Like Mother, Like Daughter?: Maternal Employment and Women's Career

and Family Aspirations

By

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Like Mother, Like Daughter?

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Literature Review

Mothers in the workforce

According to data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016), women make up nearly half of the civilian work force in the United States (46.8%). It has also become more widely accepted for mothers to work after the birth of a child. In the early 1960s, 14 percent of mothers went back to work by the sixth month after the birth of their first child, with only a slight increase to 17 percent by the twelfth month. By 2000-2002, however, 55 percent of mothers of newborns were working by the sixth month and 64 percent by the twelfth month (Craig & Gottschalck, 2008). Currently, married women with children have a 65.4 percent employment rate, and 59 percent of families have both parents employed (Craig & Gottschalck, 2008). Although the prevalence of women, and especially mothers, in today's workforce is a positive sign of movement towards greater gender equality, this change can also add new challenges for working mothers (Miller & Anderman, 2014; Posig & Kickul, 2004).

The *New York Times* published a recent article stating that the amount of American women in the workforce has actually dropped in the last 15 years. America peaked with women in the workforce in 1999 with 74 percent of women aged 25- 54 working. It has since dropped to 69 percent and has fallen behind many other Western countries (Miller & Alderman, 2014). Researchers concluded that

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these findings are due, in part, to recent economic downturns but also a lack of family-friendly policies hindering women in the workforce. In a poll of nonworking adults aged 25 to 54 in the United states, 61 percent of women stated they left their jobs due to family responsibilities compared to 37 percent of men who stated the same (Miller & Alderman, 2014).

Staying home to care for children may disrupt or limit a woman's career achievement (Arun, Arun, Borooah, 2004). For example, a mother taking time off from her career may encounter a gap in employment experience, lost wages, and lost promotions. Mothers may also encounter discrimination in the workforce. Employers may discriminate against women who take a break from the workforce due to child-related needs because of a belief that there will be other family-related interruptions in the future (Becker, 1985).

Additionally, having children can create conflict between parent-, marital-, and work-role expectations (Posig & Kickul, 2004). There is evidence that shows marital satisfaction waivers after the birth of a child. Independent of the wives' employment status, role division within a marriage typically becomes more traditional after the added tasks of childcare (Cowan & Cowan, 2000; Samela-Aro et al. 2001). Evidence consistently shows, when compared with fathers, mothers play a far greater role in the daily aspects of childcare (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson 2000; Parker & Wang, 2013). Women may also be faced with the majority of housework (such as cleaning and cooking) after the first child (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson 2000). These new demands and changes in roles may leave new

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mothers emotionally and physically drained and may lead to negative feelings

toward their husbands (Levy-Shiff, 1994). This dissatisfaction may be extended to

other aspects of life (Frankenhaeuser, 1991; Gottfried & Gottfried, 1989). The

conflict between work and family can lead to lower quality of work life and family

life (Aryee et al., 1999; Duxbury & Higgins, 1991), depression (Gutek et al., 1991),

and job and life dissatisfaction (Adams et al., 1996). An increased conflict can also

result in work burnout (Mauno & Kinnunen, 1999; Netemeyer et al., 1996) and

decreased physical and psychological wellness (Frone et al., 1997).

Decisions about workforce participation

There are a number of factors that can influence mothers' decisions to work

or stay home with their children. In one relevant study, Stanley-Stevens and Kaiser

(2011) found that factors that influenced women's decisions to work for pay or stay

home included job satisfaction, their own mothers' work history, financial need, and

views of the motherhood mandate (i.e., a belief that women's greatest fulfillment

stems from motherhood and that children will suffer if their mothers do not serve as

their primary caregivers; Russo, 1979).

Women with children must negotiate beliefs about an "ideal" mother versus

an "ideal" worker (Acker, 1992; Bailyn, 2006). Contemporary beliefs about

motherhood place an expectation that mothers should engage in "intensive"

parenting, placing the child's needs above all else (Blair-Loy, 2003; Hays, 1996;

Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). Creating conflict between a woman's career

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aspirations and family responsibilities is the belief that a "good mother" must stay home with her young children (Gorman & Fritzsche, 2002). People view employed mothers with young children as less communal and more selfish when compared with non-employed mothers (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Crosby, Williams, & Biernat, 2004), despite the negative effects that leaving the workforce can have on careers, subsequent salaries, and advancement (Hewlett, 2007).

The definition of an "ideal" worker, on the other hand, is one who is willing to work overtime, to sacrifice private life for work, to be on call, and to relocate for work. This person is highly appreciated by colleagues, is not burdened with caretaking responsibilities at home, and is physically capable of working long hours. This role conflicts with the role of "ideal" mother. One cannot, by definition, fulfill both roles. The time a mother must spend parenting "intensively" will make her a less committed worker. Due to this conflict of interests, researchers have developed the image of "superwoman," the working mothers who do it all, or at least seek to (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Work-life conflicts have shown to cause significant psychological distress for women (Raskin, 2006). King (2008) notes that work-life conflicts may also adversely affect the way that superiors perceive women's commitment and career advancement. The incongruence of these two roles can affect a woman's career- and family-related decisions.

Mothers' perceptions of the congruence between work and parenting could influence decisions regarding workforce participation or childcare. Even though a large majority of women with children are now working outside the home

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(Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000), there persists a cultural role expectation

that women will take leave from their career to care for their children, at least for a

period of time (Weinshenker, 2006). The amount of time that a woman takes away

from work depends, in part, upon her role-orientation–beliefs about importance of

fulfilling responsibilities associated with a role.

Role orientations

Role-orientations (Hakim, 2000) refer to one's preferences towards work

and home. The current definition of a home-oriented role in research refers to a

person who more highly values private life and family life than working in the labor

market. A work-orientation refers to a person who more highly values work and

career than family life. A third orientation, known as adaptive, refers to a person's

valuing of both family and work. The degree that working creates conflict or

compromise in women's career goals may depend on whether a woman has a

home-orientation, work-orientation, or an adaptive orientation (Hakim, 2000).

These three role orientations, home, work, and adaptive, are found upon a

continuum and are not necessarily categorically classified or exclusive.

Sociologist Catherine Hakim developed these role orientation categories,

based on a sample of men and women ages 16 to 64. The sample answered three

questions to determine their preferences towards work and home responsibilities.

The majority of women fell into the adaptive category with smaller numbers in the

polar preference groups (home- and work-oriented), whereas the majority of men

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were work centered (Hakim, 1998, 2003a). Within Hakim's (2000) study, she found

that a woman's orientation or preference for home or career was the greatest

predictor of a woman's role: working for wages or devoting her time to family.

Preference theory postulates that preference controls women's employment

pattern, fertility, and responsiveness to public policies (Hakim, 2000).

