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The Price of Parenting:
The Effect of Parental Involvement on Labor
Market Mobility

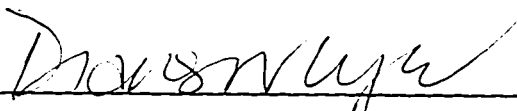
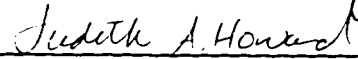
by
Toska Olson

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

1997

Approved by 


Co-Chairpersons of Supervisory Committee

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to Offer Degree Sociology

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Doctoral Dissertation

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University of Washington

Abstract

The Price Of Parenting:
The Effect Of Parental Involvement On Labor
Market Mobility

by Toska Olson

Co-Chairpersons of the Supervisory Committee:

Assistant Professor Diane N. Lye and Professor Judith A. Howard

Department of Sociology

This research explores fathers' participation in child rearing in the contemporary United States, and the effect of fathers' and mothers' parental involvement on their short-run labor market mobility. The study addresses questions of central importance to family researchers, scholars concerned with gender inequality, and scholars interested in the intersections between work and family. Guided by the insights of human capital, socialist feminist, and social constructionist theories, this research investigates the extent to which contemporary fathers are actively engaged in parenting their children, and the impact of fathers' parenting on their attainments in the labor market. The study utilizes data from a large-scale, nationally representative survey of over 13,000 American families, who were interviewed in 1987 and again in 1994. Throughout the study the parenting behaviors and labor market outcomes of fathers are compared to those of mothers.

The first part of this project focuses on cultural meanings of fatherhood, and in particular on how highly involved fatherhood can be conceptualized and defined. The author proposes that fatherhood is multidimensional, and that highly involved

fatherhood includes affective, ideological, and behavioral components. This portion of the study concludes with a descriptive analysis of the patterns and extent of fathering behaviors. In general, fathers are shown to be far less involved in parenting than mothers; this is especially the case for active behavioral interaction with children.

The second part of the study examines how fathers' and mothers' involvement in child rearing impacts their labor market mobility. Many parenting behaviors had no impact on labor market outcomes, suggesting that the claims of human capital theorists that work and family compete for attention are inaccurate. However, many types of parental involvement were significantly and *positively* related to labor market outcomes. This suggests that men and women who are highly involved parents may do even better in the labor force than those who are less active parents. These findings are interpreted using socialist feminist and social constructionist theories. The relationships between parenting and mobility persist after statistical controls are introduced for potential confounding variables. The author discusses, and rejects, various alternate interpretations of these findings.

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INTRODUCTION

Do the Right Thing

In March of 1995, Marcia Clark, one of the key prosecutors in the O.J. Simpson trial, was accused by her ex-husband and the media of being an incompetent mother. As was undoubtedly true of the other attorneys on the case, Marcia Clark was working 16-hour days, taking work home many evenings, and working on weekends, and the media reported that her children were more often with a baby-sitter than with their mother. Clark's ex-husband sued for custody of the children, stating that she was an unfit parent because of the demands of her job.

As a thought exercise, replay this scenario with one transformation: change the female prosecutor's gender so that Ms. Clark is now Mr. Clark. How would Mr. Clark's experiences differ from those of Ms. Clark's? It is unlikely that Mr. Clark would encounter the same criticism about his competence as a parent. Instead, he would probably be heralded for his occupational success, and his children would receive little (if any) mention. Mr. Clark might even be applauded for being a successful professional while carrying the burden of being a single father. Mr. Clark would thus be rewarded for doing that for which his female counterpart is punished.

In mainstream American society, men fulfill their obligations as "breadwinners" by working long, hard hours in challenging jobs and providing a healthy income for their family. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to be evaluated on the basis of

their childrearing and domestic skills. In fact, women are typically expected to devote themselves primarily to their children rather than to paid work; this arrangement is often considered to be in the best interests of the children. It is thus seen as problematic, both by the judicial system and by society, when a mother devotes herself to a time-consuming occupation, whereas it would be less problematic for a father to do so. Career success does not constitute fulfillment of women's defining obligations as "homemakers," so women experience more obstacles and disadvantages in the workplace than do men.

The point of the previous exercise is to demonstrate that although career success constitutes men's fulfillment of their father-breadwinner expectations, women's career success is often looked upon unfavorably because it takes time and energy away from mothering. In this way, women are punished for achieving, or attempting to achieve, that for which men are rewarded. This raises an interesting question: given that women are criticized for doing that which defines and indicates success as a man, are men punished for doing that which defines and indicates success as a woman? That is, when fathers are highly involved in parenting (as mothers are supposed to be), do they receive serious negative sanctions from their co-workers, employers, and society in general? Do men experience obstacles and disadvantages when they break out of their "breadwinning" role?

This question is important because the answer may reveal some of the reasons why men are reluctant to become more involved fathers. Many feminists argue that women's equality *depends* on men's greater participation in household and child care

duties. As more mothers work for pay, and as more fathers receive custody of their children, more men will need to negotiate the demands of their jobs and their family responsibilities. It is not clear, however, that working fathers will find this task any easier to accomplish than do working mothers. Although the majority of jobs are on a rigid 8-hour daytime schedule, the hours of operation for many schools, day care centers, doctors' offices, and stores do not reflect the need for parents to be at work during that same time period. While the pressure and stress which result from this organization is surely felt by a majority of mothers, many fathers may also suffer from it. We often do not even acknowledge that some fathers are, or would like to be, involved in the daily care of and responsibility for their children.

This study documents the experiences of working fathers in the contemporary workplace, and compares their experiences with those of working mothers. In particular, do fathers who are highly involved with their children's care experience the same barriers to their occupational advancement as do working mothers? How do people in the employment sector treat working fathers who demonstrate a strong commitment to their children? These are essential empirical and theoretical questions which have received limited attention in social science research.

Empirically, little research has been conducted on the consequences of involved fathering beyond that which focuses on single fathers in the workplace. It is clear that work-family conflict exists for women, and many resources exist for women who are trying to combine paid work and family responsibilities. In addition, more and more companies are trying to meet the demands of working parents, especially as they realize

that doing so may result in gains in productivity. However, because many people continue to associate economic providership with fathers and child care with mothers, many workers, employers, legislators, and social scientists continue to concentrate primarily on problems which face working mothers and single fathers. This focus reinforces the traditional gendered division of labor in the workforce and the household both structurally and ideologically, and may contribute to workplace disadvantages for any fathers who are highly involved in their children's daily care. In order to facilitate the emergence and survival of modern, involved working fathers, we must assess the workplace experiences of this distinct group of men.

Theoretically, proponents of competing perspectives on earnings attainment and gender inequality predict different patterns in the relationships between involved parenting, gender, and attainment. For example, a human capital theorist would predict that once human capital investments such as education and work experience are held constant, involved fathers and mothers would experience similar disadvantages as a result of their parental investments, compared to less involved parents. In contrast, a socialist feminist would predict that mothers will always experience greater disadvantages in the workplace than will fathers, because men consistently benefit from the existing social order. Socialist feminists would also predict that fathers' experiences would differ by social class, so that higher class fathers would experience fewer barriers and greater advantages to involved parenting than would lower class fathers. Finally, a gender display/hegemonic masculinity theorist would predict that involved fathers would experience *greater* workplace disadvantages than would less involved fathers *or*

involved mothers because fathers who are highly involved in parenting are not following their gender prescriptions as closely as are the other groups. Given the empirical unknowns and the disparity in theoretical predictions surrounding these questions, this study will contribute to many different social science literatures. In addition, the findings will help guide informed legislation which supports the combination of work and family responsibilities in contemporary society.

In a general sense, this study is motivated by a basic question: can someone be a family man and still get ahead? More specifically, what are the long-term monetary and non-monetary workplace consequences of being an involved parent, and how do these patterns differ for mothers and fathers? In order to examine these questions in a longitudinal and generalizable fashion, this study uses a subsample of working parents from the nationally-representative National Survey of Families and Households. Multiple regression techniques reveal the effect of parental involvement on the change in mothers' and fathers' earnings and occupational prestige between 1987 and 1994. These results promote an empirical understanding of the mechanisms by which the current system of gendered stereotypes and roles within families is achieved and maintained, and of the role of occupational institutions in shaping this system. In addition, they provide guidance for the parents, employers, and politicians who will be faced with negotiating future shifts in work and family roles.

The following chapters provide a more detailed discussion of the theoretical and conceptual orientations, analytic strategies, results, and interpretations of this research. Chapter 1 examines the ideological and structural origins of the barriers which men face

when they contradict traditional gender expectations and combine family work with paid work. This chapter also provides the academic context for this project by examining how traditional family and gender ideology has shaped social science theory and research on families and paid work. Chapters 2 and 3 describe this study's theoretical and methodological approaches. Chapter 4 explores previous researchers' definitions of "parental involvement," and provides the conceptual definition of involved parenting that guides this project. Chapter 5 details the empirical indicators used in the study, and provides basic univariate descriptives of these variables. Chapter 6 documents and discusses the bivariate results, and Chapter 7 examines the multivariate results of this study. Chapter 8 interprets these results in terms of their implications for sociological theory, and indicates directions for future research.

Chapter 1: The Ideological and Academic Setting: "True Women," "Good Providers," and "Separate Spheres."

This study is part of a larger body of research which attempts to explain and find solutions to the disadvantages that women experience in the modern industrial workforce. As the millennium approaches, more and more countries will enter the global, industrialized economy. The people of industrializing nations benefit from technological advances and generally experience improvements in their health and economic well-being. However, modernization and improved technology have not facilitated social equality, and in some cases have widened the gap between the advantaged and the disadvantaged. In general, the well-being, happiness, and productivity of individuals is greater when they are not unfairly disadvantaged by elements of the social structure or cultural ideology. As such, many nations and individuals, and potentially the entire global society, will benefit from research and policies which help eradicate social inequality. Because women constitute approximately half of the global population, and because inequalities based on gender intersect with inequalities based on race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, age, physical ability, and national origin (among others), gender is a good place to start.

There are many statuses which confer advantage or disadvantage on individuals, and gender is one which has been consistently influential across history and societies. There has been a persistent sexual division of labor in both production and reproduction since the settlement of this country. Although women and men have

both played important roles in productive work and parenting work in the past, contemporary ideology places the genders in well-defined and largely distinct roles, and encourages the assumption that this division of labor is “natural” and has always existed.

The idea that women are best-suited for parenting and men for paid work has had a substantial influence on American culture and on social science theory. In order to provide a foundation for the current study, it is necessary to examine the origin of this pervasive ideology. Knowledge about the historical development of American families and the evolution of family and gender ideology are central features of any research which seeks to understand the pervasiveness of gender inequality. Although some myths and simplistic theories may suggest otherwise, most contemporary scholars realize that gender, family work, and paid work are fundamentally interrelated. It is this interconnection that has created a great degree of stress and conflict for modern parents, and which has motivated a large amount of debate over public policy.

The current chapter establishes the setting for much of the previous theory and research on work-family conflict. As was previously mentioned, this conflict as well as theory about it are embedded in ideals about “the family.” A thorough examination of the cultural ideal and the academic expression of the ideology reveal the inadequacy of these outmoded perspectives.

Myths and Dreams of the "Ideal" Family

The structure of, and roles within, the ideal family are very familiar to most Americans. When thinking of this stereotypical or ideal family, Americans can easily picture the father as the strong, reliable leader and provider for the family – the person who always “knows best” and makes the major decisions for the household. Although he remains somewhat emotionally distant, he indicates his love and competence through his economic contributions to the household and through his full-time commitment to paid work. Americans picture the ideal mother as the devoted, self-sacrificing caretaker who nurtures her husband and children through her every word and action. She expresses her love and competence through the cleanliness and stability she furnishes for the family and through her full-time commitment to her house and family. We also picture two or more dependent children in the ideal family, including a son who learns to shave, mow the lawn, and value hard work, honesty, and fair play from his father, and a daughter who learns to sew, bake cakes, and listen with empathy to others’ problems from her mother. Finally, we might picture a pet dog, a cute suburban home with a clipped lawn, and assorted objects such as a white picket fence and a barbecue.

This image of the stereotypical family with its gendered division of labor within families and in the broader society is accompanied by a pervasive ideology. The “doctrine of the separate spheres” is the belief that married women should devote themselves to creating and maintaining a domestic “nest,” in which they expertly care for their husband and children. Married men, on the other hand, should devote

themselves to working outside the home to earn money and support their family (Popenoe 1988). The “doctrine of the separate spheres” thus has two ideological components: the “cult of true womanhood” for women and the “good provider role” for men. These beliefs, which were historically supported by the physical separation of paid work and households, have clear implications for gender roles and the social position of women within families and society (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 1996).

The ideology of the “women’s sphere,” labeled the “cult of true womanhood” or the “cult of domesticity,” specified that a woman’s virtue and personal happiness was measured by her success in her role as comforter and by her submissiveness and obedience to her husband’s authority:

The attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors, and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Put them together and they spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife-woman. Without them, no matter whether there was fame, achievement, or wealth, all was ashes. With them, she was promised happiness and power.

(Welter 1973: 372)

This ideology was accompanied by the notion that young children could not be cared for properly by anyone but their mother. This “Tender Years” doctrine had far-reaching implications for the placement of children when families were dissolved; usually the children were automatically placed under the custody of their mother. However, it is important to note that the *assumption* that women would receive custody of their children has prevailed during a relatively short period of time which coincides

with women's ideological confinement to the domestic arena. In contrast, during the colonial period both fathers and mothers took responsibility for their children's care and for production in the home-based economy, and because children were viewed as property, fathers typically received custody of their children after marital separation (Demos 1982).

Several changes have occurred since the colonial period which have altered women's and men's access to and responsibility for production and domestic work. These include the economic, political, and technological changes which have accompanied industrialization, urbanization, and rapid population growth. As will be discussed in a later section, these changes have coincided with shifts in the definition of childhood and beliefs about the requirements for raising healthy children. In contemporary society, mothers are more active in the paid labor force and may be considered less available for or capable of childrearing. Although women are still assigned the normative responsibility for child care, they are no longer necessarily the default recipients of child custody (Pearson et al. 1982).

The "men's sphere" was also influenced by a far-reaching ideology which conditioned men's and women's expectations and experiences. Concurrent with the separation of paid work and family work, the "good provider role" became the ideological standard against which society, women, and men themselves evaluated their success and masculinity. According to this standard, good providers were "family men" who worked demanding jobs in order to establish their wife and children in a decent home, provide them with the necessities of life, and perhaps make enough to

fund their children's education (Bernard 1984). These expectations for men's and women's behaviors and attitudes had, and continue to have, a clear effect on individuals' experiences and opportunities in paid work and family life.

The Widespread Impact of Ideology: Normative and Concrete Consequences

The fictional depiction of ideal American family life in the past may seem outdated to many people in contemporary society (including scholars), but it is astounding how significant an impact this ideal image of "the family" has had on the structure of our institutions, on the cultural ideology about family and gender roles, on women's and men's family and labor market outcomes, and even on the framing of discourse and research on families within the social sciences.

The popularity of the ideological model and the belief in the existence of a mythical 1950's-style family have arisen within and contributed to a social and cultural atmosphere in which families are thought to be slotted into one concrete set of arrangements (that of male breadwinner, female childrearer/homemaker, and dependent children). On a normative level, this image prescribes a set of duties and responsibilities on the basis of gender, rewards the achievement of these duties and responsibilities, and punishes those who don't conform. Ideology about the separate spheres and women's and men's roles within them have real consequences for individuals' lives. Beliefs that women are best suited for and should be responsible for housework and child care influence women's choices and opportunities in the family and workplace. Similarly, beliefs that men have a wife at home to care for the house

and kids and that men should be the family's sole or main provider influence men's choices and opportunities in the family and workplace.

This ideology is engendered within the members of our society through the socialization process. From a very early age, girls and boys are taught to value and exhibit different personality traits and behaviors. Through every agent of socialization, girls learn to value nurturance, cooperation, and submission, and boys learn to value personal achievement, assertiveness, and dominance (Richmond-Abbott 1983; Bem and Bem 1970). The toys, clothes, and chores which parents give girls and boys often reinforce traditional conceptualizations of gender, and the informal activities and formal curricula in schools often prepare girls and boys for different educational interests and career paths (Thorne 1993). In this way, the normative expectations that girls will be caretakers and that boys will be successful providers are cultivated through socialization such that women and men tend to receive gender-appropriate education.

Beliefs about women's and men's appropriate roles also structure individuals' choices and opportunities within the workplace. The belief that women can be, will be, and should be supported by men has contributed to the belief that women aren't "real" workers, and that men are workers more importantly than they are parents. This ideology may cause some women to focus less on paid work than on family, expecting that they'll be supported by men; the ideology thus works to keep some women inside the home (Rubin 1976; DiIorio 1989). This same ideology keeps many men out of the home and keeps them in the marketplace. Research has shown that women's relationships at home, and especially the presence of partners who hold traditional

gender role ideologies and believe women should concentrate on domestic work and children, influence women's and men's choices about market work and family (Gerson 1985; Rubin 1976). From this perspective, many women's interests seem to be "at odds" with the interests of the family, because the ideology of the family assumes that women will subordinate their individual interests (e.g., their desires for a career) to the interests of those in their family (Degler 1980). Many men's individual interests may also be seen as competing with those of the family to the extent that men are expected to choose a lucrative job which will support the family regardless of whether the job is personally satisfying, to the extent that men are expected to choose paid work over family involvement, and to the extent that men are negatively sanctioned when they step out of the provider role.

When women do work for pay, ideology regarding women's proper roles within families and the notion that *men* are supposed to earn the family wage has contributed to women's lower pay and their segregation from career occupations. The belief that all women are or will soon become mothers is extremely limiting for women and often condemns them to lower-paid and traditionally female occupations. Defining women in terms of their reproductive capabilities instead of as "real" workers has many consequences for women's labor force outcomes. The belief that women aren't serious career workers because they will at some point drop out of the labor force in order to bear and rear children may cause some employers to hire fewer women, pay women less, segregate women into non-career track jobs, or pass women over for promotion (Bohen 1984; England and Farkas 1986). Indeed, research on gender inequality in the

contemporary American workplace indicates that women experience disadvantages in segregation, promotions, authority, and earnings (Reskin and Padavic 1994). This process is evident in the United States as well as in many other First and Third World countries (Brinton 1989; Ward 1990).

Traditional ideology and expectations about men's roles in the family and workforce also condition their labor market outcomes. The male provider ideology is constraining for men because most men do not have full-time housewives who care for their house and children; currently this ideal model accounts for fewer than 10% of American families (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 1996). Relative to women, however, men's lack of responsibility for domestic and child care work frees them to concentrate more energy and time on their paid work roles. Men do benefit more from this ideology than do women, who are forced to take on double or triple shifts in order to fulfill all of "their" responsibilities (Thorne 1992; Ward 1990; Hochschild 1989). Men also tend to benefit much more than women from traditional ideology because work and money are more valued in our society than housework and child care.

However, the male provider ideology can also be harmful to men, because men often measure their self-worth and are measured by others in terms of their success in the labor market (Kimmel and Messner 1992). The popular American individualistic and free-market-oriented conceptualization of the stratification system doesn't account for structural impediments to men's success. Poor or unemployed men and men of color are therefore often judged as "lesser men" because of their lack of educational and occupational success relative to middle and upper-class whites. This ideology also

constrains men from actively participating in family life as much as they may desire because they believe they must always give their work responsibilities priority above all else (Cohen 1989).

It is important to recognize that ideology isn't the only cause of men's and women's differential outcomes in the workplace and the family. Although all women and men are exposed to the expectations of this ideology, many women have always worked out of economic necessity (Goldin 1990). Structural factors such as unexpected opportunities in a satisfying and lucrative job often lead to women's career employment regardless of ideology and of their aspirations to fulfill traditional gender roles (Gerson 1985). Also, women's responsibilities for child care may not preclude or even significantly impact their participation in productive work, as much cross-cultural evidence has demonstrated (e.g., Friedl 1984). Interestingly, however, men's responsibilities for paid work and providership have seemed to preclude their active participation in child care.

It is also important to recognize the feedback effects which occur between the family and workplace. Because women are assumed by others and themselves to be better at and more responsible for family and the "private sphere," more women than men do unpaid work at home rather than working for pay. In addition, women's household and child care responsibilities limit their human capital investments (such as work experience), which reduces their chances of being promoted and making more money when they do work for pay (England and Farkas 1986). This increases women's dependence on their husband's wages (or increases their poverty), and lowers their

relative power within the family (Blumberg 1991). This also enforces economically-motivated choices for women to stay home with their kids, since men make more money, further hindering women from greater success in the workplace, and reinforcing traditional gender ideology and stereotypes about men's and women's proper roles in the family and workplace. Thus, any discussion of women's and men's roles in the family or workplace must account for the feedback effects between these institutions, and between behavior and ideology.

Concrete Reflections of the Ideology in Contemporary Society

Ideology about men's and women's obligations within the family and society in general is clearly linked with concrete rewards and punishments, as society encourages its members to conform to normative expectations. As I previously noted, beliefs about women's "central vocation" as mothers, and thus as nurturers and domestic servants, have contributed to gender differences in education and to occupational sex segregation. Many women and men choose and/or are persuaded to attain gender-appropriate types of education. Women hold over three times as many bachelor's degrees in education and home economics as do men, and men hold over three times as many bachelor's degrees in engineering and the physical sciences compared to women (Digest of Educational Statistics 1990). Although equal numbers of women and men acquire bachelor's and master's degrees, men far outnumber women in professional and advanced degrees such as Ph.D.s and M.D.s (Digest of Educational Statistics 1990). Differences in the type and amount of education that men and women receive prepare

them for jobs of different prestige and pay and contribute to occupational sex segregation. For example, in 1992, 99% of all secretaries and 97% of all receptionists were women (U.S. Department of Labor 1993). Female-dominated jobs consistently pay much lower wages than male-dominated jobs; occupational sex segregation is one major cause of the sex gap in pay, where women working full-time, year-round earn approximately 70% of what men make (Bureau of the Census 1992; Reskin and Hartmann 1986).

Thus, assumptions about women's and men's private roles influence their public roles. Worldwide, the jobs that women do in the workplace are seen as extensions of their domestic roles, whether in domestic substitution industries in the Third World or historically in the U.S., or contemporarily in the First World where secretarial, nursing, and teaching positions are typically filled by women (Brydon and Chant 1989; Kanter 1977). This also holds within occupations, as women are more likely than men to be divorce lawyers or pediatricians, and as female faculty members are more likely than male faculty members to perform the nurturing roles for students. These jobs are less rewarded financially and less valued within occupations and the work world in general, but women continue to fill the roles partly because of gender ideology and structural factors.

Gender ideology also contributes to gendered legislation. For example, ideology about women as essentially different from men, and especially the association of women with reproduction, have led to legislation which restricts their employment options. Earlier in this century, protective legislation and marriage bars (which

compelled women to quit paid work upon marriage) prevented women from working when they actualized their "central vocation" and more generally limited the occupations which were available to women. While this legislation may have seemed to be written to protect those women, in reality it served to protect men from employment competition with women (Goldin 1990; Cohn 1985). Current protective legislation which restricts women of childbearing age from working in toxic environments (in male-dominated, but not female-dominated occupations) serves the same purpose, though the bans can be lifted when cheap female labor is needed for production work (Ward 1990). The result of this legislation historically and currently is that women's job choices are restricted (usually in the male-dominated and better-paying jobs). This legislation thus reinforces women's traditional roles within the household and reifies the conceptualization of women as wombs rather than as workers.

Just as gender ideology has influenced the attitudes, behaviors, and experiences of individuals within society, institutional arrangements have come to presume, support, and maintain these norms and divisions of labor. This is because many of our contemporary institutions emerged during the same period as the emergence of the cultural ideal of the nuclear family form, its gendered division of labor, and its separation from the "public" world; these phenomena all coincided with the Industrial Revolution. Cultural ideology about the dichotomization of the public and private "realms" and about the proper and most valued roles, priorities, and personal characteristics of women and men have become interwoven into the fabric of our institutions. As Barrett and McIntosh note,

The structure and values of family life play a very important part in the organization and ethos of institutions rightly thought of as 'social' but wrongly contrasted with the family as an exclusively 'private' affair. No such opposition between family and society exists. Just as the family has been socially constructed, so society has been familialized . . . in contemporary capitalist society one dominant set of social meanings is precisely an ideology of familialism. The meaning of family life extends far beyond the walls of concrete households.

(Barrett and McIntosh 1982: 31)

This institutional arrangement makes life more complicated for individuals and families who do not conform to the ideals and expectations. For example, the workplace is structured to assume that people will work during "normal business hours" (9 a.m. to 5 p.m.), but many schools, day care centers, pediatricians, and other services necessary for the maintenance of families don't take that into account when scheduling their own hours of operation. Instead, it seems as if these institutions all reflect the same ideology, which assumes that families will have someone at home full-time to care for the children.

The preceding discussion demonstrates how our cultural ideology of families prescribes duties and responsibilities based on gender. By providing social acceptance to men who concentrate on paid work and to women who focus on mothering, and by raising normative and structural barriers to men and women who attempt to do otherwise, society rewards the achievement of and punishes the non-conformity to these normative expectations. Therefore, women who have careers (especially in traditionally male occupations) rather than mother full-time are often criticized, as are

men who are unemployed, who work in traditionally female jobs, or who are highly involved in parenting.

Structural Functionalism: An Academic Expression of the Ideology

For a long time, sociological theory was dominated by the same “dual spheres” ideology that has influenced our institutions as well as our popular culture and imagery of gender and families. One sociological perspective, structural functionalism, assigns particular importance to the nuclear family form and its gendered division of labor. Early structural functionalists in anthropology argued that the widespread cross-cultural existence of the conjugal family demonstrated that it fulfilled universal human needs (Malinowski 1913; Murdock 1949). Functionalist sociologists built upon these ideas, but argued that instead of being universal, the nuclear family may be necessary and inevitable in modern industrial societies (Parsons 1943, 1955).

According to the homemaker–breadwinner ideology, the core element of the ideal family is the distinct division of labor and authority between husbands and wives, and between parents and children. Parsons argued that the ideal family runs smoothly and harmoniously because of the complementary roles which each member fulfills. Parsons (1955) described the modern family as somewhat isolated from its extended kin, with the former functions of the family appropriated by specialized institutions. For example, the mass education system arose to teach children skills and trades which they had once learned within their families. During industrialization, economic production was shifted out of the home; functionalists suggest that this resulted in the separation of

productive and reproductive functions. According to functionalists, the nuclear family is best-suited to perform the functions of reproduction and socialization of family members; this family form is necessary in order to produce "secure" adults.

Functionalists argue that since industrialization, the family has become the primary institution which provides emotional support in our bureaucratic society. Indeed, the family is supposed to be self-sufficient in contemporary capitalist society, such that all of the emotional needs of its members can be accommodated within the isolated family setting.

According to functionalists, specialization occurred within the family as well as between social institutions during the industrialization process. Parsons posits that task specialization and a hierarchy based on gender and age comprise the two main structural features of the modern family. Men were responsible for instrumental tasks, which linked the family to other institutions. The major responsibility for men was to provide financial support for the family; indeed, their worth as husbands and fathers was often indicated by how well they fit the "good provider" role (Bernard 1984). Women, on the other hand, were responsible for expressive activities such as ensuring the socialization and emotional stability of the family.

The ideology of the separate spheres thus became embedded within sociological theory and within the discipline as a whole. The majority of sociological sub-fields, including studies of educational and economic attainment, social stratification, and political sociology looked almost exclusively at the experiences of men, while studies of "the family" almost exclusively examined the experiences of women. In addition, many

functionalist arguments about important historical events for families are also considered by sociologists to be major turning points in women's and men's experiences. For example, the Industrial Revolution is accepted by sociologists as one of the major "seeds of difference" between women's and men's experiences in industrialized societies, particularly with regard to work in the paid labor force. A range of evidence shows, however, that many of functionalism's claims are unsupported. Although functionalism as a theory has been heavily criticized, it is only relatively recently that sociologists have begun to look critically at the "dual spheres" ideology and to realize the extent to which this ideology and its assumptions about women's and men's responsibilities have been ingrained in the way we conduct research and theorizing within our discipline. Examining the logical and empirical critiques of functionalism sets the stage for a discussion of perspectives which have gone beyond the academic expressions of this limiting ideology. This also provides an opportunity to discuss the realities of gender, family, and paid work in contemporary U.S. society.

Logical and Empirical Critiques of Functionalism

Logical Critiques

Functionalist arguments have been challenged for a number of reasons. Some of these criticisms focus on the theory's logical bases of analyses, while others focus on empirical evidence which documents both that a large segment of the population did not meet the "ideal" family type, and that the public and private "spheres" were never

separate. Some radical and conflict-oriented critiques of functionalism have focused on how the theory provides a convenient legitimation of women's subordination and location within the family (Stacey and Thorne 1985). Functionalism assumes that because a particular phenomenon or division of labor exists, it must be good for society and therefore *should* exist. In this way, the theory confuses that which *is* or *has been* with what is *best*. Once these researchers ask the question of who the gender division of labor is functional for, it becomes clear that the ideal model of the nuclear family and its accompanying "doctrine of the separate spheres" is most useful for white, middle-class men; not every group within society benefits from this ideal.

Researchers have also argued that the "cult of true womanhood" was used by elite and middle-class women to preserve class distinctions in order to distinguish themselves from poorer women who had to work out of economic necessity (Lerner 1979). These elite and middle-class women were able to fulfill their domestic obligations by hiring servants; they then became "ladies," filling their extra time with leisure activities (Mullings 1986; Hareven 1976). Some scholars argue that the idealized family form would not have been possible for even the white middle-class to achieve were it not for the presence of class- and race-related alternate family forms created by various social and economic conditions (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 1996; Coontz 1992). By encouraging the employment of women and children, and by experimenting with a variety of kinship and household arrangements, these families were able to survive in a racist and classist society and to work to support the class-based ideal family form.

Another error within functionalism is that the theory assumes that gender specialization arises out of natural, biological characteristics, but doesn't recognize the structural barriers that women and men face when they try to break out of these "natural" roles. Functionalists overlook and obscure conflict and differences in power within families, and focus instead on consensus; they don't acknowledge the use of coercion, violence, or the threat of violence in maintaining gender roles. If the gender division of labor were a result of natural processes and were the best possible arrangement for individuals, families, and society, then there would not be any variation in this division of labor, and we would not need to expend any effort or concern in order to ensure that the division of labor was maintained.

Using this reasoning, functionalists would not expect men to reject the expectations that they would be "good providers" for their wives and children. However, studies of men's behavior demonstrates that there have always been men who have rebelled against the breadwinner ethic. For example, Ehrenreich's (1992) work documents the collapse of the good provider role. Early men who questioned the breadwinner role were considered by society to be "failed men" and homosexuals. In the 1950s, even though they were thought to be weak and unmasculine, some men demonstrated concern for the attitudes and feelings of others instead of striving for personal success at all costs. During the 1950s and 1960s, the "playboy" rebelled against the breadwinner ethic by loving women but hating wives. By shedding marriage (and thus avoiding "gold-diggers") but still working hard, single men could flaunt their riches without feeling irresponsible, since they weren't supporting a wife. These rebels

rejected the previously-held belief that one had to be a husband to be a man. Subsequent rebels rejected both work and marriage, and the medical and psychological professions during this period reported that traditional masculinity and traditional marriage might be unhealthy for men. Other researchers have concluded that the good provider role has collapsed as a result of feminism and women's widespread participation in the labor force (Bernard 1984); Ehrenreich argues that men have also been active agents in overthrowing a repressive ideology.

Another logical consequence of functionalism and the "separate spheres" ideology is that men will have control and power in the "public arena," and women will have control and power in the "private arena." However, current research on power within families contradicts functionalist claims that women will dominate in "their" sphere. Some argue that homemaking is viewed as a leisure activity which is reserved for the more powerful sex, who has conquered a breadwinning man and now lives off his labor. However, this role is actually held in contempt in our society, as is evidenced by the fact that our government's Social Security program doesn't recognize homemaking as a job deserving of compensation in old age (Ehrenreich 1992). Studies also show that men are much more likely to control "their" money, and that a husband's support can vary depending on his good will. Even if wives and husbands pool their resources, men usually decide how to spend the resources. In addition, men and children often have personal spending money, while women are supposed to place their family's needs first and derive satisfaction out of buying for them (Barrett and McIntosh 1982). Finally, if women had a monopoly on power within the household, rates of

domestic violence should not be so high. Conservative estimates report that up to 50% of wives are physically assaulted by their husbands at some point during their marriage (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 1996; Gelles and Straus 1988). Husbands often use physical violence or threats of violence to assert their dominance over their wives; this is not evidence of women's power within families.

Empirical Critiques

In addition to challenges based on logical arguments, functionalism and the doctrine of the separate spheres were questioned as researchers began realizing that empirical evidence of men's and women's behavior within families and the workplace was not entirely consistent with the ideology. In particular, historical evidence about American families before, during, and after the Industrial Revolution raises doubts about functionalism's tenability. Empirical critiques of functionalism focus on the theory's assumptions about the nuclear family form and functionalists' belief in the widespread separation of paid work and family work following industrialization.

The Lack of Predominance of the Ideal Family Form and Division of Labor

Historical evidence calls into question the universality of the nuclear family form. This idea of a monolithic family form is a product of false universalization: it is based on the assumption that there is a uniform family experience across all time periods and social groups. In reality, large segments of the population have never met the ideal. The functionalist model posits that families were non-nuclear prior to industrialization, and that families after the Industrial Revolution were nuclear in form. The historical record raises doubt about these assumptions. Although in pre-industrial

families, production tasks were differentiated by age and sex (Tilly and Scott 1978), and the family-based economy necessitated that the family be responsible for many activities, including business, education, religious training, and welfare (Demos 1970), the colonial family was usually nuclear in form. Though the perception is that pre-industrial families were extended in form, the larger households tended to include servants rather than extended kin (Demos 1972). It is not possible to argue whether or not colonial families would have *preferred* to live within an extended family household; the lack of extension in pre-industrial societies could be more a reflection of the low life expectancy than of preferences for living arrangements. Nevertheless, the nuclear family was only one of several possible family forms which were present before industrialization (Kertzer 1991; Laslett 1971; Demos 1970).

Parsons' arguments about the role of nuclear families in industrial societies also suggest that extended kin will become less central in individuals' lives within modern societies. Although researchers have noted a reduction in kin ties over time, historical evidence also shows that ties with extended family members remained strong after industrialization, and played an important role in job recruitment, migration support, and adaptation to racial oppression and limited economic resources (Hareven 1987).

In contrast to functionalists' assumptions about the omnipresence of the nuclear family form, research has revealed a great diversity of family forms during and following industrialization, often resulting from class and race differences in economic resources and opportunities. Due to the racially- and gender-segmented labor market and inadequate economic resources, people of color's family experiences were different

from those of white middle-class Americans (Collins 1990). Within the new wage-based economy, the division of women's domestic work and men's paid work was most distinct for middle-class families (Tilly and Scott 1978). The "family wage," with which male workers could earn enough money to support a full-time homemaker wife and children, became accessible for some white men in the early 19th century. Many men of other races and most women, however, were not able to earn enough to be the sole support of their families; as a result, poor women, women of color, and immigrant women usually could not afford to forego wages in order to remain at home full-time. Although women's wage work was considered by employers and the women themselves as secondary to their household and child care work, the daughters and wives of working class families often worked within traditionally female jobs in order to help support their families (Tentler 1979). There was no separation of work and family for these women; instead, their paid work was seen as an extension of their family responsibilities (DuBois and Ruiz 1990). The "ideal" nuclear family with the breadwinner father and stay-at-home mother was thus accessible for only a small proportion of the total American population.

It is clear that a woman's behavior conformed to the ideal of "True Womanhood" only to the extent to which her economic means allowed her to do so. Poorer women of all races and nationalities who were working in factories, mills, and other women's homes could not afford to maintain this domestic ideal. Similarly, many men could not afford to uphold the "good provider" ideal because of a lack of occupational opportunities. It is important, however, to distinguish reality from

ideology; although the ideal nuclear family form and gendered division of labor was only attainable for some white middle-class families, most women and men in society were affected by it, and it is likely that many struggled to achieve it. Although the “normal” family wasn’t the dominant type (there was much class- and race-based diversity in family forms), it was the ideal against which other families were judged. It also served as a standard during the development of family legislation and workplace organization.

There is little doubt that industrialization had a transformative effect on family life and gender because of the subsequent separation of paid productive labor from the family and the transfer of functions from the family to other institutions (Hareven 1987). Critics of functionalism argue, however, that industrialization did not create a monolithic family form; instead, many structural, economic, and demographic trends are responsible for the great diversity of family forms which have always existed in our society (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 1996).

Evidence of Women’s Participation in the “Public Sphere”

Another component of the critique of functionalism centers on the theory’s assertions that the “private sphere” of reproduction and consumption and the “public sphere” of production are separate and mutually exclusive, and the theory’s associated assumption that women’s and men’s work occur in distinct “realms.” An examination of women’s historical and current workforce participation demonstrates, however, that the “spheres” are undeniably interconnected.

In pre-industrial societies such as early 19th century America and contemporary non-industrialized populations, the links between work, politics, and families are more obvious because production and reproduction occur(ed) in the same location. Industrial development disassociated production from the home, and was accompanied by a separation of home and work production, gender specialization between them, and ideologies which justified the separation. As a result, women's productive work within the private and public spheres is often overlooked. Industrial development also led to a movement away from farm occupations and to urban, non-farm occupations. Because many women's productive work in home production wasn't recorded, this approach overstates the separation of the spheres. Goldin (1990) says that married women have always done a lot of "market-oriented work," even in the late 18th century, but their work wasn't officially defined as such by the census. Married women's market work fell as work moved from the home to the factory, and women's domestic and market tasks became more difficult to combine. However, industrialization did increase the demand for young, single women. Women often worked in home industries (e.g. food production, textiles), which were seen as an extension of their domestic roles. Young immigrant, African-American, and working class women were usually employed in the cities. Many women continued to work after marriage in home production (e.g. family business, family farm labor, boarding houses), work that wasn't counted by the census (Goldin 1990; Bose 1987). Women's employment thus had two phases, and formed a U-shaped curve: women's market-oriented work was high in the 1790s, then decreased with the Industrial Revolution in the early 19th century (except for the increase in

market work for single women and women of color). After 1920, married women again began to enter into the labor force; this trend accelerated during and after World War II (Goldin 1990).

During World War II, thousands of women entered the workforce to fill jobs vacated by soldiers. The government supported ideals of equality and opportunity for women, as well as child care for children, when it was necessary for the war effort (Harrison 1988). Most women entered wartime work because of the high wages offered by the war industry, not because of patriotic propaganda and the likening of war work to domestic tasks (Rupp 1979). At the peak of the war, women constituted one-third of the production workers in the auto industry and half in electrical manufacturing (Milkman 1987). Nevertheless, wartime propaganda was successful in downplaying women's economic motivations to work, and thus avoided challenging traditional assumptions about women. By continuing to view women as mothers and wives rather than as workers, employers, the public, and the government helped to perpetuate the pre-war status quo (Rupp 1979).

In addition, the economic mobilization of women during World War II didn't break down sex segregation as many people believe. Although women were doing "traditionally male" jobs, Milkman argued that

new patterns of segregation were established 'for the duration' within previously male sectors. Rosie the Riveter did a 'man's job,' but more often than not she worked in a predominantly female department or job classification. The boundaries between women's and men's work shifted their location, but were not eliminated. Indeed, the wartime experience is an extreme example of how job segregation by sex can be reproduced in the face of dramatic economic changes.

(Milkman 1987: 9)

Women's war work was thus seen as a temporary extension of domesticity. This is an important finding, as it confirms that the ideology of women's and men's separate and different duties and abilities was firmly entrenched in our culture at this time.

Even though sex segregation was extensive during the war, the prewar sexual division of labor was still heavily disrupted, and this led to disputes between management and labor unions about what would happen once the war was over. After the war there were many layoffs, and even though women workers had seniority over many men, they were not given priority for rehiring, especially in "men's jobs." Women were almost completely excluded from rehires in the auto industry, except in what had always been "traditionally female" jobs. Women were also eliminated from "men's jobs" in electrical manufacturing (Milkman 1987).

Once we consider that women's war work was presented as a reaffirmation of traditional feminine roles, the domestic focus of the 1950s seems less of a transition from the "liberating" war years. Nevertheless, many researchers still argue that Americans in the 1950s experienced a return to the domestic ideal for women, or to their work in traditionally female jobs if they were going to work for pay (Harrison 1988). This pattern was reinforced both by the desire for "social stability" and by the gendered

hiring practices of labor management, who foresaw labor resistance from returning male workers if women continued to work (Milkman 1987).

Regardless of how women's work before and during the war was depicted or interpreted, the fact remains that women have always been very active in the labor force. Because women are central to economic production, functionalism's claims about the "dual spheres" are not supported by empirical evidence.

Evidence of Men's Participation in the "Private Sphere"

Historical evidence also reveals that men have been very active within the "domestic sphere." Indeed, early American fathers had a much different experience with their children than do most contemporary fathers. The conceptualization of childhood has also varied over time, and is related to gendered ideas of parenting. During the 17th and 18th centuries, fathers had a broad range of responsibility for their children's health, supervision, and education. Fathers were tender with their children, and were centrally concerned with and involved in their moral and religious upbringing. While very young children may have been under the care of mothers, once they were weaned, both sons and daughters came under the supervision of their fathers. Fatherhood was defined as an active, encompassing status which was an integral part of both domestic and productive life (Demos 1982). Mothers were typically viewed as having a spoiling and indulgent influence, and were clearly recognized as having a lesser role in parenting (Bloch 1978). Fathers were usually awarded custody of the children in the event of marital separation.

These experiences are in stark contrast to those of contemporary fathers, who usually do not take on primary responsibility for their children's care, who are typically viewed as having the lesser role in parenting, and who rarely seek custody of their children following separation. This transformation began with the Industrial Revolution and with the changing definition of childhood. Whereas children in the colonial period were seen as "little adults," children in contemporary society are viewed as much more innocent and needy. In addition, with the physical separation of paid work from the household, the development of the "cult of true womanhood," and the accompanying association of women with domesticity and nurturing, childrearing became the special task of women. Men were discouraged from active parenting, and fathers were perceived as being more cold and distant (Demos 1982; Zelizer 1985).

It is clear that childrearing has not always been considered the exclusive domain of women. Although Parsons (1955) argues that specific gender roles are necessary for the proper functioning of families and society, information on colonial families provides historical evidence that the family functions well when men and women perform roles which vary from Parson's ideal. In contemporary society, evidence of single fathers' talent and ability at parenting and of the stability of their families (e.g., Risman 1986) supports this conclusion as well.

Evidence of General Feedback Effects between the "Private" and "Public Spheres"

In addition to demonstrating that men and women have been quite active within "gender inappropriate realms," critics of functionalism also provide ample evidence

that the private and public "spheres" are not separate or mutually exclusive, but instead are fundamentally intertwined.

For example, political legislation conditions women's and men's opportunities in work and family. Divorce laws, child custody and support laws, parental leave laws, protective legislation, laws about reproductive control, and laws which sanction or fail to sanction violence against women all shape women's and men's lives in the workplace (Baron 1987) and in the family (Luker 1984; Rhode 1989; MacKinnon 1989). Although some legislation may seem to be organized by, and attempt to support, traditional family ideology, other legislation seems to be at odds with it. Affirmative action and Equal Pay laws, for example, improve women's access to higher-paying jobs and thus may ease women's burdens at home and increase their overall satisfaction (Reskin and Hartmann 1986). Legislation granting parental leave may make participating in childrearing more accessible for women and men (Bohen 1984). In turn, women and men who find combining work and family to be difficult may agitate for change in legislation and thus attempt to shape laws (Baron 1987).

There is a large amount of literature in the structuralist tradition which demonstrates the effects that economic forces have on relationships within the family. These effects in turn influence the roles women and men are able to play in the workplace. Macro-economic factors condition the structure of the family; for example, unemployment makes it difficult for working class and minority men to conform to the traditional ideal of a nuclear family based on a male provider, and this contributes to the growing number of mother-headed families and adds to women's burdens in family

and work responsibilities (Staples 1989). In accordance with the experiences of many families in America's history, however, the structural inability to achieve the ideal family form does not necessarily challenge or change the existing ideology. This phenomenon indicates the strength and prevalence of ideology surrounding gender and family.

Women's subordination in the work sphere affects and reinforces their subordination in the private sphere. As was previously noted, structural barriers to prestigious and lucrative employment contribute to women's lower relative income. Husbands' and wife's differential incomes may contribute to choices about who should take greater responsibility for the child care, thus reinforcing ideology about women's primary role in parenting; this in turn feeds back into women's work experiences and incomes. Similarly, women's family responsibilities condition the types of jobs they take. In many Third World countries and in the U.S., women may prefer to work in the low-paid and unstable informal sector in order to better combine work and family responsibilities (Ward 1990).

The links between the public and private realms are also demonstrated in research on family power. Husbands' and wife's relative income and women's control over their income have been shown to be key in determining women's power within the household, as measured by decision-making power and a more equal division of household labor (Blumberg 1991; Blumstein and Schwartz 1983). Research on homosexual couples shows that a non-employed partner does more housework, and that income is important in determining who will be the dominant partner for gay men

(Blumstein and Schwartz 1983). In non-industrialized societies, access to production and control over valued resources also improve women's status (Huber 1991; Chafetz 1984; Friedl 1984). Women may have greater control over their sexuality and marriage partners in societies where they contribute a nearly equal amount of subsistence and valued goods (Estioko-Griffin and Griffin 1981).

Thus, from the macro to the micro level, political and economic factors influence women's and men's experiences in families. Similarly, women's and men's roles within their families and the ideology surrounding these roles influence their choices about paid work and the opportunities available to them in the workplace. Through the evidence presented above, it is clear that gender relations are affected by and affect every aspect of life, not just the private realm. There is no separation of "private and public realms" or "women's and men's spheres," as Parsonian functionalists assert. Structuralist research demonstrates that opportunities for and expectations about women's and men's work and family participation condition their behavior within these realms. Macrostructural factors such as political legislation and unemployment condition the jobs available to women and men, and workplace opportunities and experiences affect relationships within the household. In turn, expectations and roles within the household condition women's and men's choices and opportunities in the workforce, and ideology about women's and men's reproductive roles informs economic and political policies.

Family Change and Fathers' Work-Family Conflicts

Individual and social characteristics have changed significantly since the early years of industrialization. The recent changes in the demographic characteristics of families have been discussed extensively (e.g., Cherlin 1992; Thornton and Freedman 1982). Some of these trends include increasing rates of cohabitation, increasing rates of mother-headed single parent families, increasing numbers of children living in poverty, later age at marriage, declining fertility, rising divorce rates, and a large increase in wife's and mothers' labor force participation (Cherlin 1992). As a result of economic and technological trends, most adults will work in the paid labor force during their adult lives (Reskin and Hartmann 1986). Approximately 55% of families have two working parents, and nearly 68% of married women with school-aged children are in the paid workforce (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1993). These trends generate the common and pressing need for parents to find someone to care for their young children while they are in the workforce.

Unfortunately, our social institutions have been slow in responding to this need.

Although it is now seen as more acceptable for mothers to work for pay and for fathers to parent, it is important to recognize how powerful the cultural ideology of the "separate spheres" still is in our society. The ideology still affects us individually, as evidenced by the persistent gender division of labor within families and the broader society (e.g., sex segregation between and within occupations). The ideology also continues to affect us structurally, because our social institutions evolved with the assumption that men will be the primary breadwinners in families, and that they will

have a wife whose primary and full-time duty is to maintain a domestic nest for her husband and children. There is, however, a pressing structural need for change as parents continue to struggle to combine their work and family responsibilities.

Most of the research in the area of work-family conflict has focused on how these pressures constrain women's work and family lives. It is essential, however, to realize that they also constrain men's work and family lives. In order to achieve gender equality in the family and workplace, we also need to identify the barriers to men's equal involvement in and responsibility for housework and child care. Previous research on men's work-family conflict has focused on factors which influence men's involvement in housework and child care, including factors such as attitudes and values (Russell 1982 and 1983), support (or lack thereof) by friends, partners, co-workers, and employers (Russell 1983, Lamb et al. 1987), and structural opportunities (Gerson 1993). Although Pleck (1977) concludes that men allow their work responsibilities to take precedence over their family responsibilities, fathers often report that they would like to spend more time with their families, but that work constraints make this impossible (Cohen 1989). Thus, even when fathers desire more active childrearing roles, they may be structurally unable to actualize these feelings without jeopardizing their jobs.

As was discussed in the preceding section, the definition of fathering has varied historically, as have men's roles in child care (Demos 1982). One major question in the literature on parenting is whether fathering and father's involvement is even important for children's development and well-being. Some politicians and writers argue that the absence of fathers from families is partially to blame for many of the social problems

which contemporary society faces (e.g., Blankenhorn 1995). On the other hand, some social researchers argue that even when men do spend time with their children, the quality of involvement is not high (Baydar and Brooks-Gunn 1991). These researchers conclude that fathers' involvement is not a necessary element of children's development.

There is, however, a group of researchers who argue that fathers do play a significant role in their children's growth and development. Literature on father-infant relationships, for example, demonstrates the importance of fathers to their children from a very early age (e.g., Sullivan and McDonald 1979). Indeed, infants often show a preference for interacting with their fathers over their mothers (Lamb 1976, 1977). In her review of the father-child literature, Gunsberg (1982) concludes that children react differently to mothers and fathers, but that fathers are important elements of families and should not be neglected in studies of child development.

Involved Fathers

Much of the current research on fathers who are highly involved in and responsible for their children's daily care has focused on single fathers, and has demonstrated that working fathers do experience work-family conflict (Greif et al. 1993). When involved fathers must juggle work and family, they tend to have similar experiences as do working mothers (Greif et al. 1993; Coverman 1983). Single fathers, for example, must often leave work early and arrive at work late, miss important meetings, and reduce their work-related travel in order to accommodate their parenting

responsibilities. Some single fathers have quit their jobs or been fired because of this work-family incompatibility (Keshet and Rosenthal 1976; Chang and Deinard 1982; Pleck 1993; Greif et al. 1993). Single fathers often discover that bosses and co-workers tend to be unsympathetic to men's parenting needs (Pleck 1993).

Married fathers are also increasingly likely to experience some form of work-family conflict as they become more involved with their children. Studies have repeatedly demonstrated that a majority of American men now agree that fathers play an essential role in childrearing and that their families are the most important element of their lives (Dionne 1989). In addition, a 1989 survey found that nearly as many men as women (72% versus 83%) felt "torn between the demands of their job and wanting to spend more time with their family" (Belkin 1989). Research often provides accounts of substantial participation among fathers in dual-earner couples (Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1990; Coltrane 1989). According to Gerson (1994), one-fifth of married fathers with employed wives provide primary child care for their preschool children while their wives are at work. In addition, although nearly 40% of her all-male sample held a traditional "breadwinner" outlook regarding gender roles, approximately one-third of her sample were or planned to be "involved" in their children's care. Thus, men are interested in becoming involved with their children, but often experience difficulty when they attempt to act on these interests.

In a cross-sectional study of 1977 Quality of Employment Survey data, Coverman (1983) demonstrated that hours spent doing domestic labor negatively impacts both wife's and husbands' wages. It is reasonable, then, for working fathers to

fear negative consequences for their earnings and careers were they to increase their family participation. Although it is evident that working fathers experience difficulties and socioeconomic disadvantages in the workplace, it is unclear whether working fathers' responsibilities as primary parents impact their careers and earnings to the same extent as do those of working mothers. It is also unclear how this relationship has changed during the past 15 years, a time of extensive change in women's (and to some extent men's) roles and status within the workplace and family. In addition, researchers have not explored how the economic inequality which working parents experience changes over time.

Relatively few studies in the areas of gender stratification and work-family conflict have examined men's workplace experiences after they have become involved fathers. This type of information is essential, since the feedback these men receive from their family involvement will influence whether they continue in these roles, and their experiences will impact the behavior of other working fathers. In order to achieve and sustain gender equity in the workplace and gender equality in the larger society, we must examine the experiences of men who are attempting to enhance the equality in their own relationships.

Summary

Individuals, families, and social institutions exist within a cultural context which supports particular ideologies about families and gender. The myth of the ideal nuclear family form with its breadwinner father and homemaker mother has affected the

interests, responsibilities, and expectations of generations of women and men, regardless of whether or not their families were able to conform to the ideal. The “dual spheres” ideology co-evolved with our social institutions, and as a result, our current institutional arrangements presume, support, and maintain these gendered expectations regarding work and family responsibilities.

Social science is also influenced by this gendered ideology; sociologists’ perceptions of defining events in women’s and men’s family and labor force experiences have also developed within the context of cultural ideals about gender norms and family forms. For example, although industrialization may have contributed to a physical separation of paid work and the household, it is clear that a vast majority of women were active in market-oriented work before, during, and after the Industrial Revolution. Our discipline’s focus on the white, middle-class, native-born experience has colored our view of the true diversity in work and family experiences. In addition, this race- and class-specific information which social scientists have disseminated to the public has influenced social policy and ideology surrounding gender, paid work, and families. Social policy and ideology in turn condition the social research which is conducted in the area, thus perpetuating our narrow focus.

Parsonian functionalism was an influential theory in our discipline, but widespread acceptance of functionalism and the “dual spheres” ideology has slowly been undermined by empirical evidence about contemporary and historical families. In addition, challenges to the logical bases of functionalism’s assertions and the realization

that functionalism can be used as a tool to justify the status quo have also contributed to the decline in this theory's academic evaluation and acceptance.

The literature on work-family conflict has documented and described working mothers' and (to a far lesser extent) working fathers' experiences in combining their work and family responsibilities. Gender role ideology concerning work and parenting, the unequal division of labor in the household, and workplaces which are unresponsive to family demands all contribute to fathers' and mothers' work-family conflicts and subsequent workplace disadvantages. Much of the literature on fathers has focused on factors which influence paternal involvement in child care; fewer studies have examined the consequences of involved fathering. In addition, researchers have not adequately assessed the differences in socioeconomic costs of involved parenting for men and women, or rigorously examined the patterns of these disadvantages over time. Thus, much of the current literature does not adequately explore the interactions between gender and the sources and consequences of work-family conflict. However, the consequences of the incompatibility of the institutions of work and family are inextricably linked with gender because our culture associates women with family and men with paid work.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Orientation

Using data from the National Survey of Families and Households, this study assesses the relationship between parental involvement and fathers' and mothers' labor market outcomes over time. This chapter presents a discussion of three perspectives which differ in their predictions about the patterned socioeconomic consequences of men's and women's family involvement: human capital, socialist feminist, and gender display perspectives.

Human Capital Theory

The first earnings and economic attainment models began by trying to explain wage differentials between men using purely economic reasoning and a neo-classical model of the economy. According to these models, a man's income is determined by the relationship between the supply of and the demand for labor. As women became subjects of interest, sex was added as a variable in the general models in order to examine sex inequality, the assumption being that the same models explained attainment processes equally well for women as for men.

The concept of human capital investments arose as criticism of the supply-demand model of attainment. According to Becker (1964, 1981, 1985) and other human capital theorists, "quality of labor" factors are very influential in determining a person's attainment. An individual will be more competitive in the workplace, and thus more

economically successful, as she or he increases her or his possession of marketable commodities such as education, training, and experience (Reskin and Padavic 1994).

Becker attempts to account for sex disparities in earnings using human capital explanations (Acker 1980). According to Becker (1985), women's responsibility for child care and housework has major implications for their labor market outcomes. As a result of these duties, women supply less labor and less effort to market work; they acquire less human capital, and so they earn less than men. Human capital theory thus accounts for gender differences in attainment without really problematizing these differences.

General Implications of Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory predicts that an individual's earnings are a result of her or his job-related qualifications, investment in the workplace (both in terms of psychological investment and time and effort investment), investment in family and/or other non-marketplace responsibilities, and personal characteristics which condition the accumulation and/or utilization of human capital (Ollenburger and Moore 1992; Bielby and Bielby 1988). According to this theory, job-related qualifications and workforce investment should be positively related to gains in earnings. As employees accumulate more education, training, and work experience, and as they demonstrate interest in and loyalty to their jobs, they should receive more seniority, promotions, and raises. However, investment in family and other "non-market" responsibilities should be negatively related to earnings. Human capital theorists posit that the more time, effort,

and interest which prospective or current employees spend on non-work-related tasks, the less time, effort, and interest they will have for paid work. As a result, they will receive fewer socioeconomic rewards compared to more work-invested individuals.

Finally, although “pure” human capital theory may not attend to these issues, some researchers argue that certain characteristics of individuals condition their ability to accumulate and apply human capital investments. These characteristics, such as sex and race, are often the basis for discrimination by employers, co-workers, or other institutional sources (e.g., educational tracking, gender socialization).

Human capital theory predicts that any worker (male or female) who is more involved in the family will be less involved in and/or have less effort available for market work, and thus will have reduced earnings over time compared to less involved men or women. This is because the involved parents would continue to lose work experience and other work-related qualifications as they continue to devote less time and effort to the workplace (controlling for initial human capital variables). It is also possible that parents with child care responsibilities will choose to work in occupations which require less work effort; Becker (1985) implies that both men and women with high levels of household responsibilities pursue work in female-dominated occupations (which he assumes are less effort-intensive), compared with men and women who have fewer household responsibilities (Bielby and Bielby 1988).

Human capital theory assumes that involved working parents are less invested in their jobs, expend less effort during their market work, work fewer hours, choose less demanding jobs, and are more likely to forego greater responsibilities or to leave the

workplace compared to non-involved parents. If this is the case, human capital theory would predict that fathers and mothers who are highly involved in their children's care should experience lower wages and less mobility than non-involved parents. Although the process of attaining human capital is not gender-neutral (Becker 1985), the consequence of having differential human capital investments is an economic process which should affect men and women in similar ways. The key to this relationship is that the theory predicts no gender-parenting interactions as a result of economic factors.

Empirical predictions based on human capital theory:

- Involved fathers will experience losses, or smaller gains, in earnings and occupational prestige over time compared to relatively less-involved fathers.
- Involved fathers and involved mothers should experience approximately equal (or more similar) socioeconomic disadvantages as a result of their parenting responsibilities, compared to relatively non-involved parents

Socialist Feminism

Conflict theorists (including both Marxist and socialist feminists) took issue with human capital theory's functionalist, neo-classical economic assumption of "an open, fully competitive market process in which individual characteristics are identified and rewarded according to their societal value" (Horan 1978:536). Marxist feminists argue that capitalist societies are not open, but instead are characterized by a strict control of economic production and the laboring class by the owners of the means of production. These theorists explain women's subordination under capitalism by linking women's oppression to the evolution of private property, and by arguing that women make up a

reserve army of labor which can be used and then discarded as demand expands and contracts (Simeral 1978).

Socialist feminists have expanded this perspective by examining the interactive effects of patriarchy and mode of production on the position of women in various societies. According to socialist feminists, capitalism creates a society in which some classes dominate over others, and in which male workers will always occupy a privileged position relative to some female workers. This is accomplished through the sex-segregation of the occupational structure and through women's systematic exclusion from male-dominated jobs, many of which are more highly paid than female-dominated jobs. Eisenstein (1979) argues that in patriarchal capitalist societies, "patriarchy is the political system of control which serves the purposes of the capitalist economic system, the locus of the generation of class" (Acker 1980:31).

The common thread running through conflict theories is the acknowledgment of the struggles for power which occur within societies. Whether this struggle is between classes or among a complex dynamic of classes, genders, and races, the focus is on the quest for economic, political, social, and other resources which provide access to power.

A socialist feminist explanation of gender inequality in socioeconomic attainment looks to women's and men's position in the class structure and to their relative access to valued resources. In our capitalist society, men have an advantage over women in attaining socially-valued resources. Men as a group manipulate the power which that advantage creates within the patriarchal social structure in order to perpetuate their dominance; this arrangement makes being male a valued resource.

Patriarchy is based upon men's control of women's labor power. The existence and persistence of gender differences in educational and occupational opportunities, the sex-segregated occupational structure, gender discrimination in hiring, promotion, and pay, and gender inequalities in the division of domestic labor are evidence of men's advantages in our society.

In the past (and to a significant extent today), men have maintained their power over women within classes by refusing to engage in the "woman's job" of parenting: "child rearing in our society places one in a powerless position, while avoiding child rearing results in power and prestige" (Polatnick 1973, cited in Franklin 1988:22). Although men have increased their participation in child rearing, socialist feminism suggests that men will continue in their efforts to maintain their power advantages over women both in the workplace and within families. In addition, socialist feminism suggests that if men do begin to increase their participation in child rearing, they will redefine it as a positive and prestigious activity in order to benefit themselves.

General Implications of Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism suggests that men benefit directly from the capitalist and patriarchal structure of paid and unpaid work in our society (Sokoloff 1988). These theorists hypothesize that characteristics of the economy (such as the existence of a split labor market and a sex-segregated occupational structure) and male privilege work together to ensure women's disadvantages in the workplace and within families. Thus, socialist feminism predicts that even if men are highly involved in parenting, they will

still be socioeconomically superior to women. In particular, this theory predicts that involved fathers and male breadwinners will make greater gains in earnings over time than involved mothers and female breadwinners. The structure and ideology of society can therefore be seen as working to benefit men, one group that holds power and influence in our society.

Socialist feminism predicts that these outcomes will be conditioned by class, a concept which is central to the theory's explanations. Thus, while men will tend to receive benefits which women do not, groups of men who have greater access to power and prestige will receive more benefits than do other men. Higher class men will not only have more economic freedom to become involved fathers, but they will also have the power to ensure that they are not sanctioned because of this involvement. Lower class involved fathers, however, will not have this protection, and thus may be less rewarded in the workplace compared to higher status men and (perhaps) non-involved fathers of all classes. Socialist feminism therefore predicts a gender-class interaction, such that the relationship between parental involvement and labor market mobility will be positive and stronger for higher-class parents compared to lower-class parents.

Empirical Predictions Based on Socialist Feminism

- Men who are highly involved in their children's care will experience greater gains (or smaller losses) in earnings and prestige over time than will women who are highly involved in their children's care.
- Regardless of their level of child care involvement, higher class men and women will experience greater gains in earnings and prestige over time than lower class men and women.

Although socialist feminism recognizes the possibility of a gender-class interaction, the theory does not account for what might happen if men or women display a socially-inappropriate gender. For example, socialist feminism does not make a prediction about the relative socioeconomic consequences which involved fathers and childless or non-involved mothers will experience. It is here that the gender display/hegemonic masculinity theories make some useful contributions.

Gender Display and Hegemonic Masculinity: the Cultural and Symbolic Performance of Gender

One critique of socialist feminism is that the theory focuses on the macro-structural level while ignoring the micro-structural level. The theoretical work of social constructionists, ethnomethodologists, and symbolic interactionists fills in this gap by providing a link between the macro-structure and the micro level of day-to-day interaction. At the same time, theorists such as West and Zimmerman (1987) and Kessler and McKenna (1978) provide an explanation for how gender and gender inequality are socially constructed and reaffirmed through interactions with others.

According to West and Zimmerman (1987), gender is an activity which is characteristic of situations and interactions, and is performed by individuals. Based on cues and stereotypes, actors display certain genders within interactions, and perceivers interact on the basis of these expressions of gender. In engaging in these activities, we legitimate gender and the perceived differences between the genders by making our

social constructions seem natural. In this way, gender expectations and gender display can lead to a self-fulfilling prophesy in which individuals continually conform to gender stereotypes (Deaux and Kite 1987). Actors are held accountable for displaying and reconfirming the "appropriate" gender in their interactions, and perceivers use altercasting in order to create the expected behaviors.

Doing gender typically involves highlighting the differences between masculinity and femininity (e.g., doing housework is a symbolic affirmation of women as good wives and mothers, while doing market work is a symbolic affirmation of men as good husbands and fathers). As such, and because the gendered characteristics are differently valued by society, doing gender also involves expressing and legitimating dominance and deference between men and women. Physical and symbolic segregation (e.g., through the sex-typing and segregation of male and female tasks and through gender differences in verbal and non-verbal language) both emphasizes and perpetuates these social constructions of masculinity and femininity as different and unequal.

Symbolic interactionism provides a useful tool for understanding the interactional dynamics between and among women and men. Gender can be interpreted as a cultural resource which is performed and legitimated through social interactions in all situations. Men and women perform gender displays at work and in families; paid work for men and child care and housework for women are symbolic markers of gender (Fenstermaker et al. 1991; Brines 1994). Gender ideology about parenting and working for money contributes to a workplace culture in which co-workers and employers intentionally and unintentionally reward people for gender

conformity and punish them for gender non-conformity (Fenstermaker et al. 1991; Reskin and Padavic 1994). This perspective posits that, as with household work, the work-family interface provides a setting in which masculinity and femininity are displayed. The performance of child care facilitates a display of femininity for women, while the non-performance of child care and/or the performance of paid work facilitate a display of masculinity for men (West and Zimmerman 1987; Pleck 1977). Any deviation from the institutionalized norms of male providership and female caretaking invites the risk of negative judgments from others; men and women are held socially accountable for doing the "appropriate" gender (Brines 1994).

Thus, involved fathers and breadwinning mothers may suffer pay discrimination, lost promotions, and other negative socioeconomic effects of their gender non-conformity. Involved fathers may be more disadvantaged because women are now expected to both work and parent (or at least are not derogated for engaging in paid work), but men are expected not to devote themselves to their parental duties at the expense of their paid work responsibilities (Gerson 1994).

