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Culture Matters: Career and Life Expectations and Outcomes among Business School Alumni

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CULTURE MATTERS: CAREER AND LIFE EXPECTATIONS AND OUTCOMES

AMONG BUSINESS SCHOOL ALUMNI

by

Ace Beorchia

A thesis proposal submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Sociology

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

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ABSTRACT

Culture Matters: Career and Life Expectations and Outcomes

among Business School Alumni

by

Ace M. Beorchia, Master of Science

Utah State University, 2018

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Department: Sociology, Social Work, and Anthropology

Women have made great strides in narrowing the gender gap in professional fields. However, women are still significantly underrepresented and face substantial challenges in reaching top professional positions in business. Recently, in its *Life and Leadership After HBS* study, the Harvard Business School surveyed its graduate school alumni to better understand "gendered dimensions of life and career that [are] crucial to advancing women leaders" (Harvard Business School 2013). This groundbreaking study found that both men and women have similar career aspirations and expectations upon graduating from HBS, yet men are more likely than women to achieve their career goals.

My research extends the HBS study by asking whether or not cultural context shapes career aspirations of men and women, and if so, how? As a result, this study seeks to fill an important gap in the literature regarding the role that culture plays in influencing men's and women's career trajectories. By replicating the *Life and Leadership after HBS* survey at a large university in a state with strong traditional gender cultural norms, we can better understand the effect cultural context has on men and women's professional

careers.

This study found that high-achieving men and women from a traditionalist culture have similar career and life expectations as the Harvard sample. However, the career and life outcomes for the traditionalist men and women are more traditional than they expected and more traditional in comparison to the Harvard sample. Findings show that early family formation encouraged within a traditionalist culture influences high-achieving men and women's career aspirations. The high-achieving alumni from the traditionalist culture also appear to participate in early family formation that results in women's paying an early motherhood penalty.

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INTRODUCTION

Women have made great strides in narrowing the gender gap in professional fields. However, women are still significantly underrepresented and face substantial challenges in reaching top professional positions in business. Research shows that fewer women are found among the ranks of top leaders as prestige and pay increases. Although women composed nearly 50 percent of the workforce in 2015, they represented only 30 percent of executive and senior managers (EEOC 2015) (Appendix A). Even more harrowing, only a quarter of executive level managers are women—and a dismal 5 percent are Chief Executive Officers (Catalyst 2016).

Some argue that this leadership gender gap is attributable to highly educated women's failure to 'lean-in' and be assertive in their careers or women's 'opting out' of the labor force after having children (Sandberg 2013; Stone 2007). Other scholars have suggested that institutional barriers (e.g., homosocial reproduction, leadership style stereotypes, organizational motherhood penalties) impede qualified women from obtaining top leadership positions (Kanter 1977; Stone 2007). Correll 2004 (p. 95) suggests that more research should consider an approach that recognizes how culture "constrains or limits what… individuals deem possible or appropriate, thereby shaping the preferences and aspirations that individuals develop for activities leading to various careers."

Recently, in its *Life and Leadership after HBS* study, the Harvard Business School (HBS) surveyed its graduate school alumni to better understand "gendered dimensions of life and career that [are] crucial to advancing women leaders" (Harvard

Business School 2013). This groundbreaking study found that both men and women have similar career aspirations and expectations upon graduating from HBS, yet men are more likely than women to achieve their career goals. In addition, men's and women's jobs "often" or "very often" get in the way of their personal lives, but women are much more likely to make career changes to address the imbalance. Findings revealed that women's lower career attainment was not due to their career goals and aspirations but to constraints they faced as their careers progressed (Harvard Business School 2013). Interestingly, these survey results found that breaks in women's careers could not explain women's lower probability of being in a top leadership position.

The *Life and Leadership* study suggests that the aspirations of highly qualified women are not a limiting factor in achieving equity in top leadership positions. This leads scholars to hypothesize that something other than women's career preferences or expectations is impeding women's ability to achieve top positions in work organizations. Authors of the HBS study find that respondents—especially women—cite structural rather than attitudinal barriers as key obstacles to their career advancement (Harvard Business School 2015).

While these findings provide significant insight into the mechanisms that shape the career trajectories of men and women, it remains unclear whether similar findings would hold in different cultural contexts. Are these findings from the HBS study generalizable to high achieving business alumni in more traditionalist cultural contexts where high value is placed on traditional gender roles of male breadwinners and female caretakers?

Considering a traditionalist cultural context is important to women's career advancement for three key reasons. First, in traditionalist cultures, traditional gender roles are more salient and have a larger impact on women's careers (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2015). Second, more emphasis is placed on traditional family gender roles in terms of parents' division of labor—with the cultural ideal placing men/fathers as the primary breadwinners and women/mothers as the primary caretakers in the family (Douglas and Michaels 2004). Third, employers in a conservative culture may be less committed to gender equality thus reducing the prevalence and strength of policies to help sustain women's ability to succeed in the workplace. Comparative research underscores the importance of cultural context in shaping women's career trajectories (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2012). Women—and especially mothers—are more likely to achieve career advancement in cultural contexts that support gender equality (e.g. Lyness and Kropf 2005).

This research builds upon and extends the HBS study by asking whether cultural context shapes career aspirations of men and women, and if so, how? While studies such as the *Life and Leadership* survey give important insight into gender leadership inequalities, relatively few studies have sought to understand how culture influences men's and women's career and life aspirations directly (Correll 2004). As a result, this study seeks to fill an important gap in the literature regarding the role that culture plays in influencing men's and women's career trajectories. By replicating the *Life and Leadership after HBS* survey at a large university in a state with strong traditional gender cultural norms, we can better understand the effect cultural context has on men and women's professional careers.

To answer my research question, I drew on survey responses from a sample of high-achieving business student alumni from a large R2 public university in Utah. The survey asks questions about the respondents' life and career aspirations, expectations for balancing work and family, and goals and intentions over time as respondents form families and begin careers. This study will provide meaningful insight into the attitudinal and structural barriers that may influence women's career attainment and positioning in a conservative culture. Findings from this survey will give unique insight into contextual barriers that may be impeding women from reaching top leadership positions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews scholarship on women's underrepresentation in professional leadership positions—particularly supply- and demand-side factors and the state of professional women in Utah.

Supply-Side Constraints

The first argument that seeks to explain women's underrepresentation in professional careers questions the qualifications and career commitment of women in the labor force. This perspective tends to focus on women's failure to 'lean in' within the workplace or their preferences to 'opt out' of the labor force after having children. Supply-side constraints address how men and women develop different career expectations (Correll 2004), and most gender inequality scholars avoid addressing supply-side research because of a reluctance to "blame the victim" (Browne & England 1997). The first perspective suggests that women unintentionally hold themselves back— or do not "lean in"—in their career (Sandberg 2013), while the second argument suggests that elite women often "opt-out" of the workplace to focus on more satisfying aspects of their lives—mainly child raising (Belkin 2003; Stone 2007).

In her now famous book, *Lean In*, Sandberg (2013) highlights the internalization of systematic gender discrimination as a key barrier preventing women from excelling in their careers. For example, when a young boy is assertive, he is called a leader. Yet when a young girl is assertive, she is labeled bossy. The social belief that men are leaders and women should be followers trails women into the workplace. The social pressure women feel to conform to gender roles placed upon them may encourage them to behave

according to gendered stereotypes. Women's internalization of these stereotypes not only affects their aspirations to become a leader in an organization but may also discourage women from entering male dominated fields in the first place (i.e., women's underrepresentation in science, technology, engineering, and math [STEM] fields and overrepresentation in childhood education) (Beede et al. 2011; Blickenstaff 2005; Simon et al. 2016; Glass and Minnotte 2010; Makarova, Aeschlimann, and Herzog 2016).

Scholars have found that women in professional fields also face social pressures that prevent them from fully engaging in the workplace (Correll 2004). This includes women withdrawing from opportunities for career advancement in order to give their spouse's career priority—even when the woman's earning potential outweighs her husband's (Stone 2007).

These pressures to conform to societal gender norms only increase when children enter the frame. Women face even greater pressure to step away from leadership track positions when they have children. Hays' concept of "intensive mothering" (1996) explains the pressure placed on mothers. This cultural construction of parenting claims the mother is best suited to raise and love her children, and she is to put her personal desires to the side as she focuses on her family. Because intensive mothering is a culturally valued method for child-raising, middle- and upper-class working mothers are often stigmatized as deviant and are socially shamed (Medina and Magnuson 2009). These working mothers may not only feel guilt for leaving their children but they may also face negative judgements from others (Medina and Magnuson 2009). Intensive mothering may discourage mothers from entering and remaining in professional careers, thus limiting the supply of qualified women in the workplace.