Other studies suggest that gender differences in role orientations may

emerge early in life. In a study of 16-17 year old adolescents, Curry, Trew, Turner,

and Hunter (1994) classified participants based on their predictions for their future

working lives. Those who stated that they expected to work "full-time for most of

my married life" were categorized as careerist. Those who chose "full-time from

time to time" or "part-time from time to time" were adaptive. Those who choose

"part-time for most of the time" or "do not intend to work for more than a few years

at most" were considered home-centered. The boys and the girls differed, as

expected, in their work orientations. Of the boys, 86% fell under the careerist

category while only 64% of girls chose the same. More girls were adaptive (30%

compared to 12% of boys) and 12% of girls were home-centered compared to 2% of

boys. Since the home-centered and adaptive categories were smaller, they were

combined into one category- noncareerist. The study found that careerist girls were

more likely to take science only or science-dominant subjects versus the

noncareerists. Noncareersists were more likely to take arts or arts-dominant

subjects compared to careerists. Careerists also had higher levels of confidence

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about their academic abilities with expectations to achieve higher grade points in their future advanced-level examinations.

The study also looked at parental influence. More of the careerists had mothers who were in full-time work than did the noncareerists , while more of the noncareerists had mothers who were at home full-time as compared to the careerists. They also looked at with which parent these girls identified. Overall, more girls identified with their fathers as compared to their mothers . However, more noncareerists identified with their mothers than did careerists , and more careerists identified with their fathers as compared to noncareerists .

Based on the above results, it appears that some girls make decisions early on about the kind of life and role they would like to play- choices that affect academic performance, career, marriage, and family. Girls' preferences toward part-time and full-time work and parenthood seem to be more heterogeneous than boys'. However, it is not known to what extent these early role orientations translate into future plans or actions regarding career, marriage, and family.

Influences on role orientations

Preference theory (Hakim, 2000) does not examine the influences on people's preferences for role-orientation or why some people value one orientation over another. However, other research suggests factors that might influence the development of differing role orientations.

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Impact of models. According to social learning theory (Bandura, 1973), individuals can learn a great deal by observing models, either in their immediate environments or through media. Parents (especially same-sex parents) are important models for children (Wood & Bandura, 1989). Thus, parents' modeling of norms for parenthood and career may have an important influence on a child's perception of role expectations. Social learning theory suggests that if a child were raised in a household with a working mother, the daughter would come to expect a similar future role for herself. The same holds true for a daughter that has a mother at home. Although role orientations are most likely shaped by multiple factors (e.g., environment, culture, religion), research suggests (Dennehy & Mortimer, 1993; Stephan & Corder, 1985; Weinshenker, 2006) that mothers' modeling of norms and expectations is a major influence on daughters' orientations.

Consistent with this idea, the literature on maternal employment also shows that daughters of employed mothers, more than non-employed mothers, named their mothers as the person the daughter most admires and the person the daughter most wants to be like (Baruch, 1974; Douvan, 1963). This influence of a mother can impact how a daughter foresees her future and her role. Daughters of employed mothers may have higher levels of work-orientation due to the effects of modeling and vicarious reinforcement.

Maternal employment. Mothers may impact their daughters' developing aspirations and role orientations through their own employment. For example, Stanley-Stevens and Kaiser (2011) interviewed first time expectant mothers about

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their decisions regarding childcare and careers. All the women in their sample who planned to work, either part- or full-time, after the birth of their child had mothers who were employed before they were school aged. These women exhibited the important role a mother may play on a daughter's future desire to work for money and her role-orientation.

Research shows that daughters of employed mothers and mothers with more education tend to be less traditional in their attitudes toward gender roles when compared to daughters of non-employed and less educated mothers (Booth & Amato, 1994; Herzog & Bachman, 1982; Spitze, 1987; Zuckerman, 1981). For example, several researchers found that female adolescents whose own mothers were employed were more likely to expect similar behavior for themselves (Dennehy & Mortimer, 1993; Stephan & Corder, 1985). In Stephan and Corder's study (1985), female adolescents from dual-career families were more likely than those from traditional families—a father working outside the home and the mother at home with the children—to desire to work outside the home most of their lives, combining work and family roles. They also found that female adolescents from traditional families also desire a greater number of children and expect less help with childcare from the father than adolescents from dual-career families. There is also evidence that the modeling of paid employment by mothers leads to greater gender role egalitarianism among daughters (Hoffman, 1974; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983).

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   Maternal role satisfaction. Independent of a mother's employment, her

satisfaction with her role may have an effect on her daughter. A mother's role

satisfaction is positively correlated to her child's behavior; children were rated as

less attentive and more immature if a mother's employment status and commitment

are incongruent (i.e., employed mother with low employment commitment or

homemaker with high employment commitment; Barling, Fulagar, & Marchl-Dingle,

1988). If a mother is unhappy in her role, her daughter's behavior may reflect a

desire not to pursue said role. However, if a mother is satisfied in her role, a

daughter may seek to have the same satisfaction in her future life. Steele and Barling

(1996) argued that a mother's role satisfaction and gender-role ideology indirectly

influenced her daughter's vocational interests through a direct effect on the

daughter's own gender-role beliefs. The findings from research have consistently

indicated that daughters perceiving their mothers as satisfied were more likely than

daughters perceiving their mothers as not satisfied to accept their mothers' roles for

themselves (e.g., Altman & Grossman, 1977; Parsons, Frieze, & Ruble, 1978;

Schulenberg, Vondracek, & Crouter, 1984; Willetts-Bloom & Nock, 1994). It can be

predicted that a daughter will aim to achieve the same role as her mother if she

perceives her mother to be satisfied with said role.

   Maternal education. Mothers' education also has an effect on daughters.

Zuckerman (1981) found the correlation between a mother's level of education and

her daughter's own educational and career goals. Herzog and Bachmann (1982)

studied high school seniors and found a relation between their gender-role attitudes

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and their mother's level of education. Therefore mother's education should be taken into account as well when looking at a daughter's preferences in her role.

Maternal gender role attitudes. Mothers communicate ideas of gender by how they parent and communicate with daughters. A daughter's perception of gender role attitudes is therefore expected to be influenced by the mother (Ex & Janssens, 1998). Social cognitive theory suggests two ways that parents shape their children's gendered attitudes and behaviors: by modeling gendered behaviors and by building children's efficacy for gendered skills (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Consistent with this view, Fagot and Leinbach (1995) found that preschool children of less egalitarian parents are already behaving in a more gender-stereotyped manner than those of more egalitarian parents.

In a study of adolescents, Weinshenker (2006) examined the role of parents' gender role beliefs in their daughters' beliefs about returning to work after becoming mothers. An adolescent girl with a more egalitarian mother was more likely to expect a quick return to work after the birth of a baby, rather than a gradual return or staying home full time, compared to those with less egalitarian mothers.