This perspective also predicts that the effects of implementing work-family policies will vary by gender. Because of the ideological separation of private and public spheres in our culture, it is expected that women will be most committed to motherhood, and that women will therefore use work-family policies much more than men. Women who work and who use these policies are "doing" their gender less incorrectly than are men who are involved in parenting. However, men are defined by their work roles, and are not supposed to show significant interest in family; men are

certainly not expected to be primarily responsible for child care. When working fathers use work-family policies, then, their gender displays are inconsistent with cultural expectations. This could lead to greater difficulties and disadvantages for men who combine work and family, because it is both structurally and culturally unexpected for men to be primary care providers.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity may explain why men would receive greater penalties than women when they perform a representation of gender which does not correspond with culturally-resonant stereotypes (Connell 1987). Hegemonic masculinity introduces patriarchy into the system of the symbolic enactment of gender. Because masculinity occupies a privileged position in relation to femininity, men may be held more accountable for doing their gender correctly. Thus, a man who violates the cultural expectations of masculinity during the performance of gender may be sanctioned more harshly than a woman who violates the expectations of femininity.

Regarding the performance of gender through market- and family-related activities, the hegemonic masculinity perspective predicts that, compared to male breadwinners, involved fathers will earn less and have reduced income over time because they aren't conforming to traditional definitions of masculinity. In earning less and perhaps being an inadequate provider, these men undermine their masculinity even further. Even though men are in a relatively powerful and advantaged position compared to women, men who don't conform to norms of appropriate masculine behavior (such as gay men and, perhaps, working involved fathers) are sanctioned (e.g., Connell 1987). Although contemporary definitions of masculinity do allow and perhaps

expect men to be involved in their children's lives, the burden of responsibility and primary care for the children still falls on the mother's shoulders. According to this perspective, fathers who are highly involved in their children's care would suffer worse consequences than female breadwinners because men would be given stronger penalties for "unmasculine" behavior.

General Implications of Theories of Gender Display and Hegemonic Masculinity

The gender perspective suggests that the relationship between child care involvement and socioeconomic attainment may have less to do with economic exchange/human capital variables than with gender relations which symbolize and enact masculinity and femininity (Brines 1994; Berk 1985). This perspective predicts that every person is held accountable for performing a culturally-resonant set of gendered activities in their daily interactions. If an individual does not display a socially-acceptable gender, she or he will be sanctioned by her or his audience in an attempt to restore normative behavior.

Hypotheses derived from this perspective are by definition gender-specific. When men are highly involved in their children's care, they are performing gender-atypical activities; because of their inappropriate gender displays, they will be sanctioned by others around them, including their employers and co-workers. Thus, regardless of an individual's human capital investments, this theory predicts that men who are highly involved with their children will have lower socioeconomic attainment than will men who are not highly involved with their children (that is, men who

conform to cultural expectations during their performances of gender), all else being equal. Although this prediction is similar to that of human capital theory, the mechanisms that lead to these consequences are quite different.

In addition, and in contrast to human capital and socialist feminist theories, the gender display perspective predicts that involved working mothers may experience fewer negative consequences than do involved working fathers, all else being equal. This is because child care and engaging in paid work (especially when it is necessary to support one's children) are less gender-inappropriate for women in contemporary society than is child care involvement for men. Therefore, the slope of the relationship will be steeper for men because child care involvement is more salient for men than for women.

The gender display perspective also makes predictions about the socioeconomic consequences of involved versus non-involved parenting for women who work for pay. Given that one central expression of femininity is mothering, childless women as well as uninvolved mothers are doing their gender inappropriately, and will be sanctioned for their behavior. Because being an uninvolved mother is likely to elicit more social disapproval than is being an involved mother, this theory predicts that they would have lower levels of socioeconomic attainment compared to involved mothers, controlling for initial and current human capital variables.

Notice that the predictions of gender display/hegemonic masculinity are the opposite of the consequences predicted by socialist feminism. Socialist feminists assert that patriarchy will ensure men advantages over women regardless of their behavior.

However, gender display and hegemonic masculinity assert that patriarchy will have the opposite effect: that when those in privileged positions violate gendered expectations during their gender performances, they will receive greater penalties than would those who occupy less valued positions within the gender hierarchy. Therefore, in contrast to the gender display perspective, socialist feminism predicts that class distinctions are more important in determining outcomes than are socially-correct gender performances. If uninvolved mothers earn more or have greater gains in earnings over time than involved mothers (controlling for human capital), the findings would be more consistent with socialist feminism than with gender display theory.

Given that the symbolic display of gender is enacted on an interpersonal level, it is quite possible that the consequences of doing an inappropriate gender will be felt most strongly in private domains. If this is the case, then social disapproval for gender-inappropriate behavior may be experienced quite strongly in interpersonal interactions, but not reflected in economic outcomes. Conceptually, then, it is important to note that the socioeconomic consequences of involved parenting may not support the gender display perspective.

Empirical Predictions Based on Theories of Gender Display and Hegemonic Masculinity:

- Involved fathers will experience losses or smaller gains in earnings and prestige over time than will relatively less-involved fathers.
- Involved fathers will experience losses or smaller gains in earnings and prestige over time than will any mothers (involved or non-involved).
- Less involved or non-involved mothers experience losses or smaller gains in earnings and prestige over time than will involved mothers.

Summary

It is not clear how involved fathers will be received in the workplace given their parenting responsibilities. It is also unclear what similarities and differences will emerge in the workplace outcomes of involved and non-involved fathers and mothers. Human capital, socialist feminist, and gender display/hegemonic masculinity theories differ in their predictions of the consequences of involved parenting. It is not readily apparent which theory, if any, will best explain the empirical relationship between involved parenting and socioeconomic mobility.

These are important issues to address, since the vast majority of workers (both male and female) will become parents at some point in their lives (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 1993). In addition, as male gender roles expand to include more expressiveness and nurturance (Cancian 1987), more men may take a greater interest in fathering (LaRossa 1992). Indeed, increasing numbers of men are winning shared or residential custody of children after divorce, and fathers with employed wives more often provide child care for their young children (Gerson 1993). Increasing men's participation in and responsibility for child rearing is essential for women's equality in the family and in the workplace, since the weight of the "second shift" may make it less feasible for women to do either (Kimmel 1992). If working fathers experience disadvantages similar to those of working mothers, this structural factor may be a roadblock to men's greater participation in family life. By elucidating the workplace consequences of fathers' greater involvement with their children, we can better understand and confront the system of gender stratification which pushes women toward family life and men away

from it. We also gain insight into the increasingly complex interactions between these traditional forces and the requirements of the contemporary marketplace.

Chapter 3: Methodology

General Research Questions

This study is motivated by an interest in the relationship between parental involvement at one point in time and subsequent gains or losses in monetary and non-monetary workplace outcomes. The particular set of questions which this study addresses is as follows: 1.) What does it mean to be an “involved” parent? 2.) Is parental involvement associated with gains or losses in a worker’s economic mobility? 3.) How does the effect of parenting on economic mobility differ for fathers and mothers, if at all? 4.) Are the patterned socioeconomic consequences of fathers’ and mothers’ high involvement in child care more consistent with predictions based on human capitalist, socialist feminist, or gender display/hegemonic masculinity theory?

This chapter describes the data and methods used to examine these questions. The chapter begins with a discussion of the longitudinal data set, sample, and dependent and control variables used in this study. This chapter also provides a map of the analytic strategies used to explore the data. This information sets the stage for the next two chapters, which explore ways to conceptualize and operationalize parental involvement.

Data: The National Survey of Families and Households

The quantitative phase of this project uses data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), a nationally representative longitudinal survey which includes a wide variety of questions about family experiences. In this survey, one randomly-selected household member was selected as the primary respondent. This person completed an interview and self-administered questionnaire; the average session lasted a total of one hour and forty minutes. The respondent's spouse or cohabiting partner completed a shorter, self-administered questionnaire which asked a sub-set of questions from the main interview. African-Americans, Latinos, Puerto Ricans, single parents, cohabiting persons, persons recently married, and persons with step-children were double sampled. The first phase of the study is based on interviews conducted during 1987 and 1988; the final sample size is 13,046. The second phase of the study is based on follow-up interviews conducted during 1992, 1993, and 1994. The final sample size for the follow-up study is 10,008.

All individuals responded to a variety of questions designed to determine their household composition, their work and family roles, their time expenditures for these roles, and their attitudes about various family-related responsibilities. Examples of variables indicating family responsibilities include the division of housework and child care labor, marital or cohabitation status, and ages of children. Occupational characteristics are indicated by variables such as the respondents' work schedule and self-employment status. By assessing the effects of these variables on changes in earnings and occupational prestige, this study demonstrates the extent to which the

consequences of the competing but intertwined responsibilities of working and parenting are a result of gender, family characteristics, and workplace characteristics. The longitudinal aspect of this study also addresses questions about the causal order of this phenomenon; for example, whether men with lower income or earning potential become highly involved fathers, or whether men who are highly involved receive lower incomes as a result of their parenting responsibilities.

Sample Selection

Cases were selected from the initial data set (NSFH-1) if the respondent had one or more biological or adopted child(ren) aged 18 or younger living in the household. In order to be included in the study, respondents also had to be working for pay at both the time of the initial interview and the follow-up interview. The total sample size is 3,327 (1,255 fathers and 2,072 mothers). Although the process of developing indicators of parental involvement will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, it is important to note here that there were a variety of different questions asked about parenting based on different ages of and relationships with children. Only one question was asked of all parents. To account for this, parents were divided into a total of seven subsamples based on the questions asked. Table 3-1 shows the composition of the subsamples.

Table 3-1: Number of observations for each subsample, by gender

subsample	fathers	mothers	total
focal child age 0-4	467	647	1114
focal child age 3-4	158	241	399
focal child age 5-11	435	670	1105
focal child age 12-18	345	747	1092
focal child age 0-18	1250	2062	3312
any/all child(ren) age 0-4	329	464	793
any/all child(ren) age 5-18	852	1478	2330

Variables: Measuring Workplace Outcomes

The dependent variables in this study measure aspects of economic as well as non-monetary labor force attainment as one method of examining the relationship between parental involvement and socioeconomic mobility. In this section, I discuss how I operationalized these measures of longitudinal outcomes. The dependent variables are the same in all subgroups; as a result, this section is divided into three subsections, each of which correspond to one longitudinal indicator of labor force outcomes.

I. Overall Change in Earnings

The first indicator of labor force outcomes in this project measures the overall increase or decrease in wage, salary, and self-employment earnings which the parent experienced between 1987 (time 1) and 1994 (time 2). To construct this variable, I began by inflating or deflating all earnings amounts to be consistent with 1987 dollars, using Bureau of Labor CPI adjustment indices. I then took the difference between the parents' 1994 earnings and their 1987 earnings. The results of this calculation are documented in

Table 3-2, which lists the median, quartile values, mean, and standard deviation of the variable for each subgroup. In order to standardize the format of the dependent variables, I divided the value of this variable by 1,000 in the bivariate and multivariate analyses.

TABLE 3-2: Overall change in earnings (1987 to 1994) in constant 1987 dollars, divided by 1000 (ediffk). Shown in quartiles.

	0%	25%	50%	75%	100%	N	mean	s.d.
focal child 0-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-439.25	-3.00	2.19	8.58	255.10	437	3.06	29.29
<i>mothers</i>	-71.07	-3.00	1.35	6.43	105.90	601	1.93	12.31
focal child 3-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-439.25	-2.99	2.44	9.44	255.10	145	3.18	46.26
<i>mothers</i>	-28.00	-2.34	1.57	6.79	49.90	233	2.03	9.68
focal child 5-11								
<i>fathers</i>	-269.90	-6.42	2.15	6.81	469.45	402	3.87	36.40
<i>mothers</i>	-30.00	-2.17	1.79	7.02	92.62	612	2.73	11.04
focal child 12-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-410.70	-9.18	-1.60	3.57	327.45	312	-4.85	35.96
<i>mothers</i>	-77.17	-3.02	1.44	6.50	218.08	695	1.73	13.41
focal child 0-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-439.25	-5.97	5.55	6.85	469.45	1,152	80	33.80
<i>mothers</i>	-77.17	-2.85	1.44	6.58	218.08	1,906	2.11	12.33
any child(ren) 0-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-66.28	-1.73	3.08	9.01	255.10	309	4.74	20.60
<i>mothers</i>	-71.07	-4.32	1.26	6.35	105.90	432	1.32	12.75
any child(ren) 5-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-439.25	-7.43	-4.73	5.48	469.45	780	-1.45	37.45
<i>mothers</i>	-77.17	-2.50	1.57	6.80	218.08	1,365	2.45	12.48

Source: NSFH 1 and NSFH 2

The distributions are similar in shape across the subgroups; the distributions tend to be normal, with most parents experiencing a slight increase in their earnings over time (approximately \$1,000 to \$3,000). There are also clear patterns in the means across subgroups. In several subgroups, mothers' increase in earnings is much greater than fathers' increase. This is the case for parents of focal children aged 5-11 and 12-18, and parents of any children who were 5-18 in 1987. In two subgroups (focal child 12-18 and any child aged 5-18 in 1987), fathers actually experienced an average *decrease* in their earnings across time; this does not happen to mothers' earnings in any subgroup.

In contrast, fathers' increase in earnings is far greater than that of mothers' for parents whose children were between 0 and 4 years old in 1987 (focal child 0-4 and any/all child(ren) age 0-4). These findings are consistent with the predictions of this study; given that the normative expectation is that fathers will spend more time with older children (compared to other fathers), any negative effect of parental involvement on labor force outcomes should be more pronounced in families with older children. In contrast, given the expectation that mothers will spend more time with infants and toddlers (compared to fathers and mothers of older children), any negative effect of involvement on mothers' earnings should be more pronounced in families with younger children. This gender difference in parenting and related workplace outcomes is also quite noticeable in the second dependent variable, the change in earnings as a proportion of the parents' 1987 earnings.

II. Proportionate Change in Earnings

The second dependent variable is the parents' increase or decrease in earnings (adjusted for inflation) as a proportion of their earnings at time 1. In order to create this variable, I divided the change in earnings from 1987 to 1994 by the earnings value for 1987. Table 3-3 documents these results.

TABLE 3-3: Change in earnings (1987 to 1994) as a proportion of 1987 earnings, in constant 1987 dollars (earnprop). Shown in quartiles.

focal child	0%	25%	50%	75%	100%	N	mean	s.d.
focal child 0-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-1	-.14	.11	.49	48.78	437	.63	3.04
<i>mothers</i>	-1	-.68	.13	.98	112.18	601	2.23	10.28
focal child 3-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-1	-.12	.12	.57	23.3	145	.76	2.84
<i>mothers</i>	-1	-.50	.18	.77	112.18	233	2.25	11.70
focal child 5-11								
<i>fathers</i>	-1	-.28	.01	.31	45.89	402	.33	2.77
<i>mothers</i>	-1	-.27	.17	.76	126.18	612	1.64	7.56
focal child 12-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-1	-.37	-.06	.13	6.09	312	-.02	.08
<i>mothers</i>	-1	-.31	.10	.64	203.48	695	1.47	9.61
focal child 0-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-1	-.23	.02	.34	48.78	1152	.35	2.53
<i>mothers</i>	-1	-.37	.12	.77	203.48	1906	1.76	9.24
any child(ren) 0-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-1	-.09	.14	.53	48.78	309	.65	3.32
<i>mothers</i>	-1	-.80	.10	.88	110.61	432	1.71	8.51
any child(ren) 5-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-1	-.28	-.02	.24	45.89	780	.22	2.16
<i>mothers</i>	-1	-.29	.15	.75	126.18	1365	1.66	7.86

Source: NSFH 1 and NSFH 2

Constructing the variable as a proportionate increase or decrease in earnings provides a clearer picture of how meaningful the change in earnings is likely to be for the parents. In particular, it sheds light on the gendered nature of the relationship between parenting, age of child(ren), and labor force outcomes. Once change in earnings is expressed as a proportion of 1987 earnings, the differences in fathers' and mothers' outcomes across subgroups disappears. According to this variable, mothers of children of all ages experienced a much greater proportionate increase in their earnings compared to fathers. The mean, standard deviation, and upper quartile statistics all document this significant increase in mothers' earnings. In addition, fathers' experiences now seem more consistent with mothers', in that parents who had infants and toddlers in 1987 experienced the greatest proportionate increase in their earnings over time.

As I mentioned previously, the most striking finding is the large proportion of mothers who are earning significantly more money in 1994 than they were in 1987; approximately 13% of mothers in all subgroups increased their earnings by 100% or more. Although this result is understandable, given cultural expectations that mothers of young children will focus more on parenting than on the workplace (compared to fathers and mothers with older children), it complicates the statistical analyses by skewing the variable distributions. Notice that the distributions in Table 3-3 are somewhat normally distributed, but each has a large number of outliers at the maximum values.

III. Change in Prestige Ranking of Occupation

The final indicator of workplace outcomes is a measure of non-monetary labor force attainment. This variable indicates the change in the occupational prestige of the parents' job. An occupation's prestige score can range from 0 points (the lowest in prestige) to 100 points (the highest); occupations are assigned scores during studies in which respondents are asked to subjectively rank a series of occupations from highest to lowest in status (Nakao and Treas 1990). These rankings are remarkably similar across industrialized nations. Higher prestige jobs, such as physician (86 points in 1990) are often more highly rewarded both in terms of social status and income. However, this is not exclusively true, since college professors (74 points), for example, have approximately the same score as lawyers (75 points), but do not make as much money. For this study, a one point increase in occupational prestige indicates simply that the respondent has improved his or her social status based on the national ranking of her or his occupation.

In constructing this variable, I merged the 1989 prestige rankings of occupations with the 1980 census occupational codes used in the NSFH-1. Although the NSFH-2 occupations are coded using the 1990 census numbers, the vast majority of the codes remained the same, so I used the same prestige rankings for these occupational codes.¹ To construct the change in occupational prestige from 1987 to 1994, I subtracted the

¹ In cases where the 1990 occupational codes were new additions to the Census classifications, I assigned them an equivalent 1980 occupation code.

prestige point values from these two time periods. The results are documented in Table 3-4.

TABLE 3-4: Overall change in occupational prestige (1987 to 1994) (prdiff). Shown in quartiles.

	0%	25%	50%	75%	100%	N	mean	s.d.
focal child 0-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-37	-4	0	6	50	396	1.03	11.46
<i>mothers</i>	-41	-5	0	6	38	359	0.49	12.29
focal child 3-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-37	-3	0	5	33	137	1.28	10.48
<i>mothers</i>	-36	-5	0	5.5	37	156	.58	12.27
focal child 5-11								
<i>fathers</i>	-47	-6	0	4	41	359	-0.10	11.76
<i>mothers</i>	-32	-4	0	6	37	442	1.14	11.04
focal child 12-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-51	-4	0	4	44	269	-0.02	11.30
<i>mothers</i>	-33	-4	0	6	48	544	0.90	11.78
focal child 0-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-51	-5	0	5	50	1027	0.35	11.53
<i>mothers</i>	-41	-4	0	6	48	1342	0.88	11.67
any child(ren) 0-4								
<i>fathers</i>	-25	-4	0	6	46	284	0.87	11.24
<i>mothers</i>	-41	-6	0	7	38	249	0.63	13.15
any child(ren) 5-18								
<i>fathers</i>	-51	-5	0	4	50	691	0.18	11.64
<i>mothers</i>	-33	-5	0	6	48	1011	0.81	11.33

Source: NSFH 1 and NSFH 2

The distributions for this variable are fairly normal across all subgroups, with a median value of 0 (no change in prestige) for all groups. The average change in prestige was approximately one prestige point for both mothers and fathers; this suggests that a majority of parents in this study either remained at the same job between 1987 and 1994 or moved to a job with a roughly equivalent prestige ranking. Some people did experience a slight increase or decrease in their occupational prestige, but these changes are less consistent with the study predictions than are the previous two variables. Fathers of older children are more likely to experience a smaller increase or even a decrease in their occupational prestige, while fathers of younger children are more likely to experience a larger increase in occupational prestige (compared to other fathers). Mothers of small children experience the smallest increases in prestige compared to other mothers. Interpretations of these patterns will be more informed after the effects of other variables, such as respondent's age, have been controlled.

Summary

In this section I have described and documented the measurement of the dependent variables. The increase or decrease in earnings between 1987 and 1994, change in earnings as a proportion of 1987 earnings, and change in occupational prestige ranking between 1987 and 1994 are all measures of changes in economic or non-monetary aspects of labor force attainment. In the next section, I turn to the measurement of the control variables.

Control Variables

In Chapter 2 I introduced several theories, each of which make different predictions about the nature of the relationship between parental involvement and labor force outcomes. In order to examine these relationships, it is necessary to control for a number of potentially confounding variables. This section documents the construction of these control variables, and is organized in sub-sections which correspond to different sets of control variables. I discuss the conceptual and empirical construction of the major independent variables, indicators of parental involvement, in Chapters 4 and 5.

Sociodemographic Controls

Sociodemographic characteristics such as age, race, education, and parents' education may have a confounding effect on the relationship between child care involvement and marketplace outcomes. For example, a worker's age is related to both his or her labor market outcomes and his or her parental involvement: workers in many occupations experience the greatest mobility between the ages of 25 and 35 (England and Farkas 1986), and this is also the age group where most parents face the greatest demands on their time and energy from one or more young children. Thus, if the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes is weak, it may be because the relationship is being obscured by age. Controlling for age should clarify the relationship between parental involvement and market outcomes.

Race is another characteristic which can potentially affect both labor market outcomes and parental involvement. For example, race affects socioeconomic attainment through overt and institutional racism in educational and occupational institutions (Ezorsky, 1988). This places racial minorities at a severe disadvantage in the marketplace and contributes to the high percentage of African-Americans and Latinos who live in poverty (Bureau of Census, 1994). Race also affects parental involvement, particularly to the extent that African-American families are much more likely than white families to be single-parent, mother-headed families (Cherlin, 1992). This structural factor, by definition, increases mothers' involvement and decreases fathers' involvement with their children. In addition, some cultural factors, particularly in ethnic communities, may reinforce a traditional gendered division of labor in the family, and thus decrease men's parental involvement (Baca Zinn and Eitzen, 1996).

Thus, a strong relationship between involvement and outcomes (e.g., where highly involved parents have consistently lower attainment) may actually be due to the confounding associations of race with labor force attainment and parenting. These effects will vary by gender, since we would expect higher parental involvement and lower outcomes for women of color, but we would expect lower parental involvement and lower outcomes for men of color, compared to whites. Thus, controlling for race should attenuate the involvement—outcomes relationship for women and enhance the relationship for men.

A parent's educational attainment may also affect the relationship between parental involvement and workplace outcomes. Individuals with more education

generally receive better job opportunities than those with less education. One might argue, then, that parents with less education would be more likely to select themselves out of the labor market (and into parenting) because they are less competitive (Becker 1981). In addition, education tends to promote non-traditional ideology and a more egalitarian division of household labor (Thornton, et al. 1983); as such, greater educational attainment should be related to higher levels of parental involvement for fathers. A weak relationship between involvement and outcomes could, therefore, be an artifact of the relationships between education, outcomes, and parenting, since more educated people are likely to be both more economically successful and more involved. Controlling for education should clarify the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes.

Members of different social classes will have different workplace outcomes because social class conditions individuals' employment and advancement opportunities. Family background, particularly father's education (Blau and Duncan 1967) and mother's education, consistently impacts a child's educational and occupational attainment. Family background also affects an adult child's parenting behavior. For example, working class families tend to have a more traditional division of household labor than do middle class families (Rubin 1976). An individual with more educated parents may also have more liberal attitudes about parenting and favor a more egalitarian division of family labor. Thus, if the relationship between parental involvement and market outcomes seems weak, it may be because family background

characteristics are obscuring this relationship. Controlling for parents' education should allow for a stronger relationship between involvement and outcomes.

The variables which indicate the parents' sociodemographic characteristics (age, race, educational attainment, and education of father and mother) are coded in the standard fashion. Race is coded as a series of dichotomous variables indicating whether the respondent is Black, White (not Hispanic), or of any other race. Respondent's education, as well as his or her father's and mother's education, are coded as years of schooling.

Attitudes

Attitudes about gender, parenting, and work, as well as religious fundamentalism, may also affect both parental involvement and labor force outcomes. Parents who are more traditional in their attitudes about women's and men's roles may choose to work in gender-traditional occupations (which have different pay scales, in that people in traditionally-female jobs tend to earn less than people in traditionally male jobs; Reskin and Padavic 1994) or may be differently-committed to working in general, compared to more egalitarian parents. For example, a highly traditional mother may limit her time in paid work (and thus accumulate less human capital), and work in a traditionally female occupation (which usually pays less than traditionally male occupations) in order to fulfill traditional gendered expectations.

Similarly, parents with traditional gender attitudes tend to have a less egalitarian division of labor in the home (Thornton et al. 1983). This also tends to be the case for

people who are highly religious; people who identify themselves as religious fundamentalists tend to be more traditional in their family relationships (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 1996). Thus, attitudinal differences may contribute to both labor market outcomes and parental involvement. It is possible then to incorrectly ascribe to involvement an effect on labor market outcomes which is actually due to attitudes. For example, if fathers who are non-involved have high labor market outcomes, I might erroneously conclude that the relationship of interest is strong because of the confounding effect of traditional attitudes. In this case, controlling for attitudes would cause the involvement-outcomes relationship to diminish.

Variables which indicate parents' attitudes include the work-family/gender attitude scale, the family/cohabitation/premarital sex attitude scale, and the religious fundamentalism scale. Respondents in the NSFH-1 answered several sets of attitude-related questions in the self-administered questionnaire. All questions which addressed issues relevant to gender, marriage, and family roles were included in these scales. Factor analyses with varimax rotation revealed three factors in the remaining set of variables; these factors corresponded with attitudes about gender and work-family roles, attitudes about cohabitation and premarital sex, and attitudes about religion. Based on the results of the factor analysis, I constructed three linear summative scales in reference to each of these three common factors. I used an equal-weighting scheme; higher numbers indicate higher levels of gender/family role liberalism or lower levels of religious fundamentalism. Table 3-5 lists the individual items which comprise each of the three scales used in this study. Responses to each of these items ranged on a scale

from 1 to 5, from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree,” or from “strongly approve” to “strongly disapprove.”

Table 3-5: Components Of Attitude Scales

<p><u>work-family/gender attitude scale items:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> -1. mothers who work full-time when their youngest child is under 5^a 2. children under 3 being cared for all day in a day care center^a 3. mother who work part-time when their youngest child is under 5^a 4. it is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family^b 5. preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed^b
<p><u>definition of family/cohabitation/premarital sex scale items:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. women who have a child without getting married^a 2. a couple with an unhappy marriage getting a divorce if the youngest child is under 5^a 3. it is okay for unmarried people to live together even if they have no interest in marriage^b 4. it is okay for unmarried 18-year-olds to have sex if they have strong affection for each other^b 5. it is okay for an unmarried couple to live together as long as they have plans to marry each other^b
<p><u>anti-religious fundamentalism scale items:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the Bible is God’s word and everything happened or will happen exactly as it says^b 2. the Bible is the answer to all important human problems^b 3. I regard myself as a religious fundamentalist^b

Each of these scales is approximately normally distributed, though the cohabitation scale is nearly bimodal. Interestingly, mothers and fathers tend to be quite similarly distributed on all of these scales, though mothers are slightly more liberal on the gender and work-family role attitude scale.

^a (strongly disapprove–strongly approve, 5 point scale)

^b (strongly disagree–strongly agree, 5 point scale)

Job Characteristics

Characteristics of the parent's employment situation will affect market outcomes by defining his or her human capital investments, and by conditioning his or her ability to transform these investments into economic rewards. For example, parents who were employed full-time for an entire year will typically have better workplace outcomes than will parents who were only employed part-time for part of the year. These same variables place constraints on parental involvement, so that parents who are employed full-time will typically be less involved than parents who work part-time, simply because they have fewer hours free from paid work to be with their children. Thus, even if highly involved parents have poor socioeconomic attainment, this finding could be a result of the confounding effects of work obligations. Controlling for work obligations will clarify the involvement-outcomes relationship.

Certain other job characteristics may also obscure the relationship between parental involvement and market outcomes, such as the amount of flexibility in a worker's schedule and whether she or he is salaried or paid on an hourly basis. For example, parents who work in salaried positions may have more freedom and flexibility with their time, allowing them more opportunities to advance their careers as well as to spend time with their children. In contrast, those who work in positions paid by the hour may have less flexibility and more immediately-apparent costs to involved parenting. In addition, salaried jobs and those with flexible schedules may be occupations which are more economically rewarding than hourly or fixed-schedule occupations. If highly involved parents also have successful labor market outcomes, it

may be that the relationship is being confounded by characteristics of the workers' jobs, such as the flexibility and/or salaried nature of the positions. Controlling for these variables should elucidate the relationship between involvement and outcomes.

Other relevant occupational characteristics may also confound the relationship, but in a different manner. These include whether or not the parent brings work home, whether or not she or he travels overnight for work, and his or her tenure in a certain position. Workers who are willing to take work home, who go on business trips, and who have more seniority in a job will likely have greater labor market outcomes than those who do not demonstrate this commitment. However, these same characteristics which can enhance mobility could also convey more workplace responsibilities, which may reduce the amount of time and energy which a worker can devote to his or her children. Thus, these characteristics may obscure the relationship between involvement and outcomes.

Work obligation is represented by a set of dichotomous variables indicating whether the respondent worked full-time, full-year; part-time, full-year; full-time, part-year; or part-time, part-year. The amount of flexibility in a parent's job is indicated by whether or not s/he works the same schedule each week. The type of pay is represented by a set of dummy variables indicating whether the parent is paid by the hour, on a salary, or on some other basis. Whether the parent brings work home is measured as a dichotomous variable, as is whether or not the parent has to travel overnight for business. Finally, the length of time a worker has spent in her or his current job is measured in months. This variable was constructed from information

about when the respondent started in his or her current job, subtracted from the date of the follow-up interview.

Family Characteristics

Family characteristics affect the amount of time and energy which a person puts into household work, child care work, and paid work. They also affect the relationship between parenting and workplace outcomes. Two such variables are the age of the youngest child in the household and the number of hours per week which the parent spends doing housework. People who spend a lot of time in the household may have lower market outcomes than those who spend less time in the household, regardless of whether or not they are involved parents. For example, a worker who has a very young child in the household or who does many hours of housework a week will probably have less time and energy to devote to paid work than a worker who has older children or who does little housework. The child's age also affects parental involvement, in that younger children typically require much more attention than do older children.

Hours of housework is measured as a sum of nine individual items, each of which assess the number of hours per week which the respondent spends doing specific types of housework. These individual housework duties are cooking, washing dishes, doing laundry, cleaning house, shopping, paying bills, doing outdoor tasks, doing auto maintenance, and driving.

In addition, the household type (single- or two-parent) will influence both a parent's labor market outcomes and the amount of time a parent can spend with

his/her children. Members of single-parent households are much more likely to experience poverty than are members of two-parent households. Moreover, workers from two-parent families may have the flexibility to work overtime and put in the extra effort necessary for occupational mobility, whereas single parents may not have another adult in the household to fall back on, and may not be able to afford child care in order to work overtime. For the same reasons, single parents may also have to choose jobs which have standard work hours, but which may be less economically rewarding or have shorter mobility ladders. Thus, household type affects socioeconomic outcomes. As mentioned previously, household type also affects parental involvement by structurally increasing the likelihood that the custodial parent will be much more involved than the non-custodial parent, and probably more involved than parents in a two-parent household. Highly involved parents may have poor market outcomes, but this may be more a result of the confounding effect of single parenthood than the “real” effect of involvement; household type must therefore be controlled.

Variables which indicate family characteristics in this study include: the age of the youngest child or the age of the focal child, the household type (two-parent household, single-parent household, and other), whether or not the respondent has any adult children living in the household, whether or not there are any non-biological or adopted children in the household, and the number of hours which the parent spends doing housework each week.

Involvement In Other Non-Marketplace Activities

The amount of time which a parent devotes to social events and to helping other people will affect the time and energy which s/he can offer both to parenting and to the employment sector. Involvement in other non-marketplace activities should detract from both parental involvement and labor market involvement. For example, people who have strong obligations to a sick relative or who are highly involved in hobbies or leisure activities will have less time to devote to their paid work and their children. These people may receive fewer labor market rewards and be less involved as parents than people who spend less time in unpaid activities. Thus, the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes may be obscured by parents' participation in other activities; controlling for these activities should clarify the relationship.

Variables which indicate involvement in other non-marketplace activities are the amount of time a parent spends with friends and whether s/he gives help to sick or disabled others who do not live in his/her household.

Partner's Characteristics

The characteristics of a parent's spouse or partner may affect how much the parent is structurally and ideologically compelled to be involved in child care and in the paid workforce. For example, a partner's attitudes about gender, family roles, and paid work have been shown to affect an individual's own behaviors in family and work life (Gerson 1985). Thus, a mother with a highly traditional partner may be less likely to strive for occupational success than would a mother with a more egalitarian partner

(and vice versa for fathers). In contrast, a mother with a highly traditional partner may be *more* highly involved in parenting than a mother with an egalitarian partner (and vice versa for fathers). Partners' attitudes may therefore enhance the relationship between involvement and outcomes; controlling for these attitudes should elucidate the relationship.

In addition, the amount of time which a partner spends in the workplace, at home doing housework, and involved with his/her children will affect the time which the main respondent spends with the children and at work, and may also confound the relationship between involvement and outcomes. For example, having a partner who only works part-time for part of the year may cause an individual to place more importance on, and/or more effort in, his or her own occupational attainment, thus facilitating greater labor market outcomes. Having a partner who only works part-time may also reduce a parent's own child care involvement by increasing the likelihood or expectation that his or her partner will be more responsible for child care. A significant relationship between involvement and outcomes may thus be an artifact of a partner's work obligations.

Having a partner who is highly involved in parenting may also artificially enhance the relationship between an individual's parental involvement and his or her market outcomes by decreasing the necessity of his or her own parental involvement and increasing the opportunities for the main respondent to spend time in paid employment. Controlling for partner's parental involvement should clarify the relationship between the main respondent's involvement and labor market outcomes.

The same reasoning applies regarding the need to control for partner's time doing housework. A parent whose partner spends a lot of time doing housework is likely to be freed from that responsibility him or herself, and thus have more time to engage in paid work (and therefore greater labor market outcomes). It is unclear whether the individual would then spend more or less time with his/her children, given greater free time to spend with the children, but also the greater likelihood that his/her partner could also be doing more child care. Nevertheless, partner's time doing housework is a potentially confounding variable, and is therefore controlled.

A spouse or partner's educational attainment may also affect both an individual's labor market outcomes and her/his parental involvement, mainly through indirect paths which have already been discussed. For example, educated people tend to be more liberal, which could increase an educated father's parental involvement and decrease the need for his partner's involvement. In contrast, educated people tend to have more socioeconomic success, which may either facilitate greater occupational effort in his or her partner, or may facilitate his or her greater parental involvement. Although the exact nature of the relationship is not clear, there is evidence that the spouse's or partner's educational attainment may confound the relationship between the main respondent's involvement and outcomes.

All indicators of partner's characteristics, with the exception of parental involvement, are coded in the standard fashion, and are consistent with the coding of the main respondent variables. The work-family/gender attitude scale, family/cohabitation/premarital sex attitude scale, and the anti-religious

fundamentalism scale are identical to the scales constructed to measure the main respondent's attitudes. Partner's job characteristics, including whether s/he worked full-time or part-time for a full-year, whether s/he works the same schedule each week, and whether s/he goes away overnight on business trips, are all coded as singular or sets of dichotomous variables.

Partner's parental involvement is indicated by three variables, each of which is similar to the indicators of the main respondent's involvement. The first variable is the sum of four individual items, and measures how often the parent engaged in leisure outings, play, reading, and private talks with any/all child(ren) age 3-18. Each individual item ranged from 1='never' to 6='almost every day'; the composite variable thus ranges from 4='never engaged in any activities' to 24='engaged in each of these activities almost every day.'

The second measure of spouse/partner's parental involvement indicates the number of meals which the parent shared with any/all child(ren) age 3-18 during the past week. This variable is the sum of the number of breakfasts and the number of dinners which the parent and child(ren) shared, and ranges from 0='shared no meals' to 14='shared both breakfast and dinner every day last week.'

The final indicator of partner's involvement is an individual item which measures how often the partner had a "fun time" with any child(ren) age 0-18. Responses range from 0='never' to 5='almost every day.'

Summary and Analytic Strategy

There is a wide range of variables which could potentially confound the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes. In this section, I have described the variables which I control for in my analyses. These variables include indicators of the parent's sociodemographic characteristics, attitudes, job characteristics, family characteristics, involvement in other non-marketplace activities, and his or her spouse or partner's characteristics.

Several different analytic strategies were used to construct the indicators in this study. These strategies include variable construction techniques such as factor analysis and stochastic regression imputation. Several univariate statistical procedures were used for exploratory data analysis and cleaning, and to produce descriptive statistics. In addition, both bivariate and multivariate OLS regression techniques were used to examine the relationships between the variables in this study. The major analyses involved running a series of multiple regression models with different combinations of parental involvement measures and control variables in order to assess the patterns of association between parental involvement, the control variables, and changes in earnings and occupational prestige.

Chapter 4: Conceptualizing Parental Involvement

Introduction

In this chapter, the focus turns from the methodology, dependent, and control variables to the major independent variables in the study: indicators of parental involvement. The chapter begins with a scenario which illustrates what a day might be like for an involved father. Subsequent sections examine the conceptual ideal of involved fatherhood, and then look at how to realistically measure involved fatherhood given the current gendered division of labor in the household. Finally, this chapter provides a review and critique of the various techniques which previous researchers have used to operationalize parental involvement. This chapter sets the stage for the following chapter, which documents how parental involvement is operationalized in this study.

Involved Fatherhood

It was two o'clock in the morning and I'd just drifted off to sleep when my youngest woke up from a nightmare and frantically called my name. Once I got him back to sleep, his older sister came into my bedroom and barfed all over my pillow. Although this craziness doesn't happen every night, it does seem to happen at the worst possible times, such as when I have to get to work early to meet the management's new shipping deadline. That night I ended up sleeping for just under three hours before I

had to get up, get my son ready for day care, find a sitter for my sick daughter, get myself ready for work, and make a quick re-heatable dinner for my wife who would get off the swing shift in a couple of hours. At times I wondered whether it was all worth it, but looking into the faces of my children made me realize that I wouldn't have it any other way.

On my breaks at work I manage to fit in calls to my daughter's teacher to arrange a time for the next week's parent-teacher conference and to the pediatrician to make appointments for the kids' yearly check-ups. Even though it means more flack from my co-workers, I leave work a bit early to pick up my son from day care on the way home. After work, my wife makes my dinner and her breakfast while I help my daughter with her homework and play a few games with the kids. After we put the kids to bed, my wife and I spend some time together before she has to leave for work.

Although I'm tired as I get ready for bed, I reflect on how happy I am to have the opportunity to participate so fully in my children's lives. I consider myself very fortunate that my wife and I decided to share the responsibilities of childrearing. Even though my wife did have to do a little work to convince me at first, I realize now that fathers have as much of a right and responsibility to be involved in their kids' daily lives as do mothers, and I know that my love for my family has been strengthened by my involvement with my children.

The Conceptual Ideal

According to the “good provider” ideal, successful fatherhood in the past was defined by how well a man provided economic support for his family. Motivated by women’s increasing labor force participation and changing attitudes, however, successful fatherhood in contemporary society moves beyond breadwinning to include a greater range of behavioral and emotional expectations. In this study, the concept of “involved fatherhood” has many different dimensions, and includes behavioral, attitudinal, and emotional components.

Behavioral Component

The behavioral dimension of involved fatherhood indicates a father’s interest in and commitment to his children through his day-to-day interactions with them. He actively engages in both the enjoyable and the not-so-enjoyable caretaking tasks, including washing diapers as well as playing with the children. He is consistently available when his children need him, he is involved in their daily lives, and he is responsible for ensuring their physical and emotional well-being. In short, an “involved father” lives up to the same behavioral expectations which are placed upon every mother.

Involved fatherhood is most clearly evident in families where the father is the primary caretaker, as in many single-parent father-headed families. However, a man does not have to be the primary childrearer in order to be an involved father. Although it might seem unfair given traditional expectations and ideology regarding providership, I argue that for this study the behavioral dimension of involved

fatherhood should *exclude* the time and effort which the father expends doing paid work. That is, it is important to draw a conceptual and analytic distinction between providership and parenting. Assuming that most working women are just as busy as are most working men when neither are engaging in child care, this ideal concept will let the mother's and father's childrearing behavior speak for itself (this conceptualization is particularly useful in this study, which focuses on mothers and fathers who worked for pay both in 1988 and in 1994). In a dual-earner family in which the father works longer hours than the mother, or in a single-earner family in which the father is the sole earner, this means that (compared to their partners) the ideal involved fathers would still be contributing an equal or greater amount of their time and energy to the childrearing division of labor and responsibility.

Defining fathers' parental involvement relative to their spouse/partner's involvement is one aspect of the concept, but is more of an ideal than a reality. It would be a reality only when a large proportion of fathers actually did engage in childrearing to an extent comparable to that of their partners/spouses. However, given the current gendered division of labor, it is more tenable to define "involved" fatherhood in relation to other fathers' contributions and responsibilities in child care. Thus, an involved father would be a person who is more actively engaged in, committed to, and responsible for his children's lives and well-being than other fathers. As an ideal, then, "involved fatherhood" is conceptualized relative to the behavior of mothers (typically his spouse/partner). However, in reality it is more pragmatic to conceptualize involved fatherhood relative to the behavior of other fathers.

Ideological/Attitudinal Component

The ideological/attitudinal component of involved fatherhood focuses on the motivation behind the father's efforts to raise his children. If the involved father works for pay, he may see this work as part of his involvement with and responsibility for his children; that makes sense, since breadwinning has historically been the main avenue through which fathers can express interest in and support for their children (Bernard 1984). Involved fathers, however, must see their role as going beyond economic providership. They must also *believe* that it is essential for both fathers and mothers to be actively engaged in and responsible for their children's daily lives, and they must back up this ideology with corresponding behavior. Although research often doesn't show a correspondence between non-traditional ideology and non-traditional behavior in terms of fathers doing the more unpleasant types of child care and household work, involved fathers would ideally recognize their responsibility (as fathers and as spouses/partners) to complete these tasks, and they would do so routinely and as a result of personal, rather than spousal, motivation.

Emotional Component

This component of involved parenthood is often taken for granted, but it should be specified when examining the idealized construct. Even if he doesn't enjoy doing the caretaking at times, an involved father must love his child. Thus, an ideal involved father must live up to the emotional and attitudinal aspects of parenting, as well as the behavioral aspects.

The Ideal Involved Father

To be an ideal involved father, a man must have all of the components of this concept: he has to be actively involved in and responsible for his child's daily care, he has to believe that it is appropriate and good that he is behaving in this manner, and he has to do so out of an emotional bond with his child. Thus, if a person truly loves his child but does not participate in her daily activities, he does not fit the description of an ideal involved father. Similarly, if he loves her and believes he should be partly or solely responsible for her childrearing, but is unable or unwilling to support these beliefs through his actions, he is not an ideal involved father. Finally, if a father is primarily or solely responsible for feeding, changing, bathing, and playing with his child but he abhors doing these things and honestly believes that it shouldn't be his responsibility to do them, he is not an ideal involved father.

In reality, very few people would probably meet this definition of "involvement" – either fathers or mothers. The "cult of true womanhood" is an ideology which is virtually impossible for women to uphold, and would be just as impossible for men to uphold. Imposing these new behavioral and attitudinal

expectations on fathers without lifting the breadwinner/provider ideology would probably cause the death (or at least the desertion) of any man who was making a decent effort to become an involved father.

The Empirical Reality

There are many consistencies in how previous researchers have indicated paternal involvement in their quantitative and qualitative work. Most of these indicators can be summarized by using Lamb et al's (1985) typology, even if some of these studies were done prior to Lamb et al's article. The following section will discuss how the concept of paternal involvement has been measured in previous literature.

On the most basic level, much of the previous research on parental involvement in child care has started with the concept of "availability." Availability is usually conceptualized as the potential for parent-child interaction, "by virtue of being present or accessible to the child whether or not direct interaction is occurring" (Lamb et al. 1987:125). Availability has also been defined as a time variable, such as "the amount of time parents are available to their children" (Russell 1982:143), and as "statements of father's availability to child" (for example, "the frequency with which the father is home for lunch during the week") (Radin 1982:180). While the previous three examples are from small interview studies, two large national surveys (the 1965-1966 Survey of Americans' Use of Time and the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey) have similar items which have been used to indicate availability. These items are, respectively, the hours which fathers report being available to their children per day (Robinson 1977) and

the parents' separate estimates of "how much time they spent with their children" during both working and non-working days (Pleck 1983).

"Involvement" or "interaction" is the most common indicator of paternal involvement in the existing literature, and is in some cases difficult to distinguish from the time-related measures of availability. It is not surprising, then, that Lamb et al. (1987) find that measures of availability and interaction are correlated. The major difference between availability and interaction (or involvement, as it is often called) is that availability tends to be a general measure of times when the father could be or is with his children, whereas interaction is a measure of the hours which the father spends doing specific activities with his children.

Several examples of this measure are: the absolute amount of time spent in day-to-day caregiving activities and the absolute amount of time spent in play and other significant interactions (Russell 1982:143); parents' ratings on a scale of 1 to 5 of the degree of paternal involvement in child care and decision-making regarding the child (Radin 1982:179-180); small sample self-reports of the amount of hours in a typical week which the father spends in intermittent and intensive interaction with his children both when the wife is present and when she is not available, and of the hours per week that the father spends performing specific child care and household tasks (Barnett and Baruch 1988:70-72); mother's reports of father's time in interaction with their children (Pedersen and Robson 1969); observations of the rates per hour of several types of behavior (e.g., vocalizations, affectionate behavior) and interviews in which the mothers and fathers responded independently about the prenatal "anticipated paternal

involvement," and postnatal "degree of paternal caretaking," and "degree of paternal involvement in interaction with the child" (as opposed to solely caretaking; Lamb et al 1982); and nationally-representative time-diary self-reports of the minutes per day which fathers spend in caretaking and other interactive activities with their children (Pleck 1982). The major commonality in all of these indicators of involvement is, as Lamb et al note in their definition of "interaction," that they refer to "the father's *direct contact* with his child through caretaking and shared activities" (1987: 125; emphasis added).

One major difference in researchers' definitions of involvement/interaction is whether they measure the parent's *absolute* amount of time interacting with a child, or whether they measure the father's interaction time *relative to* the interaction time of the mother. Studies also vary in terms of what behaviors they include in their measurements of interaction, and in terms of whether they ask for time estimates for specific behaviors or simply for a general estimate of time per week spent in interaction with the children.

Although the great majority of studies indicate paternal involvement by using some measure of father-child interaction, several researchers insist on the importance of assessing paternal *responsibility* for childrearing as well. Even if fathers are highly involved in the daily care of a child while the mother is at work, mothers may still be primarily responsible for decision-making regarding the child's well-being and socialization (Russell 1983). As a result, Lamb argues that "to truly measure involvement, we need to consider the employment division of labor, the day-to-day

child care and domestic task division of labor, and the acceptance and implementation of shared responsibility and commitment for family management and socialization" (Lamb 1986: 31).

Other researchers' definitions of responsibility are often quite similar. Russell (1983) defines responsibility as "decision-making, planning, monitoring, and anticipating the child's needs, feelings, and behaviors" (quoted in Lamb 1986:52). According to Lamb et al, "responsibility refers to the role the father takes in ascertaining that the child is taken care of and arranging for resources to be available for the child" (1987:125).

Some studies seem to use the term "responsibility" in a slightly different way, however, as Russell does when he defines "sole responsibility" as "when one parent is out of the home or engaged in some activity from which it is agreed the parent cannot be interrupted" (1982:143). Many researchers would find this definition problematic, however, since there is a clear difference between watching a child alone for a period of time and being the person who manages the child's life. Radin (1982:72), for example, distinguishes between fathers' "remembering, planning, and scheduling" several child care and household tasks (her definition of responsibility) from fathers' simply performing these tasks.

Many smaller interview studies specifically asked parents about the father's degree of responsibility for their children (e.g., Kotelchuck 1975, 1976). Russell (1983) asked respondents to report the hours per week which the father was (regularly and/or ever) solely responsible for his children's daily care. While much of this type of

research focuses on reports of generalized responsibility, Baruch and Barnett (1983) acquired fathers' reports of their responsibility for specific child care tasks.

Given the ability to ask follow-up questions and receive more in-depth responses to questions, it may be easier to measure and ascertain "responsibility" in small-scale interview or more personalized studies rather than in national-level surveys. Nevertheless, researchers have used items from national surveys to indicate responsibility. For example, Quinn and Staines (1979) assessed parental responsibility through responses to the following statement in the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey: "If someone has to be home with your child (children) to do something for him (her, them) when you are both supposed to be working, which of you is more likely to stay home?" [response categories include 'father,' 'mother,' and 'it depends'] (Lamb et al 1987: 129).

There are several studies which conceptualize and operationalize paternal involvement by using dimensions or components of fathers' participation. These include scales used by Radin (1982) and Sagi (1982), and the dimensions identified by Barnett and Baruch (1988). Both the scales and Barnett and Baruch's dimensions include a combination of indicators of availability, involvement, and responsibility. One of the most well-known scales is Radin's (1982) "Paternal Involvement in Child Care Index (PICCI)," which is based on the total of fathers' and mothers' scores on separate responses to questions assessing fathers': involvement in child care, responsibility for physical child care, responsibility for child's socialization, involvement in decision-making regarding the child, and availability to the child. Sagi (1982) uses Radin's (1982)

five components of paternal involvement and adds a sixth, which includes statements of the amount of nurturance and warmth conveyed to the child by the father. Radin's scale of paternal involvement will be discussed in a later section.

Barnett and Baruch (1988) also use a combination of different forms of fathers' participation, though they do not construct a scale of paternal involvement. Barnett and Baruch use indicators of interaction and responsibility in their 5 dimensions of paternal participation, including both parents' reports of the amount of hours in a typical week which the father spends in solo interaction with a target child, the father's interaction time proportional to that of his wife's, the amount of time which the father spends per week performing specific child care and household tasks, and the father's responsibility for these tasks (1988:70-72). In addition, Barnett and Baruch are a bit unusual in that they attempt to measure the *quality* of parent-child interaction, something that most researchers acknowledge as important but few are able to capture. Barnett and Baruch combine parents' joint reports of the amount of time fathers are in intermittent and intensive interaction to indicate the Total Interaction Time, which they argue indicates the total number of hours in a typical week which the father spends in quality interaction with his child (1988:70). The researchers had to combine these levels of interaction because although intermittent interaction (where the parent and child are aware of each other and occasionally interact, but are mostly engaged in independent activities) and intensive interaction (where the parent and child are actively engaged with each other) were conceptually distinct, the distinction was too difficult to apply. Even if this distinction were tenable, however, it is unclear whether "total interaction

time" or even "intensive interaction" truly indicate *quality* interaction rather than simply time spent interacting in general.

There may be clear empirical and conceptual distinctions between parents' availability to, involvement/interaction with, and responsibility for their children, but these measures are still limited to the behavioral dimension of paternal involvement. I argue that there are at least two other dimensions of parental involvement: ideological/attitudinal and emotional dimensions, which have not received appropriate attention in the literature. Sagi's (1982) sixth component of paternal involvement, the amount of nurturance and warmth conveyed by the father to the child, seems to border on being an indicator of the father's emotional attachment to the child. However, this component is measured in terms of behaviors such as the father's kissing and hugging, and as such is still a behavioral dimension of paternal involvement.

In addition, Lamb (1986) mentions how important it is that fathers *accept* their shared responsibility and commitment to childrearing. Though this may reveal Lamb's belief in an ideological component of paternal involvement, his research still focuses on the behavioral dimension. Gerson's (1993) descriptions of her "involved fathers" support the importance of including the ideological dimension in definitions of involvement. Gerson's "involved fathers" were committed to being actively involved parents. Although the type and degree of participation in child care varied greatly (the behavioral component), "all involved fathers emphasized sharing and flexibility in parenting and domestic tasks, and *rejected distinct boundaries* between breadwinning and caretaking, and between fathering and mothering" (1993:216, emphasis added).

Empirically Defining Involved Fatherhood

Most studies of paternal involvement do not specify a point or threshold at which a father becomes “involved” as opposed to “not involved.” For example, although many researchers discuss and measure various behavioral components of involvement, they don’t define involved fatherhood empirically (e.g., “involved fathers are those who spend more than two hours a day with their children”). Involvement has tended to be treated as a continuous variable; a continuum along which all fathers are located.

Some researchers do, however, distinguish between involved and non-involved fathers, both in qualitative and quantitative studies. Gerson (1993), for example, distinguishes between “autonomous men,” “breadwinners,” and “involved fathers.” She further divides involved fathers into “mother’s helpers” and “primary parents,” where “primary parents” are those fathers who contribute an equal or greater amount of time as the mother doing parenting and domestic tasks. Coltrane’s (1989) study of paternal participation in dual-earner couples also distinguishes between “helping fathers” and “co-parents.” In addition, Russell (1982) distinguishes between fathers who participate in childrearing, fathers who share childrearing tasks equally when both parents are home, and fathers who have a “significant responsibility” for their children’s daily care (143). Finally, Lamb et al (1982) define “non-traditional” fathers as those who had declared their intentions to temporarily leave work in order to care for their infants in prenatal interviews (time 1), or those who actually did take more than

one month of parental leave and served as the child's primary caretaker for more than a month in postnatal interviews (time 2).

Radin's (1982) "Paternal Involvement in Child Care Index" (PICCI) and Sagi's (1982) addition to her scale comprise some of the most empirical definitions of paternal involvement. Both Radin and Sagi sum the scores from the responses to the questions and then divide their samples into equal thirds based on their PICCI score. The third of the sample with the highest PICCI scores were labeled the "father primary caregiver group," the third of the sample with the lowest PICCI scores were labeled the "mother primary caregiver group," and the third of the sample with intermediate PICCI scores were labeled the "intermediate group." Interestingly, Radin attempted to get her respondents to classify themselves into conceptual groups based on the degree of paternal involvement in their family, but the respondents did not classify themselves in terms of mother- or father-primary caretaking families, so she divided her sample according to their PICCI scores.

Other studies have additional advice on defining involved fatherhood. Russell (1982), for example, suggests that the more extreme non-traditional families may be quite distinct from other groups, and that as such researchers should treat them as a separate group. He defines extreme families as those in which the father performs 65% or more of the caregiving tasks, is unemployed, and is committed to caregiving.

Finally, while Levine (1980) argues that different degrees of fathers' involvement can still be "non-traditional," even if the man's role isn't that of equal or primary parent, Sagi (1982) believes that researchers should not equate "non-traditional" fathers with

“role-reversal” or even “role-sharing” families, since the mothers in most “non-traditional/involved father” families still do much more involved child care than the fathers.

In summary, some researchers have attempted to empirically define a point at which men become “involved fathers,” but most studies treat paternal involvement more as a continuous scale along which all fathers are located. While studies have varied in terms of their measurements of paternal involvement, most tend to employ some combination of indicators of paternal availability, involvement/interaction, and responsibility. In addition, many researchers focus entirely on the behavioral dimension of involvement, excluding other possible components of involved fatherhood such as the attitudinal/ideological and emotional dimensions discussed above.

Criticisms of Previous Approaches

There have been many criticisms directed against specific studies and against studies of paternal involvement in general. One of the common criticisms of previous literature is that paternal involvement is typically measured only in terms of the frequency or amount of time spent doing child care tasks or playing with the children. This focus neglects the other behavioral aspects of participation, such as involvement in socialization, discipline, and decision-making (Russell and Radin 1983). In addition, focusing solely on time spent engaged in child care activities ignores findings which show that high paternal involvement is not necessarily correlated with high paternal responsibility for the child’s management and socialization (Russell 1983; Lamb 1986).

Another common criticism of the field is that studies have tended to have very homogeneous samples. Researchers have focused primarily on professional, white, middle-class men in intact families (Hanson 1985; Lamb 1986). In addition, the studies are typically on parents of young children, usually infants and toddlers. While involved fathers may be easier to find in these populations, it is undoubtedly the case that people's experiences vary depending on their race, class, family type, and the ages of their children. We are therefore missing a potentially large amount of information on involved fatherhood.

Most of the studies in the parenting literature have been qualitative studies with a small number of respondents. For example, Russell's (1982) data are from 50 two-parent Australian families; Radin's (1982) data are from 59 white, middle-class, two-parent families; Sagi's (1982) data are from 60 middle-class, two-parent families in Haifa; Barnett and Baruch's (1988) data are from 160 white, middle-class, two-parent families; and Lamb et al's (1982) data are from 50 Swedish two-parent families. This similarity is problematic because the small sample size and homogeneity of the samples make generalization to larger populations untenable. Few of the studies in the field involve random samples of the population, and the samples are rarely representative of the general population. Some of the larger, representative samples are used in studies on housework; unfortunately, these studies tend to combine indicators of child care with those of domestic tasks so that paternal involvement in child care cannot be ascertained.

Another serious limitation of the current research is that the studies have been mostly descriptive, rather than conceptual or theoretical. While descriptive studies certainly provide important contributions to the field, moving beyond description to theoretical work will enhance the scope and significance of the results.

Another major limitation of the present research on paternal involvement is that the majority of studies are cross-sectional. Longitudinal research is imperative in a field in which there are bound to be considerable changes in behavior, experiences, and consequences over time. For example, many of the studies which do have longitudinal components find that the average length of time during which fathers are highly involved in their children's care is very small (Radin 1988), and that most shared-caregiving couples return to a traditional lifestyle within two years (Russell 1982). Findings such as these must be explained; this would not be possible without longitudinal research.

One final criticism is that research must begin to account for dimensions of paternal involvement which go beyond behavioral indicators. Two of these additional dimensions, ideological/attitudinal involvement and emotional attachment, have been suggested here.

This project addresses many of these criticisms of previous research. The study is longitudinal, uses a large-scale, nationally-representative data set, includes families of varying races, classes, and compositions, and proposes theoretical explanations for observed patterns rather than simply providing descriptive information.

Measuring Involved Fatherhood in the NSFH

In an ideal world, social researchers would be able to fully, reliably, and validly measure each dimension of paternal involvement. In reality, as with many other complex concepts, “involved fatherhood” does not easily lend itself to empirical conceptualization. Variables we use to indicate many concepts often inadequately capture the full meaning of the concept. Clearly, one major task of social researchers is to develop indicators which measure the concept as completely as possible, given the available resources and data sources. The following section presents a brief introduction to the measures available in the National Survey of Families and Households. The next chapter describes in detail the process of empirically defining parental involvement.

Behavioral Involvement

Indicators of behavioral involvement in the NSFH-1 can be distinguished by whether they entail active physical interaction with a child, or simply demonstrate potential concern for the child’s well-being through establishing guidelines for the child to follow. An example of the former type of active behavioral interaction is the number of hours during the past week that the parent has engaged in school-related activities with a child. In contrast, an example of rule-setting behavioral involvement is a parent’s decision regarding whether or not the child must complete his or her homework before s/he can go outside to play. Both items indicate some form of interest in or concern for the child’s well-being, but there are also some clear differences in what these items measure.

In a basic sense, active behavioral interaction is a measure of the actual time which a parent physically spends with his/her child, while boundary-setting offers a way to demonstrate active interest in the child's behavior. Establishing rules may be a parent's method of taking responsibility for his or her child, as in when a child must tell a parent where s/he is whenever s/he is not at home. In another instance, setting boundaries may be a parent's way of creating regular times for parent-child interaction. Boundary-setting is thus a level of involvement which can cut across the other types of behavioral involvement (availability, interaction, and responsibility). One of the most important distinctions between these types of involvement is that it may be easier and less time-consuming to make rules (and perhaps to enforce them) than it is to engage in shared activities with a child. While both behaviors may indicate a parent's love and concern for a child, I would expect much higher levels of involvement in rule-setting behavior than in active interaction.

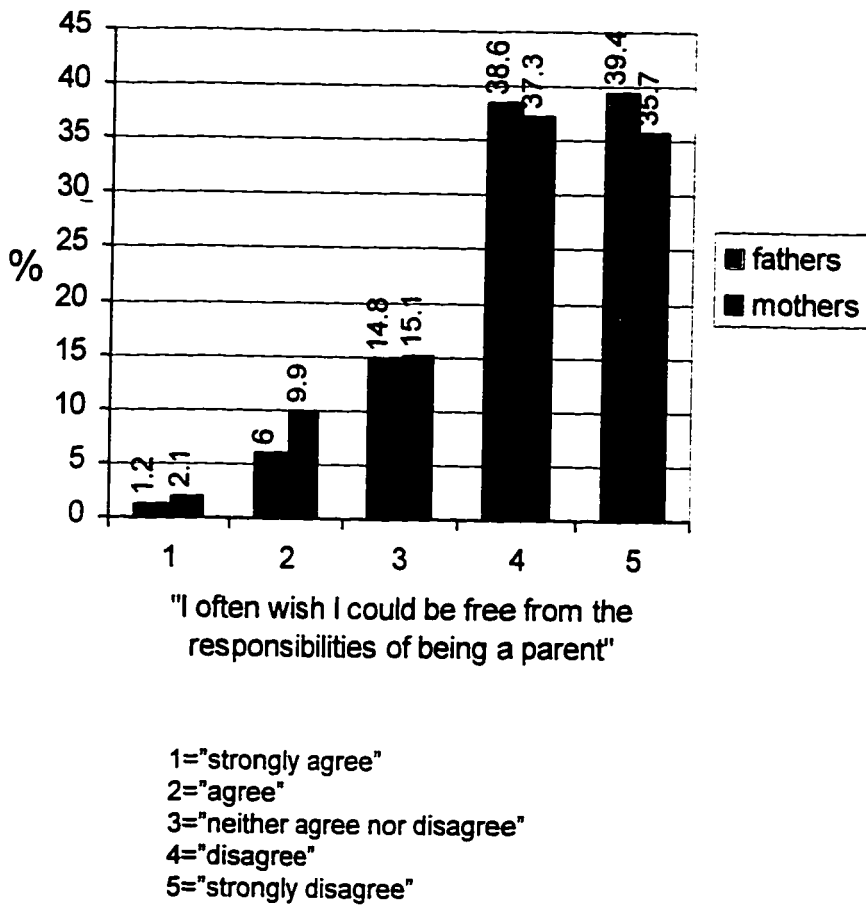
Establishing guidelines for children may not only be an aspect of behavioral involvement, however. Although it is not possible to determine the motivation behind rule-setting from items in the NSFH-1, it is possible that this behavior could be motivated by emotional involvement. For example, a parent may say that his/her 5-year-old can never be left alone at home overnight because she loves her child and does not want him or her to be scared. Boundary-setting could therefore be associated with emotional involvement, though intent is not measured in this data set. Because this type of involvement is clearly different from active behavioral interaction (but not a

precise indicator of emotional involvement), indicators of boundary-setting in these data will be treated as a type of behavioral involvement, distinct from active interaction.

Attitudinal/Ideological Involvement

Behavioral aspects of parent-child involvement are often regarded as the most important, perhaps because they entail higher costs and require more investment than attitudes or emotions. However, attitudes and ideology are also relevant. As I discussed in previous sections of this chapter, involved parents not only act the role, but also believe that their parenting behaviors are appropriate and important. Thus, an involved parent would acknowledge that s/he should be interacting with and responsible for his/her child, and that these are appropriate behaviors for all parents.

While there are no questions in the NSFH-1 which specifically address the parents' attitudinal motivations behind their parenting behavior, the survey does have one item which may be used as a proxy for attitudes about parenting. This item asks the parent to agree or disagree with the statement that, "I often wish I could be free from the responsibility of being a parent." The responses for this item ranged from 1="strongly agree" to 5="strongly disagree." Figure 4-1 shows the frequency distribution of this variable.



	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	1199	4.09	.94	<i>p</i> <.0001
<i>mothers</i>	1979	3.95	1.04	

Figure 4-1: Parents' Feelings about their Parental Responsibilities.

As Figure 4-1 shows, most parents either "disagree" or "strongly disagree" that they wish to be free from parental responsibilities. Although mothers and fathers have similarly-distributed responses to this item, fathers are significantly more involved according to this variable (*p*<.0001); this finding will be discussed in subsequent

chapters. This variable is used in the study to indicate a parent's feelings about his or her parental responsibilities.

Emotional Involvement

There are no clear indicators of emotional involvement in the NSFH-1. As discussed earlier in this chapter, it might be possible to infer some emotional content to some of the behavioral indicators. However, it is not wise to infer or assume the motivation behind parents' behaviors. As a consequence, this dimension of parental involvement is not included in this study. Future studies must address this oversight in the national data resources on parenting.

Summary

The NSFH-1 offers many opportunities to measure the behavioral interaction component of parental involvement, including both active behavioral involvement and boundary-setting behavior. Unfortunately, it has been much more difficult to find indicators of the other behavioral components (availability, responsibility) and dimensions (ideology, emotions) of parental involvement. As a result, the concepts of availability and responsibility, as well as the dimension of emotional involvement, are not included in this study. Future research should include measures of these concepts, however, for they are clearly central to parental involvement. The following chapter examines the process of empirically operationalizing parental involvement in this study.

Chapter 5: Measuring Parental Involvement

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined ways in which parental involvement can be conceptualized and suggested several different dimensions of involvement. In Chapter 3, I described the measures of workplace outcomes and control variables in this study. In this chapter, I describe the process of constructing empirical measures of parental involvement for each study subsample.