Women, however, are graduating with competitive degrees and landing prestigious jobs at an equal rate as their male counterparts—and recent research found that some high-achieving women expect their careers to be equally important as their partners' careers (Harvard Business School 2015). These findings contradict supply-side constraints and introduce the second explanation of underrepresentation of women in professional careers: demand-side constraints.

Demand-Side Constraints

The second argument that explains women's underrepresentation in professional careers claims women face institutional barriers that delay or obstruct their path to professional success. Some of these barriers stem from employers' inability to view women as capable leaders in an organization. Kanter (1977) discusses homosocial reproduction as a key obstacle for women's attainment of leadership positions:

> Because of the *situation* in which managers function, because of the position of managers in the corporate structure, social similarity tends to become extremely important to them. The structure sets in motion forces leading to the replication of mangers as the same kind of social individuals. And the men who manage reproduce themselves in kind (p. 48).

Since men are more likely to be in top leadership positions, other men similar to them are most likely to be mentored and prepared for leadership positions in an organization. This is especially true in periods or industries where uncertainty is high (Kanter 1977, 49). Leaders want to surround themselves with individuals they can trust, and male leaders are

uncertain that they can trust members of the opposite sex due to women's token status (p. 49).

Stereotypical traits of the 'ideal leader' can also disadvantage women. Leaders are expected to be assertive, confident, aggressive, dominant, forceful, and competitive—characteristics known as agentic traits (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001). Agentic traits are often associated with men (e.g. Rosette and Tost 2010). Women, on the other hand, are socially encouraged to be more concerned about peoples' welfare and to embody kindness, sympathy, nurturing, affection, and gentleness—also known as communal characteristics. These social pressures diminish the ability for women to be seriously considered for leadership positions and makes their success as leaders more difficult.

Although high-achieving women may expect their careers to be equally as important as their partners' careers, women's reality is quite different from their original anticipations (Stone 2007). Some women attempt to juggle work and family, but compared to men, may find balancing their careers and household responsibilities much more difficult due to unaccommodating workplaces (Harvard Business School 2015; Stone 2007).

Bias against mothers can also serve as a barrier to women's career advancement. When a mother tries to re-enter the workforce, she is believed to be less qualified and less competitive than her peers who have been pursuing their careers. Employers are often looking for "ideal workers" who can be completely devoted to the job— dropping anything to answer a call, respond to an email, or work extra hours on a project (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002). An employers' ideal worker is willing to work long hours and to

esteem work above all other priorities. Such masculine ideal worker norms are suited best to those who have fewer family responsibilities. Mothers who are mainly responsible for dependent care and other household management responsibilities find it difficult to meet the expectations of employers. This inhibits them from being considered for internal promotion ladders. Many women professionals find themselves on a "mommy track" career that lacks excitement, challenge, and upward mobility (Ely, Stone, and Ammerman 2014; Schwartz 1989; Stone 2007).

Many corporations now offer work-family policies to help ease the burden of careers on parenting. However, these policies are not often utilized equally by all employees due to entrenched organizational norms that reward work devotion, face time, and overtime (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002). Employees in power positions and employees connected to power positions are more likely to take advantage of work-family policies compared to their lower-level coworkers. Powerful employees are at less risk of facing negative repercussions for using policies that are in cultural contrast to a company's expectations (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002). Because women often lack power in organizations, they may be less likely to take advantage of work-family policies. If a well-respected man uses parental leave, he is viewed as a "good husband" or "responsible dad" while a woman who uses the same policy may be viewed as a "difficult employee".

Cultural Context

While a great deal of scholarship has identified barriers that limit women's advancement in professional careers, less research has considered how cultural context

may shape these processes (Correll 2004). As a result, there is little research on whether and how conservative cultural contexts may exacerbate barriers that limit women's advancement in the workplace.

Traditionalist cultural contexts are likely to shape the career experiences of women professionals in important ways. In social contexts where women's employment is culturally accepted, women have a stronger presence in the workforce and have greater access to family policies (i.e., parental child leave, paid childcare) that facilitate their career advancement. By contrast, in settings where mothers are expected to devote themselves to motherhood and childcare, women's careers and earnings are negatively impacted (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2015).

Research on religious conservatism in the U.S. finds that men and women differ in their attitudes toward gender traditionalism (Bartkowski and Hempel 2009). Conservative, or traditionalist, religious beliefs correspond with strong familial attitudes (Olson, Cadge, and Harrison 2006). These attitudes align with the parental theory of intensive mothering in believing that the mother is best suited to raise the children in the home while the father provides financially for the family. Strong familial beliefs tend to be negatively correlated with egalitarian gender role beliefs and tend to support intensive mothering parental strategies (Douglas and Michaels 2004).

Due to its strong traditional family values and the domination of politically and socially conservative views, Utah serves as a prime research setting to understand how a conservative culture may influence men's and women's career and life aspirations. Utah's traditionalist values are evident through its strong religious presence, Republican political party affiliation, and strong emphasis on traditional family norms. As a result of

the strong conservative attitudes found in Utah, it is expected that both men and women will be in favor of more traditional career and life expectations and that these beliefs will manifest in their current lived realities—thus decreasing the likelihood that women will aspire to or achieve top leadership positions in their careers.

Utah is one of the most religious states in the country, having the highest worship attendance of any other state (Lipka and Wormwald 2016). Utah's dominant religion, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, is considered the most politically and socially conservative religion in the U.S. and its membership includes the highest percentage of Republicans across all religions (Lipka 2016).

Utah's high marriage rates, low median marriage ages, high birth rates, and above average family sizes emphasize the value the state places on families (Department of Workforce Services 2014). For example, in 2017, while the national mean marriage age was 29.5 for men and 27.4 for women, Utah's average marriage age is 26 for men and 24 for women (Davidson 2012; U.S. Census Bureau 2017). Next, the 2006 national average age at first birth for women was 25.0 (Mathews and Hamilton 2009); the average for Utah women was 23.9 (Mathews and Hamilton 2009). Finally, while the national average family size is 2.6 nationally, Utah's average family size is 3.1 (Davidson 2013). Utah is often last—or close to last—in measures of women's professional status and gender equality (Bernardo 2016). Data show that the gender employment gap is greater in Utah than the average state. Utah's gender leadership gap and pay gap are both greater than the national average (Department of Workforce Services 2014; EEOC 2015).

In many conservative culture contexts, individuals are more likely to marry and bear children at an earlier age and to have more children than the national average.

Generally speaking, women's educational attainment has a strong negative effect on the rate of entry into marriage and first birth and, as women's partners' education increases, childbearing is delayed (Blossfeld and Huinink 1991). However, delayed marriage and childbearing is less likely or less pronounced in more conservative cultural contexts. Blossfeld and Huinink (1991) discovered several mechanisms linked to a traditionalist culture increase the likelihood of earlier childbearing for women. Specifically, "the number of siblings has a positive effect on the rate of entry into motherhood" because women from large families are disadvantaged in their educational attainment and are likely to be strongly socialized toward home management and motherhood (Blossfeld and Huinink 1991).

These findings imply that high-achieving women in a traditionalist culture face a juxtaposition of social forces that could influence their career and family formations and outcomes. As high-achieving women, they are less likely to participate in early family formation (Blossfeld and Huinink 1991). However, social norms and values held within a traditionalist culture emphasize the importance of marriage and motherhood—resulting in a negative outcome for women's careers (Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007).

HBS Life and Leadership Survey

In 2014, Harvard Business School surveyed over 25,000 MBAs, DBAs, and PhDs of all ages to understand their experiences in the workplace. This project—known as the *Life and Leadership After HBS* study—furthered gender inequality scholarship by asking whether men and women have the same career goals and aspirations upon entering the

workforce, how and whether these aspirations evolved over time and whether these expectations contrasted with reality (Harvard Business School 2015).

A key finding from the study is that their samples men and women had equal career aspirations upon graduating. Both men and women expected their careers to be equally important as their partners' careers. However, over time, women were often disappointed and less satisfied with their careers compared to their male counterparts (Ely, Stone, and Ammermann 2014).

In one set of questions, authors asked respondents about perceptions of internal and structural barriers to women's advancement. Both men and women cited "prioritizing family over work" as the main barrier. However, the study also found that women cited structural barriers as limitations to their advancement at a much higher rate than men. The "lack of influential mentors and sponsors" and "exclusion from informal networks" elicited the widest gap in men and women's perception of structural barriers impeding women's career advancement (Harvard Business School 2013).

While researchers believed women's opting out of the workforce to care for family would explain their absence in upper management, this conclusion was not supported by the data. In fact, "it simply isn't true that a large proportion of Harvard Business School alumni have 'opted out' to care for children" (Ely, Stone, and Ammermann 2014). Only 11 percent of women in the study were out of the workforce for full-time childcare. Women desiring to stay in the workforce found flexible part-time jobs to be intellectually unfulfilling, impossible to balance, or impossible to find (Ely, Stone, and Ammermann 2014).

