ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: AGE RELATED CHANGES IN SOCIAL

REASONING REGARDING PARENTAL

DOMESTIC ROLES

Stefanie Marie Sinno, Doctor of Philosophy, 2007

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The present study investigated age related changes in individuals' understanding of the parental role of caretaker from a social reasoning perspective. The methodology involved administering surveys to children, adolescents, and young adults ($N = 300$). Four hypothetical scenarios were described, in which the amount of caretaking tasks completed and time spent at work varied by gender of the parent, and individuals' evaluations and reasoning about the situations were assessed. Three additional factors that influence social reasoning about the caretaker were investigated, including, participants' gender attitudes, their perceptions of their parents' working status and division of caretaking, and their expectations for their own future family life.

Results showed that individuals' judgments and reasoning about the caretaker role vary based on both the family arrangement and the gender of the parent in the caretaker role. Overall, participants' judged that the better arrangement is for one parent to spend

less time at work in order to be the primary caretaker. However, it was also found that regardless of work arrangement, it would be better if the mother was the primary caretaker. There were age related changes in social reasoning about the caretaker role, with an overall increase in recognizing the complexity of family situations and reasoning from a moral perspective. In addition, gender attitudes, perception of parental work status and division of caretaking and expectations for future balance of work and family influenced social reasoning. Those individuals with more egalitarian attitudes, perceptions, and expectations were aware of societal expectations of parents' roles, but were accepting of arrangements that did not match with expectations. Thus, the present study addressed issues about the developmental origins of individuals' understanding of gender equity, gender development, and developmental social cognition. Understanding developmental changes in social reasoning about gender roles is important because it affects choice of future career and educational goals and opportunities.

AGE RELATED CHANGES IN SOCIAL REASONING REGARDING
PARENTAL DOMESTIC ROLES

By

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Chapter 1: Theoretical Rationale

Gender stereotypes are pervasive in most cultures, and are prevalent in individuals' behaviors, personalities, activities, and academic and occupational lives. A comprehensive study of research conducted in the U.S. found that adults and children of varying ethnic backgrounds are aware of gender stereotypes about occupations, traits, and activities that are consistent with societal expectations (Liben & Bigler, 2002). At the same time, a wealth of research from the social cognitive domain theory has shown that children and adolescents often view gender stereotypes as wrong because they lead to unfair and unequal treatment of others (Killen, Sinno, & Margie, 2007). For example, when mothers are excluded from working a full-time job, children and adolescents evaluate it as unfair and discriminatory (Sinno & Killen 2006). Division of gender roles in the home continues to exist, however, and in many instances is reasoned about in several different ways, depending on the context of the family situation.

In the home, gender roles are typically associated with family obligations, such as child-rearing and nurturance, as well as roles in the workforce, such as hours spent at work and job competency. As an example, because of various gender-related expectations, fathers often work long hours outside of the home, reducing the amount of time they have to spend with their children (Palkovitz, 2002; Tamis-LeMonda & Cabrera, 2002). Further, some fathers may avoid caretaking of their children because they believe their primary role as breadwinner is also their main parental role while mothers, in turn, take on the majority of the caretaking. Due to these gender differences in caretaking, mothers are also often stereotyped as ineffective in the

workforce. For instance, a woman who has children is seen as less competent in her profession and is often overlooked for training or promotions (Fuegan, Biernat, Haines, & Deaux, 2004). Thus, gender stereotypes impact both home and professional life for men and women. In turn, the lives of the children in these families are also affected.

The issue of gender bias regarding career and domestic obligations is relevant to children's healthy social development for several reasons. First, it affects children's academic endeavors. Due to gender stereotypes about career options, young children in school are encouraged to work harder in classes that are more stereotypically gender appropriate, such as encouraging boys to do well in math and girls to do well in English (Jacobs, Lanza, Osgood, Eccles, & Wigfield, 2002). Thus, children may give up pursuing their academic interests that are stereotyped as inappropriate for their gender or find challenges and lacking support if they continue to pursue such endeavors. Additionally, daughters may be encouraged to pursue less time-intensive and more "family-friendly" careers, such as teaching, while sons may be influenced to pursue more prestigious and less "family-friendly" careers, such as being a doctor. Lastly, gender bias in adult roles may change children's feelings about the importance of their role to a future family. Boys may feel that they do not need to help as much with childcare or running the household because they will be expected to be the breadwinner, whereas girls may feel that motherhood must be their only priority and therefore they will avoid career paths that would inhibit the caretaker role.

