

## **Sex Differences in Work-Family Ideology**

Women and men's work-family attitudes directly affect many, if not all, of their life experiences. Attitudes concerning appropriate gendered behavior influence many aspects of marital and family relationships, employment processes, and interpersonal relationships (Ridgeway 1997). The maintenance of traditional gender beliefs aids the perpetuation of discrimination against women, and helps to conserve discrepant opportunities for women and men in education, employment, politics, and other arenas (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Ridgeway 1997).

The sociological literature notes that the transformation from more traditional gender perspectives to more egalitarian attitudes has proceeded more quickly for women than for men (Ridgeway 1997; Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001). This divergence is evident in the fact that while women have increasingly adopted traditional male behavior by becoming involved in paid employment, men have not appropriated the traditional female role comprised of child care and housework to the same degree (Bernard 1981; Brines 1994; Gerson 1993; Riley 2003). Nonetheless, sex differences in the formation of work-family attitudes, as well as the differential distributions of traditional and egalitarian gender ideology among women and men, have not been thoroughly analyzed. A substantial body of research has examined gender beliefs in girls and women: how such attitudes are formed, how macrosocial structures affect and modify such attitudes, and how gender beliefs are conveyed from one generation of women to the next. The literature contains much less comparable information on men (Blee and Tickamyer 1995).

The present study analyzes differences between men's and women's work-family attitudes, by examining data from female and male high school seniors. Past research has

focused almost exclusively on the gender perspectives of adults with established marriages and families. There has been little consideration of the gender attitudes of adolescents and teens. This study advances extant research by focusing on those just entering into adulthood, thereby providing a window into contemporary and emerging gender ideology. These young men and women will soon embark on their careers and form romantic and/or marital relationships and families. Their gender attitudes and resulting decisions will decidedly shape each of these institutions—marriage, the family, and the workforce—in the near future (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001). Specifically, gender attitudes can shape family formation patterns, family goals, and the ways in which the balancing act of work and family is negotiated.

I first review conceptualizations of traditional and egalitarian gender ideology. Then, I explore theories explaining the reasons why men and women may hold different perspectives. Next, I identify the ways in which other factors mediate gender attitudes. Finally, I formulate hypotheses about women and men's variant levels of support for egalitarian or traditional gender roles, and test these using data from the 2002 Monitoring the Future (MTF) survey.

## TRADITIONAL GENDER IDEOLOGY

Those with traditional gender attitudes believe that women and men should ideally fulfill complimentary and distinct roles. Thus, traditionally minded individuals consider the good provider role to be appropriate for men and the homemaker role to be proper for women (Bernard 1981; Brines 1994; Fraser and Gordon 1994; Riley 2003). Bernard (1981) describes the good provider as a man who furnishes food, clothing, and other necessities and luxuries for his family. Good providers are solely responsible for the economic support of their families;

their wives do not work. In this way, the good provider role is defined in terms of its direct opposition to and complementary relationship with the homemaker role. Providing men are required to demonstrate achievement and success in their employment, and their worth is measured in terms of wages and their relative position in the labor market. This culture of success is revealed in the use of the term breadwinning, which suggests that providers are involved in a competition for earnings. Dispensation of emotional expressivity to spouses and children is not required of male providers. Rather, their family responsibilities are fulfilled via their job responsibilities. A 'family man' is defined in terms of his ability to provide for the material needs of his family, rather than through the quality of his interpersonal relationships with family members or through the provision of kindness, loving support, or emotional involvement. In fact, a man's job responsibilities are primary and paramount over his familial duties.

Men continue to attach significance to the breadwinner role as the primary way of producing a masculine identity (Riley 2003). Much of this attachment is due to the idealization of male employment, and the fact that paid employment is most often the only source of masculine identity available to men. Provision is greatly valued in our capitalistic society, as demonstrated in its strong association with achievement, success, and status.

Women's traditional role as the child-centered housewife, which was idealized in the 1950s, originated during the industrialization of the nineteenth century. Gerson (1985) predicates that the development of the factory system during this era resulted in the social, physical, and economic separation of the public and private spheres. As men were drawn into the workplace, and the family wage grew in importance and incidence, women were relegated to the home. Due to the establishment of a mass system of compulsory education and the creation

of laws prohibiting the exploitation of children's labor, childhood and adolescence were extended in length and made more leisurely. These developments augmented women's responsibilities as child rearers, and facilitated the creation of an idealized and mystical notion of "true motherhood." "True motherhood," which later transformed into the wider "cult of domesticity," avowed that women were naturally and exclusively endowed with the nurturing emotional capacities required to manage the private sphere and rear children properly, protecting them and society's moral fabric from the corrupting influence of industrialism. Thus, motherhood came to be regarded as every woman's primary responsibility and paramount achievement, and the home came to be viewed as women's "proper place."

The traditional female role, in which the woman performs housework and engages in childcare, is associated with low levels of prestige and negative values in comparison to the role of men (Bernard 1981; Riley 2003). Much of this results from homemakers' dependency upon breadwinners that occurs within capitalism (Brines 1994; Fraser and Gordon 1994). Because women in traditional roles are excluded from the job market, they can gain access to cash-mediated markets only through the money provided to them by men. Women's dependency is reinforced even as they become involved in paid work, due to their concentration in jobs associated with low levels of prestige and pay. The widespread participation of women in occupations emphasizing care work recreates much of their traditional role (Folbre 2001). Furthermore, Hochschild (1997) suggests that women's and men's concentration of time and resources in the public sphere and neglect of the private realm is evidence of the devaluation of work in the home.

## EGALITARIAN GENDER IDEOLOGY

The adoption of egalitarian gender ideals involves new roles for both women and men. For women, new responsibilities involve greater participation in paid employment, and a greater share in providing the family's financial needs (Potuchek 1992; Riley 2003). A corresponding decrease in their obligatory engagement in childcare and housework should also be observed. For men, anticipated behavior includes increased household duties and acceptance of additional responsibility for child rearing. Other demands on men include greater expressiveness, nurturance, and intimacy (Bernard 1981). Overall, an egalitarian pattern consists of a more equal distribution of labor market participation and household and childcare responsibilities (Brines 1994; Gerson 1993).

However, Potuchek (1992) asserts that the emergence of the dual-earner pattern within marriages does not necessarily correspond with a rise in egalitarian gender attitudes. Many wives undertake employment—and many husbands allow their wives to become employed—due to financial needs rather than ideological impulses. Therefore, it is mandatory that sociologists separate the gendered behavior of men and women from their gender ideology, as they often are conflictual. Researchers should focus on whether individuals view breadwinning, housework, and childcare as activities that should be shared equally between wives and husbands. Other indicators of egalitarian gender role attitudes include the approval of married women's employment, the framing of women's income as important to families, agreeing that working mothers can have quality relationships with their children, and refuting the assertion that men alone should make important family decisions.

Gerson (1993) suggests that an egalitarian viewpoint rejects the assertion that manhood is the opposite of womanhood—that masculine is equivalent to “not feminine.” Instead,

egalitarianism posits that the sexes are more similar than different. Not only are differences between the sexes more modest than traditional views suggest, they are also more malleable and largely undesired.