Parental division of labor. Children may use their parents' behaviors in the home as a template when constructing a vision of their future selves (Fulcher, 2011). Even in heterosexual families where both partners work full time, wives report doing twice as much housework and child care as their husbands (Coltrane, 2000). This trend has been deemed the *second shift* (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). This division of unpaid labor is directly observable by children and therefore could

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influence their ideas about gender roles. The effort put forth to model women's

success at work might fall short if a young girl observes an unequal workload at

home (Croft, Schmader, Block, & Baron, 2014). Croft et al. (2014) found that girls

were more likely to predict a future of working outside of the home when their

fathers had more gender-egalitarian beliefs about domestic labor, but also when

their mothers reported doing less domestic labor and viewed themselves as more

work oriented. This research found that even if parents endorse gender equality in

the home explicitly, if there remains a gender stereotyped division of labor and

implicitly stereotypical attitudes, this can send a less egalitarian message to young

girls.

Modeling in media. Parents are not the only influencers of gender. Children

can be influenced by a variety of other models, including those presented in media.

Television may influence beliefs about the gender appropriateness of occupations

and personal career goals (Beuf, 1976; Kimball, 1986; O'Bryant & Corder-Bolz,

1978), attitudes toward the gender appropriateness of certain traits and behaviors

(Davidson, Yasuna, & Tower, 1979; McGhee & Fruch, 1980), toy selections (Cobb,

Stevens-Long, & Goldstein, 1982; McArthur & Eisen, 1976; Ruble, Balaban, & Cooper,

1981), and endorsement of gender stereotypes (Herrett-Skjellum & Allen, 1996;

Rothschild & Morgan, 1987). Television can activate and reinforce gender

stereotypes, making them more accessible.

Numerous studies support that television stereotypically depicts men and

women (Davis, 1990; Dominick, 1979; Downs, 1981; Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974).

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Traditionally, women are often portrayed as not working outside the home (Olson &

Douglas, 1997) with unidentifiable occupations (Berg, Vande, & Streckfuss, 1992),

or with traditionally feminine occupations, such as secretaries or teachers

(Levinson, 1975). Although the depictions of women in television programs and

commercials have become substantially less stereotypical since the 1950s (Allan &

Coltrane, 1996; Mager & Helgeson, 2011; Tsai & Shumow, 2011), there have been

minimal changes to how men are represented, and even a decrease in non-typical

gender roles for men seen in some studies (Kaufman et al., 1999).

Children's books are another source of media influence on gendered

attitudes and aspirations. Shirley Ernst (1995) studied the Caldecott and Newberry

Award winning books in the 1990s and found heavy gender bias where males were

featured more than females. She also found that male roles and attributes were

more positive and active than those of the female characters. This mirrors what was

found of children's book research in the 1970s and 1980s (Gooden & Gooden, 2001;

Hamilton et al., 2006; Kolbe & La Voie, 1981; Tepper & Wright Cassidy, 1999; Tsao,

2008). Crabb and Marciano (2011) looked at the illustrations of Caldecott winners.

They predicted that due to the changing labor force over the last two decades, with

more women joining the workforce outside the home and the percentage of men in

the workforce dropping, the illustrations of the children's books would reflect these

changes. They found that the percentage of women using household tools/artifacts

remained constant and the men using professional tools/artifacts also remained

constant. There was no increase of women using professional tools or increase of

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men using household tools. Therefore when this data is combined with that of Crabb

and Bielawski (1994), the illustrations of Caldecott winners have remained constant

over the last 70 years in the depictions of men and women. Stereotyped depictions

of men's and women's roles in books, movies, and television shows may influence

expectations, aspirations, and role orientations.

Possible outcomes of role orientations

  Workforce participation. Hakim (2000) argues that role orientation is a

major determinant of workforce participation, with individuals with a work

orientation being most likely to be employed and those with a home orientation

being least likely to be employed. Humans work for outcomes, either to achieve a

certain outcome or avoid another. Research suggests that there may be two

different sets of beliefs that lead women to focus on employment: one perceiving

work as rewarding and not costly (motivated by the desire to work), and the other

perceiving homemaking as not rewarding (motivated to avoid these tasks). In

Jensen, Christensen, and Wilson's (1985) study, it was found that women's

preference for work was produced by viewing parenting as not rewarding, and that

the preference for parenting was influenced most by perceiving parenting as

rewarding. In Matsui, Tsuzuki, & Onglatco's (1999) study, they found that work

orientation was positively related to perceived rewards earned through work and

negatively related to perceived work costs and homemaking rewards.

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Parental status. Women with a work-orientation may choose to postpone or forego marriage or children (Gordon, 1994; Hodgkinson, 1993; Miller, 1992) once they consider the stresses of juggling both work and family (e.g. Chiu et al., 1997; Williams et al, 1991). Women with higher levels of work orientation are less likely to have children than those with lower work orientation (Hakim, 2000). Almost half of female top executives have no children, and almost half of all women in the United States with salaries greater than $100,000 have no children (Dye, 2005; Hewlett, 2002). There is similar data for women with high rankings at research universities.   It is more common for students to receive doctorates than tenure-track jobs, both male and female. However women fall out of the academia "pipeline" far more than men (Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2008). There are strong and independent negative effects of marriage and young children on the likelihood of female professors obtaining tenured positions such as full professor (Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2008). Single female candidates with no children under six are 16% more likely to receive a tenure track academic position compared to their male counterparts (Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2008).

Limitations. Although preference theory helps to predict a person's role there are some limitations. A person's preference is not always reflected in his/her role-related behaviors due to extenuating circumstances (Stanley-Stevens & Kaiser 2011). Women with similar preferences might have vastly different employment histories depending on the constraints placed upon the individual families. An explanation of women's employment patterns depends on the constraints placed

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upon a woman as well as her personal preferences (McRae, 2003). Situational

factors might thrust a role onto a parent that does not correlate with her preference.

For example, a woman may have a home-orientation by preference but may be

forced to work due to financial needs of the family. Nevertheless, preference may be

a strong motivator for a role no matter the circumstances. For example, a mother

with a strong home orientation may choose a job where she has a flexible schedule

to be available in her role at home with her children.

Factors other than role orientation that impact women's decisions

As discussed above, many factors in addition to role orientations may impact

women's choices to work or stay home with children. Women with similar

orientations might have very different employment histories depending on other

aspects of their personal or family situations.

Financial need. Financial need might drive a mother to work although she

would prefer to stay home with her children. Many of the women in Stanley-Stevens

and Kaiser's (2011) study articulated a need financially to go back to work on behalf

of their family. Of those interviewed, 67% of the women stated that they felt

financially pressured to return to work.