A considerable amount of research has already shown that, early in life, children develop knowledge of gender stereotypes. For instance, children judge the professions of firefighter and doctor as male-oriented and the jobs of secretary and nurse as female-oriented (Liben & Bigler, 2002). Children also judge the status of jobs based on gender, with female jobs considered less prestigious than male jobs (Liben, Bigler, & Krogh, 2001). In addition to these findings, research from the social cognitive domain theory indicates that children's concepts of equality and fairness regarding gender equity and discrimination also form at an early age. Even as young as preschool, while children are well aware of the stereotype that girls and not boys play with dolls, children believe that it is unfair to prohibit a boy from playing with a doll simply because of his gender (Killen, Pisacane, Lee-Kim, & Ardila-Rey, 2001).

Additional work by the social cognitive domain model, though, has shown that gender stereotypes are a multifaceted and complex issue whereas in some instances individuals may focus on societal norms to guide their decisions about gender roles yet in other situations individuals may use moral reasoning to influence their choices (Killen, Margie, & Sinno, 2006). For example, when presented with scenarios within the family context, children must evaluate a less directly familiar context, that of negotiating family arrangements, and division of roles in the home. These factors exist within a personally relevant context, that of their family, yet they provide more of an indirect effect on their conceptions of gender roles and expectations because they are not directly involved in negotiating these issues. Not only must children weigh concerns about societal norms and stereotypes, gender

equality and fairness, family functioning, and personal preferences, but also do so for issues that are less commonplace to them.

Thus, issues in the family context may prove even more multifaceted and complex than those described above involving prohibiting a boy from playing with a doll. Killen and colleagues (2001) found that in this familiar peer context children believed that it is unfair to prohibit a boy from playing with a doll and to prohibit a girl from playing with a truck, but recent research has shown that children evaluate parental roles differently based on the gender of the parent (Sinno & Killen, 2006). This research found that, while children considered it equally acceptable for mothers and fathers to work full-time, their reasoning for the acceptability of working full-time differed by parent's gender. For mothers, children reasoned that it was the mother's personal choice to want a job (e.g., personal choice, autonomy); whereas, for fathers, children judged that it was necessary for the father to work full-time for family financial reasons (e.g., conventional considerations). Evaluations of parents in the domestic caretaker role showed that a large proportion of the children judged it acceptable for the mother to want to stay at home but unacceptable for the father to want to stay at home. Again, for the mothers, children were likely to use personal choice as a justification of their judgments. For the fathers, however, children were more likely to use gender stereotypes about his lack of competence in the caretaking role.

In addition, this study found both age- related changes as well as differences based on parental work status. In reference to age, older children were more flexible towards both parents' desires to take on counter-stereotypical roles. However, this

change was less apparent in the role of caretaker than it was in the role of breadwinner. Older children were more likely to think it was acceptable for a father to stay at home than younger children, but still found it less acceptable than a mother wanting a full-time job. Social reasoning about parental situations also differed by age, with younger children using more gender stereotypes about parental roles than older children. Another influence on children's judgments and reasoning about parental roles involved the work status of their own parents. Children who were from more traditional families, in which the mother stayed at home and the father worked full-time, were more likely than those from non-traditional families to judge that it was unacceptable for a mother to get a full-time job. Children from traditional families were also more likely to use gender stereotypes when reasoning about the role of primary caretaker than those children of non-traditional families (Sinno & Killen, 2006).

These findings begged the question why the acceptability of the caretaker role, but not the breadwinner role, differed by parent's gender. Moreover, age related patterns of judgments about parent roles also warrant further examination. The current study was designed to address these questions. Based on the findings from the Sinno and Killen (2006) study, the current project's primary goal was to examine age related changes in evaluations of the parental role of caretaker in greater detail, from the social reasoning perspective. The broader range in age groups, from children to young adults extends findings from the previous study. In addition, the current project had three secondary goals of examining the influence of: 1) gender attitudes, 2) perceptions of family structure, and 3) expectations for future family life

on individuals' evaluations of the caretaker role. These secondary goals were important to examine since research has indicated that each of the above factors influences individuals' notions of gender roles.