## SEX DIFFERENCES IN WORK-FAMILY IDEOLOGY

While role transformations should operate for both sexes, Gerson (1985) argues that the differential rewards and values attached to feminine and masculine traits encourage members of both sexes to adopt the more highly esteemed masculine attributes. Though women may be rewarded for demonstrating traditional feminine behavior, they are simultaneously commended for certain types of masculine properties. Women are therefore likely to incorporate a mixture of feminine and masculine traits. Men, however, receive encouragement for masculine behavior and are criticized for acting in a feminine manner. The ambiguity involved in the socialization of females often results in their development of egalitarian gender role attitudes, while the consistent messages conferred upon males cause them to adhere to and support traditional male behavior.

Women's acceptance of egalitarian gender ideals has occurred largely as an attempt to mitigate their subordinate status vis-à-vis men. Theories of structural restraint, which derive from conflict theory, emphasize the ways in which women's choices and behavior are constrained by social institutions constructed and administered by men. These structural constraints on women are created through patriarchy, as well as through the capitalist organization of labor. Patriarchy, as defined by Hartmann (1976:138), is the "set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men,

and solidarity among them, which enable them to control women. Patriarchy is thus the system of male oppression of women.” The organization of labor contributes to the exploitation of women as unpaid workers by reinforcing women’s dependency upon providing men. By viewing women as a reserve labor force expected to participate in paid employment according to the needs of male employers and workers, and by relegating women to occupational positions affording low levels of prestige, pay, and advancement opportunities, the market division of labor enables the exploitation of women as paid workers (Gerson 1985).

Throughout history, and particularly during the last forty years, women have struggled against the legacy of patriarchy, and have endeavored to establish a more equitable organization of female and male labor. Due to the fact that positions of power and status were traditionally withheld from women and held by men, it has been necessary for women to prove themselves to be “like men” in order to acquire such positions. Therefore, it can be argued that the feminist movement occurred and continues through the masculinization of women, through which they incorporate and display masculine traits such as rationality, independence, competitiveness, and assertiveness. However, women have not sacrificed their feminine characteristics for masculine traits. Instead, they have assimilated elements of traditional masculinity and femininity into an egalitarian gender identity.

Women’s and men’s discrepant acceptance of egalitarianism is explained in part through the work of Chodorow (1989), who argues that feminine and masculine personalities result from women’s mothering and the unconscious psychological processes that occur early in a child’s development between the child and her/his mother. Girls are hypothesized to form continually close relationships with their mothers, and are thus in a position to learn how to be feminine and nurturing like their mothers. Through this mechanism, females adopt the desires and capacities

to mother that they later enact upon and utilize in their families of procreation. In contrast, mothers develop more distant relationships with sons, and instead encourage boys to differentiate themselves and adopt male traits and behavior. Because fathers are predominantly more aloof and uninvolved in childcare, boys are unable to appropriate masculinity through close associations with their fathers. Instead, a male child comes to reject his mother and define masculinity in largely negative terms, identifying it as “that which is not feminine or involved with women. He does this by repressing whatever he takes to be feminine inside him, and, importantly, by denigrating and devaluing whatever he considers to be feminine in the outside world (Chodorow 1989:51).” These effects are reinforced by the structure found in the larger society. Teaching, day care provision, and other “mothering” roles are most often filled by women. Men rarely are in occupations that provide contact with young children.

Thus, girls acquire femininity through association, but boys adopt a masculine identity by rejecting femininity. In consequence, men are more likely to resist and disparage egalitarian gender ideology than women. The feminine aspects of egalitarianism are cognitively incompatible with men’s conceptions of masculinity, while the incorporation of masculine traits is much less problematic for women.

Men are often unwilling to abandon their traditional identity in favor of a new egalitarian selfhood due to society’s dichotomization of gender, and the differential values associated with these categories (Bernard 1981; Ridgeway 1997; Riley 2003). Ridgeway (1997) discusses the salience of gender status beliefs—cultural beliefs that deem one sex to be typically superior and considerably more competent than the other. In American society, gender status beliefs create substantial advantages for men over equivalent women. Men often desire to perpetuate these beliefs, so as to also preserve their favorable treatment. Individuals must acknowledge



inconsistent or disconfirming information in order to develop an individuated perception of the other that surpasses initial, prescribed categorization. The degree to which one incorporates such information is dependent upon that person's motivations. Consequentially, men are less likely to observe, and more likely to discredit if they do observe, information about other or self that may cause gender status beliefs to be questioned and thereby negatively impact their greater rewards.

When limited to a dichotomy of gender, anything that is not masculine must therefore be identified as feminine. As such, individual men are unable to establish a new, legitimate form of masculine identity, and instead accept the traditional role of provision (Riley 2003). Bernard (1981) contends that the positing of masculinity and femininity as polar opposites causes femininity to be seen as the antithesis of masculinity, and compels men to view "women's work" as demasculinizing. Men also perceive "women's work" to be a chore that lowers their worth, as feminine behavior is less valued than male conduct. For these reasons, men are antipathetic not only to "women's work," but also to the sphere of women—the private realm. In addition, aside from the nature or value of the work, egalitarianism confers additional responsibilities and demands upon men, thereby causing men to perceive it as an unfavorable alternative.

Also problematic is the fact that no legitimate successor to the good provider role has materialized; no new masculine identity has become available to men (Bernard 1981; Riley 2003). Riley (2003) asserts that the egalitarian gender identity is understood to be a gender-neutral, rather than a masculine, identity. Because of this, men who engage in more egalitarian behavior are not viewed as men, and often revert to the good provider role in order to assert their masculinity. Furthermore, the construction of egalitarianism as gender-neutral and provision as masculine posits them as noncompetitive alternatives, and allows the simultaneous acceptance of both without the critical questioning of the provider role.

Men's lack of support for egalitarian gender ideology can further be explained by the cultural framing of manhood as something that must be achieved or accomplished, most often through a successful career or family provision. In contrast, womanhood is perceived as something that is "natural." Nurturing is thought to be intrinsic to each woman's being. Due to this cultural framework, men feel the necessity to prove their masculinity. Such proof entails the avoidance of departures from the masculine norm and the constraint of feminine attributes. Subscription to or support for egalitarianism may be construed as evidence against a man's masculinity, and is therefore suppressed (Brines 1994).

Thus, past research suggests that women and men maintain dissimilar viewpoints. In this study, significant differences in the gender ideology of male and female respondents are anticipated. More specifically, women are predicted to respond to measures of gender attitudes in a way that is more congruent with egalitarian gender ideology, while men are anticipated to reply in a way that corresponds to traditional views of gender.

#### OTHER FACTORS THAT AFFECT GENDER IDEOLOGY

Gender attitudes differ across various racial groups (e.g., Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Bulcroft and Bulcroft 1993; Collins 1987, 1990; King 1988; Ransford and Miller 1983; South 1993), and the extent to which women's and men's gender attitudes converge depends upon racial group membership (Kane 1992). These differences are due to the high degree of racial segregation found within American society; gendered interactions and gender socialization continue to occur largely within racial groups (Kane 1992). Furthermore, definitions of

femininity and masculinity may differ across racial groups (Blee and Tickameyer 1995; Connell 1993; Franklin 1994; Messner 1993; Segal 1993).