Measuring Parental Involvement

The major independent variables in this study are indicators of parents' involvement with their children in 1987. The previous chapter suggested several ways to conceptualize parental involvement, the most tenable being behavioral interaction with children. This element of behavioral involvement is most easily measurable, since it is composed of behaviors which are easily identifiable (e.g., going to the park with a child), and for which there are often daily opportunities. There are far fewer clear indicators of availability and responsibility, the two other components of behavioral interaction, though some of the indicators of interaction may also indicate availability or responsibility. This section focuses on measuring parents' behavioral involvement with their children, both in terms of active interaction and in terms of boundary-setting involvement.

One issue which will be addressed in this section is the way in which parental involvement changes as children age. Interactions and activities within a parent-child relationship where a child is 3 are likely to be quite different than when a child is 16. For example, an older child requires less physical care, is more emotionally and socially mature, and often engages in more activities which are independent of the family. As a result, parents will have different rules for and interactions with children of different ages.

The NSFH-1 data set was designed with this distinction in mind; when administering this survey, children of various ages were subdivided into several different groups, and different sets of questions regarding parents' behavioral involvement were asked about different subsamples of children.² For example, some questions were asked about one randomly-selected "focal" child³ age 0-4, while other questions were asked about any child age 5-18. Certainly an 8-year-old's needs and behaviors are quite different from those of an 18-year-old. In many cases, the same set of questions was asked about children within a wide range of ages, thus allowing researchers to differentiate between parenting of different-aged children.

As a result of this procedure, however, no indicators of involvement were asked of all parents, with the exception of two questions. One question, "how often have you

²This subgroup issue is only relevant for behavioral indicators of involvement. The indicators of workplace outcomes and control variables were asked of all respondents.

³ A "focal child" is a particular child who was selected by random from among a set of eligible children, and about whom all questions in a specific section are asked.

had an especially enjoyable time with your child in the last month?" , was asked of all parents of a focal child aged 0-18. In addition, one attitudinal measure of involvement, parents' agreement or disagreement with the statement, "I often wish I could be free from the responsibility of being a parent" was asked of all survey respondents (this measure is described in Chapter 4).

The measures of parental involvement are therefore divided by the subsample about which the questions were asked. There are a total of seven subsamples, and thus seven sets of involvement measures: focal child age 0-4, focal child age 5-11, focal child age 12-18, focal child age 0-18, any child age 0-4,⁴ any child age 5-18, and any child age 5-11.⁵ The following information about the indicators of parental involvement are organized to coincide with each of these subsamples of children.

SUBSAMPLE #1: Focal Child Age 0-4

Active Behavioral Involvement

Physical care

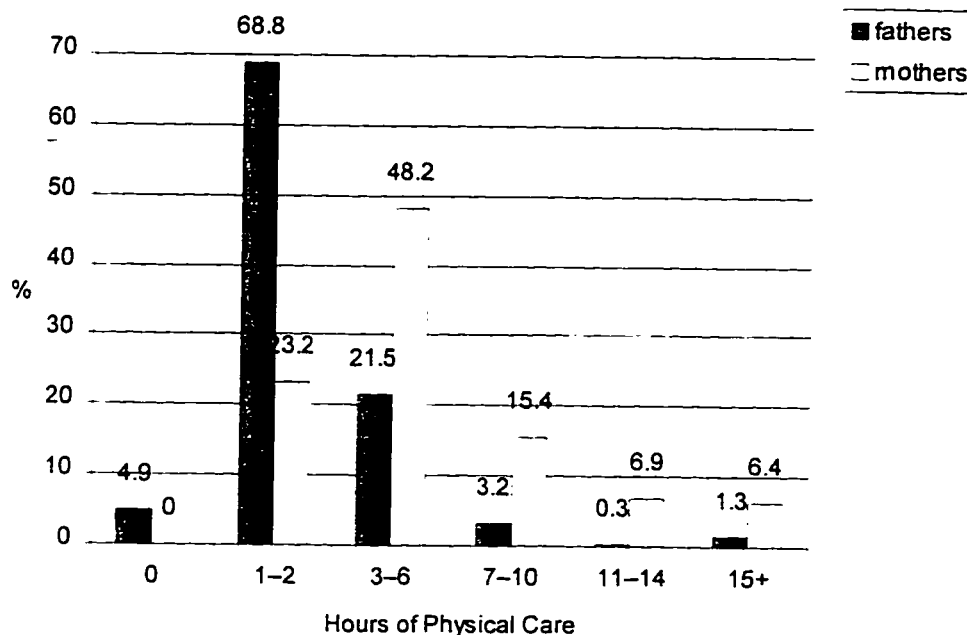
The sole indicator of behavioral interaction with this group of children measures the number of hours per day the parent spends caring for the 0-4 year-old's physical

⁴ Questions in this sub-group were asked only of households composed of one or more children age 0-4, but NO children age 5-18. This is the only sub-group with these restrictions.

⁵ This set of questions was asked only of employed, married women with children under age 12 and employed, *unmarried* men with children under age 12.

needs.⁶ The question is, “about how many hours in a typical day do you spend taking care of (child’s) physical needs, including feeding, bathing, dressing, and putting (him/her) to bed?” Although this is a continuous variable, the frequency distribution in Figure 5-1 is shown in categories for ease of presentation.

⁶ Since these questions were asked regarding a specific focal child age 0–4, the potentially problematic situation in which a parent simultaneously cares for more than one child (e.g., siblings) is not an issue.



	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	465	2.42	2.50	
<i>mothers</i>	647	5.90	4.49	$p < .0001$

Figure 5-1: Typical number of hours/day spent caring for child's physical needs (rcarehr4)

This figure documents a striking gender difference in involvement for this subsample of children: over 70 percent of all fathers spend two hours a day or less caring for their 0-4 year-old's needs, compared to 23% of mothers. In contrast, nearly 50% of mothers spend between 3 and 6 hours a day caring for their infant or toddler's physical needs, compared to 22% of fathers. This gender difference, in which mothers are more involved than fathers, is significant at the $p < .0001$ level. The tails of the distribution are also interesting; fathers seem to be equally likely to spend 0 hours a day

caring for their child (4.9%) as they are to spend 7 or more hours a day caring for their child (4.8%). In contrast, no mothers report spending zero hours a day caring for their children, while 28% of mothers spend 7 or more hours a day caring for their youngster. These differences are remarkable, but are consistent with cultural ideology about mothers being the primary, sole, or best caretakers for very young children.

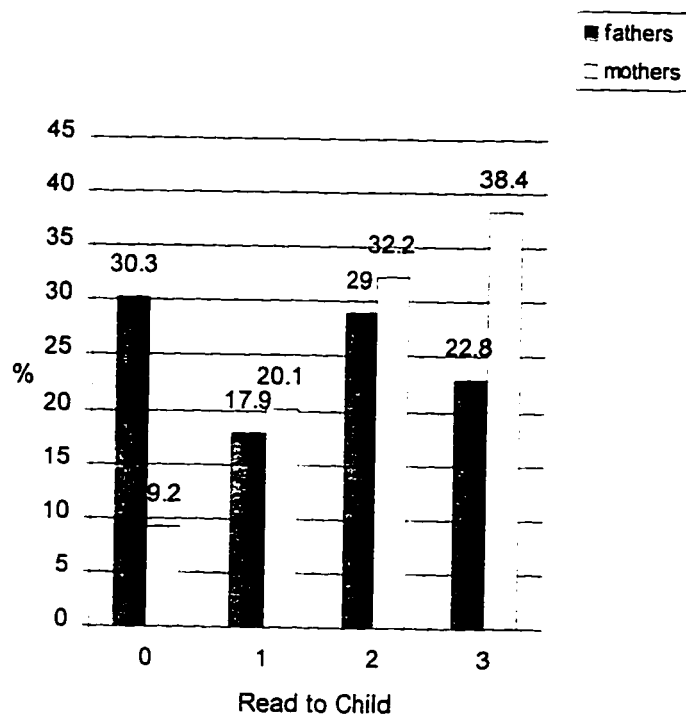
Subsample #2: Focal Child Age 3-4

Two items in the survey indicate parental involvement with a focal child age 3-4; one indicates active behavioral involvement, and the other measures rule-setting behavior. These items are measured by how often the parent reads to the child, whether the parent restricts the amount of television which the child watches, and whether the parent restricts the type of television shows which the child watches. The last two variables were combined; Figures 5-2a and 5-2b show the frequency distributions of the two resulting measures.

Active Behavioral Involvement

How often parent read to child last week

The first indicator of involvement with a focal child age 3-4 is measured by the question, "during the past week, about how often did you get a chance to read to (child)? Was it: not at all, once, several times, almost every day?" Response categories for this item were coded from 0 to 3 (respectively), so that a higher score indicates a greater degree of parental involvement.



0=not at all
 1=once
 2=several times
 3=almost every day

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	158	1.31	1.13	
<i>mothers</i>	241	1.94	1.01	$p < .0001$

Figure 5-2a: How often parent read to child in past week (new303)

As with the previous indicator, this variable shows that mothers are significantly more involved than fathers ($p < .0001$). In addition, there are once again striking gender differences in the tails of the distribution. Fathers are much more likely than mothers to report that they hadn't read to their child at all in the past week (30% of fathers vs. 9%

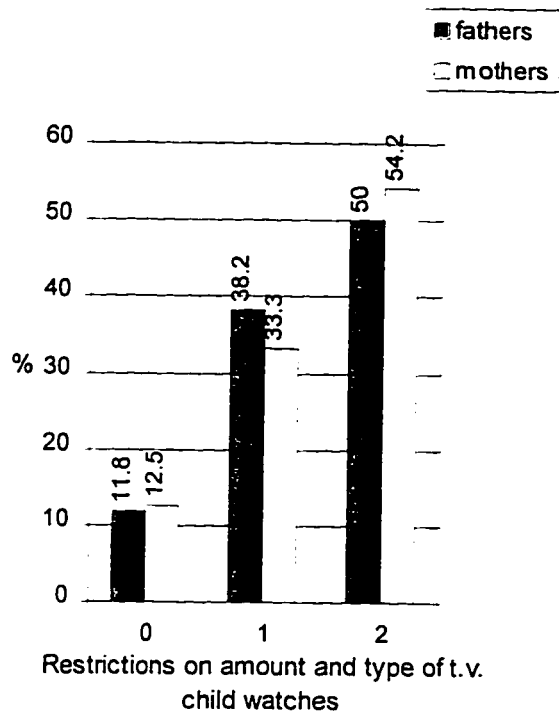
of mothers). Mothers are more likely than fathers to report that they had read to their child "almost every day" (38% of mothers vs. 23% of fathers). Overall, the distribution for mothers is highly skewed to the right, while the distribution for fathers is somewhat skewed to the left. This finding is also consistent with the expectation that mothers are more highly involved than fathers in their youngster's care. It is not, however, consistent with the "New father" or "sensitive man of the '90s" ideology.

Boundary-Setting Involvement

Television restrictions: amount and type

The other measure of involvement for this subsample is a composite of two variables. The first item indicates whether the parent restricts "the amount of television that (child) watches." Response categories for this item are "yes," "no," and "don't have a television." The second item asks, "do you restrict the type of programs that (he/she) watches." Response categories for this question are "yes" and "no."

These items were recoded and combined so that higher scores indicate a greater degree of parental control over the child's television viewing. For this measure of involvement, 0="restricts neither the amount nor the type of television," 1="restricts either the type or amount," and 2="restricts both the type and amount of television which the child watches." There were no parents in this sample who reported that they did not have a television.



0=restricts neither
 1=restricts either
 2=restricts both

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	157	1.29	.70
<i>mothers</i>	240	1.37	.72

Figure 5-2b: TV restrictions, amount and type (fc04tv)

Both mothers and fathers are much more likely to place restrictions on their young child's television viewing than they are to fail to restrict either the type or amount of t.v. which their child watches. There are no significant gender differences in the distribution of this item, though mothers are slightly more likely than fathers to

restrict both amount and type of t.v., while fathers are more likely than mothers to restrict either the type or amount of t.v. which their child watches.

SUBSAMPLE #3: Focal Child Age 5-11

There are many different items which measure parental involvement with focal children age 5-11. Unlike the previous subsamples, however, there are no clear indicators of active behavioral involvement; the relevant items only measure boundary-setting parental involvement. As with the indicators of involvement for focal children age 0-4 and 3-4, the process of constructing each measure is discussed separately below. Figures 5-3a through 5-3d show the frequency distributions of these measures.

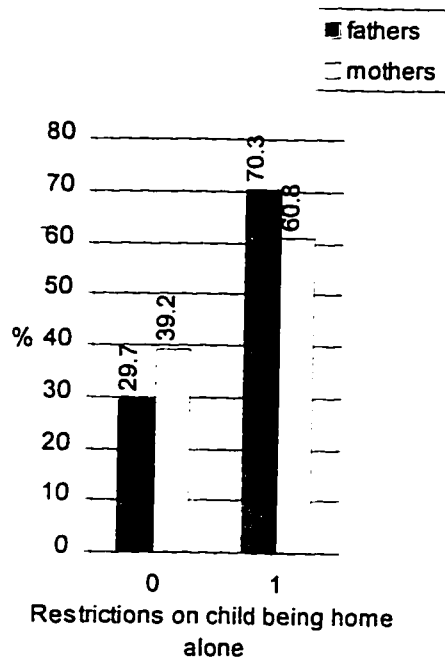
Boundary-Setting Involvement

Home alone rules

The first set of variables in this subsample measures the parents' beliefs about whether their 5-11 year-old can be alone at home during particular times of the day and night. The questions stated, "would (child) be allowed to be at home alone: a) in the morning before school?; b) in the afternoon after school, between 3 and 6 p.m.?; c) all day, when there is no school?; d) at night, if you were gone until midnight?; and e) overnight, if you went on a trip?" Response categories for each of these items were "yes," "sometimes/it depends," and "no."

Responses to these items were coded as follows, so that higher scores indicate a greater level of parental restrictiveness: 0="yes," 1="sometimes/it depends," and 2="no." The five items were then summed to create one index of "home alone rules,"

ranging from 0 (child is allowed to be home alone under some circumstances) to 10 (child is NOT allowed to be home alone under any circumstances). The distribution of this scale was very skewed; nearly 70 percent of all fathers and 64% of all mothers scored a "10," indicating that their child could not be home alone under any circumstances. Therefore, this scale was recoded into a dummy variable, where 0="yes or sometimes alone" (which includes the scores ranging from 0 to 9 on the previous scale) and 1="under no circumstances can the child be home alone."



0=yes and/or sometimes okay to be home alone
 1=never okay to be home alone, under any circumstances

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	433	.70	.46	
<i>mothers</i>	668	.60	.49	$p < .001$
	$\alpha = .78$			

Figure 5-3a: Home alone rules (sum312ae)

Fathers are significantly more likely than mothers to place restrictions on whether their children can be home alone ($p < .001$). This is the first indicator in which fathers have been more involved than mothers. Note that this variable measures rule-setting involvement, while the other two indicators, in which mothers were significantly more involved than fathers, measured active behavioral involvement.

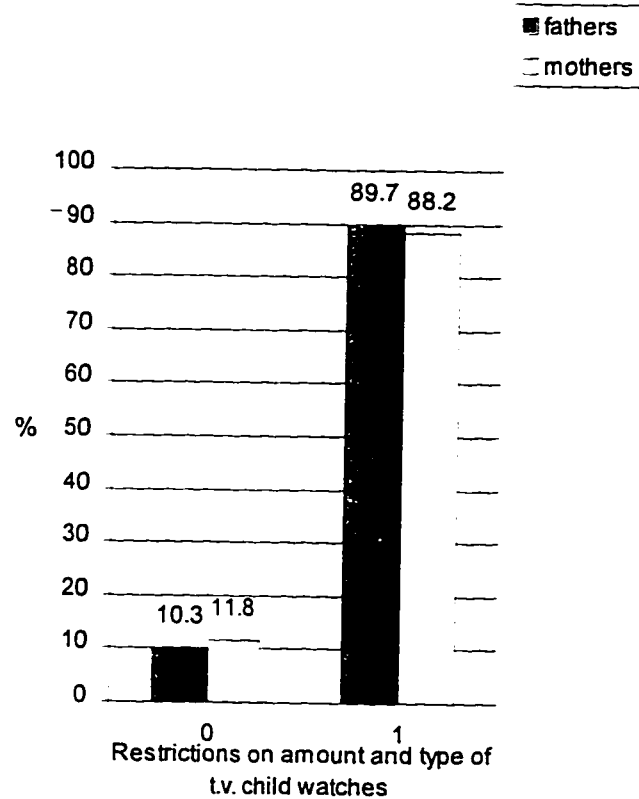
It is also important to note that responses to these questions may reflect several other things besides parental involvement, including the parents' schedules (work, etc.), their socioeconomic status (e.g., the ability to afford after-school care or baby-sitters), the structure of the family (e.g., single-parent vs. 2-parent household), the child's maturity level, and neighborhood safety. I control for these possibilities in subsequent analyses. These social structural factors may be one reason why fathers are more likely than mothers to be more restrictive of their children's whereabouts. Some mothers, for example, may have fewer opportunities to avoid having their children stay home alone (this may especially be the case for single mothers).

Television restrictions: amount and type.

As with the previous subsample, parents of a focal child age 5-11 were also asked about whether they restrict the amount and/or type of television which their child watches. These questions are worded as follows: "do you restrict the amount of television that (child) watches? (yes, no, try but not successful, don't have a t.v.)," and "do you restrict the type of programs that (he/she) watches? (yes, no, try but not successful)."

These items were recoded and combined to range from 0 to 5, where a higher score indicates a greater level of parental restrictiveness. For this variable, 0="restricts neither type nor amount," 1="sometimes/tries to restrict either type or amount," 2="sometimes/tries to restrict both type and amount," 3="(yes to) restricts either type or amount," 4="restricts one and sometimes/tries to restrict other," and 5="restricts both type and amount of t.v. which child watches." There were no parents in this

sample who did not own a television. In order to facilitate the interpretation of this variable, the item was then further recoded into a dummy variable in which 0="does not place consistent restrictions on t.v. viewing" (includes the scores of 0-2 on the previous item), and 1="places some consistent restrictions on either type or amount of t.v. viewing" (includes the scores of 3-5 on the previous item). Figure 5-3b shows the distribution of responses.



0=no consistent restrictions on amount or type of t.v. which child watches
 1=some consistent restrictions on either or both

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	432	.88	.32
<i>mothers</i>	669	.89	.32

Figure 5-3b: TV restrictions, amount and type (fc511tv)

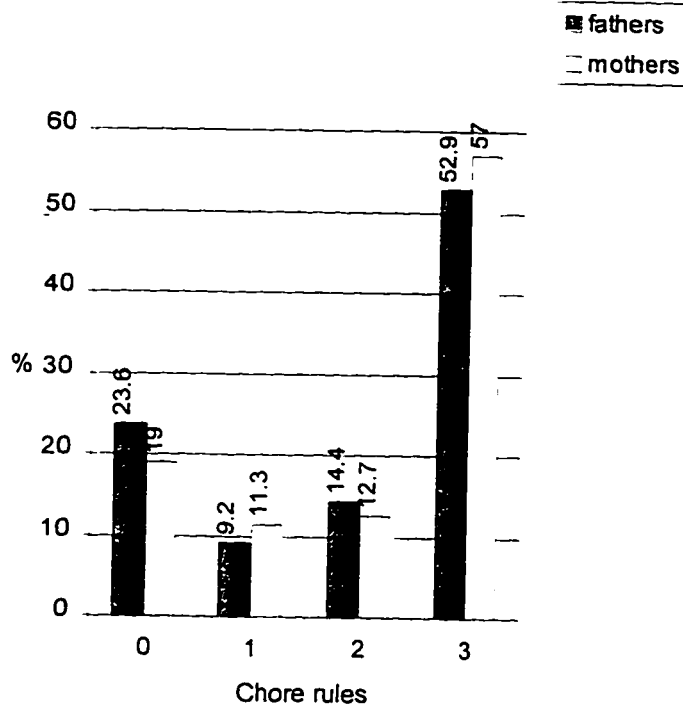
There are no significant gender differences in the distribution of this variable. The vast majority of both mothers and fathers (88% and 90%, respectively) do place some consistent restrictions on their child's t.v. viewing. What is perhaps more

interesting is the obvious lack of gender difference in responses, given the more evident gender differences in previous measures. It is possible that this variable simply shows how easy it is for parents to make rules for their children; what this variable does not show is which parent(s) enforce(s) these rules. Given the previous measures, mothers would probably be more likely to enforce these rules than fathers.

Chore rules

The third measure of parental involvement for focal children age 5-11 indicates parents' rules regarding whether the child has regular chores and whether s/he is required to do them. This variable is a composite of two survey questions: "does (he/she) have regular chores to do around the house? (yes, no);" and (if yes) "is (he/she) required to complete (his/her) chores before playing, watching television, or going out? (yes, no, sometimes/it depends)."

These items were combined so that 0="child does not have regular chores," 1="child has regular chores, but is not required to do them before playing," 2="child has regular chores, and is sometimes required to do them before playing," and 3="child has regular chores, and is required to complete them before playing." Higher numbers on this item indicate a greater degree of parental restrictiveness.



3=has regular chores and must do them before playing
 2=has regular chores and sometimes must do them before playing
 1=has regular chores, but doesn't need to do them before playing
 0=does not have regular chores

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	325	2.59	.69	
<i>mothers</i>	557	2.58	.71	$p < .05$

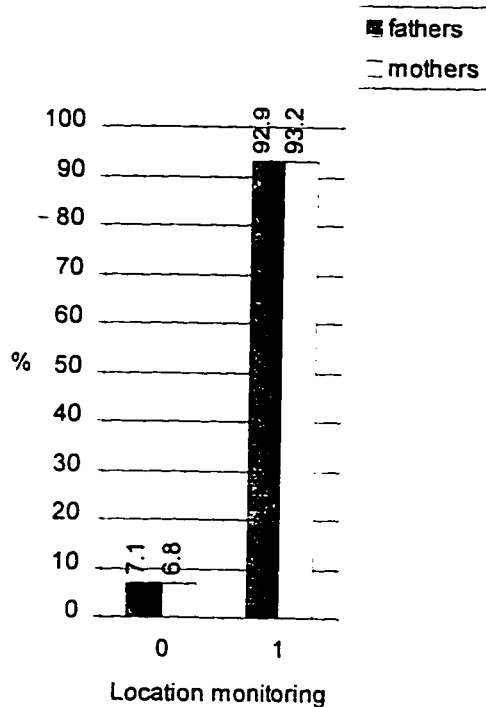
Figure 5-3c: Chore rules: does child have regular chores, and must s/he do them before playing? (f511chor)

While there are no monumental differences between mothers and fathers in terms of the chore rules they impose on their children, mothers are significantly more involved than fathers ($p < .05$). Approximately 55% of both fathers and mothers both

assign their child regular chores and require her/him to complete them before playing. Fathers are slightly more likely than mothers to report that their child does not have any regular chores (24% of fathers vs. 19% of mothers), but are also slightly more likely than mothers to “sometimes” require their child to do his/her chores when s/he has them (14% of fathers vs. 13% of mothers). Overall, then, there is no clear pattern of gender differences for this measure of boundary-setting involvement.

Monitoring child’s location

The final variable for this subsample indicates the parent’s rules regarding how often the child has to tell the parent his/her location if the child is not at home. The survey question was, “when (child) is away from home, is (he/she) supposed to let you know where (he/she) is: hardly ever, sometimes, most of the time, all of the time?” This item was recoded into a dummy variable, where 1=“child must tell parent his/her location all of the time,” and 0=“otherwise.”



1=all the time
0=otherwise

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	430	.93	.25
<i>mothers</i>	667	.93	.25

Figure 5-3d: Child must tell parent his/her location if not home (new313)

The distribution of this variable is consistent with expectations about parenting grade-school-aged children, and also with the socially-desirable response, both of which assume that parents will always monitor their young child's location. There are no significant gender differences in this variable. Approximately 93% of both fathers and

mothers report that they always require their child to let them know where s/he is when s/he is not home.

SUBSAMPLE #4: Focal Child Age 12-18

Boundary-Setting Involvement

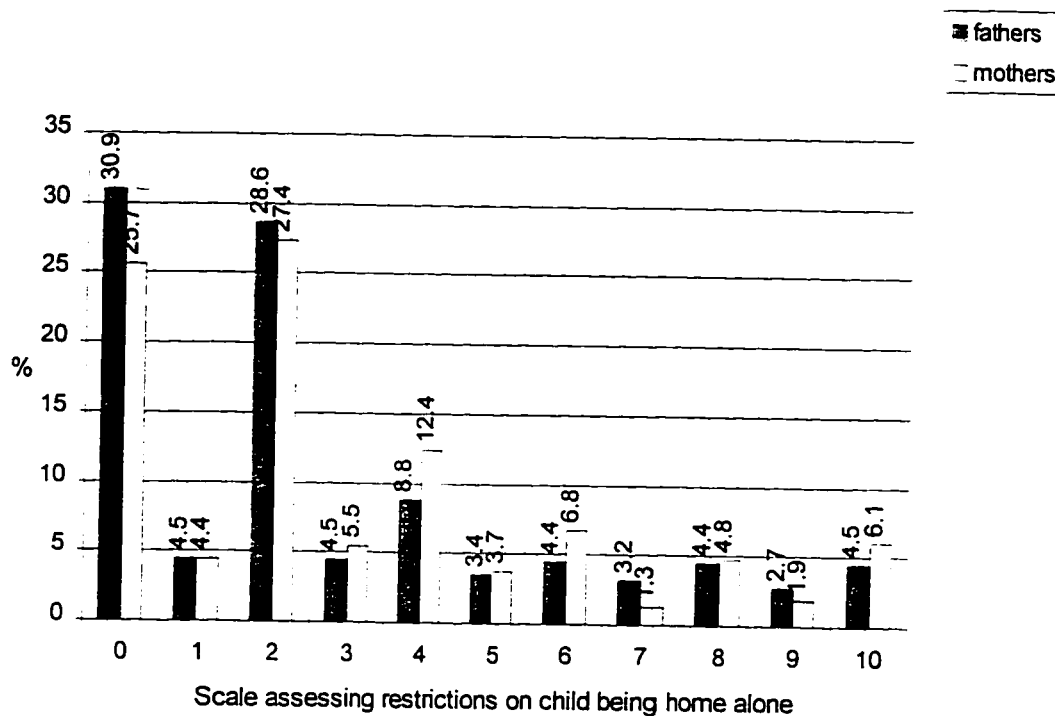
As with the previous subsample, all of the indicators of involvement within this subsample are more related to rule-setting than to active behavioral involvement. Interestingly, however, the proportions of parents who score highly on the involvement items tend to be lower than the proportions for focal children age 5-11. This is probably a result of the children's age; parents may be less likely to monitor an older child's behavior and to enforce certain rules.

The measures of parental involvement for this subsample indicate parents' rules regarding whether the child can be home alone, rules about the child's television viewing, chore completion, and homework completion, and rules about monitoring the child's location. These measures are documented in Figures 5-4a through 5-4e.

Home alone rules

The first set of items in this subsample measures the parents' beliefs about whether their 12-18 year-old can be alone at home during particular times of the day and night. These items are identical to those asked of focal children age 5-11. The five items were then summed to create one index of "home alone rules," ranging from 0 (child is allowed to be home alone in all circumstances) to 10 (child is NOT allowed to

be home alone under any circumstances). Higher scores indicate a greater level of parental restrictiveness.



0=Child is allowed to be home alone in all circumstances.
 10=Child is NOT allowed to be home alone under any circumstances.

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	345	2.93	2.97	
<i>mothers</i>	745	3.01	2.93	$\alpha=.83$

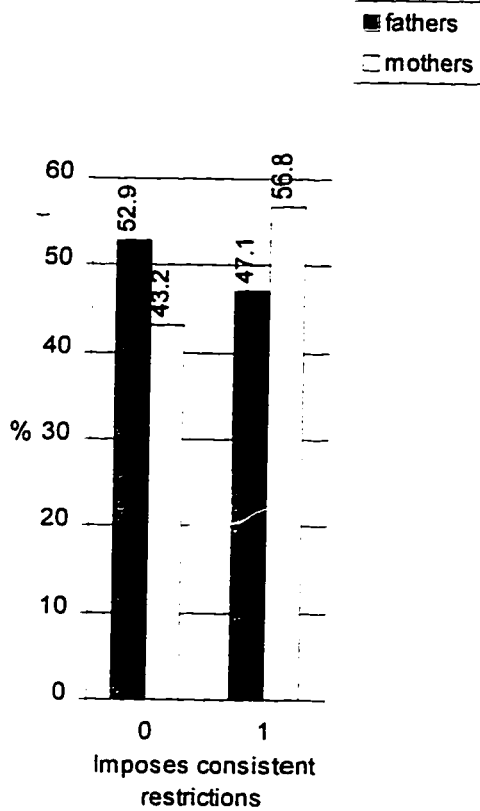
Figure 5-4a: Home alone rules (sum334ae)

The distribution of this variable reveals a very different picture of parental restrictions for these older children than for the group of 5-11 year-olds. To begin with, fathers of the younger children are significantly more likely than mothers to place these restrictions on their children. The gender differences are not significant for the older children. In addition, for the younger children, 70% of fathers and 61% of mothers

would not allow their child to be home alone under any circumstances; this percentage has fallen to 4.5% of fathers and 6% of mothers for 12-18 year-olds. Finally, approximately 31% of fathers and 26% of mothers responded "yes" to all items for their 12-18 year-olds. It is clear from these results that parents have very different beliefs about and expectations of their grade-school versus their junior- and high-school aged children.

Television restrictions: amount and type.

Parents of focal children age 12-18 were also asked about whether they restrict the amount and/or type of television which their child watches. These questions are also identical to those asked of the previous subsample. These items were recoded and combined to be consistent with the coding of the previous "television restrictions" variable (see "focal child age 5-11" section for details). The final result of the recoding procedure is a dummy variable in which 0="does not place consistent restrictions on t.v. viewing," and 1="places some consistent restrictions on either type or amount of t.v. viewing." Figure 5-4b shows the frequency distribution of this variable.



0=no
1=yes

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	344	.49	.50	
<i>mothers</i>	744	.54	.50	<i>p</i> <.10

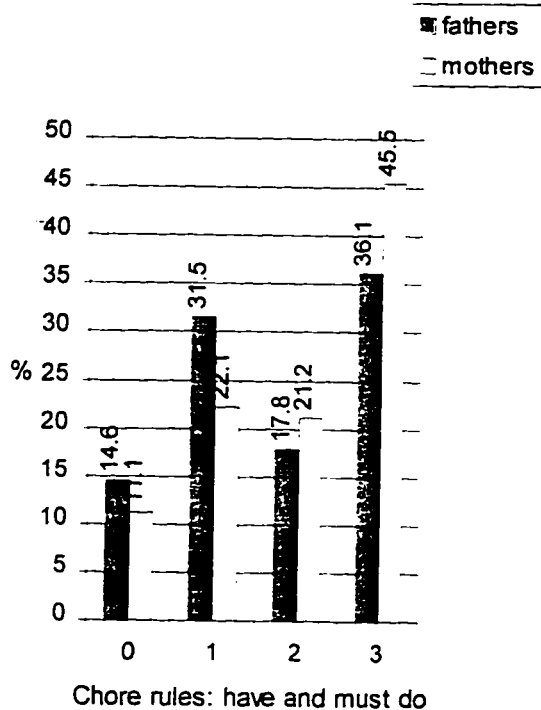
Figure 5-4b: TV restrictions, amount and type (fc1218tv)

There are some moderate gender differences in the distribution of this variable; these differences are marginally significant at the $p < .10$ level. Mothers are more likely than fathers to place consistent restrictions on their child's t.v. viewing (57% of mothers

vs. 47% of fathers). What is more interesting, however, is that far fewer parents place consistent restrictions on the t.v. which their 12-18 year-olds watch, as compared to parents of 5-11 year-olds. Recall that only 10-12% of parents did NOT consistently restrict their younger child's t.v. viewing, while 43% of mothers and 53% of mothers do not consistently restrict their older child's t.v. habits. These differences once again demonstrate the changing nature of parent-child relationships as the children grow older.

Chore rules

The third measure of parental involvement is again identical to the chore rules item from the previous subsample. This variable is a composite of two survey questions: "does (he/she) have regular chores to do around the house? (yes, no);" and (if yes) "is (he/she) required to complete (his/her) chores before playing, watching television, or going out? (yes, no, sometimes/it depends)." These items were combined so that 0="child does not have regular chores," 1="child has regular chores, but is not required to do them before playing," 2="child has regular chores, and is sometimes required to do them before playing," and 3="child has regular chores, and is required to complete them before playing." Higher numbers on this item indicate a greater degree of parental restrictiveness.



3=has regular chores and must do them before playing
 2=has regular chores and sometimes must do them before playing
 1=has regular chores, but doesn't need to do them before playing
 0=does not have regular chores

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	300	2.14	.89	
<i>mothers</i>	675	2.28	.85	<i>p</i> <.05

Figure 5-4c: Chore rules: does child have regular chores, and must s/he do them before playing? (f12chor)

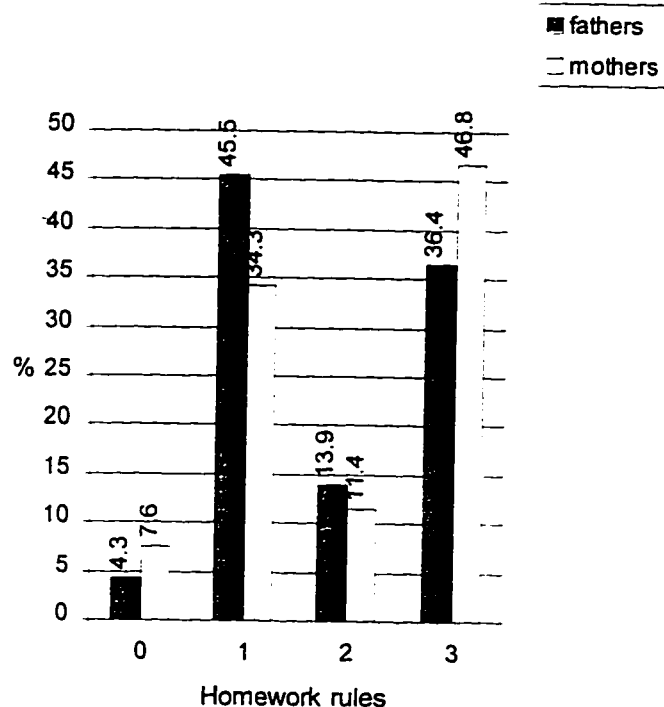
This variable shows some interesting differences between mothers and fathers of older children, as well between parents of older versus younger children. Mothers are more likely than fathers to require their older children to do their chores before going

outside, while fathers of 12-18 year-olds are more likely than mothers to give their children chores but not require them to complete them. Overall, mothers are significantly more involved than fathers, as defined by this variable ($p < .05$). It is also interesting to note that parents of younger children tend to require their child to complete his/her chores, while parents of older children are much more likely to give the child chores but not require her/him to do them before going out. This again documents the changing nature of parenting and children's responsibilities as children age.

Homework rules

The fourth measure of parental involvement for 12-18 year-old focal children is similar in form to the "chore rules" variable, but different in content in that it measures the parents' rules about the child's homework. This variable is composed of two items: "(Does/ did) (child) have regular homework (during the past school year)? (yes, no)," and (if yes), "Is (he/she) required to complete (his/her) homework before playing, watching television, or going out after school? (yes, no, sometimes/it depends)." The items were recoded into one measure in which 0="child did not have homework in the past year," 1="child had homework, but was not required to finish it before playing," 2="child had homework, and was sometimes required to finish it before playing," and 3="child had homework and was consistently required to complete it before playing."⁷

⁷ Although I recognize that whether the child had homework or not is not under the same degree of parental control as is whether the child had chores or not, I decided to code this variable in the same manner as the "chores rules" variable in order to



3=had homework in the past year, and had to do homework before playing
 2=had homework and sometimes had to do it before playing
 1=had homework, but didn't need to do it before playing
 0=did not have homework in the past year

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	313	2.00	.94
<i>mothers</i>	645	2.15	.93

Figure 5-4d: Homework rules: did child have homework in past school year, and did s/he have to do it before playing or going out? (f12hmwk)

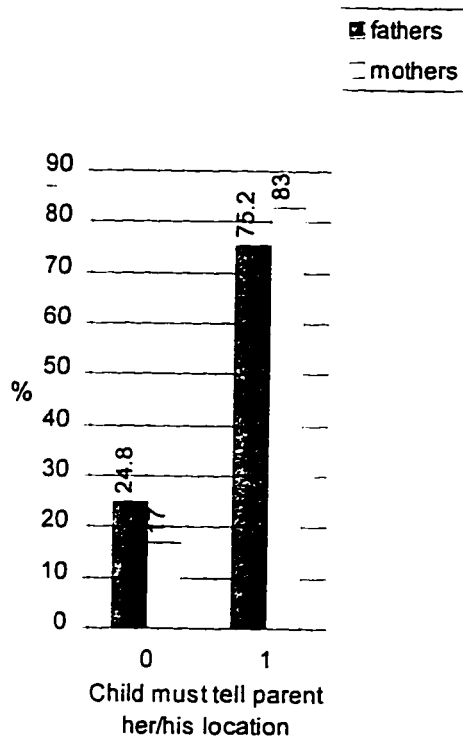
Although the distribution of this variable shows some intriguing differences in parenting style between fathers and mothers, the overall differences are not statistically

maintain consistency. In addition, it is possible for parents to affect the amount of homework that their children receive by talking to teachers and/or taking homework into consideration when deciding where to send their children to school.

significant. Interestingly, mothers are nearly twice as likely as fathers to report that their child did not have any homework during the past year (7.6% of mothers vs. 4.3% of fathers). However, when the child did have homework, mothers are more likely than fathers to consistently require their child to complete his/her homework before playing (46.8% of mothers vs. 36.4% of fathers). Similarly, fathers are more likely than mothers to NOT require their child to finish her/his homework before playing (45.5% of fathers vs. 34.3% of mothers).

Monitoring child's location

The final variable for this subsample is also identical to a question asked of focal children age 5-11. This item indicates the parent's rules regarding how often the child has to tell the parent his/her location if the child is not at home. The survey question was, "when (child) is away from home, is (he/she) supposed to let you know where (he/she) is: hardly ever, sometimes, most of the time, all of the time?" This item was recoded into a dummy variable, where 1="child must tell parent his/her location all of the time," and 0="otherwise."



1=all of the time
 0=otherwise

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	345	.75	.43
<i>mothers</i>	743	.82	.39

Figure 5-4e: Child must tell location if not home (new335)

While there are some slight differences in mothers' and fathers' responses to these items, the differences are not statistically significant. However, as was the case with the previous variables, the distribution of this measure is consistent with expectations about parenting older children. The mothers of 12-18 year-olds are more

likely than fathers to always require their child to report her/his location (84% of mothers vs. 75% of fathers). This percentage of parents is lower than the 93% of parents who responded the same way for 5-11 year-olds. This difference undoubtedly reflects the changes in expectations, opportunities, and responsibilities which children experience as they age.

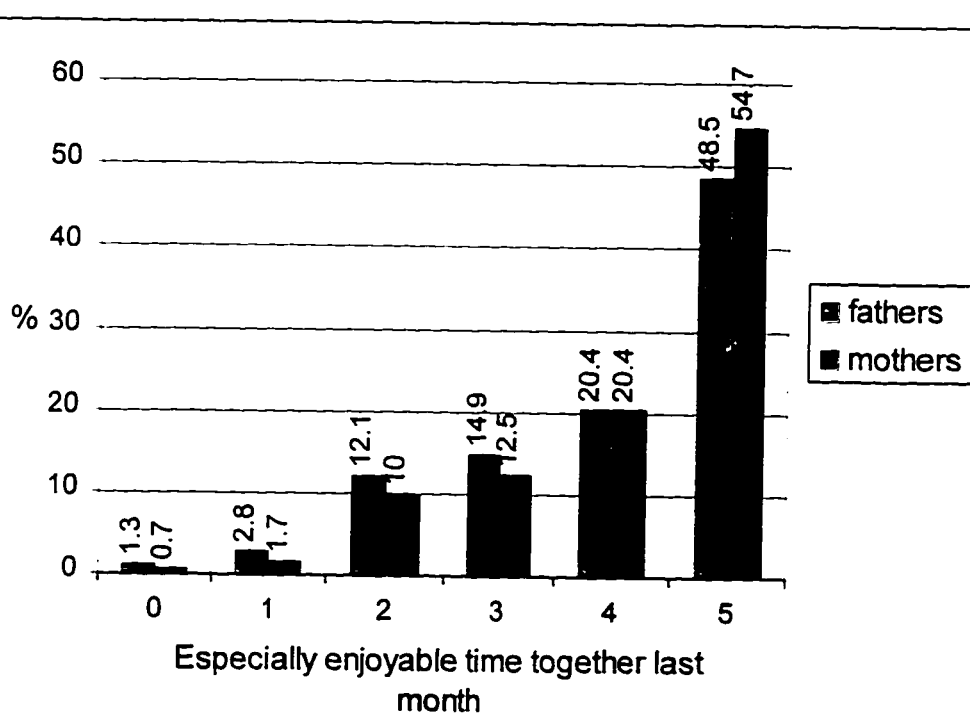
SUBSAMPLE #5: Focal Child Age 0-18

There were a limited number of variables which pertained to this subsample of children. Most of the questions were relevant to involved parenting, but were asked of biological children who lived in another household (e.g., with an ex-spouse). Due to the objectives of this study, only parents and children living in the same household were eligible for inclusion, and thus most of these variables were not relevant. The variables used to measure parental involvement in this subsample indicate parents' subjective evaluations of the time they spend with their child, and the quality of their parent-child relationship.

How often parent and child had an especially enjoyable time together last month

One relevant question asked about a focal child age 0-18 is, "during the past 30 days, how often did you have an especially enjoyable time with (child)?" Response categories for this question were "never," "once," "2 or 3 times," "about once a week," "about twice a week," and "almost every day." This measure is coded to range from 0 to 5, with higher numbers representing a greater degree of parental enjoyment and/or involvement. One important aspect of a healthy parent-child relationship is the ability

to share enjoyable experiences, however they are subjectively defined. An involved parent may strive to have many enjoyable experiences with his or her child, or may simply define many of their shared daily experiences as enjoyable. This variable thus reflects both a behavioral and an emotional component of parental involvement.



0='never'
 1='once'
 2='2 or 3 times'
 3='about once/week'
 4='about twice/week'
 5='almost every day'

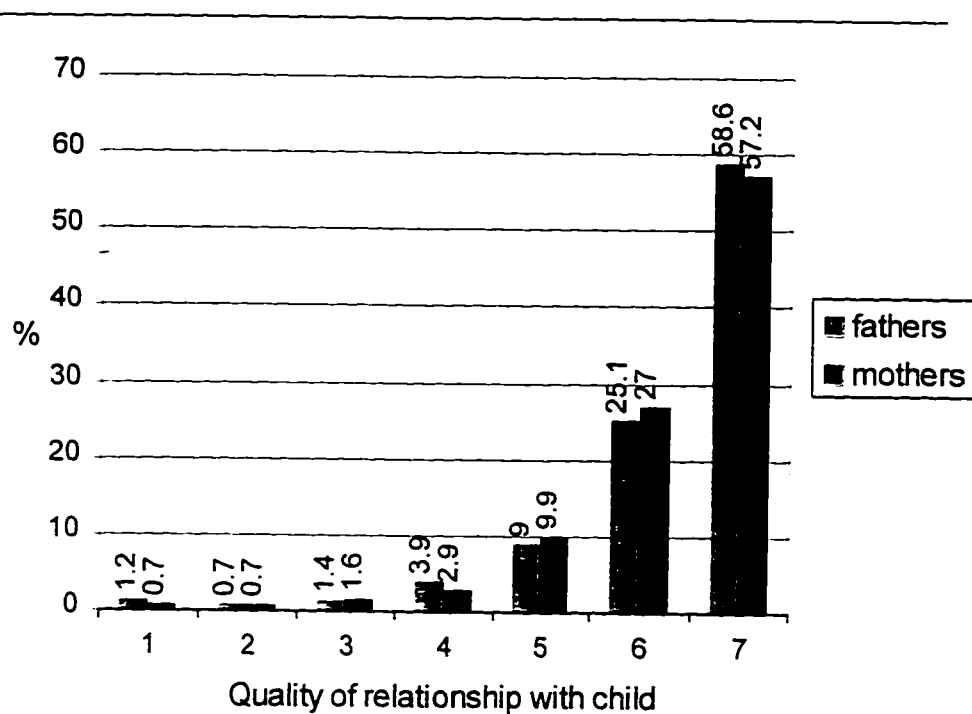
	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	1250	4.01	1.25	
<i>mothers</i>	2062	4.12	1.16	$p < .05$

Figure 5-5a: Parent's subjective evaluation of how often parent and child have had an "especially enjoyable time together" in the last month (new284)

The distribution of this variable shows that most parents do feel that they have an “especially enjoyable time” with their child almost every day. There are some gender differences, in that mothers are more likely to respond “almost every day” than are fathers (55% vs. 49%). These gender differences reveal that mothers are significantly more involved than fathers ($p < .05$). The distributions of the fathers’ and the mothers’ responses are both positively skewed, however, which indicates that both mothers and fathers tend to find enjoyment in their relationships with their children.

Quality of relationship with child

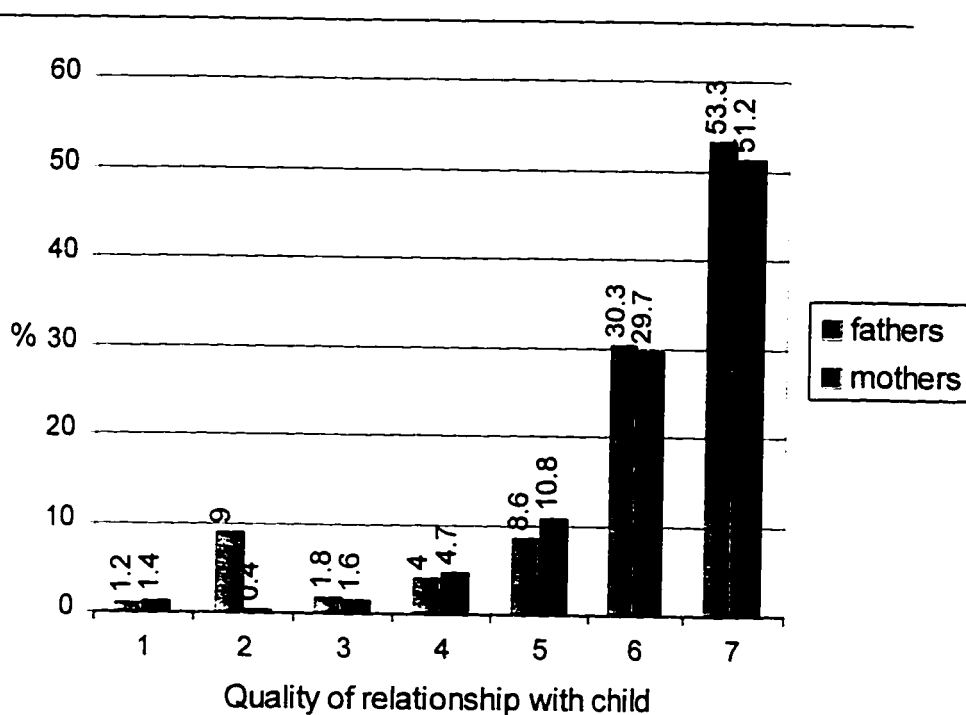
The second and third items used to indicate subjective evaluations of the parent’s involvement are parents’ ratings of the quality of their relationship with each of their children. These ratings ranged from 1=“very poor” to 7=“excellent.” Figures 5-5b and 5-5c show the distribution of mothers and fathers on this variable.



1="very poor"
7="excellent"

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	1194	6.29	1.13
<i>mothers</i>	1969	6.31	1.05

Figure 5-5b: Parent's subjective evaluation of the quality of his or her relationship with child #1 (qualrel1)



	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	934	6.22	1.15
<i>mothers</i>	1412	6.17	1.16

Figure 5-5c: Parent's subjective evaluation of the quality of his or her relationship with child #2 (qualrel2)

As these figures show, the majority of mothers and fathers rate the quality of their relationship with their children as being excellent or close to excellent. Very few parents rate their relationships with their children as very poor. The differences between mothers' and fathers' responses are quite small, and are not statistically significant.

SUBSAMPLE #6: Any/All Child(ren) Age 0-4

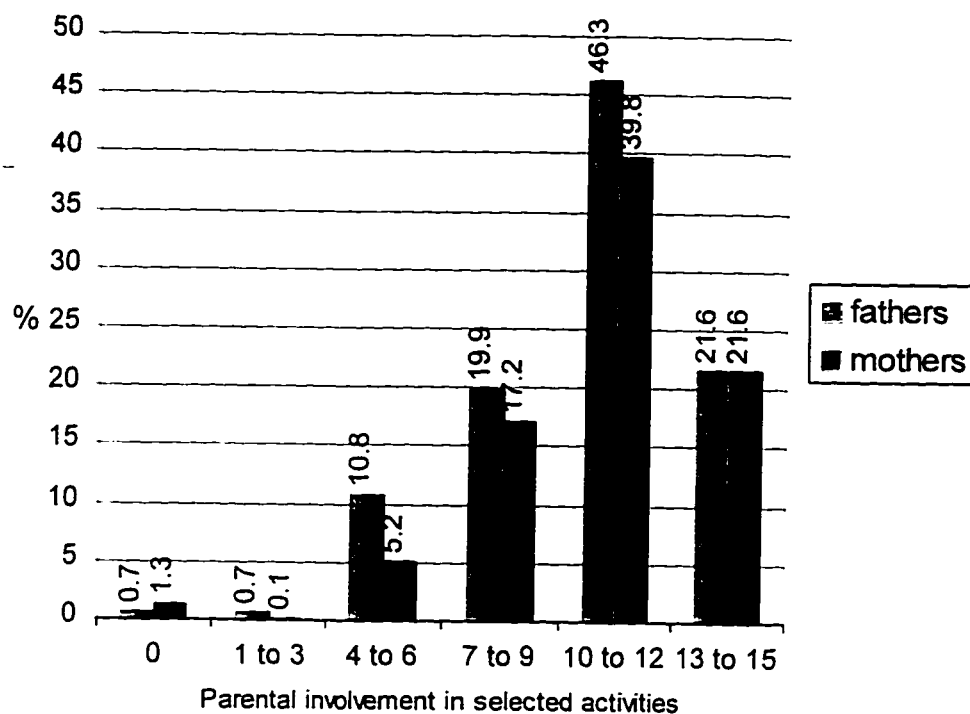
As with the measure of involvement for focal children age 0-4, the measures of involvement for any/all child(ren) age 0-4 are composed of indicators of active behavioral involvement. There are three relevant items in this subsample. These items were combined to construct one involvement scale; the individual items, constructed scale, and the results of this definition process are discussed below.

Active Behavioral Involvement**Selected activities with the child(ren): outings, playing, reading**

Three individual items were used to construct a single measure of involvement with any child(ren) age 0-4. These items were all in response to the same question: "How often do you spend time with your children a) on an outing away from home (at parks, museums, zoos, etc.); b) at home playing together; c) reading to child?" Response categories for these items were: "never/rarely," "once a month or less," "several times a month," "about once a week," "several times a week," and "almost

every day.” These responses were scored from 0 to 5, with higher numbers indicating a greater degree of parental involvement. Responses to the individual items were then summed, to create a single scale of involvement which ranges from 0 (never/rarely spends time with child reading, playing, or on outings) to 15 (reads, plays, and goes on outings with child almost every day).⁸ Although this is a continuous variable, Figure 5-6 represents it in categories for ease of presentation.

⁸ There are some differences in responses to the individual items of this scale. Not surprisingly, parents are most likely to be involved if the activity can take place at home (playing or reading) instead of outside the home. It is also not surprising that fathers are most likely to be involved in terms of playing with their young children. This item also has the smallest difference between fathers and mothers, while the largest gender difference in involvement is in reading to the young child. Despite these differences, I summed them into a scale in order to maintain consistency in the measurement of similar items across different subgroups.



0=never/rarely spends time with child reading, playing, or on outings.
15=reads, plays, and goes on outings with child almost every day.

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>		
<i>fathers</i>	328	10.05	2.83		
<i>mothers</i>	463	11.15	2.63	$p < .0001$	$\alpha = .48^9$

Figure 5-6: How often parent engaged in selected activities with child (allact04)

Fathers and mothers both score quite high on this scale; while mothers are much more likely than fathers to score on the highest end of the distribution (13-15 points; 36% of mothers vs. 22% of fathers), fathers tend to score between 10 and 12, which

⁹ Although the alpha is somewhat questionable, I retained this scale in order to maintain consistent measurement of similar variables across subgroups.

36% of mothers vs. 22% of fathers), fathers tend to score between 10 and 12, which reveals that they typically engage in activities with their young children more than once a week.

SUBSAMPLE #7: Any/All Child(ren) Age 5-18

The final subsample of parent-child relationships focuses on any child/all children age 5-18. There are 10 relevant individual items in this group, all of which measure parents' active behavioral involvement with their children. These items were combined into 3 measures of involvement. The frequency distributions of these variables are shown in Figures 5-7a through 5-7c.

Active Behavioral Involvement

Selected activities with the child(ren): leisure activities, playing, reading, private talks

Four items were used to construct a single measure of involvement with any child(ren) age 5-18. These items are similar to those asked of any child age 0-4, but reflect differences between older and younger children's abilities as well as differences in parent-child relationships with older vs. younger children. The items were all in response to the same question: "How often do you spend time with your children a) in leisure activities away from home (picnics, movies, sports, etc.); b) at home working on a project or playing together; c) having private talks; d) helping with reading or homework?" Response categories for these items were: "never/rarely," "once a month or less," "several times a month," "about once a week," "several times a week," and "almost every day." These responses were scored from 0 to 5, with higher numbers

indicating a greater degree of parental involvement. Responses to the individual items were then summed, to create a single scale of involvement which ranges from 0 (never/rarely spends time with child reading, playing, talking, or in leisure activities) to 20 (reads, plays, talks, and spends time in leisure activities with child almost every day).¹⁰ Although this is a continuous variable, it is depicted categorically in Figure 5-7a for ease of presentation.

¹⁰ The distributions of the individual items reveal some interesting differences between parents' involvement with any child age 5-18 and any child age 0-4. Although the same questions were asked about both subgroups, the percentages of involved parents are quite different. Parents are more likely to go on outings once a week or more with their older children than with their younger children. This finding makes sense, since older children are more physically independent, and can often do more activities outside for longer periods of time than can infants and toddlers.

In contrast, parents of 5-18 year-olds are less likely to play with their children or read with their children when compared to parents of 0-4 year-olds. Parents are much more likely to read to/with their youngsters than to read with/to their older children. In terms of playing at home with a child, a substantially higher percentage of parents were more involved with their youngsters compared to their older children. Although parents are more likely to go on outings with their older children, it seems that they are less likely to play at home with their 5-18 year-old. Perhaps the type and duration of parent-child play differs as children age; this is another example of the effect which age of child might have on parent-child involvement.

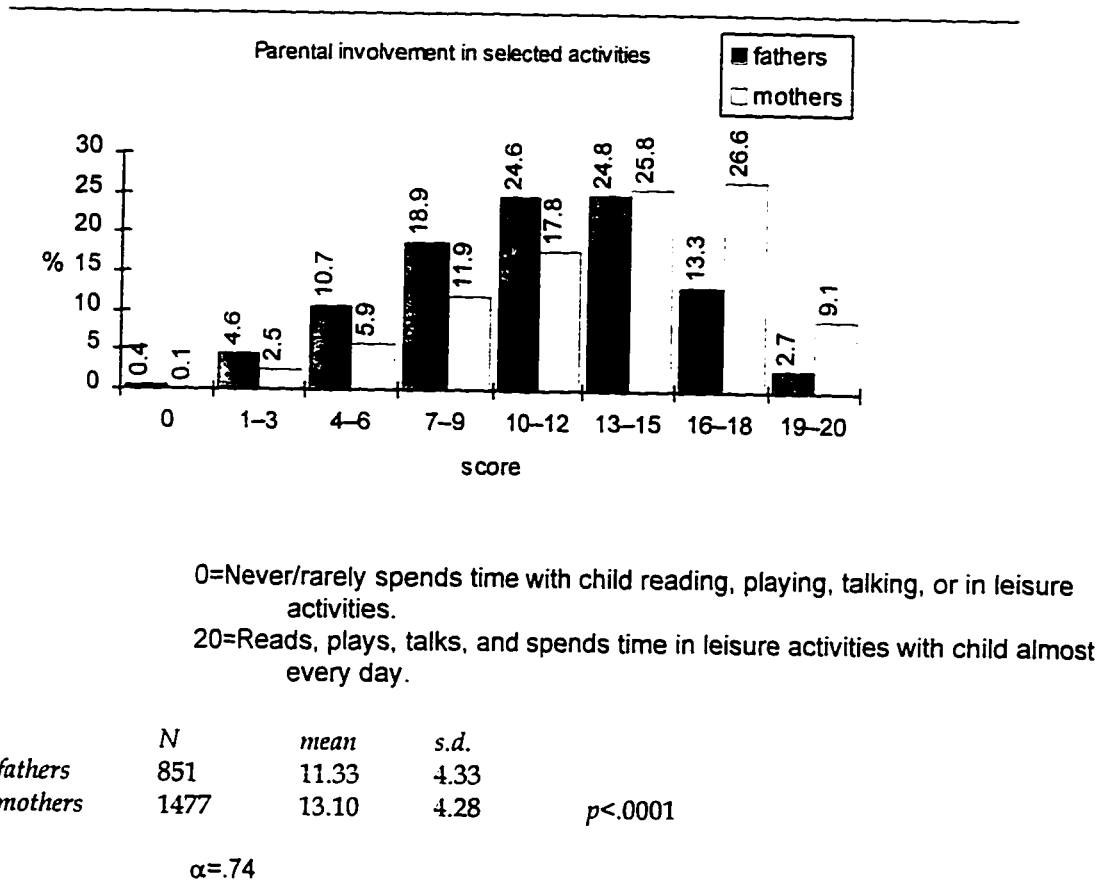


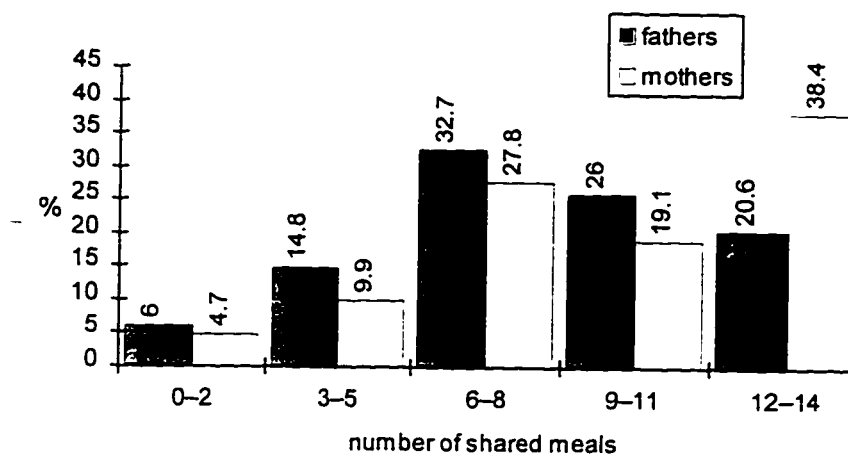
Figure 5-7a: How often parent engaged in selected activities with child (alact518)

This measure documents different levels of parental involvement for fathers and mothers. Mothers are significantly more involved than fathers according to this indicator of involvement ($p < .0001$). Mothers' average scores exceed fathers' on this scale; in addition, fathers' responses approach a normal distribution, while mothers' responses are skewed to the right. For example, while 34% of mothers score 16-20 on the scale, only 16% of fathers do so. While mothers typically engage in these activities with their children between once and several times a week, fathers typically spend time

with their children between several times a month and once a week. These findings reveal once again that mothers are much more likely than fathers to be highly involved with their children in terms of active behavioral involvement.

Shared meals

The second measure of involvement for this subsample indicates the number of times last week which the parent shared breakfast and/or dinner with his/her child. This measure is composed of responses from two questions: "How many days last week did you eat breakfast or dinner with at least one of the children? a) breakfast; b) dinner." Responses for both of these items ranged from 0 (none) to 7 (7 days/everyday). The two items were summed to construct a single measure of shared meals, which ranges from 0 (shared no breakfasts or dinners last week) to 14 (shared every breakfast and dinner last week). This continuous variable is presented as categorical in Figure 5-7b for ease of presentation.



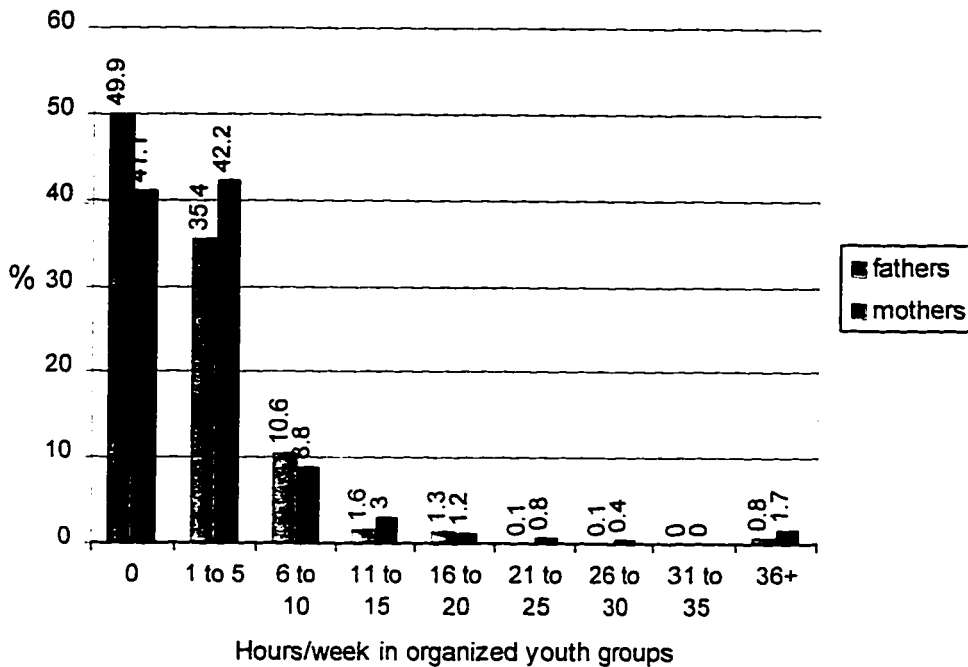
	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	834	8.17	3.54	
<i>mothers</i>	1437	8.72	3.81	$p < .001$

Figure 5-7b: Number of times last week parent and child shared breakfast and/or dinner (mealsgt5)

As is consistent with most of the previous measures, mothers are more involved than fathers ($p < .001$), and are also more likely than fathers to score in the highest ranges of active behavioral involvement. For example, while 32% of mothers ate between 12 and 14 meals with their child last week, only 20% of fathers did so. The distributions for this variable are also consistent with those of previous measures in that fathers' responses tend to be more normally-distributed, while mothers' responses tend to be somewhat positively skewed.

Parents' time in youth-related activities

The final measure of involvement for this subsample is a composite of four items which indicate the amount of time per week which parents spend with their children in youth-group-related activities. The items were in response to the following question: "During the past 12 months, how much time did you ... spend in an average week in each of the following organized youth activities as a participant, advisor, coach or leader? a) parent-teacher organization or other school activities; b) religious youth groups; c) community youth groups (for example scouts); d) team sports or youth athletic clubs." The responses for each of these items are reported in number of hours per week. In order to compose a single measure of parents' hours per week in youth-related activities, I summed the four individual items. Although this is a continuous variable, it is presented in Figure 5-7c in categories.



	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
<i>fathers</i>	793	2.72	6.20	
<i>mothers</i>	1346	3.68	8.75	<i>p</i> <.01

Figure 5-7c: Hours per week involved in various organized youth groups (chgpsgt5)

The majority of mothers and fathers spend five or fewer hours per week in organized youth activities. Although the distributions of both mothers' and fathers' scores are highly negatively skewed, mothers are significantly more involved than fathers ($p < .01$). Perhaps the most striking aspect of this distribution is that one-half of all fathers spend no time at all in organized youth-related activities, compared to 41% of mothers. One stereotype about fathering is that men are most likely to be involved with their children when they are older and engaging in youth sports leagues. Although it is true that fathers have the highest level of involvement in sports groups for the

true that fathers have the highest level of involvement in sports groups for the individual items of this scale, it is still surprising that 50% of fathers do not take advantage of this parenting opportunity.

Gendered Parenting in the NSFH-1

Some clear patterns of gender differences in parenting emerge from the descriptions of the variables in this chapter. To begin with, for the majority of parental involvement indicators for which mothers and fathers have significantly different responses, mothers are more involved than fathers. A more important finding, however, is that for every indicator of active behavioral involvement, mothers are significantly more involved than fathers. Mothers are also more involved than fathers for all but one indicator of boundary-setting when the gender differences are significant. Interestingly, however, the gender differences of as many rule-setting indicators are non-significant as are significant. There is even one indicator of rule-setting in which fathers are significantly more involved than mothers. Fathers are significantly more likely than mothers ($p < .001$) to place restrictions on whether or not their 5-11 year-olds can be home alone. These results suggest that fathers and mothers are more equal in their parenting with regard to boundary-setting involvement than with active behavioral involvement.

