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Mother, Father, or Parent?: College Students' Intensive Parenting Attitudes Differ by Referent

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Abstract

Although intensive parenting is considered a dominant ideology of child-rearing, the tenets have only recently been operationalized. The Intensive Parenting Attitudes Questionnaire (IPAQ) was designed to assess the prescriptive norms of how people should parent and includes scales assessing the ideas that parenting is fulfilling, but challenging, and should be child-centered, involve intellectual stimulation, and is best done by women. The original IPAQ refers to parents, rather than mothers or fathers specifically, and was developed and validated on both women who were and were not mothers. The current investigation was designed to determine (a) whether women hold stronger intensive parenting beliefs than men and (b) whether answers on the IPAQ would vary depending on whether the referent was a mother, a father, or a parent. Participants included 322 male and female college students who were randomly assigned to receive one of three versions of the IPAQ referring either to mother, father, or parent. A main effect for sex indicated that female students held more intensive parenting beliefs than male students. A main effect for version indicated that referring to fathers led to more intensive attitudes than referring to mothers on the Child-Centered and Fulfillment scales, but parenting was rated as more Challenging than fathering. Whether the emphasis on father involvement found in the present investigation will translate into actual paternal involvement once participants have children is discussed.

Key words: Intensive mothering ideology; parenting; father involvement; sex differences; family roles; intensive parenting attitudes scale

Introduction

Society in many ways dictates what it means to be a mother; it tells mothers what they should do, what the 'right' way to parent is, and what is and is not acceptable behavior (Arendell, 2000; Choi, Henshaw, Baker, & Tree, 2005; Hays, 1996; Hays, 1998; Johnston & Swanson, 2003; Tummala-Narra, 2009). The desire to become an emblem of perfect motherhood and to live up to these 'supermom' standards has led to the development of a parenting ideology known as intensive mothering (Hays, 1996). This ideology has grown out of decades of cultural pressures placed upon mothers, pressures that only increased when more women began to work full-time while raising young children (Choi et. al. 2005; Johnston & Swanson, 2003).

Hays (1996) identified three central themes of intensive mothering: childcare is primarily the responsibility of the mother, parenting should be child-centered, and children are sacred and delightful. Other conceptualizations of intensive mothering include the notion that one should intellectually stimulate children to ensure appropriate brain development (Wall, 2010). Intensive mothering ideology has been explored through a variety of qualitative studies (e.g., Hays, 1996; Guendouzi, 2005; Johnston & Swanson, 2006) and has been described as the dominant discourse of mothering (Arendell, 2000). Intensive parenting beliefs were recently operationalized, through the development of the Intensive Parenting Attitudes Questionnaire (IPAQ), to help researchers gain a better understanding of the predictors and consequences of holding intensive parenting beliefs (Liss, Schiffrin, Mackintosh, Miles-Mclean & Erchull, 2012).

The IPAQ is a 25-item scale that assesses intensive parenting attitudes across five domains. It has demonstrated good reliability as well as concurrent and discriminative

validity when compared to other measures of parenting beliefs including the Parental Investment in Children scale (PIC; Bradley, Whiteside-Mansell, Brisby, & Caldwell, 1997) and the Parental Sense of Competence Scale (PSOC, Johnston & Mash, 1989). It was initially developed and validated among a group of mothers and was cross-validated and also found to be reliable in a group of women who were not mothers (Liss et al., 2012).

Several of the components of intensive mothering as conceptualized by Hays (1996) are measured by the IPAQ. The IPAQ scales represent prescriptive norms for parenting, emphasizing what parents *should* do or feel. The scales include (1) Essentialism, which emphasizes that mothers make the best parents; (2) Fulfillment, the belief that parenting should be delightful and completely fulfilling; (3) Stimulation, or the idea that parents should continually engage their children in intellectually stimulating activities; (4) Challenging, the belief that parenting is very difficult; and (5) Child-Centered, the belief that parenting should focus on the needs of the child more than the needs of the parents. In the original validation study, the subscales of the IPAQ were written with "parent" as the referent for all scales except for Essentialism, which specifically refers to the idea that mothers are better at childcare than fathers; and Challenging, which contains some items referring specifically to the idea that *mothering* is challenging (Liss et al., 2012).