The study searched for associations between taking a break from the workplace and the chances of attaining a leadership position. Findings provided no evidence that breaks in employment impacted women's ability to progress in a company. Although women were more likely than men to have made decisions to accommodate family responsibilities, these factors could not explain the gender gap in senior management (Ely, Stone, and Ammermann 2014). The authors discovered that women desire to be key "players" in their organization even after childbirth, but instead, they face stigmas for using leave policies or reducing hours, are passed over for high profile assignments, or are removed from projects that they once led. This study underscores the importance of institutional barriers, rather than women's aspirations, in shaping gender differences in career attainment.

The *Life and Leadership after HBS* study is a groundbreaking study that opens the door for future explanations of the gender gap in senior management positions. The authors say:

> We don't think these findings—which are, frankly, surprising—are the final word on the subject. Indeed, they suggest that we need much more nuanced data about how professional men and women navigate their family and career decisions and how their lives unfold if we are to understand the impact that family responsibilities have on both women's and men's careers. What is clear is that the conventional wisdom doesn't tell the full story (Ely, Stone, and Ammermann 2014).

Some of scholars have used the HBS findings to suggest that women's ability to succeed in negotiations is hindered due to power differences (Kennedy and Kray 2015). Others have found that women are more likely than men to receive punishment for deviant behavior (i.e., making mistakes, rule breaking), thus contributing to the persistence of gender disparities in organizations (Kennedy McDonnel, and Stephens 2016). Like the HBS study, this research suggests that demand-side rather than supply-side constraints are limiting women's careers.

While the findings of the HBS study are important, scholars are just beginning to understand the effect men and women's aspirational attitudes have upon career advancement. Importantly, we need to investigate under what conditions the Harvard findings do or do not hold true. Specifically, how do cultural dynamics influence women's advancement? Do the HBS findings remain constant in conservative cultural contexts where a high value is placed on motherhood and women's childcare? If men and women have similar career and life aspirations but different career outcomes, demand constraints are likely impeding and discouraging women from obtaining their desired career mobility. On the other hand, if men and women's career and life aspirations are different upon graduation and they also have different career outcomes, cultural values may be influencing the number of women who initially enter a career path to reach top leadership positions—or supply constraints.

Findings from this study of high-achieving students at a university in a traditionalist cultural context will give unique insight into contextual barriers that may be impeding women from reaching top leadership positions.

METHODS

This section describes the methodological aspects of this study, including the research design, sample, implementation plan, incentive structure, and recall bias.

Research Design

To answer my research question, I administered a web-based Qualtrics survey to high-achieving business student alumni. This survey replicated the *Life and Leadership after HBS* study created by the Harvard Business School. By replicating the survey, results from both surveys could be directly compared. Internet surveys confront coverage problems when surveying large numbers of diverse people (Dillman, Smyth, and Christian 2014, 61). However, because the sample frame for this study is high-achieving business students, a web-based design was conducive to the sample-frame (p. 69).

A web-based survey questionnaire mode was chosen because of its alignment with the sample population, high-speed turnaround, low cost, and economies of scale (Dillman, Smyth, and Christian 2014, 301). Although many adults (56 percent) now use a smartphone for online activities (p. 301), the survey designed was optimized for a computer platform. Because participants are recent business college graduates, it was expected that all participants have access to either a personal or work computer. The survey also functioned on a mobile device but was slightly more difficult to navigate.

Other recommendations from Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2014) were included in the survey design, such as: implementing interesting welcome and closing screens that have wide appeal to respondents, using a consistent page layout, allowing respondents to back up, not requiring responses to questions other than independent

variables, excluding a graphical progress indicator, and allowing respondents to stop the survey and complete it at a later time (p.349).

Sample

Participants were chosen based on their alumni status in the undergraduate honors program of the business school at a large R2 public university in Utah. The business school honor's program is a well-funded and highly competitive scholarship program for a small cohort of the top juniors and seniors in the business college. These students pass a rigorous application process and demonstrate high academic ability, leadership skills, and motivation. The program's selection process considers students' academic ability, global curiosity, unique experiences and perspectives, community contribution, and demonstrated leadership. Students in the program participate in an academically challenging semester that includes a one-month fully funded study abroad in Europe. Graduates from this program have completed graduate degrees at schools such as Wharton, Purdue, Columbia, and Yale. This undergraduate honors program alumni population was chosen because as a public university, a large majority of students is pulled from within the community and state. Throughout this report, I will refer to this sample as Honors Program men and women.

The alumni sample frame of the program was composed of 134 men (60 percent) and 91 women (40 percent)—or what is believed to be the entire population of the program. The sample frame was cleaned to remove one known deceased individual and the principal investigator. Three duplicate contacts were also removed from the sample frame. Survey invitation emails were sent to 225 potential respondents. With eight emails

returned as invalid, the adjusted sample size was 217. The study ended with 132

completed and partially completed surveys resulting in a 61 percent response rate.

Of the participants, 58 percent were men and 42 percent were women. All

respondents had graduated with a bachelor's degree between 2008 and 2017, and 99

percent of male respondents and 96 percent of female respondents' birth years range

between 1981 and 1996—thus falling within the "millennial cohort" according to Pew

Research Center (Dimock 2018). Of the total respondents of this survey, 79 percent of

men and 77 percent of women respondents attended high school in Utah. An additional

9.2 percent of men respondents and 7.1 percent of women respondents attended high

school in neighboring intermountain west states of Idaho, Arizona, Wyoming, and

Nevada. (Appendix B)

Implementation Plan

Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2014) state that using a mixed-contact method

"encourages response for data to be collected by a single response mode" (p. 403). A

mixed-contact method helps to increase response rates and avoids introducing a negative

effect on measurement (p. 403). Thus in this study, a mixed-contact method was

implemented by first mailing a personalized postcard to the sample frame with

information about the study and an opportunity for participants to update their preferred

email (Appendix C). No individuals used this opportunity to update his or her email

address with the principal investigator.

Considering the population's schedule was crucial in the survey implementation

strategy (Dillman, Smyth, and Christian 2014, 336). Because business professionals'

responsibilities often increase near fiscal year end (commonly December 31), the survey

was sent in late November with three reminders sent about two weeks apart. By selecting

multiple days of the week to send reminders, it was expected to increase the visibility of

the email and availability of the respondent. Cook, Heath, and Thompson (2000) found

that the number of contacts, personalized contacts, and pre-contacts were the factors most

associated with high response rates, and this plan addresses all three factors.

Incentive Structure

Previous research has found that a prepaid cash incentive seems to be the most

effective way to increase response rates (Dillman, Smyth, and Christian 2014, 331).

Issuing incentives with online surveys is relatively new practice, and early scholarly data

show an increase in response rate by about 4 percent. It is important to note that these

surveys issued the incentive post survey (p. 330).

By sending the incentive prior to starting the survey, scholars have found that

participants are more likely to respond due to social exchange theory (p. 368). Thus, for

this study, each initial email survey invitation included a $4 online Amazon gift card

code. Individuals from the sample could redeem the code whether or not they completed

the survey. A Pearson's chi-square test was performed and found that at a 95 percent

confidence interval, there was a significant association between redeeming the gift card

code and completing the survey (p = .000).

Recall Bias

Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2014) note that memory tends to fade over time,

mundane events are generally not precisely remembered, and people do not categorize

information by month or year (p. 98). This survey asked respondents to provide more

information about their past than they may recall. To reduce recall error, the survey had

two distinct sections. The first section asked respondents to think about their career and

life aspirations and expectations upon graduating from the university. This allowed

participants to enter the mind frame of thinking retrospectively. Questions were also

designed to induce easy recollection. All questions in this section began with saying,

"Upon graduating from [name of university] to remind participants that the questions

were retrospective. The second section of the survey focused on the respondents' current

reality. By structuring the survey using the stated techniques, errors from recall biases

were expected to be reduced.

Data Analysis

After data were collected, I first created contingency tables to compare responses

of men and women within the sample. Next, I compared the responses of men and

women from my sample with the corresponding groups from the HBS study. In

comparing responses with the HBS study, I only used questions from the *Life and*

Leadership findings report that offered the response rates of millennial men and women

from their study. This ensured that the age range of my sample matched that of the

Harvard sample. Some questions in the survey were open-ended and allowed respondents

to type in replies. Quotes used in the discussion section are respondents' answers to these

open-ended survey questions.