The only aspect of parenting where fathers were consistently more involved than mothers was attitudinal involvement. Fathers were significantly more likely than mothers to report that they disagreed with the statement, "I often wish I could be free

from the responsibility of being a parent.” This gender difference was significant in the overall sample and in 5 of the 7 subsamples. This finding makes sense in light of the significance test results from the other indicators of parental involvement. Since mothers are significantly more likely than fathers to be involved with their children, both in terms of active behaviors and in terms of rule-setting, it is not surprising that mothers are more likely than fathers to find parenting more demanding and stressful. One reasonable precursor of wishing to be free from parental responsibilities is the actual experience of parental responsibilities.

The finding that fathers participate more equally in rule-setting parental involvement but not in active behavioral involvement is consistent with more traditional stereotypes of fathers as distant authoritarians. In addition, the findings that mothers are more actively involved and that the biggest gender differences in involvement are for physical care of young children, are consistent with traditional ideals about motherhood. This pattern is, however, less consistent with the emerging ideal of the “new father” who is very involved in his children’s daily care. It is possible that the NSFH-1 data show more traditional patterns in parenting because the “new father” ideology was not yet popular in 1987, or because ideology and behavior simply did/do not correspond. However, a preliminary examination of these parents’ levels of involvement in 1994 reveals that the gendered pattern is the same at Time 2. As the figures in Appendix C illustrate, mothers are still significantly more likely to be actively involved than are fathers in 1994. This suggests that, regardless of the growing popularity of the image of “modern dads,” mothers are still the primary childrearers.

This distinction between the “culture of fatherhood” and the “conduct of fatherhood” (LaRossa 1992) will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

Summary

This chapter has described the process of constructing empirical indicators of behavioral interaction. Although many of the gender differences are not substantial, mothers tend to be consistently more likely than fathers to be even minimally involved. Another finding is that more parents are involved with rule-setting behaviors than with active behavioral interaction. This makes sense because boundary setting is often less time- and energy-consuming than sharing activities with children, although both measure important facets of parenting. The next chapter reviews the basic bivariate relationships between the indicators of parental involvement, the indicators of labor market outcomes, and the control variables.

Chapter 6: Bivariate Results

The previous two chapters have been devoted to conceptualizing and constructing indicators of parental involvement. Chapter Five described in detail the process of constructing the main indicators of parental involvement, and also provided graphic depictions of the univariate statistics for these variables. This chapter presents the results of bivariate analyses of the relationships between the independent, dependent, and control variables within each subsample. The interpretation of these results provides a basic understanding of the full relationships between the variables, and also contributes information regarding which secondary variables may be excluded from the analyses.

Does Gender Matter in Earnings?

This study focuses on the affect of gender on the relationship between parenting and workplace rewards. Consistent with prior social science research, the previous chapter demonstrates that mothers and fathers vary in their parenting behaviors and in the absolute amount of time they spend with their children. It is also possible that the relationship between parental involvement and earnings differs for fathers and mothers. An initial test of the relationship between gender and the dependent variables provides support for the claim that gender, parenting, and workplace outcomes are inextricably linked. These results are summarized in Table 6-1.

TABLE 6-1: Results of bivariate regression between respondent's sex and dependent variables, by subsample.

	FOCAL CHILD 0-4	FOCAL CHILD 3-4	FOCAL CHILD 5-11	FOCAL CHILD 12-18
difference in earnings (ediffk)	-0.001	-.0003	.001	.003****
proportionate difference in earnings (earnprop)	0.006**	.004	.008**	.005**
change in prestige (prdif)	-0.001	-.001	.002	.002
log of adjusted 1994 earnings (t2earnln)	-.0319****	-.029****	-.014****	-.011***
log of adjusted 1987 earnings (t1earnln)	-.185****	-.180****	-.198****	-.173****
occupational prestige, 1994 (prestt2)	.001	.0003	-.001	-.002
occupational prestige, 1987 (prest)	-.001	-.001	-.002	-.003**

TABLE 6-1, con't.: Results of bivariate regression between respondent's sex and dependent variables, by subsample

	FOCAL CHILD 0-18	ANY CHILD 0-4	ANY CHILD 5-18	TOTAL # OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS
difference in earnings (ediffk)	.001*	-.003**	.002***	4 out of 7
proportionate difference in earnings (earnprop)	.006****	.006*	.008****	6 out of 7
change in prestige (prdiff)	0.001	-.0004	.001	0 out of 7
log of adjusted 1994 earnings (t2earnln)	-.019****	-.034****	-.014****	7 out of 7
log of adjusted 1987 earnings (t1earnln)	-.181****	-.181****	-.185****	7 out of 7
occupational prestige, 1994 (prestt2)	-.001	.001	-.001	0 out of 7
occupational prestige, 1987 (prest)	-.002**	-.00003	-.002**	3 out of 7

Table 6-1 shows that the first dependent variable, change in earnings between 1987 and 1994, is significantly different for fathers and mothers in 4 out of the 7 subsamples. In three of these instances, the relationships are positive, which indicates that mothers' change in earnings is greater than that of fathers during this time period. In other words, mothers' (or women's) earnings have been rising at a faster rate than have fathers' (or men's) during the past few years.

Interestingly, the only significant negative relationship between gender and change in earnings is for the subgroup "any child(ren) age 0-4." The results for the other subsamples of young children (focal child 0-4 and focal child 3-4) were both negative, but were not significant. These findings support the contention that the age of children does affect parents' earnings, with younger children being a greater hindrance to gains in earnings. In addition, these results reinforce mainstream ideology which suggests that women will experience smaller earnings gains (if not losses) compared to men when they have young children, since mothers tend to be held responsible for their care.

The second dependent variable, fathers' and mothers' proportionate difference in earnings, is significantly different across 6 of the 7 subsamples. The consistently positive relationships indicate that the proportionate difference in earnings is greater for women than for men; that is, compared to men, women experienced a greater change in earnings between 1987 and 1994, as a proportion of their 1987 earnings (e.g., Reskin and Padavic 1994, Blau and Ferber 1992). This pattern is consistent with findings about

women's increasing labor force participation and gains in earnings relative to men during the past decade.

The final longitudinal dependent variable is the change in occupational prestige between 1987 and 1994. There are no significant gender differences in this variable within any subsample. Apparently, fathers and mothers did not experience any real differences in the improvement or loss of occupational status during this time period. This finding suggests that workers experienced general occupational stability during this time period (e.g., staying in the same job between 1987 and 1994, or making collateral moves to similar-status occupations).

The pattern of positive and negative relationships across subsamples is the same for gender and change in prestige as it is for gender and change in earnings. Although none of the change in prestige relationships are significant, mothers consistently experience less improvement in occupational prestige compared to fathers when their children are young, as opposed to when their children are older.

A final set of bivariate analyses in Table 6-1 breaks down the components of the longitudinal variables and assesses whether there are significant cross-sectional gender differences in earnings or prestige. The results of these tests on the earnings variables are striking, but not surprising; for every subsample and for each point in time (1987 and 1994), mothers earn significantly less than fathers. The tests of gender differences in prestige are less striking, in that there are significant differences in only three of the seven subsamples for occupational prestige in 1987, and there are no significant gender

differences in prestige in 1994. In 1987, mothers tended to have lower-prestige occupations compared to fathers, but this pattern is not reproduced in 1994.

These bivariate regressions demonstrate that there is a consistent relationship between gender and the dependent variables. These results provide statistical justification for the theoretically-motivated strategy of conducting the analyses separately for mothers and fathers.

General Patterns among the Dependent, Main Independent, and Control Variables

A review of the bivariate regression results among all of the variables in this study reveals some interesting patterns and *lack* of patterns in significant relationships. These relationships will be discussed in more detail in the following sections. In general and across all subsamples, few indicators of parental involvement are consistently, significantly related to measures of the change in earnings or prestige over time. However, many of the sociodemographic, family structure, labor market background, and spouse/partner controls are consistently associated with indicators of parental involvement within all subgroups. These patterns, though simplistic without multivariate analyses, suggest that the effect of parental involvement on change in earnings is conditioned by other variables. Thus, it is likely that the indicators of parental involvement will have stronger effects on the dependent variables across all subsamples when the control variables are held constant.

Although these general patterns are interesting, examining the proportions of significant bivariate relationships across the dependent variables and across all

subsamples may be misleading. In the multivariate regressions, the dependent variables (overall change in earnings, proportionate change in earnings, and change in prestige) are analyzed in separate models. In addition, previous research has established that parental involvement is different for children of different ages, the involvement-earnings relationship may differ with children of different ages, and the indicators of parental involvement vary across subsample. All of these factors point to the importance of interpreting the bivariate results separately for each dependent variable and within each subsample. Subsequent sections of this chapter examine the results of bivariate regressions between the dependent and main independent variables, independent and control variables, and dependent and control variables within each subsample.

Parenting and Money: Does Parental Involvement Affect Labor Market Outcomes?

The bivariate regression results between the main independent and dependent variables are initially discouraging. The percent of total significant relationships with all independent variables are between 6% (for proportionate change in earnings) and 10% (for change in earnings and change in prestige). In addition, an examination of the proportion of significant relationships within subsamples reveals that the parental involvement-labor market outcomes relationships are *never* significant in two subgroups (focal child 0-4 and any child(ren) 0-4), and the relationships are *always* significant in only one subgroup (any child 5-18). Tables 6-2 through 6-4 show the results of the bivariate regression analyses between the independent variables and

change in earnings, proportionate change in earnings, and change in prestige, respectively.

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Table 6-2: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and EDIFFK (difference between 1987 earnings and 1994 earnings, in 1987 dollars/1000), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11	
	fathers n=173	mothers n=128	fathers n=90	mothers n=81	fathers n=272	mothers n=219
"I often wish to be free of the responsibility of being a parent" (t1e1360n)	-0.498	-1.771	0.693	-2.095	0.082	0.075
# hours physical care for child (rcarehr4)	-0.635	-0.056				
how often read last week (new303)			-2.336	0.667		
tv restrictions (fc04tv)			-1.907	-0.382		
alone rules (sum312ae)					-2.168	-0.432
tell location rules (new313)					7.381	1.471
tv restrictions (fc511tv)					1.482	-1.265
chore rules (f511chor)					-2.776	0.170

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-2, continued: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and EDIFFK (difference between 1987 earnings and 1994 earnings, in 1987 dollars), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 12-18		focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers n=207	mothers n=212	fathers n=566	mothers n=459	fathers n=91	mothers n=68	fathers n=529	mothers n=433
"I often wish to be free of the responsibility of being a parent" (t1e1360n)	4.907	1.114	1.872	-0.133	-0.064	-0.342	2.337	0.334
# hours physical care for child (rcarehr4)								
how often read last week (new303)								
tv restrictions (fc04tv)								
alone rules (sum312ae)								
tell location rules (new313)								
tv restrictions (fc511tv)								
chore rules (f511chor)								

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-2, continued: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and EDIFFK (difference between 1987 earnings and 1994 earnings, in 1987 dollars), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 12-18		focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
alone rules (sum334ae)	0.962	0.443						
tell location rules (new335)	7.791	-0.053						
tv restrictions (fc1218tv)	7.268	4.119						
chore rules (f12chor)	-0.455	1.026						
homework rules (f12hmwk)	-3.783	1.735						
how often had esp. enjoyable time with child (new284)			0.369	1.029				
quality of relationship with focal child #1 (qualrel1)			1.448	0.604				
quality of relationship with focal child #2 (qualrel2)			2.960*	0.742				
how often does activities with child (allact04)					-0.500	1.356		
how often does activities with child (alact518)							1.029*	0.414**
# shared meals (mealst5)							1.948****	0.419*
hours/week in youth groups (chgpsgt5)							0.039	0.006

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

TABLE 6-3: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and EARNPROP (difference between 1987 earnings and 1994 earnings, in 1987 dollars as a proportion of 1987 earnings), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers n=109	mothers n=118	fathers n=60	mothers n=74	fathers n=182	mothers n=207	fathers n=139	mothers n=200
"I often wish to be free of the responsibility of being a parent" (t1e1360n)	-0.513	-0.735	0.448	-0.448*	-0.121	-0.745	0.013	-0.293
# hours physical care for child (rcarehr4)	-0.118	-0.181						
how often read last week (new303)			-0.547	0.107				
tv restrictions (fc04tv)			-0.474	0.340				
alone rules (sum312ae)					-0.223			
tell location rules (new313)					0.423			
tv restrictions (fc511tv)					-0.688	-1.499		
chore rules (f511chor)					0.056	-0.542		
alone rules (sum334ae)							0.018	0.665*
tell location rules (new335)							0.070	1.385
tv restrictions (fc1218tv)							0.071	2.918
chore rules (f12chor)							-0.011	0.210
homework rules (f12hmk)							-0.019	0.321

continued

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

TABLE 6-3, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and EARNPROP (difference between 1987 earnings and 1994 earnings, in 1987 dollars as a proportion of 1987 earnings), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers n=366	mothers n=428	fathers n=58	mothers n=64	fathers n=350	mothers n=406
"I often wish to be free of the responsibility of being a parent" (t1e1360n)	-0.056	-0.662	-1.043	-0.283	-0.021	-0.426
# hours physical care for child (rcarehr4)						
how often read last week (new303)						
tv restrictions (fc04tv)						
alone rules (sum312ae)						
tell location rules (new313)						
tv restrictions (fc511tv)						
chore rules (f511chor)						
alone rules (sum334ae)						
tell location rules (new335)						
tv restrictions (fc1218tv)						
chore rules (f12chor)						
homework rules (f12hmwk)						

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001
continued

TABLE 6-3, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and EARNPROP (difference between 1987 earnings and 1994 earnings, in 1987 dollars as a proportion of 1987 earnings), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
how often had especially enjoyable time with child (new284)	0.021	0.163				
quality of relationship with focal child #1 (qualrel1)	0.008	0.443				
quality of relationship with focal child #2 (qualrel2)	0.018	0.961				
how often does activities with child (allact04)			0.449	0.068	0.028	0.120
how often does activities with child (alact518)					0.041	0.267*
# shared meals (mealsgt5)					0.006	-0.023
hours/week in youth groups (chgpsgt5)						

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

TABLE 6-4: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and PRDIFF (difference between 1987 occupational prestige score and 1994 occupational prestige score), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers n=163	mothers n=93	fathers n=88	mothers n=61	fathers n=253	mothers n=184	fathers n=178	mothers n=177
"I often wish to be free of the responsibility of being a parent" (t1e1360n)	-1.150	0.079	-3.128	-0.146	0.399	1.562	1.962*	-0.553
# hours physical care for child (rcarehr4)	-0.101	-0.021						
how often read last week (new303)			-0.283	-0.373				
tv restrictions (fc04tv)			1.368	0.929				
alone rules (sum312ae)					-2.625	3.130		
tell location rules (new313)					-0.285	10.458**		
tv restrictions (fc511tv)					1.556	8.063**		
chore rules (f511chor)					-0.344	0.343		
alone rules (sum334ae)							0.220	-0.251
tell location rules (new335)							2.878	0.177

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

TABLE 6-4, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and PRDIFF (difference between 1987 occupational prestige score and 1994 occupational prestige score), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers n=512	mothers n=377	fathers n=91	mothers n=47	fathers n=481	mothers n=360
"I often wish to be free of the responsibility of being a parent" (t1e1360n)	0.737	0.853	-1.522	1.647	0.921	0.852
# hours physical care for child (rcarehr4)						
how often read last week (new303)						
tv restrictions (fc04tv)						
alone rules (sum312ae)						
tell location rules (new313)						
tv restrictions (fc511tv)						
chore rules (f511chor)						
alone rules (sum334ae)						
tell location rules (new335)						

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

TABLE 6-4, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, main independent variables and PRDIFF (difference between 1987 occupational prestige score and 1994 occupational prestige score), by subsample.

independent variable	focal child 12-18		focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
tv restrictions (fc1218tv)	3.174	1.932						
chore rules (f12chor)	0.684	-0.712						
homework rules (f12hmk)	1.155	-1.582						
how often had esp. enjoyable time with child (new284)			0.086	0.709				
quality of relationship with focal child #1 (qualrel1)			0.921*	0.386				
quality of rel. with f. c. #2 (qualrel2)			0.624	0.309				
how often does activities with child (allact04)					0.492	0.570		
how often does activities with child (alact518)							0.134	0.116
# shared meals (mealsgt5)							0.126	0.113
hours/week in youth groups (chgpsgt5)							0.093	0.124*

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

These results are consistent with the expectation that the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes will vary across subsamples, based in part on the indicators of parental involvement and also on the age of the child. For example, the greatest proportions of significant relationships are for the larger subsamples with a large range in children's ages, and with older children (focal child 0-18 and any child(ren) 5-18). In contrast, the subgroups with *no* significant relationships are those composed of the youngest children and with a small range in children's ages (focal child 0-4 and any child(ren) 0-4).

The bivariate results also suggest that the strength of the relationships between parental involvement and labor market outcomes may vary by dependent variable. If so, the multivariate regression results may reveal which indicators of involvement and which indicators of labor market outcomes are most useful for this type of study. Judging by the proportion of significant dependent-independent variable relationships within subgroups, change in earnings is explained best among subsamples with focal child 0-18 and any child(ren) 5-18. In addition, proportionate change in earnings is best explained in subsamples with focal child 3-4, focal child 12-18, and any child(ren) 5-18. Finally, change in prestige is best explained in subsamples with focal child 5-11, focal child 12-18, focal child 0-18, and any child 5-18.

Parental Involvement and Control: Does Parenting Affect the Control Variables?

There are a few consistent patterns in the number of significant relationships between the independent and control variables across the subsamples. The control

variables which most consistently have significant relationships within the dependent variables across all subsamples are: age of focal child, partner's activities with children, partner's shared meals with children, partner's report of how often s/he has fun with the children, and partner's response to how often s/he wishes to be free from the responsibility of being a parent. Tables 6-5 through 6-11 show the results of the bivariate regression analyses separately for each subsample.

Table 6-5 : Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 0-4

	hours of child care (rcarehr4)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
<i>sociodemographic controls</i>				
age (rage)	-0.011	-0.080	0.005	0.004
race (black omitted)				
white (rracew)	-0.490	0.791	0.148	0.317
other (rraceo)	1.354	-0.483	0.218	0.540
education (reduc)	(-0.125*)	(-0.187*)	-0.018	0.036
father's education (faeduc)	-0.050	0.034	-0.009	0.012
mother's education (moeduc)	-0.040	-0.068	0.005	-0.014
<i>attitude controls</i>				
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.065	-0.098	-0.025	-0.007
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.007	0.068	-0.023	-0.026
anti-religious fundamentalism	-0.043	0.040	-0.015	-0.028
<i>labor market background</i>				
# weeks employed (rwksemp)	0.016	-0.020	0.005	0.008
# hours work/week (rhrslwk)	-0.021	(-0.047**)	-0.003	-0.003
employment status (full year, part time omitted)				
full year, full time (empfyft)	-1.268	(-1.734*)	-0.160	0.100
part year, full time (emppyft)	-1.232	-1.402	-0.375	0.401
part year, part time (emppypt)	-2.522	-0.647	-0.313	-0.097
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	-0.624	0.971	-0.085	0.419
stable work sched. (wksched2)	-0.060	0.673	-0.038	0.304
travel overnight (travel2)	(-0.869*)	-0.501	-0.059	-0.116

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-5, con't : Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 0-4

	hours of child care (rcarehr4)		feelings about parental responsibility (tle1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)				
salaried (paysal2)	-0.755	-0.255	-0.109	0.076
other (paidotr2)	0.428	-0.284	-0.226	-0.087
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.002	-0.004	0.001	0.001
<i>family characteristics</i>				
age of youngest child (ayoc)	0.252	-0.270	0.033	0.034
age of focal child (flage)	0.067	(-0.517*)	0.028	-0.060
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.456	-0.498	-0.036	-0.049
adult child in household (adchhh)	0.000	1.361	0.000	0.249
family structure (two parents omitted)				
one parent (oneparhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
other (otrhh)	-0.111	-0.300	-0.099	-0.857
total housework hours (tlhwk)	0.008	0.002	0.001	-0.004
feminine housework hours (tlfhwk)	0.009	0.005	0.001	-0.004
masculine housework hours (tlmhwk)	0.010	-0.002	0.001	0.015
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	1.646*	(-3.120*)	0.059	0.068
<i>other non-market activities</i>				
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.035	(-0.143*)	(-0.037*)	0.021
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-0.802	-0.872	0.117	0.152
<i>spouse/partner characteristics</i>				
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.002	0.003	0.002	-0.005

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-5, con't. : Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 0-4

	hours of child care (rcarehr4)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	-0.105	-0.031	-0.003	-0.015
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	(-0.152*)	(-0.236**)	0.015	(-0.058*)
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.170	-0.251	-0.070	-0.034
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.328	0.175	0.088	0.196*
weeks employed (swksemp1)	0.019*	0.002	0.001	0.008
hours worked last week (shrs1wk)	0.038*	0.027	-0.006	0.000
employment status (full year, part time omitted)				
full year, full time (sempfyft)	2.203***	-1.666	-0.362	0.344
part year, full time (semppyft)	0.981	-2.421	-0.243	0.092
part year, part time (semppypt)	0.036	-1.861	-0.107	0.288

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-6 : Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables focal child 3-4

	how often read last week (new303)		t.v. restrictions (fc04tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls						
age (range)	0.029	0.025	0.026*	0.004	0.001	-0.013
race (black omitted)						
white (rracew)	0.107	0.615	0.112	0.401	-0.325	0.165
other (raceo)	-0.358	0.236	0.549	0.402	0.114	0.302
education (reduc)	0.185****	0.133***	0.057**	0.044	-0.033	-0.018
father's education (faeduc)	0.041	0.096***	0.031*	0.012	-0.025	0.012
(moeduc)	0.081**	0.121***	0.018	0.032	-0.011	-0.020
attitude controls						
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.053	0.031	0.003	0.009	(-0.049*)	-0.026
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.002	-0.002	0.000	-0.015	-0.023	-0.036
anti-religious						
fundamentalism (sanity)	0.073	0.045	0.014	-0.003	-0.015	-0.056
labor market background						
# weeks employed (nwksmpl)	0.003	-0.006	-0.015	0.003	0.032	0.001
# hours work/week (hrs/wk)	0.001	-0.007	0.001	-0.006	0.002	-0.005

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-6 : Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables focal child 3-4

	how often read last week (new303)		t.v. restrictions (fc04tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (emplyft)	-0.016	-0.172	0.150	-0.306	0.080	0.119
part year, full time (empppyft)	0.275	-0.337	0.329	-0.481	-0.311	0.843
part year, part time (empppypt)	-0.801	0.145	-0.208	0.037	-0.262	0.204
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	0.237	0.390	0.095	0.097	-0.135	0.563
stable work sched. (wksched2)	-0.157	0.206	-0.044	-0.298	0.007	0.246
travel overnight (travel2)	0.031	0.111	0.159	0.013	-0.201	-0.087
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)						
salaried (paldsal2)	0.809**	0.243	0.077	0.318	0.114	-0.056
other (paidotr2)	0.512	0.545	0.309	0.558**	-0.006	-0.169
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.001
family characteristics						
age of youngest child (ayoc)	0.033	(-0.170*)	0.029	-0.084	0.020	0.104
age of focal child (f1age)	-0.188	0.091	0.231	0.188	-0.266	-0.092

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-6 : Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables focal child 3-4

	how often read last week (new303)		t.v. restrictions (fc04tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	(-1.321**)	-0.771	-0.128	-0.016	0.125	0.588
adult child in household (adchh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
family structure (two parents omitted)						
one parent (oneparhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
other (otrhh)	0.000	0.040	0.000	0.598	0.000	-0.762
total household hours						
(t1hwk)	-0.002	-0.006	-0.004	0.003	-0.004	-0.002
feminine household hours						
(t1fhwk)	-0.002	-0.006	-0.004	0.004	-0.006	-0.003
masculine household hours						
(t1mhwk)	0.000	-0.033	-0.012	0.009	-0.003	0.028
prop. of household done by man (mprophwk)	0.935	0.133	0.361	0.071	-0.608	-0.220
other non-market activities						
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.013	0.018	-0.007	0.002	-0.026	0.034
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-0.415	-0.061	0.052	-0.016	0.449	0.137

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-6 : Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables focal child 3-4

spouse/partner characteristics	how often read last week (new303)		t.v. restrictions (fc04tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
hours of housework (srhwk2)	(-0.015**)	-0.005	-0.006	0.005	0.003	-0.017
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.049	0.030	0.049*	0.043*	0.008	-0.037
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	-0.019	-0.031	0.054*	0.033	0.021	-0.065
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.095	-0.061	-0.034	0.065	-0.051	-0.142
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.036	0.113	-0.051	-0.096	0.119	0.186
weeks employed (swksempl)	0.005	0.030	0.002	0.005	(-0.008*)	-0.007
hours worked last week (shrslwk)	0.002	-0.006	0.004	0.004	-0.005	0.000
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (semppyft)	0.405	-0.399	0.033	0.071	-0.343	0.493
part year, full time (semppyft)	0.142	-0.609	-0.287	0.174	0.144	-0.004
part year, part time (sempppypt)	-0.029	(-1.734*)	-0.191	-0.345	0.149	1.031

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001, **** p < .0001

Table 6-7: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	alone rules (sum312ae)		tell location rules (new313)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls				
age (rage)	-0.007	(-0.013*)	-0.003	-0.004
race (black)				
white (racew)	-0.122	(-0.206*)	-0.006	-0.035
other (raceo)	-0.158	0.116	0.044	(-)
education (reduc)	-0.015	0.007	0.000	0.008
Father's education	-0.006	-0.008	0.000	0.004
education (moeduc)	-0.013	-0.005	-0.004	0.014**
attitude controls				
work & family/gender	0.009	-0.006	(-0.013*)	-0.005
traditional	-0.006	0.004	-0.006	-0.001
anti-religious fundamentalism	-0.010	0.004	-0.008	-0.001
labor market background				
employed (rwksemp)	0.005	0.002	0.005*	-0.001
# hours	-0.001	-0.003	0.001	-0.001
employment status (full year, (empfyft)	0.114	-0.076	-0.070	-0.033
(part year, part time (empppyt)	-0.188	(-0.323**)	(-0.171*)	(-0.161**)
(pdhmwk2)	-0.001	-0.100	(-0.212*)	0.003
stable work sched.	0.003	-0.077	0.011	0.022
travel overnight	(-0.161**)	-0.115	-0.022	-0.045
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)	-0.006	-0.038	-0.028	-0.027
salaried (payscale2)	-0.042	0.002	0.029	-0.032
other (paidotr2)	0.036	-0.115	0.085	0.042
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-7, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	alone rules (sum312ae)		tell location rules (new313)	
	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>
family characteristics				
age of youngest child (ayoc)	(-0.038****)	(-0.052****)	(-0.012*)	-0.002
age of focal child (f1age)	(-0.110****)	(-0.117****)	-0.016	(-0.020*)
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	0.075	0.037	-0.033	0.072
adult child in household (adchhh)	-0.143	0.238	(-0.219*)	0.072
family structure (two parents omitted)				
one parent (oneparhh)	0.344	0.000	0.080	0.000
other (otrhh)	0.344	0.402	0.080	0.070
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.001	0.000	(-0.003****)	0.001
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	-0.004	0.000	(-0.004**)	0.001
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	0.001	-0.009	(-0.007****)	0.000
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	0.122	-0.126	(-0.140*)	-0.122
other non-market activities				
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.004	0.001	0.006	-0.002
cares for disabled other (rcare)	0.051	0.138	-0.028	-0.016
spouse/partner characteristics				
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.000
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	-0.011	0.008	0.008	-0.002
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.019*	0.003	0.008	-0.001
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.043	0.041	0.017	0.001

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-7, cont': Results of bivariate regressions. control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	alone rules (sum312ae)		tell location rules (new313)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.008	0.025	0.038*	-0.011
weeks employed (swksempl)	0.000	-0.002	0.001	0.000
hours worked last week (shrsiwk)	0.002	-0.002	-0.001	0.001
status (full year, part time omitted)				
full year, full time (sempfyft)	0.082	-0.113	(-0.105*)	-0.075
part year, full time (semppyft)	0.026	-0.072	-0.095	-0.057
part year, part time (semppypt)	-0.074	0.153	-0.081	-0.103

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-7, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	chore rules (f511chor)		t.v. restrictions (fc511tv)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls				
age (rage)	-0.006	-0.014	0.001	0.003
race (black omitted)				
white (racew)	0.143	-0.362	-0.017	-0.022
other (raceo)	-0.011	-0.167	-0.041	0.049
education (reduc)	-0.016	0.027	0.005	0.018
father's education	0.018	0.007	0.004	0.001
mother's education (moeduc)	-0.013	0.009	-0.001	-0.001
attitude controls				
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.010	-0.021	-0.008	-0.004
traditional familism	-0.015	-0.003	-0.004	(-0.012*)
anti-religious fundamentalism	-0.028	-0.026	0.002	0.007
labor market background				
# weeks employed (rwksemp)	0.035***	0.015*	-0.001	0.001
# hours work/week	0.006	0.005	0.002	0.000
employment status (full year, part time)				
(empfyft)	-0.029	0.130	0.073	-0.071
(emppyft)	-0.320	(-0.642*)	0.108	(-0.243**)
part year, part time (emppypt)	-0.650	-0.353	0.068	-0.090
(pdhmk2)	(-0.415*)	0.280	0.008	0.016
stable work sched. (wksched2)	-0.036	0.061	0.017	-0.029
travel overnight	0.132	0.293	-0.022	0.043
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)				
salaried (paysal2)	-0.056	-0.028	0.064	-0.002
other (paidotr2)	0.328	-0.057	0.001	0.121
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001 continued

Table 6-7, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	chore rules (f511chor)		t.v. restrictions (fc511tv)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
family characteristics				
(ayoc)	-0.028	0.021	-0.008	0.000
(f1age)	0.072	0.117**	(-0.022*)	0.009
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.124	0.627	-0.029	0.111
adult child in household (adchhh)	0.025	0.339	-0.124	0.040
family structure (two parents omitted)				
one parent (oneparhh)	-2.026	0.000	0.098	0.000
other (otrhh)	0.974	-0.005	0.098	-0.061
total housework hours (t1hwk)	0.005	0.004	0.001	0.000
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	(0.015*)	0.005	0.004*	0.000
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	0.004	0.032	0.000	0.003
prop. of housework done by man	0.111	0.485	0.042	-0.055
other non-market activities				
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.032	0.085****	0.000	0.001
cares for disabled other (rcare)	0.169	0.245	0.063	0.098
spouse/partner characteristics				
hours of housework	0.001	0.009	0.000	0.000
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.032	-0.011	0.005	(-0.011*)
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.003	-0.013	0.003	0.005
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.128*	-0.109	0.044**	-0.026

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$ continued

Table 6-7, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	chore rules (f511chor)		t.v. restrictions (fc511tv)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.002	-0.050	0.024	0.011
weeks employed (swksempl)	-0.003	-0.014	(-0.002**)	-0.001
hours worked last week (shrs1wk) (full year, part time omitted)	0.003	-0.003	-0.001	-0.002
full year, full time (sempfyft)	-0.350	-0.138	-0.104	-0.111
part year, full time (semppyft)	-0.028	-0.055	0.005	-0.146
part year, part time (semppypt)	-0.318	0.577	-0.005	-0.084

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$ continued

Table 6-7, cont.: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>
sociodemographic controls		
age (rage)	0.004	0.005
race (black omitted)		
white (racew)	-0.042	0.107
other (raceo)	0.062	0.062
education (reduc)	0.029	0.032
father's education	(-0.027*)	0.027
mother's education (moeduc)	-0.018	0.033
attitude controls		
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	-0.032	(-0.039*)
traditional familism	(-0.033**)	(-0.044**)
anti-religious fundamentalism	(-0.035*)	-0.032
labor market background		
# weeks employed (rwksemp)	0.010	0.007
# hours work/week	0.008*	-0.004
employment status (full year, part time)		
(empfyft)	0.108	-0.188
(emppyft)	0.308	-0.056
part year, part time (emppypt)	-0.187	-0.108
(pdhmwk2)	0.100	0.188
stable work sched. (wksched2)	(-0.257*)	-0.008
travel overnight	0.161	0.182
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)		
salaried (paysal2)	0.223	0.014
other (paidotr2)	0.264	-0.188
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.001	0.001

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$ continued

Table 6-7, con't: Results of bivariate regressions. control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers
family characteristics		
(ayoc)	-0.026	(-0.051*)
(f1age)	0.030	(-0.079*)
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.373	0.009
adult child in household (adchhh)	-0.268	-0.425
family structure (two parents omitted)		
one parent (oneparhh)	0.912	0.000
other (otrhh)	-0.602	0.667
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.001	0.003
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	-0.008	0.005
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	0.006	0.035*
prop. of housework done by man	-0.410	-0.060
other non-market activities		
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.008	0.015
cares for disabled other (rcare)	0.294	0.188
spouse/partner characteristics		
hours of housework	0.004	-0.003
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.014	0.006
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.024	0.004
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.052	0.102

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; **** p<.0001 continued

Table 6-7, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 5-11

	feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.192***	0.280****
weeks employed (swksemp)	0.001	-0.005
hours worked last week (shrs1wk) (full year, part time omitted)	-0.005	0.010
full year, full time (semphyft)	-0.078	0.056
part year, full time (semppyft)	-0.147	0.072
part year, part time (semppypt)	-0.079	0.187

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-8: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	alone rules (sum334ae)		tell location rules (new335)		chore rules (f12chor)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls						
age (rage)	-0.098**	-0.023	-0.004	-0.003	-0.033**	-0.027*
race (black omitted)						
white (racew)	-1.846*	-1.716*	-0.020	-0.136	-0.673	-0.591*
other (raceo)	1.614	-1.902	0.070	-0.074	0.229	-0.491
education (reduc)	-0.053	-0.161*	-0.014	0.007	-0.065**	0.028
father's education (faeduc)	-0.094	-0.017	0.005	0.002	-0.043*	0.029
mother's education (moeduc)	-0.056	-0.060	0.004	0.008	-0.008	0.047*
attitude controls						
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	-0.063	-0.171**	-0.004	-0.019*	0.017	0.009
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.045	-0.109*	-0.010	-0.005	0.035	-0.022
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	-0.084	-0.188**	-0.026**	0.005	-0.040	-0.026
labor market background						
# weeks employed (wksemp)	0.039	-0.031*	0.013	0.002	-0.037	-0.008

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-8, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	alone rules (sum334ae)		tell location rules (new335)		chore rules (f12chor)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
# hours work/week (hrslwk)	-0.016	-0.006	0.000	0.000	0.002	(-0.008*)
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time	-0.234	-0.076	0.001	0.028	-0.212	0.177
(empfyft)						
part year, full time	-0.852	0.390	-0.212	0.071	0.194	0.203
(emppyft)						
part year, part time	-0.975	0.897	-0.302	0.011	0.413	0.494*
(emppyp1)						
paid home work						
(pdhmkw2)	0.006	-0.435	-0.131	0.090	0.516	0.316
stable work sched.						
(wksched2)	0.200	-0.261	0.056	-0.063	0.087	-0.115
travel overnight (travel2)	0.186	(-1.547**)	-0.047	(-0.185**)	-0.199	-0.147
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)						
salaried (paldsal2)	-0.505	-0.342	-0.005	0.019	-0.156	0.143
other (paidotr2)	-0.548	1.140*	-0.021	0.043	-0.086	-0.124
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.007****)	0.002	(-0.001*)	0.000	(-0.002*)	-0.001

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-8, cont: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

family characteristics	alone rules (sum334ae)		tell location rules (new335)		chore rules (f12chor)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age of youngest child (ayoc)	(-0.210****)	(-0.182****)	(-0.016*)	-0.011	(-0.033*)	-0.041
age of focal child (f1age)	(-0.999****)	(-0.862****)	(-0.055****)	(-0.063****)	(-0.140****)	(-0.079*)
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.084	-0.966	-0.002	0.046	0.137	0.213
adult child in household (adchhh)	(-1.493**)	-0.636	-0.125	-0.055	(-0.598****)	-0.041
family structure (two parents omitted)						
one parent (oneparhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
other (otrhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.004	0.008	-0.001	-0.001	0.004	0.006
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	-0.011	0.005	-0.003	-0.001	0.014*	0.006
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	-0.011	0.021	-0.003	0.003	0.004	0.015
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	0.171	-1.350	0.077	-0.066	0.495	-0.139

continued

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001, **** p < .0001

Table 6-8, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	alone rules (sum334ae)		tell location rules (new335)		chore rules (f12chor)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
<i>other non-market activities</i>						
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	(-0.114*)	0.027	-0.015	-0.010	0.023	0.047**
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-0.174	-0.159	-0.169	-0.020	-0.092	-0.124
<i>spouse/partner characteristics</i>						
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.013	0.002	0.000	(-0.005*)	-0.004	-0.007
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.088*	0.043	0.015*	0.009	0.000	0.013
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.111*	0.060	0.013	0.012	-0.029	0.012
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.188	0.273	0.018	0.051**	-0.086	0.081
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.068	-0.218	-0.007	0.000	-0.071	0.008
weeks employed (swkempl)	-0.015	-0.012	(-0.003*)	-0.001	0.004	-0.007

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-8, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	alone rules (sum334ae)		tell location rules (new335)		chore rules (f12chor)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
hours worked last week (shrlwk)	-0.022	0.007	-0.001	-0.001	-0.003	-0.004
employment status (full year, part time omitted) full year, full time (sempfyft)	0.607	1.411	0.126	-0.120	0.060	0.428
part year, full time (semppyft)	0.233	1.050	0.163	-0.106	-0.018	1.008**
part year, part time (semppypt)	1.136	6.128*	0.174	0.067	-0.161	1.494

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-8, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	homework rules (f12hmk)		t.v. restrictions (fc1218tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls						
age (age)	-0.009	-0.001	(-0.019***)	(-0.021***)	0.008	-0.002
race (black omitted)						
white (racew)	(-0.535*)	-0.370	-0.189	0.013	0.447	0.073
other (raceo)	-0.294	0.312	0.096	-0.108	0.274	0.147
education (educ)	(-0.048*)	-0.048	0.002	0.007	0.038*	-0.050
father's education (faeduc)	(-0.079****)	(-0.042*)	-0.007	0.021**	0.001	-0.005
mother's education (moeduc)	(-0.043*)	(-0.049*)	-0.012	0.017	0.007	-0.019
attitude controls						
work & family/gender roles (wktfamatt)	-0.003	(-0.048*)	-0.010	-0.014	-0.024	-0.011
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.006	-0.010	(-0.025**)	-0.010	-0.020	-0.024
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	-0.021	(-0.058**)	(-0.029**)	-0.014	0.017	-0.012
labor market background						
# weeks employed (wksemp)	0.005	0.005	0.000	-0.002	-0.003	0.006

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-8, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	homework rules (f12hmwk)		t.v. restrictions (fc1218tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (f1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
# hours work/week (hrslwk)	-0.005	(-0.008*)	0.000	(-0.004*)	-0.002	-0.001
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (empfyft)	-0.396	0.206	-0.124	0.038	-0.011	0.105
part year, full time (emppyft)	-0.419	-0.151	-0.102	-0.192	0.005	-0.202
part year, part time (emppypt)	-0.907	0.198	-0.206	0.133	0.680	0.003
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	-0.151	0.027	0.091	0.167	0.379	-0.124
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.012	0.286	0.040	-0.025	-0.059	0.159
travel overnight (travel2)	-0.219	(-0.426*)	0.076	0.005	-0.105	-0.252
Type of pay (paid hourly omitted)						
salaried (paidsal2)	(-0.306*)	-0.026	0.015	0.080	0.122	0.058
other (paidotr2)	-0.353	-0.369	0.027	-0.071	0.073	-0.040
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.001	0.000	(-0.001***)	(-0.002****)	0.000	0.000

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-8, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	homework rules (f12hmwk)		t.v. restrictions (fc1218tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (f1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
family characteristics						
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.027	(-0.046*)	(-0.040****)	(-0.037****)	(-0.040**)	0.007
age of focal child (f1age)	(-0.139****)	-0.033	(-0.108****)	(-0.094****)	-0.049	-0.009
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	0.015	-0.114	0.086	-0.003	-0.024	-0.070
adult child in household (adchhh)	-0.244	-0.224	(-0.245**)	-0.017	0.021	0.465**
family structure (two parents omitted)						
one parent (oneparth)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
other (otrth)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
total housework hours						
(t1hwk)	(-0.004*)	0.007*	-0.001	0.002	-0.002	0.000
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	(-0.012*)	0.008	-0.002	0.001	-0.007	-0.001
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	(-0.010*)	0.008	(-0.004*)	0.011	-0.003	0.008
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	-0.192	-0.273	0.029	-0.183	-0.157	-0.629

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-8, cont: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	homework rules (f12hmk)		t.v. restrictions (fc1218tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
<i>other non-market activities</i>						
time spent with friends						
etc. (fun1)	-0.004	0.011	0.000	0.012	-0.003	0.010
cares for disabled other (rcare)	0.454	-0.297	-0.079	-0.061	-0.253	-0.124
<i>spouse/partner characteristics</i>						
hours of housework (srhmk2)	0.002	-0.002	0.002	0.004	0.002	-0.004
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.006	-0.005	0.016*	0.031****	0.035*	0.029*
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.019	0.002	0.033****	0.028**	0.031*	0.034
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.069	-0.055	0.027	0.058	0.183***	0.072
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.114	0.048	-0.032	0.058	0.161**	0.228****
weeks employed (swksemp)	0.000	-0.009	-0.002	0.002	(-0.006*)	0.011

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-8, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 12-18

	homework rules (f12hmwk)		t.v. restrictions (fc1218tv)		feelings about parental responsibility (f1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
hours worked last week (shrlwk)	-0.010	-0.001	(-0.007**)	0.005	-0.004	0.009
employment status (full year, part time omitted) full year, full time (sempfyft)	0.249	0.276	0.060	0.049	0.140	-0.068
part year, full time (sempppyft)	-0.111	0.660*	-0.021	0.092	0.109	-0.205
part year, part time (sempppypt)	0.232	1.359	0.189	0.442	0.266	(-2.624**)

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-9: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

focal child 0-18	enjoyable time (new284)		quality of relationship 1 (qualrel1)		quality of relationship 2 (qualrel2)		feelings about parental responsibility (1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls								
age (age)	(-0.022**)	(-0.018*)	-0.007	-0.012	(-0.015*)	(-0.027****)	0.003	0.005
race (black omitted)								
white (racew)	0.160	-0.075	-0.117	-0.063	-0.219	-0.094	0.163	0.094
other (raceo)	0.702*	-0.191	0.312	-0.040	0.097	-0.070	0.182	0.149
education (reduc)	0.004	0.045**	0.010	0.043**	0.002	0.026	0.018	0.009
father's education (faeduc)	0.005	0.019	-0.004	0.026**	-0.004	-0.002	-0.009	0.001
mother's education (moeduc)	-0.003	0.018	0.003	0.018	-0.010	-0.015	-0.006	-0.002
attitude controls								
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.015	-0.016	-0.014	-0.015	-0.016	-0.007	(-0.027*)	-0.022
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.003	-0.021	(-0.026**)	0.001	-0.002	0.012	(-0.026**)	(-0.034****)
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	(-0.039*)	(-0.051****)	(-0.040**)	-0.017	-0.020	0.018	-0.013	-0.025
labor market background								
# weeks employed (nwksmpl)	-0.005	0.003	-0.006	0.007*	0.002	0.002	0.007	0.007*
# hours work/week (hrslwk)	(-0.006*)	0.000	-0.004	-0.001	-0.003	-0.004	0.001	-0.002

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-9, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 0-18

	enjoyable time (new284)		quality of relationship 1 (qualrel1)		quality of relationship 2 (qualrel2)		feelings about parental responsibility (†1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (empyft)	-0.153	0.070	-0.162	-0.073	-0.133	-0.046	-0.004	0.006
part year, full time (emppyt)	-0.277	0.096	-0.213	-0.175	-0.308	-0.257	0.008	-0.031
part year, part time (empppt)	0.063	0.021	-0.131	-0.077	-0.178	-0.054	0.006	-0.067
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	0.142	0.000	0.034	0.128	-0.132	-0.031	0.129	0.130
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.050	0.023	-0.028	-0.062	-0.053	0.060	(-0.160*)	0.139
travel-overnight (travel2)	-0.022	0.095	-0.074	0.075	0.039	0.088	0.024	-0.015
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)								
salaried (paldsal2)	0.175	0.133	0.132	0.101	0.128	0.147	0.098	0.002
other (paidotr2)	0.074	0.012	0.137	0.146	0.077	0.016	0.070	-0.072
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.002***)	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.001	(-0.001*)	0.000	0.000
family characteristics								
age of youngest child (ayoc)	(-0.059****)	(-0.051****)	-0.015	(-0.028**)	(-0.026**)	(-0.032****)	(-0.014*)	0.005
age of focal child (f1age)	(-0.085****)	(-0.076****)	(-0.025**)	(-0.042****)	(-0.026**)	(-0.031****)	-0.002	0.004

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-9, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 0-18

	enjoyable time (new284)		quality of relationship 1 (qualrel1)		quality of relationship 2 (qualrel2)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.175	-0.203	-0.321	-0.190	(-0.335*)	-0.311	-0.168	-0.023
adult child in household (adchhh)	(-0.754****)	-0.002	0.009	0.174	-0.287	-0.071	-0.034	0.297
family structure (two parents omitted)								
one parent (oneparhh)	1.244	0.000	0.836	0.000	0.791	0.000	0.922	0.000
other (otrhh)	-0.618	0.450	-0.164	0.492	-0.624	0.768	-0.376	0.245
Total household hours								
(t1hwk)	-0.001	0.005*	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.002	-0.002	0.001
feminine household hours (t1fwk)	0.002	0.006*	0.001	0.002	0.004	0.003	(-0.006*)	0.001
masculine household hours (t1mhwk)	-0.003	0.017	0.000	0.004	0.001	-0.003	-0.002	0.021*
prop. of household done by man (mprophwk)	0.429*	-0.238	0.199	0.037	0.215	(-0.507*)	-0.239	-0.191
other non-market activities								
time spent with friends etc. (fun1)	0.029*	0.017	0.036***	0.010	0.036**	0.014	-0.006	0.014
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-0.265	-0.083	-0.058	-0.065	(-0.343*)	-0.162	0.039	0.017

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-9, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
focal child 0-18

	enjoyable time (new284)		quality of relationship 1 (qualrel1)		quality of relationship 2 (qualrel2)		feelings about parental responsibility (1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
spouse/partner characteristics								
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.002	0.001	-0.003	0.000	-0.001	-0.001	0.003	-0.004
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.064****	0.053****	0.031**	0.027**	0.024*	0.036****	0.019*	0.008
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.053****	0.045****	0.040****	-0.005	0.037**	0.017	0.024**	0.000
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.334****	0.306****	0.111**	0.136****	0.082*	0.136****	0.086**	0.047
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.193****	0.148**	0.213****	0.134**	0.171****	0.041	0.156****	0.235****
weeks employed (swksemp)	0.000	-0.003	0.001	-0.004	-0.001	-0.003	-0.001	0.003
hours worked last week (shrslwk)	-0.003	0.002	-0.002	0.000	-0.005	0.006	-0.005	0.008*
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (sempfyf)	0.117	0.156	-0.037	-0.155	0.036	0.118	-0.070	0.015
part year, full time (sempptyf)	-0.065	0.001	-0.146	-0.163	-0.074	0.088	-0.097	-0.089
part year, part time (sempptypt)	0.141	0.518	-0.040	0.291	0.090	0.525	0.018	-0.151

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001



"Gotta run, sweetheart. By the way, that was one fabulous job you did raising the children."

(Source: Drawing by Weber, © 1992, New Yorker Magazine, Inc.)

Table 6-10: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

any/all child(ren) 0-4

	how often does activities with child (allact04)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls				
age (rage)	0.157**	0.014	-0.036	0.014
race (black omitted)				
white (rracew)	1.696	0.788	-0.107	0.500
other (rraceo)	0.984	1.734	0.647	1.594
education (reduc)	0.173**	0.226***	(-0.045*)	0.042
father's education (faeduc)	0.055	0.056	-0.015	0.022
mother's education (moeduc)	0.020	0.146*	-0.003	-0.008
attitude controls				
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.054	-0.047	-0.009	-0.037
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.039	0.018	-0.008	-0.051
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.033	0.058	-0.041	-0.038
Demographic background				
# weeks employed (rwksemp)	0.021	0.000	0.023	0.010
# hours work/week (rhrs1wk)	-0.028	0.003	0.000	0.006
employment status (full year, part time omitted)				
full year, full time (empfyft)	-1.609	0.770	0.055	0.434
part year, full time (emppyft)	(-2.227*)	0.828	-0.139	0.601
part year, part time (emppypt)	-2.367	1.058	-0.725	-0.094
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	-0.321	0.987**	0.039	0.273
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.176	0.274	0.155	0.661*
travel overnight (travel2)	0.518	0.189	-0.009	-0.208
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)				
salaried (paysal2)	0.387	0.121	(-0.505**)	0.187
other (paidotr2)	0.031	0.921	(-0.633*)	0.032
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.005	0.000	-0.002	0.002

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-10, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables
and main independent variables
any/all child(ren) 0-4

	how often does activities with child (allact04)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
family characteristics				
age of youngest child (ayoc)	0.129	-0.047	-0.048	0.023
age of focal child (f1age)	-0.294	0.107	-0.003	-0.120
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	1.927	0.000	-0.143	0.000
adult child in household (adchhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
family structure (two parents omitted)				
one parent (oneparhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
other (otrhh)	0.000	0.982	0.000	-0.932
total housework hours (t1hwk)	0.004	-0.003	0.006	-0.009
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	0.017	-0.006	0.010	-0.013
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	-0.018	0.077	0.005	0.049
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	0.223	-1.370	0.003	0.312
other non-market activities				
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.091	0.072	-0.047	0.010
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-0.527	0.822	0.641	0.473
spouse/partner characteristics				
hours of housework (srhwk2)	-0.014	-0.034	0.004	-0.016
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.135*	0.092	-0.016	-0.058
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.104	-0.078	0.006	(-0.103**)

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-10, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
any/all child(ren) 0-4

	how often does activities with child (allact04)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.092	0.084	-0.161	-0.017
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.343	0.160	0.066	0.324*
weeks employed (swksemp1)	-0.006	0.017	0.002	0.009
hours worked last week (shrs1wk)	-0.017	0.019	-0.007	0.013
employment status (full year, part time omitted)				
full year, full time (sempfyft)	-0.223	0.935	-0.401	0.631
part year, full time (sempfyft)	-1.055	0.309	(-0.652*)	0.072
part year, part time (semppypt)	0.251	-0.285	-0.159	0.212

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-11: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
 any/all child(ren) 5-18

	how often does activities with child (alact518)		number of shared meals (mealsgt5)		hours per week in youth groups (chgpsgt5)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls								
age (rage)	(-0.113****)	(-0.162****)	-0.022	(-0.086****)	-0.052	-0.090	0.006	0.005
race (black omitted)								
white (racew)	-0.535	0.422	0.899	1.568**	0.909	0.539	0.195	0.132
other (raceo)	-0.471	-0.391	1.549	0.234	0.455	-0.440	0.159	0.151
education (reduc)	0.256****	0.255****	0.096*	0.036	0.130	0.165	0.039**	-0.007
father's education (faeduc)	0.068	0.055	0.008	0.052	0.006	0.134	-0.015	-0.003
mother's education (moeduc)	0.144**	0.136**	0.029	0.077	0.164*	0.042	-0.004	0.002
attitude controls								
work & family/gender roles (wkwfamatt)	0.005	-0.043	-0.095	-0.080	-0.117	0.229	(-0.029*)	-0.025
Traditional Tamilism (fcohatt)	0.013	0.070	0.006	(-0.097*)	(-0.120*)	-0.022	(-0.028**)	(-0.035**)
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	-0.008	0.016	0.022	0.000	-0.148	-0.224	-0.013	-0.018
labor market background								
# weeks employed (nwksemp)	-0.029	-0.006	-0.021	(-0.024*)	-0.010	0.031	0.007	0.007*

continued

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

Table 6-11, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
 any/all child(ren) 5-18

	how often does activities with child (alact518)		number of shared meals (mealsgt5)		hours per week in youth groups (chgpsgt5)		feelings about parental responsibility (f1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
# hours work/week (hrslwk)	(-0.022*)	(-0.043****)	(-0.030**)	(-0.054****)	(-0.037*)	0.012	0.001	-0.003
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (empfyft)	-0.336	-0.470	-0.696	(-1.059*)	(-1.945*)	1.499	-0.003	-0.080
part year, full time (emppyt)	-0.282	-0.795	-0.880	(-1.312*)	-1.661	-1.296	0.024	-0.156
part year, part time (empppt)	1.225	0.635	0.098	0.480	-2.456	0.359	0.062	-0.082
paid home work (pdhrmwk2)	1.545**	0.645	0.928	-0.501	0.067	-1.312	0.172	0.043
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.420	-0.554	0.545	-0.294	-0.053	1.416	(-0.187*)	0.051
travel overnight (travel2)	0.454	-0.060	-0.141	(-1.060*)	0.139	-1.810	0.068	0.050
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)								
salaried (paysal2)	0.822*	0.370	0.561	-0.294	0.278	0.446	0.205*	0.032
other (paidotr2)	0.763	-0.145	0.322	-0.576	-0.009	1.438	0.179	-0.065
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.010****)	(-0.007**)	(-0.004*)	(-0.007****)	-0.002	0.003	0.000	0.000

continued

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-11, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables
any/all child(ren) 5-18

	how often does activities with child (alact518)		number of shared meals (mealst5)		hours per week in youth groups (chgpgst5)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
family characteristics								
age of youngest child (ayoc)	(-0.336****)	(-0.322****)	(-0.141****)	(-0.232****)	-0.083	-0.078	(-0.020*)	0.001
age of focal child (f1age)	(-0.308****)	(-0.333****)	(-0.117****)	(-0.227****)	-0.037	-0.033	-0.005	0.001
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	0.063	-0.896	-0.320	-1.655	-1.260	2.645	-0.195	-0.042
adult child in household (adchhh)	(-2.217****)	(-1.781**)	-0.704	-0.299	-0.608	-0.105	-0.056	0.253
family structure (two parents omitted)								
one parent (oneparth)	5.950	0.000	-0.311	0.000	0.238	0.000	0.908	0.000
other (otrhh)	0.327	-1.179	1.231	-1.468	-2.463	-3.501	-0.390	0.688
total housework hours (t1hwk)	0.000	0.0262**	0.000	0.025****	0.000	0.071***	0.000	0.001
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	0.028	0.030**	0.012	0.030****	0.007	0.065*	(-0.008**)	0.002
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	0.000	0.087*	0.000	0.024	0.000	0.218*	0.000	0.011

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-11, cont: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

any/all child(ren) 5-18

	how often does activities with child (alact518)		number of shared meals (mealsgt5)		hours per week in youth groups (chgpgsgt5)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	3.34****	(-3.23****)	0.764	(-3.99****)	1.040	-4.430	-0.264	-0.334
other non-market activities								
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.140**	0.184****	0.003	-0.008	0.216***	0.310*	0.000	0.015
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-0.353	-0.422	-0.154	-0.021	-0.043	-1.115	-0.020	-0.030
spouse/partner characteristics								
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.001	0.009	-0.001	-0.003	0.018	-0.010	0.002	-0.002
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.321****	0.309****	0.141****	0.163****	0.097	-0.002	0.025**	0.016
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.322****	0.155**	0.317****	0.445****	0.046	-0.029	0.030**	0.010
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.617****	0.675****	0.292*	0.327**	0.287	-0.377	0.109**	0.064

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001 continued

Table 6-11, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and main independent variables

any/all child(ren) 5-18

	how often does activities with child (alact518)		number of shared meals (mealsgt5)		hours per week in youth groups (chgpst5)		feelings about parental responsibility (t1e1360n)	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.026	0.448*	0.144	0.473**	0.085	0.139	0.175****	0.233****
weeks employed (swksemp)	-0.012	-0.013	-0.013	0.017	-0.003	0.045	-0.001	0.001
hours worked last week (shrsiwk)	-0.023	-0.006	-0.010	0.008	-0.014	0.044	-0.005	0.008
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (sempfyft)	0.911	0.113	0.883	0.277	0.508	2.759	-0.023	-0.045
part year, full time (sempptyft)	-0.751	-0.033	0.320	0.139	0.138	1.534	-0.085	-0.026
part year, part time (sempptypt)	1.250*	3.831**	1.107	-0.624	0.671	0.330	0.033	-0.096

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

Wherever the effect of age of focal child was significant, it was negatively related to both behavioral and boundary-setting indicators of parental involvement for both mothers and fathers. In some cases, this made intuitive sense, as when older children received fewer hours of physical care (focal child 0-4), when parents set fewer rules for older children (focal child 5-11 and focal child 12-18), and when mothers and fathers reported having better-quality relationships with their older children (focal child 0-18).

However, some of the results were less intuitive. For example, age of focal child was negatively related to behavioral involvement for both fathers and mothers for the subgroup, "any child(ren) 5-18." In this subsample, parents with younger children shared fewer meals, went on fewer outings, played together less, read together less, and had private talks less than parents with older children. On one hand, these results seem to suggest that parenting isn't as time-consuming for younger children as it is for older children, which is not consistent with findings about the amount of time that it takes to care for younger versus older children. On the other hand, these indicators of involvement are more related to shared enjoyable activities than to physical care-taking; for this type of behavioral involvement, parents may have an easier time sharing activities with older, more developed and responsive children.

The results of the bivariate relationships between partner's and respondent's parental involvement are (with one exception) consistent across subsamples, and begin to reveal some answers to the questions of the competing theoretical perspectives in this study. For most subsamples, partner's parental involvement was positively and significantly related to respondent's behavioral and boundary-setting involvement. For

example, respondents with more involved partners were much more likely to establish rules and restrictions for their children (for both mothers and fathers with focal child 3-4 and focal child 12-18, and for fathers with focal child 5-11). In addition, mothers and fathers of focal children age 0-18 were significantly more likely to report that they had good quality relationships and that they often had an enjoyable time with their children if they had highly involved partners. And finally, fathers and mothers of any child age 5-18 were more behaviorally involved with their children when their partners were also highly involved. These findings provide some support for the notion of homogamy in partnerships, in that parents who are highly involved tend to have spouses/partners who are also highly involved. This finding contradicts the human capital theorists who argue that there is a trade-off in relationships, where mothers specialize in parenting and fathers do not. Instead, these results suggest that if a mother is very involved with her children, the father will also be highly involved (and vice versa). This reinforces the importance of controlling for a partner's parental involvement when examining the relationship between an individual's parental involvement and labor market outcomes.

The single exception to this pattern was for parents of focal children age 0-4. In this subgroup, as the partner's involvement increases, the respondent's involvement decreases. In particular, the more a mother or father shared meals with the children, the less time his or her partner (the main respondent) spent physically caring for the children. This is the only relationship which supports the notion of a trade-off in parental involvement.

Although these bivariate relationships are interesting, the multivariate regressions paint a more detailed picture of these phenomena. Nevertheless, these results reinforce the importance of controlling for age of child and spouse/partner's parental involvement when examining the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes.

Money and Control: Do the Control Variables Affect Labor Market Outcomes?

Few of the forty-seven initial control variables were consistently and significantly related to each of the dependent variables. Tables 6-12 through 6-15 show the results of bivariate regression analyses between the dependent variables and control variables for every subsample.

