined to include pregnancy or childbirth. The human rights legislation in the provinces and territories in Canada is similar to the federal human rights legislation. There are also laws that prohibit discrimination in other advanced economies. There are similar private policies to support equal opportunity in the labour market.

There have been positive trends in the employment of women. The employment to population ratio of women aged 25 to 54 has generally followed an upward trend from 52.9 percent in 1976 to 70.0 percent in 2014 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015a). The labour force participation rate of women aged 25 to 54 has followed a similar upward trend from 56.8 percent in 1976 to 73.9 percent in 2014 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015a). However, this upward trend in the employment of women can disguise possible adverse employment outcomes faced by women

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2 Baker and Milligan (2005) exploit changes in maternity leave entitlements across jurisdictions to examine the labour supply effects of maternity leaves. The authors assert that there is not a concern about unobserved heterogeneity because the maternity leave entitlements for women vary by time and space and not by their decision to work for a particular employer.

3 The parental status is manipulated in a short profile with the statement, “Kate and her husband [Dan and his wife]
with children in the labour market such as non-participation in the labour market and precarious or non-standard employment. While the employment to population ratio is 70.9 percent for women with own children 6 to 17 years, the employment to population ratio decreases to 59.2 percent for women with own children under 6 years and further decreases to 56.0 percent for women with own children under 3 years (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015b). Almost 30 percent of employed women with own children under 3 years are part-time workers and this proportion remains relatively consistent for women with own children under 6 years and it is only slightly lower for women with own children 6 to 17 years. In contrast, only 5.4 percent of employed men with own children under 6 years are part-time workers and 4.6 percent of employed men with own children 6 to 17 years are part-time workers (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015b). These employment outcomes are considered unfavourable to women at the individual level where the decision to not return to work, to work part-time, etc. is not a voluntary decision. The employment outcomes may also be considered unfavourable at the economy level because of a lack of full participation of women in the labour market.

The unfavourable treatment of women with children in the labour market is commonly referred to in the literature as the motherhood penalty. The motherhood penalty can occur in a range of labour market outcomes including the recruitment process. An applicant’s family status can have an illegal discriminatory effect in the recruitment process (Powell, 1987; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). The discrimination at play with the motherhood penalty may be related to a preference to employ women without children. There are possibly other kinds of discrimination at play with the motherhood penalty like an information bias or alternatively a cognitive bias. There is anti-discrimination legislation to prevent illegal discriminatory employment practices based on gender and pregnancy and as well as family responsibilities. There is also maternity leave legislation to protect women after childbirth against discrimination faced in their current employment and also to facilitate their return to work after childbirth. The federal government introduced maternity leave legislation through the Federal and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) in 1993. The FMLA provides 12 weeks of unpaid, job-protected leave after the birth of a child or the placement of a child for adoption or for foster care for private sector employees and also for public sector employees. There are also some state laws that supplement the FMLA. It may be difficult to identify discrimination in employment-to-employment transitions or nonemployment-
to-employment transitions as a result of the different forms of discrimination and the structure of the legislation. It may also be more difficult to identify the differential treatment faced by women with young children in the recruitment process because motherhood is not as visible as other bases of discrimination such as race or disability or even sex. There is still some evidence that women struggle to re-enter the labour market after the birth of a child (Hewlett, Forster, Sherbin, Shiller and Sumberg, 2010). If employers in the recruitment process treat women with a maternity leave adversely based on characteristics not related to productivity, then this can create inefficiencies in the labour market as mothers with young children will find it more difficult to find employment and then experience either longer unemployment spells so higher levels of unemployment or underemployment. It is important that the causal effects of maternity leave duration on firm behaviour in the hiring decision are understood by policymakers so that policies can then be designed to facilitate the employment of women after childbirth.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the motherhood penalty faced by women following childbirth in employment-to-employment and nonemployment-to-employment transitions. A field experiment is conducted to estimate the effect of maternity leave duration on firm behaviour in the hiring decision. The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature. Chapter 3 outlines the conceptual framework and highlights the hypotheses based on the conceptual framework. Chapter 4 describes the field experiment. Chapter 5 presents the results of the study. Chapter 6 discusses the results, policy implications, limitations and future research. Chapter 7 concludes the thesis.
Chapter 2
Literature Review

The identification of patterns and trends highlights the challenges faced by women with children in the labour market. It also informs the policy responses available to increase the employment of and the labour force participation of women with young children and women more generally. The following review of the literature summarizes the labour market experiences of mothers in the United States and also takes account of the experiences of mothers in Canada and European countries.

A literature review of the labour force participation of mothers frames the experiences currently faced by women with young children in the labour market. Smith and Bachu (1999) summarize the labour force participation of women and maternity leave from 1940 to 1997 in the United States. The decision to return to work after childbirth is positively associated with characteristics such as employment during pregnancy, higher earnings opportunities and employer provided maternity leave. A mother’s race also plays a role in predicting the decision to return to work with black women more likely to return to work than white women. The decision to return to work is negatively associated with characteristics such as leaving the labour force while pregnant and having another child. The literature review also observes that employer policies such as job flexibility, leaves of absence and job related services are positively associated with job retention after childbirth. (Smith and Bachu, 1999) Waldfogel, Higuchi and Abe (1998) find that women with young children have lower employment rates than other women in the United States, Britain and Japan. This is also the experience of women with young children in Canada (Marshall, 1999; Zhang, 2007, Zhang, 2008). The presence of young children has a negative impact on the employment of mothers and the magnitude is important from a quantitative perspective and a policy perspective.

The literature has established a link between maternity leave benefits and the employment decisions of women (Smith and Bachu, 1998; Waldfogel et al., 1998; Hofferth and Curtin, 2003; Baker and Milligan, 2005). A maternity leave benefit can increase employment if women use
the leave entitlement and then return to work (Waldfogel, 1999). Waldfogel et al. (1998) posit that expansions in maternity leave policy will increase the employment of women with young children. It follows that maternity leave policy can be used as an instrument by policymakers to influence a woman’s decision to remain in the labour force after childbirth. There may be self-selection into sectors, occupations or jobs with family-friendly working conditions (Nielsen, Simonsen and Verner, 2004). It follows then that maternity leave policy can also be used as an instrument by policymakers to influence the sectors, occupations or jobs women enter in the labour market. A mandated maternity leave benefit may decrease employment, if employers pass along the cost of the mandated maternity leave benefit to women and women do not value it at cost (Waldfogel, 1999). A maternity leave policy may also decrease the efficiency of maternal employment, if the policy increases the length of leave for mothers who would have returned to work more quickly after childbirth except for the policy (Hofferth and Curtin, 2003). Berger, Hill and Waldfogel (2005) find that women covered by a maternity leave policy return to work less quickly in the first 12 weeks after childbirth compared to women not covered by a maternity leave policy but that women covered by a maternity leave policy return to work more quickly after the first 12 weeks. It is also possible that maternity leave benefits could decrease the jobs available to women of child-bearing age (Rossin-Slater, Ruhm and Waldfogel, 2013). Blau and Kahn (2013) similarly cite that longer maternity leave entitlements may not be efficient.

The empirical evidence presents mixed results about the impact of government mandated maternity leave under the FMLA or state initiatives on employment outcomes of women (Waldfogel, 1999; Baum, 2003; Rossin-Slater et al., 2013; Baum and Ruhm, 2014). It is possible that there was not a significant change in maternal employment because the duration of leave provided under the FMLA is short and similar to that required to recover from childbirth (Baum, 2003; Baker and Milligan, 2005). It is also possible that the duration of leave provided under the FMLA duplicates private arrangements (Klerman and Leibowitz, 1999; Baker and Milligan, 2005). If women self-select into sectors or firms with family-friendly policies, then this would negatively affect the measurement of the impact of government mandated maternity leave programs. It is estimated that at least 40 percent of women were covered by a maternity leave policy through private arrangements such as a voluntary employer-provided plan or a union contract or through a state program prior to the introduction of the FMLA and that has not
substantially increased with the FMLA as more than 50 percent of women in the private sector are not covered by the FMLA (Waldfogel, 1998; Waldfogel, 1999). The lack of significant impact of the FMLA and state programs on the employment of women may not be a result of the decision by women to remain at home after childbirth but rather the decision by firms not to hire women after childbirth. The FMLA also does not cover women after childbirth in employment-to-employment transitions or nonemployment-to-employment transitions. A significant proportion of women return to work to the same employer after childbirth (Klerman and Leibovitz, 1999; Waldfogel, 1998; Hofferth and Curtin, 2003). The return to the pre-birth employer though may mask discrimination in employment-to-employment transitions and nonemployment-to-employment transitions. It is also possible that family friendly policies in general may lead to discrimination (Blau and Kahn, 2013). The impact of maternity leave policies on a mother’s return to work is not clear from the empirical evidence.

There is a potential self-selection bias in literature. It is difficult to disentangle the potential self-selection bias in the survey research because the studies use non-experimental data to link maternity leave and the employment decisions of women. There can be unobserved characteristics in the previous non-experimental studies on the motherhood penalty. If there is unobserved heterogeneity and the unobserved heterogeneity is correlated with maternity leave entitlements or maternity leave decisions, then this biases the results of the studies and limits the interpretation of results linking maternity leave and employment decisions. There can also be unobserved heterogeneity that is correlated with the employment decisions of firms and that too could possibly bias the results. It is also a challenge to assert causation with survey research. There is more recent empirical research on the motherhood penalty and employment that draws on experimental data in laboratory and field settings to overcome the limitations associated with non-experimental data.

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2 Baker and Milligan (2005) exploit changes in maternity leave entitlements across jurisdictions to examine the labour supply effects of maternity leaves. The authors assert that there is not a concern about unobserved heterogeneity because the maternity leave entitlements for women vary by time and space and not by their decision to work for a particular employer.
The laboratory research focuses on traits and stereotypes to examine the motherhood penalty in employment. Cuddy, Fiske and Glick (2004) find that women lose perceived competence and gain perceived warmth with motherhood but that men maintain perceived competence and gain perceived warmth with fatherhood. The participants were asked to read short profiles of fictitious consultants that varied by gender and by parental status in a 2 x 2 in-between participants design and then to rate the consultants on competence and warmth traits and to rate the consultants on hire, promote and educate recommendations. Cuddy et al. (2004) also find that women with children are less likely to be requested for a job compared to women without children and men with or without children and that competence predicts the hiring recommendations. There is not an effect of the participant’s gender on the dependent variables (Cuddy et al., 2004). The disadvantage faced by mothers in the hiring process is replicated in other laboratory studies (Fuegen, Biernat, Haines, and Deaux, 2004; Correll, Benard and Paik, 2007). There is analogous evidence from a laboratory experiment conducted by Masser, Grass and Nesic (2007) that pregnant candidates are less likely to be hired compared to non-pregnant candidates. Masser et al. (2007) also find that pregnant applicants are stereotyped as not only warmer but also more competent than non-pregnant applicants. Cuddy et al. (2004) find though that the difference in perceived warmth between non-mothers and mothers is statistically significant while the difference in perceived competency only approaches statistical significance. A similar motherhood disadvantage is found in promotion decisions (Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004; Heilman and Okimoto, 2008).

The research on the motherhood penalty has been extended from the laboratory to the field. Correll et al. (2007) find that the probability of receiving a callback for an interview from an employer is less for women with children compared to women without children and compared to men with and without children. The parental status is manipulated in the cover letter by stating

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3 The parental status is manipulated in a short profile with the statement, “Kate and her husband [Dan and his wife] recently had their first baby” for the parent and with no additional information for the non-parent. The age of the baby is not provided to participants but further information provided to the participants suggests that the subject is currently employed. There is some ambiguity about whether the female subject with a child was absent from work for a maternity leave although it expected that she would have been absent for at least the minimal amount of time necessary to physically recover from childbirth. The outcome for female subjects may be confounded because maternity leave and family status cannot be disentangled in this experiment.
that the applicant relocated to the city with his/her family for the parent and that the applicant relocated to the city for the non-parent and in the resume by listing elementary parent-teacher association officer for the parent and college alumni association fundraiser for the non-parent. The results present causal evidence that employers penalize women based on evidence of parental status in the selection process. The study does not identify the underlying mechanism for the differential treatment by firms but a companion laboratory study suggests that motherhood is a devalued social status that disadvantages women in the selection process. A similar field experiment conducted in the French labour market does not replicate the findings of a motherhood penalty (Petit, 2007). It is of interest though that Petit (2007) finds that younger single and childless female job applicants receive less invitations to interview than younger single and childless male job applicants in high-skilled administrative jobs and also in long-term contract jobs and proposes that career interruptions for maternity leave as a possible explanation for the differential treatment. There is also a field experiment conducted in the Canadian labour market that finds that female applicants receive more callbacks than male applicants (Oreopoulos, 2011). The results from the field experiments have not been reconciled in the motherhood penalty literature.

A maternity leave absence can be considered a career interruption. Judiesch and Lyness (1999) make the distinction between a career interruption for childbirth and a leave of absence for childbirth. A career interruption is characterized by the termination of the employer-employee relationship while a leave absence is characterized by the continuation of the employer-employee relationship. If women are not covered by a maternity leave policy and remain at home rather than return to work or women prefer to remain at home longer than the mandated maternity leave policy, then this would be considered a career interruption. A parallel can be drawn between women without job-protected maternity leave and displaced workers (Waldfogel, 1998). The parallel can be extended to women who have a career interruption after childbirth and remain at home following a maternity leave. There is a vast body of literature on unemployment. There is

4 The study does not explicitly examine the motherhood penalty but the female and male applicants are of parental age and so inferences can be made about the effect of motherhood and fatherhood on firm behaviour in the hiring process.
little, if any, recent empirical evidence of the effect of maternity leave on the reemployment of women in the literature. Even (1987) provides evidence that the probability of returning to employment decreases as the career interruption increases for women after childbirth. It is difficult to make inferences about causality because survey data is used to estimate the determinants of the return to employment following childbirth. It is also difficult to make inferences from this study on the current experiences of women after childbirth because the labour force participation of women, in general and mothers, more specifically, have increased over time and there have been institutional changes with the introduction or expansion of public and private maternity leave programs. There is more recent evidence of a gender bias in reemployment after a career interruption (Koeber and Wright, 2006). The career interruption though follows a job loss and the behaviour of employers may differ when the career interruption follows childbirth.