Sociologists disagree upon the ways in which race affects work-family ideology, and past research has provided inconclusive evidence. Some researchers have found that African Americans are more egalitarian in their gender perspectives than are similar Whites (Cazenave 1983; Hunter and Davis 1992). In particular, Black men and women have been shown to be more supportive of married women and mother's workforce participation (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Collins 1987, 1990; Herring and Wilson-Sadberry 1993; King 1988). Other studies provide support for the contention that African Americans are more conservative in their attitudes (Hatchett and Quick 1983; Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Wilson, Tolson, Hinton, and Kiernan 1990). Still other literature suggests that there are no differences between the gender ideology of Whites and African Americans, or that there is no greater difference between the attitudes of Black men and women than between those of White women and men (Hershey 1978; Welch and Sigelman 1989; Wilkie 1993).

## METHODOLOGY

### *Data*

Analyses were conducted using data from the 2002 Monitoring the Future (MTF) 12<sup>th</sup>-Grade Survey. MTF employs a multistage probability sampling method, resulting in a sample representative of high school seniors in the contiguous United States. Throughout the analysis, the focus was upon 1) whether there were significant differences between the responses of young

men and women on both the independent and dependent variables, and 2) possible explanations of observed sex differences.

MTF is administered in six forms, each to a probability sample of high school seniors. Each of the forms contains a core questionnaire from which the independent and control variables of the study were extracted. The dependent variables, however, were asked only of those who responded to form three. Thus, the sample was limited to form three respondents. In addition, analysis was confined to Black and White individuals. Those who failed to provide their biological sex (thirty-nine respondents), the key independent variable, were dropped from the investigation. Twenty-one respondents were omitted for failing to respond to one or more dependent variable(s), and an additional sixteen were excluded for missing values on eleven or more control variables. These actions resulted in a final sample size of 1,574 high school seniors—745 men and 829 women.

### *Measurement of Variables*

The dependent variables were measured using the responses to the following statements concerning gender attitudes: 1) It is usually better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family; 2) A preschool child is likely to suffer if the mother works; and 3) A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work. The available responses for each statement are: disagree (-2), mostly disagree (-1), neither (0), mostly agree (1), and agree (2).

For both the first and second dependent variable, a response of disagree (-2) or mostly disagree (-1) indicates a more egalitarian gender perspective, while a response of mostly agree (1) or agree (2) corresponds to a more traditional worldview. A reply of disagree (-2) or mostly disagree (-1) to the third dependent variable is evidence of a more traditional gender ideology, while an answer of mostly agree (1) or agree (2) denotes a more egalitarian gender role outlook. To simplify interpretation, the responses to the third dependent variables were inverted. Consequentially, for each of the dependent variables: a response of -2 reveals an egalitarian viewpoint, -1 indicates a somewhat egalitarian perspective, 0 intimates a neutral viewpoint, 1 indicates a somewhat traditional outlook, and a response of 2 reveals a traditional gender perspective.

The primary independent variable was sex. Several sociodemographic and individual factors were controlled for. Such scrutiny reveals determinants other than biological sex that may create differences in the work-family ideology of young men and women. These variables consist of: household attributes—household composition, number of siblings, whether the student's mother is/was employed, and parental education; individual characteristics—race and self-perceived school ability; individual pursuits—educational plans; and measures of values—political orientation and importance of religion.<sup>1</sup>

The variable sex concerned one's biological sex—whether that person is female or male. Utilizing information on whether the respondent resided with her mother and/or father, a household composition variable was constructed; this variable indicates whether the individual lived in a two-parent, single-mother, single-father, or other household. Each respondent was marked as having zero, one, two, or three or more siblings. Respondents indicated how much their mothers worked while they were growing—sometimes, most of the time, all of the time, or

were not employed. Mother's education was measured in terms of the highest level of education attained—less than high school, high school graduation, some college, or bachelor's degree or more. Due to suspected multicollinearity between mother's education and father's education, new dummy variables were constructed to account for the education of both parents. These variables indicate whether the respondent's mother has a higher level of education than the father, the father is the more educated parent, or the parents have the same level of education. For those cases in which the parents have a homogenous educational background, those with a bachelor's degree or more are separated from all others.

Race was measured as the race that person identified with—Black or White. Self-perceived school ability and intelligence were found to be highly correlated ( $r = 0.738$ ); school ability was selected over intelligence due to the fact that its distribution was less skewed. For school ability, respondents classified themselves as below average, average, or above average on a seven-point scale. This was converted to a five-category scale—below average, average, slightly above average, above average, and far above average. The finer above average categories were maintained because the distribution was somewhat skewed in this direction. Dummy variables were created based upon whether individuals indicated that they were likely to attend only a two-year college, only a four-year college, both, or neither.

Political orientation was determined through a respondent's self-identity as more conservative or liberal, on a six-point scale. Conservative response categories, as well as liberal/radical categories, were consolidated, creating the following categories: conservative, moderate, liberal, and no political affiliation. The category for those with no political orientation was maintained, due to the fact that these individuals likely differ from those who identify with a political position. Individuals reported religion to be not important, of little importance, pretty

important, very important, or indicated that they didn't know how important it was to them. The don't know category was preserved since it represented a substantial proportion of respondents—nearly 14%.

Remaining missing values were treated in the following manner: Missing values on number of siblings, parental education, school ability, and maternal employment were reassigned to the mean response category. For each of these variables the mean response category was determined separately for women and men, so as to preserve any sex differences. Missing values concerning political orientation were reassigned to the apolitical category, and those for importance of religion were reassigned to the category don't know.

### *Analytic Strategy*

Statistical models were analyzed using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Following the example of Fan and Marini (2000), each ordinal dependent variable was considered to correspond to a latent continuous variable. These latent variables make examination involving OLS regression possible. In all models, a significant positive coefficient suggests that a given factor contributes to a more traditional work-family ideology, while a negative coefficient denotes that a variable is conducive to a more egalitarian gender perspective.

Model progression for each of the dependent variables proceeded as follows: Model 1 inspected the impact of household attributes. Model 2 reviewed the effects of both individual characteristics and household attributes. The influence of individual pursuits, in addition to those factors included in previous models, was analyzed in Model 3. Finally, Model 4 looked at

the impact of measures of values, as well as household attributes, individual characteristics, and individual pursuits.

Information on sex differences was obtained in two ways. First, each of the four analytical models was run separately for male and female youth, producing sex-differentiated models. Next, pooled regression models were produced. For the pooled sample, a model identifying the impact of sex was produced prior to running the four models described above. In addition, interaction terms describing the joint impact of sex and each independent variable were included in the pooled models. These terms provided additional information about whether and how the independent variables disparately operated for young women and men.

#### *Independent Variable Descriptive Statistics*

Independent variable means (see Table 1) indicate that a majority of respondents resided in a two-parent household, had at least one sibling living at home, had mothers who had worked all the time while they were growing, were white, planned on attending only a four-year college, and were apolitical. The average student had two siblings and considered herself/himself to be slightly above average in school ability. A majority of men deemed religion to be pretty important to them, while women were more likely to consider religion to be very important. Mothers of respondents most commonly had earned a bachelor's degree, and few had less than a high school education. Parents were approximately equally distributed among the education categories.

Men were significantly more likely to reside in a two-parent household, while women were more likely to live with a single mother. Female respondents had significantly more



siblings than male respondents. Young women were found to be more likely than their male counterparts to expect to attend a four-year college, while men were apt to express no plans for further education. Also compelling is the discovery that male respondents tended to be more conservative than their female counterparts, while women were significantly more likely to express no political orientation. Young women were likely to consider religion to be very important, and male students were more likely to deem religion as unimportant.