Table 6-12: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age (range)	-0.308	0.391	-0.451	0.244	0.472	0.093	(-1.174*)	-0.102
race (black omitted)								
white (racew)	3.462	0.124	11.539	0.869	7.675	3.843*	4.425	1.410
other (raceo)	1.402	-1.611	5.790	-5.938	5.107	4.359	16.224	-2.807
education (reduc)	-0.124	0.628**	-1.573	0.843**	0.568	0.642**	-0.460	0.427
father's education (faeduc)	0.235	0.189	0.544	0.125	0.410	0.188	0.586	0.124
mother's education (moeduc)	0.367	0.008	1.005	-0.113	-0.100	0.332*	0.989	0.062
labor market background								
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.078	0.954**	-0.256	0.581	0.924	0.085	-0.190	(-0.931**)
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.603	0.994***	0.708	0.530	0.932	-0.030	0.089	-0.068
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.106	1.459****	0.108	0.837	1.284	0.254	-0.626	-0.391
# weeks employed (rwktempl)	-0.024	-0.117	0.192	-0.069	0.122	(-0.107*)	-0.094	(-0.326****)
# hours work/week (rhrs/week)	0.131	0.047	0.317	0.060	0.380*	0.002	0.038	(-0.122*)

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-12, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (emppfyft)	3.038	5.057	11.602	5.623	4.285	0.970	3.365	-2.225
part year, full time (empppyft)	3.522	1.044	9.440	1.180	2.175	2.783	0.819	1.546
part year, part time (empppypt)	7.556	5.161	24.763	3.658	-0.906	3.434*	-0.688	5.499
paid home work (pdhwk2)	11.703*	9.986**	16.872	-0.222	-4.063	(-4.474*)	-1.772	1.792
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.645	-1.239	3.526	-1.891	-1.713	2.210	4.325	-0.101
travel overnight (travel2)	3.033	9.256**	3.689	3.535	8.487	-2.737	-11.210	0.435
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)								
salaried (paysal2)	5.044	7.892**	6.197	6.108*	9.143	-2.276	-2.371	1.300
other (paidotr2)	0.105	6.037*	2.739	5.238	-7.082	-2.576	19.685*	2.257
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.033	0.008	-0.072	0.024	0.005	-0.006	-0.056	(-0.028*)
family characteristics								
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.073	-0.968	-2.741	-0.660	0.745	0.044	(-2.091**)	-0.162
age of focal child (f1age)	1.861	-0.950	-2.559	1.871	-0.007	-0.073	-1.258	-0.546

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-12, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-1.435	-6.555	-5.788	-4.001	-8.986	-3.828	-5.825	(-13.351*)
adult child in household (adchhh)	0.000	21.464*	0.000	0.000	-6.297	0.041	-0.249	-5.395
family structure (two parents omitted)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-4.471	0.000	0.000	0.000
one parent (oneparhh)	0.000	6.926	0.000	8.667	-14.993	10.599*	0.000	0.000
other (otrhh)	20.229		0.000				0.000	0.000
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.034	-0.025	-0.069	0.011	-0.128	-0.024	-0.018	0.081
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	-0.057	-0.051	-0.146	-0.008	-0.204	-0.033	-0.107	0.107
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	-0.160	0.426	-0.267	0.365	-0.391	0.105	0.005	0.180
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	(-10.914*)	-0.033	-20.508	2.071	-15.902	-4.240	-12.412	-1.694
other non-market activities								
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	-0.542	-0.432	-0.939	-0.498	-0.340	-0.253	0.218	0.432
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-3.996	3.538	-7.339	0.398	21.512*	-1.618	-10.093	-2.782

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-12, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
hours of housework (sfhwk2)	0.129	-0.018	0.250*	0.007	-0.012	-0.062	0.296*	0.053
sum of activities with child (sac3182)	-0.154	-0.038	-0.307	-0.066	1.150	-0.159	0.680	0.276
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	-0.155	-0.277	0.888	0.034	1.488	-0.101	1.808*	0.334
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-1.978	0.692	-2.675	1.231	3.004	-0.598	3.955	0.779
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.709	-0.890	0.501	-0.928	1.408	-0.189	3.109	-0.090
weeks employed (swksemp)	(-0.146*)	0.012	(-0.295*)	0.207	-0.030	0.018	-0.180	-0.188
hours worked last week (shrlwkw)	-0.004	-0.021	-0.185	0.023	-0.018	0.074	-0.364	-0.023

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-12, cont: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

employment status (full year, part time omitted)	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
full year, full time (semppyft)	0.383	-2.272	-3.212	-4.876	-10.267	-2.541	-2.286	6.809
part year, full time (semppyft)	6.775	-3.805	-1.903	-5.034	-11.826	0.172	-6.250	9.562
part year, part time (semppypt)	6.188	-4.475	11.676	-18.336	-8.873	(-10.962**)	5.101	10.423

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$ continued

Table 6-12, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age (age)	(-0.498*)	-0.101	-0.298	0.469	-0.249	-0.090
race (black omitted)						
white (racew)	3.904	3.457	7.263	1.461	5.808	3.254
other (raceo)	6.320	1.171	2.665	-6.893	8.471	2.712
education (educ)	0.083	0.539****	0.551	0.372	-0.160	0.589****
father's education						
(faeduc)	0.493	0.129	0.168	0.169	0.406	0.184*
mother's education						
(moeduc)	0.460	0.088	0.092	-0.094	0.313	0.197
attitude controls						
work & family/gender						
roles (wkfamatt)	0.246	-0.019	-0.567	1.292**	0.506	-0.255
traditional familism						
(fcohatt)	0.525	0.293	0.889	0.887**	0.630	0.055
anti-religious						
fundamentalism						
(sanity)	0.241	0.190	-0.240	1.214*	0.354	-0.036
labor market background						
# weeks employed						
(rwksemp)	0.030	(-0.173****)	-0.041	-0.015	-0.002	(-0.183****)
# hours work/week						
(rhrslwk)	0.171	-0.062	0.169	0.129	0.187	(-0.084*)

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-12, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (empfyft)	2.867	-0.610	3.354	7.957	4.083	-1.248
part year, full time (empppyft)	1.089	0.761	5.687	0.761	2.069	0.636
part year, part time (empppypt)	0.301	3.818*	8.563	2.819	1.022	4.038*
paid home work (pdhmkw2)	2.147	2.793	13.540	9.033*	-2.494	1.244
stable work sched. (wksched2)	-0.248	-0.088	1.216	1.326	1.378	-0.357
travel overnight (travel2)	-1.598	0.441	-4.343	20.089****	1.117	-0.390
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)						
salaried (paysal2)	3.935	1.014	5.774	10.144**	5.090	-0.012
other (paidotr2)	4.853	0.724	-7.270	0.430	5.980	1.748
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.050****)	(-0.017*)	0.001	0.020	-0.028	(-0.019*)
family characteristics						
age of youngest child (ayoc)	(-0.870**)	-0.187	-0.724	0.059	(-0.785*)	-0.214
age of focal child (f1age)	-0.418	-0.222	1.487	-0.094	-0.377	-0.253

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-12, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-7.019	(-8.167*)	7.582	0.000	-7.957	(-8.548**)
adult child in household (adchhh)	-3.423	-1.909	0.000	0.000	-4.138	-2.880
family structure (two parents omitted)	-2.135	0.000	0.000	0.000	-2.523	0.000
one parent (oneparhh)	4.855	5.512	0.000	8.254	2.247	6.778
other (otrhh)						
total housework hours (t1hwwk)	-0.034	0.007	-0.029	-0.090	0.000	0.012
feminine housework hours (t1fhwwk)	-0.081	0.013	-0.116	-0.112	-0.100	0.016
masculine housework hours (t1mhwwk)	-0.053	0.037	-0.173	0.111	0.000	0.068
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwwk)	(-12.773*)	-0.758	(-13.798*)	0.799	(-15.009*)	-2.931
other non-market activities						
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	-0.078	-0.003	(-2.097**)	0.314	0.012	0.135
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-5.134	-1.382	-8.302	-1.563	5.668	-1.030

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001, **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-12, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.149*	-0.013	0.370*	-0.102	0.129	-0.020
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.663	0.098	-0.115	0.422	0.901*	0.175
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	1.179**	0.110	-0.108	-0.419	1.490**	0.103
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	2.811*	0.272	-5.340	1.848	2.846	0.558
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	2.315	0.138	1.092	-0.327	1.819	0.388
weeks employed (swksemp)	(-0.150*)	-0.065	(-0.399**)	0.010	-0.093	-0.062
hours worked last week (shrslwkw)	-0.145	0.051	-0.081	0.152	-0.143	-0.010

continued

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

Table 6-12, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), by subsample

employment status (full year, part time omitted)	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
full year, full time (sempfyft)	1.056	3.986	-1.922	-2.642	-4.683	3.024
part year, full time (sempptyft)	-0.054	6.700*	16.694	-2.883	-6.036	5.099
part year, part time (sempptypt)	5.370	0.296	14.210	-10.478	-1.567	-1.017

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-13: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	female	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age (race omitted)	(-0.166*)	0.068	-0.098	-0.013	-0.017	0.115	(-0.022**)	0.080
white (racew)	0.850	1.237	0.870	-0.104	-0.828	1.243	0.222	2.264
other (raceo)	0.025	-0.888	0.428	-0.828	-0.751	1.029	1.070***	-0.294
education (reduc)	-0.072	-0.230	-0.155	-0.140	-0.066	0.047	0.003	0.173
father's education (faeduc)	-0.007	-0.001	-0.003	-0.114	0.018	0.087	0.019	-0.016
mother's education (moeduc)	-0.049	-0.232	-0.023	(-0.669*)	-0.005	0.028	0.037	-0.159
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	-0.068	-0.453	-0.006	0.043	-0.014	0.139	-0.025	-0.492
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.116	0.043	0.105	0.017	0.006	0.100	-0.019	-0.105
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	-0.245	0.129	-0.104	0.132	0.016	0.275*	-0.013	-0.047
# weeks employed (nwksempl)	-0.060	-0.094	-0.001	(-0.057**)	0.003	(-0.255****)	(-0.038**)	(-0.368****)
# hours work/week (hrslwk)	0.026	-0.038	0.026	-0.008	-0.002	(-0.093****)	0.001	-0.035

* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001; **** p < 0.0001

continued

Table 6-13, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), by

	subsample							
	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	female	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (empyft)	0.552	(-4.770*)	0.785	-0.271	0.109	-0.023	0.137	-1.141
part year, full time (empyft)	0.498	-3.848	0.296	-0.455	-0.044	0.060	0.256	5.821
part year, part time (emppyt)	1.772	-2.893	5.098	0.451	-0.112	5.335****	-0.251	3.057
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	-0.031	-0.878	0.271	-0.726	-0.285	-1.543	0.083	1.416
stable work sched. (wksched2)	-1.747	(-3.664*)	0.350	(-1.010*)	0.238	1.668	0.177	-2.787
travel overnight (travel2)	-1.213	-1.577	-0.506	-0.196	-0.320	-2.142	-0.157	1.525
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)	0.291	-0.593	-0.800	0.010	-0.277	-1.568	-0.008	0.417
other (paidotr2)	-0.475	5.512*	-0.368	0.583	0.015	-1.642	0.323*	1.727
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.008	-0.011	-0.006	0.000	-0.003	(-0.017**)	(-0.001*)	(-0.027**)
family characteristics								
age of youngest child (ayoc)	0.209	-0.473	0.075	-0.139	-0.040	0.344*	(-0.023*)	-0.064
age of focal child (f1age)	0.072	-0.920	0.359	0.798	-0.004	0.280	-0.004	-0.733

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-13, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	female	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	5.379***	-1.751	-0.520	0.033	-0.447	-1.878	-0.277	-2.852
adult child in household (adchhh)	0.000	6.600	0.000	0.000	-0.431	-0.519	0.036	-1.553
family structure (two parents omitted)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.338	0.000	0.000	0.000
one parent (oneparhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.834	5.691	0.000	0.000
other (otrhh)	7.433	1.716	0.000	3.166*			0.000	0.000
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.013	0.036	-0.006	0.014	-0.003	-0.017	0.000	0.076
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	-0.012	0.046	-0.013	0.014	0.000	-0.017	-0.001	0.095
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	-0.046	0.006	-0.043	0.108	-0.013	-0.055	0.000	0.256
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	-1.434	0.757	-1.571	0.808	-0.714	-3.549	0.071	-4.112
time spent with friends etc. (rfrun1)	(-0.243*)	-0.346	-0.124	-0.037	0.013	-0.108	0.008	0.275
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-1.084	-1.277	-0.838	0.134	1.002	-1.595	-0.077	-1.526

continued

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

Table 6-13, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	female	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.024	0.146*	0.022	-0.009	-0.004	-0.043	0.002	0.030
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	(-0.284*)	-0.319	0.063	0.046	0.050	-0.049	0.008	0.313
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.072	0.119	0.139	0.076	0.068	-0.065	0.034**	0.397
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.191	0.754	-0.402	0.139	0.116	(-1.259***)	0.020	-0.094
from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.162	-0.469	0.018	-0.119	0.038	(-0.962*)	-0.011	-1.441
weeks employed (swksempl)	(-0.043*)	-0.136	(-0.036*)	0.024	0.005	0.012	-0.001	(-0.294*)
hours worked last week (shrslwk)	-0.043	-0.048	-0.009	0.000	0.009	0.005	0.003	0.037
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (semptyft)	0.132	-0.088	-0.135	-0.664	0.563	0.902	-0.023	1.570
part year, full time (semppyft)	0.961	7.436	-0.054	-0.852	-0.048	1.294	-0.138	5.575
part year, part time (sempppyft)	1.778	0.478	1.346	-2.030	0.011	-1.656	0.012	0.647

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001 continued

Table 6-13, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), by

	subsample					
	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age (rage)	(-0.030**)	0.046	-0.326	-0.060	(-0.027*)	-0.050
race (black omitted)						
white (racew)	-0.397	1.946	1.745	0.293	-0.340	1.713
other (raceo)	-0.222	0.067	0.593	-0.656	-0.018	0.225
education (reduc)	-0.041	0.023	-0.070	-0.200	-0.021	-0.004
father's education						
(faeduc)	0.011	0.000	-0.020	-0.103	0.007	0.014
mother's education						
(moeduc)	0.011	-0.105	-0.060	0.068	0.010	-0.092
work & family/gender						
roles (wxfamatt)	-0.026	-0.230	-0.170	0.124	-0.018	-0.196
traditional familism						
(fcohatt)	-0.008	0.015	0.272	0.077	-0.008	0.044
anti-religious						
fundamentalism						
(sanity)	-0.008	0.113	-0.457	0.073	-0.011	0.005
# weeks employed						
(rwksemp)	(-0.029*)	(-0.279****)	0.041	(-0.078****)	(-0.038**)	(-0.232****)
# hours work/week						
(rhrslwk)	0.001	(-0.062*)	0.059	0.003	0.000	(-0.092****)

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-13, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), by

	subsample					
	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (empfyft)	0.003	-1.940	1.608	0.069	0.050	-2.044
part year, full time (emppyft)	0.110	1.551	0.341	0.734	0.254	-0.619
part year, part time (empppyt)	0.013	2.648	2.798	0.627	-0.081	2.886*
paid home work (pdhmk2)	0.140	-0.051	-0.962	0.142	-0.035	0.553
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.147	-2.023	(-3.671*)	-0.453	0.195	-1.221
travel overnight (trave12)	-0.252	-0.293	-2.650	0.056	-0.213	(-2.417*)
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)						
salaried (paldsa12)	-0.154	-0.687	0.819	0.081	-0.107	-1.654
other (paidotr2)	0.162	1.400	-1.035	-0.676	0.169	1.758
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.003***)	(-0.023****)	-0.005	-0.002	(-0.003****)	(-0.021****)
family characteristics						
age of youngest child (ayoc)	(-0.038*)	0.032	0.601	-0.052	(-0.035*)	-0.060
age of focal child (f1age)	(-0.031*)	-0.054	-0.016	-0.019	-0.028	-0.132

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-13, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), by

	subsample					
	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
non-bio/adopted child in household (ootherch)	-0.457	-2.668	26.203***	0.000	-0.418	-2.448
adult child in household (adchhh)	-0.239	-1.102	0.000	0.000	-0.193	-0.839
family structure (two parents omitted)	-0.226	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.195	0.000
one parent (oneparhh)	4.342****	10.222	0.000	3.309**	3.076***	4.021
other (otrhh)						
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.002	0.006	-0.018	0.013	0.000	0.012
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	-0.002	0.011	-0.024	0.014	0.003	0.021
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	-0.005	0.083	-0.072	0.022	0.000	0.055
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	-0.704	-0.808	-1.930	-0.206	-0.487	-3.165
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.013	0.008	(-0.634**)	0.039	0.017	-0.010
cares for disabled other (rcare)	0.359	-1.832	-1.831	-0.163	0.417	-1.585

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-13, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.003	0.012	0.089*	-0.025	0.000	-0.007
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.021	0.068	(-0.467*)	-0.014	0.018	0.018
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.052*	0.151	0.123	0.012	0.048*	0.106
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.030	-0.416	-0.174	-0.228	0.012	-0.055
from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.009	-1.033	-0.238	-0.176	-0.041	-0.524
weeks employed (swksemp)	-0.002	(-0.115*)	(-0.088*)	(-0.049*)	0.001	-0.033
hours worked last week (shrslwk)	0.008	0.010	-0.098	-0.014	0.010	0.017
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (sempfyft)	0.376	1.299	-0.078	-0.121	0.317	1.549
part year, full time (semppyft)	0.198	5.289*	0.647	0.012	0.157	3.569
part year, part time (sempptypt)	0.172	-0.073	3.459	1.690	-0.003	-0.663

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-14: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and PRDIFF (change in prestige), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	female	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age (age)	(-0.379*)	-0.441	(-0.544*)	-0.511	-0.082	-0.065	-0.251	-0.174
race (black omitted)								
white (racew)	0.153	-0.984	-4.710	-0.010	2.488	-0.597	-1.498	-2.985
other (raceo)	1.575	-3.945	-4.799	-4.174	5.813	-1.953	-7.556	(-13.664*)
education (reduc)	(-0.476*)	-0.328	-0.688	-0.055	-0.396	-0.061	-0.103	0.212
father's education								
(faeduc)	-0.287	0.067	-0.331	0.454	0.224	(-0.381**)	0.184	0.215
mother's education								
(moeduc)	(-0.553**)	0.193	(-0.624*)	0.557	0.090	-0.278	0.189	0.291
attitude controls								
work & family/gender								
roles (wkfamatt)	0.006	-0.665	0.322	-0.713	-0.231	-0.127	0.046	0.045
traditional familism								
(fcohatt)	-0.043	-0.199	0.132	0.160	-0.068	0.110	-0.049	0.200
anti-religious								
fundamentalism								
(sanity)	-0.266	-0.267	-0.457	0.270	-0.167	0.037	-0.439	0.176
labor market background								
# weeks employed	0.036	-0.050	-0.587	0.018	-0.125	0.041	-0.122	0.048
# hours work/week	(-0.136*)	-0.012	-0.125	0.016	0.009	(-0.132*)	0.028	(-0.131*)

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-14, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and PRDIFF (change in prestige), by subsample focal child 0-4 focal child 3-4 focal child 5-11 focal child 12-18

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	female	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (emplyft)	-3.686	-5.521	-3.595	-6.227	1.352	-2.693	0.218	(-6.352*)
part year, full time (emplyft)	-2.872	3.919	-0.919	1.951	6.630	(-7.120*)	2.981	-2.930
part year, part time (empppyft)	-4.562	-1.447	-3.221	-2.925	7.566	1.271	3.859	-5.142
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	0.042	(-11.660**)	0.889	-6.220	-3.435	-3.757	-3.418	(5.429*)
stable work sched. (wksched2)	-1.444	-2.740	-3.229	-0.525	0.649	-3.504	(4.286*)	-3.575
travel overnight (travel2)	-2.523	-7.528	-2.193	-1.052	(-2.854*)	2.004	0.750	-3.648
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)								
salaried (paldsal2)	-3.699	-4.067	-4.446	-1.641	-2.084	-3.708	-1.569	(-4.282*)
other (paldotr2)	-4.176	4.786	-6.046	7.687	-1.340	-1.127	-3.211	-1.095
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.029*)	-0.039	(-0.056**)	-0.040	-0.005	0.002	(-0.019*)	(-0.021*)
family characteristics								
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.473	-1.338	0.596	(-2.919*)	-0.066	-0.312	-0.333	0.607*
age of focal child (flage)	-1.046	0.800	1.274	2.325	0.249	-0.330	-0.362	0.800

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-14, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and PRDIFF (change in prestige), by subsample focal child 0-4 focal child 3-4 focal child 5-11 focal child 12-18

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	female	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	2.509	0.360	7.674	-0.168	-0.164	4.477	3.495	4.926
adult child in household (adchhh)	0.000	12.152	0.000	0.000	4.934	0.231	-0.657	5.448*
family structure (two parents omitted)								
one parent (oneparhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.963	0.000	0.000	0.000
other (otrhh)	-2.706	-1.673	0.000	-2.220	-0.963	-12.283	0.000	0.000
total housework hours (t1hwk)	0.005	0.168**	-0.105	0.147*	0.026	0.018	-0.011	0.004
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	0.040	0.196**	-0.165	0.179*	0.059	0.020	-0.034	0.018
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	0.009	0.470	-0.133	0.462	0.065	0.022	-0.035	0.077
prop. of housework done by man (mpropchw)	0.109	(-12.672*)	-6.018	(-21.502*)	1.148	-1.871	5.015	-1.505
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.288	0.056	-0.400	0.285	0.316	-0.336	0.280	0.113
cares for disabled other (rcare)	0.652	2.610	-2.553	3.588	-3.203	-1.558	-1.006	2.408
hours of housework (srhwk2)	-0.019	0.039	-0.028	-0.172	-0.053	-0.017	0.033	-0.030

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-14, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and PRDIFF (change in prestige), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	female	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.035	-0.104	-0.148	-0.193	-0.339	0.081	0.456*	-0.067
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.104	-0.065	0.288	-0.417	-0.127	0.333	0.740***	-0.046
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.399	0.130	-1.876	-0.141	-0.370	0.792	0.093	-0.365
from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-1.156	1.054	-1.616	0.587	-0.627	0.449	0.360	-0.305
weeks employed (swksemp)	0.048	-0.059	0.045	0.460	0.046	-0.083	0.010	0.003
hours worked last week (shrlwk)	-0.098	0.175	-0.053	0.458*	0.064	0.059	(-0.153*)	0.016
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (sempfyft)	-0.053	-6.661	2.738	-5.566	-0.561	2.675	-4.909	-4.640
part year, full time (sempptyft)	-4.928	-4.123	-2.122	-8.477	0.871	2.087	-4.203	-6.290
part year, part time (sempptypt)	0.215	-5.735	1.960	0.000	-2.816	-1.222	-3.333	5.404

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-14, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and PRDIFF (change in prestige), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age (race)	(-0.158*)	0.010	0.131	-0.775	(-0.164*)	-0.085
race (black omitted)						
white (racew)	0.257	-1.902	4.235	-3.883	0.367	-1.475
other (raceo)	0.738	-4.981	8.418	-2.095	0.540	(-8.093*)
education (reduc)	(-0.331*)	-0.029	-0.330	-0.413	-0.316	0.029
father's education						
(faeduc)	0.047	-0.022	-0.207	0.069	0.099	-0.070
mother's education						
(moeduc)	-0.103	0.086	-0.465	0.150	-0.019	0.023
work & family/gender						
roles (wkfamatt)	-0.202	-0.227	-0.224	-0.623	-0.030	-0.172
traditional famililism						
(fcohatt)	-0.103	-0.003	-0.018	0.325	-0.057	0.002
anti-religious						
fundamentalism (sanity)	(-0.306*)	-0.069	-0.030	-0.583	(-0.333*)	0.093
labor market background						
# weeks employed						
(rwksemp)	-0.073	0.031	-0.019	-0.141	-0.022	0.067
# hours work/week						
(hrslwk)	-0.058	-0.071	-0.060	0.081	-0.004	(-0.102*)

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-14, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and PRDIFF (change in prestige), by subsample
focal child 0-18 **any child 0-4** **any child 5-18**

	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (empfyft)	-2.833	(-4.489**)	3.746	-3.653	-0.991	(-4.326**)
part year, full time (emppyft)	0.608	-2.190	4.032	13.202	1.599	(-4.404*)
part year, part time (empppyt)	1.261	-1.925	1.445	2.136	5.117	-2.716
paid home work (pdhmk2)	-1.966	-0.637	-0.246	(-13.311*)	-2.936	0.767
stable work sched. (wksched2)	1.813	(-3.933**)	0.855	-3.582	1.584	(-3.4911*)
travel overnight (travel2)	-0.942	-2.236	-3.946	(-12.813*)	-0.931	-1.023
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)						
salaried (paldsal2)	-1.015	(-3.727**)	-2.617	-6.182	(-2.179*)	(-3.664**)
other (paidotr2)	-1.048	1.784	-6.338	0.201	-1.354	0.413
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.011*)	-0.010	-0.003	-0.051	(-0.012*)	-0.008
family characteristics						
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.148	0.150	0.805	-2.105	-0.161	0.050
age of focal child (flage)	-0.078	0.079	-0.761	1.480	-0.118	-0.056

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001 continued

Table 6-14, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and PRDIFF (change in prestige), by subsample
any child 0-18
any child 0-4
any child 5-18

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	0.091	1.695	-4.433	0.000	0.565	4.682
adult child in household (adchhh)	-0.124	4.894*	0.000	0.000	-0.006	5.751**
family structure (two parents omitted)						
one parent (oneparhh)	-0.756	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.471	0.000
other (otrhh)	-1.756	22.003	0.000	-0.457	-1.070	-3.721
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.002	0.033	-0.090	0.191	0.000	0.017
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	0.024	0.059	-0.197	0.207	0.038	0.033
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	-0.019	-0.073	-0.042	0.296	0.000	-0.029
prop. of housework done by man (mpropwk)	1.928	(-5.419*)	-2.165	(-18.669**)	5.212*	-1.396
other non-traditional roles						
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.440***	-0.070	0.060	-0.127	0.418**	-0.060
cares for disabled other (rcare)	-1.569	1.177	0.236	8.799	-1.555	3.005
spouse/partner characteristics						
hours of housework (srhwk2)	-0.026	-0.020	0.095	-0.267	-0.019	-0.015

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-14, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and PRDIFF (change in prestige), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.051	-0.061	0.587	-0.532	0.030	-0.004
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.126	0.056	0.365	-0.362	0.213	0.269
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.456	0.026	0.410	0.666	-0.191	0.185
from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.495	0.418	(-2.953*)	0.375	-0.141	-0.110
weeks employed (swksemp)	0.028	-0.117	0.058	-0.033	0.042	-0.104
hours worked last week (shrlwk)	-0.067	0.010	(-0.234**)	0.386	-0.012	-0.004
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (sempfyft)	-2.778	-3.322	-0.691	1.121	-1.918	-3.265
part year, full time (semppyft)	-2.273	-2.853	-6.725	-0.281	-1.403	-2.270
part year, part time (semppypt)	-2.638	-3.817	0.379	2.501	-2.775	-5.104

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Table 6-15: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls								
age (rage)	-0.024	0.184*	(-0.095*)	0.196*	0.022	0.074	(-0.091*)	0.002
race (black omitted)								
white (racew)	-0.203	-1.933	-0.247	-1.993	3.008****	0.627	2.298*	1.055
other (raceo)	0.034	-0.791	-0.256	-0.976	2.091*	-2.157	1.292	-0.630
education (reduc)	0.168****	0.291**	0.224*	0.462**	0.319****	0.137	0.328****	
father's education (faeduc)	0.051	0.122*	0.154**	0.059	0.160***	0.119*	0.090	0.168****
mother's education (moeduc)	0.047	0.019	0.115	-0.154	0.127*	0.121*	0.193*	0.133*
attitude controls								
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.016	0.269*	0.012	0.146	(-0.130*)	0.168*	(-0.194*)	0.158
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.050	0.118	0.089	0.077	0.041	0.100	-0.114	0.103
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.017	0.094	0.021	0.021	0.111*	0.162*	0.095	0.231*
labor market background								
log of earnings in 1987 (tlearnin)	0.304	0.984**	0.345	1.561***	1.236****	0.741***	1.418****	0.648*
# weeks employed (nwksmpl)	0.027	-0.014	0.199*	-0.016	0.055*	0.019	0.174**	0.018

continued

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; **** p<.0001

Table 6-15, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
# hours work/week (hrslwk)	0.015	0.034	0.027	0.058*	0.044***	0.073****	0.044**	0.031*
employment status (full year, part time omitted)								
full year, full time (emptyft)	0.144	2.170*	0.933	3.756**	1.417*	1.475*	1.173	1.832*
part year, full time (emppyft)	-0.040	0.678	0.116	2.364	1.446	1.462	1.501	0.390
part year, part time (empppyt)	0.383	1.651	1.074	2.866	-0.475	-0.459	(-5.301**)	0.266
paid home work (pdhmkw2)	0.656	0.580	0.822	1.018	0.349	0.572	-0.116	-0.448
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.373	0.686	-0.034	0.067	-0.480	0.816	0.376	0.322
travel overnight (trave12)	0.473	1.255	1.001	0.695	0.974**	0.503	0.327	1.205
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)								
salaried (paldsal2)	0.854	2.570**	0.938	2.913**	1.282**	0.584	0.189	0.633
other (paldotr2)	0.963	-0.625	0.834	1.037	0.899	-0.244	0.139	-0.745
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.001	0.007	-0.003	0.010	0.002	0.008*	(-0.005*)	0.000
family characteristics								
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.078	0.032	-0.268	0.156	-0.047	0.050	-0.014	0.034

continued

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; **** p<.0001

Table 6-15, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age of focal child (f1age)	0.087	0.146	-0.261	2.004*	-0.130	-0.027	0.098	0.026
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.803	-3.911	-1.685	-6.097	(-1.523*)	(-3.421**)	(-3.327**)	-1.694
adult child in household (adchhh)	0.000	2.221	0.000	0.000	(-3.262**)	0.873	0.585	-1.574
family structure (two parents omitted)								
one parent (oneparhh)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.433	0.000	0.000	0.000
other (otrhh)	0.492	1.504	0.000	1.544	-1.202	1.624	0.000	0.000
Total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.015	-0.021	-0.026	-0.010	(-0.032**)	(-0.029**)	(-0.034*)	0.013
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	(-0.049*)	-0.025	(-0.080**)	-0.009	(-0.039*)	(-0.041**)	(-0.087**)	0.004
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	0.009	-0.057	0.005	-0.077	-0.030	0.024	0.003	0.063
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	(-2.315*)	1.467	(-4.257**)	0.254	(-2.650*)	3.263*	-2.390	2.230

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; **** p<.0001

continued

Table 6-15, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
<i>other non-market activities</i>								
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	-0.001	0.083	0.060	0.058	0.031	-0.032	0.005	0.149*
cares for disabled other (rcare)	0.582	1.514	0.741	1.497	0.563	-0.490	0.034	-0.660
<i>spouse/partner characteristics</i>								
hours of housework (srfwk2)	0.005	0.009	0.004	0.007	0.011	0.006	0.009	0.045
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	-0.035	-0.010	-0.033	0.114	0.135**	-0.021	0.033	-0.027
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	-0.093	0.104	-0.039	0.185	0.116*	-0.012	0.216***	-0.002
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.309	0.464	-0.383	1.096*	0.402*	-0.180	0.079	-0.059
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.402	0.232	-0.308	0.109	0.436*	-0.402	0.217	(-0.618*)
weeks employed (swksemp1)	-0.004	0.023	0.007	0.082	(-0.018*)	0.012	0.015	-0.041
hours worked last week (shrs1wk)	-0.004	0.008	-0.036	-0.021	-0.019	0.040	-0.014	-0.015

continued

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

Table 6-15, cont: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

employment status (full year, part time omitted)	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
full year, full time (sempryft)	0.857	-1.884	-0.287	-2.082	0.025	-0.210	0.022	-0.810
part year, full time (sempppyft)	0.242	-1.580	-1.764	-0.677	0.528	0.583	-0.851	0.457
part year, part time (sempppypt)	0.974	(-5.286*)	-0.070	(-10.200**)	0.646	(-4.628**)	0.429	0.825

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

continued

Table 6-15, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
sociodemographic controls						
age (rage)	(-0.036*)	-0.012	0.032	0.267*	-0.002	-0.009
race (black omitted)						
white (racew)	2.200****	0.518	0.376	-2.599	2.519****	0.524
other (raceo)	1.262	-1.038	0.276	-1.462	1.575*	-1.102
education (reduc)	0.212****	0.295****	0.098	0.333**	0.231****	0.334****
father's education (faeduc)	0.123****	0.080*	0.015	0.227**	0.129***	0.141****
mother's education (moeduc)	0.124****	0.062	-0.034	0.109	0.145****	0.137****
* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; **** p<.0001						
attitude controls						
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	(-0.114*)	0.254****	-0.030	0.338	(-0.093*)	0.182****
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.012	0.141**	0.048	0.115	-0.002	0.109*
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.076	0.214****	0.046	-0.038	0.068	0.170**
labor market background						
log of earnings in 1987 (t1earnln)	1.204****	0.598****	0.108	1.747**	1.187****	0.729****
# weeks employed (nwksempl)	0.072**	0.028*	-0.006	-0.026	0.063*	0.025

continued

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; **** p<.0001

Table 6-15, con't: Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
# hours work/week (hrs/wk)	0.036****	0.036****	0.002	0.024	0.035****	0.037****
employment status (full year, part time omitted)						
full year, full time (emppyft)	0.698	1.305**	-0.352	1.763	1.320**	1.696***
part year, full time (emppyft)	0.971	-0.175	-0.006	-0.184	1.482*	0.507
part year, part time (emppypt)	(-2.355**)	-0.323	-0.339	1.703	-1.192	0.013
paid home work (pdhmk2)	0.669	0.227	0.604	0.865	0.213	-0.360
stable work sched. (wksched2)	-0.034	0.750	-0.232	-0.060	0.293	0.992*
travel overnight (travei2)	0.586*	0.565	-0.355	3.658*	0.919***	0.362
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)						
salaried (paidsal2)	1.032****	0.849	0.012	2.853*	0.992****	1.022**
other (paidotr2)	0.871	-0.935	-0.269	-1.439	0.637	-0.099
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.003*)	0.002	0.005	0.015	-0.001	0.001
family character/sites						
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.034	-0.016	-0.160	-0.145	-0.001	-0.027

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; **** p < .0001

continued

Table 6-15, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
<i>other non-market activities</i>						
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.024	0.081	0.059	0.326*	0.050	0.069
cares for disabled other (rcare)	0.221	-0.550	0.299	1.571	0.381	-0.527
<i>spouse/partner characteristics</i>						
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.003	0.028*	0.013	-0.023	0.003	0.026*
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.044	-0.025	-0.008	0.060	0.051	0.032
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.116**	0.013	-0.066	0.268	0.126***	-0.004
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.210	-0.043	-0.402	0.186	0.128	0.102
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.099	-0.127	-0.259	0.578	0.090	-0.209
weeks employed (swksemp)	-0.007	-0.007	-0.016	0.030	-0.006	-0.011
hours worked last week (shrs1wk)	-0.013	0.019	0.004	0.054	(-0.023*)	0.012

continued

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; **** p<.0001

Table 6-15, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
age of focal child (f1age)	-0.037	-0.032	0.137	0.978	-0.008	-0.032
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	(-2.056****)	(-3.338****)	-0.355	0.000	(-1.966****)	(-2.124*)
adult child in household (adchhh)	-0.275	-0.697	0.000	0.000	0.285	-0.799
family structure (two parents omitted)						
one parent (oneparth)	0.462	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.418	0.000
other (otrhh)	-0.750	1.611	0.000	2.107	-0.451	1.625
total housework hours (t1hwk)	(-0.031****)	-0.010	0.003	-0.015	(-0.025*)	(-0.018*)
feminine housework hours (f1fhwk)	(-0.066****)	-0.016	-0.021	-0.020	(-0.048****)	(-0.027**)
masculine housework hours (m1mhwk)	-0.006	0.003	0.023	0.094	-0.002	-0.017
prop. of housework done by man (mprophwk)	(-2.360**)	3.809****	-0.489	0.912	(-1.861**)	4.187****

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001; **** p<.0001

continued

Table 6-15, cont': Results of bivariate regressions, control variables and T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), by subsample

employment status (full year, part time omitted)	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
full year, full time (semppyft)	0.575	-0.792	0.852	-2.629	0.478	-0.354
part year, full time (semppyft)	0.358	0.132	1.487	-1.725	0.293	0.460
part year, part time (semppypt)	0.964*	(-3.230*)	1.225*	(-9.382*)	1.035*	(-3.321*)

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Variables that were consistently significantly related to the dependent variables include age, hours of work last week, weeks employed last year, time in current job, and age of youngest child. At first glance, these relationships lend support to the contention that human capital investments are necessary for occupational success. For example, the relationships between a father's age and the dependent variables were negative for all subsamples and all dependent variables; this supports the idea that younger men tend to have greater career mobility than older men.

However, all of these relationships do not support human capital assumptions. When the labor market background controls are significant, they are *negatively* related to the dependent variables. For example, mothers who spent more hours per week at work or who were employed for more weeks during the last year tend to have a smaller change in earnings over time than those who spent less time at work. This finding is consistent across all dependent variables. Where the relationships are significant for fathers, they are also negative.

The pattern of relationships between the dependent variables and the age of youngest child may reveal some clues about the relationship between parenting (or at least family structure) and labor market outcomes. For fathers, age of youngest child is significantly and negatively related to changes in earnings, proportionate earnings, and occupational prestige. These findings indicate that fathers with young children experience greater improvements in labor market rewards over time compared to fathers with older children. If these findings remain strong in the multivariate analyses, they may support the socialist feminist prediction that men will always benefit from the

existing social order, even if they are “doing their gender” incorrectly. Of course, this may also be a spurious relationship based on respondent’s age, since younger men are more likely to have young children and experience greater career mobility compared to older men.

The relationships between age of youngest child, absolute change in earnings, and proportionate change in earnings are also significant for mothers, but the relationships are positive. These findings indicate that mothers with younger children experience less earnings growth than mothers with older children. This is consistent with the human capital/dual burden theorists’ notion that mothers of young children may work part-time and/or take lower-paying (but perhaps more flexible) jobs in order to facilitate combining work and family responsibilities, while mothers of older children don’t need to make these concessions because their children are in school and/or old enough to care for themselves.

What to Drop?

Based on an examination of the frequency of significant relationships between the dependent, independent, and control variables within each subgroup, it is clear that several control variables can be eliminated from the multivariate analyses. Variables were excluded from the analyses if they had no significant relationships with the dependent variable or any independent variable in that subgroup. In order to aid in the interpretation of the multivariate results across subsamples, the models are the same for each subsample from this point on in the analyses, and vary only across dependent

variables. Tables 6-16 through 6-19 show the control variables that have been dropped for each dependent variable.

-

Table 6-16: Dropped control variables in analyses with EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), for all subsamples.

	marked if dropped
Sociodemographic controls	
age (rage)	
<i>race (black omitted)</i>	
white (rracew)	X
other (raceo)	X
education (in years)	
father's education (faeduc)	
mother's education (moeduc)	X
Attitude controls	
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	
traditional familism (fcohatt)	
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	
Labour market background	
# weeks employed (rwksemp1)	
# hours work/ week (rhrlwk)	
<i>employment status (full year, part time omitted)</i>	
full year, full time (empfyft)	X
part year, fulltime (emppyft)	X
part year, parttime (emppypt)	X
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	
stable work sched. (wksched2)	
travel overnight (travel2)	
<i>type of pay (paid hourly omitted)</i>	
salaried(paidsal2)	
other (paidotr2)	
months in current job (cjobtime)	
Family characteristics	
age of youngest child (ayoc)	
age of focal child (f1age)	X
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	
adult child in household (adchhh)	X
<i>family structure (two parents omitted)</i>	
one parent(oneparhh)	X
other (otrhh)	X
total housework hours (t1hwk)	

continued

Table 6-16, con't: Dropped control variables in analyses with EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), for all subsamples.

	marked if dropped
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	X
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	X
proportion of housework done by male (mprophwk)	
other non-market activities	
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	
cares for disabled other (rcare)	X
spouse/partner characteristics	
hours of housework (srhwk2)	X
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	
weeks employed (swksemp1)	
hours worked last week (shrsiwk)	X
<i>employment status (full year, part time omitted)</i>	
full year, fulltime (sempfyft)	X
part year, fulltime (semppyft)	X
part year, parttime (semppypt)	

Table 6-17: Dropped control variables in analyses with EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), for all subsamples.

	marked if dropped
Demographic controls	
age (rage)	
race (black omitted)	
white (racew)	X
other (raceo)	X
education (in years)	
father's education (faeduc)	
mother's education (moeduc)	X
Attitude controls	
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	
traditional familism (fcohatt)	
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	
Job and work background	
# weeks employed (rwksemp)	
# hours work/ week (rhrlwk)	
employment status (full year, part time omitted)	
full year, full time (empfyft)	X
part year, fulltime (emppyft)	X
part year, parttime (emppypt)	X
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	X
stable work sched. (wksched2)	
travel overnight (travel2)	X
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)	
salaries (paysal2)	
other (paidotr2)	
months in current job (cjobtime)	
Family structure	
age of youngest child (ayoc)	
age of focal child (f1age)	X
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	
adult child in household (adchhh)	X
family structure (two parents omitted)	
one parent (oneparhh)	X
other (otrhh)	X
total housework hours (t1hwk)	

continued

Table 6-17, con't: Dropped control variables in analyses with EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), for all subsamples.

	marked if dropped
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	X
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	X
proportion of housework done by male (mprophwk)	
Other Control Variables	
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	
cares for disabled other (rcare)	X
Spouse/Partner Characteristics	
hours of housework (srhwk2)	X
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	
weeks employed (swksemp1)	
hours worked last week (shrslwk)	X
<i>employment status (full year, part time omitted)</i>	
full year, fulltime (sempfyft)	X
part year, fulltime (semppyft)	X
part year, parttime (semppypt)	X

Table 6-18: Dropped control variables in analyses with PRDIFF (change in occupational prestige), for all subsamples.

	marked if dropped
Demographic controls	
age (rage)	
race (<i>black omitted</i>)	
white (racew)	X
other (raceo)	
education (in years)	
father's education (faeduc)	
mother's education (moeduc)	X
Attitude controls	
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	
traditional familism (fcohatt)	
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	
Job and work background	
# weeks employed (rwksemp)	X
# hours work/ week (rhrslwk)	
employment status (<i>full year, part time omitted</i>)	
full year, full time (empfyft)	X
part year, fulltime (emppyft)	X
part year, parttime (emppypt)	X
paid home work (pdhmkw2)	
stable work sched. (wksched2)	
travel overnight (travel2)	
type of pay (<i>paid hourly omitted</i>)	
salaried(paidsal2)	
other (paidotr2)	X
months in current job (cjobtime)	
Family and Justice	
age of youngest child (ayoc)	
age of focal child (f1age)	X
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	X
adult child in household (adchhh)	X
family structure (<i>two parents omitted</i>)	
one parent(oneparhh)	X
other (otrhh)	X
total housework hours (t1hwk)	

continued

Table 6-18, con't: Dropped control variables in analyses with PRDIFF (change in occupational prestige), for all subsamples.

	marked if dropped
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	X
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	X
proportion of housework done by male (mprophwk)	
Control variables	
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	
cares for disabled other (rcare)	X
Spouse/Partner characteristics	
hours of housework (srhwk2)	X
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	
weeks employed (swksemp1)	
hours worked last week (shrs1wk)	
<i>employment status (full year, part time omitted)</i>	
full year, fulltime (sempfyft)	X
part year, fulltime (semppyft)	X
part year, parttime (semppypt)	X

Table 6-19: Dropped control variables in analyses with T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings),
for all subsamples.

	marked if dropped
Demographic Controls	
age (rage)	
race (black omitted)	
white (racew)	
other (raceo)	X
education (in years)	
father's education (faeduc)	
mother's education (moeduc)	X
Attitudinal Controls	
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	X
traditional familism (fcohatt)	X
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	
Individual Background	
# weeks employed (rwksemp)	X
# hours work/ week (rhrslwk)	
employment status (full year, part time omitted)	
full year, full time (empfyft)	X
part year, fulltime (emppyft)	X
part year, parttime (emppypt)	X
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	X
stable work sched. (wksched2)	X
travel overnight (travel2)	
earnings at Time 1 (t1earnln)	
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)	
salaried(paidsal2)	
other (paidotr2)	X
months in current job (cjobtime)	
Family Background	
age of youngest child (ayoc)	X
age of focal child (f1age)	X
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	
adult child in household (adchhh)	X
family structure (two parents omitted)	
one parent(oneparhh)	X
other (otrhh)	X
total housework hours (t1hwk)	

continued

Table 6-19, con't: Dropped control variables in analyses with T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), for all subsamples.

	marked if dropped
feminine housework hours (t1fhwk)	X
masculine housework hours (t1mhwk)	X
proportion of housework done by male (mprophwk)	X
Control Variables	
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	
cares for disabled other (rcare)	X
Spouse/Partner/Child Variables	
hours of housework (srhwk2)	
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	X
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	X
weeks employed (swksemp1)	
hours worked last week (shrslwk)	
<i>employment status (full year, part time omitted)</i>	
full year, fulltime (sempfyft)	X
part year, fulltime (semppyft)	X
part year, parttime (semppypt)	X

Summary

This chapter has documented the results of bivariate regressions between indicators of parental involvement, change in earnings and prestige, and sociodemographic, family structure, and other control variables. The bivariate analyses reveal that gender is significantly associated with labor market outcomes. In addition, mothers' and fathers' parental involvement is consistently associated with labor market outcomes for some subsamples but not for others, and parental involvement is strongly associated with several indicators of family structure and partners' characteristics. Finally, some control variables are consistently related to either the dependent variables or the independent variables, but many others are not, and can therefore be excluded from future analyses. While these results provide evidence that some relationships exist between parenting and labor market outcomes, the effects will not be clear without results from multivariate regression analyses. These results are the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Multivariate Regression Results

Much of the previous literature on the effect of parental involvement on workplace experiences has focused on the problems associated with work-family conflict. In addition, most of the theoretical work surrounding this issue has anticipated negative consequences of child care and parenting on earnings. Very few of these sources adequately predict this study's results. Although work and family demands may create conflict, this and the following chapter show that they don't necessarily cause economic distress.

This chapter begins with a general examination of the multivariate regression results, including a discussion of some methodological considerations, a description of the final regression models, and a discussion of the patterns in proportions of explained variance in the models. Subsequent sections of this chapter examine the patterns in significant coefficients for indicators of parental involvement, and present the results of the regression equation estimations for each dependent variable when the effects of the main independent variables are significant.

Methodological Considerations

The major analyses in this study involved a series of detailed examinations of the bivariate relationships discussed in the previous chapter. For each subsample, eleven models tested the relative importance of the indicators of parental involvement on each dependent variable, while alternating and adding various blocks of control variables.

This strategy served two purposes: first, it provided a way to find the combination of variables which explain the most variance in the dependent variable(s). After determining a full model with the best combination of controls and the highest R^2 , the unique importance of the parental involvement measures was assessed by running separate full model regressions for each indicator of parenting. In addition, wherever an interval-level indicator of parental involvement was significant, squared terms were used in the models to test for non-linearities.

The full regression models differed for each subsample because the indicators of parental involvement varied by subsample. However, in the analyses of each dependent variable, the control variables remained the same for every subsample. Chapter 6 discussed this process in some detail; Tables 6-16 through 6-19 document the control variables which were dropped in the final models for each dependent variable. Table 7-1 illustrates the composition of the full models for the subsample, "any/all child(ren) age 5-18," for all dependent variables.

Table 7-1: Composition of full regression models for all dependent variables and subsample, "any/all child(ren) 5-18."

<u>variable name and description</u> <u>indicators of parental involvement</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>
dependent=ediffk (change in earnings)	dependent=earnprop (proportionate change in earnings)	dependent=prdiff (change in prestige)	dependent=t2earnln (log of 1994 earnings)
<u>alact518</u> (sum of shared activities (outings +play+read+talk)	alact518	alact518	alact518
mealsgt5 # shared bkfst +dinner last week	mealsgt5	mealsgt5	mealsgt5
mealcen mean-centered mealsgt5	mealcen		
mealsq square of mean-centered mealsgt5	mealsq		
chgpsgt5 hours per week in youth groups	chgpsgt5	chgpsgt5	chgpsgt5
t1e1360n wish to be free of resp. of being parent	t1e1360n	t1e1360n	t1e1360n
<u>sociodemographic controls</u>			
rage Respondent's age	rage	rage	rage
reduc Rs years of education	reduc	traceo2 R race=not black or white reduc	tracew2 R race=white reduc
faeduc Rs father's years of education	faeduc	faeduc	faeduc
<i>continued</i>			

Table 7-1, con't: Composition of full regression models for all dependent variables and subsample,

<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>dependent=earnprop</u> (proportionate change in earnings)	<u>dependent=prdiff</u> (change in prestige)	<u>dependent=t2earnln</u> (log of 1994 earnings)
<i>any/all child(ren) 5-18.</i>			
<i>dependent=ediffk</i> (change in earnings)			
<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>
<i>family characteristics</i>			
ayoc	ayoc		
age of youngest child in household			
otherch	otherch		otherch
other (non bio/ adopt) child lives in household			
otrhh			
family structure other than single- or double-parent family			
t1hwk	t1hwk		t1hwk
Rs hours in all housework			
mprophwk	mprophwk		
proportion total housework man does			
<i>labor market background</i>			
rwksempl	rwksempl		t1earnln
#weeks R employed for pay last year			log of 1987 earnings
rhrslwk	rhrslwk		rhrslwk
#hours/ week R worked last week			
pdhmkwk2	pdhmkwk2		
R does paid work at home			
<i>continued</i>			

Table 7-1, con't: Composition of full regression models for all dependent variables and subsample, "any/all child(ren) 5-18."

Dependent=ediffk (change in earnings)	dependent=earnprop (proportionate change in earnings)	dependent=prdiff (change in prestige)	dependent=t2earnln (log of 1994 earnings)
<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>
wksched2 R has consistent work schedule	wksched2	wksched2	
travel2 R has to travel overnight for job	travel2	travel2	travel2
paidsal2 R paid by salary	paidsal2	paidsal3	paidsal3
paidotr2 R not paid by salary or hourly	paidotr2		
cjobtime # months in current job	cjobtime	cjobtime	cjobtime
Affitudes			
wkfamatt R: work-family/gender attitudes (5)	wkfamatt	wkfamatt	
fcohatt R: trad def of family/sex attitudes (5)	fcohatt	fcohatt	
sanity R: anti-religious fundamentalism scale (3)	sanity	sanity	sanity

continued

Table 7-1, con't: Composition of full regression models for all dependent variables and subsample, "any/all child(ren) 5-18."

dependent=ediffk (change in earnings)	dependent=earnprop (proportionate change in earnings)	dependent=prdiff (change in prestige)	dependent=f2earnln (log of 1994 earnings)
<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>	<u>variable name and description</u>
<i>spouse characteristics</i>			
sact3182	sact3182	sact3182	sact3182
sum of sp's activities with child			
seat3182	seat3182	seat3182	seat3182
sum of sp's shared meals with child			
sfunwch	sfunwch	sfunwch	srhwk2
sp: how often had fun w/ any ch 0-18			sp's hours of housework
spatt29b	spatt29b	spatt29b	
sp: often wish free of resp. of being parent			
swksempl	swksempl	swksempl	swksempl
sp: # wks employed in 1986			
sempppyt	shrlwk	shrlwk	shrlwk
1=sp. employed part year, part time	# hours worked last week	# hours worked last week	
<i>other non-market activities</i>			
rfun1	rfun1	rfun1	rfun1
how often time with friends etc			

After running the final models, I estimated the regression equations for mothers and fathers in order to find predicted values for each dependent variable. Tables reporting the final multivariate regression results are shown in Appendix A. The result of this model estimation was a set of predicted values for each dependent variable based on each value of the parental involvement indicator. I then plotted both sets of values on a single chart in order to compare the relationships between parenting and labor market outcomes for fathers and mothers; examples of this process are displayed in Appendix B. The majority of this chapter focuses on examining and interpreting the resulting figures. The next section, however, provides a brief discussion of the general patterns in explained variance for the full models.

Predicting Labor Market Outcomes

The full regression models, which included all independent and significant control variables, were not consistently successful at explaining a large amount of the variance in any of the dependent variables across the seven subsamples. The highest adjusted R^2 for fathers was .57, in the model predicting proportionate change in earnings for any child 0-4. The highest adjusted R^2 for mothers was .36, for both the models predicting change in earnings for any child 0-4 and proportionate change in earnings for focal child 5-11.

It is possible that the results of the multivariate regressions are in part a consequence of using measures of change as dependent variables. In order to account for this possibility, another dependent variable was added to the analyses at this point

in order to assess whether parental involvement affects earnings themselves, rather than change in earnings. For these analyses, the full models were regressed on the natural log of the parents' earnings in 1994 (adjusted to 1987 dollars). The results of the Regressions on 1994 earnings were consistent with those of the other dependent variables. As with the measures of change in labor market outcomes, the adjusted R^2 for both mothers and fathers in these models typically ranged from .01 to .20. These results are summarized in Table 7-2, which is displayed in the following section.

The patterns in explained variance reveal some interesting findings. To begin with, the amount of explained variance is lower than might have been expected given previous research on economic attainment. Even though the full models contained the variables which have repeatedly been shown to affect earnings and change in earnings, such as education, race, hours worked per week, and time in current job, the adjusted R^2 remained relatively low. These results suggest that other variables (e.g., macrostructural factors like industry and labor market health) may be more effective in accounting for change in earnings over time.

Another issue to consider is that there may not have been enough variation to explain in the dependent variables; that is, that the change in earnings between 1987 and 1994 was too small to adequately capture the effects of the variables in the models. However, U.S. Census Bureau data provide only limited support for this claim. Their data reveal that median per capita income rose \$4,164 (34%; in current dollars) between 1987 and 1994. Women's income rose \$3,079 (35%), while men's income rose \$3,624 (only 19%) during this time period. In addition, whites' income rose \$4,468 (34%), while

blacks' income rose \$3,005 (39%) between 1987 and 1994 (U.S. Census Bureau 1996).

These data indicate that income did change between the years in which this study was conducted, and that women's and men's income changed at different rates.

Patterns in the Significance of Parental Involvement

Given the relatively low proportions of explained variance, it is encouraging to note that over two-fifths of the effects of parental involvement measures were significant in the full models. Because the primary goal of this study is to describe the relationships between parenting and labor market outcomes, as opposed to explaining variance in these models, the remainder of this chapter will focus on these results.

Out of 28 possible final models, 12 (43%) included one or more significant indicators of parental involvement. Of the 20 total indicators of parental involvement that were significant, 11 (55%) were attained at the $p < .05$ level, and 9 (45%) were marginally significant or approached significance ($.05 < p < .10$). There were some interesting patterns in the significant indicators of parental involvement, and these patterns were consistent among the marginally significant models as well. As a result, and given the small subsample sizes, these marginally significant findings were included in the discussion. Table 7-2 summarizes the patterns of significant and non-significant results from the modeling process.

Table 7-2: Summary of multivariate regression results on full models, by dependent variable, subsample, and gender.

Dependent Variable	Subsample	Adj. R2		Number of times parental involvement is significant at or below $p < .10$	
		Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
Change in Earnings (ediffk)	Focal Child 0-4	0.01	0.23	0 out of 2	1/2
	Focal Child 3-4	0.00	0.00	0 out of 3	0/3
	Focal Child 5-11	0.00	0.06	0 out of 5	0/5
	Focal Child 12-18	0.05	0.05	0 out of 6	1/6
	Focal Child 0-18	0.04	0.03	0 out of 4	0/4
	Any Child 0-4	0.01	0.36	0 out of 2	0/2
	Any Child 5-18	0.03	0.03	1 out of 4	1/4
Proportionate Change in Earnings (earnprop)	Focal Child 0-4	0.13	0.00	0/2	0/2
	Focal Child 3-4	0.00	0.12	0/3	0/3
	Focal Child 5-11	0.00	0.36	0/5	1/5
	Focal Child 12-18	0.10	0.16	0/6	0/6
	Focal Child 0-18	0.01	0.14	0/4	2/4
	Any Child 0-4	0.57	0.33	0/2	0/2
	Any Child 5-18	0.02	0.13	1/4	0/4
Change in prestige (prdiff)	Focal Child 0-4	0.03	0.06	0/2	0/2
	Focal Child 3-4	0.06	0.19	0/3	0/3
	Focal Child 5-11	0.01	0.04	1/5	3/5
	Focal Child 12-18	0.08	0.11	1/6	0/6
	Focal Child 0-18	0.04	0.02	0/4	0/4
	Any Child 0-4	0.15	0.01	0/2	0/2
	Any Child 5-18	0.03	0.06	1/4	1/4
Log of 1994 Earnings (t2earnln)	Focal Child 0-4	0.05	0.10	0/2	1/2
	Focal Child 3-4	0.27	0.06	0/3	0/3
	Focal Child 5-11	0.12	0.19	1/5	2/5
	Focal Child 12-18	0.18	0.12	0/6	0/6
	Focal Child 0-18	0.14	0.09	0/4	0/4
	Any Child 0-4	0.05	0.10	1/2	0/2
	Any Child 5-18	0.12	0.09	0/4	0/4

General Patterns

One of the most striking results of this study is the direction of the relationship between parental involvement and outcomes across all dependent variables, subsamples, and genders. All effects which are significant at the .05 level or below are *positive* for both mothers and fathers. In addition, seven of the nine effects which are significant at the $.05 < p < .10$ level are positive. According to these findings, as parental involvement increases, parents experience greater monetary and non-monetary rewards in the workplace.

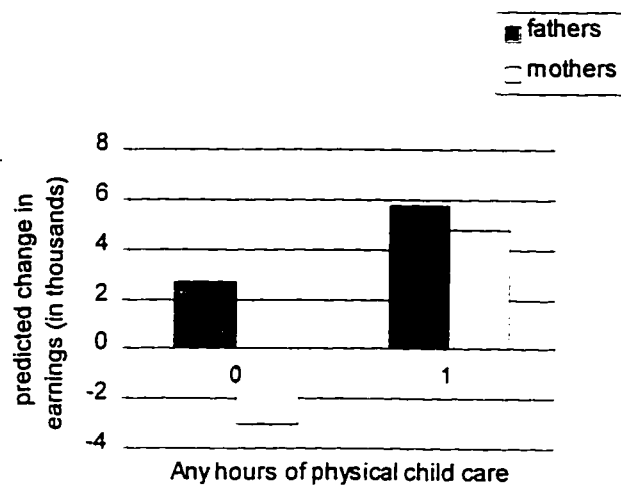
There are some findings which suggest that parenting operates differently for mothers and fathers in the workplace. For example, there is only one instance in which parental involvement indicators are significant for both mothers and fathers at the same time. Instead, different indicators of involvement are significant for mothers and fathers in different subsamples; this finding will be discussed further in a subsequent section. In addition, the results seem to indicate that parenting is more consequential for mothers than for fathers; of the 11 variables whose effects were significant at the .05 level or better, 7 (64%) were significant for mothers, while only 4 (36%) were significant for fathers. However, in tests for the interactions between gender and the indicators of involvement, an equal number of the effects were significant for fathers and mothers (4 out of 18 possible tests, or 22%). Finally, although the trends were very slight and the non-linearity tests were not significant, mothers were also more likely to experience tipping points after which greater parental involvement led to disadvantages. There

were no such points for fathers. The patterns in significant findings for each dependent variable and subsample provide further support for these ideas.

Parental Involvement and Change in Earnings

Focal Child 0-4

The first indicator of parental involvement which approached significance in explaining change in earnings was the number of hours which the parent spent taking care of a 0-4 year-old focal child's physical needs. The initial variable, which was a continuous indicator of hours, was not significant in this model. In order to test whether *any* hours of child care affected change in earnings, the continuous variable was recoded into a dichotomous variable, where 0="no time in child care" and 1="any time in child care." The effect of this variable was not significant for fathers, and was marginally significant for mothers ($p < .07$). The graphical depiction of this relationship in Figure 7-1 shows that mothers who are not involved with their infants and toddlers in terms of their physical care actually suffer in the workplace over time, whereas mothers who are involved experience increases in their earnings. For this variable, whether a father engages in physical child care or not has no impact on his change in earnings.



0=no hours 1=any hours

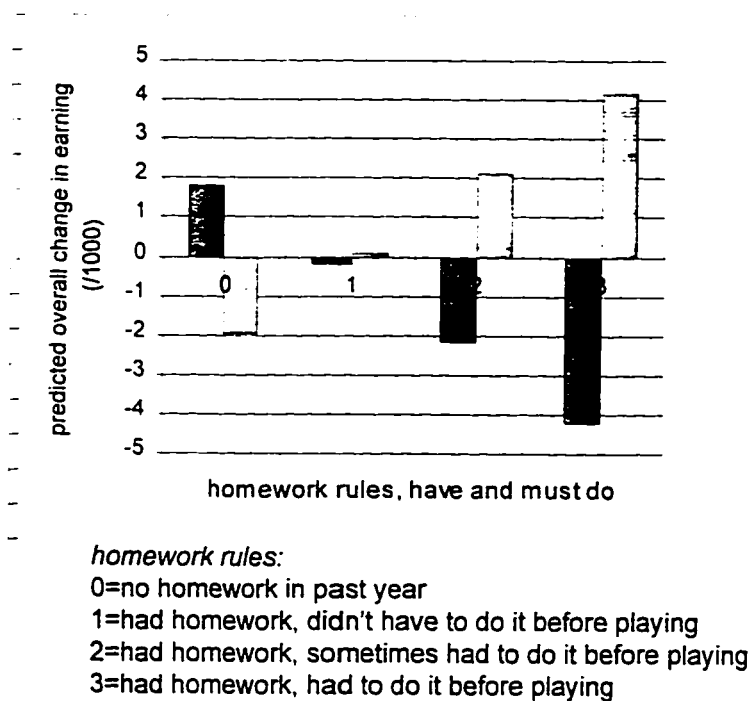
	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>Mothers</i>
<i>n</i>	170	131

FIGURE 7-1: Any hours of child care and predicted change in earnings, focal child 0-4.

Although it is important to note that causal order cannot be specified from this study, these findings suggest that mothers of young children may be held accountable for the children's care, and that mothers who do not fulfill this role can be disadvantaged in the workplace. This result is not consistent with the human capital expectation that time away from the workplace will lead to fewer economic rewards. It is, however, consistent with the "doing gender" perspective which predicts that mothers who do not engage in gender-appropriate roles will be sanctioned.

Focal Child 12-18

For this subsample, establishing rules regarding whether the child had to complete his or her homework before going out had a significant effect on change in earnings for mothers, but not for fathers. Figure 7-2 shows these results.



	Fathers	Mothers
n	202	216

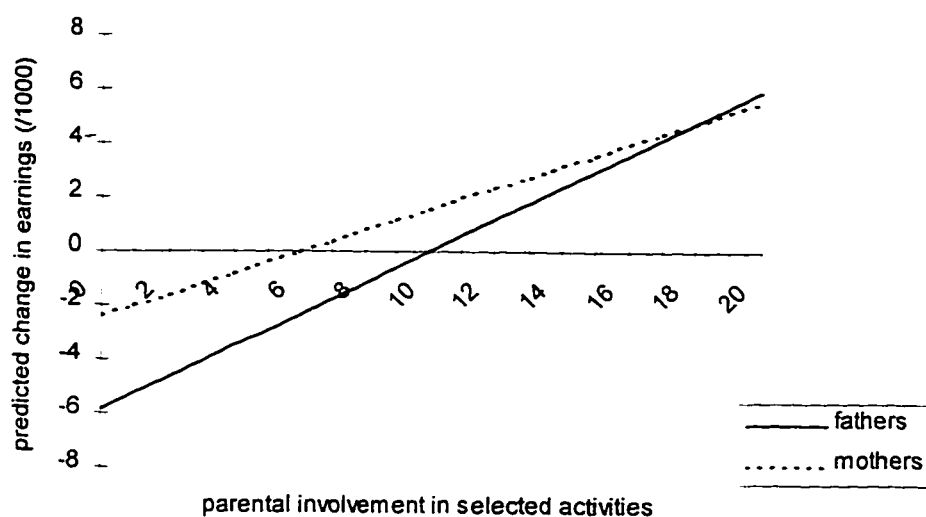
FIGURE 7-2: Homework rules and predicted change in earnings, focal child 12-18.

As with the previous subsample, mothers with low or no involvement actually lose in their earnings between 1987 and 1994. It is also interesting to note that, although the fathers' involvement does not significantly impact their change in earnings,

mothers' gain in earnings as their involvement increases is of equivalent magnitude as is men's loss.

Any/All Child(ren) age 5-18

Two indicators of parental involvement were significant in this subgroup. In order to assess the unique effect of these variables when estimating the regression equations, separate regressions with the same model were run with each indicator. The first indicator, parents' behavioral involvement in selected activities with their children, was positive and significant for mothers ($p < .05$) and positive but not significant for fathers. Figure 7-3 documents these results.



Score=sum of 4 scale items, each ranging from 0="never" to 5="almost every day"

	Fathers	Mothers
<i>n</i>	534	483

FIGURE 7-3: Behavioral involvement in selected activities and predicted change in earnings, any/all child(ren) 5-18.

These findings reveal that both mothers and fathers experience a gain in earnings as their involvement increases, although the effect is only significant for mothers. In fact, mothers and fathers who score low on the involvement scale experience a loss in earnings over time, with the cost of non-involvement being greater for fathers ($p < .10$). With low levels of involvement, parents experience losses in earnings, but after a certain point (a score of 6 for mothers and 10 for fathers), greater involvement leads to gains in earnings. A score of 6 on this scale indicates that the

parent engages in leisure activities, playing, reading, and private talks with their child(ren) an average of once a month or less. A score of 10 indicates that the parent engages in these activities an average of several times a month. These results support the notion that mothers are negatively sanctioned when they do not perform their gender appropriately; it is only when mothers spend time in activities with their children more than once a month that they begin to see a positive return in the workplace.

The second indicator of parental involvement which was significant for this subsample was the number of times that the parent shared breakfast and/or dinner with their child during the past week. In contrast to all of the previous results, the effects of this variable were significant for fathers, but not for mothers. Figure 7-4 depicts these results.

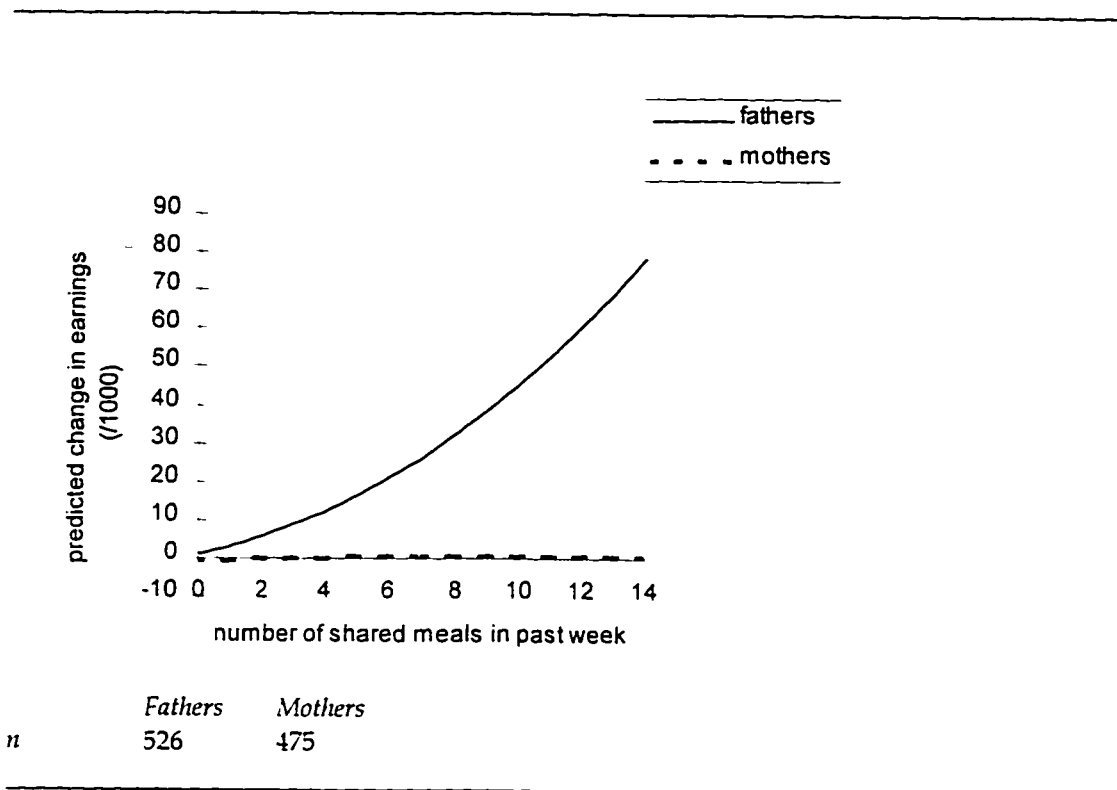


FIGURE 7-4: Number of shared meals and predicted change in earnings, any/all child(ren) 5-18.

The effect of parental involvement on fathers' change in earnings is positive, non-linear, and highly significant ($p < .001$). Fathers who do not share meals with their children experience a very moderate gain in earnings over time. However, as fathers become more involved, their economic gains increase at an exponential rate. The interaction effect between gender and parental involvement is significant at the .01 level. This result provides strong evidence for the socialist feminist notion that men will benefit from the existing system even when they are highly involved parents, but that women will not. The findings also provide evidence against the human capital expectation that greater time in parenting will produce economic disadvantages because

there will be less time available for paid work. In addition, these results do not support the hegemonic masculinity perspective, which suggests that fathers who are highly involved with their children (and thus not performing the “appropriate” masculinity) will suffer greater economic disadvantages compared to less involved fathers.

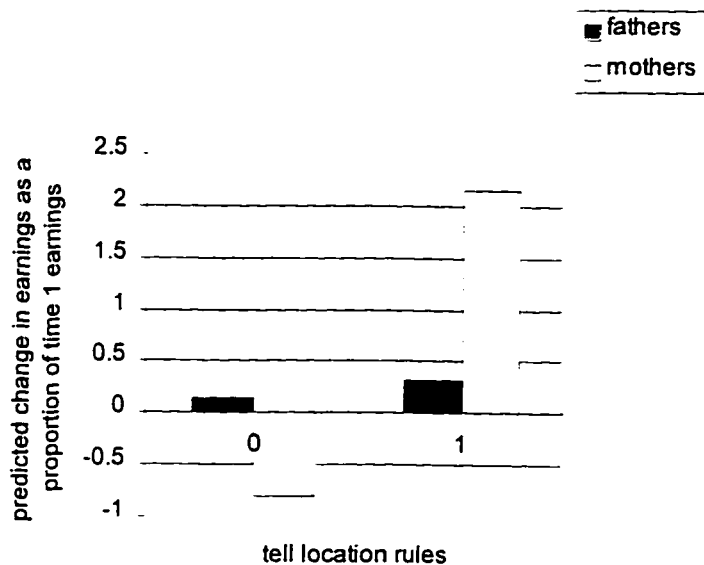
However, the findings may also be interpreted as an indication that the expectations for fathers’ masculinity includes being an involved parent, and that a father who meets this new expectation will be rewarded. This possibility will be discussed further in the following chapter.