The recent contributions to the unemployment literature draw on resume audit studies to explore firm behaviour on reemployment. There are mixed results. Kroft, Lange and Notowidigdo (2013) find evidence of duration dependence in the U.S. labour market. The result is corroborated in Ghayad (2013) but not in Nunley, Pugh, Romero and Seals (2014). There is also evidence of duration dependence in the Swiss labour market (Oberholzer-Gee, 2008) but not in the Swedish labour market (Eriksson and Rooth, 2014). There is though some evidence of lower callback rates in low/medium skill jobs for longer spells in the Swedish labour market (Eriksson and Rooth, 2014). There is also evidence on the effect of experience on duration dependence. Ghayad (2013) finds that experience can lessen the negative effects for shorter unemployment spells but not longer unemployment spells. Eriksson and Rooth (2014) find that work experience can counteract the effect of an unemployment spell. There are also mixed results with respect to the experience of female unemployed job applicants (Oberholzer-Gee, 2008; Kroft et al., 2013; Eriksson and Rooth, 2014). A possible explanation for the dissimilar experiences of female unemployed job applicants is variation in government mandated maternity

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5 There is an adverse effect of longer unemployment spells as job applicants with longer unemployment spells receive less callbacks from potential employers except that currently employed job applicants are less likely to receive a callback than recently unemployed job applicants.
leave policies. The experimental research focuses on non-specific work history gaps and so the unemployment spells are general rather than specific. The potential employers may have interpreted the gaps as a maternity leave for female unemployed job applicants and not penalized female unemployed applicants as much where there are more generous maternity leave entitlements. The unemployment or displacement literature does not specifically consider the role of maternity leave on employer behaviour in the reemployment of women.

A summary of the experimental papers on the motherhood penalty and duration dependence is presented in Table 1.

[Table 1 here]

This study examines the effect of maternity leave duration, as an observable individual characteristic, on firm behaviour in the selection decision. The study provides direct evidence of the role of maternity leave duration, to explain the motherhood penalty in the hiring decision and so contributes to the literature by building on the motherhood penalty literature. It is the first study that uses the resume audit study methodology to explore maternity leave as a mechanism of the motherhood penalty in the recruitment process. It offers new evidence of the effect of maternity leave on maternal labour demand and so develops our understanding of the motherhood penalty and informs possible governmental and non-governmental policies. The study also builds on the duration dependence literature by exploring the effect of maternity leaves as the nonemployment spell.
Chapter 3
Conceptual Framework

There are two perspectives or classes of models that predict maternal employment. The first perspective is a labour supply perspective. The dampening of the labour force participation rate of women after childbirth can be explained as a labour supply decision. An income-leisure choice model predicts that women will voluntarily choose not to return to work after childbirth if the wage rate, which includes the market wage rate, the present value of decreased future earnings from the depreciation of human capital during the career interruption and the present value of decreased future earnings from the loss of human capital accumulation during the career interruption, is less than the value of time at home or the reservation wage rate (Mincer and Polachek, 1974). The income-leisure choice model is extended in Klerman and Leibowitz (1999) as a model of leave for maternity. The second perspective is a labour demand perspective. This class of models predicts that women with young children face a penalty after childbirth for a maternity leave absence from the labour market. The models predict that the impact of the penalty is greater the length of the spell or alternatively the models predict that the impact of the penalty is the same regardless of the length of the spell. This study focuses on the role of firm behaviour in the motherhood penalty and so the conceptual framework outlines the labour demand models and associated predictions of the effect of maternity leave on firm behaviour to frame the empirical part of the thesis.

A human capital perspective can be used to explain firm behaviour in the selection process. There are different categories of human capital. There is general human capital, which is a set of transferable skills that is useful to many firms, and firm specific human capital, which is a set of non-transferable skills that is useful only to a particular firm (Becker, 1962). There is also industry-specific human capital, occupation-specific human capital and location-specific human capital (Koeber and Wright, 2006). The accumulation of different levels and types of human capital can result in different employment outcomes (Becker, 1962). A career interruption can lead to a loss in skills and knowledge, a depreciation of human capital (Mincer and Polachek, 1974; Mincer and Ofek, 1982; De Grip and Van Loo, 2002). There can be a depreciation of human capital during a period of non-participation and also a loss of investment or appreciation
(Mincer and Polachek, 1974). There should be almost no penalty for short maternity leave absences but larger penalties for longer maternity leave absences in a human capital model with perfect information. This model predicts that the longer the maternity leave duration, the longer the non-participation in the workplace, the greater the loss of human capital. It follows that employers will perceive that there is a greater loss of skills the longer the maternity leave duration and so the impact of the maternity leave penalty will be greater the lengthier the spell. It is expected that the average callback rate will decrease with the length of the maternity leave duration.

An extension of the human capital model can be used to explain firm behaviour in the selection process. There is a division of labour between market activities and household activities because of family responsibilities with men traditionally responsible for market activities and women household activities. The extension of the human capital model explains that this division of labour results in the accumulation of less human capital by women and so women allocate more time to household activities and less time to market activities (Becker, 1985). There is not perfect information about the productivity of job applicants and so potential employers make assumptions about productivity based on observable characteristics (Akerlof, 1970; Spence, 1973). It follows that potential employers will use a maternity leave spell similar to other observable characteristics such as education and work experience to make assumptions about productivity. A maternity leave can be interpreted by potential employers as a signal of greater family responsibilities and so less productivity. It is a signal of undesirable characteristics. It is predicted that women who are absent from the workforce following childbirth will be perceived by potential employers to be less productive than women who are not absent because of a greater commitment to family responsibilities. If the underlying model of the labour market is a screening model, then the length of maternity leave will be important to firms. It is possible that potential employers will perceive longer maternity absences as a signal of even greater family commitment or detachment or disinterest in the workforce. It is expected that the average callback rate will be negatively associated with maternity leave and it is also expected that the average callback rate will decrease with the length of the maternity leave duration.
The gender inequality faced by women with children may be explained by discrimination. There is statistical discrimination. There may be limited or imperfect information about individual productivity and it is costly to obtain information so individuals are evaluated based on group characteristics rather than on individual characteristics (Becker, 1957; Phelps, 1972, Arrow, 1973). The mechanism of discrimination is an information bias in the statistical discrimination model. It is not possible for employers to directly observe individual productivity based on a review of a job applicant’s resume. There is imperfect information about the productivity of individual job applicants and it is costly for potential employers to obtain more information so job applicants are evaluated based on prior observations of group productivity rather than individual productivity. If, in general, women who have been absent from the workforce following childbirth are less productive than women who have not been absent from the workforce, then employers may be reluctant to hire women returning to work after a maternity leave. It follows that potential employers will favour mothers who have not been absent from the workforce following childbirth and disfavour mothers who have been absent based on group characteristics of productivity rather than individual characteristics.

The statistical discrimination model explains that there is a motherhood penalty in the reemployment of women because there is an information bias and so selection decisions are based on group productivity rather than individual productivity. There are criticisms of the statistical model of discrimination based on the underlying group productivity distribution assumptions (Aigner and Cain, 1977; Oettinger, 1996). There is also criticism of the ability to detect statistical discrimination in the labour market based on inferences from individual firm discrimination in audit studies (Heckman, 1988; Heckman and Siegelman, 1993). A status-based discrimination model is an alternative model to the statistical discrimination model as it relies on a cognitive bias rather than an information bias to explain the motherhood penalty.

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6 There are certain recruitment methods such as internal recruitment and external recruitment through employee referrals and former employees where information about job applicants would be less limited and/or less costly.
There are conscious or unconscious beliefs, attitudes, norms and values about motherhood. The role of women as mothers is a status characteristic associated with lower social status and adverse employment outcomes are a result of the devalued status characteristic of motherhood (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004; Correll and Benard, 2006). The performance expectations in the status-based discrimination model are conceptualized as competence in terms of ability and effort or commitment (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). This considers not only current performance expectations but also future performance expectations (Correll and Benard, 2006). If motherhood is a salient descriptor of a job applicant, then performance expectations for a job applicant who is a mother will be less than performance expectations for a similar job applicant who is not a mother. A stricter performance standard will also be applied to a job applicant who is a mother compared to a job applicant who is not a mother. There is evidence that mothers are stereotyped as less competent and less committed in the workplace (Cuddy et al., 2004; Correll et al., 2007; Heilman and Okimoto, 2008). The role of women and the perceptions of women have changed in advanced economic countries and so it is likely that ability has less significance than effort or commitment in selection decisions (Correll and Benard, 2006). A career interruption for maternity leave following childbirth can decrease perceptions of commitment. There is not specific evidence of different levels or degrees of motherhood in the status-based discrimination literature. There is though evidence that housewives are rated higher in warmth than competence and businesswomen are rated higher in competence than warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Zu, 2002). It is reasonable to make the assumption that housewives and businesswomen can both be mothers and so it can be inferred from the different results that there is variation in the effect of motherhood on performance expectations. It is predicted that a maternity leave absence will indicate more of a primary caregiver role and less commitment to the workforce. It is also predicted that maternity leave duration will indicate even more of a primary caregiver role and less commitment to the workforce. It is expected that the average callback rate will be negatively associated with maternity leave and it is also expected that the average callback rate will decrease with the length of the maternity leave duration.

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7 See Ridgeway and Correll (2004) for a detailed outline of the status-based discrimination model. See also Correll and Benard (2006) for a comparison of the statistical discrimination model and the status-based discrimination model.
Hypothesis #1: There is a maternity leave penalty and the impact of the penalty is greater the lengthier the spell.

Hypothesis #2: There is a maternity leave penalty regardless of the spell duration.

The interplay of gender and motherhood is a facet of the status-based discrimination model. It is predicted that women will be evaluated more strictly or to a higher standard than men in masculine-type jobs and gender-neutral jobs (Correll and Benard, 2006). If mothers do not have a career interruption after childbirth, then that would be consistent with gender stereotypes of men and if mothers do have a career interruption for maternity leave after childbirth, then that would instead be consistent with gender stereotypes of women. It is predicted that potential employers will attach masculine characteristics to women without a listed maternity leave and feminine characteristics to women with a listed maternity leave and so potential employers will favour equally qualified women who are employed over women who are not employed and list the reason for unemployment as maternity leave for masculine jobs and for gender-neutral jobs. It is expected that gender stereotypical expectations will negatively impact the callback decision for women with a recent career interruption for maternity leave in male dominated or gender neutral occupations or industries and positively in female dominated occupations or industries.

Hypothesis #3: The gender composition of an occupation has an independent effect on the likelihood of a maternity leave penalty. Traditional or female-dominated occupations are not associated with a maternity leave penalty while non-traditional or male-dominated occupations and gender-neutral occupations are associated with a maternity leave penalty. There could also be less of an association for female-dominated occupations compared to male-dominated occupations and gender-neutral occupations.

The wage inequality literature provides an alternative explanation to the human capital theory for the motherhood penalty. A personnel economics theory of occupational pay differences rooted in the structure and compensation of temporal flexibility is developed by Goldin (2014) to
explain the gender wage gap. There are certain industries, occupations where there are not perfect substitutes for employees and firms place a higher value on hours worked by employees with respect to number of hours worked, timing of hours worked, etc. and so there is not a linear relationship between hours worked and compensation. There are higher wage penalties against women in occupations with less temporal job flexibility where there is nonlinearity with respect to hours worked and compensation and lower wage penalties in occupations with more temporal job flexibility where there is linearity with respect to hours worked and compensation. The job flexibility argument can be applied to the motherhood penalty and more specifically to the maternity leave penalty. The job flexibility argument is a useful way to rank the maternity leave penalty by occupation. The less temporal job flexibility in an occupation, the lower the callback rate and so the greater the maternity leave penalty. The maternity leave penalty is expected to be the smallest in occupations with the most flexibility.

**Hypothesis #4**: The temporal flexibility of a job has an independent effect on the likelihood of a maternity leave penalty. The impact of the maternity leave penalty is greater the less temporal job flexibility in an occupation.

The models from the conceptual framework generate specific hypotheses about the maternity leave penalty to be tested in the empirical part of the thesis. The next chapter outlines the empirical framework.
Chapter 4
Experimental Design

I designed a field experiment following a resume audit study methodology to estimate the effect of maternity leave on firm behaviour in the hiring decision. I sent fictitious resumes varying maternity leave duration to job postings on an online job board to test for differential treatment faced by women after childbirth. This methodology was followed to generate unbiased results that would provide robust evidence of differential treatment. The design of the field experiment was patterned after the approach adopted in other resume audit studies such as Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), Correll et al. (2007), Lahey (2008), Oreopoulos (2011) and Kroft et al. (2013). The research protocol for the field experiment was reviewed and approved by the Social Sciences, Humanities and Education Research Ethics Board at the University of Toronto.