Mental health outcomes of holding intensive parenting beliefs were investigated in a sample of mothers (Rizzo, Schiffrin & Liss, 2012). It was found that certain intensive parenting beliefs were detrimental to maternal mental health. Even after controlling for family social support, belief in Essentialism was related to lower life satisfaction and the

belief that parenting is Challenging was related to higher levels of depression and stress. Furthermore, endorsing the belief that parenting should be Child-Centered was correlated with lower levels of life satisfaction.

Young men and women who have yet to become parents may harbor idealized beliefs about parenting. The act of becoming a parent can change a person's beliefs about parenting and about men and women's relative roles. Specifically, both men and women generally begin to hold more traditional views about parenting after the birth of a child (Katz-Wise, Priess, & Hyde, 2010). However, understanding what young men and women expect is important because when expectations are violated, perceptions of unfairness increase and marital satisfaction decreases (Dew & Wilcox, 2011). This dissatisfaction becomes particularly prominent when women find themselves being more responsible for childcare than they had hoped and anticipated (Dew & Wilcox, 2011; Twenge, Campbell, & Foster, 2003). Many women may desire to continue working full-time after having children. However, endorsing intensive parenting ideologies may make it difficult to combine full-time work and parenting. This belief may be especially problematic for young women if the intensive parenting ideology (1) is held more strongly by women than men and (2) is seen as primarily applicable to mothers.

The goal of the current project was to expand research on the IPAQ by determining (a) if there would be sex differences in the internalization of intensive parenting ideology and (b) if endorsement of intensive parenting beliefs would differ depending on whether questions were asked about a mother, father, or parent. We were also interested in whether male and female college students differed with respect to their

preferences for whether they intended to work or stay at home after having children (Schroeder, Blood, & Maluso, 1993). These questions are important because examining college students' expectations can help us better understand how the next generation may approach the task of parenting.

Although this is the first study to determine whether there are sex differences in intensive parenting beliefs, prior research on the expectations of non-parents has suggested that young women may endorse these beliefs more strongly than men. Research has suggested that both men and women advocate equality in theory. However, both predict that when they do have children, the mother will be primarily responsible for the children, and the father will continue to work full-time with little interruption in his career (Schroeder et al., 1993; Stone & McKee, 2000; Zhou, 2006). Another study found that both men and women ideally wanted to divide childcare almost equally; however, while men expected that childcare would actually be shared equally, women anticipated doing almost 70% of the childcare (Askari, Liss, Erchull, Staebell, Axelson, 2010). A possible reason that women may have anticipated greater participation in childcare than men is that they more strongly endorse the ideologies of intensive parenting. Thus, the first goal of this investigation was to examine whether there were sex differences in the endorsement of the IPAQ.

Our second goal was to determine whether intensive parenting beliefs are the same thing as intensive mothering beliefs and whether these beliefs are held more strongly than intensive fathering beliefs. Historically, studies of the effects of parental involvement on child outcomes have generally ignored the contribution of the father, suggesting that many researchers may conceptualize a parent as a mother (Cassano,

Adrien, Veits & Zeman, 2006; Phares & Compas, 1992). In addition, it has been argued

that even when the term parenting is used in guides and manuals, it is clear that the

targeted parent is the mother (Friedman, 2008). In relation to intensive parenting

specifically, Hays (1998) criticized the authors of the PIC (Bradley et al., 1997) for

setting very high standards for child involvement and endorsing intensive mothering

beliefs. In rebuttal, Bradley (1998) noted that the items on the PIC referred to the

"parent" and not specifically to the mother and, thus, did not set unrealistically high

standards for mothers per se. Given the prescriptive nature of intensive parenting beliefs

and the fact that its pressures are generally directed at mothers (Tummala-Narra, 2009),

the term parent in this context may automatically be assumed to be mother. However,

there is currently no research specifically investigating whether intensive parenting

beliefs vary based on whether the referent is a mother, a father, or a parent in general.

There were two major hypotheses for the current investigation. First, we

hypothesized a main effect of sex of participant on the scales of the IPAQ such that

females would more strongly endorse intensive parenting attitudes than males. In line

with this, we also expected male participants to anticipate less interruption to their careers

after the birth of a child than females. Second, we hypothesized a main effect for referent

(i.e., mother, father, or parent). Specifically, we hypothesized that when the referent was

mother or parent, intensive parenting attitudes would be more strongly endorsed than

when the referent was father. Given the pervasive cultural assumption that mothers are

the primary parents (Hays, 1996; Tummala-Narra, 2009), we did not expect any

differences when the referent was mother versus parent. We also did not expect a

significant interaction between sex of participant and referent because we believed both

male and female participants would accept the cultural norm that mothers should be the primary parent. Finally, it should be noted that the versions of the instrument only differed substantially for the Fulfillment, Challenging, and Child-Centered scales; so, we only expected the main effect of referent for these three scales.