The primary goal of this study is to develop a better understanding of the role that a

traditional gender culture plays in affecting men and women's career and life

expectations and outcomes. The following variables were key to answer my research

questions (Table 1):

Arrangement	Question	Scale
Career	…your spouse or partner's career has…	- A lower priority than yours - The same priority as yours - A higher priority than yours - Do not have a spouse or partner - Do not have a spouse or partner that works - Not sure or never considered
Housework	…what percentage of the day-to-day household work does your spouse or partner do?	- More than 50% of the day-to-day household work - Share day-to-day household work equally - Less than 50% of the day-to-day household work - Not sure
Childcare	…what percentage of childcare does your spouse or partner do?	- More than 50% of childcare - Share childcare work equally - Less than 50% of childcare - Do not have children - Not sure

Table 1

RESULTS

The section begins with a comparative analysis of the life and career expectations of men from Harvard and from the Honors Program (HP). The next focus will concentrate on the similarities and differences for career and life expectations between Harvard women and Honors Program women. Particular emphasis will be given to the mechanisms that result in the increased likelihood of high-achieving business alumni from a traditionalist culture to end up in a more traditional life style than they expected at graduation.

In analyzing these findings, I will often refer to three types of relationships as described by Ely et al. (2015) that alumni referenced in disclosing their life and career expectations and outcomes[1](Table 2). A "traditional" relationship indicates a marriage or partnership in which the man's career takes priority, the woman does more than 50 percent of the housework, or the woman does more than 50 percent of childcare. An "egalitarian" relationship is marked by both the man and woman having equally important careers and sharing work within the home. In a "progressive" relationship, the woman's career takes precedence and the man takes a lead role in household management.

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[1] Due to the lack of information about sexual orientation of the sample population, like the HBS survey findings, this analysis is based on the assumption that relationships are heterosexual, and findings are presented under this limited supposition. Future research should build on these studies by analyzing patterns for non-heterosexual couples.

Arrangement	Traditional	Egalitarian	Progressive
Career	Woman's career has a lower priority than her spouse or partner's career or woman does not work	Woman's career has equal priority as spouse or partner's	Woman's career has a higher priority than spouse or partner's career
Housework	Woman does more than 50% of day-to-day housework	Both spouses or partners share day-to-day household work equally	Woman does less than 50% of day-to-day household work
Childcare	Woman does more than 50% of childcare	Both spouses or partners share childcare work equally	Woman does less than 50% of childcare

Table 2

Figure 2

Men Comparative Analysis

<u>Career Arrangement</u>

Half of the men from the Harvard study expected to end up in a traditional relationship with their spouse or partner. The other half expected to experience an egalitarian career arrangement. Currently, these men's realities are slightly less traditional with 42 percent of them reporting a traditional career arrangement (Figure 1). However, because they are in the initial stages of family formation, it has yet to be seen how these men's career arrangements evolve as more marry and have children.
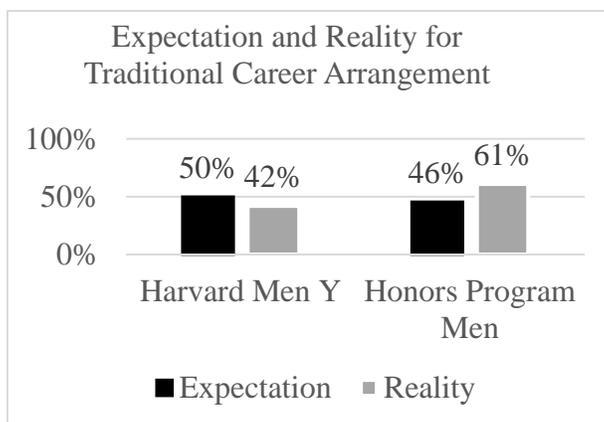
Expectation and Reality for
Traditional Career Arrangement

	Harvard Men Y	Honors Program Men
Expectation	50%	46%
Reality	42%	61%

■ Expectation ■ Reality

Figure 1

In comparison, men from the Honors Program had similar expectations as the

Harvard men with 46 percent of the Honors Program men from the sample expecting to

experience a traditional career arrangement. In contrast to the Harvard men, however, the

Honors Program men are more likely to report experiencing a traditional career

arrangement at 61 percent.

This increased likelihood of having a more traditional career arrangement

outcome is likely influenced by the Honors Program men's participation in early family

formation. These high-achieving men from a traditionalist culture were more likely than

their Harvard counterparts to be married (68 percent versus 62 percent), and nearly half

of the Honors Program men have already had children with their spouse or partner[2]. Men

with children widely cited their spouse or partner's preference as a deciding factor that

determined whose career takes precedence in their marriage or partnership. The following

quotes are from survey text responses from Honors Program men alumni when asked

about factors that determine the division of labor in their household: "My spouse wanted

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[2] Fatherhood rates were unavailable for men from the Harvard survey.

to stay home to care for our young children." "My wife absolutely loves being a mother and does not want a career." "My wife has a desire to be at home raising our son and getting ready for child number two." Other men cited religious beliefs, gender differences, and "the way [they] were raised" as other determining factors.

In the Honors Program survey, respondents were asked about the professional position level they hoped to achieve upon graduation. A majority of alumni expected to reach executive and senior level official positions (60 percent), and the rest largely expected to reach first-/mid-level official positions (9.3 percent) or professional positions (22.7 percent). In reality, 16.2 percent of the Honors Program male alumni report holding an executive and senior level official position with the rest holding first-/mid-level official and professional positions (13.2 percent and 47.1 percent respectively). With zero respondents reporting a higher income than $180,000, it can be assumed that the executive positions being held by Honors Program alumni are small and/or entrepreneurial businesses. This indicates that while these men appear to have similar career arrangements as Harvard men, the nature and prestige of these careers may be substantially different from Harvard men's executive level career expectations and outcomes—with Harvard men being more likely to pursue careers in larger and more prestigious companies. Because the Harvard survey did not ask this question, comparable data is not available.

A large majority (88 percent) of the Honors Program men expected to successfully combine a career with personal and family life, and these expectations were met in reality with 86 percent reporting successfully combining career and personal and family life. Three-fourths of the men from the Harvard sample expected to find a suitable

career and personal and family life balance, in comparison. Surprisingly, only about half of the men in the Harvard sample have reported successfully negotiating career and personal and family life. Thus, while the men from the Honors Program report experiencing a slightly more traditional career arrangement, they are also more likely to report successfully combining their career and personal and family life. Based on my survey findings, I believe this result may be largely attributed to the load (or lack thereof) these men are carrying within their homes—the topic of the next section.

Housework and Childcare Arrangements

In terms of housework, the men from the traditionalist culture were widely expecting to share housework with their spouses or partners. Specifically, 67 percent of these men expected to share housework equally. This expectation nearly mirrors the expectations of Harvard men (66 percent). Interestingly, the Honors Program men were only about half as likely to experience the egalitarian housework arrangement that they initially expected at 39 percent while Harvard men's housework outcomes nearly matched their egalitarian expectation at 68 percent (Figure 2).
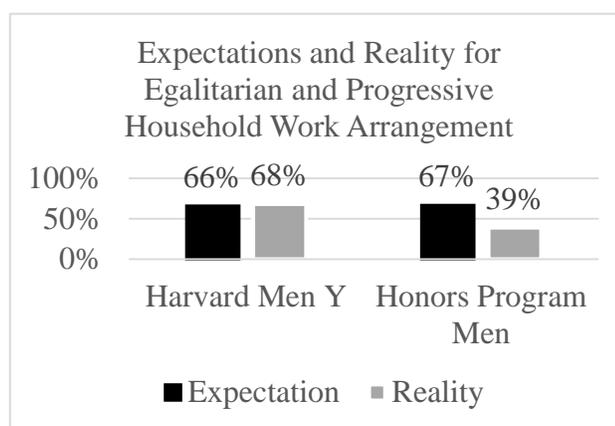

Figure 2

Not surprisingly, nearly three-fourths of men from a traditionalist culture expected a traditional childcare arrangement in which their spouse or partner was responsible for childcare. Harvard men expected a similar relationship with 66 percent of the men expecting a traditional childcare arrangement. However, 94 percent of the men from the Honors Program with children and 89 percent of the men from Harvard with children were experiencing traditional childcare arrangements (Figure 3). Very few Harvard and Honors Program men expected to interrupt their careers to care for children (13 percent and 10 percent respectively), and even fewer men had interrupted their careers to care for children (1 percent and 2 percent respectively). Strong emphasis is placed on parental division of labor in a traditionalist culture (Douglas & Michaels 2004). The prominence of a male breadwinner/female caretaker model among men from the Honors Program sample confirmed this previous finding.
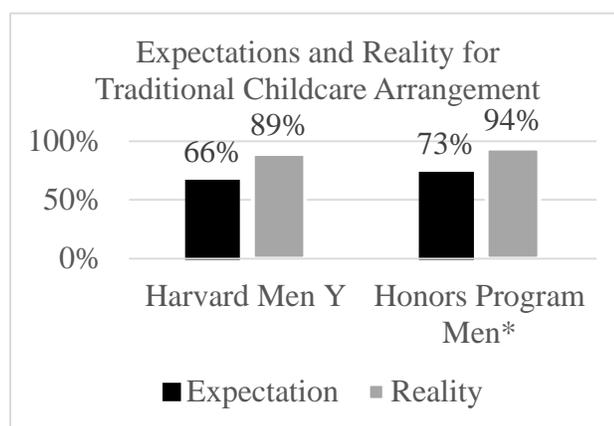
Expectations and Reality for
Traditional Childcare Arrangement

Figure 3

Women Comparative Analysis

<u>Career Arrangement</u>

A large majority of Harvard women alumni expected to have an egalitarian or progressive career arrangement at 73 percent. In reality, more Harvard women's careers are equally or more important than their spouse or partner's careers at 78 percent. Ely et al. (2015) note that these women are still in the initial phases of family formation, and this may reflect the women alumni's early egalitarian career arrangements.