4.1 Procedure

The setting of the field experiment was a large online job site in the United States. The field experiment was conducted in a natural setting to examine actual firm behaviour for higher ecological validity. The job postings were selected from the online job board based on criteria such as geographic location, job category, education, experience, etc. The search criteria were selected to yield results about the phenomenon of the motherhood penalty and the impact of maternity leave duration for a large representative sample.

The search focused on job postings for positions located in Chicago, Illinois and in Dallas, Texas.\(^8\) The cities of Chicago and Dallas were selected because the cities are large metropolitan areas in terms of population (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2013). Also, there are not other institutional constraints in these cities in terms of maternity or parental leave policies for private sector employees other than the 12 workweeks of unpaid, job-protected FMLA leave (Grant, 2013).

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\(^8\) The job site was searched for job postings with positions located within 30 miles of Chicago, Illinois or within 30 miles of Dallas, Texas.
Hatcher and Patel, 2005; National Partnership for Women & Families, 2012). In addition, the cities have similar demographic and economic profiles and the state profiles are similar to the national profile (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2013). Table 2 presents a summary of the city, state and national profiles.

[Table 2 here]

The job search focused on job postings for positions in administration, sales, customer service, accounting, technology support, marketing, financial analysis and business analysis. A number of earlier resume audit studies focus on a more narrow set of job categories (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Correll et al., 2007; Osberholzer-Gee, 2008; Kroft et al., 2013). A broad set of job categories was selected for this field experiment to examine firm behaviour across a diverse group of occupations to generalize the results to local labour markets and the economy.

The job postings selected from the online job board were matched to application materials for pairs of fictitious job applicants. The job applicants were women seeking employment after childbirth and the women were either currently employed, or not employed and on maternity leave. The employment status of the job applicants was assigned randomly.

I submitted the matched applications through the online job site to all job postings based on the selection criteria. In general, two applications were submitted to each job posted online. The

9 The list of job categories originally included retail sales representatives but this category was dropped near the beginning of the data collection because of a lack of job postings for sales representatives in retail.

10 Job applications were not submitted to certain positions such as outside sales positions, temporary or contract positions, commission only compensation and part-time positions.
number of applications submitted to each job posting was limited so as not to raise suspicion about the applications. The pairs of applications were also submitted with a time delay of at least four hours, in general, to avoid detection. A firm may post more than one job on the online job board so the number of applications submitted to each firm was also limited to avoid detection. If potential employers became suspicious of the applications, the employers may realize the purpose of the study and the expected or hypothesized behaviour and conform to that behaviour. The potential employers may alternatively act in an opposite manner to counter perceived systemic discrimination. The results would not be interpretable, if potential employers were suspicious of the experiment.

The goal was to collect data for a large enough set of firms and for a representative enough sample of firms to extract conclusions for a large population overall. I sent 3,090 fictitious resumes to 1,568 firms posting job opportunities in administration, sales, customer service, accounting, technology support, marketing, financial analysis and business analysis located in Chicago, Illinois and Dallas, Texas between July 2012 and June 2013.

4.2 Materials

I created functionally matched resumes for pairs of fictitious job applicants. The application materials were constructed to be representative of actual resumes so that there would be high fidelity of the application materials. A description of the resume construction follows.

I designed the format of two resume templates based on an informal review of resume templates and actual resumes available online. The two resume templates were formatted differently in terms of font style, font size, number of pages, headers, order of information, etc. I next created the content of the resume templates, as follows.
Contact Information: The contact information (i.e., name, home address, phone number and email address) for the fictitious job applicants was constructed to be representative of actual job applicants so as not to raise suspicion from potential employers. The names of the two fictitious applicants were selected from a list of popular female names for births that occurred between 1978 and 1982 from Social Security Administration data.\textsuperscript{11} The local home addresses were found for the two fictitious applicants in each location using an online map service. I selected non-existent street numbers on actual streets in similar socio-economic neighbourhoods as the home addresses for the fictitious applicants. I verified online that the addresses were not addresses served by the United States Postal Service. The local contact telephone numbers for each fictitious job applicant in each location were obtained from a voice over Internet Protocol service provider. The local contact numbers were obtained with voicemail so that potential employers could respond to the fictitious job applicants. A different computer generated voicemail greeting was used for the two fictitious job applicants. The contact email addresses for the two fictitious applicants were obtained using different email service providers.

Experience Profile: I created experience profiles for nine pairs of fictitious applicants seeking employment in administration, sales, customer service, accounting, technology support, marketing, financial analysis and business analysis. The format and the content of the experience profiles were based on actual resumes manually downloaded from an online job board to ensure the external validity of the fictitious resumes. The experience profiles included three jobs similar to the general format of the actual resumes from the online job board. The company names, job titles and job descriptions were created based on information posted in actual resumes for similar occupational categories. The company names were then changed to the names of actual companies in the local job market. The experience profiles were designed to be similar but not identical. The fictitious resumes listed 7 years of experience with the most recent job starting in 2011 or earlier. The date of

\textsuperscript{11} The Social Security Administration data can be accessed at http://www.ssa.gov/oact/babynames/. 
the most recent job was chosen so that all three jobs remained listed on the fictitious resumes even with longer maternity leave durations.

The experience profiles included larger company experience (i.e., experience at companies with 50 or more employees) for one applicant and smaller company experience (i.e., experience at companies with less than 50 employees) for the other applicant to signal stronger quality and weaker quality respectively to potential employers. The experience at larger companies may alternatively signal an additional maternity leave absence than the listed maternity leave to potential employers. The FMLA provides maternity leave coverage to an employee where the employer has 50 or more employees. If an applicant’s work experience immediately before childbirth was with a larger company, then potential employers may think that the applicant included the government mandated maternity leave in her most recent work experience and any additional maternity leave separately.

**Education:** The fictitious job resumes were designed to present equally strong education credentials. The fictitious job applicants graduated with a Bachelor’s degree from state universities in the applicants’ home state. The percentage of persons aged 25 to 34 years old with a Bachelor’s degree or more is almost 25 percent in the United States (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2013). The universities were similarly ranked based on the National University Rankings published by U.S. News & World Reports LP. The selection of degrees and majors, where applicable, was informed by actual resumes from the online job board and selected from online information available on each of the university’s websites.

**Other Information:** The fictitious job applicants all listed involvement as a member of a parent teacher organization or a volunteer coordinator at an infant or toddler program in the local community to signal motherhood. The motherhood manipulation followed the parental status manipulation operationalized by Fuegen et al. (2004) and Correll et al. (2007). The infant or toddler program in the local community was different for each applicant in each
The resumes for one applicant also listed additional volunteer experience so that the applications would not appear similar to avoid detection. The additional volunteer experience varied by occupational category but not maternity leave duration. The resumes all included additional interests from actual resumes.

The design of the application materials involved creating resumes for 2 applicants (Amanda Smith and Jennifer Martin) in 2 locations (Chicago, Illinois and Dallas, Texas) for 9 types of jobs (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst and Business Analyst) so 36 resume templates were created in total. See Appendix A for a sample of the resumes for the pair of fictitious applicants. The design of the application materials also involved creating a pair of short cover letters to be submitted with the resumes.

4.3 Maternity Leave Manipulation

The job applicants were women seeking employment after childbirth and the women were either employed, or not employed and on maternity leave.

**Treatment Group #1:** The first treatment group included currently employed workers seeking new employment after childbirth. The job applicants returned to work following childbirth and so there was not a gap listed in their experience profiles. A 0 months maternity leave duration was in effect assigned to individuals in this treatment group. The job applicants were randomly assigned with a probability of 0.25 to the currently employed employment status.

**Treatment Group #2:** The second treatment group included not employed individuals on maternity leave and seeking employment after childbirth. The job applicants did not return
to work following childbirth and so there was a gap listed in their experience profiles. The gap was included as a current spell at the beginning of the experience profiles. The gap was specifically listed as a maternity leave to ensure precision in the interpretation of the results as women may have a career interruption for general unemployment, maternity leave, other leave, etc. It would not be uncommon for a resume to include a gap in employment and to identify the gap as a maternity leave in the resume or in the cover letter based on informal discussions with human resources professionals. An informal review of the actual resumes used to create the resume templates confirmed the discussions with the human resources professionals. The job applicants were randomly assigned a maternity leave duration of 3, 6, 12 and 24 months using a uniform distribution.

The experiment makes the assumption that the current employment status (i.e., employed, or not employed and on maternity leave) and the length of the maternity leave (i.e., 3, 6, 12 or 24 months) are relevant to potential employers in the review of job applications as part of the selection process. There is evidence that individuals are able to remember information about a job applicant’s current employment status and the duration of an unemployment spell from a review of job application materials (Kroft et al., 2013). An unemployment spell is similar to a maternity leave spell as both spells signal time out of the labour market to potential employers. The evidence on the relevance of resume characteristics in the review of application materials can then be reasonably applied not only to the applicant’s current employment status but also to maternity leave spells.

A significant proportion of women return to work within one year after childbirth based on labour force participation patterns. The cumulative percentage of women with a first birth in 2005 to 2007 working after 3 months is 44.2 percent, 6 months 57.4 percent and 12 months 63.8 percent based on the 2008 Panel from the U.S. Census Bureau’s Survey of Income and Program Participation (Laughlin, 2011). The return to work after childbirth is not necessarily to the same employer. Klerman and Leibowitz (1999) find that 60 percent of women return to the same employer after childbirth. Waldfogel (1998) also finds that 60 percent of women returned to the
same employer after childbirth but only 47 percent of women who were not covered by a maternity leave policy returned to the same employer.

The maternity leave durations were fixed in the fictitious resumes at the beginning of each month during the data collection.

4.4 Measurement of Response Rate

I received voicemail and email messages from potential employers and recruiters after submitting the job application materials for the fictitious job applicants through the online job site. I matched the voicemail and email messages to the resumes from the fictitious job applicants and then recorded the responses from the potential employers and recruiters. I recorded callbacks for one year from the date of the submission of the job application materials. The initial callback responses were mostly received within two weeks and almost all initial callback responses were received within one month. There were some instances where the fictitious job applicants received a callback from a potential employer for a position other than the originally posted position. These callbacks were not counted as a callback. I responded to positive responses by email or voicemail message explaining that the applicant’s employment status had changed or that the applicant was no longer looking for a position. I responded to the voicemail messages after regular business hours and to the email messages during or after regular business hours. The callback rate was measured as positive, if the potential employer requested additional information about the applicant or invited the applicant to interview and negative, if the potential employer rejected the applicant or did not respond to the applicant. This convention follows Petit (2007), Lahey (2008), Oreopoulos (2011), Kroft et al. (2013) and

12 A callback for a position other than the originally posted position was not counted as a callback because information such as type of employment (e.g., full-time, part-time, contract, permanent) was not available for the other position and so it could not be determined that the other position would meet the original selection criteria. A number of these callbacks were also from a staffing or recruitment company and so there may not have been an actual posting for another position. The number of callbacks for positions other than the originally posted position was minimal and so the inclusion of these callbacks would not significantly change the results.
Nunley et al. (2014). The callback rate was alternatively measured more narrowly as an invitation to interview following Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), Lahey (2008), Correll et al. (2007) and Kroft et al. (2013).
Chapter 5
Experimental Results

The impact of maternity leave on the employment prospects of women with young children is studied with a field experiment. A description of the results of the field experiment follows.

5.1 Descriptive Findings

The final sample includes 3,090 observations for 1,568 firms. Of the 3,090 fictitious resumes, 605 resumes are for women who are currently employed and 2,485 are for women who are currently on a maternity leave of 3, 6, 12 or 24 months. The average positive callback rate from an employer or a recruiter is 17.0 percent and the average interview callback rate is 5.7 percent.

Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for the sample. The most common occupational category for the job postings applied to by the fictitious applicants is Sales Representatives and Sales Managers with 27.6 percent of the observations and the next most common Administrative Assistants with 18.5 percent of the observations. The job opportunities posted on the online job board are posted directly by potential employers and indirectly by recruitment companies. Less than 10 percent of the observations are for job postings where the job poster is specifically identified as a recruitment company. About two thirds of the observations are for job postings for firms with job opportunities in the Chicago, Illinois area and one third in the Dallas, Texas area.

[Table 3 here]

There is a balance across the fictitious applicants with and without a maternity leave and also across the fictitious applicants with a 3 months maternity leave and with a 6, 12 and 24 months maternity leave because of the randomized design of the field experiment, as shown in Table 4.
A graphical analysis of the raw data is first presented in Figure 1. The average callback rate is plotted for each maternity leave absence of 0, 3, 6, 12 and 24 months. A maternity leave absence of 0 months represents employed applicants and a maternity leave absence of 3, 6, 12 or 24 months represents not employed applicants. There is an initial decrease in the average callback rate with a maternity leave duration of 3 months and the average callback rate then flattens for the longer maternity leave durations of 6, 12 and 24 months. The graphical analysis reveals a negative relationship between the callback rate and maternity leave.

5.2 Regression Results

An equation using an OLS regression model with robust standard errors clustered at the firm level is estimated to analyze the data, as follows:

\[
\text{Callback}_i = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{MaternityLeave}_i + \beta_2 \text{ControlVariables}_i + \varepsilon_i, \tag{1}
\]

Callback\(_i\) equals 1 if applicant \(i\) received a positive response from a job poster and 0 otherwise, \(\alpha\) is the intercept, \(\beta_1\) is the effect of maternity leave on the callback rate, MaternityLeave is the maternity leave duration of applicant \(i\) and equals 0, 3, 6, 12 or 24 months, \(\beta_2\) is the effect of a vector of control variables such as occupational category, industry, applicant order, location of
job, etc. on the callback rate. The standard errors are clustered at the firm level to address the non-independence of errors within firms because more than one resume was sent to the same firm.