The parental role of caretaker

The primary goal of the current study was to investigate the role of caretaker in greater detail, from a social cognitive domain perspective. In particular, the current project addresses the multifaceted nature of gender roles in the family. Research has found that, in many families, the parental roles of breadwinner and caretaker are divided by gender (Okin, 1989). Even in families where both parents work full-time, it is more common for the mother to be the primary caretaker and the father to be considered the primary breadwinner.

Previous research, mainly with adults, has shown that gender stereotypes and expectations could be the main reason why parents remain in stereotypical gender roles (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Neff & Terry-Schmidt, 2002; Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). For example, expectations that males are more aggressive and females are more sensitive may be a reason for the genders being separated into prescribed family roles that connect to these traits. Although the division of roles by gender may work for some families, parents may be limited to roles that they have been made to feel they should be best at, based solely on their gender. In turn, parents may be less likely to develop skills or feel competent in other roles in the home, even if they are interested in taking on new activities (Leaper, 2002). Research to this point has not looked at how individuals reason about the issue of equality in this division of roles in the

home. Social reasoning about gender roles in the home can be complex and the division of roles may be seen as important to family functioning, as a matter of personal preference, or as an unfair division of labor (Killen et al., 2006). Without knowing the reasons why the roles continue to be divided, research cannot offer solutions for making the roles more equitable for mothers and fathers.

Recent research has found some gender stereotyped differences in children's reasoning about the parental roles in the home (Sinno & Killen, 2006). As mentioned previously, this study found that children believed that both mothers and fathers should be able to have a full-time job. Yet, when comparing mothers' and fathers' decision to stay home and take care of a new baby, children were more likely to respond that it would be better for the mother to stay at home with the child. Children often invoked gender expectations for why the mother should stay at home, including that the mother would know more about the baby and would be more loving. Children who thought it was okay for the father to stay at home with the new baby said so because of family functioning and practicality. For example, the mother may make more money, so in that case it would be better for the father to stay at home.

Results from this study further the notion that issues of gender exclusion in the family context are multifaceted. In terms of parental roles, children treat the role of breadwinner as equally acceptable for both mothers and fathers; however, for the role of caretaker, children rely more heavily on gender expectations and therefore reason that the role is more appropriate for mothers (Sinno & Killen, 2006). Based on these results, the primary goal of the current study was to assess, through social reasoning analyses, why the role of caretaking was so strongly linked to mothers. In

particular, this study was interested in examining age related changes in reasoning about the caretaker role when complexity was added into the family situation. For example, does the amount of caretaking tasks done by each parent and the number of hours that each parent works have an effect on how individuals reason about gender division in the caretaking role?

Although there has been little prior work examining children's and adolescents' reasoning about gender roles in the home, there has been a good deal of research on judgments of careers based on gender. Children have judged stereotypic female jobs as less prestigious than stereotypic male jobs (Liben et al., 2001), and therefore they may see work outside the home as less important for mothers. Research with adults has also shown that females are seen as less competent in jobs that require stereotypically male tasks (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997), or those that require long hours (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). Based on these findings, it was expected that individuals would evaluate a family arrangement in which a mother works longer hours as less than ideal because the job is taking time away from her role as mother.

Using a social cognitive domain perspective, individuals' reasoning behind their judgments was also examined. It was expected that individuals would reason that having the mother do more caretaking tasks is better for family functioning, as a social convention, as well as better for the children, using a gender stereotype about fathers' inability. Because the Sinno and Killen (2006) study showed that gender stereotype reasoning decreased with age, it was expected that this finding would be replicated. However, because of the variations in the parents' time spent at work and

caretaking responsibilities, it was expected that some gender stereotypes or societal expectations of parents' roles may continue into young adulthood. In addition, research from the social domain model (Horn, 2003; Killen, Henning, Kelly, Crystal, & Ruck, in press) has also shown that with age, individuals become more aware and understanding of the effects of discrimination and therefore an increase in moral reasoning in terms of fairness was expected. Both findings were expected to be influenced by the context of the family arrangement presented.

Recent developmental research investigating children's reasoning about parent gender roles has also integrated the Shifting Standards theory from social psychology into its investigations to determine if children use varying standards for parents in various roles (Sinno & Killen, 2006). Shifting Standards theory describes how adults' standards for an individual's behavior or performance differs based on the social reference group they use for comparison. This work has provided a significant amount of information on how individuals judge men and women in various roles (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). Often parents in general are seen as less committed to work than non-parents; however, mothers who work are often not hired or not promoted because it is assumed they would be more dedicated to families, whereas this is not the case for fathers (Fuegan et al., 2004).