In comparing the Honors Program women to the Harvard women, surprisingly the expectation for an egalitarian career arrangement was nearly identical with 66 percent of Honors Program women expecting an egalitarian or progressive arrangement. However, the Honors Program women's career arrangement outcome was much more traditional than they anticipated. These women were about 40 percent less likely than their Harvard counterparts to be in an egalitarian or progressive career arrangement (Figure 4). This finding is noteworthy because all of these women have graduated within the last ten years—a time in early adulthood when a career is important for high-achieving women (Stone 2007).
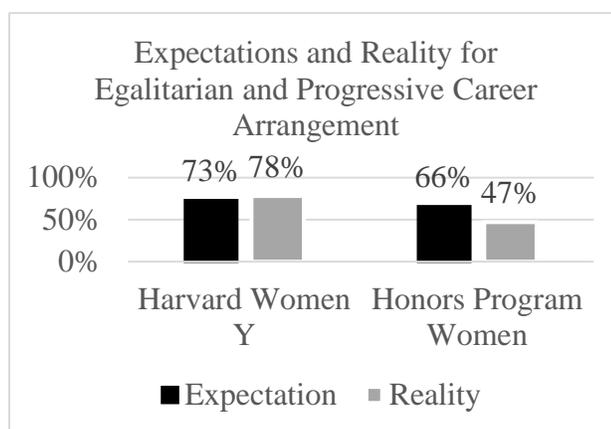

Expectations and Reality for Egalitarian and Progressive Career Arrangement

Figure 4

When asked about career aspirations, the Honors Program women were less likely to aspire to the executive/senior level positions like their male Honors Program counterparts (28 percent versus 60 percent respectively), but instead, many women expected to reach first-/mid-level manager positions (35 percent) and professional positions (24 percent). Thus while a majority of Honors women were expecting to have egalitarian career arrangements with their spouses or partners, these same women were simultaneously aspiring to less prestigious career positions.

About three-quarters of all women from both groups expected to successfully combine their careers with personal and family life. However, the married Honors Program women report finding more success in being able to successfully combine a career with personal and family life at 70 percent while only 39 percent of the married Harvard women report being able to do so (Figure 5). I postulate that Honors Program women's constrained career aspirations allows them to be more prepared for managing career and life balance conflicts at the early stages of their professional career and family formation. Growing up in a traditionalist culture, the Honors Program women have been developing strategies for balancing work and family from an earlier age in anticipation of early family formation and in line with cultural expectations.

Expectations and Reality for Successfully Combining Career with Personal and Family Life

75%   39%   80%   70%

100%
50%
0%

Harvard Women Y   HP Women

■ Expectation   ▪ Reality
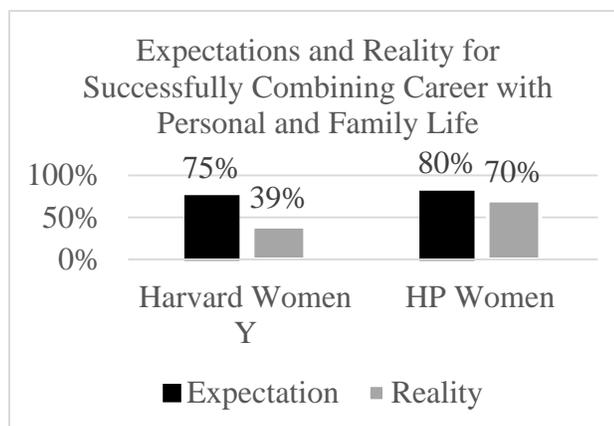
Figure 5

<u>Housework and Childcare Arrangements</u>

Honors Program and Harvard women's expectations and outcomes for housework and childcare arrangements follow a similar trend. Although Honors Program women's housework arrangement expectations were slightly *less* traditional than Harvard women's (17 percent and 27 percent respectively), Honors Program women were much more likely to experience a traditional house work arrangement outcome with nearly half (44 percent) of Honors Program women doing more than 50 percent of the housework (Figure 6). In other words, more than double the number of women are currently taking the lead role of housework than was initially expected upon graduation.

Figure 6

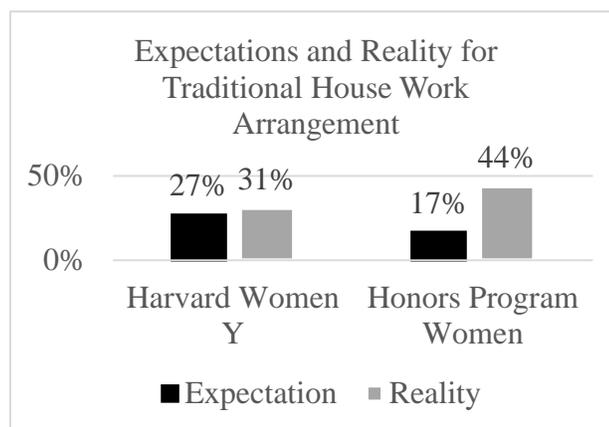Harvard women's expectations of housework arrangements, in comparison, were

nearly equally fulfilled with 31 percent experiencing a traditional relationship. My data

reveal that while the expectations of Harvard and Honors women were relatively similar,

married or partnered Honors Program women found themselves more likely to be

responsible for a majority of housework.

With childcare, just under half of both groups of women alumni expected a

traditional childcare arrangement (42 percent of Harvard women and 48 percent of

Honors Program women). Astoundingly, the high-achieving women alumni with children

from the traditionalist culture were nearly *twice as likely* as their Harvard counterparts to

be doing more than 50 percent of childcare. While only 50 percent of Harvard women

mothers were mainly responsible for childcare, 92 percent of the Honors Program

mothers were taking a lead childcare role in their marriages or partnerships (Figure 7).
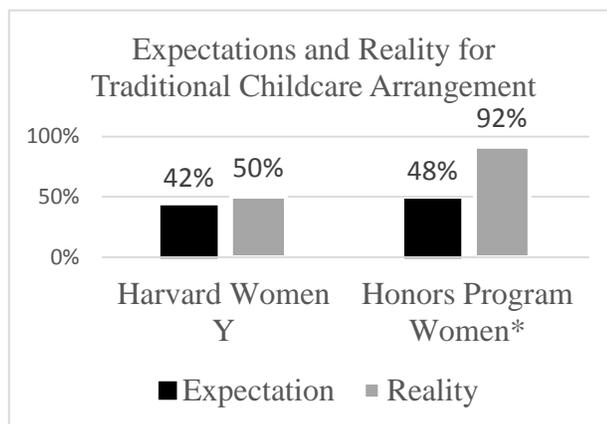
Expectations and Reality for
Traditional Childcare Arrangement

Figure 7

Although the Harvard and Honors Program women had similar career and life

expectations upon graduation, the Honors Program women were much more likely to

have a traditional career and life outcome. Competing forces that simultaneously tell

high-achieving women from a traditionalist culture to make a career, marriage, and

motherhood a priority creates a dissonance for these women. In turn, they "dream within

constraint"—or shape their careers to accommodate increased demands of within the

home.

These findings suggest that Honors Program women face greater constraints on

their career due to household and childcare responsibilities. To explore these constraints

further, the next section reviews analysis of the impact of marriage and childbearing on

women's careers.

Early Family Formation

To better understand how the Honors Program women were affected by early

family formation, I compared marriage and motherhood rates of the Honors Program and

Harvard women alumni (Figure 8). I found that Honors Program women are more likely

than Harvard women to be in a marriage or partnership (62 percent and 50 percent

respectively) and more than twice as likely to have children (23 percent and 10 percent

respectively). From these comparisons, it appears that living in a traditionalist culture

increases the likelihood of early family formation.
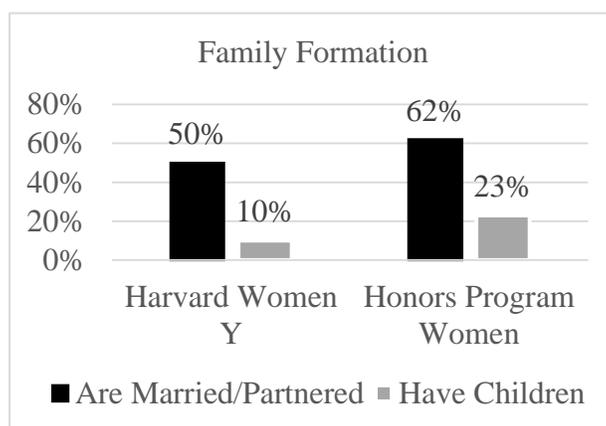
Figure 8

Two mechanisms could thus be influencing the Honors Program women's

increased likelihood of traditional career and life outcomes—marriage and/or

motherhood. Thus, I then compared career and life outcomes of Honors Program who

were married and married with children. The following section details the results.