## RESULTS

When inspecting the dependent variables (see Table 2), young women, on average, were found to mostly disagree with the statement that men should provide for their families and women should remain at home, while the average man neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement. This suggests that men are more likely than women to support the traditional gendered division of labor. Men neither disagreed nor agreed with the statement asserting that preschool-aged children suffer when their mothers are employed, while women mostly disagreed with this suggestion. In addition, young women mostly agreed with the assertion that working mothers can establish warm relationships with their children, while their male counterparts neither agreed nor disagreed with this declaration. This denotes that women approve of maternal employment more than do young men.

Among these three measures, young women and men differed most in their support for a traditional household division of labor. Women were found to respond to each dependent variable in a way congruent with more egalitarian gender attitudes, while men responded in a way consistent with a less egalitarian gender perspective. These differences were significant,

and provide overwhelming support for the study's hypothesis. Women hold more egalitarian gender attitudes than men. However, men were not determined to hold highly traditional gender beliefs. Instead, their responses disclose a neutral viewpoint—neither traditional nor egalitarian.

Sex-differentiated regression models were run for each of the dependent variables (see Tables 3-5). The full model, which incorporates controls for all of the independent variables—household attributes, individual characteristics, individual pursuits, and measures of values, is a good fit for each of the dependent variables. The model accounts for 8.2% of the variation in the women's responses and 6.8% of the variation in the men's responses on the first dependent variable, which measures agreement with a traditional gendered division of labor. When applied to responses concerning the perceived effects of maternal employment on child well-being, the model explains 11.5% of the variation in the women's attitudes and 11.4% of the variation in the men's attitudes. When inspecting attitudes concerning the quality of a working mother's relationship with her child, the full model accounts for 7.4% of the variation in the women's responses and 9.9% of the variation in the men's responses.<sup>2</sup>

A significant intercept indicates that the dependent variable response is different from a neutral (0) response. For the most part, any significance in the intercepts is mediated and reduced as controls for individual pursuits and values are incorporated in the models. Exceptions include the intercepts for men on the traditional division of labor measure and on the measure of perceived impact of maternal employment on young children. Even after the full model is applied, young men remain significantly more traditional in their view of the gendered division of labor and consequences of maternal labor participation. Male traditionality is more pronounced for the division of labor measure. In addition, young women were egalitarian rather

than neutral in their perception of the quality of relationships between working mothers and their children.

Young men who resided in a household without either their father or mother were less likely to believe that working mothers could have good relationships with their children. Female respondents with more siblings were determined to have a less egalitarian perception of the gendered division of labor. Those women who resided with their siblings were more egalitarian on the same measure.

For each of the dependent variables, maternal employment had a negative effect, causing children to develop a more egalitarian work-family ideology. The effect was larger for sons than daughters, and was greatest when the mother had been employed all the time. However, maternal employment for most of the time or sometimes also had a significant negative effect, particularly for sons. Maternal employment at all levels had a liberalizing effect on each attitude for young men. For daughters, maternal employment for most of the time had a negative impact on both measures of approval of maternal employment, and women whose mothers had worked only sometimes were less likely to agree that maternal employment exerts negative consequences on preschool-aged children. Thus, those respondents who observed non-traditional gender patterns (a working mother) while growing up were more accepting of egalitarian gender roles.

Having a father with more education than one's mother was found to have an egalitarian effect on the gender perspectives of female respondents. It may be that highly educated men encourage their daughters to pursue personal success. Also, it is possible that these women observe gender inequality in their parents' relationships, and seek to redress such inequality. Curiously, having a mother with a bachelor's degree demonstrated a conservative effect on young women's perception of relationships between employed mothers and their children, while

women with mothers who were more educated than their fathers were more egalitarian on the same measure. Finally, sons whose mothers had less than a high school education were less likely than those with high school educated mothers to agree that maternal employment adversely impacts young children. No other effects of parental education on the gender attitudes of sons were observed.

Though Black and White individuals did not differ in their perception of a traditional division of labor, their views concerning maternal employment varied. Black respondents were more supportive of maternal employment than their White counterparts. Black men were more likely than White men to believe that working mothers can have good relationships with their children, and both Black men and women were more egalitarian than their White counterparts concerning perceived consequences of maternal employment on young children. This liberalizing effect was stronger for Black men than women. Historically, the lower socioeconomic status of African Americans has resulted in a high number of Black women in the workforce. Also, since Black men's earnings are, on average, lower than those of white men, the earnings of Black women are viewed as more central to family income. These factors likely contribute to higher levels of support for maternal employment among African Americans. Additionally, it was found that men with higher levels of school ability were less supportive of a traditional division of labor.

For each of the dependent variables, a conservative political orientation had a positive effect on young men, producing more traditional gender ideology. Having a conservative orientation operated similarly for women, but only impacted their views concerning maternal employment. The magnitude of the effect was more pronounced for men. This is unsurprising, as the conservative political platform stresses "family values," and struggles to conserve the

status quo within the family. Likewise, a liberal orientation demonstrated a negative effect on women's attitudes concerning the traditional division of labor. However, having a liberal orientation did not affect men or attitudes concerning maternal employment.

Compared to those respondents who consider religion to be very important, both young men and women who consider religion to be unimportant or of little importance, as well as women who deem religion to be pretty important, are less supportive of a traditional division of labor. In addition, women who consider religion to be unimportant, of little importance, or pretty important are less likely to perceive maternal employment as harmful to children. Finally, women who didn't know how important religion was to them were more traditional concerning their view of the relationship between working mothers and their children. Once again, this is likely due to the fact that many religious organizations support the familial status quo.

Tables 6-8 display pooled models, each including tests for interactions between sex and the other variables in the model. For each dependent variable, sex is a strong predictor of gender role traditionality/egalitarianism. This factor alone accounts for 13.7% of the variation in beliefs concerning the traditional division of labor, explains 5.6% of the variation in responses relating to the perceived impact of maternal employment on young children, and accounts for 6.2% of the variation in attitudes regarding the quality of a working mother's relationship with her child. A still greater fit is achieved through the use of the full model. This model explains 19.1% of the variation in views of the gendered division of labor, accounts for 14.9% of the variation in attitudes regarding the perceived effects of maternal employment on child well-being, and explains 12.9% of the variation in beliefs concerning the quality of an employed mother's relationship with her child.

The intercept for the traditional division of labor measure is significantly positive, indicating that youth overall are traditional in their views. Likewise, respondents on average were traditional in their beliefs regarding the effect on preschool-aged children of maternal employment. In contrast, seniors were neutral in their attitudes concerning the warmth and security of relationships between working mothers and their children.

In all models, young women were determined to be more egalitarian in their gender role attitudes than their male counterparts. Though this is true for each dependent variable, the magnitude of the effect was greatest when inspecting views concerning the traditional gendered division of labor. Thus, women are more likely to endorse maternal employment and less supportive of a traditional division of labor than are men.

Living in a household without either a mother or father present had a conservative effect on views regarding the quality of relationships between employed mothers and their children. This effect was more conservative for young men than for women. Though there is no evidence that number of siblings has a base effect on any of the dependent variables, having a greater number of siblings demonstrates a more traditional impact on the attitudes of females concerning the household division of labor than on those of males. Youth whose siblings lived at home were more egalitarian on the same measure.