As it turns out, children are more likely to hold parents to the same standards when considering the role of worker, reasoning that, regardless of gender, parents should be allowed to work and that they will both be successful based on personal effort (Sinno & Killen, 2006). However, children did display shifting standards for parents as caretakers; although mothers and fathers were rated similarly in their

caretaking abilities, fathers were rated well because they were being compared to the stereotypical father who does not do much caretaking at all. It is important to investigate the developmental origins of shifting standards as it may affect children's acceptance or expectations of both mothers and fathers in family roles. The current study, then, also examined whether there are different standards for caretaking responsibilities of mothers and fathers, through judgment and reasoning responses.

Because such variability in evaluations and reasoning was found in the first study about parent roles, the present study expected that several factors may affect an individual's reasoning about the parental role of caretaker. These factors included their personal gender attitudes, their perceptions of their own parents' working status and division of caretaking while growing up and their expectations about their own future family life. These influences were examined as secondary goals of the present study.

The influence of gender attitudes

The first of the secondary goals of the present project was to examine how individuals' own gender attitudes affect their evaluations of the parental caretaker role. Previous research has shown that gender attitudes affect decisions about career options and family responsibility, however, it has not looked at how these factors relate to social reasoning about the gender division that often accompanies these roles. Overall, adults' gender attitudes have been found to be related to how they balance work and family, with those with more egalitarian attitudes sharing more of the caretaking responsibilities than those with more traditional attitudes (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). Children's gender attitudes have

been found to be related to how much they stereotype occupations and careers, in that those with more egalitarian attitudes about the genders are less accepting of stereotypes that place the genders in certain jobs (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). Given these findings, it was expected that individuals with more egalitarian gender attitudes would reason that family arrangements of caretaking responsibilities should be evenly divided by parents, and those with more traditional gender attitudes would reason that these responsibilities are best left divided by gender stereotypic expectations.

The influence of perceptions of parental roles

Another secondary goal of this study was to investigate how perceptions of one's own parents and their roles affected individuals' evaluations of parental roles in the home because research has shown that parental roles in the family are related to gender attitudes. Children's observation of the division of parental roles (Okin, 1989) and their own participation in the home is often related to later gender role differentiation (Leaper, 2002; Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002).

Studies investigating the effects of having a mother in a breadwinning role have shown positive effects for daughters in regards to academics and coping skills, both of which are important predictors of pursuing further education and higher level professions (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995). In addition, career-oriented women have indicated having working mothers as role models and were also found to perceive less conflict in combining work and family (Murrell, Frieze, & Frost, 1991).

Other research has focused on fathers in the caretaking role and has shown that children whose fathers take on more childcare are less gender stereotypical about careers and occupations available to both men and women (Deutsch, Servis, & Payne,

2001). In addition, young adults from intact families whose fathers were highly

involved in childrearing and housework when they were young had more egalitarian

views about gender roles in career and family contexts than those who were raised in

more traditional homes, with dad working and mom staying home (Williams &

Radin, 1999). Since parental participation in counter-stereotypic roles has been

shown to affect children's gender attitudes, the current study asked children to report

the working status of their parents and the different caretaking tasks performed by

their parents to examine if these perceptions of parental roles influenced their social

reasoning about the caretaking role.

These studies, although informative about the effect of family background on

gender attitudes, have not looked at the effect of family background on social

reasoning about the caretaker role. It is important to look at how family background

affects social reasoning because it allows for further insight into the influence that

perceptions of parental roles may have on adolescents' understanding of parental

roles that are differentiated by gender. Parental roles has been found to have an

influence on children's evaluations of parental career roles with children from more

traditional homes more likely to judge it unacceptable for a mother to work full-time,

than those who were from non-traditional homes (Sinno & Killen, 2006). However,

parental roles had minimal effect on children's judgments of the acceptability of

fathers staying home, with most children saying this was not acceptable. Therefore,

the present study extends this research by examining how perceptions of both parental

working status and division of caretaking may affect their judgments and reasoning

about variations in the caretaker role.

Previous research has also shown that family environment and gender attitudes are related (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002), and thus it was expected that individuals' perception of their family background would affect their social reasoning about family arrangements. For instance, it was expected that those who perceive their families to be more egalitarian in the division of caretaking tasks will also be more likely to use moral reasoning (i.e., unfairness) when one parent is doing significantly more of the caretaking than the other. Conversely, those who perceive their family as traditional were expected to reason that traditional family arrangements are better for the family for family functioning or gender stereotypic reasons.