Method

Participants

The study consisted of a convenience sample of 322 participants (47.4% male, 52.6% female) between the ages of 18 and 24 ($M = 19.29$, $SD = 1.86$). Approximately 73.8% of the participants identified themselves as Caucasian, 10.3% Hispanic, 7.8% African-American, 7.2% Asian-American, 0.6% American Indian, and 0.3% described themselves as "other." All participants were undergraduate students from a small, public, liberal arts university in the mid-Atlantic region and were treated in accordance to the ethical guidelines of the American Psychological Association (2001). Some participants received partial credit in General Psychology for their participation; others were recruited through their dormitories and offered candy for participating.

Materials and Procedure

The IPAQ is a 25-item measure comprised of five scales capturing unique, but interrelated elements of Hays' (1996) intensive parenting ideology (i.e., Essentialism, Fulfillment, Stimulation, Challenging, and Child-Centered). The Essentialism scale was designed to measure the participants' beliefs about whether or not women make innately better parents than men (e.g., "Although fathers are important, ultimately children need mothers more"). The Fulfillment scale measures beliefs of how satisfying and joyous parenting should be (e.g., "Being a parent brings a person the greatest joy they can

possibly experience"). Stimulation measures the participants' beliefs about the need to intellectually stimulate and interact with children (e.g., "Finding the best educational opportunities for children is important as early as preschool"). The Challenging scale measures how difficult the participants believed parenting to be (e.g., "Parenting is exhausting"). Finally, the Child-Centered scale measures beliefs about the extent to which the child's needs should be put before the parents' needs (e.g., "Children's needs should come before their parents"). Participants rated each item on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Mean scores were calculated and higher scores indicated greater endorsement of intensive parenting beliefs. In the original investigation Cronbach's α on the non-mother sample were .91, .83, .57, .72, and .83 for the Essentialism, Fulfillment, Stimulation, Challenging, and Child-Centered scales, respectively (Liss et al., 2012).

To gain a better understanding of the life goals of our participants they were administered the Lifestyle Preferences Scale (LPS; Schroeder et al., 1993) in which participants indicated their ideal future life path (e.g., graduation, full-time work, marriage, children, stop working until at least youngest child is in school, then pursue full-time job). Eight life paths were described and participants were asked to select the path they hoped to follow after graduation (see Table 1).

After giving informed consent, participants completed demographic information, the LPS (Schroeder et al., 1993), and were randomly assigned to receive one of three versions of the IPAQ. In all three versions, the wording of the Essentialism scale remained the same because the scale captures the belief that the mother should be the primary parent. In Version A, all questions were worded so that mother was the referent

for all items. In Versions B and C, questions (other than those in the Essentialism scale) were worded to refer to father and parent, respectively. It should be noted that several items on the Challenging scale were originally written to reflect the idea that mothering, rather than parenting, was challenging. Nevertheless, all referents in the Challenging scale were varied across versions (e.g., mother, father, and parent). Furthermore, there was only one item in the Stimulation scale in which the referent was mentioned ("Mothers/Fathers/Parents should begin providing intellectual stimulation for their children prenatally, such as reading to them or playing classical music"). The internal consistency for each scale in the current study for the mother, father, and parent version, respectively, were: Essentialism (Cronbach's α = .77, .78, .85), Fulfillment (Cronbach's α = .77, .69, .79), Stimulation (Cronbach's α = .67, .58, .60), Challenging (Cronbach's α = .64, .47, .60), and Child-Centered (Cronbach's α = .61, .67, .73).

Results

We conducted a chi-square test-of-independence to examine whether lifestyle preferences differed by gender. Men and women differed significantly on the LPS, $\chi^2(7, N = 317) = 37.33, p < .001$, Cramer's Φ = .34 representing a moderate effect. As expected, more women anticipated interruption to their work schedule after having children than men. Among people who planned to have children (those desiring life paths 3-8), substantially more men (78.83%) than women (45.64%) indicated that children will only cause a minor interruption to their full-time work. See Table 1 for percentages of each life path by sex of participant. There were no differences in anticipated life plans by referent group indicating that participants with varied work and family plans were equally

distributed among the groups through random assignment as intended, $\chi^2(14, N = 317) = 19.58$, $p = .14$.