5.2.1 Does Maternity Leave Lower the Callback Rate?

The OLS regression results are presented in Table 5. The main results show the effect of maternity leave and maternity leave duration on the probability of a callback from potential employers. The 3 months maternity leave duration is separately reported from the other maternity leave durations to highlight the current maternity leave policy under the FMLA of 12 weeks as it is policy relevant. The 6, 12 and 24 months maternity leave durations are grouped together because the differences in the point estimates for these maternity leave durations are not statistically significant. The difference in the point estimates for the 3 months maternity leave duration and the 6, 12 and 24 months maternity leave duration is also not statistically significant. The regression results in Table 5 confirm the graphical results in Figure 1.

[Table 5 here]

The results are robust to a number of specifications, as shown in Table 6. Table 6 presents the results without control variables in Column 1, the effects of different control variables in Column 2 to Column 11 and the full model in Column 12. The mean response rate is 17.0 percent. A maternity leave of 3 months is associated with a statistically significant decrease in the average callback rate of 4.7 percentage points. The average callback rate decreases another 0.7 percentage points for longer maternity leaves of 6, 12 and 24 months. The results reveal that there is a large negative impact of maternity leave on the average callback rate. The hypothesis that career interruptions for a maternity leave are negatively associated with the probability of receiving a callback from potential employers is supported by the results in Table 5 and Table 6. The average callback rates do not decrease with longer maternity leave durations. The possible explanations for the results are discussed in the next section.
5.2.2 Sensitivity to Alternative Response Rate Specifications

The results of alternative specifications of the response rate are presented in Figure 1 and Figure 2 and in Table 7. The response rate is first defined as any positive response from potential employers. The average callback rate for a positive response from potential employers is 17.0 percent. The response rate is next more narrowly defined as an invitation to interview from potential employers. The average callback rate for an interview request from potential employers is 5.7 percent. The average interview callback rate is relatively consistent with findings in other similar studies (Lahey, 2008; Kroft et al, 2013; Ghayad, 2013). The interview request rates are smaller than the positive response rates and mostly not statistically significant. There is less precision with the alternative response rate specification.

5.2.3 Heterogeneity by Resume Characteristics and Job Characteristics

Table 8 presents the effect of maternity leave duration on the probability of a callback from potential employers by resume characteristics and job characteristics. There is not a statistically significant difference in the maternity leave penalty for higher quality resumes with experience at larger companies compared to lower quality resumes with experience at smaller companies. There is also not a statistically significant difference in the point estimates in the location callback regressions. The results by job characteristics are also difficult to interpret with precision because the sample sizes for the various occupational categories are small. The results
by job characteristics, although not always statistically significant, generally follow a similar pattern to that presented in Table 5.

[Table 8 here]

A similar analysis can be conducted by grouping the occupational categories into broader categories. The occupational categories are grouped by a number of dimensions to explore possible heterogeneous effects. The effect of maternity leave duration on the probability of a callback from potential employers in traditional or female-dominated occupations, and neutral or non-traditional or male-dominated occupations are first compared in Table 9. The share of employment by women for each occupational category was compiled from the most recent data from the U.S. Department of Labor following the convention that female-dominated occupations are occupations where the women represent 75 percent or more of the total employed in that occupation (U.S. Department of Labor, 2015). The occupational categories were next grouped into female-dominated occupations (Administrative Assistant and Accounting Clerk) and neutral or male-dominated occupations (Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Call Center Customer Service Representative, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst and Retail Sales Representative). There is not a maternity leave penalty in female-dominated occupations but there is a substantial penalty in not female-dominated occupations, as shown in Table 9. The results confirm the hypothesis that traditional or female-dominated occupations are not associated with a maternity leave penalty while non-traditional or male-dominated occupations and gender-neutral occupations are associated with a maternity leave penalty.

[Table 9 here]
The effect of maternity leave duration on the probability of a callback from potential employers based on the structural flexibility of occupations is next presented in Table 10 and Table 11. The temporal flexibility for each occupational category was compiled from O*NET characteristics following Goldin (2014). The O*NET characteristics were obtained from the most recent data in the O*NET database. The normalized means for the O*NET characteristics are summarized in Table 10. The occupational categories were next grouped into more flexible occupations (Administrative Assistant, Call Center Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative and Business Analyst) and less flexible occupations (Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Marketing Manager and Financial Analyst). There is some indication that the callback rate gap is smallest in structurally more flexible occupations. The results can confirm the hypothesis that the maternity leave penalty is the smallest in occupations with the most flexibility.

[Table 10 here]

[Table 11 here]

5.2.4 Sensitivity to Alternative Functional Forms

The sensitivity of the results to alternative functional forms is shown in Table 12. The main result, an OLS regression model with robust standard errors clustered as the firm level, is presented in Column 1. The OLS regression model is also estimated with only robust standard errors. A logit model and a probit model are next estimated considering the boundary conditions of the effect of the independent variables on the callback rate. There is a firm fixed effect estimated because multiple resumes were sent to the same firm. The results from estimating the

13 The O*NET database can be accessed at https://www.onetonline.org.
model using alternative functional forms are quantitatively similar to the main results. The results are not sensitive to alternative functional forms.

[Table 12 here]

5.2.5 Evaluator Characteristics and the Maternity Leave Penalty

The reaction by employers to maternity leave could be a gender-specific response from female recruiters, male recruiters or female and male recruiters. The potential employers received one resume without a maternity leave duration and one with a maternity leave duration (e.g., 0 months maternity leave or currently employed, and 3 months maternity leave) or one resume with a maternity leave duration and one with a different maternity leave duration (e.g., 3 months maternity leave and 24 months maternity leave). If there is any callback, then the gender of the evaluator can be inferred from the individual who called back. It is possible though that the individual who called back is not the evaluator himself/herself but rather he/she is an assistant to the evaluator. The gender of the evaluator was determined based on the first name used in the phone messages and/or email messages received by the fictitious applicants. The names were mostly gender unambiguous so names like Phil were categorized as male names and Joanna as female names. If gender could not be readily determined from the first name, then gender was determined based on gender ratios from the Baby Name Guesser website. The use of the Baby Name Guesser database follows in part the approach to identify gender in Flory, Leibbrandt and List (2015). Table 13 presents the effect of maternity leave duration by evaluator characteristics conditional on receiving a callback from potential employers. There does not appear to be a difference in the effect of maternity leave duration by the gender of the evaluator.

[Table 13 here]

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14 The Baby Name Guesser database can be accessed at http://www.gpeters.com/names/baby-names.php.
Chapter 6
Discussion

The discussion section is divided into four subsections. The first subsection focuses on the key findings of the effect of maternity leave on firm behavior. The second focuses on the policies, institutions and behaviours that contribute to the maternity leave penalty and the policy responses available to better the experiences of women with young children in the labour market. The third is focused on the limitations of the field experiment. The fourth outlines some possible areas for future research.

6.1 Interpretation of Results

Is there a maternity leave penalty? The first key finding is that there is a penalty from listing a maternity leave spell on a resume. The callback rate for resumes assigned an experience gap for maternity leave is significantly lower than the callback rate for resumes not assigned an experience gap. There is evidence that maternity leave spells affect callback rates. The null hypothesis that maternity leave does not affect firm behaviour in callback decisions can be rejected based on the evidence. There is an adverse effect of listing a maternity leave in a resume on firm behaviour.

Does the length of maternity leave matter? The second key finding is that women do not face a greater penalty as a result of listing longer maternity leaves in a resume. The average callback rate initially declines with a maternity leave spell but it does not continue to decline with longer maternity leave spells. There is not an impact of duration comparing a short maternity leave duration of 3 months and longer maternity leave durations of 6, 12 or even 24 months. The result casts doubt on linear human capital depreciation as the explanation for the role of maternity leave on firm behaviour. The human capital model described predicts a negative effect of longer maternity leave spells because of a loss of skills and a loss of investment in skills during the period of non-participation but this mechanism does not appear to be supported by the results. It appears that potential employers do not perceive skills to decline very much during the maternity leave spell. The result is also not supported by linear duration dependence because there is not an adverse effect of longer maternity spells or negative duration dependence. It could be though supported by another functional form. The
pattern instead is more consistent with the extension of the human capital model and the statistical and status-based discrimination models.

An interpretation of the main result is that current unemployment due to maternity results in discrimination. It is of interest to note that the maternity leave duration associated with the penalty corresponds to the maximum government mandated maternity leave entitlement of 12 weeks. The mothers who are on maternity leave for 6, 12 and 24 months are absent from the labour market beyond the government mandated maternity leave entitlement of 12 weeks. The maternity leave penalty appears not to be time variant. The potential employers do not treat longer maternity leave absences differently. The pattern can be explained by a signaling effect following Albrecht, Edin, Sundstrom and Vroman (1999). There is variation in the length of maternity leave taken by women and so maternity leave can signal unobserved worker characteristics such as commitment and productivity. There are not strong financial incentives for women to take maternity leave. The FMLA covers less than 50 percent of women in the private sector and the maternity leave under the FMLA is job-protected maternity leave but not paid maternity leave. It is costly for highly committed women to take maternity leave so women who are highly committed will take little, if any, maternity leave. It is not as costly for less committed women to take maternity leave so women who are not as committed will take more maternity leave. A less committed woman will be absent from the workforce for a longer period of time following childbirth than a more committed woman. If potential employers perceive a negative association between commitment and maternity leave, then a maternity related leave is a signal of less attachment to the workforce to potential employers. The maternity leave could instead be a signal of future fertility and interpreted by potential employers as less commitment in the future (Correll et al., 2007). The lack of duration dependence suggests that the length of the maternity leave spell does not provide further information about productivity to potential employers. There is recent research that the length of an unemployment spell is not as informative to employers as a signal of unobserved productivity in weaker labour markets (Kroft et al., 2013). There is also acceptance of longer nonemployment spells by employers who believe that it is more difficult to evaluate productivity in an interview (Oberholzer-Gee, 2008). It appears from the evidence that potential employers may perceive women with a maternity related leave to be lower quality workers than women without a maternity related leave. The
empirical evidence is consistent with maternity leave as a signal of unobserved productivity or more generally unobserved characteristics to potential employers.

It is possible that the discrimination is due to unemployment and not maternity leave. It is also possible that employers think that it is not appropriate to provide personal information about parental status in a resume and so penalize women not for the maternity leave but rather for the lack of professionalism. There is not strong support for these alternative interpretations of the results. First, the maternity leave penalty is not observed in female-dominated occupations but a substantial penalty is observed in not female-dominated occupations. Second, there is some indication that the maternity leave penalty is weakest in more flexible occupations. Third, there is recent evidence of heterogeneity in the effect of unemployment duration dependence (Eriksson and Rooth, 2014; Nunley et al., 2014). The empirical evidence is more consistent with the interpretation that current unemployment due to maternity results in discrimination.

The first key finding is that there is a maternity leave penalty. The applicants who are assigned maternity leave spells receive less callbacks than applicants who are currently employed. There is a preference for currently employed applicants. The result is consistent with much of the evidence on unemployment that there are greater job prospects for currently employed applicants compared to unemployed job applicants. Kroft et al. (2013) find opposite results that job applicants without an unemployment spell have a lower callback rate than applicants with a short unemployment spell. The second key finding is a lack of duration dependence. The result is corroborated by Nunley et al. (2014) and partially by Eriksson and Rooth (2014). It conflicts though with the evidence from Kroft et al. (2013). It is difficult to fully reconcile the results. A possible reason for the different results could be that firm behaviour may vary depending on the reason for the career interruption. There could also be heterogeneity in the effect of duration dependence by labour market. The results from this field experiment provide insight on the specific case of the effect of durations of maternity related leaves.
The literature measures the callback rate following two conventions. The callback rate is defined broadly as any positive response from potential employers or narrowly as an invitation to interview from potential employers. The callback rate in the main results is defined as a positive response from potential employers. The callback rate is also defined as an invitation to interview. The effect of maternity leave duration on the probability of a callback is smaller and not statistically significant with the narrow definition of the callback rate. A possible explanation is asymmetric information. The job applicants are all mothers and potential employers may have productivity concerns about women with children and so seek additional information. The maternity leave could also be a negative signal of commitment and productivity to potential employers. There may also be uncertainty about the length of the maternity leave. It could be the government mandated maternity leave but it could instead be an unemployment spell. It is not relatively costly to request additional information from job applicants but it is to interview many job applicants. It is plausible that firms will seek additional information from job applicants with an unemployment spell for maternity leave to narrow down the shortlist of candidates to interview. The field experiment is a resume audit study and so fictitious job applications were submitted to job postings on an online job board to estimate the effect of maternity leave on firm behaviour. The field experiment is not an audit study so it did not include participation in preliminary conversations with potential employers or even in job interviews. It is not possible then to determine whether additional information would have had an impact on the interview callback rate.

6.2 Policy Implications

There is evidence of a maternity leave penalty. Indicating a maternity leave on a resume compared to an otherwise identical resume with no experience gap significantly reduces the probability of receiving a callback. The results have important implications from a policy perspective.