All levels of maternal employment displayed a liberalizing effect on each gender role attitude. The magnitude of this impact was greater for perspectives concerning maternal employment than for view of the gendered division of labor, and was largest when the mother had been employed all the time. There is no evidence in the pooled models that maternal employment differentially impacts the gender attitudes of sons and daughters.

Those with mothers with less than a high school education were less likely than those with high-school educated mothers to perceive maternal employment as having a deleterious effect on young children. However, young women whose mothers had less than a high school education were more likely to consider maternal employment as having negative effects on children than were men with similarly educated mothers. Though maternal education had no base effect on agreement with a household division of labor, having a mother without a high school degree had a more traditional impact on attitudes concerning the division of labor for daughters than for sons.

Having a father with more education than one's mother demonstrated a liberalizing effect on each gender attitude studied. The magnitude of this effect is greatest when inspecting attitudes regarding the impact of maternal employment on preschool-aged children. Though no base effect was observed in cases where one's mother is more educated than one's father, women with such parentage were more likely than their male counterparts to assert that employed mothers can establish good relationships with their children.

Once again, Black and White individuals were determined to be similar in their views concerning the household division of labor. However, White respondents were less supportive of maternal employment than were African American youth. This difference was greater in magnitude for attitudes relating to the effect of maternal employment on young children than for the belief that working mothers can have good relationships with their children. For both maternal employment measures, this liberalizing effect was weaker for Black women than men. Furthermore, youth with greater school ability demonstrated less support for a traditional division of labor. This effect was more pronounced for men.

Educational aspirations did not greatly impact the gender attitudes of youth. An exception is the negative effect of planning to attend a four-year college on the preschool child suffers variable. Seniors who intended to enroll in a four-year college were less likely to believe that maternal employment produces deleterious consequences for young children.

Having a conservative political orientation demonstrated a positive effect on youth for each dependent variable, contributing to a more traditional gender perspective. This effect was strongest when examining views regarding the impact of maternal employment on preschool-aged children. In addition, those with a liberal orientation were less supportive of a traditional division of labor.

Importance of religion impacted youth's attitudes regarding the household division of labor. Compared to those individuals who considered religion to be very important, those who deemed it unimportant, of little importance, pretty important, or reported not knowing how important religion was to them were less supportive of a traditional division of labor. The magnitude of this effect was greatest for those who thought religion unimportant, and weakest for those who deemed it pretty important. Though no base effects of importance of religion on views regarding maternal employment were observed, considering religion to be unimportant had a more liberalizing impact on the preschool child suffers variable for women than for men. Likewise, deeming religion to be of little importance demonstrated a more negative effect for females than males on the same measure.

## CONCLUSION



The extensive support of the hypothesis attests to the precision and quality of the data, as well as to the strength of the selected analytical methods. After careful inspection, the following conclusions can be made: 1) Men were significantly more likely to live in a two-parent household than women; 2) female respondents were more likely to reside with a single mother; 3) women had a significantly greater number of siblings than men; 4) women were more likely to be married or engaged than men; 5) men earned significantly more than women; 6) women more than men thought it likely that they would attend a four-year college; 7) men's political orientation was more conservative than that of women; and 8) men were significantly less apt than women to deem religion as important.

Men expressed significantly greater support for the traditional household division of labor than women. Additionally, men asserted a lower level of approval of maternal employment. Thus, considerable support for the hypothesis was found; young women were more egalitarian in their gender role attitudes than men.

Further conclusions concerning the ways in which the independent variables mediate gender role attitudes can be drawn. Maternal employment, a liberal political orientation, and a perception of religion as unimportant produced a more egalitarian gender role perspective. African Americans, as well as those respondents who came from a household in which the father has a higher level of education than the mother, expressed less traditional attitudes.

Future research should better investigate the degree to which earnings, college attendance, religiosity, political orientation, and family structure differ by biological sex. Additionally, future studies can further document the ways in which maternal employment, race, political orientation, and religiosity affect gender role attitudes. The mechanisms through which these effects arise also merit investigation. Also, analyses could be conducted in the future to

determine whether other background variables shape gender role attitudes, and whether such factors operate in the same way for women and men. Lastly, a time series analysis could be conducted to determine how the gender perspectives of male and female high school seniors have changed over time.

The results of this study contain implications concerning the ways in which gender affects social reality, and the ways in which the perspectives of women and men differ. In particular, young men and women may experience difficulties in reconciling their divergent gender role attitudes as they meet one another in the public sector, forge romantic and/or marital relationships, and create families. The finding that men hold predominantly neutral gender role beliefs—neither traditional nor egalitarian—suggests that they may be open to more egalitarian patterns within their families and workplaces. If so, we may soon observe greater levels of gender equality. Men may soon become more involved fathers and better husbands, and women may soon have greater opportunities to fulfill their needs in addition to those of their family members.

### **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Additional controls were originally entered into the models, but were dropped when it was determined that they did not augment the explanatory power of the models. These variables include: marital status, earnings, average work hours, self-perceived intelligence, and rural/urban residence.

<sup>2</sup> The fit of the models did not improve when substituting religious attendance for importance of religion.

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations of Independent Variables

Variable Name	Variable Definition	Women		Men		Sig. Diff.
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
<b>Household Attributes</b>						
Household Composition ( <i>Two-parent</i> )	Both mother and father present in household	0.689	0.463	0.734	0.442	*
Single Mother Household	Mother present, father not present in household	0.218	0.413	0.170	0.376	**
Single Father Household	Father present, mother not present in household	0.042	0.201	0.056	0.231	
Other Household	Neither mother nor father present in household	0.051	0.219	0.039	0.194	
Number of Siblings	0=none; 1=1; 2=2; 3=3 or more	1.959	0.943	1.807	0.914	***
Sibling Residing in Household	0=no; 1=yes	0.668	0.471	0.660	0.474	
<b>Maternal Employment History (<i>Not Employed</i>)</b>						
Mother Employed Sometimes	Mother employed sometimes while respondent was growing	0.150	0.357	0.144	0.351	
Mother Employed Most of the Time	Mother employed most of the time while respondent was growing	0.204	0.403	0.212	0.409	
Mother Employed All of the Time	Mother employed all of the time while respondent was growing	0.182	0.386	0.185	0.389	
Mother Employed All of the Time	Mother employed all of the time while respondent was growing	0.464	0.499	0.459	0.499	
<b>Maternal Education (<i>High School</i>)</b>						
Less Than High School	Mother did not complete high school	0.279	0.449	0.266	0.442	
Some College	Mother began college but did not earn B.A.	0.076	0.265	0.054	0.226	
B.A. or More	Mother earned at least a B.A.	0.261	0.439	0.260	0.439	
B.A. or More	Mother earned at least a B.A.	0.385	0.487	0.420	0.494	
<b>Parental Education (<i>Both Less than B.A.</i>)</b>						
Both Parents have B.A. or More	Both mother and father completed B.A. or more	0.267	0.442	0.226	0.418	
Mother has More Education than Father	Mother completed more school than father	0.245	0.430	0.262	0.440	
Father has More Education than Mother	Father completed more school than mother	0.267	0.442	0.286	0.452	
Father has More Education than Mother	Father completed more school than mother	0.222	0.416	0.227	0.419	
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>						
Race ( <i>White</i> )	Self-identify as White	0.846	0.362	0.874	0.332	
Black	Self-identify as Black	0.154	0.362	0.126	0.332	
School Ability (Self-Reported)	1=below avg; 2=avg; 3=slightly above avg; 4=above avg; 5=high above avg	2.981	1.006	3.063	1.119	
<b>Individual Pursuits</b>						
Educational Plans ( <i>No College Plans</i> )	Will not attend either a two-year and four-year college	0.059	0.236	0.145	0.352	***
Two-year College Only	Will attend a two-year college, will not attend a four-year college	0.109	0.311	0.106	0.308	
Both Two-year and Four-year College	Will attend both a two-year and four-year college	0.276	0.447	0.246	0.431	
Four-year College Only	Will attend a four-year college, will not attend a two-year college	0.556	0.497	0.503	0.500	*
<b>Measures of Values</b>						
Political Orientation ( <i>Apolitical</i> )	No political affiliation	0.416	0.493	0.319	0.467	***
Conservative	Conservative	0.122	0.327	0.179	0.383	***
Moderate	Moderate	0.242	0.429	0.270	0.444	
Liberal	Liberal	0.220	0.414	0.232	0.423	
Importance of Religion ( <i>Very Important</i> )	Religion very important in respondent's life	0.312	0.464	0.216	0.412	***
Don't Know	Respondent doesn't know how important religion is	0.129	0.335	0.142	0.350	
Not Important	Religion not important in respondent's life	0.082	0.275	0.158	0.365	***
Little Important	Religion of little importance to respondent	0.218	0.413	0.220	0.415	
Pretty Important	Religion pretty important in respondent's life	0.258	0.438	0.263	0.441	
<b>N</b>		829		745		