A 2 x 3 between subjects multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to evaluate the effects of sex of the participant and referent (i.e., mother, father, or parent) on the five subscales of the IPAQ. The interaction of sex and referent was not significant, $F(10, 622) = 0.39$, $p = .95$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$; observed power was 20.6%. The main effect of sex was significant, $F(5, 310) = 5.60$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$; observed power was 99.2%. Univariate F tests indicated that the main effect of sex was significant for the Fulfillment ($d = .29$), Stimulation ($d = .43$), and Challenging ($d = .42$) scales but not for the Essentialism and Child-Centered scales. Women scored significantly higher than men on all three scales. The marginal means, standard deviations, and values for univariate F tests are presented in Table 2.

The main effect of referent was significant, $F(10, 622) = 4.79$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$; observed power was approximately 100%. Univariate F tests indicated that referent differed significantly for the Fulfillment, Challenging, and Child-centered subscales but not for Essentialism or Stimulation. Tukey post-hoc tests were conducted to follow-up the main effect of referent. Participants rated fathers as being significantly more fulfilled by their children ($d = .56$) as well as more child-centered ($d = .52$) than they rated mothers. In addition, participants rated parents in general as having more challenges associated with parenting than fathers ($d = .40$). No other differences were significant.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine if there were sex differences in intensive parenting attitudes as well as whether endorsement of intensive parenting

attitudes varied based on whether the referent was a mother, a father, or a parent in general. Our first hypothesis was supported. Women more strongly endorsed intensive parenting attitudes than men on several dimensions. Women in our sample indicated that parenting should be more fulfilling, more challenging, and rated the importance of providing consistent intellectual stimulation for children higher than male participants. These findings suggest that women have internalized intensive parenting attitudes, which is consistent with the literature on intensive mothering (Arendell, 2000; Hays, 1996; Johnston & Swanson, 2006). However, previous studies had not incorporated male views of intensive parenting. In contrast to our hypothesis, women did not score higher than men on the Essentialism scale, which was the scale least strongly endorsed by all participants.

We also hypothesized that participants completing the version of the IPAQ that referred to either mother or parent would endorse Fulfillment, Challenging, and Child-Centered beliefs significantly more than when the referent was father. We also hypothesized that the mother version would not differ significantly from the parent version. Both hypotheses were partially supported for the Challenging scale. Participants indicated that being a parent was significantly more challenging than being a father; however, being a mother did not differ significantly from either parent or father on this dimension.

Our hypothesis that college students would think that mothers should be more child-centered and fulfilled by their children than fathers was incorrect. Participants who completed the father version of the IPAQ said fathers should be more fulfilled by their children and more child-centered than did participants who completed the mother

version. For both the Fulfillment and Child-Centered scales, being a parent was rated in between the mother and father versions, but was not significantly different from either. As anticipated, no differences were hypothesized or found for the Essentialism and Stimulation scales due to the identical/similar wording of items across versions. It should be noted that although the father version was more strongly endorsed than the mother version on several scales, which was unexpected, there were no significant differences between the mother version and the parent version on any scale, which was consistent with our expectations. Although, the null hypothesis cannot be proven, the high power (~100%) observed in this study should have allowed detection of differences if they existed.

There are several possible explanations for the fact that the father version of several scales resulted in stronger levels of endorsement than the mother version. First, given the societal pressures already placed on women to parent intensively (Tummala-Narra, 2009), undergraduates may have been hesitant to endorse attitudes that women should be more fulfilled by their children than anything else in their lives or put their children's needs ahead of their own to a greater extent than they already do. While it is possible that these participants actually view fathers as more intensive parents than mothers, it should be noted that the IPAQ measures prescriptive norms, or what participants think mothers (or fathers or parents) *should* be doing, rather than what they already are doing. Thus, the higher rating for fathers on these two aspects of intensive parenting might be prescriptive; i.e., they "should" find being a parent more fulfilling than they do and that they "should" be more child-centered in their parenting practices than fathers currently are. It should also be noted that we did not find an interaction

between the sex of the participant and whether the IPAQ referred to a mother, father, or parent. Thus, both men and women equally held the prescriptive norms that fathers should be more child-centered and fulfilled by their children than they thought mothers should be.