The ILO has affirmed the importance of labour standards on maternity protection from a social perspective and an economic perspective. C183 – Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No.
proposes at least 14 weeks of maternity leave and cash benefits while women are absent from the workforce on leave for childbirth. The government supported maternity leave program under the FMLA provides 12 weeks of unpaid, job-protected leave to eligible workers. The leave provided to mothers under the FMLA is comparatively limited to that provided to women immediately before or after childbirth in other advanced countries. The policies in other countries provide not only job-protected maternity leave for longer durations but also financial support. In Canada, maternity leave is available for 17 weeks and parental leave for 35 weeks for a total of 52 weeks of job-protected leave and cash benefits are available at 55 percent of earnings to a maximum amount (Service Canada, 2014). The OECD estimates that the average payment rate for paid leave in Canada is 50.2 percent (OECD, 2014). The leave provisions in many European countries are also more generous than in the United States in terms of not only duration but also cash benefits. In Denmark, France, Sweden and the United Kingdom, for example, maternity leave is available for at least one year (Ray, Gornick and Schmitt, 2009). The average payment rate for paid leave in Denmark, France, Sweden and the United Kingdom ranges from 22.5 percent to 80.0 percent (OECD, 2014). There are also advanced countries in other regions such as Australia and Japan with more generous maternity protection than the United States.

A comparison of the level and trend in female labour force participation rates can reveal the relative labour market challenges faced by women of child-bearing age and more specifically women with young children. The labour force participation rate of women aged 25 to 54 in the U.S. has remained relatively stable at 74.0 percent in 1990 and 73.9 percent in 2013 (OECD, 2015). In contrast, the labour force participation rate of women aged 25 to 54 in Canada has increased from 75.5 percent in 1990 to 82.5 percent in 2013 and the female labour force participation rate in the G7 countries including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom and the European Union but excluding the United States has increased from 66.6 percent in 1990 to 78.1 percent in 2013 (OECD, 2015). The labour force participation rate of women aged 25 and 54 in the U.S. has not continued to expand in recent times in a significant quantitative magnitude similar to that in other advanced countries. The employment rates in the U.S., Canada and other G7 countries have followed similar trends to the labour force participation rates in the same respective countries (OCED, 2015). The employment rate of
women aged 25 to 54 in the U.S. has also similarly not grown in recent times compared to other advanced countries. A possible explanation for the relative decline in participation is a lack of family friendly policies (Blau and Kahn, 2013).

The Third Billion Index is an index of composite factors that indicates the economic position of women in countries worldwide. The index considers access to the economy in terms of inputs such as public and private laws and policies and outputs such as social, economic and political outcomes. The United States ranks 30 in the Third Billion Index overall after Canada (7), Denmark (11), France (10), Sweden (3), the United Kingdom (13), Australia (1) and just before Japan (43). A key factor in the empowerment of women to drive growth is access to work policies (Aguirre, Hoteit, Rupp and Sabbagh, 2012). The Third Billion Index also separately ranks laws and policies that facilitate access to the economy. The components of this factor include equal pay for equal work policy, non-discrimination policy, maternity and paternity leave provision, access to childcare and legal restrictions on certain job types for women. The United States ranks 40 in the Access-to-Work Policy factor after Canada (26), Denmark (1), France (32), Sweden (5), the United Kingdom (16), Australia (6) and Japan (34) (Aguirre et al., 2012). The introduction of more family friendly policies such as maternity leave entitlements could increase the employment of women with young children by creating an incentive for job continuity that could encourage not only women to remain in the labour force but also firms to retain and to hire women. It is estimated that an increase in the female employment rate to match the male employment rate could result in a net increase in GDP of 5% in the United States (Aguirre et al., 2012). The impact on GDP from increasing the female employment rate is net of certain adverse effects such as an initial decrease in labour productivity and a decrease in average working hours. The gross impact on GDP from increasing the female employment rate to match the male employment rate is 8%. (Aguirre et al., 2012) The cost associated with expanded maternity leave entitlements in addition to the improvement in other laws and policies would be less than the benefit received in terms of economic growth.

There is limited evidence specific to the effect of paid maternity leave on employment outcomes in the United States as the FMLA does not provide paid leave benefits and only a few states have
introduced paid leave benefits. There is also limited evidence of the effects on employment outcomes with the introduction of paid family leave in California (Rossin-Slater et al., 2013; Baum and Ruhm, 2014).

The listing of a maternity leave on a resume generates lower callback rates. It appears that there is a negative signal for maternity leave as currently employed applicants are preferred to unemployed applicants on maternity leave. An option is to expand government mandated maternity leave to better facilitate job continuity and as a result avoid potential negative effects faced in nonemployment-to-employment transitions. The expansion could take the form of longer maternity leave entitlements, universal coverage or income replacement. This could also have the corollary effect on firm behaviour as there would not be the same negative signal for maternity leave. A possible option could also be to not provide government mandated maternity leave as maternity leave appears to limit job prospects for women in nonemployment-to-employment transitions. It could be that firm behaviour is a reaction to productivity concerns. If a policy constrains firms to hire less favoured or less desirable individuals, then there is the potential that firm productivity will fall. This could be bettered not by government intervention but rather by allowing more job flexibility through a change in the production function. The motherhood penalty could be lessened by directly reducing the productivity concern.

There is a motherhood penalty. The empirical evidence suggests that women with children may find it difficult to find reemployment after a maternity leave. This can offer an explanation for the low participation rate of women. Francine Blau, an economist specializing in gender inequality, highlights, “We’re losing the valuable resources of highly trained women”, and then explains, “It’s looking like we do have to break through this work-family barrier to significantly increase participation.” (Kurtz, 2013) The results from the field experiment support the adoption

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15 California was the first state to introduce paid leave benefits through the expansion of its State Disability Insurance program in 2002. The legislation provides paid leave for up to 6 weeks to bond with a new child after childbirth, adoption or foster care placement beginning in 2004. There are only a few other states such as New Jersey and Rhode Island that have followed California and enacted paid leave programs. (National Partnership for Women & Families, 2015).
of polices and practices to support women with children in the labour market. The expansion of maternity leave could encourage women to remain in their current employment increasing job continuity and so limit potential negative effects in nonemployment-to-employment transitions. The adoption of more flexible jobs could reduce the negative effects directly. There are other measures such as equal opportunity policies and programs and training that could lessen the bias faced by women with young children by employers in hiring process.

6.3 Limitations

There are some limitations to the interpretation of the results from the field experiment. It can be difficult to understand the underlying mechanism of differential treatment in a resume audit study. The differential treatment may be based on a characteristic such as a trait that is signaled by maternity leave. The results suggest that maternity leave is a negative signal of less attachment to the workforce and so firms may be reacting intentionally or unintentionally to productivity concerns. It could be that maternity leave signals less commitment. There may be certain individual characteristics that would allay employer concerns about commitment. The resumes did not include additional characteristics that would signal to employers that the mother is in fact committed to the workforce to offset the maternity leave concern. The callback measure is also a simple measure of firm behaviour. The study collects information on callbacks received from potential employers. The study does not collect information on the relevant characteristics and rankings of the characteristics considered in the evaluation of the job application materials. It is important to understand the underlying explanation for the differential treatment so that options can be appropriately developed to support women in the labour market.

The maternity leave listed in the resumes is considered a career interruption rather than a temporary leave of absence. It is unlikely that a woman would separately list a maternity leave in her resume unless she had left her current employment after childbirth. The field experiment tests the impact of maternity leave as a career interruption. A temporary leave of absence for maternity leave may have different results and implications.
It is also important to note that there are some limitations on the generalizability of the results from this study. The setting of the field experiment is an online job board and different job sites may advertise different types of jobs. Individuals may also seek employment through employment agencies, executive search firms, newspaper advertisements, social media tools, social networks in addition to other job search methods and so the results may not be generalized to the other search methods. The results may also not be generalized to different labour market conditions and different economic conditions.

6.4 Future Research

The field experiment presents new and novel evidence about the motherhood penalty and the results suggest some areas for future research.

It is difficult to distinguish among alternative theories based only on the relationship between maternity leave duration and callback rates. It would be informative to perform a laboratory experiment to uncover the reason for the negative effect of maternity leave on callback rates. A laboratory experiment could be designed following Cuddy et al. (2004), Fuegen et al. (2004) and Correll et al. (2007) to rate mothers with various maternity leave durations on perceptions of warmth, competence, commitment and productivity. It would be of interest to also consider general unemployment spells to isolate the effect of maternity leave from the effect of unemployment. A laboratory experiment could also be designed to first survey students or human resources professionals on their subjective and stated opinions on productivity and commitment for mothers with different maternity leave durations and then to next have the participants perform the implicit association test to measure their subconscious reactions to women absent for different maternity leave durations. It would be valuable to understand the extent to which individuals believe that motherhood does not affect workplace productivity but implicitly react or behave differently.

The evidence on a structural explanation for the maternity leave penalty is insightful. It would
be of interest to further explore the maternity leave penalty by occupational category characteristics. An outsourcing model from the human resources management literature could provide an alternative explanation. The most likely occupations to be outsourced would be the ones with low complexity and high routinization. The occupations could be grouped along these dimensions and one could then predict based on the nature of the occupation for which there would be a maternity leave penalty and for which there would not be a maternity leave penalty. A skill degradation model extended from the human capital literature could also provide an alternative explanation. There are some skills that are more difficult to acquire and not likely to depreciate quickly and so a maternity leave spell would be less important to firms. There are also some skills where there is greater depreciation and so a maternity leave spell would be more important to firms.

The field experiment examines current maternity leave spells. It would be of interest to compare current and past maternity leave spells on firm behaviour. A comparison of past spells of maternity leave followed by work experience to current spells of maternity leave would provide further evidence of firm behaviour and so advance our understanding of the motherhood penalty and inform possible policy solutions. Erikssona and Rooth (2014) find that general unemployment spells are not a negative signal to potential employers if the unemployment spell is followed by at least one year of work experience. It could be that the motherhood penalty is also reversed if women return to work after childbirth because subsequent employment signals work commitment or the negative signal of motherhood decreases with time as the child grows and so there are fewer family commitments. It could alternatively be that the motherhood penalty is not reversed because a maternity spell remains a negative signal of motherhood to potential employers.
Chapter 7
Conclusion

There is persistent gender inequality despite the adoption of policies and practices to promote equal opportunity in the labour market. The literature demonstrates a motherhood penalty that women with children in particular struggle in the labour market. A recent contribution to the literature is the use of resume audit studies to observe the role of employer behaviour in generating the motherhood penalty. The results do not reveal the extent to which different aspects of motherhood influence firm behaviour. This study seeks to uncover the effect of maternity leave on firm behaviour in an effort to fill a gap in the literature. This thesis explores the motherhood penalty in employment-to-employment transitions and nonemployment-to-employment transitions. A field experiment is conducted to estimate the effect of maternity leave duration on firm behaviour in the hiring decision.

This thesis presents results from an audit study to explore the motherhood penalty. There are two main descriptive findings from the field experiment. First, individuals with a maternity leave spell are less likely to receive a callback for a job than compared to individuals without a maternity leave spell. Second, there is not an adverse effect of maternity leave duration on callback rates. This result does not appear to be consistent with predictions from theories that emphasize linear skill depreciation or linear duration dependence. The pattern appears to be more consistent with predictions from theories that emphasize a time invariant signal of motherhood and family responsibilities. The type of discrimination could be driven by statistical discrimination or salience. It appears from the evidence that potential employers perceive women with a maternity related leave to be lower quality workers than women without a maternity related leave and so maternity leave acts as a signal of unobserved characteristics to potential employers.

There is a quantitatively large negative effect of indicating a maternity leave on a resume for new mothers seeking employment. Women with an experience gap on their resume identified as a maternity leave are less likely to be called back by potential employers than women without an
experience gap. An option is to expand government mandated maternity leave to increase job continuity. An option could also be to not provide government mandated maternity leave as there is a penalty for even the shortest maternity leave. Firms could instead adopt more structural job flexibility. The underlying mechanism for the maternity leave penalty cannot be observed from the study and so it is important to further research the motherhood penalty so that policy recommendations can be developed to support women in the labour market.

The results provide insight on the labour market phenomenon of the motherhood penalty. It highlights the experience of college-educated women with young children in employment-to-employment transitions and nonemployment-to-employment transitions. This is the first study to isolate the maternity leave effect of the motherhood penalty in the hiring decision. The study contributes to the growing literature on the motherhood penalty providing further evidence of unfavourable treatment that persists limiting women, mothers in the workplace. Heidi Crebo-Rediker, the then Chief Economist of the U.S. Department of State remarked in a speech Pushing Forward Gender-Driven Growth (2013), “Ignoring half of the world’s workforce, half of the world’s economic power is to only achieve half of our potential.” This research highlights the importance of developing policies at not only the public level but also the private level to support women in the workforce so as to facilitate women as drivers of economic growth.
Bibliography


Masser, Barbara, Kristen Grass and Michelle Nesic, “‘We Like You, But We Don’t Want You’,” *Sex Roles*, 57 (2007), 703-712.


Appendix A: Sample of Resumes for the Fictitious Applicants

[A full listing of the sample of resumes for the fictitious applicants is included in a separate file.]
AMANDA SMITH
4071 N. Bell Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60618
312-361-3692
amanda.smith098@gmail.com

OBJECTIVE

I am seeking a position as an administrative assistant that will allow me to use my extensive organizational, clerical and technical skills to contribute to an organization.