Conversely, women may be driven to stay home with their children due to

low earnings relative to the cost of child care. Wage discrepancies are a reality for

women in this country. Women, on average, make 21.7% less than men in the

workforce (Hegewisch et al. 2014). These gaps have barely budged in the last

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decade (Hill, 2015). Women, one year after college graduation, were paid 82% of that of their male counterparts (Hill, 2015). However, the largest pay gap is between mothers and non-mothers under the age of 35, even more so than between men and women (Crittenden, 2001). After controlling for the usual human capital and occupational factors that affect wages, US employed mothers suffer a per-child wage penalty of approximately 5%, on average (Anderson, Binder, & Krause, 2003; Budig & England, 2001). In fact, employed mothers are the group of women that now account for most of the "gender gap" in wages (Glass, 2004). These motherhood wage gaps are explained by reduced investment in human capital by mothers, lower work effort by mothers compared with non-mothers, and discrimination against mothers by employers (Correll, Bernard, & Paik 2007).

Expectations of workplace sexism or discrimination. Employed women may be more likely than non-employed women to experience and be aware of barriers at work such as the glass ceiling (Morrison et al., 1992) and tokenism (Kanter, 1977). In addition, working mothers are likely to be adversely affected and constrained by inflexible bureaucracies that make no attempt to accommodate their multiple work and familial obligations (Chiu & Ng, 2001). In either case, expectations about whether she will face sexism or gender-based discrimination in the workplace may influence a woman's decisions regarding whether to pursue employment.

In addition to bias based on gender, motherhood can result in biased evaluations of competence and commitment, bias in hiring, promotion, and salary

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decisions, and use of stricter standards for evaluating the workplace performances

of mothers than of non-mothers (Correll et al., 2007). According to "status

characteristic theory" distinctions can be made among personal attributes (e.g. race,

gender) or a role (e.g. mother, manager) that has attached to it widely held beliefs in

the culture that associate greater status worthiness and competence with one

category of the distinction than with others (Berger et al., 1972). Therefore if

motherhood is a devalued status in a workplace setting, theoretically mothers will

be judged by a harsher standard than non-mothers and will have to present

evidence of greater ability before being seen as competent (Correll et al., 2007).

Often once a woman has children, the message that they are no longer considered an

"ideal" worker is communicated, sometimes subtly, by reassigned roles in the

workplace and less responsibility (Correll et al., 2007). This process may lead

women to be less satisfied with their jobs or to leave the workforce (Ely, Stone, &

Ammerman, 2014).

  Job satisfaction. If the family's financial needs are met, mothers who do not

feel their work provides fulfillment may be more prone to stay home to find

fulfillment in motherhood (Stanley-Stevens & Kaiser, 2011). In a recent study of

Harvard Business School alumni , many women spoke about their struggles in the

workforce once having children, making statements such as, "The flexible part-time

roles I have taken [while raising my child]…have never been intellectually fulfilling"

and "I last quit three years ago because I could not seem to get new challenges and

became bored by the work. … There appeared to be preconceived notions about

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part-time women wanting less challenging work...."(Ely, Stone, & Ammerman, 2014,

n.p.)

   Husband/partner support. The preferences of a spouse may also impact

women's workforce participation. When looking at husband support

Stanley-Stevens and Kaiser (2011) found that many women stated, very strongly,

that if they did not have their husband's support to either work for pay or stay home

with the children they would not have married him. This supports not only the

importance of husband/partner support for work-related decisions, but also the

idea that women have a preconceived idea of their role preferences related to career

and family before marriage, and may take these beliefs into account when they

choose their husbands as well as their work.

   Housework and childcare. A number of studies have found that women

consistently spend more time on housework and childcare than men, even when

both parents work full-time outside of the home. The American Time Use Survey in

2003-2006 found that married women spend an average of 21.2 hours per week on

household tasks such as housework, food preparations and clean-up, shopping for

the household, and lawn care. Married men spent an average of 9.2 hours per week

on same tasks (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). Wives also report doing twice

as much child care as their husbands when both work outside the home (Coltrane,

2000). With these statistics women do almost 70% of the household work. There

has been progression of a more shared responsibility of household chores among

men and women, yet labor continues to follow a traditional format between male

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and female chores, with female chores constituting most of the work that is done on a daily basis. Research continues to support that women, more than men, tend to "burnout" trying to balance a career and family (Hill et al., 2008). Perhaps as a result of these greater housework and childcare responsibilities, women have a greater tendency than men to lower their employment commitment after having children even if they have attained high-status, well-paying positions (Bertrand, Goldin, & Katz, 2010; Herr & Wolfram, 2009).

According to research conducted in the United States, young women are aware of, and expect, disparities in domestic labor (Erchull, Liss, Axelson, Staebell, & Askari, 2010). Women of a younger generation are moving towards an expectation of more equality in the workplace, yet many young women assume they will not find equality in marriage in household chores and childcare. Erchull et al. (2010) questioned the difference between men and women's *ideal* labor division in a future marriage with the expectation of *actual* labor division. Women stated that they would like a relatively egalitarian model (household chores: 60% women's responsibility to 40% men's responsibility of labor division) for their marriages yet expected to follow a more traditional model. This expectation reflects that of a typical heterosexual couple's division of labor (Kroska, 2004). Unfortunately, these expectations are realistic given the current imbalance in division of labor that has been frequently documented among married couples (e.g., Bartley et al., 2005; Cinamon & Rich, 2002; Kroska, 2004; Lee, 2005; Patterson et al., 2004).

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Summary and Research Needs

       The balancing act of family and work is not lost on this generation of college-aged women. It is possible that many of them have already started to plan how to attempt to fulfill the roles of worker and mother before marriage or children. Many young women likely have formed a predisposition or preference for home or work. There is also a need to look at influences of these preferences such as mother's role in the family. This study will look at women who are currently unmarried and do not have children. It will ask each participant to report her preference for work and family roles along with related attitudes(e.g. career commitment, parent-gender attitudes, old fashioned sexism, modern sexism, and stigma consciousness). It will also examine whether a mother's history of workforce participation has any relation to participants' attitudes and preferences.

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Methods

Participants

Participants were female undergraduate and graduate students (N = 114) from the University of Kansas. An additional 27 participants completed the survey but were not included in analyses because they were male (n = 1), did not report their gender (n = 6), were or had been married (n = 16), did not report their marital status (n = 3), or had children (n = 4). Their ages ranged from 18 to 35 with mean age of 24.8 years. It also spanned from undergraduate students (38.5%) to graduate students (60.5%) with (.9%) missing. The race and ethnicity of the participants were African American/Black (7%), Asian/Asian American (4.4%), Latino/Hispanic (8.8%), Native American/American Indian (2.6%), White/Caucasian (83.3%), and other (2.6%).