The influence of expectations for future family life

Beyond gender attitudes and family background, research with children has also shown that interest and self-competence in certain academic domains, such as math and language arts, influence future career choices (Jacobs et al., 2002; Mau & Domnick, 1995). For example, self-efficacy in high school math has been found to correlate with choosing math related majors in college (Hackett, 1985). These studies look at how personal expectations about gender-related domains affect career choices, which in turn, are highly related to future expectations about work and family. For instance, women in particular choose college majors that will lead to flexible careers so that they have room for a family (Battle & Wigfield, 2003). These studies, although informative about the effects of gender expectations on future aspirations, do not investigate individuals' evaluations of balancing work and family and do not examine age related changes that may take place in expectations for the future.

Examining expectations for future family life was important to the present study because we expected that such expectations would influence social reasoning about family roles. For example, it was expected that those who have more egalitarian expectations for their future family life would use more moral reasoning about family arrangements in which one parent is doing more than the other, recognizing the unfairness of this situation.

Significance

The present study advances existing literature on developmental social cognition by providing an age related view of the origin and reasoning behind stereotyped adult roles. Research relating to children's gender stereotypes has shown that children and adolescents have stereotypes about adult roles (Liben & Bigler, 2002); however, studies have not focused on the reasoning behind these stereotypes. Most studies have looked at children's stereotypes about jobs or occupations, yet children's social reasoning pertaining to jobs and occupations shows that both men and women can equally participate in the workforce, while social reasoning about roles in the home tends to use stereotype justifications (Sinno & Killen, 2006).

Examining individuals' social reasoning about caretaking is an important undertaking since it is an area for which we know adults are categorized by gender but have little sense of why the categorization exists and how it forms developmentally. The novel findings to emerge from this investigation pertain to understanding when and how individuals begin to recognize the social complexity of parental roles in the home and how their reasoning changes based on context of the family arrangement. In addition, the present study furthers understanding of how and

when gender expectations influence individuals' evaluations of caretaking decisions, and how these judgments are a function of one's perception of their own family background. Further, relating personal gender attitudes as well as expectations for future family life to individuals' social reasoning about family roles is essential to developing a more comprehensive understanding of what factors influence social reasoning in various contexts and how.

Chapter 2: Background Literature

Introduction

      This chapter will focus on four areas of literature relevant to the goals of the current study. First, research conducted on gender exclusion using the social cognitive domain model is reviewed. This section shows how the social cognitive domain model adds greater depth to what is known about exclusion based on gender and how it can be related to issues of gender roles in the family. The second section will highlight the two main gender roles of parents in families, namely, those of breadwinner and caretaker. In addition, this section will incorporate the shifting standards theory from social psychology and review how it can be incorporated into and help to further developmental work about roles of males and females. The third section of this chapter will discuss the effects of family background on children's gender attitudes, both in regards to overall gender attitudes and to expectations for appropriate gender roles in the future. Finally, an overview of the current study is presented, including the purpose, design, and hypotheses of the study.

Social Cognitive Domain Model

      Social cognitive domain theory focuses on the reasoning and judgments made by individuals in different contexts (Turiel, 1983). This theory can provide a heuristic for investigating children's and adults' evaluations of gender roles (see Stoddart & Turiel, 1985). The theory proposes that children actively participate in their environment and construct their understanding of the social world through interaction (Nucci & Turiel, 1978; Piaget, 1932/1997). Domain theorists (Nucci &

Killen, 1991; Smetana, 1983; Turiel, 1983; Turiel, 1998) have demonstrated that three distinct domains of social life – moral, social conventional and personal – influence individuals' judgments and that there is progress in understanding these domains with age. Situations that combine multiple domains are called multifaceted (Killen, McGlothlin, & Lee-Kim, 2000; Killen et al., 2007). The multifaceted domain includes a combination of the moral, the social conventional, and/or the personal domains (Killen et al., 2000). Reasoning about issues that involve stereotypes falls into the multifaceted domain, because stereotypes can be accepted or rejected for various reasons, including being rejected because of unfairness (moral) or being accepted because they fit cultural standards (social conventional) or because of personal choice of activities (personal). Knowledge in all three domains likely affects children's reasoning about gender stereotypes.