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

- High standards for accuracy and work quality.
- Excellent interpersonal, communication and analytical skills.
- Superior computer skills with proficiency in Microsoft Office (Word, Excel, Outlook, PowerPoint and Access), Lotus Notes and QuickBooks.
- Superior organization and coordination skills.
- Diligent, proactive, punctual and reliable.
- Excel in multitasking in a fast-paced environment completing projects within time and budget constraints.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Chicago Equity Partners LLC
Chicago, IL
May 2011 to Present
Administrative Assistant
- Handled correspondence, communications and related matters.
- Managed calendar.
- Handled and screened internal and external calls and responded to general queries in a prompt and professional manner.
- Drafted memorandums and letters and prepared or updated graphics, presentations, correspondence, reports and other requested documents.
- Assisted with tracking monthly budget expenditures.
- Assisted employees with conference registrations, membership renewals and donation requests.
- Arranged video conferences and teleconference calls.
- Performed other related office duties, such as replenishing office supplies, purchasing books and other publications.
Marketing Innovators International Inc.
Rosemont, IL
Nov 2008 to May 2011
Executive Assistant
• Provided administrative and executive support.
• Coordinated meetings, lunches, dinners, conferences, etc.
• Facilitated flow of information between management and staff.
• Booked flights, hotel and ground transportation.
• Created PowerPoint presentations for meetings, staff conferences, etc.
• Produced correspondence from handwritten notes and dictation.
• Coordinated and acted as onsite contact for conferences. Sourced venues and negotiated rates. Coordinated presenters, daily sessions and evening social events.
• Sourced suppliers and ordered office and kitchen supplies.
• Oversaw maintenance of office equipment.

Popcorn Palace
Schiller Park, IL
Nov 2005 to Nov 2008
Administrative Assistant/Receptionist
• Provided administrative support and reception services to managers and their teams.
• Scheduled meetings, teleconferences and videoconferences.
• Logged and routed incoming correspondence and composed responses, where required.
• Prepared documents, spreadsheets, presentations, etc. Assisted with editing of reports.
• Drafted meeting agendas and materials. Recorded minutes and action items.
• Prepared and submitted orders for supplies.
• Updated contacts database.
• Processed invoices and expenses. Prepared credit card reconciliations.
• Booked travel.
• Handled reception relief.

EDUCATION

Illinois State University, Normal, IL
• Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, 2001

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

• Skiing, mountain biking, running, tennis, wine collecting and cooking.
• Volunteer with Habitat for Humanity Chicago South Suburbs.
• Member of Montessori Academy of Chicago Parent Teacher Organization, Early Childhood Program.
AMANDA SMITH
4071 N. Bell Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60618
312-361-3692
amanda.smith098@gmail.com

OBJECTIVE

I am seeking a position as an administrative assistant that will allow me to use my extensive organizational, clerical and technical skills to contribute to an organization.

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• Superior organization and coordination skills.
• Diligent, proactive, punctual and reliable.
• Excel in multi-tasking in a fast-paced environment completing projects within time and budget constraints.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Maternity Leave
Feb 2013 to Present
Chicago Equity Partners LLC
Chicago, IL
Feb 2011 to Feb 2013
Administrative Assistant
• Handled correspondence, communications and related matters.
• Managed calendar.
• Handled and screened internal and external calls and responded to general queries in a prompt and professional manner.
• Drafted memorandums and letters and prepared or updated graphics, presentations, correspondence, reports and other requested documents.
• Assisted with tracking monthly budget expenditures.
• Assisted employees with conference registrations, membership renewals and donation requests.
• Arranged video conferences and teleconference calls.
• Performed other related office duties, such as replenishing office supplies, purchasing books and other publications.
Marketing Innovators International Inc.
Rosemont, IL
Aug 2008 to Feb 2011
Executive Assistant
• Provided administrative and executive support.
• Coordinated meetings, lunches, dinners, conferences, etc.
• Facilitated flow of information between management and staff.
• Booked flights, hotel and ground transportation.
• Created PowerPoint presentations for meetings, staff conferences, etc.
• Produced correspondence from handwritten notes and dictation.
• Coordinated and acted as onsite contact for conferences. Sourced venues and negotiated rates. Coordinated presenters, daily sessions and evening social events.
• Sourced suppliers and ordered office and kitchen supplies.
• Oversaw maintenance of office equipment.

Popcorn Palace
Schiller Park, IL
Aug 2005 to Aug 2008
Administrative Assistant/Receptionist
• Provided administrative support and reception services to managers and their teams.
• Scheduled meetings, teleconferences and videoconferences.
• Logged and routed incoming correspondence and composed responses, where required.
• Prepared documents, spreadsheets, presentations, etc. Assisted with editing of reports.
• Drafted meeting agendas and materials. Recorded minutes and action items.
• Prepared and submitted orders for supplies.
• Updated contacts database.
• Processed invoices and expenses. Prepared credit card reconciliations.
• Booked travel.
• Handled reception relief.

EDUCATION

Illinois State University, Normal, IL
• Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, 2001

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

• Skiing, mountain biking, running, tennis, wine collecting and cooking.
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• Member of Montessori Academy of Chicago Parent Teacher Organization, Early Childhood Program.
AMANDA SMITH  
4071 N. Bell Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60618  
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- Diligent, proactive, punctual and reliable.
- Excel in multi-tasking in a fast-paced environment completing projects within time and budget constraints.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Maternity Leave  
Nov 2012 to Present

Chicago Equity Partners LLC  
Chicago, IL  
Nov 2010 to Nov 2012  
Administrative Assistant

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- Managed calendar.
- Handled and screened internal and external calls and responded to general queries in a prompt and professional manner.
- Drafted memorandums and letters and prepared or updated graphics, presentations, correspondence, reports and other requested documents.
- Assisted with tracking monthly budget expenditures.
- Assisted employees with conference registrations, membership renewals and donation requests.
- Arranged video conferences and teleconference calls.
- Performed other related office duties, such as replenishing office supplies, purchasing books and other publications.
Marketing Innovators International Inc.
Rosemont, IL
May 2008 to Nov 2010
Executive Assistant
• Provided administrative and executive support.
• Coordinated meetings, lunches, dinners, conferences, etc.
• Facilitated flow of information between management and staff.
• Booked flights, hotel and ground transportation.
• Created PowerPoint presentations for meetings, staff conferences, etc.
• Produced correspondence from handwritten notes and dictation.
• Coordinated and acted as onsite contact for conferences. Sourced venues and negotiated rates. Coordinated presenters, daily sessions and evening social events.
• Sourced suppliers and ordered office and kitchen supplies.
• Oversaw maintenance of office equipment.

Popcorn Palace
Schiller Park, IL
May 2005 to May 2008
Administrative Assistant/Receptionist
• Provided administrative support and reception services to managers and their teams.
• Scheduled meetings, teleconferences and videoconferences.
• Logged and routed incoming correspondence and composed responses, where required.
• Prepared documents, spreadsheets, presentations, etc. Assisted with editing of reports.
• Drafted meeting agendas and materials. Recorded minutes and action items.
• Prepared and submitted orders for supplies.
• Updated contacts database.
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- Diligent, proactive, punctual and reliable.
- Excel in multi-tasking in a fast-paced environment completing projects within time and budget constraints.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Maternity Leave  
May 2012 to Present

Chicago Equity Partners LLC  
Chicago, IL  
May 2010 to May 2012  
Administrative Assistant

- Handled correspondence, communications and related matters.
- Managed calendar.
- Handled and screened internal and external calls and responded to general queries in a prompt and professional manner.
- Drafted memorandums and letters and prepared or updated graphics, presentations, correspondence, reports and other requested documents.
- Assisted with tracking monthly budget expenditures.
- Assisted employees with conference registrations, membership renewals and donation requests.
- Arranged video conferences and teleconference calls.
- Performed other related office duties, such as replenishing office supplies, purchasing books and other publications.

- CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE -
Marketing Innovators International Inc.
Rosemont, IL
Nov 2007 to May 2010
Executive Assistant
• Provided administrative and executive support.
• Coordinated meetings, lunches, dinners, conferences, etc.
• Facilitated flow of information between management and staff.
• Booked flights, hotel and ground transportation.
• Created PowerPoint presentations for meetings, staff conferences, etc.
• Produced correspondence from handwritten notes and dictation.
• Coordinated and acted as onsite contact for conferences. Sourced venues and negotiated rates. Coordinated presenters, daily sessions and evening social events.
• Sourced suppliers and ordered office and kitchen supplies.
• Oversaw maintenance of office equipment.

Popcorn Palace
Schiller Park, IL
Nov 2004 to Nov 2007
Administrative Assistant/Receptionist
• Provided administrative support and reception services to managers and their teams.
• Scheduled meetings, teleconferences and videoconferences.
• Logged and routed incoming correspondence and composed responses, where required.
• Prepared documents, spreadsheets, presentations, etc. Assisted with editing of reports.
• Drafted meeting agendas and materials. Recorded minutes and action items.
• Prepared and submitted orders for supplies.
• Updated contacts database.
• Processed invoices and expenses. Prepared credit card reconciliations.
• Booked travel.
• Handled reception relief.

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• Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, 2001

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
• Skiing, mountain biking, running, tennis, wine collecting and cooking.
• Volunteer with Habitat for Humanity Chicago South Suburbs.
• Member of Montessori Academy of Chicago Parent Teacher Organization, Early Childhood Program.
OBJECTIVE

I am seeking a position as an administrative assistant that will allow me to use my extensive organizational, clerical and technical skills to contribute to an organization.

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

• High standards for accuracy and work quality.
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• Superior computer skills with proficiency in Microsoft Office (Word, Excel, Outlook, PowerPoint and Access), Lotus Notes and QuickBooks.
• Superior organization and coordination skills.
• Diligent, proactive, punctual and reliable.
• Excel in multi-tasking in a fast-paced environment completing projects within time and budget constraints.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Maternity Leave
May 2011 to Present

Chicago Equity Partners LLC
Chicago, IL
May 2009 to May 2011
Administrative Assistant
• Handled correspondence, communications and related matters.
• Managed calendar.
• Handled and screened internal and external calls and responded to general queries in a prompt and professional manner.
• Drafted memorandums and letters and prepared or updated graphics, presentations, correspondence, reports and other requested documents.
• Assisted with tracking monthly budget expenditures.
• Assisted employees with conference registrations, membership renewals and donation requests.
• Arranged video conferences and teleconference calls.
• Performed other related office duties, such as replenishing office supplies, purchasing books and other publications.
Marketing Innovators International Inc.
Rosemont, IL
Nov 2006 to May 2009
Executive Assistant
• Provided administrative and executive support.
• Coordinated meetings, lunches, dinners, conferences, etc.
• Facilitated flow of information between management and staff.
• Booked flights, hotel and ground transportation.
• Created PowerPoint presentations for meetings, staff conferences, etc.
• Produced correspondence from handwritten notes and dictation.
• Coordinated and acted as onsite contact for conferences. Sourced venues and negotiated rates. Coordinated presenters, daily sessions and evening social events.
• Sourced suppliers and ordered office and kitchen supplies.
• Oversaw maintenance of office equipment.

Popcorn Palace
Schiller Park, IL
Nov 2003 to Nov 2006
Administrative Assistant/Receptionist
• Provided administrative support and reception services to managers and their teams.
• Scheduled meetings, teleconferences and videoconferences.
• Logged and routed incoming correspondence and composed responses, where required.
• Prepared documents, spreadsheets, presentations, etc. Assisted with editing of reports.
• Drafted meeting agendas and materials. Recorded minutes and action items.
• Prepared and submitted orders for supplies.
• Updated contacts database.
• Processed invoices and expenses. Prepared credit card reconciliations.
• Booked travel.
• Handled reception relief.

EDUCATION
Illinois State University, Normal, IL
• Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, 2001

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
• Skiing, mountain biking, running, tennis, wine collecting and cooking.
• Volunteer with Habitat for Humanity Chicago South Suburbs.
• Member of Montessori Academy of Chicago Parent Teacher Organization, Early Childhood Program.
Jennifer Martin
1932 W. Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60613, 312-235-2722, martinjennifer163@yahoo.com

Education

B.A. Psychology, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL, 2001

Work Experience

W.W. Grainger, Inc. Lake Forest, IL May 2011 to Present
Team Administrative Assistant
- Responsible for providing administrative and secretarial support for the Finance department including the Controller, Finance as well as accounting staff. Handled all correspondence, communications and related matters. Drafted memorandums and letters and prepared or updated presentations, reports and other documents. Organized internal and external meetings. Distributed briefing materials. Booked travel arrangements. Administered tracking tool for vacation days. Prepared expense reports.

University of Chicago Medical Center Chicago, IL Nov 2008 to May 2011
Administrative Assistant

MB Financial Bank Chicago, IL Nov 2005 to Nov 2008
Executive Secretary

Work Related Skills and Knowledge

- Successful track record supporting efforts of management and executive level staff.
- Excellent organization and communication skills.
- Outstanding work ethic.
- Ability to work well in both teams and self-directed environments.
- Computer skills include Microsoft Office Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Outlook, a variety of proprietary databases and the Internet.

Extracurricular Activities

- Little Green Treehouse Parent Volunteer Coordinator.
- Interests include oil painting, digital photography, baseball, fitness and yoga.

References

References are available on request.
Jennifer Martin
1932 W. Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60613, 312-235-2722, martinjennifer163@yahoo.com

Education
B.A. Psychology, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL, 2001

Work Experience

Maternity Leave                     Feb 2013 to Present

W.W. Grainger, Inc.                Lake Forest, IL        Feb 2011 to Feb 2013
Team Administrative Assistant
− Responsible for providing administrative and secretarial support for the Finance department including the Controller, Finance as well as accounting staff. Handled all correspondence, communications and related matters. Drafted memorandums and letters and prepared or updated presentations, reports and other documents. Organized internal and external meetings. Distributed briefing materials. Booked travel arrangements. Administered tracking tool for vacation days. Prepared expense reports.

University of Chicago Medical Center          Chicago, IL          Aug 2008 to Feb 2011
Administrative Assistant

MB Financial Bank                Chicago, IL          Aug 2005 to Aug 2008
Executive Secretary

Work Related Skills and Knowledge
− Successful track record supporting efforts of management and executive level staff.
− Excellent organization and communication skills.
− Outstanding work ethic.
− Ability to work well in both teams and self-directed environments.
− Computer skills include Microsoft Office Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Outlook, a variety of proprietary databases and the Internet.