Early Motherhood Penalty

For the Honors Program women, motherhood is a key predictor for traditional

career and life outcomes. Specifically, in regards to career arrangements, while only 35

percent of married women without children were experiencing a traditional career

arrangement, 83 percent of married women with children were experiencing a traditional

career arrangement in which their spouse or partner's career took precedence (Figure 9).

Figure 9

Women who were married with children were also more than twice as likely to be

doing more than 50 percent of housework. Specifically, 67 percent of married women

with children and only 30 percent of married women were primarily responsible for
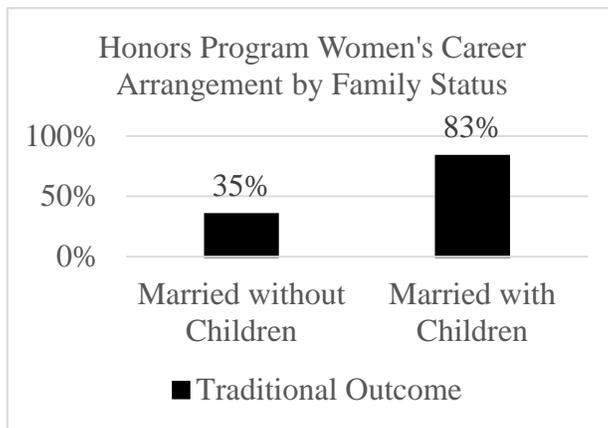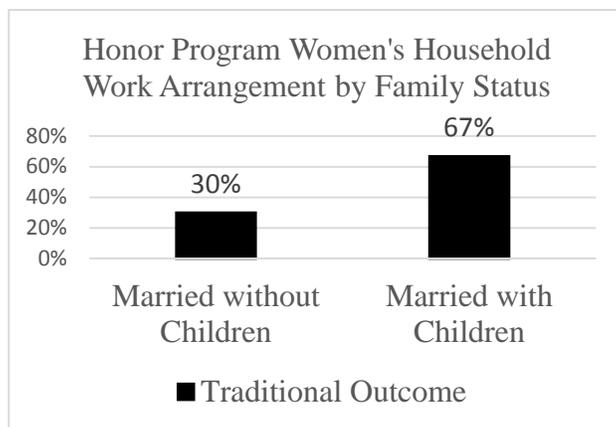
housework (Figure 10).

Figure 10

Again, it is important to recall that 92 percent of married women with children did more than 50 percent or childcare in their households in the traditionalist context. All of these data attribute the Honor Program women alumni's increased traditional career and life arrangement to an early motherhood penalty paid by the women who are engaging in early family formation.

When asked about factors that influence the division of labor in the home, some women referenced gender, religious beliefs, and culture as key mechanisms influencing decisions. Others cited earning potential, personal goals, and time restrictions as determining factors.

A majority of these high-achieving women from a traditionalist culture know very well the effect that bearing a child will have on their career. Of the female respondents, 76 percent believed they could possibly interrupt their career to have children, with 39 percent being "absolutely sure" or "somewhat sure" that they would interrupt their career to have children. Of all women respondents who believed they could possibly interrupt their career to have children, 68 percent indicated that they believed the interruption would "definitely" or "probably" have a negative impact on their careers. These women were not oblivious to the motherhood penalties they are likely to pay as a result of early family formation.

One female alumna who graduated in 2017 acknowledged the competing demands of career and family and cited motherhood as a pivotal decision point when she responded to a survey question stating, "I perpetually worry that I 'dream too big' and that once (if ever) I start a family, my professional aspirations will give way to a more traditional career trajectory—that becoming a mother will in some sense moderate my

ambition. I anticipate feeling conflicted about how best to reconcile the demands of a meaningful career with familial obligations." This woman, like others, is aware of the decisions that await her and is already forecasting how these decisions will affect her life, even just a few months out of college.

Most women from a traditionalist culture seem to be keenly cognizant of the increased constraints that they are likely to face in their career, yet still make career sacrifices to accommodate early family formation. Another female Honors Program alumna expanded on her decision to focus on family in sharing her definition of success in the survey: "The ability to achieve our personal goals as parents while achieving our work and financial goals. Having the flexibility to put family first in all aspects and setting ourselves up for ultimate financial freedom for us, our posterity, and those in need in our community and globally. To live religion by principal of action in doing good to all. To live life to the fullest by participating in a variety of experiences and coming to better understand the world through exploration and travel." This respondent cites both career and family in her definition of success, but her career goals are shaped by the way that they will affect her marriage and children—even generations not born. Another female 2011 graduate shares a similar sentiment: "I define success by having a happy family, teaching my children new things, being involved in the community, reaching out to my neighbors, and having a strong relationship with God."

Our data show that high-achieving women from a traditionalist culture are more likely to participate in early family formation and suffer earlier career penalties accordingly. These implications of these results are discussed in the following section.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study is to better understand the effect of culture on career and life expectations and outcomes. Specifically, this study investigates the impact of a traditionalist culture on high-achieving men and women business school alumni by replicating the *Life and Leadership after HBS* survey at a public R2 university in Utah, a very traditionalist state. Findings from the study were compared to those of Harvard for analysis.

The study found that the high-achieving men alumni from the traditionalist culture essentially had similar career and life expectations upon graduating as the Harvard men alumni. However, the business Honor Program men's career and life outcomes were slightly more traditional than the men initially anticipated while their Harvard counterpart's outcomes were nearly identical to the Harvard men's expectations in most measures of career and life arrangements. Harvard men get what they expect while Honors Program men end up in arrangements that are more traditional than they anticipated.

The high-achieving women from this study also had relatively similar career and life expectations upon graduating as the Harvard women alumni. This finding is important because it suggests that women from more traditional and conservative cultural contexts do not necessarily have lower ambitions than their peers at Harvard. High achieving millennial women across contexts have similar career aspirations. However, the Honors Program women's career and life outcomes were much more traditional than they initially supposed. Neither group of women were able to fully realize their

aspirations. However, as with men, the gap between aspirations and realities was greater for Honors women than Harvard women.

In comparing measures of early family formation—marriage and early childbearing—women from the traditionalist culture are forming families earlier than the Harvard women. The results show that while the traditionalist women still want to have a career, they may be adjusting their expectations to cultural pressure exerted from early family formation. Consistent with national trends, Harvard women delay marriage and childbearing in order to complete their education and make headway in their careers. The trends among Honors women, however, reflect a more traditional pathway. Honors Program women are much less likely than Harvard women (and millennial women nationally) to delay marriage and childbearing. To the extent that cultural context shapes women and men's expectations and behaviors regarding family formation, then Honors women are impacted by culture in their entrance into early family formation and their recognition of the potential impacts of their family status on their careers.

In regards to career, I term this "aspiring within constraint"—or limiting career prestige expectations to facilitate early family formation. While these high-achieving women from a traditionalist culture had hopes to be successful in a career, they also had to be selective in the type of career that allowed them to conform to cultural expectations of being a successful wife and mother. Importantly "aspiring within constraint" is not synonymous with "opting out". The phrase "opting out" has traditionally been used to refer to elite women who, once established in jobs or careers, decide to leave paid employment after the birth of children and rely on their husband's earnings for support (e.g., Belkin 2003). Rather than opting out, millennial Honors women engage in early

career downgrading that reflects a strong sense of the likely impacts on their careers of childbearing.

The data suggest that Honors Program women may be facing an early motherhood penalty attributed to early family formation. These penalties are not being paid upon marriage but rather after the transition to motherhood. It is likely that the emphasis placed on motherhood in a traditionalist culture has placed its high-achieving women in an impossible predicament in which they are equally encouraged to achieve high career and leadership outcomes *and* be outstanding stay-at-home mothers. This leaves these women few choices but to expect career equality with spouses or partners by restraining their career options to roles that are more likely to minimize the conflicting pressures faced by women in traditionalist cultures. That is to say, Honors women experience early in the career what many professional women face later in the career: compounding pressures resulting from an unequal division of labor in the home and employer bias and discrimination.