\*\*\* p ≤ .001, \*\* p ≤ .01, \* p ≤ .05

Note: Italics are used to indicate reference group.

**Table 2: Means and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variables**

Dependent Variable	Variable Definition	Women		Men		Sig. Diff.
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Traditional Division of Labor	It is usually better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman cares for the home and family. -2 = disagree, 2 = agree	-0.935	1.233	0.094	1.350	***
Child Suffers if Mother Works	A preschool child is likely to suffer if the mother works. -2 = disagree, 2 = agree	-0.743	1.214	-0.123	1.338	***
Working Mother has Good Relationship with Child	A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work. -2 = agree, 2 = disagree	-1.107	1.158	-0.459	1.364	***
<b>N</b>		829		745		

\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$

Note: For each dependent variable, -2 = egalitarian, -1 = somewhat egalitarian, 0 = neutral, 1 = somewhat traditional, 2 = traditional

Table 3: Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficients Predicting Agreement with Traditional Division of Labor

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>Household Attributes</b>								
Household Composition ( <i>Two-parent</i> )								
Single Mother Household	-0.042	-0.111	-0.042	-0.108	-0.059	-0.103	0.007	-0.063
Single Father Household	-0.074	-0.266	-0.082	-0.297	-0.131	-0.286	-0.084	-0.206
Other Household	-0.198	-0.029	-0.199	0.010	-0.276	0.022	-0.220	0.071
Number of Siblings	0.103 *	-0.007	0.102 *	-0.011	0.100 *	-0.015	0.092 +	-0.034
Sibling Residing in Household	-0.202 *	-0.146	-0.201 *	-0.143	-0.204 *	-0.139	-0.214 *	-0.116
Maternal Employment History ( <i>Not Employed</i> )								
Mother Employed Sometimes	-0.182	-0.281 +	-0.183	-0.305 +	-0.194	-0.311 +	-0.164	-0.306 +
Mother Employed Most of the Time	-0.163	-0.304 +	-0.161	-0.330 +	-0.190	-0.344 *	-0.152	-0.321 +
Mother Employed All of the Time	-0.414 ***	-0.462 **	-0.414 **	-0.494 ***	-0.451 ***	-0.504 ***	-0.430 ***	-0.476 **
Maternal Education ( <i>High School</i> )								
Less Than High School	0.156	-0.320	0.149	-0.334	0.127	-0.345	0.174	-0.346
Some College	-0.090	-0.152	-0.089	-0.137	-0.085	-0.141	-0.086	-0.147
B.A. or More	-0.131	-0.340	-0.122	-0.301	-0.074	-0.300	-0.090	-0.318
Parental Education ( <i>Both Less than B.A.</i> )								
Both Parents have B.A. or More	0.059	-0.097	0.059	-0.064	0.074	-0.043	0.094	0.004
Mother has More Education than Father	0.000	0.021	-0.005	0.033	-0.039	0.038	-0.003	0.070
Father has More Education than Mother	-0.226 +	-0.257 +	-0.220 +	-0.211	-0.218 +	-0.207	-0.226 +	-0.165
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>								
Black ( <i>White</i> )			-0.020	-0.132	-0.033	-0.139	-0.139	-0.159
School Ability (Self-Reported)			-0.019	-0.121 **	0.012	-0.115 *	-0.003	-0.119 *
<b>Individual Pursuits</b>								
Educational Plans ( <i>No College Plans</i> )								
Two-year College Only					-0.136	0.037	-0.071	-0.005
Both Two-year and Four-year College					0.019	0.170	0.071	0.098
Four-year College Only					-0.330 +	-0.001	-0.220	-0.083
<b>Measures of Values</b>								
Political Orientation ( <i>Apolitical</i> )								
Conservative							0.231	0.399 **
Moderate							-0.011	-0.044
Liberal							-0.267 *	-0.025
Importance of Religion ( <i>Very Important</i> )								
Don't Know							-0.140	-0.221
Not Important							-0.410 *	-0.449 **
Little Important							-0.442 ***	-0.251 +
Pretty Important							-0.264 *	-0.136
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.029	0.029	0.029	0.039	0.043	0.042	0.082	0.068
<b>Intercept</b>	-0.622 ***	0.844 ***	-0.564 *	1.220 ***	-0.436	1.160 ***	-0.236	1.343 ***
<b>N</b>	829	745	829	745	829	745	829	745

\*\*\* p ≤ .001, \*\* p ≤ .01, \* p ≤ .05, + p ≤ .1

Note: Italics are used to indicate reference group.

Dependent Variable: It is usually better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman cares for the home and family.

**Table 4: Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficients Predicting View of Maternal Employment's Effect on Young Children**