Procedure

Participants were recruited through the SONA system. After consenting to study participation, they answered a series of survey questions online. The participants received course credit for participation.

Measures

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Demographic questionnaire. Participants reported demographic

information including age, gender, race, and marital status, as well as educational

level (graduate or undergraduate). See Appendix *Demographics* for full measure.

Family and career plans. Participants answered a series of questions

regarding their future plans, including "Do you plan to get married?", "Do you plan

to have children?", and "Do you plan to work after marriage?". See Appendix *Basic*

Questions for full measure.

Work, home, and adaptive orientation. Participants' role orientation was

assessed using a 6-item measure, with 2 items each tapping work, home, and

adaptive orientation. The work orientation scale consists of two descriptions: "I

want to continue working throughout the life span," and "I want to continue work

even if I have no financial need to do so." The home orientation scale also consists of

two descriptions: "I want to get married," and "I want to exert effort to build a nice

family." The work and home orientation items were drawn from Hakim's Preference

Theory study (2000). Two other items were created for this study to measure

adaptive orientation: "I want to continue to work and balance a family

simultaneously," and "I want to spend equal time at work and with my family."

Participants indicated the extent to which each description was applicable to them

using a 5-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). In a previous

unpublished study (Matsui, 1996, cited in Matsui, Tsuzuki, & Onglatco, 1999), the

correlations between the two items were .56 for the work orientation scale and .71

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for the home orientation scale. The Cronbach's alphas in this study were work

orientation = .73, home orientation =.92, and adaptive orientation =.78.

Following this measure, there was a single-item forced-choice measure of

role orientation. This item included three statements: "Although I might work, I will

primarily focus on my family" (home orientation), "Although I might have a family, I

will primarily focus on my career" (work orientation), and "I will give equal focus to

both my career and my family" (adaptive orientation). The participants had to

choose one statement that fit them best. See Appendix *Work, Home, and Adaptive*

Orientation for full measure.

Views on parenting/motherhood. To assess beliefs that children's needs

should be prioritized over parents' career ambitions, participants completed a

three-item children's needs priority scale (Deutsch et al., 2007). These items assess

the belief that children's needs should be prioritized over parental convenience or

ambition, and that children suffer when cared for by someone other than the

parents (e.g., *A parent should always do what is best for his/her child, not what is easy*

or convenient for the parent). Response options ranged from strongly disagree (1) to

strongly agree (5). Previous research (Deutsch et al., 2007) indicated adequate

inter-item reliability (alpha = .63) and validity in the form of associations with

beliefs about work and childcare (e.g., using nannies or other non-parental child

care). See Appendix *Views on Parenting/Motherhood* for full measure. See Table 1

for reliability data for the current sample.

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Career commitment. To assess participants' commitment to their careers, a

six-item measure was used (adapted from Hallett & Gilbert, 1997). These items

assess a person's commitment to his/her career (e.g. *I expect my career to be an*

important part of my identity). Response options ranged from strongly disagree (1)

to strongly agree (5). Previous research indicated adequate inter-item reliability

(alpha = .76) and validity in the form of associations with beliefs about work and

childcare Deutsch et al., 2007). See Appendix *Career Commitment* for full measure.

See Table 1 for reliability data for the current sample.

Parents' education and work status*.* Participants reported both parents'

highest level of education and parents' work status (e.g., worked full-time, worked

part-time, stayed home full-time). See Appendix *Parents' Education* and *Parents'*

Work Status for full measure.

Mother-daughter relationship quality. Participants reported their

perceived level of closeness to and respect for their mothers with two items each,

one reporting on when the participant was growing up, one reporting on current

closeness and respect. Participants answered on a Likert scale with response

options that ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). See Appendix

Respect for Mother for full measure. See Table 1 for reliability data for the current

sample.

Mother's orientation*.* In order to measure the orientations of the

participants' mothers, the participants responded to the following three statements

that is most reflective of their mother's orientation. The three items were: "My

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mother put our family as her highest priority," "My mother put her career as her

highest priority," and "My mother valued our family life and her career equally."

Response options ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). See

Appendix *Mother's Orientation* for full measure. See Table 1 for reliability data for

the current sample.

   Gender attitudes. Gender attitude scores were based on their responses to

four questions (Schneider & Waite, 2005): "It should not bother the husband if a

wife's job sometimes requires her to be away from him overnight"; "If his wife

works full-time, a husband should share equally in household chores such as

cooking, cleaning and washing"; "It is more important for a wife to help her

husband's career than to have a career herself"; "Parents should encourage just as

much independence in their daughters as in their sons." Participants were asked to

rate the statements on a scale that ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly

agree" (5).   In Schneider and Waite's research, the construct based on these four

items had a Cronbach's alpha of .62 for fathers and .58 for mothers. See Appendix

Parents' Gender Attitudes for full measure. See Table 1 for reliability data for the

current sample.

   Modern Sexism Scale. In order to measure participants' covert prejudices

toward women, the participants completed the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) (Swim

et al., 1995). The MSS addresses beliefs about the persistence of gender inequality

and discrimination toward women: "Women often miss out on good jobs due to

sexual discrimination," "Over the past few years, the government and news media

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have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted

by women's actual experiences". (See Appendix for full measure).   The authors

reported that the MSS is reliable (i.e., alpha coefficient for the scale ranged from 0.75

to 0.84; Swim et al., 1995). In addition, the MSS appears to possess construct

validity. For example, participants who scored high in modern sexism were more

likely than those with low scores in modern sexism to engage in gender-biased

voting behavior. See Appendix *Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism Scales* for full

measure. See Table 1 for reliability data for the current sample.

   Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale. The OFSS (Swim et al., 1995) addresses

traditional gender biased beliefs: "Women are generally not as smart as men,"

"Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men" (See Appendix for full

measure). Previous research (Swim et al., 1995) indicates that old-fashioned and

modern sexism are distinct constructs, although they do correlate with one another.

The authors reported that the OFSS is reliable (Cronbach's Alpha = .66; Swim et al.,

1995). See Appendix *Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism Scales* for full measure. See

Table 1 for reliability data for the current sample.

   Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire- SCQ. Pinel (1999) defined stigma

consciousness as the extent to which members of a stigmatized group expect to be

stereotyped. To measure this construct we will use a 10-item scale created by Pinel

(1999). Items included: "Stereotypes about women have not affected me

personally" and "Most men have a problem viewing women as equals." Response

options ranged between strongly disagree (1) and strongly agree (5). In previous

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research, the Cronbach's alpha for this measure was 0.74 (Pinel, 1999). See

Appendix *Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire* for full measure. See Table 1 for

reliability data for the current sample.