In contrast to the significant effects which shared meals have on change in fathers’ earnings, the effects were not significant for mothers. There was a very small pattern in mothers’ outcomes; mothers lost earnings when they were not involved, and then gained in earnings very slightly as they shared more meals with their children. However, after sharing approximately 10 meals, or breakfast and dinner 5 days a week, mothers begin to lose ground with each additional meal, so that they approach loss in earnings as they share a large number of meals with their children. Although this effect was not significant, the consistency in trends with other indicators suggests that mothers do benefit economically from increased parental involvement to a certain point, beyond which greater involvement may create economic disadvantages.

Parental Involvement and Proportionate Change in Earnings

Focal Child 5-11

The patterns in the parental involvement measures which significantly affect proportionate change in earnings are very similar to those of the previous dependent variable. For the first subsample in which there was a significant indicator of involvement, focal child age 5-11, the effect of a measure of rules about monitoring the child's location was positive and significant for mothers ($p < .05$), and positive and not significant for fathers. Figure 7-5 shows the results of the model estimation.



1=child must tell parent his/her location whenever s/he is not home
0=otherwise

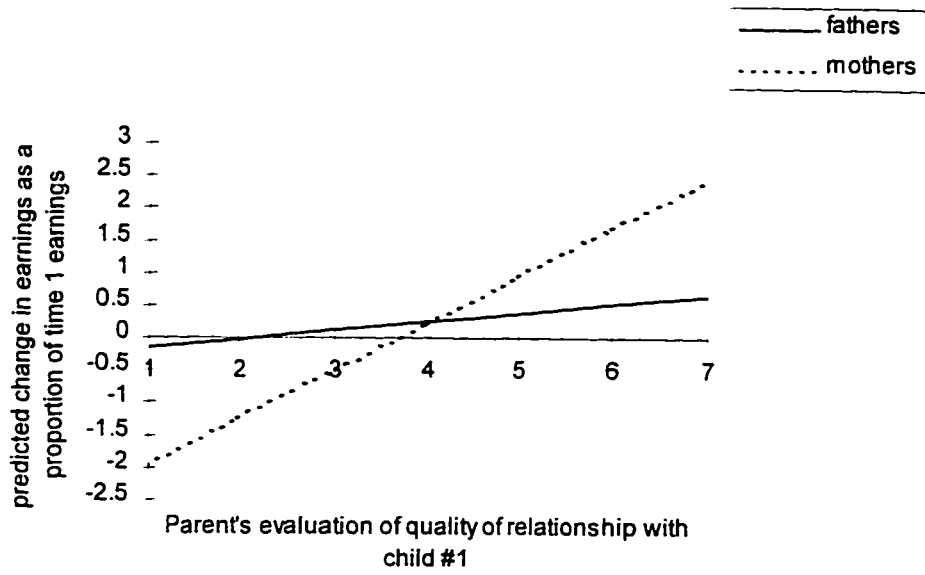
	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>Mothers</i>
<i>n</i>	274	225

FIGURE 7-5: Location rules and predicted proportionate change in earnings, focal child 5-11.

The results in Figure 7-5 show that mothers who are not involved or who only sometimes require their children to report her or his location when s/he is not home receive penalties in terms of their gain in earnings (as a proportion of 1987 earnings). In contrast, mothers who are involved with their children experience substantial benefits in their earnings. As with many of the previous non-significant findings for fathers, although great economic gains are associated with high parental involvement for mothers, there is only a slight gain for fathers.

Focal Child 0-18

There were two indicators of parental involvement whose effects were significant in this subsample: parent's subjective evaluation of the quality of his or her relationship with child #1, and parent's evaluation of his or her relationship with child #2. For both indicators, the effect of involvement on proportionate change in earnings was significant and positive for mothers ($p < .05$). The effect of both variables was insignificant for fathers, though for the first variable the relationship was positive, and for the second the relationship was negative. Figures 7-6 and 7-7 present the results of these analyses.



0="very poor;" 7="excellent"

	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>Mothers</i>
<i>n</i>	643	567

FIGURE 7-6: Quality of parent-child relationship with child #1 and predicted proportionate change in earnings, focal child 0-18.

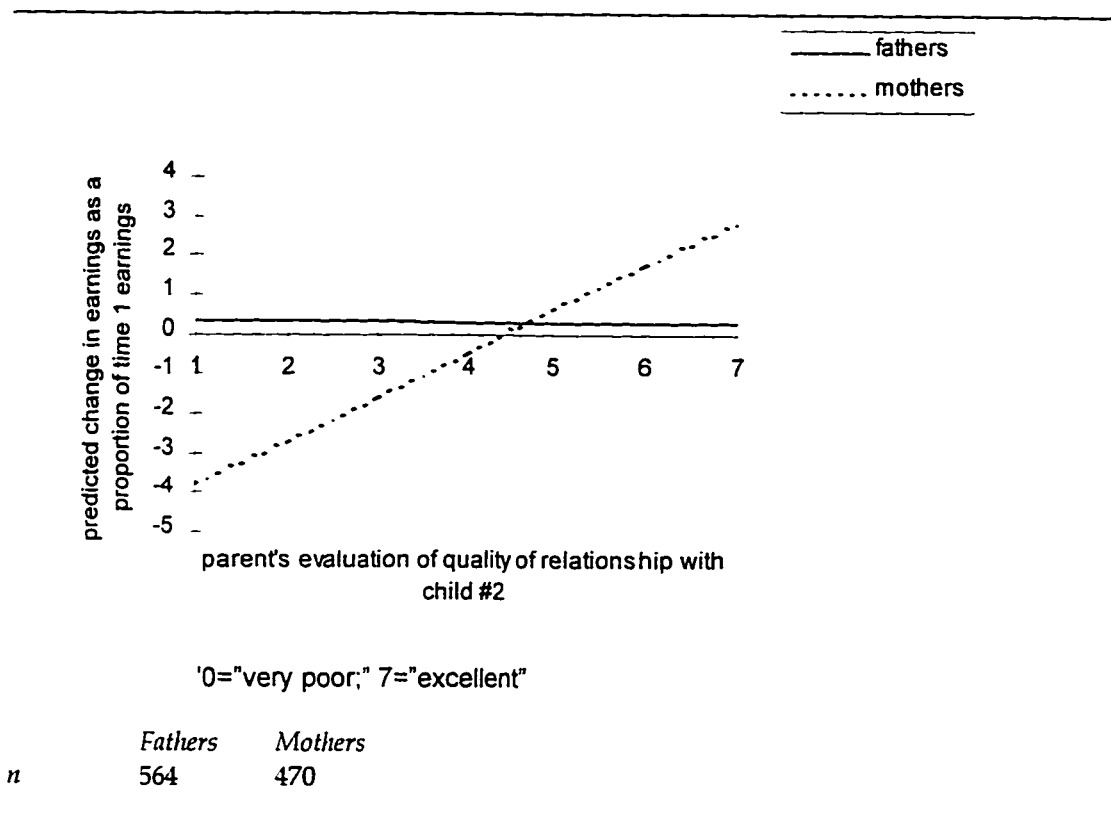


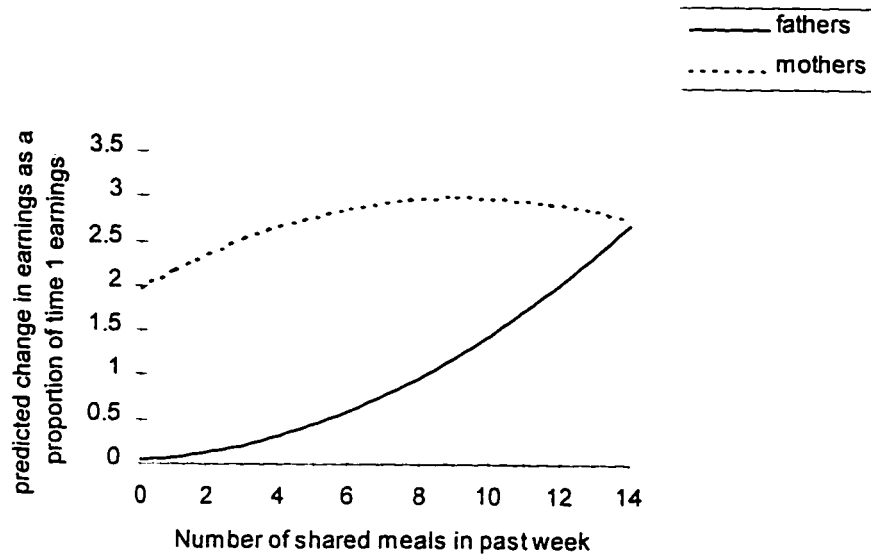
FIGURE 7-7: Quality of parent-child relationship with child #2 and predicted proportionate change in earnings, focal child 0-18.

The patterns in significance are very similar across the two variables for mothers. In both cases, mothers who rate their parent-child relationship as very poor in quality experience large proportionate decreases in their earnings over time, while fathers do not ($p < .0001$ for Figure 7-6, and $p < .001$ for Figure 7-7). The effects continue to disadvantage mothers until they reach the mid-point of the quality scale; when mothers rate their parent-child relationship at approximately 4 or 4.5 out of 7 (where 7 is "excellent"), they begin to experience gains in their proportionate earnings over time. As Figure 7-7 shows, these gains happen at a faster rate for mothers who have a second

child. The contrasts between Figures 7-6 and 7-7 also show that, although neither effect is significant, involvement with a first child matters somewhat more than involvement with a second child for fathers' proportionate change in earnings. These findings, as well as the significant interaction effect between gender and quality of relationship with child #2 ($p < .01$), provide further support for the notion that parenting has greater consequences for mothers' outcomes than for fathers' outcomes.

Any/All Child(ren) age 5-18

As with the previous measure of economic outcomes, the most interesting findings regarding the effect of parental involvement on proportionate change in earnings is for the variable which measures the number of meals which a parent shared with their child(ren) age 5-18 in the past week. The pattern in the effect of this variable is also consistent with its effect on change in earnings. For fathers, the relationship is non-linear, positive, and significant ($p < .05$). For mothers, the relationship is not significant but is interesting in that the effect is positive until mothers share about 10 meals a week with their children; after that point, mothers experience declines in their proportionate gains in earnings with each additional shared meal. Figure 7-8 shows these results.



	Fathers	Mothers
<i>n</i>	529	475

FIGURE 7-8: Number of shared meals and predicted proportionate change in earnings, any/all child(ren) 5-18.

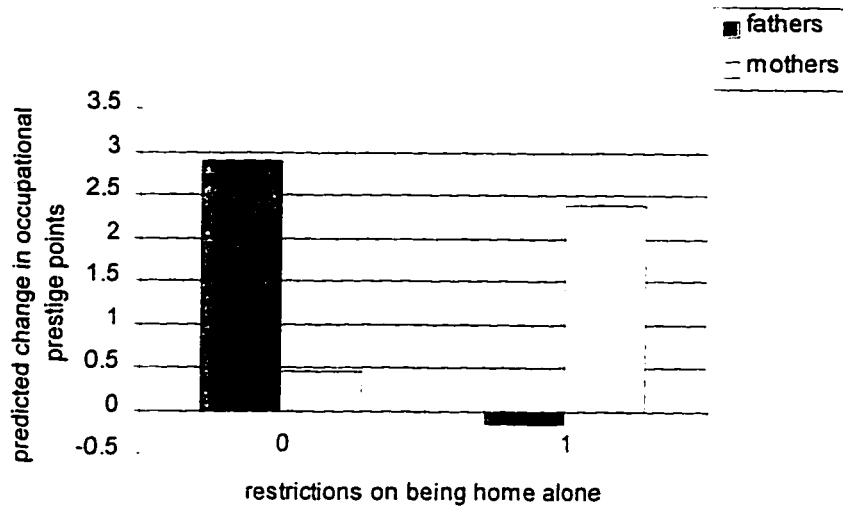
Figure 7-8 reveals that larger numbers of shared meals are associated with greater gains in earnings for fathers, but not for mothers ($p < .10$). In addition, mothers and fathers who share no meals with their children experience significantly different proportionate changes in earnings ($p < .0001$). Increasing the number of shared meals is not significantly related to increases or decreases in mothers' earnings, though highly involved mothers do experience a slight decrease in gains. However, an increasing benefit is associated with each additional meal which fathers share with their children. Fathers who share breakfast and dinner with their children 7 days a week experience

the greatest proportionate improvements in their earnings. Interestingly, fathers' and mothers' predicted change in earnings curves do not cross until they each share 14 meals a week with their children. This indicates that although the relationship is not significant for mothers, fathers must be very highly involved in order to achieve the same gain in earnings as mothers experience.

Parental Involvement and Change in Occupational Prestige

Focal Child 5-11

Over half of the indicators of parental involvement which were significant in explaining change in occupational prestige came from the subgroup of questions asked about a focal child age 5-11. While most of the effects were consistent with those in the previous sections, one of the relationships was significant and *negative* ($p < .06$). This unusual result was for the rule-setting variable which indicated the parent's beliefs about when and if the child could be left home alone. For this variable, the effect was positive but not significant for mothers, and negative and marginally significant for fathers. Figure 7-9 shows these results.



0="yes and/or sometimes okay to be home alone"

1="never okay to be home alone, under any circumstances"

	Fathers	Mothers
<i>n</i>	258	191

FIGURE 7-9: Home alone rules and predicted change in occupational prestige, focal child 5-11.

The pattern in the relationship for mothers, although not significant, is consistent with those in previous analyses. Mothers who are less involved experienced a less pronounced gain in occupational prestige compared to mothers who are more highly involved. For fathers, however, the pattern is just the opposite ($p < .05$). Fathers who are less strict about their home alone rules for their children experience a substantial *increase* in their prestige scores, while fathers who have strict rules experience a slight decrease in their prestige. This finding provides support for the human capital prediction that fathers who are less involved with their children will achieve greater mobility in the

workplace. This effect is above and beyond that which can be explained by differences in fathers' time spent at work; tenure in current job and hours spent at work were both controlled for in this model.

The next significant indicator of parental involvement for this subsample is the variable assessing parents' rules regarding whether the child must report her or his location when s/he is not at home. For this variable, the relationship between parenting and change in prestige was positive and significant for mothers ($p < .01$) and positive but not significant for fathers. Figure 7-10 illustrates the results of these regression model estimations.

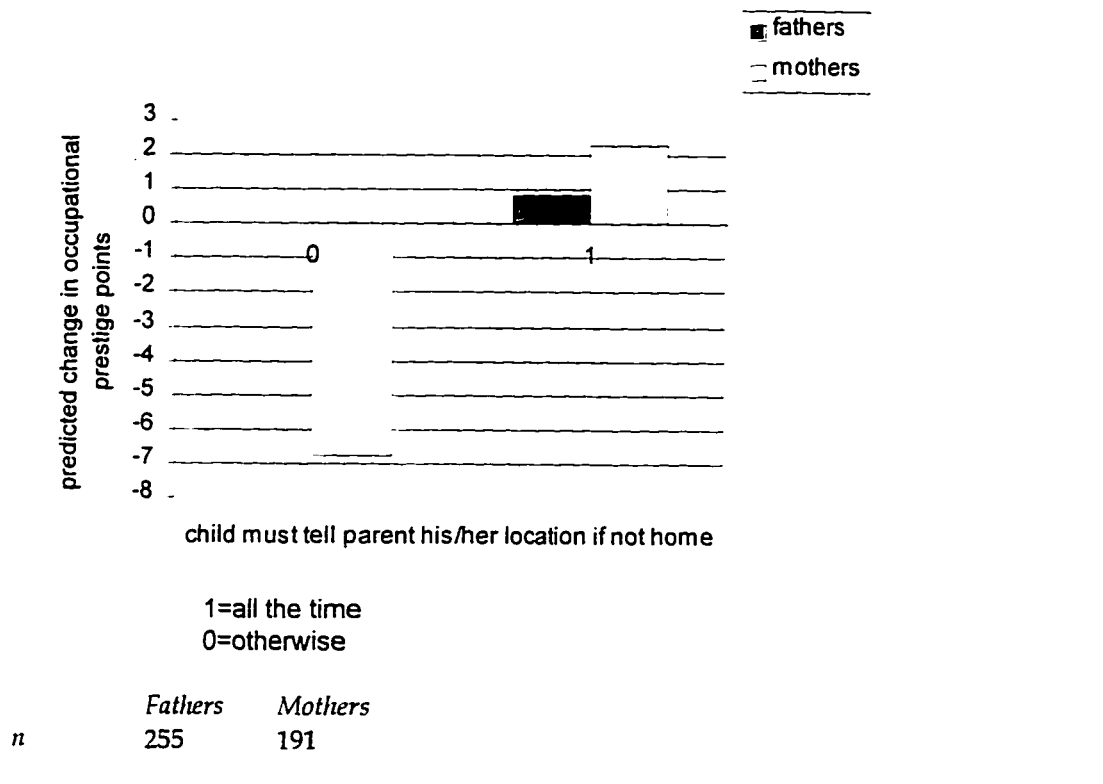


FIGURE 7-10: Location rules and predicted change in occupational prestige, focal child 5-11.

These findings reinforce the importance of parental involvement for mothers' workplace advancement. Mothers who report that their child "sometimes" or "never" must tell her where they are when they're not home experience relatively substantial losses in occupational prestige over time. In contrast, mothers who report that their children must always report their location to her experience gains in occupational prestige. The effect is small and insignificant for fathers but in the same direction, so that fathers who are more restrictive of their children achieve greater occupational

prestige than fathers who are less restrictive. The interaction effect between gender and parental involvement is significant at the .05 level. Although causality cannot be determined, these results provide further support for the notion that mothers must “do” femininity in socially-acceptable ways in order to advance at work.

These results are reproduced for the next indicator of parental involvement, which measures a parent’s restrictions on his or her child’s television viewing. As Figure 7-11 shows, mothers who do not place consistent restrictions on their children’s television viewing experience a loss of prestige. In contrast, mothers who do place some consistent restrictions on either the amount or type of television which their child watches experience a gain in occupational prestige between 1987 and 1994 ($p < .09$).

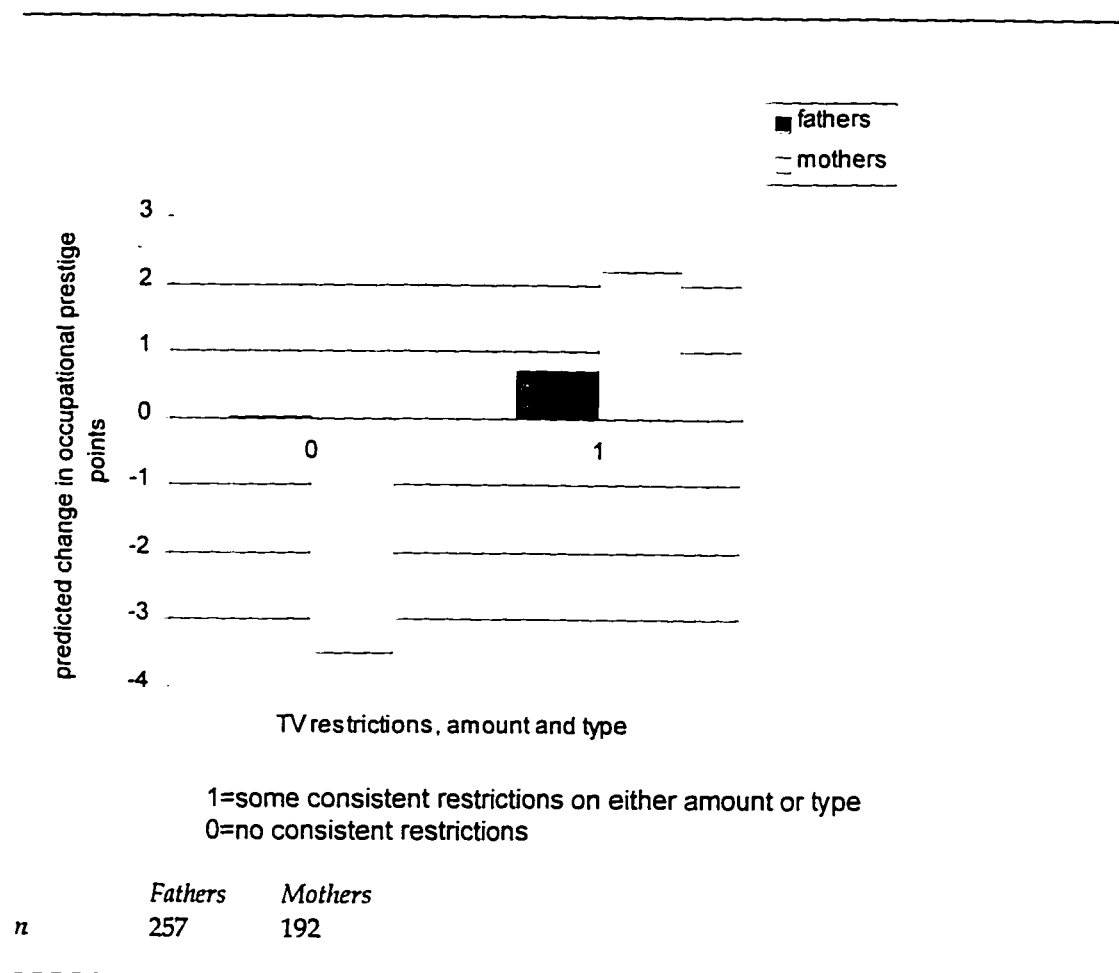


FIGURE 7-11: T.V. restrictions and predicted change in occupational prestige, focal child 5-11.

This effect was only marginally significant for mothers and was not significant for fathers. However, because the patterns were consistent with those in previous and significant findings, they were retained for this discussion.

The final indicator of involvement which was significant in this subsample was a subjective, attitudinal measure of parenting consisting of the parents' response to the statement, "I often wish I could be free from the responsibilities of being a parent." The

effect of this variable was positive and marginally significant for mothers ($p<.08$), and positive but not significant for fathers. Figure 7-12 shows these results.

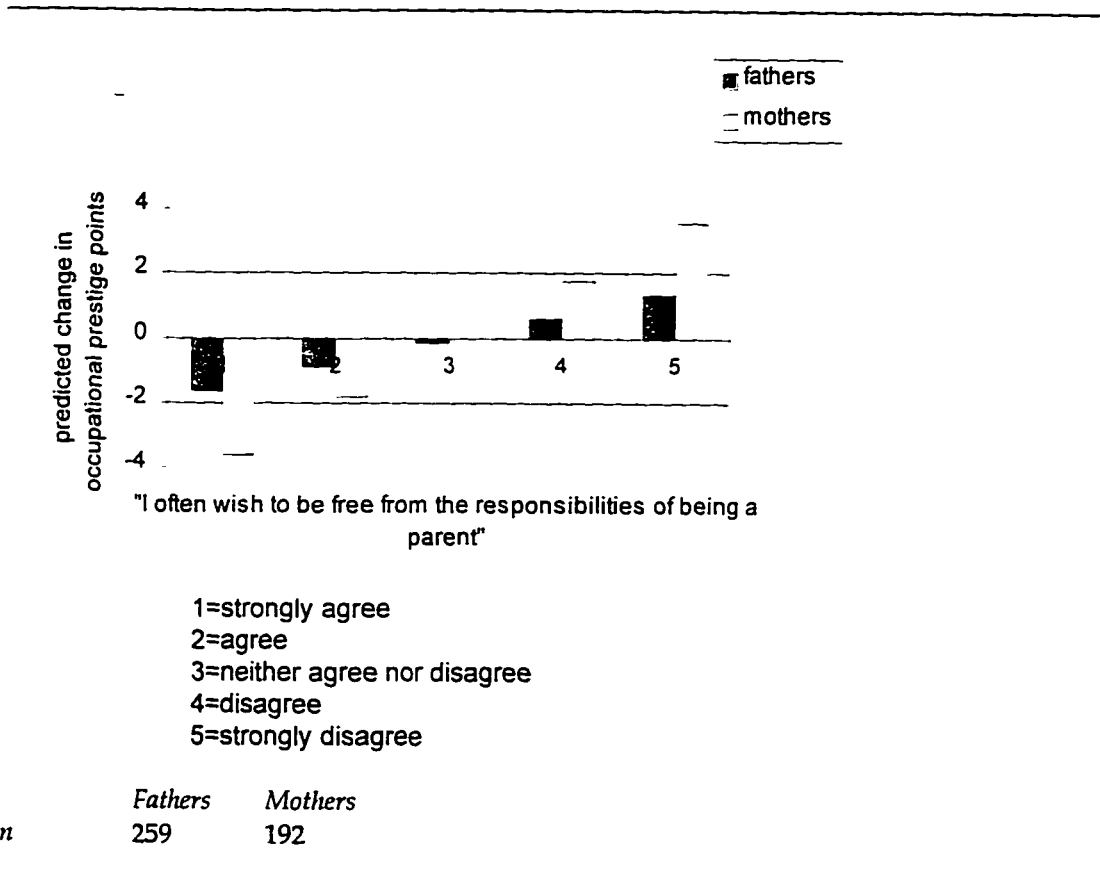


FIGURE 7-12: Feelings about parental responsibilities and predicted change in occupational prestige, focal child 5-11.

As with mothers' reports about the quality of their parent-child relationships for focal children age 0-18 and the proportionate change in earnings (see Figures 7-6 and 7-7), mothers who report that they "strongly agree" or "agree" with the statement about their parental responsibilities (and who are therefore less involved in or appreciative of their parental roles) experience losses in occupational prestige over time. In contrast,

mothers who disagree or strongly disagree with the statement experience gains in prestige. This trend is the same for fathers, though the effect is not significant. As with the findings regarding monetary labor market outcomes, these results suggest that parental involvement, both behaviorally and attitudinally, is important for mothers' (and to some extent fathers') gains in non-monetary rewards.

Focal Child 12-18

A parent's feelings about his or her responsibilities is also important for the subsample focal child age 12-18, though not in the same manner as for the previous subgroup. For these parents, responses to the statement, "I often wish I could be free from the responsibility of being a parent" are positively and significantly related to change in prestige for fathers ($p < .05$), and negatively but not significantly related to change in prestige for mothers. Figure 7-13 documents these results.

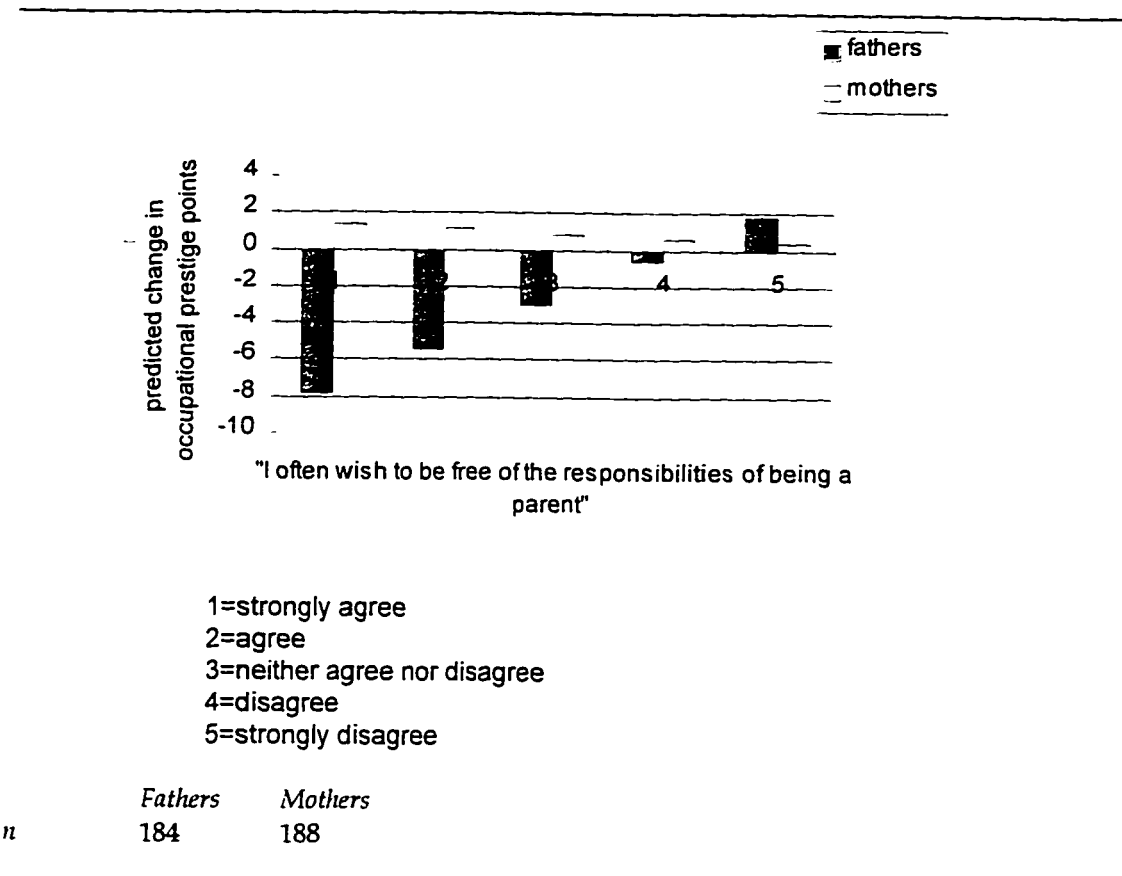


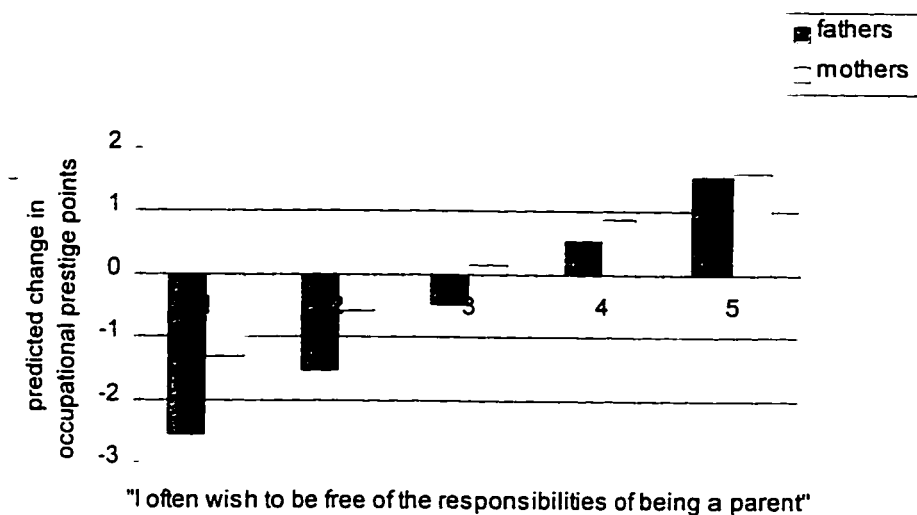
FIGURE 7-13: Feelings about parental responsibilities and predicted change in occupational prestige, focal child 12-18.

As this figure shows, fathers of older children experience a substantial loss in occupational prestige when they are less involved. Fathers who are more involved according to this indicator experience weaker losses in prestige, and it is not until fathers are highly involved that they experience gains in prestige. For this measure, mothers who are highly involved experience fewer gains in prestige compared to mothers who are less involved, though this difference is not significant. The effect of involvement on outcomes is stronger for fathers than it is for mothers ($p < .05$).

These findings, in combination with those from the previous subgroup, suggest that it is more important in terms of workplace rewards for fathers to be involved with their older children than with their younger children. The findings suggest the opposite for mothers, since the gains as a result of parenting were significant for mothers with 5-11 year-olds, but not for mothers with 12-18 year-olds. The patterns in these results imply that mothers and fathers are more likely to be rewarded when their parental involvement is consistent with mainstream cultural expectations. In particular, these patterns are consistent with the expectation that mothers be highly involved with their younger children, and fathers be involved with their older children, compared to children of other ages.

Any/All Child(ren) age 5-18

The same variable is also marginally significant in predicting change in prestige for parents of any child age 5-18. The relationship is similar for fathers, in that fathers who are less involved (in terms of wishing to be free from the responsibilities of parenting) experience losses in prestige, while fathers who are more involved experience gains in prestige ($p < .08$). Although the effect is not significant, the relationship is also positive for mothers. Figure 7-14 illustrates these results.



1=strongly agree
 2=agree
 3=neither agree nor disagree
 4=disagree
 5=strongly disagree

	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>Mothers</i>
<i>n</i>	464	372

FIGURE 7-14: Feelings about parental responsibilities and predicted change in occupational prestige, any/all child(ren) 5-18.

The final indicator of parental involvement for parents of 5-18 year-olds is the number of hours per week which the parent spends in organized youth groups with his or her child. This effect is positive and significant for mothers ($p < .05$), and positive but not significant for fathers. Figure 7-15 shows the results of the regression equation estimation for this variable.

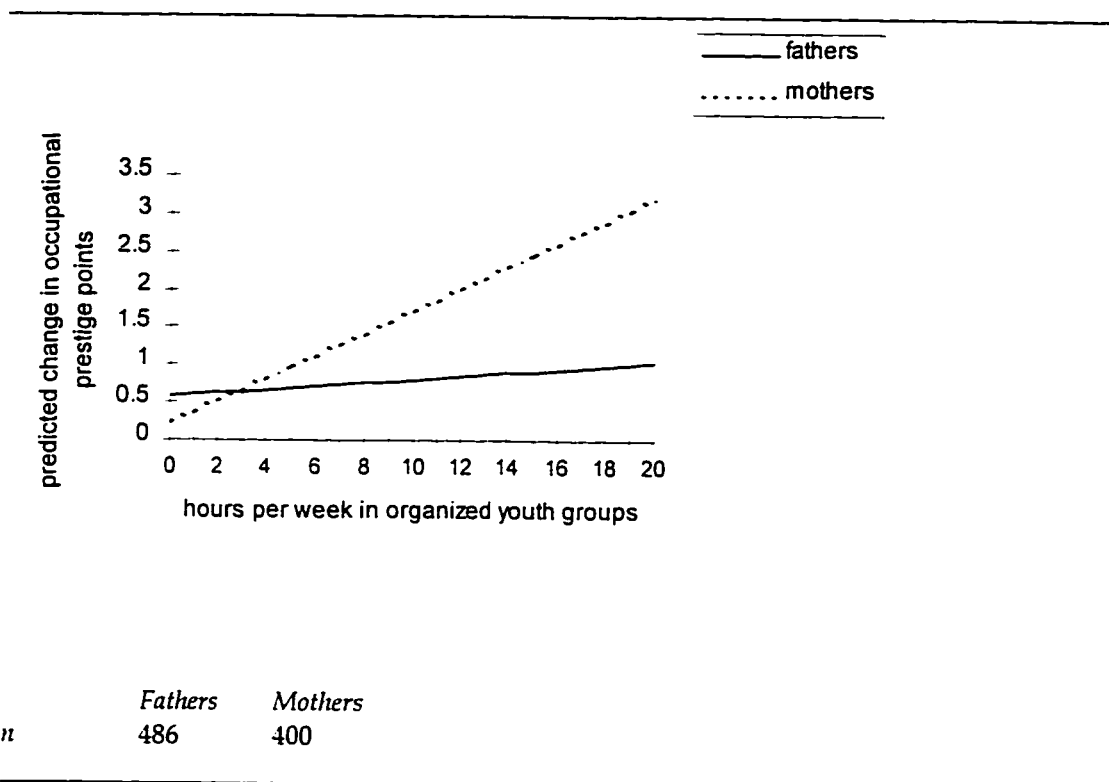


FIGURE 7-15: Hours per week in organized youth group activities and predicted change in occupational prestige.

These findings suggest once again that mothers who are highly involved in parenting will experience greater workplace rewards than mothers who are less involved with their children. In addition, compared to non-involved fathers (those who spend zero hours per week in organized activities with their children), non-involved mothers experience fewer gains in prestige. This suggests that mothers may be held accountable for their parenting activities (as defined by spending time in youth groups), while fathers are not. This finding is consistent with the socialist feminist perspective, which predicts that men will experience greater mobility than women over time, regardless of their level of parental involvement.

Parental Involvement and Earnings at Time 2

Focal Child 0-4

With one exception, the effects of parental involvement on earnings in 1994 follow the same pattern as the effects on the change dependent variables. The exception comes in the first subsample, focal child 0-4, where the number of hours a mother spends physically caring for her child is negatively related to her future earnings ($p < .07$). In contrast, fathers experience slight (non-significant) gains in their earnings when they are more involved with their children. Figure 7-16 shows these results.

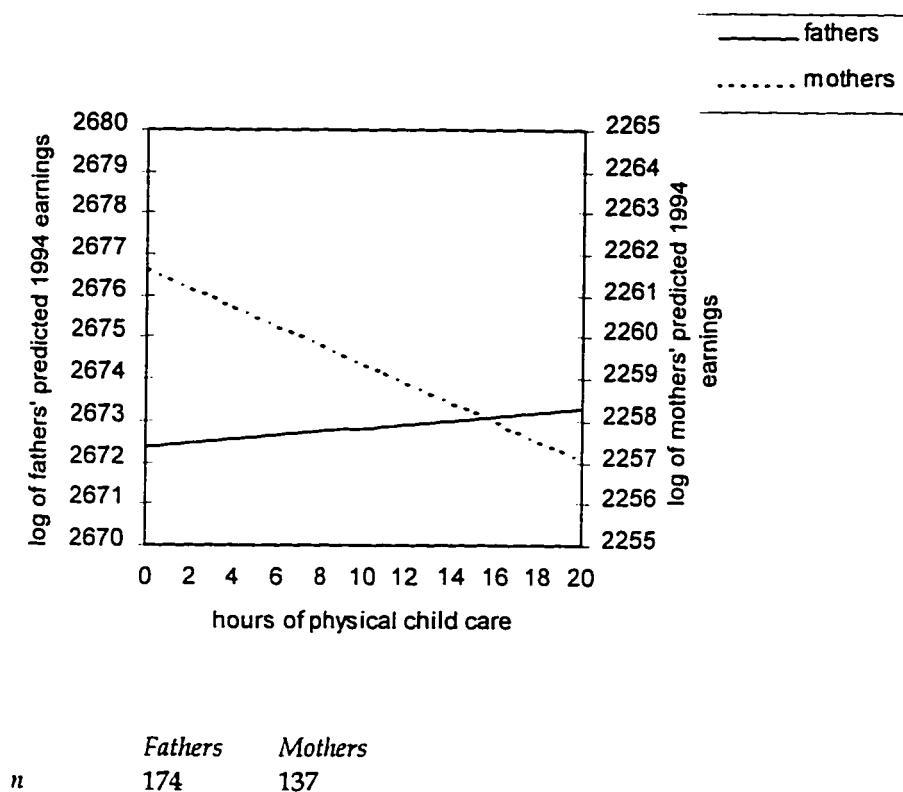
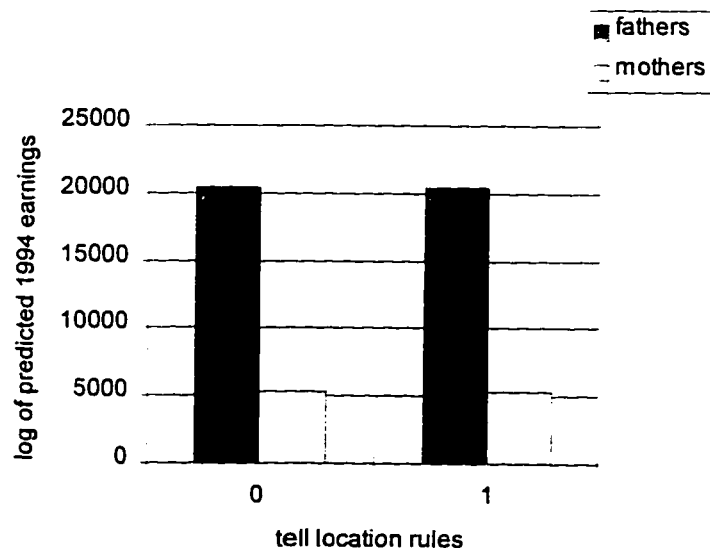


FIGURE 7-16: Hours of physical child care and predicted 1994 earnings, focal child 0-4.

The marginally significant effect for mothers tends to lend credence to the human capital expectation that any parent who spends more time with their children will necessarily spend less time and energy at work. According to these results, the effect of parenting on outcomes is more important for mothers than for fathers ($p < .01$). Although the direction of the relationship is not consistent with the majority of the other findings, this interpretation about the relative importance of parenting for mothers compared to fathers is consistent.

Focal Child 5-11

Two indicators of boundary-setting parental involvement were significant in predicting 1994 earnings for this subsample. These variables, rules regarding whether the child has to tell her or his parents his or her location if not home, and rules regarding whether or not the child has to complete his or her chores before playing, demonstrated effects consistent with the majority of the other study results.



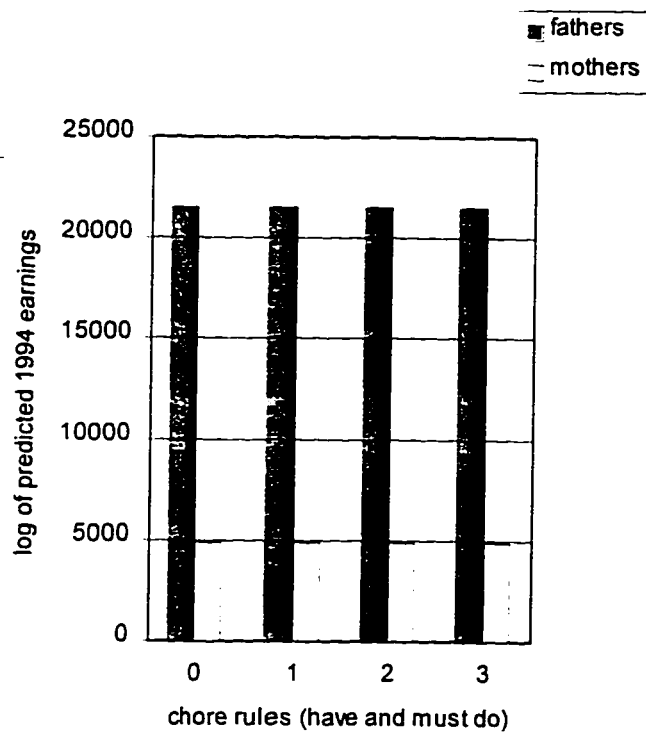
1=child must always tell parent her/his location if not home
0=otherwise

	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>Mothers</i>
<i>n</i>	271	225

FIGURE 7-17: Location rules and predicted 1994 earnings, focal child 5-11.

As Figure 7-17 shows, mothers and fathers who always require their child to tell them her/his location have slightly higher earnings in 1994 compared to parents who

do not impose this requirement. This effect approaches significance for both fathers ($p < .07$) and mothers ($p < .06$). As Figure 7-18 illustrates, the trend is the same for mothers who place greater expectations on their children to complete household chores.



3=has regular chores and must do them before play
 2=has regular chores and sometimes must do them before play
 1=has regular chores, but doesn't need to do them before play
 0=does not have regular chores

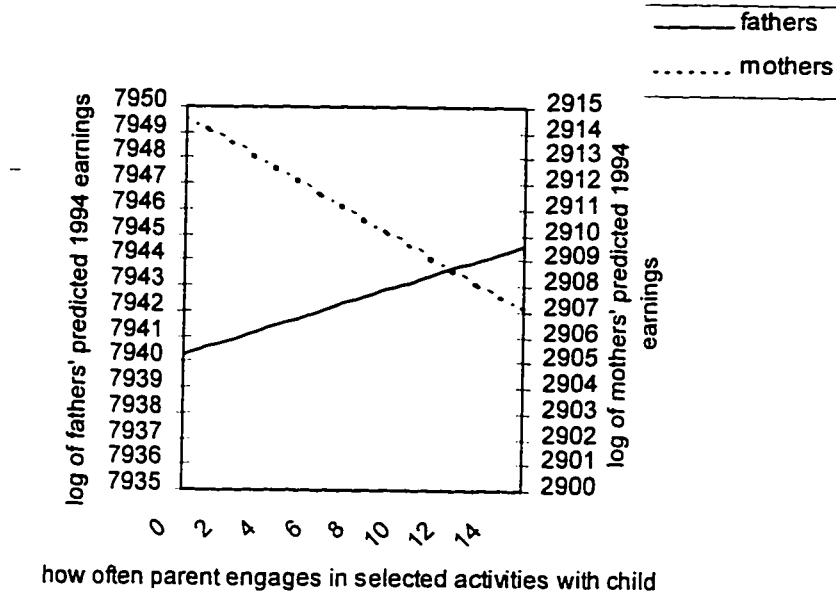
	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>Mothers</i>
<i>n</i>	274	225

FIGURE 7-18: Chore rules and predicted 1994 earnings, focal child 5-11.

The earnings differential between highly involved and less involved mothers is slight but significant ($p < .05$). Although the effect of involvement for fathers is also positive, it is very small and not significant.

Any/All Child(ren) age 0-4

The final indicator of parental involvement that produced a significant change in Time 2 earnings was a composite of how often a parent engaged in selected activities (on an outing, playing, or reading) with his or her child. The results in Figure 7-19 show that fathers who engage in activities with their children to a greater degree are significantly more likely to have higher earnings in 1994 than fathers who are less involved with their children ($p < .01$). In contrast, mothers who are highly involved achieve slightly lower earnings compared to less involved mothers; this effect is somewhat inconsistent with many of the previous findings, but is not significant.



Scale=sum of 3 items, each ranging from 0 (never) to 5 (almost every day)

	Fathers	Mothers
<i>n</i>	93	74

FIGURE 7-19: How often parent engages in selected activities with child and predicted 1994 earnings, any/all child(ren) 0-4.

The fact that the involvement-earnings relationship was positive and significant for fathers lends further support to the findings that when parenting matters for fathers, it is associated with occupational advantages rather than disadvantages. This thesis will be examined in more detail in the following chapter.

Gendered Parenting and Labor Market Outcomes

As noted in Chapter 5, there were some significant gender differences in the distributions of the parental involvement measures. Overall, mothers were much more likely than fathers to be actively involved with their children and to establish boundaries for their behavior. However, the gender differences in parenting were less likely to be significant for rule-setting than for active behavioral involvement. As the multivariate analyses in this chapter reveal, there are also some interesting patterns in the relationships between gender, type of parental involvement, and change in earnings and occupational prestige.

In general, both types of indicators (active behavioral involvement and rule-setting involvement) are related to gains in economic outcomes for mothers and fathers. However, the interaction effects between gender and parental involvement provide evidence of different relationships between type of parenting and mobility for fathers and mothers. In the instances where the relationships between involvement and labor market outcomes are stronger for fathers, 2 out of 3 variables measure active behavioral involvement. In contrast, of the instances where the relationships are stronger for mothers, 1 out of 4 measures active behavioral involvement. These results suggest that for fathers, active parental involvement is more likely to be associated with economic advances over time. In contrast, rule-setting involvement is more likely to be associated with economic advances for mothers. Perhaps it is the act of going against traditional

conceptualizations of gender¹¹ which is most likely to be associated with stronger labor market gains.

This interpretation is not consistent with social constructionist theorists who argue that conforming to mainstream definitions of gender (but not necessarily traditional, conservative conceptualizations of gender) will be associated with rewards. It is, however, somewhat consistent with an interpretation which incorporates aspects of social constructionism/"doing gender" and socialist feminism. According to this merged perspective, men (regardless of their behavior) and women who perform masculine tasks (e.g., establishing rules in the family) would experience greater social rewards than would women who perform feminine tasks.

Summary

This chapter provided a description of the study's multivariate regression results. Running the full models of parental involvement and control variables on each dependent variable resulted in an inconsistent assortment of a few high R^2 , some middle-range R^2 , and many low adjusted R^2 . These findings suggest that other, more structural-level factors predict changes in labor market outcomes better than the micro- and meso-level factors tested in these models.

¹¹ This may especially be true for fathers, since "motherhood" is more likely than "fatherhood" to include both the types of behaviors and rule-setting measured in this study.

Even with the relatively low R^2 , however, the effects of several of the parental involvement indicators were significant in the full models, and there were some meaningful patterns in the relationships that were significant. In the vast majority of significant relationships, the effect of parenting on labor market outcomes was *positive*. This result is not consistent with the human capital perspective on earnings, but can be explained using elements of the socialist feminist and “doing gender” perspectives.

There are some indications that parenting operates differently for mothers and fathers in the workplace. For example, there was only one model in which the effect of parental involvement was significant for both fathers and mothers. In addition, tests of interactions between gender and parental involvement reveal that fathers experience greater advantages from parenting than mothers in some models, while the reverse is true in other cases. While active behavioral involvement and rule-setting involvement are significantly associated with gains earnings and occupational prestige for mothers and fathers, measures of active involvement seem to be more important for fathers than for mothers. These results suggest that fathers who perform traditional “mothering” activities (e.g., physical care of children), may experience greater benefits in the workforce than fathers who do more traditional fathering (e.g., authoritarian rule-setting). This finding corresponds with predictions of socialist feminism and perhaps with a version of “doing gender” in which active parenting has become an accepted symbol of fatherhood and masculinity. More detailed theoretical and empirical interpretations of these findings, as well as implications for future research, are the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions

Introduction

This study was motivated by three major goals: to conceptually and empirically define “parental involvement” in child rearing, to examine the relationship between parental involvement and changes in workplace outcomes over time, and to assess the relative effectiveness of three different theoretical perspectives in explaining this relationship.

This project is fundamentally about the gendered consequences of mainstream culture’s definitions of mothering and fathering as they relate to family and paid work. As the previous chapters have shown, social institutions and sociological theory have co-evolved with beliefs about women’s and men’s capabilities and responsibilities. The association of motherhood with child care and fatherhood with economic providership set the stage for considerable work–family conflict as women entered the labor force. As the contemporary definition of fatherhood has expanded to include emotional and behavioral involvement with, and responsibility for, children, working fathers have also begun to experience greater degrees of work–family conflict. These changes have challenged traditional definitions of motherhood and fatherhood within social institutions and sociological theory.

To date, research has not adequately addressed how highly involved fathers fare in the workplace. In fact, because “highly involved fathers” are a relatively recent

phenomenon in the U.S., most researchers do not have a clear theoretical or empirical definition of this concept. This study addresses this gap in the social science literature by conceptualizing involved fatherhood, examining the relationship between labor market mobility and involved parenting for mothers and fathers, and discussing the implications of these findings for sociological theory and research.

Major Findings

One goal of this project was to conceptually and empirically define involved fatherhood. In Chapter 4, I argue that parental involvement (and paternal involvement in particular) incorporates three conceptual dimensions: behaviors, emotions, and attitudes or ideology. To be an “involved” father, a man must actively engage in shared activities with his child(ren) on a daily basis, establish boundaries for his child(ren)’s behaviors, take responsibility for ensuring that their needs are met, love his child(ren), and believe that it is appropriate that he have these parental responsibilities.

I was unable to adequately operationalize emotional involvement, attitudinal involvement, and parental responsibility using NSFH-1 data. However, I developed several different, age-appropriate measures of active behavioral interaction and rule-setting involvement. As the descriptive statistics in Chapter 5 show, mothers are significantly more involved than fathers in terms of active behavioral involvement. Mothers and fathers are more equally involved in terms of boundary-setting involvement.

A second goal of this study was to examine the relationship between parental involvement and labor market mobility. The multivariate regression analyses described in Chapter 7 reveal that parental involvement is significantly and positively related to labor market mobility for both mothers and fathers. In roughly half of the full-model multivariate regression analyses, higher levels of parental involvement are associated with greater gains in earnings and prestige between 1987 and 1994; this relationship remains after statistically controlling for the effects of potentially confounding variables. The results are similar for fathers and mothers, and for indicators of both active behavioral interaction and boundary-setting involvement.

There are some gender differences in the relationship between parental involvement and mobility. For example, while there are a number of models for both genders in which low levels of parental involvement are associated with losses in earnings or prestige, there are twice as many such models for mothers as for fathers. In contrast, other findings suggest that level of parenting may be more important than whether the parenting is done by a mother or a father. For example, in some models, the relationship is stronger for fathers than for mothers; this is particularly the case for indicators of active behavioral involvement. In other instances, however, the relationship is stronger for mothers than for fathers. These instances are equally frequent, and thus may be seen as balancing each other out for the same overall effect.

The third goal of this study was to assess the relative effectiveness of human capital, socialist feminist, and social constructionist theories in predicting the relationship between parental involvement and labor market mobility. The results of

this study are not consistent with predictions based on human capital theory, in that mothers and fathers are not forfeiting career advancement when they are highly involved in the care of their children.

The results are more consistent with aspects of socialist feminist and social constructionist theories, and are best explained by a fusion of these perspectives. Fathers consistently experience gains in their earnings and prestige over time, even as involved parents. This finding raises the possibility that men benefit from the existing system to such an extent that conceptualizations of masculinity and fatherhood have adjusted to accept the behavioral expectations of the "modern, involved father." In addition, social class is important in the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes in that more-highly educated parents receive greater advantages from their parenting than do less educated parents. These findings lend credence to socialist feminist predictions about the salience of maleness and higher social class in achieving labor market advances.

There are also findings which lend credence to the "doing gender" perspective. As with fathers, greater levels of parental involvement are also associated with greater gains in earnings and prestige for mothers. However, non-involvement is associated with losses in earnings and prestige for mothers; this pattern is much less evident for fathers. These findings suggest that mothers in particular may experience advantages when they conform to mainstream expectations of motherhood, and experience disadvantages when they do not.

There are several meaningful gender differences in the multivariate regression models; these differences and their implications for social theory are discussed in detail in this chapter. However, the broader similarities in mothers' and fathers' experiences may outweigh the differences. The finding that mothers' and fathers' parental involvement is consistently and significantly associated with gains in earnings and prestige seems counterintuitive, particularly given some theoretical predictions and normative expectations about the work-family interface. Critics may resist these results and will attempt to discount them by offering alternative interpretations or methodological critiques. I will address some of these alternative explanations before I turn to a more detailed discussion and interpretation of my results.

Alternate Explanations

Critics of this study might argue that the results can be explained by phenomena other than a positive relationship between involved parenting and labor market outcomes. Three of these alternate explanations are based on the age-earnings profile, the superproducer argument, and the effect of overreporting biases. Each of these alternatives will be discussed in detail below.

The Age-Earnings Profile

According to previous stratification research, the age-earnings profile documents a consistent relationship between an individual's age and his or her earnings. Although the patterns differ by gender, education, and other factors, an individual's earnings typically increase until a certain age (usually between 35 and 50), after which they

plateau and then begin to decrease (Blau and Ferber 1992). Given this relationship and the association between parents' age and children's age (where parents of young children tend to be younger and have more opportunities for involvement than parents of older children), critics might argue that this study is tracking workers' progress through their careers rather than documenting any genuine relationship between parenting and earnings.

The bivariate analyses discussed in Chapter 6 provide some support for this argument. As Tables 6-5 through 6-11 show, a parent's age is significantly related to his or her level of parental involvement. Age and involvement were significantly and negatively related in 6 out of 26 (23%) of the instances for fathers, and in 7 out of 26 (27%) of the instances for mothers. Only 2 out of 26 (8%) of the relationships were positive and significant for fathers; the rest of the associations were not significant. These results show that younger parents are often more highly involved with their children than older parents.

In addition, the analyses in Chapter 6 (Tables 6-12 through 6-15) show that age is often significantly related to mobility, especially for fathers. Age is significantly and negatively related to mobility for fathers in 13 out of 28 (46%) of the relationships. In contrast, age and outcomes are significantly related in only 3 out of 28 (11%) of the instances for mothers, and these relationships are always positive. These results suggest that younger fathers do experience greater labor market mobility, as human capital notions of the relationships between age and earnings would predict. Younger mothers, however, experience less labor market mobility; this may be a reflection of the

likelihood that mothers of young children are more likely than mothers of older children to work part-time or stop working for pay in order to care for their children.

Although the bivariate analyses provide limited support for the argument that this study is primarily tracking parents' labor market progression as they age, the multivariate analyses do not because they statistically control for age. After statistically controlling for the relationship between age and labor market outcomes, the relationship between parental involvement and labor market mobility persists. As the figures in Chapter 7 show, parental involvement is significantly associated with gains in earnings and prestige over time, holding constant the effect of respondent's age. In addition, the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes is strong and positive in most of the subsamples, regardless of the age of the child (e.g., focal child age 0-4 or focal child age 12-18). If parent's age were driving this relationship, one would expect significant associations in subsamples with younger children, but probably not in subsamples with older children. Thus, the multivariate regression results suggest that the relationship between parental involvement and labor market mobility is not fully explained by the age-earnings profile argument.

Superproducers

Another possible alternate explanation for this study's results is the superproducer argument. Proponents of the superproducer thesis might argue that highly involved parents do better than less involved parents in the labor market over time because they are the type of people who put a large amount of time and energy into everything they do (including parenting, paid work, social events, and all other

aspects of their lives). As a result of this underlying trait, the superproducers are more successful in the labor market over time. These “go-getters” are highly motivated and high achievers, who perhaps will never “burn out” (as I suggest parents might) because that is simply who they are. This argument is inconsistent with some theorists (e.g., human capital theorists) who posit that parents make a trade-off between paid work, family work, and other activities. Rather than a trade-off, the superproducer argument suggests that some people just do it all.

There is no variable which measures “go-gettiveness” in the NSFH. However, it is possible to measure behavioral superproductivity by constructing an indicator of the amount of time an individual spends doing a variety of activities, including housework, paid work, social activities with friends and co-workers, hobbies and organizational activities, and giving different types of help to others. If the superproducer argument is correct, parental involvement should be positively and significantly related to time spent in other activities, and both should be positively related to labor market outcomes. In addition, given homogamy in intimate relationships, spouses/partners of superproducers should be superproducers themselves.

In order to attempt a very basic test of the superproducer thesis, I constructed an indicator of the amount of time which the main respondent spent in activities other than parenting. This variable is the sum of 5 items which measure the time spent doing housework, paid work, social activities with friends, organizational activities, and providing help for people not living in their household. A similar variable indicates the amount of time which the main respondent’s spouse/partner spent doing housework,

paid work, and parenting work. Both of these indicators are based solely on self-reported activities done in 1987 (from the NSFH-1). What follows is a brief description of the bivariate regression analyses used to examine the relationships between parenting, involvement in other activities, and labor market outcomes. Note that bivariate relationships can only provide circumstantial evidence about the questions at hand.

The data reveal a mixture of conflicting and supporting evidence for the superproducer argument. In these analyses, the relationships between indicators of parental involvement and the constructed indicator of involvement in other activities are not consistently significant and positive across all subgroups. As Table 8-1 shows, some of the relationships are positive, some are negative, and many are not significant at all.

Table 8-1: Summary of bivariate regression results: percent of significant relationships between any indicator of parental involvement and any indicator of time spent in other activities, by subsample and gender.

	<i>fathers</i>		<i>mothers</i>	
	<i>% positive</i>	<i>% negative</i>	<i>% positive</i>	<i>% negative</i>
<i>focal child 0-4</i>	0.0	8.3	0.0	25.0
<i>focal child 3-4</i>	5.6	0.0	11.1	0.0
<i>focal child 5-11</i>	30.0	3.3	20.0	0.0
<i>focal child 12-18</i>	11.1	5.6	11.1	11.1
<i>focal child 0-18</i>	25.0	4.2	12.5	0.0
<i>any/all child(ren) 0-4</i>	25.0	0.0	16.7	0.0
<i>any/all child(ren) 5-18</i>	37.5	12.5	54.2	8.3
<i>average</i>	22.4	6.8	20.9	14.8

On average, 76% of the relationships between indicators of parental involvement and involvement in other activities were not significant for fathers. Seventy-one percent of the relationships were not significant for mothers. Where the relationships were significant, 22.4% were positive for fathers, and 6.8% were negative. For mothers, 20.9% of the significant relationships were positive, and 14.8% were negative. Although the evidence is not overwhelmingly supportive of the superproducer argument, an average of 20% of the relationships were significant and positive, suggesting that highly involved parents are also likely to be highly involved in other activities. However, there is also a relatively large proportion of relationships in which highly involved parents are significantly *less* likely to be highly involved in other activities as well. In addition, the majority of the relationships between parental involvement and involvement in other activities were not significant. These results do not lend strong support to the superproducer thesis. If the thesis were correct, one would expect a much larger percentage of positive and significant relationships in the above analyses.

The relationships between respondents' activities and spouse/partners' activities are more consistent with the predictions based on the superproducer argument. The bivariate analyses reveal that these relationships are positive when they are significant. Table 8-2 summarizes these results.

Table 8-2: Summary of bivariate regression results between composite indicator of respondent's time spent in other activities and composite indicator of spouse/partner's involvement in other activities, by subsample and gender.

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>
-	<i>X=significant and positive</i>	<i>X=significant and positive</i>
<i>focal child 0-4</i>	X	n.s.
<i>focal child 3-4</i>	X	n.s.
<i>focal child 5-11</i>	n.s.	X
<i>focal child 12-18</i>	n.s.	X
<i>focal child 0-18</i>	X	X
<i>any/all child(ren) 0-4</i>	X	n.s.
<i>any/all child(ren) 5-18</i>	X	X

In 5 out of 7 subsamples for fathers and 4 out of 7 subsamples for mothers, respondent's and spouse/partner's time spent in other activities are positively and significantly related. These results provide evidence that highly active people do tend to be partnered with other highly active people. In and of itself, of course, this analysis simply confirms the importance of homogamy. Nevertheless, this is one (albeit weak) prediction of the superproducer argument which is substantiated in these data.

The final circumstantial test of this argument assesses the prediction that superproducers will be successful in the labor market. If the superproducer argument is substantiated, parents who spend a great deal of time in other activities (including housework, paid work, social activities, and helping others) should experience gains in earnings and prestige over time. Table 8-3 summarizes the results of bivariate regression analyses between the dependent variables in this study and the composite indicator of time spent in other activities.

Table 8-3: Summary of bivariate regression results between the composite indicator of respondent's time spent in other activities and indicators of labor market mobility, by subsample and gender.

	<i>fathers</i>				<i>mothers</i>			
	<i>ediff*</i>	<i>eprop</i>	<i>prdiff</i>	<i>t2earn</i>	<i>ediff</i>	<i>eprop</i>	<i>prdiff</i>	<i>t2earn</i>
<i>fc 0-4</i>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	+
<i>fc 3-4</i>	n.s.	n.s.	-	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
<i>fc 5-11</i>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	+	n.s.	-	n.s.	+
<i>fc 12-18</i>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-	n.s.	+
<i>fc 0-18</i>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	+	-	-	+	+
<i>ac 0-4</i>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-	n.s.	+
<i>ac 5-18</i>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	+	-	-	n.s.	+

**ediff*: change in earnings; *eprop*: change in earnings as a proportion of Time 1 earnings; *prdiff*: change in occupational prestige; *t2earn*: 1994 (Time 2) earnings

As this table shows, time in other activities is only occasionally positively related to fathers' earnings in 1994. There are many more significant relationships for mothers, though half of the significant relationships are positive and half are negative. These findings suggest that whether a father spends a great deal of time in other activities is not significantly associated with changes in his earnings and prestige over time. In contrast, mothers who are highly involved in other activities tend to experience either increases or decreases in earnings an equal number of times. These results suggest that there is no substantial pattern in the relationship between involvement in other activities and labor market mobility. What the results do show is that the patterns in associations differ by gender. These findings do not yield support for the superproducer thesis. In fact, they work against the thesis by showing a lack of

consistent, positive associations between high levels of activity and gains in earnings and prestige.

In summary, the results of bivariate regression analyses between indicators of parental involvement, indicators of time spent in other activities, and indicators of labor market outcomes provide only minimal support for the superproducer argument. The most supportive circumstantial evidence for this thesis is that highly active respondents tend to be partnered with highly active others; this is strong documentation of homogamy, but only weak evidence of "superproduction." In some instances, highly involved parents are also highly involved in other activities (such as helping others and participating in leisure organizations). However, there are also many instances where highly involved parents are less involved in these other activities; this is especially the case for mothers. Finally, the bivariate analyses of the relationships between time spent in other activities and labor market mobility are somewhat inconsistent in that some indicators of mobility are negatively related to time spent in other activities, while other indicators are positively related to this variable.

Although these analyses do document a moderate degree of "superproduction,"¹² the relationships are not systematically and overwhelmingly supportive of this thesis. In addition, the multivariate regression results show that a much more complicated relationship exists between the variables of interest. Even after

¹² This suggests that the superproducer argument should be studied in future projects, assuming that researchers can decide how to measure "go-gettiveness."

statistically controlling for respondent's hours in paid work, time spent in other activities, and spouse/partner's activities, the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes remains significant and positive. The results from the bivariate and multivariate regressions reveal that, although some highly involved parents may also be highly involved in other activities and partnered with very active people, their level of parental involvement is still significantly associated with changes in their earnings and prestige above and beyond the effects of these additional variables.

Overreporting Bias

One final concern which may affect the validity of this study's results is the possibility of an overreporting bias. A critic might argue that fathers or mothers may systematically overreport (or underreport) their level of involvement, and if this is the case, this study's findings would be suspect. For example, if fathers overreport their parental involvement, men who do well in the labor market and who are also highly involved may actually be misrepresenting their level of involvement.