Extracurricular Activities
− Little Green Treehouse Parent Volunteer Coordinator.
− Interests include oil painting, digital photography, baseball, fitness and yoga.

References

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1932 W. Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60613, 312-235-2722, martinjennifer163@yahoo.com

Education

B.A. Psychology, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL, 2001

Work Experience

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W.W. Grainger, Inc. Lake Forest, IL Nov 2010 to Nov 2012
Team Administrative Assistant
- Responsible for providing administrative and secretarial support for the Finance department including the Controller, Finance as well as accounting staff. Handled all correspondence, communications and related matters. Drafted memorandums and letters and prepared or updated presentations, reports and other documents. Organized internal and external meetings. Distributed briefing materials. Booked travel arrangements. Administered tracking tool for vacation days. Prepared expense reports.

University of Chicago Medical Center Chicago, IL May 2008 to Nov 2010
Administrative Assistant

MB Financial Bank Chicago, IL May 2005 to May 2008
Executive Secretary

Work Related Skills and Knowledge

- Successful track record supporting efforts of management and executive level staff.
- Excellent organization and communication skills.
- Outstanding work ethic.
- Ability to work well in both teams and self-directed environments.
- Computer skills include Microsoft Office Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Outlook, a variety of proprietary databases and the Internet.

Extracurricular Activities

- Little Green Treehouse Parent Volunteer Coordinator.
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MB Financial Bank | Chicago, IL | Nov 2003 to Nov 2006
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AMANDA SMITH
4421 North Hall Street, Dallas, TX, 75219
214-736-9219
amanda.smith098@gmail.com

OBJECTIVE

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SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

• High standards for accuracy and work quality.
• Excellent interpersonal, communication and analytical skills.
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Administrative Assistant
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• Handled and screened internal and external calls and responded to general queries in a prompt and professional manner.
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• Assisted employees with conference registrations, membership renewals and donation requests.
• Arranged video conferences and teleconference calls.
• Performed other related office duties, such as replenishing office supplies, purchasing books and other publications.
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- Prepared and submitted orders for supplies.
- Updated contacts database.
- Processed invoices and expenses. Prepared credit card reconciliations.
- Booked travel.
- Handled reception relief.

EDUCATION
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- Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, 2001

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Bank of Texas
Dallas, TX
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Maternity Leave  Nov 2012 to Present

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Figure 1
Average Positive Callback Rate by Maternity Leave Duration
Figure 2
Average Interview Callback Rate by Maternity Leave Duration
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Journal</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Empirical Procedure</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Experimental Conditions</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Main Result(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cuddy, Amy J.C., Susan T. Fiske and Peter Glick</td>
<td>When Professionals Become Mothers, Warmth Doesn’t Cut the Ice</td>
<td>Journal of Social Issues</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Laboratory experiment</td>
<td>122 university undergraduate students</td>
<td>The experimental conditions are female professional with child, female professional without child, male professional with child and male professional without child.</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Female consultants who are not mothers are rated significantly higher in competence than warmth whereas female consultants who are mothers are rated significantly lower in competence than warmth. There is not a similar pattern for male consultants. There is also a statistically significant negative association between perceived competence ratings and intention to hire, promote and train.</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Correll, Shelley J., Stephen Benard and In Paik</td>
<td>Getting a Job: Is there a Motherhood Penalty</td>
<td>American Journal of Psychology</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Laboratory experiment</td>
<td>188 university undergraduate students</td>
<td>The experimental conditions are parents and non-parents who are either African-American men, African-American women, white men or white women.</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Female marketing professionals with children are perceived as less competent and less committed than female marketing professionals without children whereas male marketing professionals with children are perceived as more committed than male marketing professionals without children. There is a statistically significant negative association between motherhood and recommendations for hire and so female marketing professionals with children are less likely to be recommended for hire than other applicants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Masser, Barbara, Kirsten Grass and Michelle Nasic</td>
<td>We Like You, But We Don’t Want You – The Impact of Pregnancy in the Workplace</td>
<td>Sex Roles</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Laboratory experiment</td>
<td>82 university undergraduate students</td>
<td>The experimental conditions are pregnant job applicant and non-pregnant job applicant.</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Job applicants who are pregnant are rated higher on competency traits and higher on warmth traits than job applicants who are not pregnant. There is a statistically significant association between perceived competence ratings and recommendations to hire for non-pregnant applicants but not for pregnant applicants. There is also a statistically significant preference for hire: job applicants who are not pregnant are more likely to be recommended for hire than job applicants who are pregnant. There is a statistically significant positive effect of pregnancy and job applicant's sex on recommendations for hire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Petit, Pascale</td>
<td>The effects of age and family constraints on gender hiring discrimination: A field experiment in the French financial sector</td>
<td>Labour Economics</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Field experiment (Resume audit study)</td>
<td>92 resumes</td>
<td>The experimental conditions are pairs of female or male applicants aged 25 who are single and childless, aged 37 who are single or divorced and childless and aged 37 who are married with three children.</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>There is a statistically significant effect of gender on invitations to interview with single and childless younger male job applicants favoured over single and childless younger female applicants in high-skilled administrative jobs and in long-term contract jobs in the financial sector. There is not a similar statistically significant negative effect of gender on invitations to interview for older single or married job applicants. There is though a statistically significant positive effect in high-skilled commercial jobs for older single women without children and in low-skilled commercial jobs for older married women with children and pregnant job applicants were not preferred.</td>
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Table 1
Summary of Experimental Research on Selection Decisions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Journal</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Empirical Procedure</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Experimental Conditions</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Main Result(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Oberholzer-Gee, Felix</td>
<td>Unemployment Stigma as Rational Hedering: A Field Experiment</td>
<td>Journal of Economic Behavior &amp; Organization</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Field experiment (Resume audit study)</td>
<td>628 resumes</td>
<td>The experimental conditions are 8 months, 12 months, 18 months, 24 months and 30 months of unemployment.</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>There is a statistically significant negative association between longer unemployment spells and interview callback rates. The recently unemployed job applicants are more likely to receive an interview callback than employed job applicants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kroell, Kory, Fabian Lange and Matthew J. Notowidigdo</td>
<td>Duration Dependence and Labor Market Conditions: Evidence from a Field Experiment</td>
<td>The Quarterly Journal of Economics</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Field Experiment (Resume audit study)</td>
<td>12,064 resumes</td>
<td>The experimental conditions are employment and unemployment and the unemployment group has a current unemployment spell of 1 to 5 months.</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>There is a statistically significant negative association between unemployment duration and interview callback rates. The longer the unemployment duration, the lower the interview callback rate. However, recently unemployed job applicants are more likely to receive an interview callback than employed job applicants. Also, interview callback rates are decreasing with unemployment for the first 6 months of unemployment and then interview callback rates are relatively flat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Eriksson, Stefan and Nun Olof Rooth</td>
<td>Do Employers Use Unemployment as a Sorting Criterion When Hiring? Evidence from a Field Experiment</td>
<td>American Economic Review</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Field Experiment (Resume audit study)</td>
<td>8,466 job applications</td>
<td>The resumes were assigned the following employment characteristics: past (un)employment immediately after graduation (0 months employment or 12 months unemployment), past (un)employment between jobs (0 months employment or 6 months unemployment twice) and current (un)employment (0 employment or 3, 6 or 9 months unemployment).</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>There is not a statistically significant difference in the callback rates between job applicants without an unemployment spell history and job applicants with an unemployment spell history. There is also not a statistically significant negative effect of current unemployment spells of 3, 6 or 9 months on callback rates. There is evidence though that current unemployment spells of 9 months are negatively associated with the callback rates for low/mid skill jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ghayad, Rand</td>
<td>The Jobless Trap</td>
<td>Unpublished Manuscript</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Field Experiment (Resume audit study)</td>
<td>3,890 job applications</td>
<td>The experimental conditions are employment and unemployment and the unemployment group has a current unemployment spell of 1 to 12 months.</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>There is a statistically significant effect of unemployment on interview callback rates as recently employed workers receive more callbacks than unemployed workers. There is evidence of duration dependence. There is also evidence that experience impacts callback rates. The negative effect of unemployment is less for job applicants with matching experience compared to job applicants with no relevant experience for nonemployment of not more than 6 months.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Runey, John M., Adam Pugh, Nicolas Romero and R. Alan Seals</td>
<td>Unemployment, Underemployment, and Employment Opportunities Results from a Correspondence Audit of the Labor Market for College Graduates</td>
<td>Auburn University Department of Economics Working Paper Series</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Field Experiment (Resume audit study)</td>
<td>9,396 job applications</td>
<td>The experimental conditions are: currently employed and employed after graduation, currently employed but unemployed for 6 months after graduation, currently employed but unemployed for 12 months after graduation, currently unemployed for 6 months after graduation, currently unemployed for 12 months after graduation, currently unemployed for 18 months after graduation and currently unemployed for 24 months after graduation.</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>There is not evidence of duration dependence. There is not a statistically significant effect of current unemployment spells or past unemployment spells on callback rates. There is also a negative association between underemployment and callback rates and so unemployed applicants are less likely to receive a callback than adequately employed job applicants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population, 2012 estimate</td>
<td>2,714,856</td>
<td>12,875,255</td>
<td>1,241,162</td>
<td>26,059,203</td>
<td>313,914,040</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population, 2010</td>
<td>2,695,598</td>
<td>12,830,632</td>
<td>1,197,816</td>
<td>25,145,561</td>
<td>308,745,538</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons under 5 years, percent</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons under 18 years, percent</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons 65 years and over,</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female persons, percent, 2010</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White alone, percent, 2010</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>71.5%</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian and Alaska</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian alone, percent, 2010</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian and Other</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language spoken at home,</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons below poverty level,</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita money income</td>
<td>$27,940</td>
<td>$29,376</td>
<td>$27,251</td>
<td>$25,548</td>
<td>$27,915</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median household income,</td>
<td>$47,371</td>
<td>$56,576</td>
<td>$42,259</td>
<td>$50,920</td>
<td>$52,762</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The data on race includes persons reporting only one race. Hispanics may be of any race so Hispanics are also included in applicable race categories. The values greater than zero but less than half unit of measure shown are noted as Z. The source of the information is US Census Bureau State & County Quick Facts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Received a positive callback from a job poster</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>0.375</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received an interview callback from a job poster</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.232</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experimental variables</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fraction of sample employed</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.196</td>
<td>0.397</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraction of sample not employed with 3 months maternity leave</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.204</td>
<td>0.403</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraction of sample not employed with 6 months maternity leave</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.212</td>
<td>0.409</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraction of sample not employed with 12 months maternity leave</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.195</td>
<td>0.396</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraction of sample not employed with 24 months maternity leave</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td>0.395</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resume characteristics</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large company experience</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.498</td>
<td>0.500</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High quality</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.300</td>
<td>0.458</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job/Company characteristics</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.674</td>
<td>0.469</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Texas</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.326</td>
<td>0.469</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative assistant</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>0.388</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales manager</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>0.218</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales representative</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.226</td>
<td>0.418</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customer service representative</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>0.298</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting clerk</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.158</td>
<td>0.364</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology support representative</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>0.331</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing manager</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.254</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial analyst</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>0.226</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business analyst</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.180</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail sales representative</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment company</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>0.094</td>
<td>0.292</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The first row reports the primary dependent variable of whether the job applicant received a positive callback from job posters asking to set up an interview, to talk, to provide more information, etc. The experimental sample is split into resumes where the job applicant reports being currently employed and resumes where the job applicant reports being not currently employed and on maternity leave. The duration of the maternity leave between when the job applicant last reported working and when the resume was submitted was uniformly distributed between 0, 3, 6, 12 and 24 months.
### Table 4
Randomization Tests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resume characteristics</th>
<th>Sample Means</th>
<th>p-value of test of equality</th>
<th>Sample Means</th>
<th>p-value of test of equality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Currently Employed</td>
<td>Maternity Leave</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maternity Leave 3 Months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large company experience</td>
<td>0.471</td>
<td>0.504</td>
<td>0.144</td>
<td>0.493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High quality</td>
<td>0.307</td>
<td>0.299</td>
<td>0.671</td>
<td>0.294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job/Company characteristics</th>
<th>Sample Means</th>
<th>p-value of test of equality</th>
<th>Sample Means</th>
<th>p-value of test of equality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>0.673</td>
<td>0.674</td>
<td>0.936</td>
<td>0.690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Texas</td>
<td>0.327</td>
<td>0.326</td>
<td>0.936</td>
<td>0.310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative assistant</td>
<td>0.188</td>
<td>0.184</td>
<td>0.797</td>
<td>0.176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales manager</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>0.626</td>
<td>0.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales representative</td>
<td>0.245</td>
<td>0.221</td>
<td>0.219</td>
<td>0.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customer service representative</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>0.966</td>
<td>0.087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting clerk</td>
<td>0.145</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.361</td>
<td>0.176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology support representative</td>
<td>0.126</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>0.954</td>
<td>0.140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing manager</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.708</td>
<td>0.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial analyst</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>0.081*</td>
<td>0.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business analyst</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.644</td>
<td>0.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail sales representative</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.785</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment company</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>0.440</td>
<td>0.091</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N: 605 2,485 629 1,856

**Notes:** This table reports means across subsamples of the experimental sample and reports simple randomization tests based on comparing the means across the subsamples. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.
## Table 5
The Effect of Maternity Leave on the Probability of Callback