In contrast, because they delay childbearing, millennial Harvard women alumni set higher career expectations for themselves early on and thus the gap between their expectations and realities over time is greater. The Harvard researchers found that women alumni only have to make career changes to balance work and family over time, as they begin to have children (Ely et al. 2015). As a result, Harvard alumni express greater dissatisfaction with their inability to balance work and family over time. This stands in contrast to the Honors women, who report more success in combining career with personal and family life. Unlike Harvard women, Honors women are more likely to make accommodations in their aspirations and expectations early in the career and thus are less

likely to be disappointed over time. These accommodations do not reflect a lack of ambition; rather, they reflect the lived experience of young professional women with children.

The following model indicates the relationship of a traditionalist culture with early traditional and life outcomes among high achieving women from a traditionalist culture (Figure 11):

| Traditionalist Culture | ⇨ | Early Family Formation | ⇨ | Early Motherhood Penalty | ⇨ | Early Traditional Career/Life Outcome |
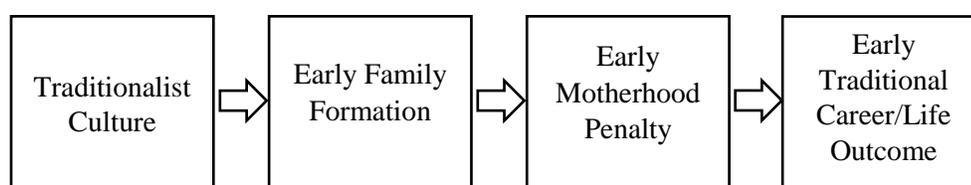
Figure 11

These results add important context to the current literature about women's professional career and leadership attainment in two important aspects. This study expands the way we think about culture, specifically a traditionalist culture, and the effect that culture plays in increasing early family formation among high-achieving women. Early family formation encourages a premature motherhood penalty for many women who are more likely than they expected to experience a traditional career and life outcome.

This study reveals that high-achieving women are likely to face early motherhood penalties in a traditionalist culture. This study, along with findings from the HBS survey, reveal that women want successful careers, but demand-side constraints may limit their ability to achieve their career goals. Thus, I argue that rather than focusing on supply-side

solutions (i.e. a so-called "fixing women" approach), efforts should concentrate on structural changes that reduce the penalty young mothers face. I believe the following adjustments at the national, organizational, and cultural levels may reduce motherhood penalties, especially for young mothers in traditionalist cultures.

First, by introducing paternity leave and public childcare to the U.S. system at a national level, I believe the demands of childcare and housework largely placed on women would be more equally distributed resulting in a decreased motherhood penalty. Data from this study show that high-achieving mothers from a traditionalist culture are likely to experience more traditional career and life outcomes *after* childbirth. Having stronger public services and more supportive policy arrangements may allow parents, but especially women, to accomplish their career expectations while also finding success in parenthood.

While high emphasis is placed on the mother's role in raising successful children in traditionalist cultures, research has shown that when men take extended paternity leave, fathers "sustain more engaged family commitment, work fewer hours, and are more involved in childcare tasks and household work" (O'Brien 2009, 206; Tanaka & Waldfogel 2007). High father involvement is associated with toddler development and children's problem-solving behavior (Easterbrooks and Goldberg 1984). In contrast, fathers' longer working hours are associated with lower levels of father involvement (Tanaka and Waldfogel 2007). Fathers with access to paternity leave—and especially highly compensated paternity leave—are five times as likely to take some leave after their child's birth, and are thus more likely to be involved with their children at later stages (Tanaka and Waldfogel 2007). Currently, Utah—and the United States at large—

offers no guaranteed paternal leave. This is a huge disservice to fathers, mothers, and children. The introduction of paternity leave could normalize parental leave for all workers and reduce the load placed on mothers after childbirth—resulting in a more equitable relationship for mothers and fathers and a more positive family outcome.

In addition, research has shown that countries that provide public childcare have reduced motherhood penalties and countries that lack public childcare display large motherhood penalties (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2012). Public childcare for infants and toddlers would provide young families—and especially mothers—with an affordable option that would "lessen the impact of motherhood on women's economic outcomes" (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2012, 26). The United States' public childcare programs are "rare and are operated at the local level" (Gustafsson 1994, 336). Implementing a national robust public childcare system would support families as mothers and fathers navigate pressures associated with family formation.

Next, at an organizational level, I support the recommendation of Ely, Stone, and Ammerman (2014) that *companies* need to lean in and begin providing meaningful and rewarding career entry points to women who have recently taken career breaks or been on a part-time schedule. Companies also need to disregard misguided assumptions that "high-potential women are 'riskier' hires than their male peers because they are apt to discard their careers after parenthood" (Ely, Stone, and Ammerman 2014, 109).

Finally, at the society level, we need to find a way to escape from the stereotypical boxes we place around mothers and fathers—men and women—in society. Men and women are facing increased demands that make it difficult to support their families and find career and family success. For women, this success may be pursuing a

successful career and reaching leadership positions. For men, success could mean

spending more meaningful time at home with children. By shifting the way we think

about socially prescribed roles and responsibilities, mainly the masculine male

breadwinner and the passive female caretaker, we truly open the doors to freedom where

individuals can make unconstrained career and life decisions.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned earlier, for this project, I relied on the replication of the *Life and Leadership after HBS* survey. In replicating this survey, several limitations exist that should be noted. First, HBS surveyed its business school *graduate* students. My replication used high-achieving *undergraduate* business student cohorts in order to study the effect that growing up in a particular culture has on participants. Although the Harvard and Honors Program samples were composed of millennials, because the Harvard sample surveyed graduate students, it is expected that their sample was slightly older in age. In addition, the majority of the Harvard sample had likely completed their education (master's/doctoral degree) while many in the Honors sample planned or continued their education. Differences in age and educational attainment may influence the career and life expectations of alumni upon graduating from their respective programs.

Next, as a large and well-funded study, the HBS survey had access to a very large sample of its business school graduate cohorts. This resulted in nearly 6,500 respondents. The Honors Program has only one decade of small cohorts resulting in just under 250 total alumni. Thus, this study will not be able to compare generational cohorts to the same extent as the HBS survey.

Finally, the HBS survey was extremely long and asked important questions that did not relate to my sample population or research questions. Hence, only questions relevant to the research question and several additional author-constructed questions were

included in the final survey questionnaire. The new question order may have possibly

introduced minimal yet ever-present question order effects to the survey.

Because the focus of this survey is to better understand the theoretical

implications of the HBS study, while these limitations should be noted, they are not

expected to negatively affect the validity and importance of this study's findings.

In considering future research, scholars should focus on understanding the long-

term impact that paying an early motherhood penalty has on women's careers. This may

be accomplished by finding a large sample of multi-generations of high-achieving

women from a traditionalist culture or through a longitudinal study. Next, future research

should replicate this study in other traditionalist cultures outside of the state of Utah to

see if other high-achieving men and women from a traditionalist culture have similar

experiences. Finally, this study could be replicated in other unique cultures that may have

an effect on career and life expectations and outcomes for high-achieving individuals

from within the culture to broaden the understanding of cultural effects on career and life.