Although there is no way to tell if a respondent misrepresented him- or herself in the survey, some simple tests are relevant to this issue. In a very basic sense, if fathers are overreporting their levels of parental involvement, they are not doing an exceptional job of making themselves look good. This is especially the case for indicators of active behavioral involvement. As the figures in Chapter 5 show, fathers are consistently and significantly less involved than are mothers.

A more compelling examination of the possibility of overreporting bias involves correlational analyses between respondents' self-reports and their spouse/partners' reports of the respondents' behavior. Presumably, a high correlation between these two types of variables would indicate that fathers and mothers agree about how much housework or parenting the other actually performs. In order to generate these tests, I ran correlations between the respondent's report of his or her own hours of housework and his/her spouse/partner's reports of the respondent's hours of housework. In addition, I ran correlations between the respondent's report of the spouse/partner's hours of housework and the spouse/partner's reports of his/her own hours of housework.¹³ The results of these analyses are shown in Tables 8-4 and 8-5.

¹³ It is important to note that these analyses could only be run on respondent's and spouse/partner's reports of hours of housework, as these were the only items which were asked of both the main respondent and her/his spouse about her/himself and her/his partner. This is not problematic, however, because there is a consistent, positive relationship between housework and child care (e.g., Thornton et al 1983).

Table 8-4: Results of correlations analyses between main R's self-reported housework hours (e.g., rhrcook) and spouse/partner's reports of main R's housework hours (e.g., spspcook), by subsample and gender.

	focal child 0-4		focal child 3-4		focal child 5-11		focal child 12-18	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
cooking	.39****	.50****	.52****	.49****	.44****	.34****	.35****	.41****
dishes	.24****	.30****	.25*	.40****	.22***	.19***	.21**	.16*
housecleaning	.18**	.48****	.31**	.39****	.30****	.34****	.19*	.44****
laundry	.49****	.35****	.59****	.12	.41****	.53****	.30****	.19**
shopping	.29****	.31****	.30**	.46****	.36****	.22***	.24**	.37****
outside tasks	.33****	.43****	.50****	.56****	.30****	.25***	.20**	.46****
paying bills	.20***	.14*	.45****	.09	.25****	.42****	.16*	.24***
auto maintenance	.32****	.70****	.22*	.00	.44****	.07	.01	.12
driving	.34****	.40****	.49****	.29**	.12^	.48****	.13^	.33****

continued

^p<.10

*p<.05

**p<.01

***p<.001

****p<.0001

Table 8-4, con't.: Results of correlations analyses between main R's self-reported housework hours (e.g., rhrcook) and spouse/partner's reports of main R's housework hours (e.g., spspscook), by subsample and gender.

	focal child 0-18		any child 0-4		any child 5-18	
	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>
<i>cooking</i>	.38****	.43****	.35****	.47****	.39****	.41****
<i>dishes</i>	.18****	.24****	.26***	.19**	.18****	.26****
<i>housecleaning</i>	.21****	.43****	.22**	.39****	.23****	.45****
<i>laundry</i>	.44****	.37****	.54****	.45****	.39****	.36****
<i>shopping</i>	.30****	.27****	.32****	.37****	.30****	.25****
<i>outside tasks</i>	.28****	.41****	.34****	.49****	.24****	.36****
<i>paying bills</i>	.16****	.29****	.17*	.11^	.21****	.33****
<i>auto maintenance</i>	.25****	.47****	.33****	.72****	.25****	.06
<i>driving</i>	.23****	.43****	.57****	.39****	.11*	.43****

^ $p < .10$

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

**** $p < .0001$

Table 8-5: Results of correlations analyses between main respondent's report of spouse/partner's total hours of housework (t1sphwk) and spouse/partner's report of his/her own total hours of housework (srhwk2), by subsample and gender.

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>
<i>focal child 0-4</i>	.30****	.40****
<i>focal child 3-4</i>	.26**	.34****
<i>focal child 5-11</i>	.20***	.37****
<i>focal child 12-18</i>	.21***	.32****
<i>focal child 0-18</i>	.23****	.37****
<i>any/all child(ren) 0-4</i>	.34****	.32****
<i>any/all child(ren) 5-18</i>	.20****	.38****

[^] $p < .10$

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

**** $p < .0001$

As these tables show, respondent's and spouse/partner's reports of each other's housework hours are significantly and positively correlated. Although the correlations which result when the father is the main respondent are slightly lower than those which result when the mother is the main respondent, both sets of correlations are quite high for individual-level data. Because of the high level of agreement between spouse's and partner's reports, these findings suggest that there is no systematic bias in respondents' reports of their behavior.

As Table 8-4 shows, however, there are some instances in which the correlations between father's and spouse's reports are much higher or lower than the correlations between mother's and spouse's reports. There are patterns in these differences, in that the correlations tend to be most dissimilar for a few specific variables: housecleaning,

auto maintenance, and driving. Mother's and spouse's reports are consistently better correlated than father's and spouse's reports for housecleaning and auto maintenance, but not for driving (where neither set of reports is consistently better correlated). In addition, the majority of correlations which do not reach statistical significance are for reports of auto maintenance. These dissimilar levels are limited to a minority of the correlations, and become less salient when the individual housework items are summed to create a scale of total housework hours. Therefore, it is unlikely that there is any substantial pattern in over- or under-reporting of housework hours based on respondent's sex.

A review of the univariate statistics for these variables (not shown) reveals that the main respondent's report is consistently higher than is the spouse/ partner's report, regardless of the main respondent's gender. This indicates that individuals tend to report that they do more housework than their spouse/partners think they do. It is not problematic, however, because this reporting pattern is consistent and therefore should not affect the overall patterns in relationships.

These analyses suggest that men and women tend to agree on how much housework their partner is doing, that men and women both tend to report that they are doing more than their partner thinks they are doing, and that the correlations tend to be most disparate in highly gender-typed activities. In reports of housecleaning and auto maintenance, couples tend to have a better idea of (or typically agree more about) what the mother is doing than what the father is doing. This is probably a result of the explicit association of women and housework in our society; because women are

expected to do the housework, both women and men may be more aware of women's housework hours. In general, however, because the correlations are similar for all fathers (compared to other fathers) and for mothers (compared to other mothers), it is reasonable to conclude that if the respondents are misrepresenting themselves, they are doing so to the same extent.

In summary, there are several possible alternate explanations for the positive relationships found in this study between parental involvement and labor market outcomes. Three of the strongest alternatives are based on the age-earnings profile, the superproducer argument, and the possibility of an overreporting bias. A basic examination of these alternatives in the NSFH data did not produce evidence which was overwhelmingly consistent with any of these explanations. Bivariate regression analyses revealed very little support for the age-earnings profile and overreporting bias arguments, and only moderate, inconsistent support for the superproducer thesis.

The Price or Prize of Parenting: The Effect of Parental Involvement on Labor Market Mobility

Readers should now be more secure in the knowledge that the positive relationship between involved parenting and mobility is authentic, and not simply a spurious association stemming from labor market patterns, underlying psychological factors, or measurement biases. Based on these assurances of the overall legitimacy of the findings, I will now present a more detailed discussion and examination of my

results. I begin with a summary of my findings regarding what it means to be an “involved father,” both in a conceptual and an empirical sense. I then turn to a discussion of the patterns in the bivariate and multivariate analyses, many of which do not show a significant association between parental involvement and labor market mobility. The most detailed discussion in this section is an examination and theoretical interpretation of the models in which there is a significant relationship between parenting and mobility.

“Involved Fatherhood”

Much of the writing on fathers has focused on men’s role as the protector and economic provider for their family. However, current literature about the history of fatherhood and the evolving definitions of masculinity has acknowledged that, as with mothering, fathering involves a complex fusion of attitudes, emotions, and behaviors that may challenge traditional conceptualizations of gender (Cohen 1993). In Chapter 4 I show that behaviors, emotions, and attitudes are all essential components of a complete conceptual definition of fatherhood. In order for a father to be “involved,” he must actively and regularly engage in activities with his children, take responsibility for their well-being and daily physical needs, love his children, and believe that he should be an active and responsible actor in their lives. Once cultural beliefs and social institutions adapt to the idea that fathering involves all of these essential human capabilities, fathers will hopefully be freer to express these behaviors and emotions without fear of reprisal. In turn, as involved fatherhood becomes more acceptable,

mothers will hopefully experience lesser child care burdens and find that new opportunities are open to them in the workplace.

Conceptualizing parental involvement is one thing, but empirically measuring it is quite another. Chapter 5 documents my attempt to operationalize parental involvement using the National Survey of Families and Households. Although this is a well-respected and widely-used source of data, it does not offer many indicators of the emotional or ideological dimensions of parental involvement, or of the responsibility component of behavioral involvement. Therefore, I decided to concentrate on the behavioral dimension of parental involvement, and particularly on behavioral interaction. I constructed twenty indicators of involvement; five variables measured active behavioral involvement, such as hours per week spent in organized youth group activities. Eleven variables measured boundary-setting involvement, such as whether the parent requires the child to complete his or her chores before s/he can play. Four variables measured the parent's subjective evaluation of his or her parenting roles; these were indicated by the parent's responses to questions about the quality of his or her relationship with the child and how often they had had an "especially enjoyable time" together in the past month.

The frequency distributions of these measures reveal that mothers are still consistently more involved in their children's care, even with the apparent rise in mainstream cultural acceptance of the "new involved father." The figures in Chapter 5 show that mothers are significantly more involved than fathers, particularly in types of active behavioral interaction. These gender differences are statistically significant for 11

out of 26 of the measures. In contrast, fathers are significantly more involved than mothers for 6 out of 26 of the variables; none of these variables indicated active behavioral involvement. Although the distributions of mothers' and fathers' responses on many indicators are similar, more fathers are located on the low end of a continuum of involvement, and more mothers are on the high end of this continuum. Fathers' mean level of involvement was slightly higher for some measures of rule-setting, but mothers' mean level of involvement was consistently and significantly higher than fathers' for most other indicators.

Compared to research which documents fathers' considerable lack of involvement in child care during the major part of this century (LaRossa and LaRossa 1989), the findings in Chapter 5 offer limited support for the contention that there has been a rise in paternal involvement (Coltrane 1996, Barnett and Rivers 1996 – but perhaps not to the degree which these authors claim). Barnett and Rivers cite studies which report that both fathers and mothers are increasingly willing to trade raises and fast-track careers for more time with their children (1996: 92). They also argue that both mothers and fathers are highly involved in child care, and that both parents do a "second shift." These and other authors conclude that the rising need for multiple earners in families, women's increasing economic power relative to men, and an increased ideological acceptance of men as involved fathers will reinforce the trend for fathers to invest more time and energy in their families (see also Coltrane 1996).

While these forces certainly exist and may have the predicted effects, the data in this study do not provide evidence of remarkable improvements in fathers' parental

involvement, either in 1987 (the first wave of the NSFH), or in 1994 (the second wave of the NSFH). As mentioned above, mothers were significantly more involved in their children's care than fathers in 1987. It is possible that fathers' behavior has changed radically since 1987; Barnett and Rivers (1996) report that the number of fathers who say they would consider trading career advancement for a better home life *doubled* in the five-year span between 1988 and 1993. Basic descriptives of indicators of parental involvement from the second wave of the NSFH (shown in Appendix C) do reveal that fathers have assumed a slightly greater (though not significantly greater) proportion of the child care duties compared to their parental involvement a few years earlier. However, mothers are still more likely than fathers to be very highly involved in their children's care in 1994 ($p < .001$).¹⁴ Thus, this study lends more support to LaRossa's (1992) contention that there is an "asynchrony" between the culture of fatherhood and the conduct of fatherhood; that cultural expectations and attitudes about men's parenting behaviors have changed faster than their actual behaviors. These inconsistencies in parenting research underscore the need for more adequate operationalization of parental involvement in future studies, in order to examine how paternal involvement has actually changed relative to ideology about fathering.

¹⁴ Another interesting difference between parenting in 1987 and 1994 is that both mothers' and fathers' mean levels of parental involvement have *decreased* significantly during that time span ($p < .01$). This is true for parents of 0-4 year-olds in 1994 (who may not have been parents in 1987), and also for parents of 3-18 year-olds in 1994 (who include the parents in my study).

Parents as Bottomless Pits—What Gives?

Chapters 6 and 7 report the results of bivariate and multivariate regressions of active behavioral and rule-setting indicators of parental involvement on changes in earnings and occupational prestige. For each of the seven subsamples (e.g., focal child 0-4, any child 5-18), indicators of active behavioral interaction and rule-setting involvement were both significantly related to the dependent variables. The indicators of active behavioral involvement were slightly more likely to have consistently strong effects on labor market mobility than the other types of indicators. These findings suggest that people who study the tangible labor market effects of parenting should consider using primarily measures of active behavioral involvement, as opposed to measures of boundary-setting involvement. It is important to keep in mind, however, that this study did not measure or assess the effects of emotional or ideological involvement, or the responsibility component of behavioral involvement. Previous studies suggest that responsibility for childrearing is a particularly central aspect of parenting (Lamb et al, 1987); as such, it may also prove to have important effects on labor market outcomes. Future research should construct reliable measures of behavioral responsibility as well as emotional and ideological involvement, and examine the various effects of these aspects of parenting on labor market and other outcomes.

I then assessed the bivariate and multivariate relationships between parental involvement, workplace outcomes, and a series of sociodemographic, workplace, attitude, family, spouse/partner characteristics, and other control variables. As Chapter

6 reveals, many of the control variables are significantly related to both measures of parental involvement and measures of change in earnings and prestige. These bivariate analyses suggest that the effects of parental involvement on workplace outcomes may be conditioned by other variables.

The multivariate analyses reveal a more complicated picture. Regression analyses of the full models show consistently low levels of explained variance across subsamples and dependent variables. These findings indicate that measures of parenting, as well as many of the factors previously thought to influence labor market mobility, do not adequately explain change in earnings or prestige. The pattern of relatively low values of R^2 , coupled with the fact that the indicators of parental involvement are significant in less than 50% of the models, suggests that, for many parents, earnings and occupational prestige do not reflect the amount of time and effort that they spend on parenting. It is possible that the effect of parenting is so intertwined with structural factors (such as education and work history) that it does not consistently affect earnings over and above the effects of these structural factors. That is, because parenting occurs within the constraints of educational attainment, job opportunities, and the sociopolitical milieu (and vice versa—they are jointly constructed), it may be difficult to capture any distinct effects of parental involvement. The results may also be a consequence of the attempt to use micro- and meso-level indicators of parenting behaviors to predict structural outcomes.

Finally, it is possible that parental involvement would have more consistently significant effects on changes in earnings and prestige with a greater range in time

between the NSFH data-collection points, and with a larger number of data-collection points. It is more likely that parental involvement would significantly and consistently affect mobility if the effects were monitored over a longer period of time, such as 15 or 20 years. This effect may most notably occur for parents who have high sustained levels of involvement, compared to those who are highly involved in child care for only one or two years. Some working parents may be able to play “supermom” or “superdad” for a few years without experiencing a measurable change in their success as parents or employees. It is less likely, however, that these same parents will continue to “superproduce” in their parenting and paid work over the course of their career. A more ideal test of the relationship between parenting and mobility would have measures of parental involvement over the course of several years (e.g., at least two points in time), and would also measure change in earnings and prestige at several points in time and over the course of a parent’s entire career (e.g., at least 30 years).

The lack of a significant effect of parenting on earnings in over half of the models has diverse implications for studies of gender, paid work, and family work. The good news is that fathers and mothers can both parent with fewer economic penalties than might have been expected. In many of the models, parents who are highly involved with their children do not experience greater or lesser changes in earnings or occupational prestige compared to less involved parents. This suggests that employers may not explicitly punish employees who spend a lot of time with their children. In

fact, this finding suggests that fathers can no longer use the excuse of fearing reduced earnings to justify their lack of participation in parenting.¹⁵

My study's findings are also consistent with recent research which concludes that combining parenting and paid work is beneficial for parents. For example, Barnett and Rivers (1996) argue that paid employment, in combination with involved parenting, is beneficial for both fathers' and mothers' emotional, mental, and physical health. This is especially the case if the job has good working conditions (low tedium, high autonomy) and has a potential for positive social impact. In addition, men who did not subscribe to the traditional model of "father" as a distant, authoritarian breadwinner received great emotional health benefits from parenting and paid work. The authors also cite a 1992 study which found that working and professional mothers in Canada were actually happier than, and equally successful and financially rewarded as, single women who spent more time at work (Barnett and Rivers 1996: 51). This last study is particularly relevant because it corroborates my finding that paid work and parental involvement can be positively and significantly associated, and also that women who reject familial expectations (e.g., single women, non-involved mothers) may be disadvantaged in society.

Barnett and Rivers conclude that mothers and fathers are equally affected by the pressures of combining work and family, and that both women and men do a "second

¹⁵ It is important not to be too hasty with these interpretations. In addition to studies on working mothers, the results of this project suggest that the consequences and correlates of involved parenting may be part of a more complex set of processes.

shift." They argue that it is not work-family conflict or the second shift, but rather a lack of challenge and/or opportunities for occupational advancement, which increases parents' psychological distress. Their conclusions support the idea that parents are bottomless pits who can continue to pour time and energy into both paid work and family work, and who are healthier and happier than people who do not. According to their "dynamic interaction" perspective, "you can get dividends by putting energy into both areas of your life and . . . you risk psychological distress by being exclusively focused on one or the other" (1996: 78).

Although this study cannot confirm or refute Barnett and Rivers' conclusions about the psychological and physical benefits of combining work and family, it does suggest that there is an association between financial advances and involved parenting. While these workplace benefits may not be equally and consistently distributed to both fathers and mothers, the relationship between economic gains and involved parenting is similar for both genders.

A great deal of previous research has shown that work-family conflict exists (e.g., Coltrane 1996; Hochschild 1989); this study reveals that somehow, parents are able to manage this conflict in a way that is not reflected in their earnings over time. The bad news is that, unfortunately, there are limits to human strength. Although some researchers argue that the emotional, psychological, and physical costs to parents are higher when they *do not* devote a great deal of time and energy to both paid work and family (Barnett and Rivers 1996), it seems unlikely that anyone could keep up the pace

for too long. At some point, mothers and fathers will run out of time and energy; the question then becomes, "what gives?"

Answering this question is beyond the scope of this project. Studies of contemporary working parents, however, do often report a "time squeeze" (Schor 1991), or a "time crunch" (Coltrane 1996). Schor (1991) in particular discusses the causes and consequences of modern Americans' "time poverty." She argues that the accelerated pace of life and rapid loss of leisure time has caused an increase in stress, depression, and physical health problems, and a decrease in time spent sleeping, eating, and attending to children. According to Schor, approximately 50% of the American population says they have too little time for their families and marriages (1991: 11). Even Barnett and Rivers, who focus on the benefits of combining work and family, report that at least one-third of two-earner couples have one partner who works a non-standard shift so the couple can alternate child care (1996). While "sequential parenting" may reduce child care costs, this may come at the price of the couple's personal and marital satisfaction if the partners rarely see each other (White and Keith 1990).

This study shows that high work and family involvement may not be associated with short-run losses in parents' earnings. However, given previous research on the work-family conflict and role strain, it may take a toll on other aspects of the parents' (and their children's) lives (Guelzow et al. 1991; Voydanoff and Donnelly 1989). Future research should attempt to reconcile the inconsistencies in studies of the consequences of combining paid work and family work, and should examine a wider range of

possible consequences for parents and children. A clearer understanding of the benefits and costs of working and involved parenting may help maximize the benefits and minimize the stresses for a large segment of the American population, if social policies shift accordingly. Such research is inherently valuable in an academic setting; however, the knowledge gained from these studies must be applied to social policy if working parents and their families are to benefit from academic research.

When Parenting Matters, it's Fat City!

In 13 out of 28 of the full models, the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes is significant and positive, for both fathers and mothers. These findings suggest that not only can women and men parent without economic penalty, but also that high involvement for fathers and mothers is related to *greater benefits* in the workplace compared to less involved parents. The results in Chapter 7 show that parents consistently experience *gains* in earnings and prestige when they are highly involved, and experience either no change at all, or losses in earnings and prestige when they are less involved.

Profitable Parenting and Sociological Theory: Human Capital Theory

These findings are clearly inconsistent with human capital theory's notions about how labor market rewards are distributed (e.g., Becker 1964). As noted in Chapter 2, human capital theory predicts that *involved fathers will experience losses or smaller gains in earnings and prestige over time compared to relatively non-involved fathers.*

This study reveals just the opposite: that involved fathers experience greater gains in earnings and prestige than do less involved fathers.

Human capital theory also suggests that *compared to relatively non-involved parents, involved fathers and mothers should experience approximately equal socioeconomic disadvantages of their parenting*. Once again, the results of this study are not consistent with this theory's predictions. Not only did involved parents experience *fewer* socioeconomic disadvantages than less involved parents, but there were also some gender differences in the patterns of advantages. To begin with, there was only one instance in which the same indicator of parental involvement had a marginally significant effect for both mothers and fathers in the same subsample (see Figure 7-17); in all other cases, the effect of parenting on labor market mobility was significant for fathers or mothers, but not both. In addition, in some instances, the slope of the relationship between parental involvement and economic/non-monetary gains was significantly steeper for fathers (e.g., Figure 7-8), while in other instances the slope was steeper for mothers (e.g., Figure 7-10). These findings suggest that gender conditions the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes.

These results also indicate that scientists should begin studying parental involvement as a human capital investment itself, instead of as a factor which inhibits workplace mobility. If, as this study suggests, greater parental involvement is associated with greater gains in earnings and prestige mobility, researchers must consider how skills and time investments not traditionally associated with paid work (e.g., parenting, and the "people" skills which mothers and fathers often develop

through involved parenting) may contribute to worker advancement. This position is an extension of the premise that paid work and family work can not be separated, that the "spheres" are not distinct, and that there is no axiomatic "trade-off" between one "sphere" and another.

Socialist Feminism

In Chapter 2, socialist feminism (e.g., Sokoloff 1988) motivated the prediction that *men who are highly involved in their children's care will experience greater gains in earnings and prestige over time than will women who are highly involved in their children's care*. This prediction, which is based on the assumption that men will always benefit from the patriarchal social order (even if they are involved parents), was only partially substantiated in the data. In two-thirds of the models where the relationship between parental involvement and mobility were positive and significant at $p < .05$, the significant effects of parenting were for mothers' models. According to these findings, parenting is significantly related to economic gains for mothers more often than it is for fathers. In addition, there were a few instances where the relationship between involvement and labor market gains was stronger for mothers than for fathers (e.g., Figure 7-10). Thus, parenting is sometimes related to economic gains for mothers, but not for fathers; this is not consistent with the predictions of socialist feminism.

However, there are also several results which lend credence to socialist feminist predictions. For example, in some instances, the relationship between parental involvement and labor market gains was stronger for fathers than for mothers. Indicators of active behavioral involvement were particularly consistent with this

prediction (e.g., Figures 7-4 and 7-8). These results suggest that fathers will tend to experience greater advantages in the workplace than will mothers, even if the fathers are highly involved in their children's care. In addition, although very high parental involvement is occasionally associated with fewer economic rewards for mothers, this is not the case for fathers. The results of this study provide evidence that men are always seen as work-oriented, even if they are highly involved in their children's daily care. In every instance where paternal involvement is significantly related to labor market outcomes, the relationship is positive. Socialist feminists would argue that this is evidence that employers make concessions for fathers who are involved with their children, so that involvement does not inhibit, but rather facilitates, their earnings.

Socialist feminists also predict that social class is of great importance in the relationship between parenting and workplace outcomes. For example, the theory suggests that upper-middle class mothers and fathers have the "right" kind of job, which allows them to be an involved parent *and* be rewarded for it. However, parents in lower classes should experience a different, less accommodating set of workplace constraints and ideologies. Thus, the theory predicts that the effects of parenting on outcomes differ by class, and also that the new ideology of involved fathering is a middle- or upper class phenomenon.

Previous research supports the significance of social class in this relationship. For example, when explaining why involved parenting may be beneficial for men, Barnett and Rivers argue that

New fathers become very much aware of the needs of others, of the necessity to be caring and empathetic with their children . . . While the demands of childrearing can put tugs and strains on the demands of his job, it turns out that childrearing may make a positive contribution to a man's career. In the new flexible workplace, where dealing with people is a key ingredient of management, the interpersonal skills a man develops as a father can enhance his value to his employer.

(Barnett and Rivers 1996: 313)

Although the authors do not explicitly make the connection between social class, childrearing, and fathers' career mobility, research shows that empathy and "people skills" are more characteristic of lower- than of upper-prestige jobs, and may be less essential (and thus less rewarded) in non-management and/or working-class positions (Reskin and Padavic 1994; Hochschild 1983). Thus, while fathers may gain interpersonal skills from fulfilling their parenting responsibilities, the skills which they develop are primarily useful in lower-paid, service-oriented jobs.

While the effect of social class could not be examined in detail in this study, some results support its importance. A rough test of this effect assessed the significance of the interaction between education and indicators of parental involvement in the full regression models. Of 42 total tests, 12 (29%) of the interaction effects were significant ($p < .10$); 6 in the fathers' models and 6 in the mothers' models. All but one of these effects were positive, suggesting that the relationship between parenting and mobility is stronger for highly educated people than for less-educated people. These findings indicate that class is important in this relationship. However, nearly two-thirds of the interaction effects were not significant in these models. It is likely, therefore, that the effects of parenting on workplace outcomes go beyond the mediating effects of class.

In summary, my study provides limited support for the socialist feminist perspective. The positive and significant associations between parenting and mobility for fathers, as well as the evidence that social class has an important conditioning effect on this relationship, lend credence to socialist feminism. However, other findings (such as the models in which parenting is associated with gains in earnings and prestige for mothers but *not* for fathers) are inconsistent with the theory's predictions. These contradictory results point to a more complicated relationship between gender, parenting, and mobility than socialist feminism implies.

Gender Display/Hegemonic Masculinity Theories

My study also provides some support for the gender display perspective. One prediction of this theory is that *less involved mothers will experience losses or fewer gains in earnings and prestige over time compared to more involved mothers*. This prediction is based on the belief that one central aspect of "motherhood" is the expectation that women will be actively and regularly involved in child care, and that women who perform motherhood successfully will be rewarded (e.g., West and Zimmerman 1987). This prediction was substantiated by the data; the gender display perspective offers a reasonable explanation for why mothers who are more involved with their children experience greater gains, even in the labor market, than those who are not "doing" a correct version of femininity. This perspective gains further credence from the results which show that non-involved or less involved mothers sometimes experience *losses* in earnings and prestige over time, while mothers who are more highly involved experience gains. Although causality cannot be determined from this study, these

findings suggest that women who do not perform acceptable mothering behaviors may experience disadvantages in the workplace. If this relationship exists to a measurable extent in the workplace, the consequences must be considerable on a more interpersonal level, where people are held accountable for performing culturally-appropriate gender displays in daily interaction.¹⁶

In contrast, some of the findings regarding mothers, parental involvement, and labor market outcomes suggest that mothers' parental involvement may not always be associated with economic and non-monetary advances. In Figure 7-16, for example, parental involvement was negatively associated with parents' earnings in 1994. In addition, for a few indicators, mothers experienced gains in earnings and prestige with increased involvement *to a certain point*, after which additional increases in involvement were related to less marked gains in earnings or even slight losses in earnings over time. These findings imply that women may experience parenting-related gains until they "do" their mothering so well that they are very highly (and perhaps very visibly) involved with their children. At this high degree of parental involvement, employers may begin to revert to a more traditional thinking which implies that mothers are less work-oriented than other workers, and thus should not receive as many rewards in their paid work.

¹⁶ It is important to note, however, that gender expectations may be more complex and contradictory in daily interaction. This complexity would affect the content and interpretations of messages about parenting, and also the sanctioning which may result from a lack of adherence to gender expectations.

This final pattern, though slight and not significant, is somewhat consistent with both human capital and socialist feminist theories. Although employers may make concessions for women's parental involvement to a certain extent, when women are highly involved they begin to lose the benefits which parenting had provided until then.

Other results from this study do not initially seem consistent with the gender display/hegemonic masculinity perspective. Another prediction based on this perspective is that *involved fathers will experience losses or fewer gains in earnings and prestige over time compared to involved mothers or non-involved mothers because of the system of hegemonic masculinity*. One consequence of male dominance is the rigid protection of the dominant masculinity and militant repression of alternative masculinities. As a result, the hegemonic masculinity perspective predicts that men who do not perform the dominant version of masculinity and fatherhood (e.g., who deviate by being highly emotionally- and physically-involved childrearers) will experience disadvantages. This prediction was not substantiated by the data. As previously mentioned, parental involvement was significantly related to gains in earnings and prestige for both fathers and mothers. In some models, involved fathers accumulated gains at a faster rate than did involved and non-involved mothers.

The final prediction based on the gender display/hegemonic masculinity perspective was that *involved fathers will experience losses or fewer gains in earnings and prestige compared to relatively less involved fathers*. As with the previous prediction, this was not substantiated by the data: even if fathers are highly involved (and thus not doing the "correct" masculinity), they still experience greater gains in the workplace

than less-involved fathers. This is the case regardless of whether the indicator of parental involvement measured attitudes, boundary-setting, or active behavioral interaction. That is, even when fathers' involvement is likely to be visible at work (such as when they regularly share meals and fun activities with their children), their involvement is associated with gains rather than losses in earnings and prestige.

At first glance, these findings are inconsistent with the gender display/hegemonic masculinity perspective, which would predict that fathers who are highly involved in parenting are performing an incorrect masculinity, and thus will be sanctioned compared to other fathers. However, the findings may actually lend credence to this perspective *if* masculinity/fatherhood is redefined to include involved parenting – that is, if the mainstream conceptualization of masculinity has evolved (as has the conceptualization of femininity) to take into account the changing expectations that fathers (as well as mothers) will both work for pay and be involved in and responsible for their children's care. These findings may therefore indicate that the "new masculinity" has been accepted sufficiently among parents and employers so that fathers are rewarded when they enact these gendered expectations.

This explanation is, of course, purely post hoc in this study; critics may see it as an attempt to manipulate the interpretations of the findings so that they remain consistent with a favored theory. Nevertheless, recent research does suggest that cultural acceptance of "new involved fathering" is on the rise (Coltrane 1996, Barnett and Rivers 1996). In addition, increasing public attention to and stigmatization of fathers who do not pay child support or spend time with their children after divorce

("deadbeat dads"), as well as increasing pressure among some groups for fathers to fulfill their 'familial obligations' ("Million Man March," "Promise Keepers"), suggest that men's involvement in fathering is becoming more accepted and expected. These findings point to a clear need to explicitly assess current definitions of masculinity and femininity, and fathering and mothering.

In order to provide a precursory examination of the idea that norms of fatherhood have changed to include expectations of involved parenting, I surveyed recent literature on fatherhood and masculinity in American culture. In general, attitude polls reveal that men feel nurturant toward their children (Cohen 1993), that many younger men want to be actively involved with their children (e.g., Allen and Doherty 1996, in a study of African-American teen fathers), and that many working fathers would choose "daddy track" jobs versus "fast track" jobs in order to spend more time with their children (Griswold 1993). The underlying consensus among these authors is that norms of fathering have changed in the past quarter-century, and currently allow for greater paternal nurturance and physical caretaking. Griswold goes even further to say that "Millions of fathers are becoming more involved with their children, and millions more express the desire to become so. Recent survey evidence suggests that active 'fathering' is now a strong male life-goal . . ." (1993: 269; Fader 1993).

Research on popular media images of fathering reveals that fathers are in more active parenting roles in sitcoms, compared to depictions of 1950s families. In addition, the media shows more variety in family forms in contemporary television programs

(Taylor 1989). However, these studies conclude that the "modern" father is still generally presented as unemotional and authoritarian (Coltrane and Allan 1994; Taylor 1989).

Recent scholarly research on fatherhood recognizes the great deal of diversity in historical and contemporary styles of fathering (LaRossa 1997). Current studies argue that social forces such as the transformation of the household economy and the rise in feminism have transformed paternal culture, and have left "fatherhood" fragmented and fathers confused "in a culture that lacks any coherent and unified vision of what fathers and fatherhood should be like" (Griswold 1993: 269). These studies tend to agree that there are at least two archetypes of fatherhood in contemporary society which represent opposite poles of a continuum of fathering behaviors: the nurturing, responsible "Good Dad" and the deadbeat "Bad Dad" (e.g., Furstenberg 1988; Mackey 1996). These representations are available to all fathers, who may move along the continuum or switch from "Good" to "Bad" in order to manage their confusion and frustration at the changing norms or their inability to meet these expectations.

Researchers recognize the connection between conceptualizations of masculinity and fatherhood, and argue that the redefinition of fatherhood entails the redefinition of masculinity (e.g., Louv 1994). Some writers argue that there are few good role models for men in our society; that fathers must either be traditional breadwinners or, if they are nurturing, "mothers;" that men must be either Rambo or Alan Alda (Mackey 1996; Schwalbe 1996). These researchers also recognize the existence of diversity in definitions of masculinity and fatherhood based on social class. For example, Schwalbe

(1996) argues that working class fathers emphasize rugged, physical forms of masculinity and fatherhood, while middle class fathers emphasize more nurturant and egalitarian forms of masculinity and fatherhood. He concludes that some men may use these versions of masculinity and fatherhood in order to display their social class. Research on class-variant definitions of masculinity does not specifically address the issue of variation in normative change based on class. However, it is not a great leap to predict that fatherhood norms have also changed differently in different classes, given class-based variation in mothers' and fathers' attitudes and opportunities.

This brief digression into the current literature on masculinity and fatherhood provides some insight into the question of whether norms of fathering have changed to include involved parenting and, therefore, if this study's results are consistent with the "doing gender" perspective. The research documents that new masculinities are developing which coexist with older and more traditional versions of masculinity (Kimmel 1988). Men can be both Rambo and Alan Alda, and fathers can be both "Bad Dads" and "Good Dads." Given the diversity in the emerging conceptualizations of masculinity, it is likely that, for some segment of the population, masculinity and fatherhood do bear the expectation of involved parenting. Although all fathers may have the "Good Dad" and "Bad Dad" roles available in their cultural toolbox, the research suggests that "new, involved father" is primarily a marker of middle-class culture.

However, it is also evident from studies of fatherhood in the popular media that wider society may not have experienced such a shift in the definition of masculinity. In

addition, a great deal of research documents that there is still a large distinction between men's attitudes toward shared parenting and the likelihood that they will actually share the child care tasks (Griswold 1993; Messner 1997). Finally, even if attitude polls report that contemporary fathers desire more time with their children, evidence from this study reveals that fathers do not necessarily act on this desire. For example, the figures in Chapter 5 show that most fathers are not highly involved with their children in 1987 (NSFH-1). In addition, the figures in Appendix C show that fathers are still significantly less involved than mothers in 1994 (NSFH-2; $p < .001$), and that fathers (and mothers) are actually significantly less involved in 1994 than they were in 1987 ($p < .01$). This last point is especially relevant, since one would expect that attitudinal change would be accompanied by similar behavioral change or, at the very least, no change at all. That is, if fathers are becoming more interested in child care, and if norms of fathering have changed to expect this behavior of fathers, it would make sense that we would see an increase in fathers' parental involvement over time. However, fathers' parenting behaviors significantly decreased over time, compared to their behavior in 1987. This suggests that, even if norms about fathering have changed to encourage greater involvement for some segment of the population, the average father's behavior is still inconsistent with the ideological representation of the "modern dad."

In conclusion, these mixed messages about the extent of cultural change and the disparity between the attitudes and behaviors of fatherhood suggest that, perhaps with the exception of the middle class, norms about fathering have not changed enough to

warrant the interpretation that this study's results are consistent with the "hegemonic masculinity" perspective. It is possible, however, that middle class versions of masculinity and fatherhood do correspond with the "new father" image, and thus that the positive relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes does lend credence to the "doing gender/hegemonic masculinity" perspective in the middle class setting. The diversity in definitions of masculinity and fatherhood by social class certainly reinforces the importance of recognizing the intersections between gender and class (and probably several other statuses) when applying social constructionism to contemporary families.

In terms of interpreting the results of this study, these findings suggest a fusion of ideas from the "doing gender" and socialist feminist perspectives. The new, combined interpretations might look something like this: Because men (and upper-middle class/elite men in particular) are in power in our society, fathers who are highly involved parents experience gains in their economic position over time, and changes in their parenting behavior correspond to changes in the acceptability of such behavior (hence the emergence of the "new father" ideal).

Because of the intersections between gender and social class, and the importance of social class in assigning power, upper-middle class mothers (presumably the wives of upper-middle class fathers) may also benefit from this social arrangement. For these women, shifting ideals of motherhood may allow "career women" to hire out the child care tasks and still be considered "good mothers." Outside of the upper and upper-middle class, however, women's and men's experiences may be quite different. Because

working class men and most women are in a less powerful position in the society, lower class mothers and fathers may be held more accountable for doing the “appropriate,” more traditional versions of motherhood and fatherhood. Thus, there may be some interaction effects between social class, definitions of fatherhood and motherhood, and the extent to which mothers and fathers are held accountable to these versions of motherhood and fatherhood. While the interaction effects of education and parental involvement on labor market mobility in this study suggest that social class does condition the relationship between parenting and mobility, the analyses did not reveal any gender difference in these interaction effects. More sophisticated tests of these ideas are beyond the scope of this project. However, these results suggest that the relationships between gender, social class, parenting norms and behaviors, and labor market outcomes are quite complex.

In summary, the results of this study are consistent with some elements of the socialist feminist and gender display perspectives. For example, socialist feminism’s prediction that men would consistently experience greater workplace advantages compared to women, even when the men were highly involved in child care, received some substantiation in this study. Gender display’s prediction that lower parental involvement for mothers would be associated with fewer economic gains, or even economic losses, was also substantiated. The results of this study are least consistent with human capital theory; unless parental involvement is reconceptualized as a human capital investment, the theory does a poor job explaining the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes.

Directions for Future Research

This study has addressed several important questions in the field of gender studies and work-family intersections, but has also raised many new questions. To begin addressing these questions, researchers should consider new ways to conceptualize and operationalize involved parenting (and particularly involved fatherhood), and should explore the effects which different dimensions and indicators of parenting have on various aspects of parents' and children's lives. For example, future research must assess the influence of parental involvement on other workplace outcomes (such as worker satisfaction and co-worker/employer relationships) and on interpersonal relationships (such as marital satisfaction).

More research must also be done on social class and other factors which may condition the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes. In addition to a possible mediation effect of social class on the relationship between parental involvement and mobility, there is some evidence that social norms of masculinity and fatherhood may vary by social class. In addition, various social classes may experience different types or degrees of change in norms and definitions of fatherhood. There is clearly much more empirical and theoretical work to be done on the role of social class in these issues.

Future research should also ensure that this project's findings can be replicated in other studies and other data sets, and should provide more rigorous tests of all competing explanations. Repeated confirmation of these findings will lend support to

scientists and policy analysts who are trying to reform current ideologies and work-family policies in order to enhance gender equality.

Further study must also be done on the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes in the long term. It is possible that the effects would be different after a longer period of time; perhaps the parents in the NSFH studies did not expect to be highly involved and working for pay for more than five years, so they put an atypical amount of effort into both responsibilities during this time period. It is possible that these parents would not be able to keep up this pace, and/or their employers wouldn't tolerate it, over the long run. Indeed, some research suggests that childbearing and foregone workplace participation do have a negative effect on mothers' earnings in the long run (Kravdal 1992). Even without forfeiture of labor market participation, however, it is possible that the longer-term effects of involved parenting on labor market outcomes may differ from the short-term, positive effects found in this study.

Assuming that these results can be reproduced, future research should also explore the various causal processes by which parenting may directly and indirectly affect workplace outcomes. To further this investigation, researchers should engage in a qualitative exploration of this relationship. Interviews with working parents and their employers will provide useful information about their perceptions regarding why greater parental involvement is associated with greater earnings and prestige over time for many parents (if they do indeed perceive this to be true), as well as about the many other consequences of combining involved parenting and paid work.

Conclusion

Many decisions in people's personal lives are based on beliefs and assumptions about the consequences of their actions. For example, a couple may decide to try and delay having children until the woman is established in her career because they believe the mother should take time off work to stay home with a newborn, and because they assume that maternity leave would be more costly were she not secure in her job position.

Many predictions of sociological theories are based on knowledge and assumptions about how individuals and institutions interact within society. For example, human capital theories predict that an individual who spends more time with his or her child will necessarily spend less time in paid work, and thus will earn less than someone who spends less time with her or his child.

Many public policies are based on beliefs and assumptions about what problems exist in the current social structure and what strategies will be most effective for solving them. For example, the Family and Medical Leave Act is based in part on the belief that providing mothers with greater access to unpaid maternity leave will reduce their stress and burdens.

This project itself was based on the assumption that parents would forfeit advancement in the workplace when they were highly involved in their children's lives; the question was the extent to which involved fathers would suffer relative to mothers and other fathers. What this study found is that the consequences of parenting do differ for mothers and fathers, but that the relationship between involved parenting and

change in earnings and prestige is positive, not negative. Although the causal processes cannot be determined from this study, the relationships suggest that involvement in parenting may be an asset to mothers' and fathers' economic attainment. This implies that, at least in the short run, working parents are able to juggle involved parenting and paid work responsibilities without "dropping" the work ball. However, given the limits of human capabilities, it is very likely that there are costs to involved parenting. The workplace costs may not be economic; instead, they may come at the price of co-worker or employer relationships. Future research must assess this cost, and must also examine the personal and familial consequences of involved parenting among workers.

There are clearly some disparities in how these benefits are distributed; in many models, mothers who are not involved with their children typically experience greater disadvantages than do non-involved fathers. In addition, in some instances fathers experience exponentially greater benefits with each increase in involvement, while mothers experience no benefit at all. These inequities must be addressed; employers, mothers, feminists, and policy makers can all begin by encouraging working fathers into more active parenting roles and by providing more structural supports for them to do so. Fathers now have "real" (green) incentive to do so, if the opportunity to raise their children weren't incentive enough.

Finally, the findings of this study demand that individuals, social scientists, and policy makers re-evaluate their assumptions about gender and family life. This project has shown repeatedly, through its substantive critiques of sociological theory and

ideology, as well as through its results regarding the nature of the relationship between parental involvement and labor market outcomes, that assumptions can be wrong.

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Appendix A: Final Multivariate Regression Results

**Table A-1: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in earnings (EDIFFK),
Independent=Any hours of physical childcare (RCARE01),
subsample=Focal Child 0-4**

	<i>fathers mothers interaction</i>		
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
any hours of physical child care (3.08	7.87 [^]	2.95
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	-0.49	-0.16	-0.35
education (reduc)	0.71	1.28 [^]	1.01
father's education (faeduc)	0.16	-0.06	0.23
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	0.89	-0.53	0.27
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	0.28	-4.39	-0.20
total housework hours (t1hwk)	0.14	0.03	0.02
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	(-31.67 [*])	0.30	(-13.95 [*])
labor market background			
# weeks employed (rwksempl)	0.24	(-0.16 [^])	-0.03
# hours work/ week (rhrslwk)	0.16	0.08	0.12 [^]
paid home work (pdhmkw2)	11.88 [*]	5.70	8.98 ^{**}
stable work sched. (wksched2)	2.98	-3.82	-0.45
travel overnight (travel2)	1.08	5.82	1.80
<i>type of pay (paid hourly omitted)</i>			
salaried(paidsal2)	3.68	5.02 [^]	3.44
other (paidotr2)	-1.52	2.43	-0.13
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.01	0.02	0.00
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles			
(wkfamatt)	0.12	-0.13	0.05
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.65	0.37	0.56 [^]
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.23	0.88 [^]	0.28
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.15	-0.10	0.10
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	-0.30	0.01	-0.07
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-2.41	-1.26	-1.49

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

continued

**Table A-1, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in earnings (EDIFFK),
Independent=Any hours of physical childcare (RCARE01),
subsample=Focal Child 0-4**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	1.59	0.27	0.71
weeks employed (swksempl)	(-0.23*)	-0.12	(-0.19*)
<i>employment status (all else omitted)</i>			
part year, fulltime (semppyft)	-6.60	-8.69	-4.74
<i>other non-market activities</i>			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	-0.39	-0.33	(-0.50 [^])
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	-3.48
sex*parental involvement (grcare01)	—	—	2.85
intercept	-1.77	-8.84	0.67
N	170	131	301
R-square	0.17	0.3816	0.16
Adj R-sq	0.02	0.227	0.07

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-2: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in earnings (EDIFFK),
Independent=Homework rules (F12HMWK),
subsample=Focal Child 12-18**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
homework rules (f12hmwk)	-2.01	2.03 [^]	-3.21
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	-0.41	0.03	-0.19
education (reduc)	0.76	-0.10	0.45
father's education (faeduc)	1.60 [^]	-0.42	0.56
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	(-2.39 ^{**})	-0.04	(-1.11 [*])
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-7.79	(-11.30 ^{**})	-10.36
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.28	-0.01	-0.09
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	3.99	2.64	-4.15
labor market background			
# weeks employed (rwksemp1)	-0.17	(-0.33 ^{**})	-0.19
# hours work/ week (hrslwk)	0.10	-0.02	0.05
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	-14.74	0.20	-3.73
stable work sched. (wksched2)	2.97	-1.81	2.18
travel overnight (travel2)	(-20.94 ^{**})	5.16	(-9.86 [*])
<i>type of pay (paid hourly omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal2)	2.75	3.73	0.24
other (paidotr2)	20.70 [*]	1.23	11.26 [*]
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

Table A-2, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=change in earnings (EDIFFK), Independent=Homework rules (F12HMWK), subsample=Focal Child 12-18

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles			
(wkfamatt)	1.33	(-0.71 [^])	0.10
traditional familism	0.92	0.46	0.55
anti-religious	-0.64	-0.40	-0.45
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child			
(sact3182)	-0.71	-0.10	-0.39
sum of shared meals	1.39	0.39	0.89 [^]
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	2.74	0.00	1.09
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of weeks employed	3.28	-0.71	1.77
(swksempl)	0.04	0.05	-0.04
<i>employment status (all else omitted)</i>			
part year, fulltime (semppyft)	3.62	0.04	3.58
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.56	0.40	0.42
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	-7.84
sex*parental involvement (gf21hmk)	—	—	5.15
intercept	-19.71	22.60	11.08
N	202	216	418
R-square	0.20	0.18	0.12
Adj R-sq	0.08	0.06	0.06

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

Table A-3: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=change in earnings (EDIFFK), Independent=Sum of shared activities (alact518), subsample=Any Child 5-18

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
sum of shared activities (alact518)	0.59	0.40*	0.69*
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.23	-0.02	0.17
education (reduc)	0.51	0.22	0.45
father's education (faeduc)	0.64	-0.16	0.34
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.36	-0.10	-0.23
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-6.56	(-7.23*)	-6.71
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.10	0.01	-0.06
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	-16.87	2.06	(-16.43**)
labor market background			
# weeks employed (rwksemp)	-0.13	(-0.17***)	-0.14
# hours work/ week (rhrslwk)	0.16	0.01	0.11^
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	-8.74	0.93	-4.70
stable work sched. (wksched2)	1.83	1.27	1.47
travel overnight (travel2)	-3.16	0.48	-1.38
type of pay (paid hourly omitted)			
salaried (paysal2)	1.42	1.19	0.78
other (paidotr2)	4.86	0.96	3.11
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

Table A-3, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=change in earnings (EDIFFK), Independent=Sum of shared activities (alact518), subsample=Any Child 5-18

attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.69	-0.28	0.20
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.94 [^]	0.20	0.65 [*]
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	-0.30	0.02	-0.23
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	-0.35	-0.14	-0.16
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	1.02 [^]	0.06	0.61 [^]
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	2.50	-0.05	1.11
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.84	0.22	0.75
weeks employed (swksemp)	-0.04	-0.08	-0.05
employment status (all else omitted)			
part year, fulltime (semppyft)	-2.02	-6.84	-2.31
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	-0.11	0.01	-0.08
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	6.57
sex*parental involvement (galact5)	—	—	-0.49
intercept	(-45.85) [^]	10.57	(-23.49) [^]
N	534	483	1017
R-square	0.06	0.09	0.05
Adj R-sq	0.02	0.04	0.02

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001,

**Table A-4: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in earnings (EDIFFK),
Independent=Number of shared meals (MEALCEN+MEALCSQ)
subsample=Any Child 5-18**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
sum of shared meals, mean-centered (mealcen)	1.74**	0.30	1.77****
sum of shared meals, squared (mealcsq)	0.27*	-0.02	0.26**
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.18	-0.03	0.15
education (reduc)	0.36	0.37	0.38
father's education (faeduc)	0.59	-0.21	0.31
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.41	-0.16	-0.30
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-5.14	(-7.33*)	-6.07
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.11	0.00	-0.06
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	-17.02	0.87	(-16.98**)
labor market background			
# weeks employed (rwksempi)	-0.19	(-0.16****)	-0.16
# hours work/ week (hrslwk)	0.21^	0.01	0.13*
paid home work (pdhmwk2)	-9.31	0.99	-5.04
stable work sched. (wksched2)	1.98	0.86	1.46
travel overnight (travel2)	-0.90	0.03	0.03
<i>type of pay (paid hourly omitted)</i>			
salaried(paidsal2)	0.20	1.08	-0.16
other (paidotr2)	3.66	1.01	2.38
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

**Table A-4, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in earnings (EDIFFK),
Independent=Number of shared meals (MEALCEN+MEALCSQ)
subsample=Any Child 5-18**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.86	-0.32	0.30
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.86 [^]	0.20	0.58 [*]
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	-0.37	0.01	-0.25
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	-0.28	-0.05	-0.09
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.73	-0.04	0.45
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	2.75	-0.03	1.32
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.41	0.31	0.46
weeks employed (swksemp)	-0.04	-0.08	-0.03
<i>employment status (all else omitted)</i>			
part year, fulltime (semppyft)	-0.86	-5.71	-1.36
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	-0.03	0.15	0.02
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	5.32
sex*parental involvement (gmcen)	—	—	(-1.76 ^{**})
sex*parental involvement (gmcsq)	—	—	(-0.25 [^])
intercept	-37.33	13.90	-17.94
N	526	475	1001
R-square	0.09	0.08	0.08
Adj R-sq	0.04	0.03	0.05

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

**Table A-5: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=proportionate change in earnings
(EPROP), Independent=Tell location rules (NEW313)
subsample=Focal Child 5-11**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
tell location rules (new313)	0.17	2.97*	1.39
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.03	0.21*	0.08^
education (reduc)	-0.08	-0.25	-0.06
father's education (faeduc)	0.00	-0.07	0.01
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.01	0.06	0.07
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.69	-0.75	-0.75
not single or 2-parent household (otrhh)	-1.44	5.83*	2.30
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.01	-0.02	(-0.02*)
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	0.31	1.09	-0.81
labor market background			
# weeks employed (rwkempl)	0.01	(-0.20****)	(-0.17****)
# hours work/ week (rhslwk)	0.00	-0.04	0.00
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.34	1.33	1.04**
<i>type of pay (paid hourly omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal2)	-0.13	-0.50	-0.49
other (paidotr2)	0.20	-1.28	-0.48
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.005**)	(-0.01*)	(-0.01**)

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

Table A-5, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=proportionate change in earnings (EPROP), Independent=Tell location rules (NEW313) subsample=Focal Child 5-11

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	-0.04	0.30*	0.06
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.02	-0.05	-0.01
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.02	0.16	0.06
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.02	0.26*	0.06
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.08	-0.09	0.01
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.07	(-1.12**)	(-0.36^)
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.06	(-0.71^)	-0.25
weeks employed (swksempi)	0.01	0.04	0.01
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.01	0.05	0.02
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	-0.42
sex*parental involvement (gnew313)	—	—	1.03
intercept	-1.12	3.58	5.91*
N	274	225	499
R-square	0.05	0.44	0.27
Adj R-sq	0.00	0.37	0.23

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-6: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=proportionate change in earnings
(EPROP), Independent=Quality of relationship with child
#1 (QUALREL1) subsample=Focal Child 0-18**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
quality of relationship with child 1 (qualrel1)	0.14	0.74*	0.10
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	-0.05	0.155^	0.06
education (reduc)	-0.01	-0.09	-0.04
father's education (faeduc)	-0.01	-0.15	-0.04
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	0.01	-0.03	0.03
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	1.33*	-1.50	0.57
not single or 2-parent household (otrhh)	1.44	0.70	-0.47
total housework hours (t1hwk)	0.00	0.00	-0.01
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	-0.53	3.36	0.78
labor market background			
# weeks employed (rwkempl)	-0.01	(-0.25****)	(-0.20****)
# hours work/ week (hrslwk)	0.01	0.01	0.01
stable work sched. (wksched2)	-0.10	-1.26	-0.55
<i>type of pay (paid hourly omitted)</i>			
salaried(paidal2)	0.15	1.10	0.39
other (paidotr2)	0.11	0.81	0.45
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.00	(-0.01*)	(-0.01**)

^p<.10, *p<.05,**p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

Table A-6, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=proportionate change in earnings (EPROP), Independent=Quality of relationship with child #1 (QUALREL1) subsample=Focal Child 0-18

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	0.00	-0.16	-0.09
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.06 [^]	0.02	0.05
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	-0.06	0.17	0.02
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	(-0.06 [^])	0.11	0.00
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.07 [^]	0.15	0.10 [^]
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.08	-0.65	-0.13
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.01	-0.72	-0.23
weeks employed (swksemp1)	-0.01	-0.06	-0.01
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	-0.04	0.07	0.01
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	-2.36
sex*parental involvement (gqualr1)	—	—	0.47
intercept	2.39	11.99 [*]	10.77 ^{****}
N	643	567	1210
R-square	0.06	0.16	0.12
Adj R-sq	0.03	0.13	0.10

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-7: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=proportionate change in earnings
(EPROP), Independent=Quality of relationship with child #2
(QUALREL2) subsample=Focal Child 0-18**

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
parental involvement			
quality of relationship with child 2 (qualrel2)	-0.01	1.11*	0.02
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.00	0.19^	0.10*
education (reduc)	-0.02	-0.05	-0.04
father's education (faeduc)	0.02	-0.17	-0.04
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.01	-0.03	0.02
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.48	-1.39	-0.83
not single or 2-parent household (otrhh)	2.16*	1.37	-0.44
total housework hours (t1hwk)	0.00	-0.01	-0.02
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	-0.32	3.26	1.46
labor market background			
# weeks employed (rwkempl)	-0.02	(-0.27****)	(-0.23****)
# hours work/ week (rhrlwk)	0.00	0.01	0.00
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.21	(-2.11*)	-0.59
<i>type of pay (paid hourly omitted)</i>			
salaried(paidsal2)	-0.18	1.29	0.26
other (paidotr2)	0.11	1.70	0.72
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.00	(-0.01*)	(-0.01**)

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

Table A-7, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=proportionate change in earnings (EPROP), Independent=Quality of relationship with child #2 (QUALREL2) subsample=Focal Child 0-18

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	-0.01	-0.21	-0.09
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.00	0.09	0.03
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.00	0.15	0.05
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.00	0.15	0.05
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.03	0.21	0.07
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.02	-0.76	-0.15
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.01	-0.79	-0.23
weeks employed (swksemp1)	0.00	-0.08	0.00
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.01	0.10	0.04
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	(-5.72*)
sex*parental involvement (gqualr2)	—	—	1.05*
intercept	1.47	10.74	10.31***
N	564	470	1044
R-square	0.06	0.18	0.15
Adj R-sq	0.02	0.14	0.13

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-8: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=proportionate change in earnings
(EPROP), Independent=Number of shared meals
(MEALCEN+MEALCSQ) subsample=Any Child 5-18**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
shared meals, mean-centered (mealcen)	0.02	0.22 [^]	0.01
shared meals, squared (mealcsq)	0.01 [*]	-0.01	0.01
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.01	0.02	0.03
education (reduc)	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01
father's education (faeduc)	0.01	-0.11	-0.01
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.01	0.01	0.01
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.43	-1.39	-0.85
not single or 2-parent household (otrhh)	2.64 ^{**}	2.98	1.11
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.01	0.00	-0.01
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	-0.21	2.75	0.24
labor market background			
# weeks employed (rwksemp1)	-0.02	(-0.20 ^{****})	(-0.17 ^{****})
# hours work/ week (rhrlwk)	0.00	-0.02	-0.01
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.30 [^]	0.03	0.16
<i>type of pay (paid hourly omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal2)	-0.18	-0.04	-0.24
other (paidotr2)	0.05	1.92 [^]	0.74
months in current job (cjobtime)	(-0.002 [^])	(-0.01 [^])	(-0.01 [*])

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

continued

Table A-8, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=proportionate change in earnings (EPROP), Independent=Number of shared meals (MEALCEN+MEALCSQ) subsample=Any Child 5-18

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	-0.02	-0.13	-0.08
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.00	0.11	0.05
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.00	0.05	0.02
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.00	-0.02	-0.01
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.04	-0.02	0.03
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.05	0.02	0.07
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.04	-0.38	-0.11
weeks employed (swksemp)	0.01	0.01	0.00
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.01	0.01	0.02
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	0.61
sex*parental involvement (gmcen)	—	—	0.18^
sex*parental involvement (gmcsq)	—	—	-0.02
intercept	1.09	13.80**	9.68****
N	529	475	1004
R-square	0.08	0.18	0.16
Adj R-sq	0.03	0.13	0.14

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-9: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF),
Independent=Alone rules (SUM312AE) subsample=Focal Child 5-
11**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
alone rules (sum312ae)	(-3.05 [^])	1.92	(-3.16 [*])
soc(odemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.08	-0.17	-0.03
race, not black or white (race02)	3.67	-4.83	1.36
education (reduc)	-0.28	-0.01	-0.04
father's education (faeduc)	0.59 ^{**}	-0.43	0.26
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.23	-0.14	-0.14
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.10	0.01	0.01
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	9.65	-3.46	2.01
labor market background			
# hours work/ week (rhrlwk)	0.06	(-0.14 [*])	-0.01
paid work at home (pdhmwk2)	-2.44	-4.56	(-3.27 [^])
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.11	-3.35	-0.67
travel overnight (travel2)	-1.85	4.26	-0.54
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal3)	0.08	-1.91	-1.11
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.01	0.00	0.00
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles			
(wkfamatt)	-0.38	0.11	-0.24
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.04	0.26	0.07
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.09	-0.15	-0.01
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child			
(sact3182)	-0.38	-0.23	-0.26
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.18	0.33	0.24
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.23	0.92	0.12
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.17	0.26	-0.23
weeks employed (swksemp1)	0.02	-0.06	0.01
hours last week (shrsiwk)	0.07	0.05	0.08

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

continued

**Table A-9, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF),
Independent=Alone rules (SUM312AE) subsample=Focal Child 5-
11**

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.31	-0.44	0.06
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	(-4.92*)
sex*parental involvement (gsum312)	—	—	5.73*
intercept	2.71	16.13	5.09
N	258	191	449
R-square	0.12	0.14	0.05
Adj R-sq	0.02	0.01	0.00

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-10: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF),
Independent=Tell location rules (NEW313) subsample=Focal
Child 5-11**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
tell location rules (new313)	0.79	9.08**	1.44
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.14	-0.09	0.03
race, not black or white (rrace02)	3.64	-2.19	2.43
education (reduc)	-0.27	-0.14	-0.05
father's education (faeduc)	0.51*	-0.35	0.23
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.14	-0.35	-0.15
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.12	0.01	0.00
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	10.11	-2.15	2.37
labor market background			
# hours work/ week (rhrs1wk)	0.06	-0.13	0.00
paid work at home (pdhmwk2)	-2.52	-5.34	(-3.28^)
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.04	-3.24	-0.64
travel overnight (travel2)	-1.82	4.63	-0.33
type of pay (else omitted)			
salaried (paysal3)	0.39	-1.28	-0.77
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.01	0.00	0.00
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	(-0.46^)	0.17	-0.24
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.03	0.27	0.10
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.16	-0.19	0.00

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001,

continued

Table A-10, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF), Independent=Teill location rules (NEW313) subsample=Focal Child 5-11

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	(-0.42 [^])	-0.20	-0.28
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.12	0.35	0.20
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	0.07	0.65	0.27
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.15	0.44	-0.15
weeks employed (swksemp)	0.01	-0.07	0.01
hours last week (shrs1wk)	0.07	0.06	0.07
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.32	-0.44	0.06
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	(-9.29 [*])
sex*parental involvement (gnew313)	—	—	9.01 [*]
intercept	-1.11	7.52	-0.25
N	255	191	446
R-square	0.10	0.17	0.06
Adj R-sq	0.004	0.05	0.00

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

Table A-11: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF), Independent=T.V. restrictions (FC511TV), subsample=Focal Child 5-11

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
parental involvement			
t.v. restrictions (fc511tv)	0.70	5.68 [^]	1.10
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.10	-0.12	-0.01
race, not black or white (race02)	3.81	-4.11	1.64
education (reduc)	-0.27	-0.12	-0.06
father's education (faeduc)	0.55 [*]	-0.44	0.25
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.14	-0.26	-0.13
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.12	0.01	0.01
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	9.82	-4.62	1.29
labor market background			
# hours work/ week (rhslwk)	0.06	-0.12	-0.01
paid work at home (pdhmwk2)	-2.48	-3.38	-2.86
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.20	-3.46	-0.56
travel overnight (travel2)	-1.75	3.31	-0.62
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal3)	0.33	-1.62	-0.84
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.01	0.00	0.00
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles			
(wkfamatt)	-0.44	0.19	-0.25
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.05	0.35	0.10
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.13	-0.20	-0.02
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child			
(sact3182)	-0.36	-0.17	-0.22
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.10	0.34	0.20
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.06	1.18	0.33
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.13	0.20	-0.28
weeks employed (swkempl)	0.02	-0.04	0.02
hours last week (shslwk)	0.07	0.06	0.07

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

continued

**Table A-11, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF), Independent=T.V.
restrictions (FC511TV), subsample=Focal Child 5-11**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.33 [^]	-0.44	0.07
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	-5.80
sex*parental involvement (gfc511tv)	—	—	5.33
intercept	-0.80	8.36	0.57
N	257	192	449
R-square	0.10	0.14	0.05
Adj R-sq	0.01	0.02	0.00

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

Table A-12: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF), Independent=Feelings about parental responsibilities (T1E1360N), subsample=Focal Child 5-11

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
parental involvement			
feelings about parental responsibilities (t1e1360n)	0.73	1.79 [^]	0.55
sociodemographic controls			
age (age)	0.12	-0.14	-0.01
race, not black or white (rrace02)	3.84	-4.18	1.67
education (reduc)	-0.29	-0.11	-0.04
father's education (faeduc)	0.57 ^{**}	(-0.57 [^])	0.21
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.12	-0.19	-0.10
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.12	0.00	0.01
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	10.02	-4.34	1.78
labor market background			
# hours work/ week (rhrlwk)	0.06	-0.13	0.00
paid work at home (pdhmlwk2)	-2.59	-3.62	(-3.09 [^])
stable work sched. (wksched2)	0.42	-3.72	-0.47
travel overnight (travel2)	-1.90	3.42	-0.68
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salared (paysal3)	0.25	-2.06	-1.07
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.01	0.00	0.00
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles (wkfamatt)	-0.43	0.21	-0.25
traditional familism (fcohatt)	-0.03	0.33	0.10
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.14	-0.08	0.04
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	-0.36	-0.18	-0.23
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.10	0.36	0.20
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.05	0.89	0.27
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	-0.31	-0.14	-0.47
weeks employed (swktempl)	0.01	-0.03	0.01
hours last week (shrlwk)	0.07	0.02	0.06

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

**Table A-12, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF), Independent=Feelings
about parental responsibilities (T1E1360N), subsample=Focal Child 5-11**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1) ⁻	0.33 [^]	-0.42	0.07
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	-4.82
sex*parental involvement (gt1e1360)	—	—	0.99
intercept	-3.41	10.76	0.37
N	259	192	451
R-square	0.10	0.14	0.04
Adj R-sq	0.01	0.02	0.00

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

Table A-13: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF),
Independent=Feelings about parental responsibilities (T1E1360N),
subsample=Focal Child 12-18

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
feelings about parental responsibilities (t1e1360n)	2.41*	-0.25	2.24*
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.00	-0.07	-0.05
race, not black or white (rrace02)	-4.65	-8.10	(-7.04*)
education (reduc)	0.07	-0.47	-0.11
father's education (faeduc)	0.00	0.21	0.02
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.11	0.87**	0.42*
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.11	-0.02	-0.01
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	10.37	4.08	4.17
labor market background			
# hours work/ week (rhrs1wk)	0.03	-0.09	-0.04
paid work at home (pdhmwk2)	-5.10	6.12*	1.25
stable work sched. (wksched2)	3.96*	-2.98	0.77
travel overnight (travel2)	-0.31	-3.07	0.97
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal3)	0.20	-2.06	(-2.43^)
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.00	(-0.02^)	(-0.02*)
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles			
(wkfamatt)	-0.16	0.18	-0.10
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.26	0.16	0.21
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	(-0.86*)	-0.09	(-0.45^)
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child			
(sact3182)	0.40	-0.04	0.05
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.47^	0.07	0.47*
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-2.01	0.21	-0.66
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.42	0.31	0.10
weeks employed (swksempl)	0.09^	-0.04	0.02
hours last week (shrs1wk)	(-0.20*)	-0.07	(-0.14**)

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

**Table A-13, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF),
Independent=Feelings about parental responsibilities (T1E1360N),
subsample=Focal Child 12-18**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1) -	0.14	-0.08	0.10
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	10.78*
sex*parental involvement (gt1e1360)	—	—	(-2.74*)
intercept	-8.60	5.72	-1.96
N	184	188	372
R-square	0.22	0.18	0.11
Adj R-sq	0.10	0.06	0.04