Because all of these domains can impact reasoning about issues of gender, it is important to quickly highlight the distinctions between the moral, social conventional and personal domains. The moral domain comprises issues that deal with justice, welfare, and rights. Judgments about morality relate to how individuals ought to behave towards one another, and violations of morality focus on the negative intrinsic consequences of the action. In contrast, the social conventional domain entails appropriate social behavior within a given social unit, based on the conventions of that social unit, and defined by the consensus of the group. Conventions deal with rules and regulations as well as uniformities. Finally, the personal domain involves behaviors and actions that an individual considers to be outside social regulation. The personal domain is guided by preferences and choices, and people do not reason from

this domain if the issue in question is about right or wrong (Helwig, Tisak, & Turiel, 1990; Nucci, Killen, & Smetana, 1996; Smetana, 1983; Turiel, 1983).

Reasoning about Gender Exclusion

Research using the social cognitive domain theory to examine children's reasoning about gender exclusion has found that children generally consider the decision to conform or not conform to gender stereotypes to fall into the social conventional and/or personal domains. For instance, preschoolers have been shown to regard sex role deviations as less severe than moral transgressions and regard them as a personal choice decision, as well as conforming to social conventions (Smetana, 1986). Carter and Patterson (1982) asked elementary school-aged children to reason about the flexibility and cultural implications of gender stereotypic toys and occupations, in addition to table manners and a natural law. The results showed that children reasoned about gender stereotypes from a conventional perspective, meaning that toys and occupations that were gender appropriate were simply seen that way because of what most people think. To these children, if boys in a different culture wanted to play with "girl" toys, then it would be okay if that culture says so. There was an increasing flexibility with age in both the use of toys for both genders and occupations for both genders.

A stronger developmental shift in the use of gender stereotypes was shown when children were questioned about the acceptability of partaking in cross-gender activities. In a study conducted with children five years old through thirteen years old, a U-shaped curve was found with regards to their acceptance of cross-gender activity (Stoddart & Turiel, 1985). Specifically, children in the youngest and oldest

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age groups thought that participation in a gender-atypical activity was more wrong than did the children in middle childhood. The authors concluded that, in kindergarten, the maintenance of gender identity is defined in physical terms, so if a girl was to play a male stereotypic game, other children might question her gender. As for adolescents, gender identity becomes closely linked to psychological characteristics, and behaving in a gender atypical manner may lead to exclusion by others. This study extends the work of Carter and Patterson (1982) and shows that gender differentiation may involve multiple domains of judgment dependent upon one's developmental trajectory. Younger and older children view it as more wrong because of social conventional issues. Since cross-gender activities do not fit with the convention, it can lead to exclusion. Whereas, in middle childhood, children often think of cross- gender activities in terms of the personal choice and see it as more all right.

These studies (Smetana, 1986; Carter & Patterson, 1982; Stoddart and Turiel, 1985) indicate that children reason about gender stereotype use from several domains of knowledge. While children view gender stereotypes mostly as social conventional and/or personal issues, there are also instances where the use of gender stereotypes infringes on a person's rights or excludes them, turning the situation into an issue with moral components. Because this often happens in the child's world, including in the home with the division of gender roles by their parents, it is important to examine what children think about these kinds of situations.

Several studies have examined children's reasoning about exclusion based on gender stereotypes. Most of these studies have been conducted within the context of

peer groups, such as boys playing with dolls or girls playing with baseball cards (Killen & Stangor, 2001; Theimer, Killen, & Stangor, 2001). In general, the studies have consistently found that gender stereotypes are used for multifaceted reasons. That is, children reason about these situations from both a moral and a social conventional angle. When children are asked to evaluate the fairness of peer exclusion based on gender stereotypes, many have stated that this type of exclusion is wrong and use moral justification, such as unfairness, to justify their answers. For example, when children were asked if it was okay to exclude a boy from ballet just because he was a boy, most said that it was unfair and he should be given a chance (Killen & Stangor, 2001). Some children maintain that exclusion based on gender stereotypes is acceptable and use social conventional justifications, such as group functioning. For example, if there was only one truck left in the toy area, a child may think that the boy should be the one to get the last truck because the boy would have more experience with the truck and would fit in better with the group of boys already playing (Theimer et al., 2001).