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<div align="center">**Results**</div>

This study assessed college-aged women who have not been married and have no children. We measured if they have predisposed ideas or preferences toward their orientation towards family or work in their future. We also analyzed mother's employment and the relations between maternal employment and daughters' attitudes and aspirations -.   The effects of maternal employment were examined with one-way ANOVAs by maternal employment status while looking at a variety of factors (e.g. orientations, career commitment, mother closeness, mother respect, etc.). See Table 1 for means, Table 2 for percentages, and Table 3 for correlations between measures.

Role Orientation

Work orientation. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of maternal employment status, $F (2, 106) = 3.76$, $p = .026$. Follow-up Tukey HSD analyses revealed that participants whose mothers worked full-time had higher work orientation scores than participants whose mothers stayed home full time (Ms = 4.14 and 3.59, respectively); participants whose mothers worked part time did not differ significantly from either group (M = 3.73).   A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of student status (i.e., enrollment in an undergraduate program or graduate program), $F (1, 111) = 1.44$, $p = .23$.

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Family orientation. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of maternal employment status, $F(2, 106) = 4.22$, $p = .017$. Follow-up Tukey HSD analyses revealed that participants whose mothers worked full-time had lower family orientation scores than participants whose mothers stayed home full time (Ms = 4.24 and 4.81, respectively); participants whose mothers worked part time did not differ significantly from either group (M = 4.63). A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of student status, $F(1, 111) = 1.27$, $p = .26$.

Adaptive orientation. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of maternal employment status, $F(2, 106) = 4.27$, $p = .016$. Follow-up Tukey HSD analyses revealed that participants whose mothers worked full-time had higher adaptive orientation scores than participants whose mothers stayed home full time (Ms = 4.13 and 3.39, respectively); participants whose mothers worked part time did not differ significantly from either group (M = 3.76). A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of student status, $F(1, 111) = 1.22$, $p = .27$.

Forced-choice orientation measure. In the forced-choice measure, participants were approximately evenly divided between those who selected a home orientation (49%) and those who selected an adaptive orientation (47%). Few participants (4%) selected a work orientation . Chi-square analyses indicated a significant relationship between maternal employment status and participant role orientation $X2 (4, 109) = 17.66$, $p = .001$. Among participants whose mothers stayed home full-time, 73% endorsed a family orientation, 27% endorsed an adaptive orientation, and none endorsed a work orientation. In contrast, among participants

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whose mothers worked full-time, 30% endorsed a family orientation, 62% endorsed

an adaptive orientation, and 8% endorsed a work orientation (see Table 2).

Chi-square analyses indicated that role orientation did not differ by student status

(undergraduate versus graduate), $X2$ (2, 113) = 3.20, p = .20.

Career commitment

A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of maternal employment

status, F (2, 106) = 4.46, p = .014. Follow-up Tukey HSD analyses revealed that

participants whose mothers worked full-time had higher career commitment scores

than participants whose mothers stayed home full time (Ms = 3.97 and 3.55,

respectively); participants whose mothers worked part time did not differ

significantly from either group (M = 3.67). A one-way ANOVA revealed no

significant effect of student status, F (1,111) = .43, p = .51.

Mother-daughter relationship quality

Closeness to mother. A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of

maternal employment status on reported closeness to the mother, F (2, 106) = 2.04,

p = .13.

Respect for mother. A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of

maternal employment status on reported respect for the mother, F (2, 106) = .60, p

= .40.

Gender stereotype endorsement

Gender attitudes. A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of

maternal employment status on gender attitudes, F (2, 106) = .26, p = .35.

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Old fashioned sexism. A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of maternal employment status on traditional stereotypical gender beliefs, such as beliefs that men are more intelligent than women, $F (2, 106) = .04$, $p = .81$.

Modern sexism. A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of maternal employment status on modern sexism beliefs, such as the belief that gender discrimination no longer occurs, $F (2, 106) = .25$, $p = .43$.

Stigma consciousness

A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect of maternal employment status on beliefs that gender discrimination impacted the participants' own outcomes, $F (2, 106) = .34$, $p = .39$.

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Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore women's marriage, family, and career attitudes and aspirations, within the framework of Catherine Hakim's (2000) Preference Theory. The study also examined relations between maternal employment and a daughter's aspirations and relevant attitudes.

The sample of this study was women that attended the University of Kansas and were enrolled in courses offered through the school of education. These factors may skew my results due to situational factors, and may explain some of the differences observed between the current study and previous research. Due to the demographics of the state of Kansas, there may be more students who grew up in rural environments than in previous samples. These surroundings may influence future career/family decisions and gender attitudes. Also the fact that these women were either enrolled in the school of education or were taking education/psychology/counseling classes may have affected the type of answers received. Women in these fields may have more nurturing qualities and may have chosen these fields of study because of their flexibility for families. There is a strong possibility that the results are different than Hakim's because of these factors that affect the sample implicitly. In addition, the measures used in this study differed somewhat from those used by Hakim (i.e., the inclusion of items specifically geared to measuring adaptive orientation and the inclusion of a forced-choice orientation

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measure) and these measurement differences may also have contributed to

differences in response patterns.

This study examined how participants answered some basic questions

regarding future plans (i.e. plans to marry, to have children, to work) in correlation

with maternal employment. The greatest disparities observed between women

with mothers at home full-time and those who had mothers that worked full-time

had to do with plans to have children and to work following having children.

These disparities are interesting because this reveals the greatest distinction

between these two groups of women. Of those who had mothers at home full-time,

100% said they planned to also have children. They were also more reluctant to

commit to working when compared to those who had full-time working mothers.

Among participants who reported mothers who worked full-time, 79% planned to

have children with higher percentages committing to work full-time after the birth

of a child than any other group. This group of women grew up watching their

mothers balance full-time work and home life. As stated in previous research, after

the birth of a child, women, more so than men, take on the brunt of the load of

childcare and household work (Cowan & Cowan, 2000; Samela-Aro et al. 2001;

Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson 2000; Parker & Wang, 2013). These participants

may have seen the daily struggle and stressors of balancing these two lives through

their mothers and may not wish the same for themselves. This group of participants

would be most aware of the "second shift" (Hochschild & Machung, 2012) since they

most likely witnessed it with their own mothers.

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Every group of women reported a high interest in going back to work after children, 86%-96%. These percentages suggest this generation of college-aged women's commitment to their careers. It could be assumed that these percentages would look drastically different in an earlier time period, perhaps even their mothers' generation. With that said, women who had mothers at home full-time still predict that their work may change after the birth of a child with about half showing preferences for part-time work with the other half choosing full-time work. This supports the idea that even though our society is more accepting of women in the workplace, and women are more prone to set that goal for themselves, there is still an underlying influence of a mother's role on a daughter when it comes to childcare and careers.