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-14: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF),
Independent=Feelings about parental responsibilities (T1E1360N),
subsample=Any Child 5-18**

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
parental involvement			
feelings about parental responsibilities (t1e1360n)	1.03 [^]	0.74	1.03 [^]
sociodemographic controls			
age (age)	0.05	-0.13	-0.05
race, not black or white (rrace02)	-1.21	(-7.40*)	(-3.28 [^])
education (reduc)	-0.12	0.08	-0.03
father's education (faeduc)	0.20	-0.27	0.05
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.05	0.33*	0.09
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.05	0.00	0.01
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	8.10*	-0.22	3.49
labor market background			
# hours work/ week (hrslwk)	0.02	(-0.09 [^])	-0.02
paid work at home (pdhmwk2)	-2.45	1.33	-1.12
stable work sched. (wksched2)	1.67	(-2.43 [^])	0.32
travel overnight (travel2)	-0.40	0.48	0.12
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal3)	-1.42	-2.27	(-2.24*)
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
attitude controls			
work & family/gender roles			
(wkfamatt)	-0.09	0.12	-0.01
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.05	0.10	0.04
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	(-0.39*)	-0.11	-0.23
spouse/partner characteristics			
sum of activities with child			
(sact3182)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.26	0.17	0.25*
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.56	0.18	-0.25
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent			
(spatt29b)	-0.05	0.19	-0.06
weeks employed (swksemp1)	0.04	-0.06	0.02
hours last week (shrslwk)	-0.04	-0.03	-0.03

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

**Table A-14, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
 Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF),
 Independent=Feelings about parental responsibilities (T1E1360N),
 subsample=Any Child 5-18**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>other non-market activities</i>			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.32*	-0.18	0.17
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	0.37
sex*parental involvement (gt1e1360)	—	—	-0.31
intercept	-5.09	9.00	-1.00
N	486	400	886
R-square	0.08	0.08	0.05
Adj R-sq	0.04	0.02	0.02

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

Table A-15: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF), Independent=Hours/week in youth groups (CHGPSGT5), subsample=Any Child 5-18

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
parental involvement			
hours/week in youth groups (chgpsgt5)	0.02	0.15*	0.02
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.09	-0.13	-0.02
race, not black or white (race02)	-1.44	(-7.00*)	(-3.42 [^])
education (reduc)	-0.13	0.01	-0.04
father's education (faeduc)	0.16	-0.25	0.04
family characteristics			
age of youngest child (ayoc)	-0.11	0.25	0.02
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.05	-0.01	0.01
proportion of housework done by man (mprophwk)	8.44*	-2.26	3.49
labor market background			
# hours work/ week (rhrslwk)	0.01	(-0.08 [^])	-0.03
paid work at home (pdhmk2)	-2.39	1.30	-1.12
stable work sched. (wksched2)	1.87	(-3.32*)	0.22
travel overnight (travel2)	-0.16	1.12	0.33
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal3)	-1.32	-2.13	(-2.22*)
months in current job (cjobtime)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
attitude controls			
<i>work & family/gender roles</i>			
(wkfamatt)	-0.11	0.00	-0.06
traditional familism (fcohatt)	0.04	0.08	0.02
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	(-0.37 [^])	0.08	-0.15
spouse/partner characteristics			
<i>sum of activities with child</i>			
(sact3182)	-0.02	-0.09	-0.06
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.29 [^]	0.27	0.30*
how often has fun with child (sfunwch)	-0.49	0.36	-0.09
often wishes to be free from responsibilities of being a parent (spatt29b)	0.10	0.07	-0.04
weeks employed (swksemp1)	0.05 [^]	-0.07	0.03
hours last week (shrslwk)	-0.06	-0.06	-0.04

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

**Table A-15, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=change in prestige (PRDIFF),
Independent=Hours/week in youth groups (CHGPSGT5),
subsample=Any Child 5-18**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.30*	-0.10	0.18^
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	-1.07
sex*parental involvement (gchgppt5)	—	—	0.10
intercept	-1.77	15.82^	2.67
N	464	372	836
R-square	0.08	0.08	0.05
Adj R-sq	0.04	0.02	0.02

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-16: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=Log of 1994 Earnings (T2EARNLN),
Independent=Hours physically caring for child (RCAREHR4),
subsample=Focal Child 0-4**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
hours physically caring for child (rcarehr4)	0.05	(-0.23 [^])	0.05
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	(-0.13 [*])	0.08	-0.03
white; all other races omitted (rracew2)	-0.61	-1.58	-1.09
education (reduc)	0.35 ^{**}	0.21	0.27 [*]
father's education (faeduc)	0.07	-0.14	0.01
family characteristics			
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.63	-3.79	-1.07
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.02	0.00	-0.01
labor market background			
log of 1987 earnings (t1earnln)	0.10	0.20	0.21
# hours work/ week (hrslwk)	0.01	0.01	0.01
travel overnight (travel2)	0.04	0.51	0.22
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal3)	0.02	2.06 [*]	.82 [^]
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.01	0.00	0.00
attitude controls			
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.00	0.04	0.01
spouse/partner characteristics			
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.01	0.02	0.02
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	-0.04	-0.15	(-0.09 [^])
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	-0.11	0.14	0.01
weeks employed (swksemp)	-0.01	0.05	0.00
hours last week (shrslwk)	0.00	0.00	0.00

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

continued

Table A-16, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=Log of 1994 Earnings (T2EARNLN), Independent=Hours physically caring for child (RCAREHR4)

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
Other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.02	0.05	0.00
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	0.26
sex*parental involvement (grcarehr)	—	—	(-0.33*)
intercept	7.88*	1.45	5.30^
N	174	137	311
R-square	0.16	0.23	0.20
Adj R-sq	0.05	0.10	0.14

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-17: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=Log of 1994 Earnings (T2EARNLN),
Independent=Tell location rules (NEW313), subsample=Focal
Child 5-11**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
parental involvement			
tell location rules (new313)	1.27 [^]	1.65 [^]	1.43 [*]
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.01	0.07	0.04
white; all other races omitted (rracew2)	0.99 [^]	0.99	0.97 [*]
education (reduc)	-0.01	0.10	0.01
father's education (faeduc)	0.04	0.01	0.03
family characteristics			
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.80	(-3.50 ^{**})	(-1.48 [*])
total housework hours (t1hwk)	-0.02	(-0.02 [^])	(-0.02 [*])
labor market background			
log of 1987 earnings (t1earnln)	0.70 [*]	0.44 [^]	0.53 ^{**}
# hours work/ week (hrslwk)	0.02	0.08 ^{****}	0.04 ^{****}
travel overnight (travel2)	0.31	-0.74	0.09
type of pay (else omitted) salaried (paysal3)	-0.03	-0.37	-0.17
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.00	0.00	0.00
attitude controls			
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.11 [^]	0.03	0.10 [*]
spouse/partner characteristics			
hours of housework (srhkw2)	0.01	0.01	0.01
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.08	-0.05	0.01
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.02	0.02	0.02
weeks employed (swksemp1)	-0.01	-0.01	(-0.02 [*])
hours last week (shrslwk)	0.01	0.04	0.02

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

continued

**Table A-17, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=Log of 1994 Earnings (T2EARNLN),
Independent=Tell location rules (NEW313), subsample=Focal
Child 5-11**

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.05	-0.08	0.02
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	0.55
sex*parental involvement (gnew313)	—	—	0.11
intercept	-3.60	-3.35	-2.29
N	271	225	496
R-square	0.19	0.24	0.20
Adj R-sq	0.13	0.17	0.16

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-18: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=Log of 1994 Earnings (T2EARNLN),
Independent=Chore rules (F511CHOR), subsample=Focal Child 5-11**

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
parental involvement			
chore rules (f511chor)	0.08	0.37*	0.09
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	0.00	0.06	0.03
white; all other races omitted (rracew2)	0.91	1.28^	1.04*
education (reduc)	0.01	0.08	0.02
father's education (faeduc)	0.04	0.02	0.03
family characteristics			
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.81	(-3.56**)	(-1.53*)
total housework hours (t1hwk)	(-0.02^)	(-0.02^)	(-0.02*)
labor market background			
log of 1987 earnings (t1earnln)	0.74*	0.41^	0.51**
# hours work/ week (rhrlwk)	0.02	0.07****	0.04****
travel overnight (travel2)	0.24	-0.77	0.04
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salaried (paysal3)	0.00	-0.40	-0.15
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.00	0.00	0.00
attitude controls			
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.11^	0.03	0.10*
spouse/partner characteristics			
hours of housework (srhwk2)	0.01	0.01	0.01
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.08	-0.05	0.02
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	0.03	0.01	0.02
weeks employed (swksemp)	-0.01	0.00	(-0.01^)
hours last week (shrslwk)	0.01	0.04	0.02

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

**Table A-18, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=Log of 1994 Earnings (T2EARNLN),
Independent=Chore rules (F511CHOR), subsample=Focal Child 5-11**

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
other non-market activities			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.06	-0.11	0.01
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	0.30
sex*parental involvement (g511chor)	—	—	0.18
intercept	-3.35	-1.65	-1.07
N	274	225	499
R-square	0.18	0.24	0.19
Adj R-sq	0.12	0.17	0.15

^p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

**Table A-19: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model,
Dependent Variable=Log of 1994 Earnings (T2EARNLN),
Independent=Shared activities with child (ALLACT04),
subsample=Any Child 0-4**

	<i>fathers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>mothers</i> <i>b</i>	<i>interaction</i> <i>b</i>
parental involvement			
how often shares activities with child (allact04)	0.29**	-0.50	0.02
sociodemographic controls			
age (rage)	-0.07	0.19	0.07
white; all other races omitted (r racew2)	0.89	-2.26	-0.98
education (reduc)	-0.04	0.25	0.19
father's education (faeduc)	(-0.15 [^])	-0.04	-0.04
family characteristics			
non-bio/adopted child in household (otherch)	-0.85	0.00	0.27
total housework hours (t1hwk)	0.01	0.00	-0.01
labor market background			
log of 1987 earnings (t1earnln)	0.33	0.25	0.20
# hours work/ week (rhrslwk)	0.01	0.00	0.01
travel overnight (travel2)	(-0.81 [^])	1.54	0.08
<i>type of pay (else omitted)</i>			
salaried (paidsa13)	0.17	1.66	0.52
months in current job (cjobtime)	0.00	0.01	0.01
attitude controls			
anti-religious fundamentalism (sanity)	0.13 [^]	0.04	0.02
spouse/partner characteristics			
hours of housework (srhkw2)	0.01	-0.09	0.01
sum of activities with child (sact3182)	0.01	-0.20	-0.10
sum of shared meals (seat3182)	-0.11	0.37	0.08
weeks employed (swksemp1)	(-0.03 [^])	0.04	-0.01
hours last week (shrslwk)	0.03	0.02	0.02

[^]p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

continued

Table A-19, con't: Multivariate Regression Results for Full Model, Dependent Variable=Log of 1994 Earnings (T2EARNLN), Independent=Shared activities with child (ALLACT04), subsample=Any Child 0-4

	<i>fathers</i>	<i>mothers</i>	<i>interaction</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>other non-market activities</i>			
time spent with friends etc. (rfun1)	0.02	0.28 [^]	0.16 [*]
respondent's sex (rsex2)	—	—	3.79
sex*parental involvement (gallact4)	—	—	-0.44
intercept	5.87	-0.72	1.51
N	93	74	167
R-square	0.25	0.31	0.24
Adj R-sq	0.06	0.08	0.13

[^]p<.10, ^{*}p<.05, ^{**}p<.01, ^{***}p<.001, ^{****}p<.0001

Appendix B: Illustrations of Final Regression Equation Modeling

Table B-1: Example of final regression model equation for EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), for any child 5-18 subsample and ALACT518 (shared activities with child)

var	parameter estimate	prob	mean	b*mean	intercept	sum b*mean	b of alact	value of alact518	b*alact	Y^ dads
R sex=0: male										
R-square	0.0634									
Adj R-sq	0.0154									
			$Y^i = a + b(\text{mean CV1}) + b(\text{mean CV2}) + \dots + b(\text{alact518})$							
INTERCEP	-45.846886	0.075								
ALACT518	0.588208	0.217								
RAGE	0.227622	0.6053	38.459	8.7541145	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	0	0	-5.86984
REDUC	0.51493	0.5434	13.197	6.7955312	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	1	0.588208	-5.281632
FAEDUC	0.639896	0.2228	9.931	6.3548072	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	2	1.176416	-4.693424
AYOC	-0.359221	0.4721	7.541	-2.708886	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	3	1.764624	-4.105216
OTHERCH	-6.564799	0.3458	0.124	-0.814035	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	4	2.352832	-3.517008
T1HWK	-0.099154	0.5446	22.799	-2.260612	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	5	2.94104	-2.9288
MPROPHWK	-16.872561	0.202	0.366	-6.175357	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	6	3.529248	-2.340592
RWKSEMP1	-0.130106	0.6852	49.649	-6.459633	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	7	4.117456	-1.752384
RHRSLWK	0.155457	0.1685	42.903	6.6695717	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	8	4.705664	-1.164176
PDHMKW2	-8.744135	0.1398	0.086	-0.751996	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	9	5.293872	-0.575968
WKSCHED2	1.826194	0.6406	0.691	1.2619001	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	10	5.88208	0.01224
TRAVEL2	-3.161519	0.4332	0.315	-0.995878	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	11	6.470288	0.600448
PAIDSAL2	1.42447	0.7505	0.391	0.5569678	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	12	7.058496	1.188656
PAIDOTR2	4.855847	0.3787	0.156	0.7575121	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	13	7.646704	1.776864
CJOBTIME	-0.021154	0.4704	194.017	-4.104236	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	14	8.234912	2.365072
WKFAMATT	0.686008	0.3027	13.545	9.2919784	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	15	8.82312	2.95328
FCOHATT	0.937083	0.062	12.241	11.470833	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	16	9.411328	3.541488
SANITY	-0.300526	0.6603	8.603	-2.585425	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	17	9.999536	4.129696
SACT3182	-0.34887	0.5199	16.509	-5.759495	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	18	10.587744	4.717904
SEAT3182	1.024379	0.0667	9.806	10.04506	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	19	11.175952	5.306112
SFUNWCH	2.500628	0.1601	4.206	10.517641	-45.8469	39.97706	0.588208	20	11.76416	5.89432
SPATT29B	0.836466	0.6581	3.968	3.3190971						
SWKSEMP1	-0.044322	0.6857	32.538	-1.442149						
SEMPPYPT	-2.021623	0.6787	0.38	-0.768217						
RFUN1	-0.110991	0.8158	8.938	-0.992038						
				39.977059						

continued

Table B-1, cont'.: Example of final regression model equation for EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), for any child 5-18 subsample and ALACT518 (shared activities with child)

R sex=1: female

R-square 0.0887

Adj R-sq 0.0367

var	parameter estimate	prob	mean	b*mean	intercept	sum b*mean	b of alact	value of alact518	b*alact	Y^ moms
INTERCEP	10.565836	0.2255					0.397621	0	0	-2.39426
ALACT518	0.397621	0.0196	36.419	-0.769461	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	1	0.397621	-1.996639
RAGE	-0.021128	0.8732	12.727	2.8494226	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	2	0.795242	-1.599018
REDUC	0.223888	0.4954	10.207	-1.682501	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	3	1.192863	-1.201397
FAEDUC	-0.164838	0.3763	8.857	-0.877578	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	4	1.590484	-0.803776
AYOC	-0.099083	0.5733	0.057	-0.411943	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	5	1.988105	-0.406155
OTHERCH	-7.227076	0.0234	40.879	0.3303841	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	6	2.385726	-0.008534
T1HWK	0.008082	0.8094	0.297	0.6128245	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	7	2.783347	0.389087
MPROPHWK	2.063382	0.6371	44.992	-7.870599	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	8	3.180968	0.786708
RWKSEMP	-0.174942	0.0003	33.047	0.29815	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	9	3.578589	1.184329
RHRSLWK	0.009022	0.8268	0.078	0.0725856	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	10	3.97621	1.58195
PDHMMWK2	0.930584	0.6348	0.73	0.9260809	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	11	4.373831	1.979571
WKSCHED2	1.268604	0.3844	0.118	0.0560617	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	12	4.771452	2.377192
TRAVEL2	0.475099	0.7938	0.302	0.3587802	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	13	5.169073	2.774813
PAIDSAL2	1.188014	0.4152	0.114	0.1095264	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	14	5.566694	3.172434
PAIDOTR2	0.960758	0.6145	105.977	-0.93938	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	15	5.964315	3.570055
CJOBTIME	-0.008864	0.3141	14.505	-4.08178	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	16	6.361936	3.967676
WKFAMATT	-0.281405	0.182	13.214	2.6918768	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	17	6.759557	4.365297
FCOHATT	0.203714	0.2705	8.136	0.1345206	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	18	7.157178	4.762918
SANITY	0.016534	0.9444	13.637	-1.956255	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	19	7.554799	5.160539
SACT3182	-0.143452	0.4139	7.432	0.4267231	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621	20	7.95242	5.55816
SEAT3182	0.057417	0.7572	3.74	-0.171808	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621			
SFUNWCH	-0.045938	0.9395	3.934	0.8742213	10.56584	-12.9601	0.397621			
SPATT29B	0.222222	0.7408	49	-3.841502						
SVKSEMP	-0.078398	0.3053	0.032	-0.218966						
SEMPYPPT	-6.842691	0.1479	8.715	0.1209555						
RFUN1	0.013879	0.9319	-12.96005							

continued

Table B-1, con't: Example of final regression model equation for EDIFFK (change in earnings/1000), for any child 5-18 subsample and ALACT518 (shared activities with child)

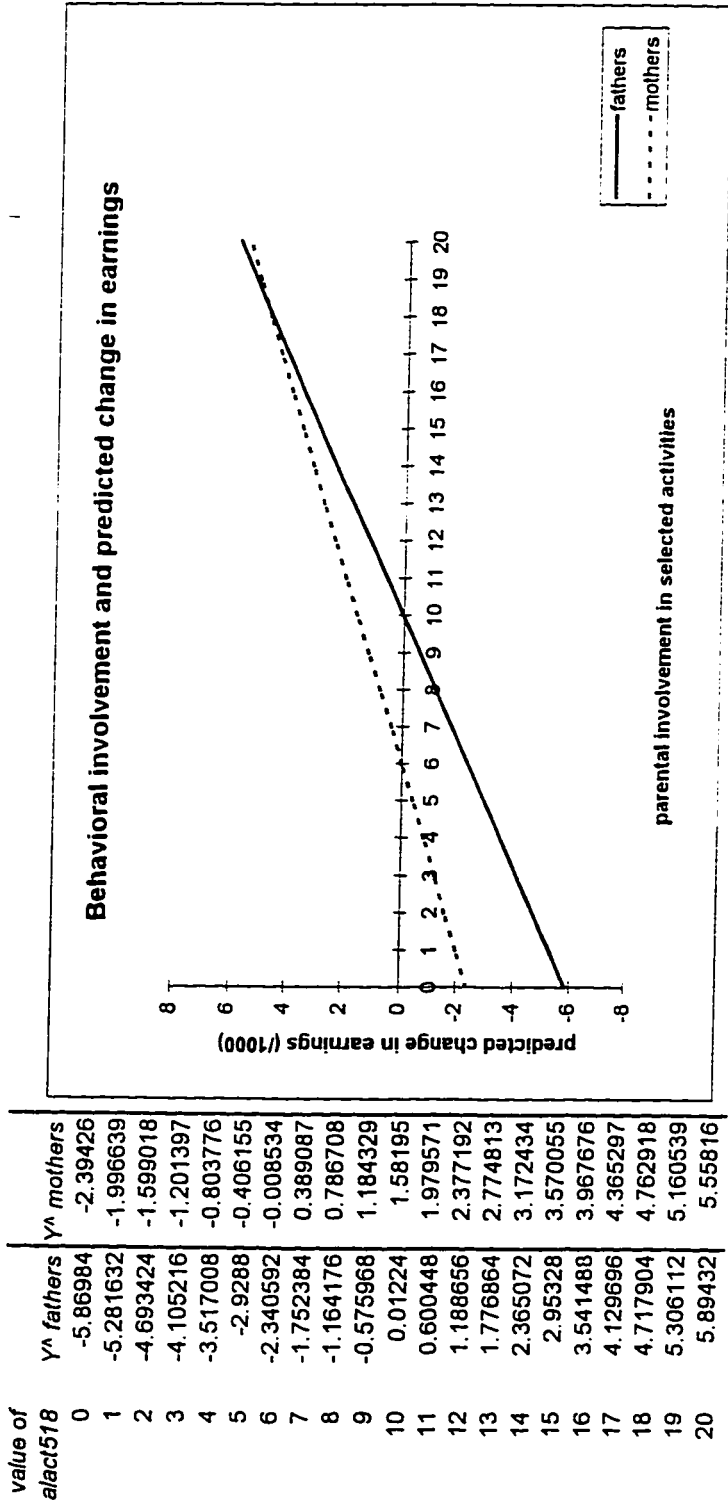


Table B-2: Example of final regression model equation for EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), for any child 5-18 subsample and MEALSGT5 (number of shared meals with child)

var	parameter est.	prob	Mean	b*mean	intercept	sum b*mean	b of mealcen	mealsgt5	b*mealcen	b of mealsq	mealsq	b*mealsq
R sex=0: male	0.0781											
R-square	0.0322											
Adj R-sq												
INTERCEP	1.092374	0.3509	38.459	0.4647	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	0	0	0.012192	0	0
MEALCEN	0.018649	0.4367	13.197	-0.3699	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	1	0.018649	0.012192	1	0.012192
MEALCSQ	0.012192	0.0163	9.931	0.1354	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	2	0.037298	0.012192	4	0.048768
RAGE	0.012083	0.539	7.541	-0.0945	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	3	0.055947	0.012192	9	0.109728
REDUC	-0.028029	0.4434	0.124	-0.0536	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	4	0.074596	0.012192	16	0.195072
FAEDUC	0.013634	0.5653	0.005	0.0132	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	5	0.093245	0.012192	25	0.3048
AYOC	-0.012537	0.5642	22.799	-0.153	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	6	0.111894	0.012192	36	0.438912
OTHERCH	-0.43222	0.1757	0.366	-0.0766	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	7	0.130543	0.012192	49	0.597408
OTRHH	2.639738	0.0087	49.649	-1.1004	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	8	0.149192	0.012192	64	0.780288
T1HWK	-0.006713	0.3499	42.903	-0.0199	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	9	0.167841	0.012192	81	0.987552
MPROPHWK	-0.209235	0.721	0.691	0.20422	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	10	0.18649	0.012192	100	1.2192
RWKSEMP	-0.022163	0.1278	0.391	-0.07	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	11	0.205139	0.012192	121	1.475232
RHRSLWK	-0.000464	0.9278	0.156	0.00838	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	12	0.223788	0.012192	144	1.755648
WKSCHED2	0.295541	0.0932	194.017	-0.461	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	13	0.242437	0.012192	169	2.060448
PAIDSAL2	-0.179022	0.3625	13.545	-0.2756	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649	14	0.261086	0.012192	196	2.389632
PAIDOTR2	0.053708	0.8277	12.241	-0.0037	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649					
CJOBTIME	-0.002376	0.0677	8.603	0.01946	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649					
WKFAMATT	-0.020345	0.4923	16.509	0.07695	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649					
FCOHATT	-0.000299	0.9894	9.806	0.38597	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649					
SANITY	0.002262	0.9412	4.206	0.18983	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649					
SACT3182	0.004661	0.8489	3.968	-0.1643	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649					
SEAT3182	0.039361	0.1267	32.538	0.1717	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649					
SFUNWCH	0.045133	0.579	8.938	0.12107	1.09237	-1.0516	0.018649					
SPATT298	-0.04141	0.6245										
SWKSEMP	0.005277	0.1971										
RFUN1	0.013545	0.5239										

continued

Table B-2, con't: Example of final regression model equation for EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), for any child 5-18 subsample and MEALSGT5 (number of shared meals with child)

R sex=1: female

R-square 0.1795
Adj R-sq 0.1338

var	parameter est.	prob	Mean	b*mean	intercept	sum b*mean	b of meal	mealsgt5	b*meals	b of mealsg	mealsg	b*mealsg
INTERCEP	13.80162	0.0065	36.419	0.78556	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	0	0	-0.01167	0	0
MEALCEN	0.21885	0.0682	12.727	-0.4352	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	1	0.21885	-0.01167	1	-0.01167
MEALCSQ	-0.011666	0.6516	10.207	-1.1041	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	2	0.4377	-0.01167	4	-0.04668
RAGE	0.02157	0.7831	8.857	0.11	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	3	0.65655	-0.01167	9	-0.10503
REDUC	-0.034193	0.8593	0.057	-0.0794	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	4	0.8754	-0.01167	16	-0.18672
FAEDUC	-0.108166	0.3283	0.009	0.02679	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	5	1.09425	-0.01167	25	-0.29175
AYOC	0.01242	0.9056	40.879	-0.1425	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	6	1.3131	-0.01167	36	-0.42012
OTHERCH	-1.392955	0.4545	0.297	0.81794	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	7	1.53195	-0.01167	49	-0.57183
OTRHH	2.976668	0.4425	44.992	-9.1994	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	8	1.7508	-0.01167	64	-0.74688
T1HWK	-0.003486	0.8614	33.047	-0.7397	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	9	1.96965	-0.01167	81	-0.94527
MPROPHWK	2.75399	0.2854	0.73	0.01913	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	10	2.1885	-0.01167	100	-1.167
RWKSEMP	-0.204468	0.0001	0.302	-0.0113	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	11	2.40735	-0.01167	121	-1.41207
RHRSLWK	-0.022382	0.3576	105.977	-0.9379	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	12	2.6262	-0.01167	144	-1.68048
WKSCHE2	0.026208	0.9761	14.505	-1.821	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	13	2.84505	-0.01167	169	-1.97223
PAIDSA2	-0.037252	0.9655	13.214	1.44467	13.8016	-11.828	0.21885	14	3.0639	-0.01167	196	-2.28732
PAIDOTR2	1.92488	0.088	8.136	0.42098								
CJOBTIME	-0.00885	0.0884	13.637	-0.3059								
WKFAMATT	-0.12554	0.3181	7.432	-0.1446								
FCOHATT	0.109329	0.3198	3.74	0.09252								
SANITY	0.051743	0.7143	3.934	-1.5025								
SACT3182	-0.022435	0.824	49	0.54111								
SEAT3182	-0.019461	0.8714	8.715	0.11723								
SFUNWCH	0.024739	0.9451	-11.828									
SPATT29B	-0.38193	0.3379										
SWKSEMP	0.011043	0.794										
RFUN1	0.013452	0.8888										

continued

Table B-2, con't.: Example of final regression model equation for EARNPROP (proportionate change in earnings), for any child 5-18 subsample and MEALSGT5 (number of shared meals with child)

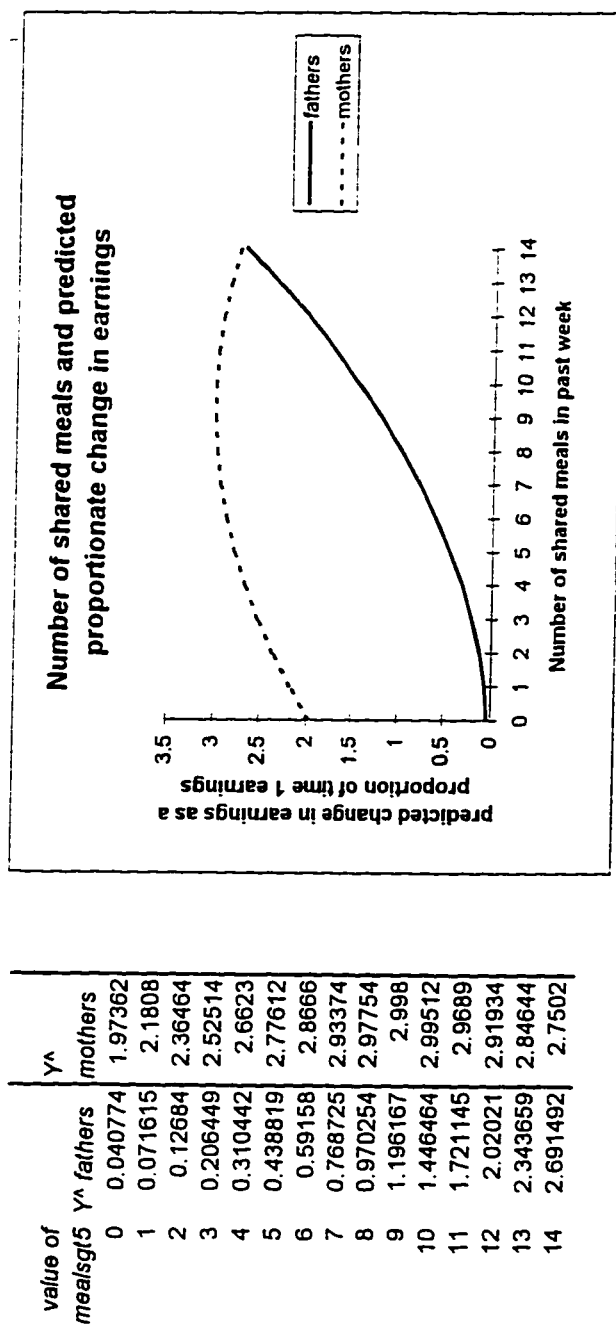


Table B-3: Example of final regression model equation for PRDIFF (change in prestige) for focal child 5-11 subsample and T1E1360N (feelings about parental responsibilities)

var	estimate	prob	mean	b*mean	intercept	sum b*mean	b of t1e1360n	t1e1360n	b*11e1360n	Y^ dads
INTERCEP	-3.409114	0.7129								
T1E1360N	0.733005	0.3622								
RAGE	0.11585	0.5208	36.182	4.1916847	-3.40911	1.050335	0.733005	1	0.733005	-1.62577
RRACEO2	3.842782	0.2598	0.122	0.4688194	-3.40911	1.050335	0.733005	2	1.46601	-0.892765
REDUC	-0.292561	0.4358	13.214	-3.865901	-3.40911	1.050335	0.733005	3	2.199015	-0.15976
FAEDUC	0.570358	0.01	10.197	5.8159405	-3.40911	1.050335	0.733005	4	2.93202	0.573245
AYOC	-0.116187	0.6869	5.862	-0.681088	-3.40911	1.050335	0.733005	5	3.665025	1.30625
T1HWK	-0.123336	0.1429	22.198	-2.737813						
MPROPHWK	10.015928	0.1268	0.372	3.7259252						
RHRSLWK	0.064452	0.2187	42.774	2.7568698						
PDHMMWK2	-2.59262	0.2409	0.088	-0.228151						
WKSCHED2	0.420766	0.7904	0.705	0.29664						
TRAVEL2	-1.904128	0.2278	0.309	-0.588376						
PAIDSAL3	0.2492	0.8859	0.394	0.0981848						
CJOBTIME	-0.012768	0.3124	168.035	-2.145471						
WKFAMATT	-0.425191	0.1182	13.704	-5.826817						
FCOHATT	-0.026384	0.8998	12.567	-0.331568						
SANITY	0.141025	0.6186	8.698	1.2266355						
SACT3182	-0.359291	0.1303	17.303	-6.216812						
SEAT3182	0.101029	0.6636	10.1	1.0203929						
SFUNWCH	-0.049883	0.9433	4.205	-0.209758						
SPATT29B	-0.306593	0.6931	3.989	-1.222999						
SWKSEMP	0.011113	0.7598	31.799	0.3533823						
SHRSLWK	0.068128	0.2969	31.511	2.1467814						
RFUN1	0.326397	0.0885	9.203	3.0038316						
				1.0503345						

continued

Table B-3, cont': Example of final regression model equation for PRDIFF (change in prestige) for focal child 5-11 subsample and T1E1360N (feelings about parental responsibilities)

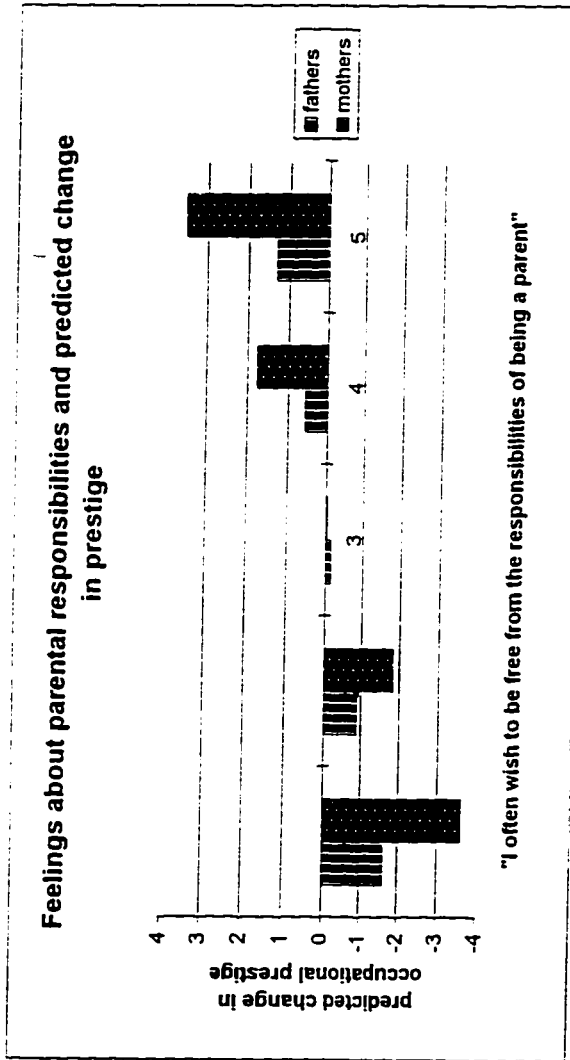
R sex=1: female 0.1443
 R-square 0.1443
 Adj R-sq 0.0213

var	parameter estimate	prob	mean	b*mean	intercept	sum b*mean	b of t1e1360n	t1e1360n	b*11e1360n	Y^ moms
INTERCEP	10.761634	0.4198			10.76163		1.790236			
T1E1360N	1.790236	0.0784			10.76163		1.790236	1	1.790236	-3.619234
RAGE	-0.141199	0.531	33.388	-4.714352	10.76163	-16.1711	1.790236			
RRACEO2	-4.181742	0.3287	0.084	-0.351266	10.76163	-16.1711	1.790236			
REDUC	-0.112936	0.832	12.781	-1.443435	10.76163	-16.1711	1.790236			
FAEDUC	-0.573165	0.0695	10.34	-5.926526	10.76163	-16.1711	1.790236			
AYOC	-0.189795	0.6245	6.625	-1.257392	10.76163	-16.1711	1.790236			
T1HWK	0.004692	0.9239	41.077	0.1927333	10.76163	-16.1711	1.790236			
MPROPHWK	-4.341271	0.5355	0.308	-1.337111						
RHRSLWK	-0.126455	0.1077	33.082	-4.183384						
PDHMK2	-3.624387	0.2743	0.053	-0.192093						
WKSCHED2	-3.719449	0.1006	0.722	-2.685442						
TRAVEL2	3.419492	0.2328	0.118	0.4035001						
PAIDSAL3	-2.055325	0.3661	0.283	-0.581657						
CJOBTIME	0.001604	0.9084	94.746	0.1519726						
WKFAMATT	0.214813	0.5367	14.633	3.1433586						
FCOHATT	0.32768	0.2386	13.31	4.3614208						
SANITY	-0.082954	0.8283	8.08	-0.670268						
SACT3182	-0.176139	0.5556	14.902	-2.624823						
SEAT3182	0.364381	0.1861	7.617	2.7754901						
SFUNWCH	0.891436	0.3652	3.933	3.5060178						
SPATT29B	-0.14137	0.8886	3.957	-0.559401						
SWKSEMP1	-0.028714	0.7806	48.16	-1.382866						
SHRSLWK	0.024161	0.7868	44.095	1.0653793						
RFUN1	-0.421867	0.1236	9.152	-3.860927						
				-16.17107						

continued

Table B-3, cont': Example of final regression model equation for PRDIFF (change in prestige) for focal child 5-11 subsample and T1E1360N (feelings about parental responsibilities)

value of T1E1360N	Y^{\wedge} fathers	Y^{\wedge} mothers
1	-1.62577	-3.619234
2	-0.892765	-1.828998
3	-0.15976	-0.038762
4	0.573245	1.751474
5	1.30625	3.54171



- 1=strongly agree
- 2=agree
- 3=neither agree nor disagree
- 4=disagree
- 5=strongly disagree

Table B-4: Example of final regression model equation for T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), for any child 0-4 subsample and ALLACT04 (shared activities with child)

variable	parameter est.	prob	mean	b*mean	intercept	Sum b*mean	b of allact	allact04	b*allact	Y^ dads
INTERCEP	5.873979	0.178								
ALLACT04	0.285055	0.008	10.049				0.285055		0	7940.275
RAGE	-0.074854	0.2734	30.061	-2.250186	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	1	0.285055	7940.56
RRACEW2	0.885158	0.3472	0.854	0.7559249	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	2	0.57011	7940.8451
REDUC	-0.037812	0.7856	13.649	-0.516096	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	3	0.855165	7941.1301
FAEDUC	-0.147884	0.0502	11.724	-1.733792	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	4	1.14022	7941.4152
OTHERCH	-0.852442	0.6426	0.021	-0.017901	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	5	1.425275	7941.7003
T1HWK	0.007568	0.6184	22.853	0.1729515	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	6	1.71033	7941.9853
T1EARNLN	0.327735	0.4594	24216.21	7936.5006	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	7	1.995385	7942.2704
RHRSLWK	0.012289	0.4403	44.737	0.549773	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	8	2.28044	7942.5554
TRAVEL2	-0.81114	0.0864	0.299	-0.242531	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	9	2.565495	7942.8405
PAIDSAL3	0.173761	0.7363	0.406	0.070547	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	10	2.85055	7943.1255
CJOBTIME	0.00396	0.4468	109.997	0.4355881	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	11	3.135605	7943.4106
SANITY	0.131483	0.0777	9.176	1.206488	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	12	3.42066	7943.6956
SRHWK2	0.013243	0.3538	39.616	0.5246347	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	13	3.705715	7943.9807
SACT3182	0.012622	0.85	18.532	0.2339109	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	14	3.99077	7944.2657
SEAT3182	-0.111047	0.1171	11.432	-1.269489	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055	15	4.275825	7944.5508
SWKSEMP	-0.031685	0.0079	32.948	-1.043957	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055			
SHRSLWK	0.026821	0.1828	29.958	0.8035035	5.873979	7934.401	0.285055			
RFUN1	0.022437	0.7215	9.841	0.2208025						
			7934.4007							

continued

Table B-4, cont': Example of final regression model equation for T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), for any child 0-4 subsample and ALLACT04 (shared activities with child)

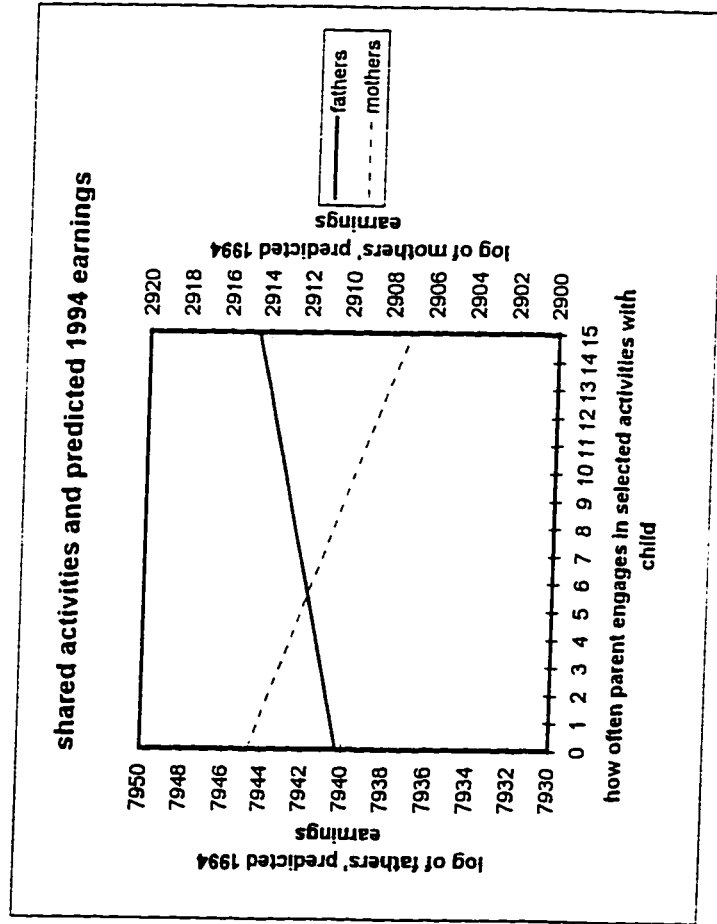
variable	parameter estimate	prob	mean	b*mean	intercept	sum b*mean	b of allact	allact04	b*allact	Y^
INTERCEP	-0.719487	0.9394								0
ALLACT04	-0.501241	0.2054	11.147				-0.50124			1
RAGE	0.189079	0.3848	27.162	5.1357638	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	0	0	2914.6435
RRACEW2	-2.259722	0.4452	0.817	-1.846193	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	1	-0.50124	2914.1423
REDUC	0.249029	0.578	13.418	3.3414711	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	2	-1.00248	2913.641
FAEDUC	-0.037549	0.8773	12.001	-0.450626	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	3	-1.50372	2913.1398
T1HWK	0.003439	0.9212	41.194	0.1416662	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	4	-2.00496	2912.6386
T1EARNLN	0.252065	0.7385	11519.79	2903.7361	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	5	-2.5062	2912.1373
RHRSLWK	0.001505	0.9671	29.669	0.0446518	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	6	-3.00744	2911.6361
TRAVEL2	1.536107	0.5023	0.144	0.2211994	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	7	-3.50868	2911.1348
PAIDSAL3	1.659542	0.2825	0.331	0.5493084	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	8	-4.00992	2910.6336
CJOBTIME	0.006193	0.6778	67.698	0.4192537	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	9	-4.51116	2910.1324
SANITY	0.036607	0.8856	8.588	0.3143809	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	10	-5.0124	2909.6311
SRHWK2	-0.090174	0.1545	18.079	-1.630256	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	11	-5.51364	2909.1299
SACT3182	-0.203508	0.2605	16.041	-3.264472	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	12	-6.01488	2908.6286
SEAT3182	0.367061	0.1207	8.163	2.9963189	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	13	-6.51612	2908.1274
SWKSEMP1	0.043003	0.5441	48.265	2.0755398	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	14	-7.01736	2907.6262
SHRSLWK	0.020736	0.7406	45.333	0.9400251	-0.71949	2915.363	-0.50124	15	-7.5186	2907.1249
RFUN1	0.278608	0.0737	9.473	2.6392536						
				2915.3634						

continued

R sex=1: female
 R-square 0.3089
 Adj R-sq 0.0827

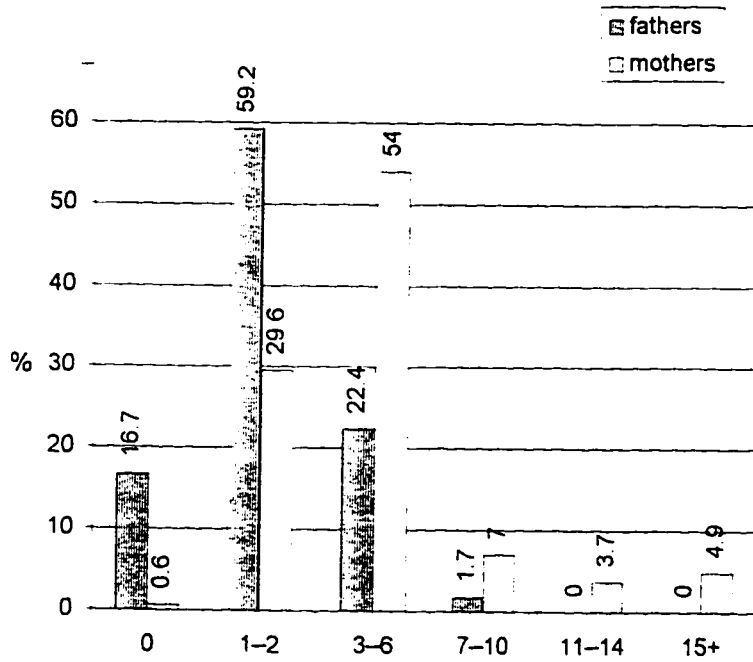
Table B-4, cont': Example of final regression model equation for T2EARNLN (log of 1994 earnings), for any child 0-4 subsample and ALLACT04 (shared activities with child)

value of allact04	Y ^h fathers	Y ^h mothers
0	7940.275	2914.644
1	7940.56	2914.142
2	7940.8451	2913.641
3	7941.1301	2913.14
4	7941.4152	2912.639
5	7941.7003	2912.137
6	7941.9853	2911.636
7	7942.2704	2911.135
8	7942.5554	2910.634
9	7942.8405	2910.132
10	7943.1255	2909.631
11	7943.4106	2909.13
12	7943.6956	2908.629
13	7943.9807	2908.127
14	7944.2657	2907.626
15	7944.5508	2907.125



sum of 3 items, each of which ranges from 0 (never) to 5 (almost every day)

**Appendix C: Frequency Distributions of Indicators of
Parental Involvement in 1994**

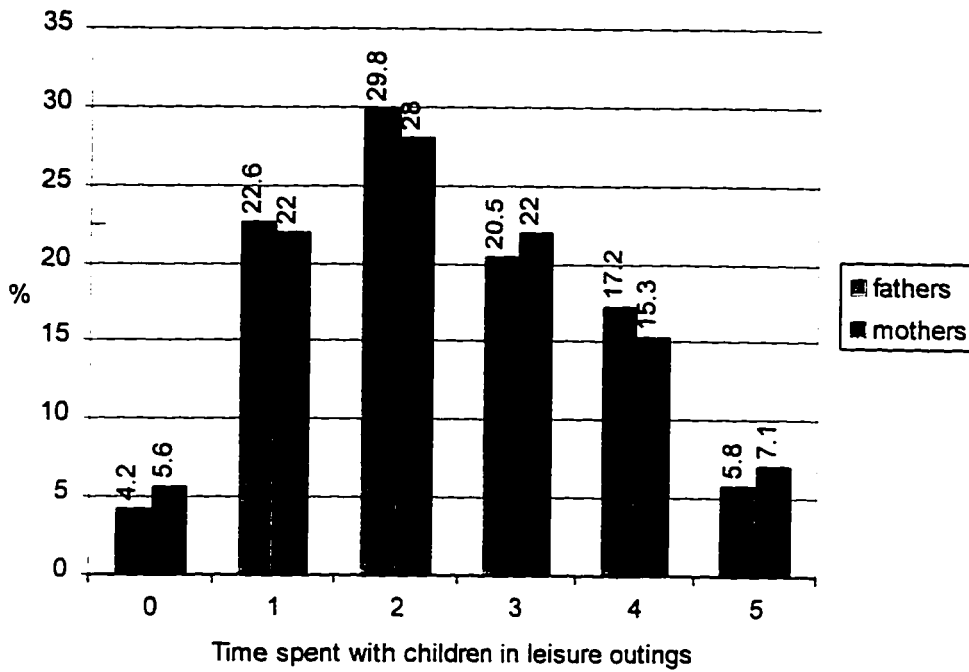


Typical number of hours/day spent caring for child's physical needs (rcarehr4)

	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	174	1.82	1.75
<i>mothers</i>	159	4.82	4.71

Source: NSFH 2

Figure C-1: Involvement with focal child 0-4 in 1994 (rcarehr4)

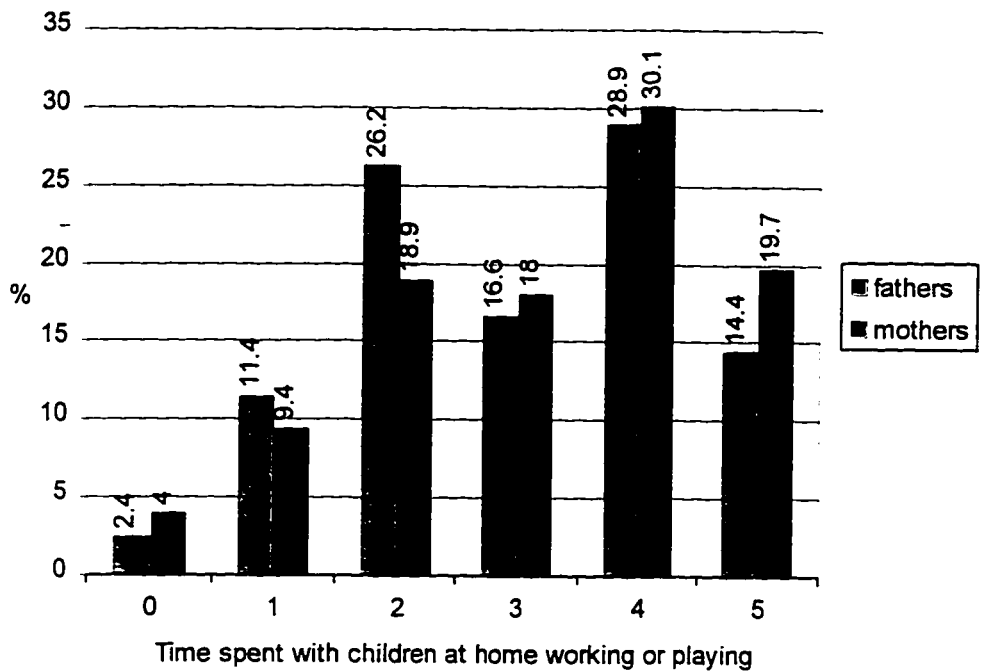


	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	1041	3.41	1.28
<i>mothers</i>	2202	3.41	1.32

- 0='never or rarely'
- 1='once a month or less'
- 2='several times a month'
- 3='about once/week'
- 4='several times a week'
- 5='almost every day'

Source: NSFH 2

Figure C-2: Involvement with all children age 0-18 in 1994 (mt908a)

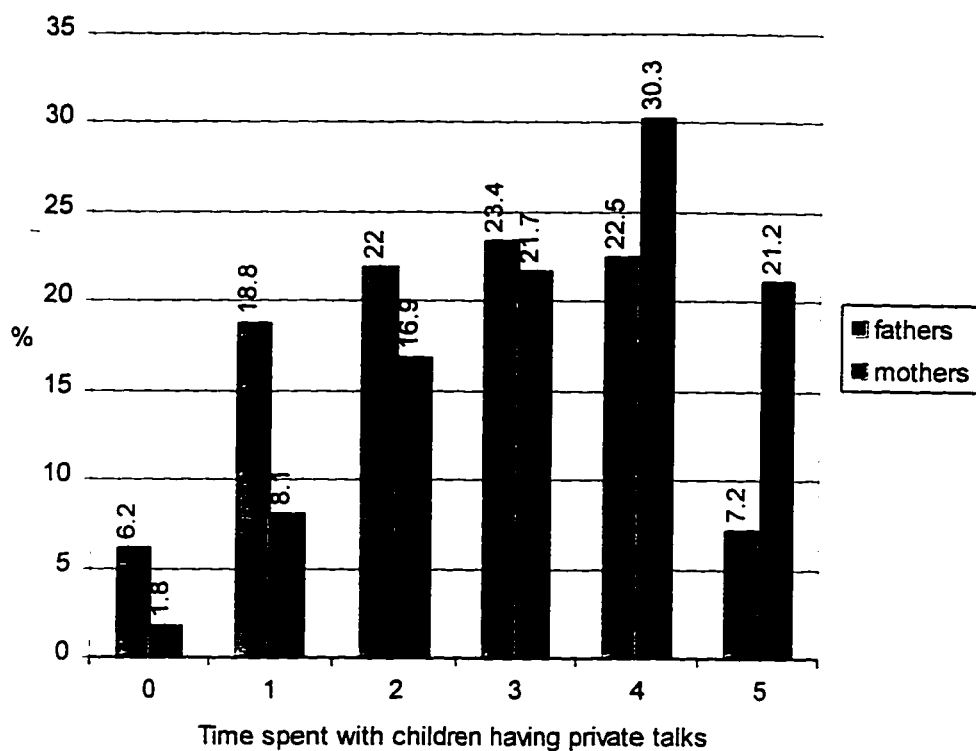


	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	1041	4.01	1.34
<i>mothers</i>	2196	4.20	1.40

- 0='never or rarely'
- 1='once a month or less'
- 2='several times a month'
- 3='about once/week'
- 4='several times a week'
- 5='almost every day'

Source: NSFH 2

Figure C-3: Involvement with all children age 0-18 in 1994 (mt908b)

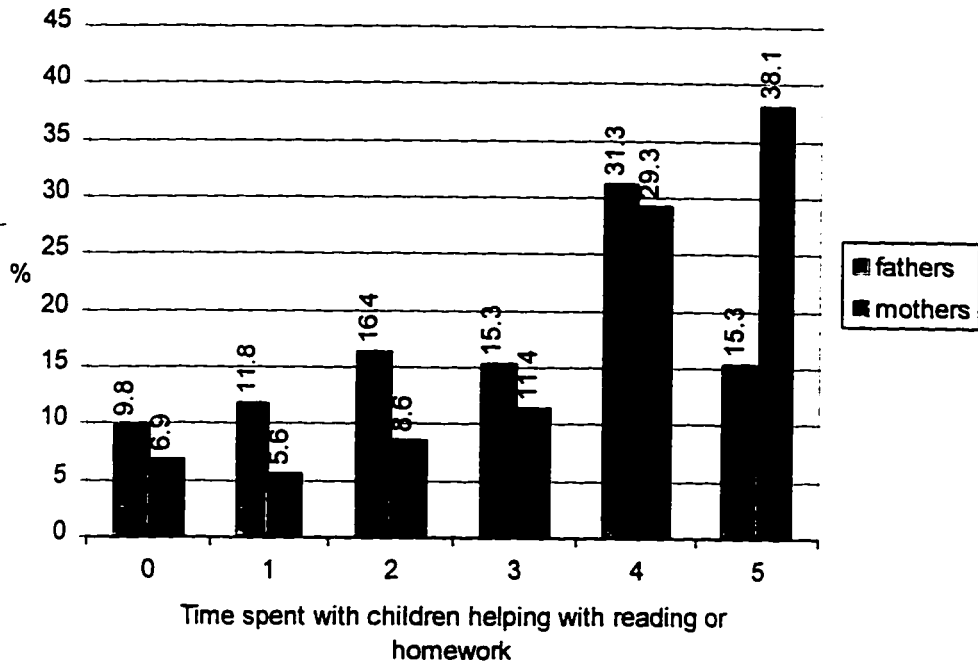


	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	1040	3.59	1.37
<i>mothers</i>	2198	4.34	1.30

0='never or rarely'
 1='once a month or less'
 2='several times a month'
 3='about once/week'
 4='several times a week'
 5='almost every day'

Source: NSFH 2

Figure C-4: Involvement with all children age 0-18 in 1994 (mt908c)

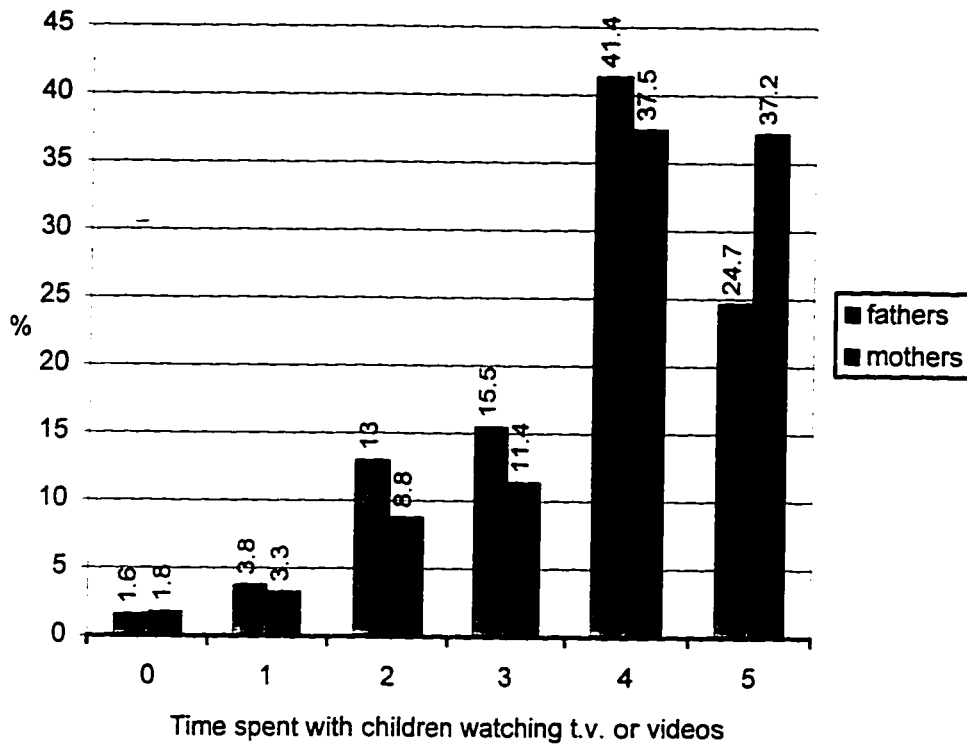


	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	1037	3.93	1.56
<i>mothers</i>	2197	4.65	1.53

0='never or rarely'
 1='once a month or less'
 2='several times a month'
 3='about once/week'
 4='several times a week'
 5='almost every day'

Source: NSFH 2

Figure C-5: Involvement with all children age 0-18 in 1994 (mt908d)



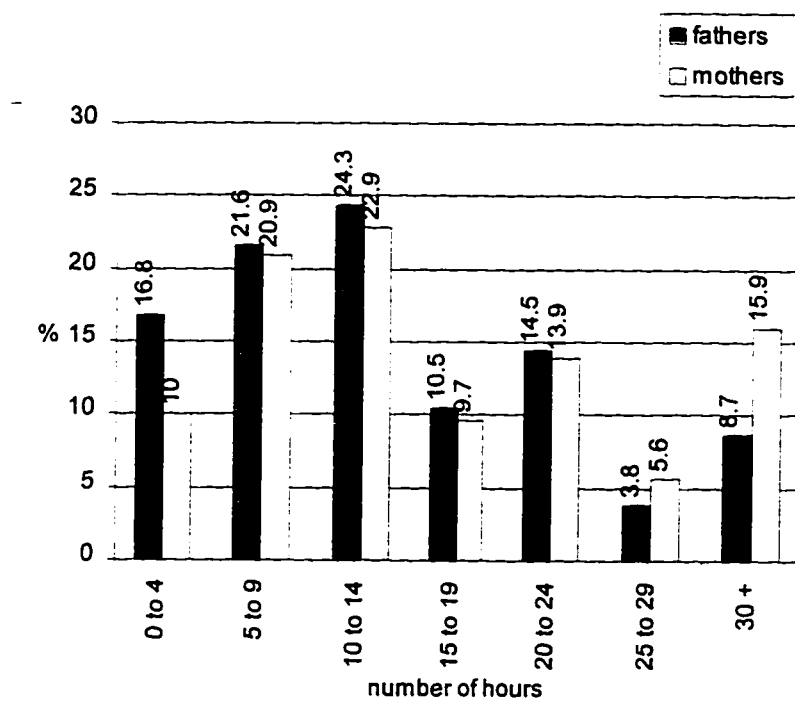
	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	1042	4.65	1.19
<i>mothers</i>	2205	4.91	1.19

- 0='never or rarely'
- 1='once a month or less'
- 2='several times a month'
- 3='about once/week'
- 4='several times a week'
- 5='almost every day'

Source: NSFH 2

Figure C-6: Involvement with all children age 0-18 in 1994 (mt908e)

Total number of hours last week spent doing all of the above activities (leisure outings, playing, talking, reading/homework, watching t.v.)



	<i>N</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>
<i>fathers</i>	1021	13.63	10.90
<i>mothers</i>	2145	17.10	13.73

Source: NSFH 2

Figure C-7: Involvement with all children age 0-18 in 1994 (mt909)

June 1997

CURRICULUM VITA

TOSKA OLSON

Department of Sociology, Box 353340
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195
(206) 543-5882
e-mail: toska@u.washington.edu
SS#: 574-66-2260

Education

- Ph.D. University of Washington, Sociology, 1997.
- M.A. University of Washington, Sociology, 1991.
- B.A. University of Washington, Anthropology, 1989.

Dissertation

"The Price of Parenting: The Effect of Parental Involvement on Labor Market Mobility."

Co-Chairs: Judith A. Howard and Diane N. Lye

Using data from the National Survey of Families and Households, a nationally-representative longitudinal data set, this project offers a quantitative examination of the relationship between involved parenthood and labor market mobility for fathers and mothers. This study advances knowledge in gender stratification by examining the relative merit of predictions based on human capital, socialist feminist, and gender display theories.

Publications

Scheingold, S., T. Olson, and J. Pershing. 1997. "Sexual Violence, Victim Advocacy, and Republican Criminology: Washington State's Community Protection Act." *International Library of Criminology, Criminal Justice and Penology*. Dartmouth Publishing Co. *forthcoming*.

Publications, continued

Olson, T. 1995. *Teaching Resources to Accompany David Newman's Sociology: The Architecture of Everyday Life*. Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Scheingold, S., T. Olson, and J. Pershing. 1994. "Sexual Violence, Victim Advocacy, and Republican Criminology: Washington State's Community Protection Act." *Law and Society Review*. Vol. 28 (4): 729-763.

Scheingold, S., T. Olson, and J. Pershing. 1992. "The Politics of Sexual Psychopathy: Washington State's Sexual Predator Legislation." *University of Puget Sound Law Review*, Vol. 15 (3), pp. 809-820.

Under Review

Einwohner, R., J. Hollander, and T. Olson. 1997. "Gendered Strategies: Social Representations and Movement Dynamics." Revision submitted to *Gender and Society* June 1997.

Olson, T. and K. Rexroat. 1997. *Not Just For English Anymore: Sociology Through Fiction and Essays*. Under review at HarperCollins.

Other Work in Progress

Olson, T., J. Hollander, and K. Lerum. 1997. "On Display: Sex Workers, Sorority Girls, and Models."

Papers Presented at Professional Meetings

"Gendered Strategies: Social Representations and Movement Dynamics." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, California, August 1994.

"On Display: Sex Workers, Sorority Girls, and Models." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association, San Diego, California, April 1994.

"Republican Criminology and Victim Advocacy: Washington State's Sexual Predator Legislation." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 1992.

Papers Presented at Professional Meetings, continued

"Covert Sexism: Measurement Problems in Socially Aware Populations." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, August 1992.

"The Politics of Sexual Psychopathy: Washington State's Sexual Predator Legislation." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 1992.

"The Politics of Sexual Psychopathy: Washington State's Sexual Predator Legislation." Presented at the University of Puget Sound Sexual Predator Symposium, Tacoma, Washington, March 1992.

Employment

Instructor, University of Washington, 1992-present.

Adjunct Faculty, University of Washington-Bothell, 1996-present.

Adjunct Faculty, Seattle University, 1996.

Research Assistant, University of Washington, 1990-1991.

Teaching Assistant, University of Washington, 1989-1990 and 1991-1992.

Courses Taught

Liberal Studies 445, Meanings and Realities of Inequality (instructor, UW-Bothell)

Sociology 110, Introduction to Sociology (instructor, UW-Seattle)

Sociology 110-W, Introduction to Sociology, writing emphasis (instructor, UW-Seattle)

Sociology 316, Inequality and Stratification (instructor, Seattle University)

Sociology 352, The Sociology of Family (instructor, UW-Seattle)

Sociology/Women Studies 364, Women in the Social Structure (instructor, UW-Seattle)

Sociology 271, The Sociology of Deviance (teaching assistant, UW-Seattle)

Sociology 472, Juvenile Delinquency (teaching assistant, UW-Seattle)

Teaching Interests and Areas of Specialization/Certification

The Sociology of Sex and Gender Differentiation (certified Spring, 1993)
Research Methods (certified Winter, 1993)
Stratification, Race and Ethnic Relations (certified Autumn, 1992)
Feminist Theory and Philosophy
The Sociology of Family
Introduction to Sociology

Academic Honors

Recipient of the Business and Professional Women's Foundation's 1994 Lena Lake Forrest Fellowship.
Recipient of Departmental Award for Excellence in Teaching, 1994.
Recipient of Departmental Award for Outstanding Master's Thesis, 1992.
Graduated Magna Cum Laude, B.A. in Anthropology, U.W., 1989.

Professional Memberships

American Sociological Association
Pacific Sociological Association
Sociologists for Women in Society
Business and Professional Women's Foundation
National Organization for Women

Departmental Service

1992-1993: Grievance Committee
1991-1993: Co-Organizer of Gender Research Roundtable

Professional References

- Dr. Judith A. Howard, Professor
Department of Sociology, Box 353340
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195
(206) 543-9885
jhoward@u.washington.edu
- Dr. Diane N. Lye, Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology, Box 353340
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195
(206) 543-6403
lye@u.washington.edu
- Dr. Julie Brines, Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology, Box 353340
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195
(206) 685-9067
brines@u.washington.edu
- Dr. Kevin Neuhouser, Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology
Seattle Pacific University
3307 3rd Ave. West
Seattle, WA 98119
(206) 281-2276
neuhaus@paul.spu.edu
- Dr. Pamela Jordan
Department of Family and Child Nursing, Box 357262
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195
(206) 543-8219