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>Household Attributes</b>								
Household Composition ( <i>Two-parent</i> )								
Single Mother Household	0.027	-0.069	0.085	0.038	0.074	0.043	0.121	0.045
Single Father Household	-0.090	0.066	-0.099	0.068	-0.128	0.063	-0.088	0.076
Other Household	-0.223	-0.074	-0.201	0.135	-0.244	0.126	-0.188	0.141
Number of Siblings	0.042	-0.056	0.063	-0.022	0.059	-0.029	0.054	-0.033
Sibling Residing in Household	-0.040	0.094	-0.041	0.117	-0.041	0.123	-0.039	0.132
Maternal Employment History ( <i>Not Employed</i> )								
Mother Employed Sometimes	-0.274 *	-0.284 +	-0.268 +	-0.284 +	-0.274 *	-0.290 +	-0.231 +	-0.302 +
Mother Employed Most of the Time	-0.318 *	-0.625 ***	-0.295 *	-0.622 ***	-0.309 *	-0.630 ***	-0.275 +	-0.596 ***
Mother Employed All of the Time	-0.808 ***	-0.865 ***	-0.779 ***	-0.830 ***	-0.798 ***	-0.835 ***	-0.743 ***	-0.788 ***
Maternal Education ( <i>High School</i> )								
Less Than High School	0.133	-0.518 *	0.153	-0.481 *	0.132	-0.508 *	0.184	-0.447 +
Some College	0.111	-0.107	0.117	-0.088	0.127	-0.082	0.111	-0.070
B.A. or More	0.168	0.117	0.178	0.115	0.216	0.134	0.178	0.138
Parental Education ( <i>Both Less than B.A.</i> )								
Both Parents have B.A. or More	-0.016	-0.255	-0.062	-0.265	-0.059	-0.250	-0.059	-0.233
Mother has More Education than Father	-0.096	-0.079	-0.105	-0.048	-0.130	-0.060	-0.086	-0.054
Father has More Education than Mother	-0.277 *	-0.142	-0.281 *	-0.153	-0.276 *	-0.138	-0.281 *	-0.121
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>								
Black ( <i>White</i> )			-0.284 *	-0.677 ***	-0.295 *	-0.675 ***	-0.364 **	-0.610 ***
School Ability (Self-Reported)			0.022	-0.026	0.038	-0.012	0.024	-0.016
<b>Individual Pursuits</b>								
Educational Plans ( <i>No College Plans</i> )								
Two-year College Only					-0.184	-0.108	-0.150	-0.117
Both Two-year and Four-year College					-0.104	-0.076	-0.106	-0.099
Four-year College Only					-0.292	-0.161	-0.246	-0.180
<b>Measures of Values</b>								
Political Orientation ( <i>Apolitical</i> )								
Conservative							0.361 **	0.413 **
Moderate							0.043	0.066
Liberal							0.026	0.005
Importance of Religion ( <i>Very Important</i> )								
Don't Know							0.091	0.122
Not Important							-0.392 *	0.214
Little Important							-0.274 *	0.041
Pretty Important							-0.185 +	0.063
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.076	0.074	0.083	0.099	0.088	0.100	0.115	0.114
<b>Intercept</b>	-0.313 +	0.628 **	-0.400 +	0.661 **	-0.222	0.735 **	-0.172	0.542 +
<b>N</b>	829	745	829	745	829	745	829	745

\*\*\* p ≤ .001, \*\* p ≤ .01, \* p ≤ .05, + p ≤ .1

Note: Italics are used to indicate reference group.

Dependent Variable: A preschool child is likely to suffer if the mother works.

**Table 5: Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficients Predicting View of Maternal Employment's Effect on Mother-Child Relationship**

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>Household Attributes</b>								
Household Composition ( <i>Two-parent</i> )								
Single Mother Household	0.055	-0.152	0.074	-0.054	0.068	-0.046	0.091	-0.035
Single Father Household	-0.066	-0.094	-0.090	-0.088	-0.105	-0.087	-0.077	-0.076
Other Household	-0.182	0.365	-0.176	0.553 *	-0.188	0.556 *	-0.170	0.587 *
Number of Siblings	0.072	0.002	0.078 +	0.034	0.075	0.026	0.076	0.017
Sibling Residing in Household	-0.071	-0.056	-0.071	-0.035	-0.071	-0.025	-0.082	-0.014
Maternal Employment History ( <i>Not Employed</i> )								
Mother Employed Sometimes	-0.200	-0.450 **	-0.199	-0.446 **	-0.202	-0.459 **	-0.175	-0.464 **
Mother Employed Most of the Time	-0.339 *	-0.578 ***	-0.326 *	-0.571 ***	-0.326 *	-0.587 ***	-0.309 *	-0.564 ***
Mother Employed All of the Time	-0.604 ***	-0.932 ***	-0.595 ***	-0.895 ***	-0.599 ***	-0.906 ***	-0.569 ***	-0.867 ***
Maternal Education ( <i>High School</i> )								
Less Than High School	0.018	-0.191	0.007	-0.155	-0.015	-0.175	0.002	-0.139
Some College	0.039	0.007	0.043	0.023	0.055	0.020	0.036	0.017
B.A. or More	0.278	0.007	0.306 +	-0.001	0.336 +	0.010	0.311 +	-0.001
Parental Education ( <i>Both Less than B.A.</i> )								
Both Parents have B.A. or More	-0.227	-0.211	-0.242	-0.224 +	-0.250	-0.207	-0.231	-0.182
Mother has More Education than Father	-0.342 *	0.070	-0.358 *	0.096	-0.379 **	0.093	-0.345 *	0.111
Father has More Education than Mother	-0.256 *	-0.123	-0.242 *	-0.140	-0.237 *	-0.129	-0.233 *	-0.120
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>								
Black ( <i>White</i> )			-0.151	-0.607 ***	-0.164	-0.609 ***	-0.141	-0.572 ***
School Ability (Self-Reported)			-0.043	-0.007	-0.040	0.002	-0.045	-0.002
<b>Individual Pursuits</b>								
Educational Plans ( <i>No College Plans</i> )								
Two-year College Only					-0.270	-0.147	-0.231	-0.156
Both Two-year and Four-year College					-0.203	0.004	-0.192	-0.033
Four-year College Only					-0.274	-0.125	-0.223	-0.147
<b>Measures of Values</b>								
Political Orientation ( <i>Apolitical</i> )								
Conservative							0.312 *	0.339 *
Moderate							0.015	0.060
Liberal							-0.091	-0.026
Importance of Religion ( <i>Very Important</i> )								
Don't Know							0.226 +	0.119
Not Important							0.103	0.023
Little Important							-0.013	-0.081
Pretty Important							0.065	0.013
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.055	0.067	0.058	0.086	0.061	0.088	0.074	0.099
<b>Intercept</b>	-0.733 ***	0.291	-0.611 **	0.269	-0.375	0.329	-0.496 +	0.254
<b>N</b>	829	745	829	745	829	745	829	745

\*\*\* p ≤ .001, \*\* p ≤ .01, \* p ≤ .05, + p ≤ .1

Note: Italics are used to indicate reference group.

Dependent Variable: A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work.

Table 6: Pooled Models Predicting Agreement with Traditional Division of Labor

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>Sex</b>					
Female ( <i>Male</i> )	-1.029 ***	-1.042 ***	-1.044 ***	-1.034 ***	-1.054 ***
<b>Household Attributes</b>					
Household Composition ( <i>Two-parent</i> )					
Single Mother Household		-0.063	-0.065	-0.068	-0.029
Single Father Household		-0.172	-0.196	-0.212	-0.161
Other Household		-0.128	-0.123	-0.154	-0.094
Number of Siblings		0.050	0.046	0.041	0.027
Sibling Residing in Household		-0.158 *	-0.157 *	-0.155 *	-0.140 +
Maternal Employment History ( <i>Not Employed</i> )					
Mother Employed Sometimes		-0.232 *	-0.239 *	-0.248 *	-0.228 *
Mother Employed Most of the Time		-0.225 *	-0.229 *	-0.250 *	-0.224 *
Mother Employed All of the Time		-0.430 ***	-0.441 ***	-0.462 ***	-0.432 ***
Maternal Education ( <i>High School</i> )					
Less Than High School		-0.034	-0.053	-0.075	-0.059
Some College		-0.112	-0.105	-0.104	-0.098
B.A. or More		-0.227	-0.197	-0.173	-0.186
Parental Education ( <i>Both Less than B.A.</i> )					
Both Parents have B.A. or More		-0.014	-0.003	0.019	0.042
Mother has More Education than Father		0.008	0.001	-0.016	0.017
Father has More Education than Mother		-0.232 *	-0.207 *	-0.199 *	-0.179 +
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>					
Black ( <i>White</i> )			-0.064	-0.069	-0.133
School Ability (Self-Reported)			-0.073 *	-0.051 **	-0.062 **
<b>Individual Pursuits</b>					
Educational Plans ( <i>No College Plans</i> )					
Two-year College Only				-0.029	-0.029
Both Two-year and Four-year College				0.094	0.064
Four-year College Only				-0.161	-0.165
<b>Measures of Values</b>					
Political Orientation ( <i>Apolitical</i> )					
Conservative					0.337 ***
Moderate					-0.037
Liberal					-0.151 +
Importance of Religion ( <i>Very Important</i> )					
Don't Know					-0.201 +
Not Important					-0.449 ***
Little Important					-0.346 ***
Pretty Important					-0.196 *
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.137	0.157	0.160	0.165	0.191
<b>Intercept</b>	0.094 *	0.603 ***	0.829 ***	0.837 ***	1.063 ***
<b>N</b>	1574	1574	1574	1574	1574