An alternate explanation for the findings that were contrary to our hypothesis is that there may be a tendency to idealize fathers' participation in parenting activities; whereas mothers are rarely praised for being greatly involved in their children's lives (Wall & Arnold, 2007). Highly involved fathers exceed the norm for their sex and are often praised for parental involvement in media representations of parenting (Arendell, 2000; Wall & Arnold, 2007). However, mothers are not praised because there is a baseline expectation for maternal involvement in childcare. Thus, the fact that being a father was rated as more fulfilling and more child-centered than being a mother by our participants may reflect this idealization of the paternal role.

Given that data consistently confirm that mothers do the majority of childcare, this ideal of high paternal involvement may not transfer into greater paternal involvement in reality (Coltrane, 2000; Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Wall & Arnold, 2007). There is some evidence that greater paternal involvement may not be realized for our participants either. First, they rated parenting as more challenging than fathering, suggesting they perceived that fathers do not bear the full brunt of the difficult aspects of childcare. Second, women in our study gave higher ratings than men on many aspects of intensive parenting indicating that they have internalized and endorse this ideology more fully. Finally, participants' lifestyle preferences seem to contradict the endorsement of higher intensive parenting attitudes for fathers. Although both our male and female participants

indicate fathers should be more child-centered than mothers, only 19.6% of the males in the sample reported that they anticipated more than a minor interruption of full-time work after the birth of a child compared to 47.9% of females.

Prior research has found that college-aged women report a discrepancy between the amount of childcare they would ideally like to do and the amount of childcare they think they will actually have to do later in life (Askari et al., 2010). The current study suggests a possible mechanism to explain this anticipated discrepancy. Given that the person with higher standards typically does more of the household chores (Alberts, Tracy, & Trethewey, 2011), it is probable that mothers end up doing more of the childcare due to their greater endorsement and internalization of intensive parenting attitudes. If mothers, more than fathers, believe that children need constant stimulation and engagement, then women are more likely to take on the responsibilities for providing those activities themselves. Subsequently, mothers may, often unintentionally, limit father involvement in childcare to ensure it meets the high standards envisioned by the mother, a practice known as "gatekeeping" (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Fagan & Barnett, 2003; Gaunt, 2008).

This cycle of high parental standards (i.e., intensive parenting attitudes) and gatekeeping behaviors, which results in mothers doing the majority of the childcare, may account for why women also rate parenting as being more challenging than men do. It is concerning to note that our data suggest that young, childless women anticipate they will find parenting more challenging than young men, especially given the negative mental health outcomes among mothers who hold this belief (Rizzo et al., 2012).

Both the young men and women in our sample have high hopes and ideals for the level of paternal involvement. However, given women's higher endorsement of intensive parenting beliefs and their greater intention of interrupting their work for their children, their hopes for intensive paternal involvement may not be met. When mothers find their husbands are less engaged with their children than they had hoped, they experience decreases in marital and life satisfaction (Cowan & Cowan, 1988; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Twenge et al., 2003). Understanding the mechanisms by which this potential violation of expectations occurs is important to better prepare young men and women for the transition to parenthood.

Future research should also expand on this study to address its limitations. Our participants were a convenience sample with homogeneous demographic characteristics, which limits the generalizability of the results. Therefore, it would be interesting to examine what the sex differences in intensive parenting attitudes are in participants with different levels of education, racial/ethnic backgrounds, and socioeconomic levels. Second, future research should examine the sex differences in intensive parenting attitudes among parents rather than among college students. In addition, it would be especially beneficial to examine intensive parenting attitudes more in depth among fathers, who have not been studied directly in the literature to date. For example, mothers and fathers may view constructs such as intellectually stimulating children and being child-centered differently. Prior research indicates that men equate good parenting with a father's ability to provide financially for his family (Chesley, 2011; Shows & Gertsel, 2009), whereas women consider good parenting as spending quality time with their children (Dillaway & Paré, 2008; Hays, 1996; Johnston & Swanson, 2006).