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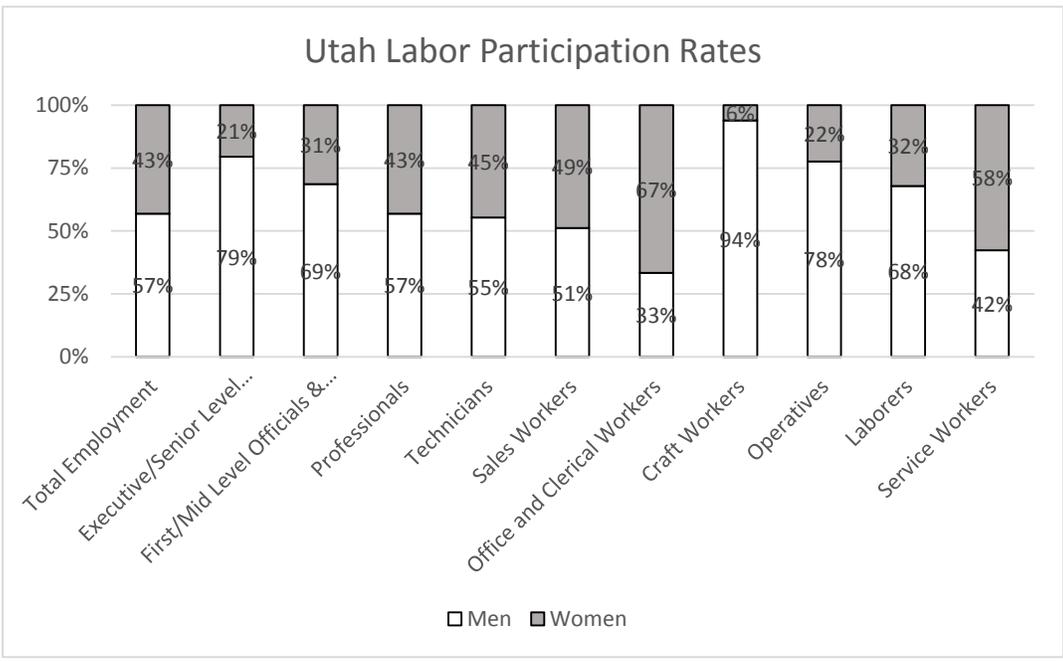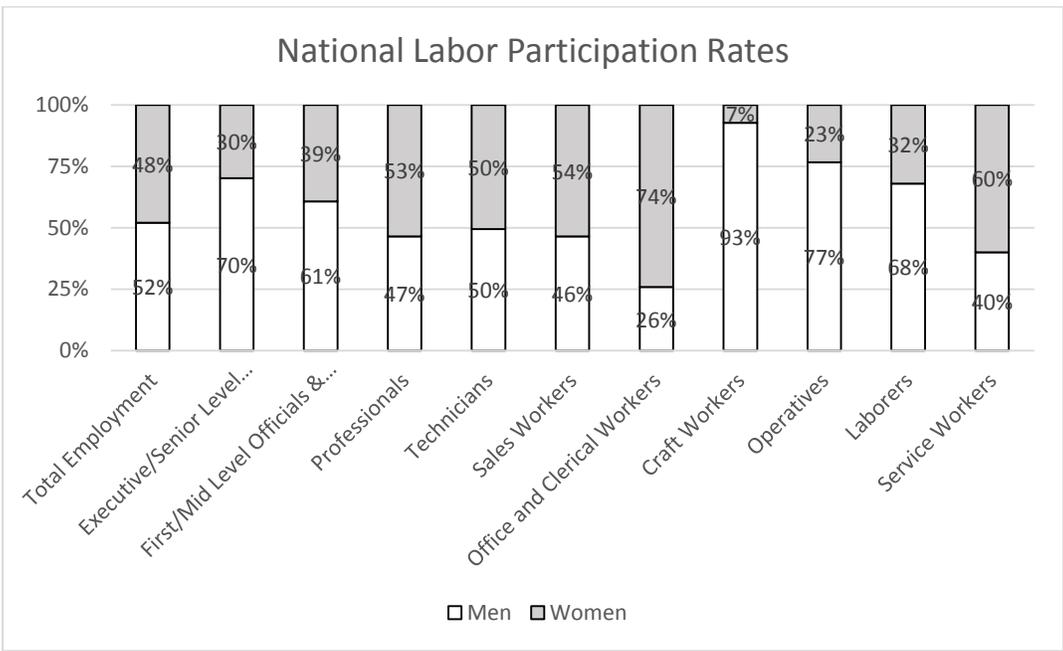Opinion about Same-Sex Marriage. *Social Science Quarterly*, *87*(2), 340–360.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

## National Labor Participation Rates

Men ▢ Women ▨

Total Employment: Men 52%, Women 48%
Executive/Senior Level...: Men 70%, Women 30%
First/Mid Level Officials & ...: Men 61%, Women 39%
Professionals: Men 47%, Women 53%
Technicians: Men 50%, Women 50%
Sales Workers: Men 46%, Women 54%
Office and Clerical Workers: Men 26%, Women 74%
Craft Workers: Men 93%, Women 7%
Operatives: Men 77%, Women 23%
Laborers: Men 68%, Women 32%
Service Workers: Men 40%, Women 60%

Utah Labor Participation Rates

Men ▢ Women ▨

Total Employment: Men 57%, Women 43%
Executive/Senior Level...: Men 79%, Women 21%
First/Mid Level Officials & ...: Men 69%, Women 31%
Professionals: Men 57%, Women 43%
Technicians: Men 55%, Women 45%
Sales Workers: Men 51%, Women 49%
Office and Clerical Workers: Men 33%, Women 67%
Craft Workers: Men 94%, Women 6%
Operatives: Men 78%, Women 22%
Laborers: Men 68%, Women 32%
Service Workers: Men 42%, Women 58%

Appendix B

Demographic Information

Gender		% of Total		Honors Program Estimate
Men	76	57.6%		60.0%
Women	56	42.4%		40.0%
Total	132	100.0%		100.0%

	Men	% of Men	Women	% of Women
Race				
White	71	93.4%	48	85.7%
Non-White	2	2.6%	7	12.5%
Age				
<20	0	0.0%	1	1.8%
20-24	8	10.5%	21	37.5%
25-29	38	50.0%	26	46.4%
30-34	21	27.6%	2	3.6%
35+	1	1.3%	0	0.0%
Religion				
Latter-Day Saint (Mormon)	53	69.7%	33	58.9%
Agnostic/Atheist	7	9.2%	5	8.9%
None	5	6.6%	6	10.7%
Other	3	3.9%	5	8.9%
Hometown				
Utah	60	78.9%	43	76.8%
Intermountain West, excl. Utah	7	9.2%	4	7.1%
Other U.S. State	3	3.9%	2	3.6%
International	1	1.3%	4	7.1%
Year Graduated				
2009-2011	24	31.6%	11	19.6%
2012-2014	23	30.3%	18	32.1%
2015-2017	23	30.3%	25	44.6%
Marriage Status				
Married or Partnered	46	60.5%	32	57.1%
Non-Married or Partnered	22	28.9%	20	35.7%
Parent Status*				
Parent	32	42.1%	14	25.0%
Non-Parent	44	57.9%	42	75.0%
Number of Children				
1	8	10.5%	10	17.9%
2	16	21.1%	3	5.4%
3	6	7.9%	1	1.8%
4+	2	2.6%	0	0.0%

All percentages may not total 100% due to non-response of particular demographic quesitons.

*Two questions inquired about parent status. For women, one question revealed two fewer parents than the other question. The larger of the two responses was used in this table.

Appendix C

[NAME],
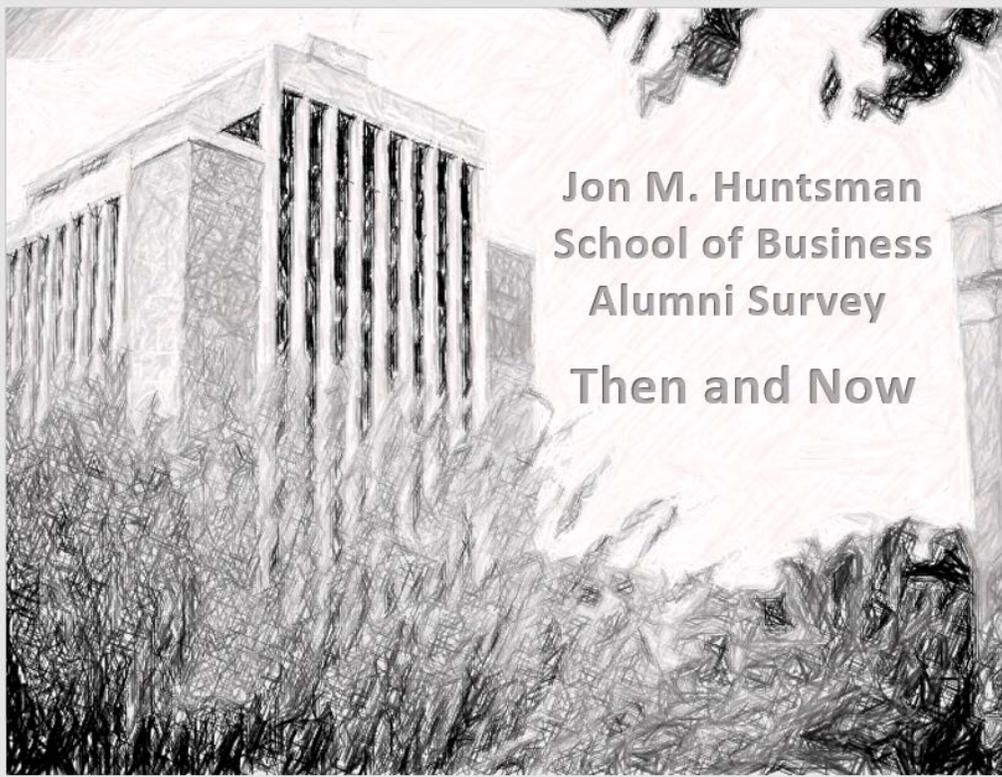
You have been selected as a high-achieving alumnus from the Jon M. Huntsman School of Business. As such, you will soon receive an electronic "Then and Now" survey in your email within the next week. Please complete this survey at your earliest convenience.

Your insights are extremely valuable and will be helpful in understanding social and structural forces affecting your Huntsman cohort.

If you have questions or would like to update or verify your preferred email, please contact Ace Beorchia at ambeorchia@gmail.com.

Best,

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