Generally the results suggest the idea that a mother's work history may impact a daughter's idea of her own role orientation (work, home, adaptive). In the current study, women who reported that their mothers worked full-time had higher work orientations when compared to participants whose mothers stayed home full-time. Women who reported that their mothers stayed home full-time had higher home orientations when compared to participants whose mothers worked full-time. Lastly participants who reported mothers who worked full-time had higher adaptive orientations than those who claimed mothers stayed home full-time. Participants who reported part-time working mothers did not differ significantly in any of the three orientations. Thus, women whose mothers worked full time appear to be more career oriented, less family oriented, and more

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interested in balancing work and family than women whose mothers stayed home

full time.

Participants had to choose a statement that they believed best suited their

preference towards an orientation (work, home, or adaptive). The percentage of

women who chose the work orientation statement was 3.5%, the home orientation

was 49.1%, and adaptive orientation was 47.4%. Although there are more women

in the workplace, this measure suggests that women are not ready to give up or still

believe the importance of their role as mothers. This demonstrates that this era of

"superwoman" is not disappearing. This may also indicate that women want to

avoid appearing too career oriented due to social pressures on women to appear

nurturing and avoid appearing overly assertive or dominant (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Hakim found the majority of her participants to fall into the adaptive

category with fewer in the polar ends (work/home orientations). This study found

an almost even split between home orientation and adaptive orientation. Hakim

used four items to assess orientations (work orientation statements and home

orientation statements). If participants fell in between, she categorized them as

adaptive. This study added two additional items designed specifically to measure

adaptive orientation. This may have affected our sample because it gave the

participants possibilities for a preference of balancing the two lives whereas

Hakim's was more black and white. The participants of this study also had to choose

one statement that best supported their orientation, another measure created for

this study, that Hakim did not use. These factors may contribute to the disparity

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between the orientations found in this study versus Hakim's as well as the demographics of the sample, mentioned above. These results suggest that a future study with a broader demographic (urban environments and a variety of advanced fields i.e. business, medical) may find orientations to be different and may be more similar to Hakim's.

Maternal employment also related to career commitment of the participants. Those who had full-time working mothers scored higher in career commitment than those who had full-time mothers at home. Participants whose mothers worked part time did not differ significantly from either group.   These findings suggest that a mother's career path serves as a model for a daughter. As stated in the literature review, Wood and Bandura (1989) postulated that same-sex parents tend to be the strongest model for children. Therefore a daughter whose mother worked full-time is likely to expect and aspire to the same for herself. This is also discussed in Curry, Trew, Turner, and Hunter's study (1994), children, both male and female, that saw themselves as "careerists" were more likely to have mothers who worked full-time versus those who saw themselves as "noncareerists."

On the other hand, there was no significant relation between maternal employment and mother-daughter relationship quality. Therefore a mother working full-time, part-time, or staying home did not appear to affect the closeness or respect a daughter reported feeling towards her mother. Future studies may look more closely at the mother's satisfaction in her role and how that affects a daughter's level of respect and closeness. Other contributing factors to consider in

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future studies of closeness could be closeness to father versus mother and birth

order.

Maternal employment did not have a significant relation with gender

stereotype endorsement. This included a woman's views on gender and parental

roles, old fashioned sexism, and modern sexism.   Past research suggests that,

independent of employment, parents portray gender attitudes in the home based on

the roles they play or the tasks they perform (Fulcher, 2011). It is also translated

through the way parents communicate and parent their children (Ex & Janssens,

1998). Also the notion that, even if both parents work full-time, women are more

likely to pick up the majority of household chores (Coltrane, 2000). Therefore the

effort put forth to model women's success at work might fall short if a young girl

observes an unequal workload at home (Croft et al. 2014). The findings for this

study suggest that other aspects of life, such as work experience, romantic

relationships, and family history, may have a greater impact on women's gender

attitudes than their mother's employment status did. Future studies may look more

at the influences of the parental relationship, division of labor in the childhood

home, and treatment of different gendered siblings within one family. These factors

may give a broader view on how a woman developed her ideas of what is expected

of a woman both in the way she acts and thinks.

It is also possible that maternal employment status may have affected

aspects of gender attitudes that were not measured in the current study (such as

implicit stereotypes), and that these attitudes in turn influenced participants' role

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aspirations. Future research should explore implicit as well as explicit gender attitudes and how they relate to work and family aspirations.

Stigma-consciousness also was not significantly related to maternal employment.   The questions in this measure dealt with the interaction between men and women or the perception that women have of men. Many of these stigmas may be felt most strongly in the workplace. Since the sample were young women (most participants were under the age of 28), there may not be enough experience in this field to develop strong beliefs about gender stigmas and their awareness of it. This gives room for future studies to compare a woman's stigma consciousness at various ages and if that changes with time and experience. Possible other factors contributing to these beliefs are personal experiences, work experiences, father's gender beliefs, parental relationship, schooling, and past romantic relationships. In addition to examining the effects of maternal employment history, the career-related variables (role orientations and career commitment) were analyzed according to student status (i.e., in undergraduate or graduate program). The analyses showed no significant relation of student status. This data supports that, in this study, it didn't matter how long a woman had been in advanced education, her orientation did not appear to be be affected. The premise that if a women goes back to graduate school, she may be more likely to have a work orientation is not valid. Despite the extra time, money, and commitment of graduate school, graduate student participants did not show a distinct variation in role orientation when compared to their undergraduate counterparts.

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Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Table 1

Measures by maternal employment status.

Measures	Stayed home	Worked PT	Worked FT	Combined (Total)	Cronbach's Alpha
Work Orientation	3.59 (0.92)	3.73 (0.83)	4.14 (0.94)	3.90 (0.92)	.73
Home Orientation	4.82 (0.42)	4.63 (0.67)	4.25 (1.07)	4.48 (0.88)	.92
Adaptive Orientation	3.39 (1.16)	3.76 (1.04)	4.13 (0.98)	3.87 (1.07)	.78
Career Commitment	3.55 (0.74)	3.67 (0.68)	3.97 (0.50)	3.79 (0.63)	.70
Mother Closeness	4.57 (0.78)	4.22 (0.87)	4.09 (1.01)	4.22 (0.93)	.78
Mother Respect	4.49 (0.57)	4.30 (0.78)	4.21 (0.89)	4.30 (0.80)	.88
Gender Attitudes (Views on Parenting / Motherhood)	1.56 (0.42)	1.69 (0.52)	1.54 (0.50)	1.59 (0.49)	.57
Old Fashioned Sexism	1.54 (0.48)	1.51 (0.43)	1.47 (0.47)	1.50 (0.45)	.54
Modern Sexism	2.16 (0.50)	2.16 (0.50)	2.03 (0.59)	2.10 (0.54)	.79
Stigma Consciousness	3.40 (0.65)	3.20 (0.61)	3.34 (0.58)	3.31 (0.60)	.82

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Table 2

Future plan percentages by maternal employment.