\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$ , +  $p \leq .1$

Notes: Italics are used to indicate reference group.

Underlining denotes significant differences between women and men (single underlining indicates  $p \leq .1$ , and double underlining indicates  $p \leq .05$ ).

Dependent Variable: It is usually better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman cares for the home and family.



Table 7: Pooled Models Predicting View of Maternal Employment's Effect on Young Children

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>Sex</b>					
Female ( <i>Male</i> )	-0.620 ***	-0.613 ***	-0.610 ***	-0.592 ***	-0.570 ***
<b>Household Attributes</b>					
Household Composition ( <i>Two-parent</i> )					
Single Mother Household		-0.008	0.071	0.070	0.092
Single Father Household		-0.006	-0.019	-0.035	-0.008
Other Household		-0.168	-0.094	-0.117	-0.090
Number of Siblings		-0.005	0.022	0.015	0.010
Sibling Residing in Household		0.041	0.046	0.050	0.054
Maternal Employment History ( <i>Not Employed</i> )					
Mother Employed Sometimes		-0.281 **	-0.274 **	-0.281 **	-0.269 *
Mother Employed Most of the Time		-0.456 ***	-0.434 ***	-0.446 ***	-0.418 ***
Mother Employed All of the Time		-0.831 ***	-0.797 ***	-0.808 ***	-0.767 ***
Maternal Education ( <i>High School</i> )					
Less Than High School		-0.134 *	-0.111 *	-0.135 *	-0.110 *
Some College		0.017	0.030	0.039	0.024
B.A. or More		0.159	0.176	0.203	0.169
Parental Education ( <i>Both Less than B.A.</i> )					
Both Parents have B.A. or More		-0.149	-0.191	-0.179	-0.161
Mother has More Education than Father		-0.104	-0.107	-0.124	-0.093
Father has More Education than Mother		-0.210 *	-0.214 *	-0.202 *	-0.200 *
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>					
Black ( <i>White</i> )			-0.445 ***	-0.448 ***	-0.443 ***
School Ability (Self-Reported)			-0.003	0.013	0.004
<b>Individual Pursuits</b>					
Educational Plans ( <i>No College Plans</i> )					
Two-year College Only				-0.131	-0.120
Both Two-year and Four-year College				-0.095	-0.121
Four-year College Only				-0.224 +	-0.222 +
<b>Measures of Values</b>					
Political Orientation ( <i>Apolitical</i> )					
Conservative					0.427 ***
Moderate					0.053
Liberal					0.015
Importance of Religion ( <i>Very Important</i> )					
Don't Know					0.087
Not Important					-0.041
Little Important					-0.121
Pretty Important					-0.076
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.056	0.118	0.131	0.133	0.149
<b>Intercept</b>	-0.123 **	0.445 ***	0.422 *	0.531 **	0.484 *
<b>N</b>	1574	1574	1574	1574	1574

\*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ , \*\*  $p \leq .01$ , \*  $p \leq .05$ , +  $p \leq .1$

Notes: Italics are used to indicate reference group.

Underlining denotes significant differences between women and men (single underlining indicates  $p \leq .1$ , double underlining indicates  $p \leq .05$ , and bold underlining indicates  $p \leq .01$ ).

Dependent Variable: A preschool child is likely to suffer if the mother works.

**Table 8: Pooled Models Predicting View of Maternal Employment's Effect on Mother-Child Relationship**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>Sex</b>					
Female ( <i>Male</i> )	-0.648 ***	-0.654 ***	-0.653 ***	-0.636 ***	-0.612 ***
<b>Household Attributes</b>					
Household Composition ( <i>Two-parent</i> )					
Single Mother Household		-0.020	0.035	0.035	0.052
Single Father Household		-0.062	-0.077	-0.089	-0.071
Other Household		0.047 *	0.100 *	0.090 *	0.115 *
Number of Siblings		0.035	0.053	0.047	0.044
Sibling Residing in Household		-0.047	-0.043	-0.040	-0.040
Maternal Employment History ( <i>Not Employed</i> )					
Mother Employed Sometimes		-0.313 **	-0.310 **	-0.318 **	-0.308 **
Mother Employed Most of the Time		-0.436 ***	-0.421 ***	-0.430 ***	-0.410 ***
Mother Employed All of the Time		-0.754 ***	-0.732 ***	-0.741 ***	-0.707 ***
Maternal Education ( <i>High School</i> )					
Less Than High School		-0.053	-0.041	-0.061	-0.036
Some College		0.043	0.053	0.058	0.048
B.A. or More		0.176	0.194	0.214	0.195
Parental Education ( <i>Both Less than B.A.</i> )					
Both Parents have B.A. or More		-0.236	-0.263 +	-0.258 +	-0.237
Mother has More Education than Father		-0.155	-0.159	-0.173	-0.147
Father has More Education than Mother		-0.194 *	-0.192 *	-0.184 *	-0.180 +
<b>Individual Characteristics</b>					
Black ( <i>White</i> )			-0.324 ***	-0.330 ***	-0.303 ***
School Ability (Self-Reported)			-0.017	-0.008	-0.013
<b>Individual Pursuits</b>					
Educational Plans ( <i>No College Plans</i> )					
Two-year College Only				-0.190	-0.177
Both Two-year and Four-year College				-0.104	-0.122
Four-year College Only				-0.195 +	-0.185
<b>Measures of Values</b>					
Political Orientation ( <i>Apolitical</i> )					
Conservative					0.337 ***
Moderate					0.019
Liberal					-0.060
Importance of Religion ( <i>Very Important</i> )					
Don't Know					0.167
Not Important					0.062
Little Important					-0.041
Pretty Important					0.036
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.062	0.109	0.116	0.118	0.129
<b>Intercept</b>	-0.459 ***	0.075	0.107	0.231	0.133
<b>N</b>	1574	1574	1574	1574	1574

\*\*\* p ≤ .001, \*\* p ≤ .01, \* p ≤ .05, + p ≤ .1

Notes: Italics are used to indicate reference group.

Underlining denotes significant differences between women and men (single underlining indicates p ≤ .1, and double underlining indicates p ≤ .05).

*Dependent Variable:* A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work.