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable: Applicant received a positive callback from a job poster</th>
<th>Sample: Full sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.062***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.053**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.013]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.063***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.002]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.066***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.002]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.069***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.001]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 12 and 24 Months maternity leave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average callback rate</td>
<td>0.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>3,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control variables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: All columns report OLS linear probability model estimates. The data are resume submissions matched to callbacks from job posters. The controls are the following: indicator variables for large company experience (≥ 50 employees, < 50 employees), resume quality (resume submitted exceeded minimal requirements in terms of education and experience, minimal requirements not listed on the job posting), location (chicago, dallas), occupational category (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst, Retail Sales Representative), industry, recruitment company, supplemental questionnaire (supplemental questions requested by companies as part of online job application), self-identification questionnaire (voluntary self-identification requested by company as part of online job application), applicant order (first applicant, second applicant), month (July 2012, September 2012, October 2012, November 2012, December 2012, January 2013, February 2013, March 2013, April 2013, May 2013, June 2013) and time of day (morning, night). Robust standard errors clustered at the firm level are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable: Applicant received a positive callback from a job poster</th>
<th>Sample: Full sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity Leave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.053**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.013)</td>
<td>(0.013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 12 and 24 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.066***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint significance of coefficients [p-value]</td>
<td>[0.001]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-test of equality across coefficients [p-value]</td>
<td>[0.412]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average callback rate</td>
<td>0.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>3,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Control variables

- Large company experience: X
- Resume quality: X
- Location: X
- Occupational category: X
- Industry: X
- Recruitment company: X
- Supplemental questionnaire: X
- Self-identification questionnaire: X
- Applicant order: X
- Month and Time: X

Notes: All columns report OLS linear probability model estimates. The data are resume submissions matched to callbacks from job posters. The controls are the following: indicator variables for large company experience (≥ 50 employees, < 50 employees), resume quality (resume submitted exceeded minimal requirements in terms of education and experience, minimal requirements not listed on the job posting), location (chicago, dallas), occupational category (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst, Retail Sales Representative), industry, recruitment company, supplemental questionnaire (supplemental questions requested by companies as part of online job application), self-identification questionnaire (voluntary self-identification requested by company as part of online job application), applicant order (first applicant, second applicant), month (July 2012, September 2012, October 2012, November 2012, December 2012, January 2013, February 2013, March 2013, April 2013, May 2013, June 2013) and time of day (morning, night). Robust standard errors clustered at the firm level are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.
### Table 7: The Effect of Maternity Leave on Response Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable: Applicant received a callback from a job poster</th>
<th>Positive Callback</th>
<th>Interview Callback</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity Leave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.047**</td>
<td>-0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
<td>(0.013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.024]</td>
<td>[0.263]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 12 and 24 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.067***</td>
<td>-0.022*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
<td>(0.011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.051]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint significance of coefficients [p-value]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.142]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-test of equality across coefficients [p-value]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.207]</td>
<td>[0.451]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average callback rate in the sample</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>0.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>3,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>0.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control variables</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: All columns report OLS linear probability model estimates. The data are resume submissions matched to callbacks from job posters. The controls are the following: indicator variables for large company experience (≥ 50 employees, < 50 employees), resume quality (resume submitted exceeded minimal requirements in terms of education and experience, minimal requirements not listed on the job posting), location (chicago, dallas), occupational category (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst, Retail Sales Representative), industry, recruitment company, supplemental questionnaire (supplemental questions requested by companies as part of online job application), self-identification questionnaire (voluntary self-identification requested by company as part of online job application), applicant order (first applicant, second applicant), month (July 2012, September 2012, October 2012, November 2012, December 2012, January 2013, February 2013, March 2013, April 2013, May 2013, June 2013) and time of day (morning, night). Robust standard errors clustered at the firm level are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.
**Table 8**
The Effect of Maternity Leave on the Probability of Callback by Resume/Job Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable: Applicant received a positive callback from a job poster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experience at Companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience at Companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customer Service Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology Support Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Analyst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Analyst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity Leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Months maternity leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 12 and 24 Months maternity leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average callback rate in the sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control variables</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: All columns report OLS linear probability model estimates. The data are resume submissions matched to callbacks from job posters. The controls are the following: indicator variables for size of company (≥ 50 employees, < 50 employees), applicant order (first applicant, second applicant), occupational category (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst, Retail Sales Representative), location (Chicago, Dallas) and month (July 2012, September 2012, October 2012, November 2012, December 2012, January 2013, February 2013, March 2013, April 2013, May 2013, June 2013). Robust standard errors clustered at the firm level are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.
Table 9
The Effect of Maternity Leave on the Probability of Callback for Female-Dominated and Not Female-Dominated Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample Interaction Term</th>
<th>Female-Dominated Occupations</th>
<th>Not Female-Dominated Occupations</th>
<th>Female-Dominated Occupations</th>
<th>Not Female-Dominated Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.062*** (0.017) [0.000]</td>
<td>0.004 (0.025) [0.865]</td>
<td>-0.104*** (0.022) [0.000]</td>
<td>0.009 (0.024) [0.000]</td>
<td>-0.097*** (0.022) [0.000]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female-dominated occupations</td>
<td>-0.161*** (0.033) [0.000]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity leave x Female-dominated occupations</td>
<td>0.117*** (0.034) [0.001]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average callback rate in the sample</td>
<td>0.170 (0.070) [0.115]</td>
<td>0.112 (0.200) [0.090]</td>
<td>0.112 (0.200) [0.090]</td>
<td>0.112 (0.200) [0.090]</td>
<td>0.112 (0.200) [0.090]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>2,032</td>
<td>1,058</td>
<td>2,032</td>
<td>1,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td>0.090</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Control variables

- Large company experience
- Resume quality
- Location
- Occupational category
- Industry
- Recruitment company
- Supplemental questionnaire
- Self-identification questionnaire
- Applicant order
- Month and Time
- Female-dominated occupations
- Maternity leave x Female-dominated occupations

Notes: All columns report OLS linear probability model estimates. The data are resume submissions matched to callbacks from job posters. The controls are the following: indicator variables for size of company (≥ 50 employees, < 50 employees), applicant order (first applicant, second applicant), occupational category (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst, Retail Sales Representative), location (Chicago, Dallas) and month (July 2012, September 2012, October 2012, November 2012, December 2012, January 2013, February 2013, March 2013, April 2013, May 2013, June 2013). The female-dominated occupations include Administrative Assistant and Accounting Clerk based on data from the U.S. Department of Labor (http://www.dol.gov/wb/stats/nontra_traditional_occupations.htm). The non-female-dominated occupations include Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst and Retail Sales Representative. Robust standard errors clustered at the firm level are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.
Table 10
O*NET Characteristic Normalized Means by Occupational Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O*NET Characteristics</th>
<th>Administrative Assistant</th>
<th>Sales Manager</th>
<th>Sales Representative</th>
<th>Customer Service Representative</th>
<th>Accounting Clerk</th>
<th>Technology Support Representative</th>
<th>Marketing Manager</th>
<th>Financial Analyst</th>
<th>Business Analyst</th>
<th>Retail Sales Representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time pressure</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>0.334</td>
<td>-0.528</td>
<td>0.422</td>
<td>0.324</td>
<td>-0.477</td>
<td>0.314</td>
<td>-0.444</td>
<td>-0.079</td>
<td>-0.826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact with others</td>
<td>0.624</td>
<td>0.604</td>
<td>0.637</td>
<td>0.794</td>
<td>-1.252</td>
<td>0.452</td>
<td>-1.151</td>
<td>-0.518</td>
<td>-0.634</td>
<td>1.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships</td>
<td>-0.344</td>
<td>1.737</td>
<td>0.394</td>
<td>-0.138</td>
<td>-0.987</td>
<td>-0.673</td>
<td>0.569</td>
<td>1.072</td>
<td>0.513</td>
<td>-0.234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structured vs. unstructured work</td>
<td>0.334</td>
<td>0.914</td>
<td>0.768</td>
<td>-0.911</td>
<td>-0.257</td>
<td>0.364</td>
<td>0.179</td>
<td>0.745</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>-1.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom to make decisions</td>
<td>-0.283</td>
<td>1.164</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
<td>-1.814</td>
<td>-0.477</td>
<td>0.405</td>
<td>0.795</td>
<td>0.451</td>
<td>0.487</td>
<td>0.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal flexibility</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.951</td>
<td>0.253</td>
<td>-0.329</td>
<td>-0.530</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.141</td>
<td>0.261</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>-0.196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of occupations</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The O*NET characteristics are sourced from data available from O*NET OnLine accessed at https://www.onetonline.org. The O*NET characteristics are standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. The normalized O*NET characteristics are weighted by employment in each O*NET occupation. The temporal flexibility variable is calculated as the mean of the normalized O*NET characteristics for each occupational category.
Table 11
The Effect of Maternity Leave on the Probability of Callback by Occupational Temporal Flexibility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th>Full Sample with Interaction Term</th>
<th>More Flexible Occupations</th>
<th>Less Flexible Occupations</th>
<th>More Flexible Occupations</th>
<th>Less Flexible Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.062***</td>
<td>-0.101***</td>
<td>-0.042**</td>
<td>-0.103***</td>
<td>-0.040*</td>
<td>-0.095***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.051]</td>
<td>[0.001]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More flexible occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.130***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.036)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity leave x More flexible occupations</td>
<td>0.064*</td>
<td>(0.036)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[0.070]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average callback rate in the sample</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>0.223</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>0.223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>1,856</td>
<td>1,234</td>
<td>1,856</td>
<td>1,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.148</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Control variables

Large company experience X X X X X
Resume quality X X X X
Location X X X X
Occupational category X
Industry X X X X
Recruitment company X X X X
Supplemental questionnaire X X X X
Self-identification questionnaire X X X X
Applicant order X X X X
Month and Time X X X X
More flexible occupations X
Maternity leave x More flexible occupations X

Notes: All columns report OLS linear probability model estimates. The data are resume submissions matched to callbacks from job posters. The controls are the following: indicator variables for size of company (≥ 50 employees, < 50 employees), applicant order (first applicant, second applicant), occupational category (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst, Retail Sales Representative), location (Chicago, Dallas) and month (July 2012, September 2012, October 2012, November 2012, December 2012, January 2013, February 2013, March 2013, April 2013, May 2013, June 2013). The occupations with more temporal flexibility include Administrative Assistant, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative and Business Analyst. The occupations with less temporal flexibility include Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Marketing Manager and Financial Analyst. Robust standard errors clustered at the firm level are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maternity Leave</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.047**</td>
<td>-0.047**</td>
<td>-0.043**</td>
<td>-0.044**</td>
<td>-0.048***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
<td>(0.022)</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.024]</td>
<td>[0.032]</td>
<td>[0.019]</td>
<td>[0.024]</td>
<td>[0.007]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 12 and 24 Months maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.067***</td>
<td>-0.067***</td>
<td>-0.063***</td>
<td>-0.065***</td>
<td>-0.068***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
<td>(0.018)</td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
<td>[0.000]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N: 3,090  3,090  2,971  2,971  3,090

R\(^2\) / Pseudo R\(^2\): 0.080  0.080  0.076  0.075  0.080

Control variables: X  X  X  X  X

Notes: The data are resume submissions matched to callbacks from job posters. The controls are the following: indicator variables for size of company (≥ 50 employees, < 50 employees), applicant order (first applicant, second applicant), occupational category (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst, Retail Sales Representative), location (Chicago, Dallas) and month (July 2012, September 2012, October 2012, November 2012, December 2012, January 2013, February 2013, March 2013, April 2013, May 2013, June 2013). The logit and probit results drop a number of observations because some of the independent variables (i.e., industry categories and retail sales representative occupational category) perfectly predict one or the other outcome. Robust standard errors and robust standard errors clustered at the firm level are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.
Table 13
The Effect of Maternity Leave on the Probability of Callback by Evaluator Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample (1)</th>
<th>Full Sample Interaction Term (2)</th>
<th>Female Evaluator (3)</th>
<th>Male Evaluator (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternity leave</td>
<td>-0.149***</td>
<td>-0.201***</td>
<td>-0.137**</td>
<td>-0.214***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.044)</td>
<td>(0.063)</td>
<td>(0.060)</td>
<td>(0.077)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.001]</td>
<td>[0.002]</td>
<td>[0.022]</td>
<td>[0.006]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female evaluator</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.052</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.066)</td>
<td>[0.434]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity leave x Female Evaluator</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.085)</td>
<td>[0.331]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>0.112</td>
<td>0.114</td>
<td>0.237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Control variables
- Large company experience
- Resume quality
- Location
- Occupational category
- Industry
- Recruitment company
- Supplemental questionnaire
- Self-identification questionnaire
- Applicant order
- Month and Time
- Female evaluator
- Maternity leave x Female evaluator

Notes: All columns report OLS linear probability model estimates. The data are resume submissions matched to callbacks from job posters. The controls are the following: indicator variables for size of company (≥ 50 employees, < 50 employees), applicant order (first applicant, second applicant), occupational category (Administrative Assistant, Sales Manager, Sales Representative, Customer Service Representative, Accounting Clerk, Technology Support Representative, Marketing Manager, Financial Analyst, Business Analyst, Retail Sales Representative), location (Chicago, Dallas) and month (July 2012, September 2012, October 2012, November 2012, December 2012, January 2013, February 2013, March 2013, April 2013, May 2013, June 2013). Robust standard errors clustered at the firm level are reported in parentheses and p-values in brackets. * Statistically significant at the 0.10 level; ** at the 0.05 level; *** at the 0.01 level.