Measure	Stayed Home	Worked PT	Worked FT	Combined
Plan to marry	100%	94%	94%	95%
Plan to have children	100%	94%	79%	88%
Plan to work after marriage	96%	100%	96%	97%
Work after marriage part-time	9.5%	2.9%	3.8%	4.7%
Work after marriage full-time	90.5%	97.1%	96.2%	95.3%
Plan to work after children	86%	88%	96%	92%
Work part-time with children	47.4%	23.3%	15.4%	23.8%
Work full-time with children	52.6%	76.7%	84.6%	76.2%
FC role: Home	72.7%	64.7%	30.2%	49.5%
FC role: Work	0%	0%	7.5%	3.7%
FC role: Adaptive	27.3%	35.3%	62.3%	46.8%

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Table 3

Correlation matrix.

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 Work Orientation	.081	.648	.379	-.094	-.007	-.180	-.053	-.104	.165
2 Family Orientation	X	.396	-.219	.270	.236	.049	.081	.025	-.149
3 Adaptive Orientation		X	.307	.035	.136	-.222	-.061	-.132	.011
4 Career Commitment			X	-..048	.011	-.504	-.286	-.387	.200
5 Mother Closeness				X	.723	-.152	-.158	-.009	-.129
6 Mother Respect					X	-.136	-.128	.104	-.209
7 Gender Attitudes						X	.648	.579	-.315
8 Old Fashioned Sexism							X	.426	-.179
9 Modern Sexism								X	-.570
10 Stigma Consciousness									X

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Appendices

Demographics

-Your gender

-Your age

-What is your year in school?

-Your race/ethnicity

-Were you born in the United States?

-Your marital status

-How many children do you have?

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Basic Questions

1. Do you plan to get married?

2. Do you plan to have children?

3. Do you plan to work after marriage?

4. If yes, part-time or full-time?

5. Do you plan to work after children?

6. If yes, part-time or full-time?

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Work, Home, and Adaptive Orientation

- I want to continue working throughout the lifespan.

- I want to continue work even if I have no financial need to do so.

- I want to get married.

- I want to exert effort to build a nice family.

- I want to continue to work and balance a family simultaneously.

- I want to spend equal time at work and with my family.

Work, Home and Adaptive Orientation Continued

-Although I might work, I will primarily focus on my family.

-Although I might have a family, I will primarily focus on my career.

-I will give equal focus to both my career and my family.

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Views on Parenting/Motherhood

The original measure has been adapted from stating "mother" in the second question, to "parent" to give a better measurement of prioritized children's needs no matter the parent. These measures narrow the view seeing as how they were written for mother's roles. However, they assess prioritizing children's needs. In order to measure the woman's belief that a mother has a unique responsibility to her child that a father cannot fulfill, a single-item was included (4):

1. *If I have children, I would feel guilty about putting them in daycare for their first year so that I could go back to work full time*

2. *A parent should always do what is best for his/her child, not what is easy or convenient for the parent*

3. *I intend to have a career that would allow me to take time off to raise children.*

4. *There are many things only a mother can provide.*

5. A mother should always do what is best for her child, not what is easy or convenient for mother.

6. *There are many things only a father can provide.*

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Career Commitment

Adapted from Hallett and Gilbert, 1997 (a-d); Gilbert, Dancer, Rossman, & Thorn,

1991 (e); O'Brien & Fassinger, 1993 (f)

(a) *I expect my career to be an important part of my identity*

(b) *I cannot understand how some people can be so set in their careers and so devoted*

to what they do for a living (reversed)

(c) *No single occupation appeals strongly to me* (reversed)

(d) *At this point, I am extremely committed to pursuing an occupation that would*

require a great deal of time and dedication

(e) *I see myself preferring not to work, and only working if additional income is*

necessary (reversed)

(f) *I plan on becoming an expert in my career field,*

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Parents' Education

-My mother's education

       -Did not complete high school

       -High school degree

       -Some college, no college degree

       -Associate's degree

       -Bachelor's degree

       -Master's degree

       -Doctorate

       -Don't know

-My father's education

       -Did not complete high school

       -High school degree

       -Some college, no college degree

       -Associate's degree

       -Bachelor's degree

       -Master's degree

       -Doctorate

       -Don't know

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Parent's Work Status

a) My mother stayed home full-time.

b) My mother worked part-time before I was in elementary school.

c) My mother worked full-time before I was in elementary school.

d) My mother worked part-time after I started school.

e) My mother worked full-time after I started school.

f) My father stayed home full-time.

g) My father worked part-time before I was in elementary school.

h) My father worked full-time before I was in elementary school.

i) My father worked part-time after I started school.

j) My father worked full-time after I started school.

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Mother's Orientation

1) My mother put our family as her highest priority.

2) My mother put her career as her highest priority.

3) My mother valued our family life and her career equally.

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Respect for Mother

1. I was close to my mother growing up.

2. I am close to my mother now.

3. When I was growing up, I respected my mother.

4. I respect my mother now.

5. When I was growing up, I respected the choices my mother had made about how to live her life.

6. As an adult, I respect the choices my mother has made about how to live her life.

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Parents' Gender Attitudes

1. It should not bother the husband if a wife's job sometimes requires her to be away from him overnight.

2. If his wife works full-time, a husband should share equally in household chores such as cooking, cleaning, and washing.

3. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have a career herself.

4. Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughter as in their sons.

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism Scales

Scale Item

Old-Fashioned Sexism

1. Women are generally not as smart as men.*

2. I would be equally comfortable having a woman as a boss as a man.

3. It is more important to encourage boys than to encourage girls to participate in athletics.*

4. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men.

5. When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother rather than the father.*

Modern Sexism

Denial of continuing discrimination

1. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.*

2. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.

3. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.*

4. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.*

5. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.*

Antagonism toward women's demands

6. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America.*

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

 7. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned

Resentment about special favors for women

8. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing

more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual

experiences.*

Note. Items with an asterisk required reverse scoring.

Like Mother, Like Daughter?

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire- SCQ

1. Stereotypes about women have not affected me personally. (R)

2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically female. (R)

3. When interacting with men, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of

the fact that I am a

4. Most men do not judge women on the basis of their gender. (R)

5. My being female does not influence how men act with me. (R)

6. I almost never think about the fact that I am female when I interact with men. (R)

7. My being female does not influence how people act with me. (R)

8. Most men have a lot more sexist thoughts than they actually express.

9. I often think that men are unfairly accused of being sexist. (R)

10. Most men have a problem viewing women as equals.

Note . R = reverse scored.