As a final limitation, it should be noted that the reliability of some scales on the "Father" version of the IPAQ were relatively low (e.g., Challenging). The participants in this sample may have found the concept that being a father was difficult and exhausting (e.g., fathers never get a mental break from their children, even when physically apart) somewhat incoherent. This finding supports the use of items referring specifically to motherhood as being challenging in the original version of the IPAQ. Overall, the reliabilities of the IPAQ in this college sample were lower than those obtained from non-mothers using the original version of the IPAQ (Liss et al., 2012). The Challenging and Stimulation scales did not reach acceptable levels of reliability, even when the original "parent" version was administered. Thus, these scales should be used with caution among non-parent samples. Nevertheless, we were able to find significant results with these scales, which is an indication of the robustness of our findings. Low reliabilities generally attenuate relationships among variables making it more difficult to find significant results, but do not increase the rate of finding significant relationships among variables that are spurious (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003; Zuckerman, Hodgins, Zuckerman, & Rosenthal, 1993).

Despite these limitations, this was an experimental study that examined whether people have different attitudes about intensive parenting when asked to think about a mother, father, or parent. The referent "parent" was never significantly different from mother on any of the five intensive parenting dimensions measured by the IPAQ. Although being a parent was rated as more challenging than being a father, parent and father did not differ on any other dimensions of intensive parenting assessed. However,

the beliefs that parenting should be fulfilling and child-centered were endorsed more strongly when *father* rather than mother was the referent.

Our data indicate a potential paradox in the expectations of young men and women about parenthood. While the role of the father may be idealized in theory, it is unlikely that men will be as child-centered or fulfilled as anticipated when they become fathers. Given that the women in our sample hold stronger intensive parenting beliefs and have more traditional life plans than the men in our sample, they will likely experience continued inequality in the responsibility for childcare. Young women may be disappointed when their expectations for equality and high levels of paternal involvement are not realized. Young men may also be disappointed when they discover the difficulty of maintaining high levels of paternal involvement in a society in which being an ideal worker is incompatible with high involvement in family life (Blair-Loy, 2005). How expectations and beliefs about the role of the father and mother change with the transition to parenthood would be useful to understand in future research.

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Table 1

Ideal Life Plans by Sex for Male and Female College Students

Schroeder Life Plans	Males (*n* = 148)	Females (*n* = 169)
1. Graduation, full-time work, no marriage.	4.1%	3.6%
2. Graduation, full-time work, marriage, no children.	3.4%	8.3%
3. Graduation, full-time work, marriage, children, and continued work with only minor interruption for childbirth.	73.0%	40.2%
4. Graduation, full-time work, marriage, children, stopped working but returned to full-time job before the youngest was in school.	6.1%	14.8%
5. Graduation, full-time work, marriage, children, stopped working but returned to part-time job before the youngest was in school.	2.0%	5.3%
6. Graduation, full-time work, marriage, children, stopped working at least until the youngest was in school, then pursued full-time work.	4.7%	10.7%
7. Graduation, full-time work, marriage, children, stopped working at least until the youngest was in school, then pursued part-time work.	3.4%	11.2%
8. Graduation, full-time work, marriage, children, stopped working.	3.4%	5.9%

Table 2

Marginal Means, Standard Deviations (in parentheses), and F values of College Men and Women's Scores on the Five IPAQ Subscales by Version of the IPAQ (N=322)

	Subscales of the Intensive Parenting Attitudes Questionnaire				
	Essentialism	Fulfillment	Stimulation	Challenging	Child-centered
Sex					
Men	2.28 (0.74)	4.08 (0.98)	4.73 (0.74)	3.81 (0.72)	3.77 (0.95)
Women	2.32 (0.81)	4.35 (0.89)	5.03 (0.66)	4.10 (0.66)	3.77 (0.91)
$F(1, 314) =$	0.26	7.67**	14.97***	14.01***	0.01
Version					
Mother	2.27 (0.77)	3.97 (0.97)[a]	4.83 (0.79)	4.00 (0.74)[ab]	3.53 (0.93)[a]
Father	2.36 (0.77)	4.48 (0.85)[b]	4.96 (0.68)	3.82 (0.67)[a]	4.01 (0.92)[b]
Parent	2.28 (0.79)	4.21 (0.93)[ab]	4.88 (0.67)	4.09 (0.67)[b]	3.76 (0.89)[ab]
$F(2, 314) =$	0.50	8.48***	0.97	4.06*	7.12**

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$; means with different superscripts differ significantly at $p < .05$.

IPAQ scores are mean scores with a potential range from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).