In essence, this research found that children most often judged peer exclusion based solely on gender stereotypes as morally wrong. When complexity was added to the situation, such as characteristics of the child who was being excluded, the children's reasoning varied. If the child was being excluded because of poor abilities in the activity, then some children reasoned it would be all right to exclude him or her because the group and the child would have difficulty working together. Some children, though, believed that it was still wrong to exclude the child because it was not fair to leave the child out, and the group should accept the child's differences.

Additionally, one study moved away from gender issues in the peer setting and involved children and their involvement in activities or chores in the household (Theimer- Schuette, 2000). In this study, children had to decide whom a parent should choose, their son or daughter, to help them with a chore or activity around the house. It was found that children relied on gender stereotypes when that was the only information presented; however, they were more likely to accept cross-gender behavior if the fairness of the situation was implied. For example, children were more likely to think that daughters should be chosen to help with baking. When the interviewer mentioned that other mothers thought that the son should help with baking since he does not get to do it often, the children considered fairness and chose the boy (Theimer- Schuette, 2000). This study showed that children are able to reason about the inequality of gender differentiation not only in peer contexts, but also in the home. It also showed that children are able to understand the complexity of gender activities, meaning children recognize that gender activities involve both stereotypes and issues of justice and fairness.

Recent research from the social cognitive domain model has shown that children also reason differently about the parental household roles of caretaker and breadwinner, based on gender of the parent and the role in question (Sinno & Killen, 2006). Overall, young children viewed it as unfair for one parent to disagree with the other's decision to take on a caretaker or breadwinner role solely because of their gender. For example, if the mother wanted the father to continue his full-time job because she did not think that fathers could take good care of babies or the father wanted the mother to stay at home because he believed that mothers belong at home,

most children judged this reasoning as unfair. In addition, children believed that both mothers and fathers should be able to have a full-time job, if they so desired, reasoning it was the parents' personal choice.

Yet, when comparing mothers' and fathers' decision to stay home and take care of a new baby, children were more likely to respond that it would be better for the mother to stay at home with the child. Children invoked gender stereotypes for why the mother should stay at home, including that the mother would know more about the baby and would be more loving as well as knowing more about caretaking activities such as feeding and changing diapers. Children who thought it was okay for the father to stay at home with the new baby said so because of family functioning and practicality. For example, the mother may make more money, so in that case it would be better for the father to stay at home (Sinno & Killen, 2006).

Results from this study further the notion that issues of gender exclusion are multifaceted and that children think about these issues even within contexts that they do not have direct experience. In the context of parental roles, children have been shown to treat the role of breadwinner as equally acceptable for both mothers and fathers; however, for the role of caretaker, children rely more heavily on gender expectations and therefore reason that the role is more appropriate for mothers (Sinno & Killen, 2006). By investigating children's reasoning about gender roles, we come one step closer to understanding why one gender may be excluded from certain roles and how that reasoning may change with age. The current project intends to more fully understand why the role of caretaker continues to be reasoned about in a social conventional or often stereotypical manner. The role of caretaker is often laced with

issues of gender exclusion. For instance, a father is seen as incompetent in the role when he may well be a very good caretaker. In addition, by being a primary caretaker, a mother is limited in other opportunities. It is important then to investigate if there is an age related shift in recognizing the issues of inequality that accompany the parental role of caretaker or if there are other factors which influence reasoning, such as perceptions of family background and future expectations.

As research from the social domain model has shown, investigating children's reasoning about gender is of critical importance to understanding gender exclusion (Killen, et al., 2006). In much of the research conducted regarding gender roles, there is no information on why individuals maintain gender roles, the reasoning behind their categorization, or what they think about the fairness of gender stereotypes. Studies from the social cognitive domain model offer insight into children's reasoning about the use of gender stereotypes. Because this research is often based on an interview method in which children are encouraged to express their reasons for choosing an answer, it allows for researchers to grasp more fully the gender norms of children's worlds. It also shows that gender stereotypes are complex issues. Children do not gender differentiate as a mere form of categorization, but rather they place meaning and purpose behind their choices.

Approaching children's understanding of gender and gender stereotypes from a social cognitive domain model is beneficial because it provides information on why children have the attitudes and make the choices of activities and occupations that they do. With the exception of one study (Sinno & Killen, 2006) work from the social cognitive domain model pertaining to gender has investigated contexts related

to peers or parent- child interactions. These are important areas of research, however, it is also important to investigate how children reason about other areas of gender exclusion that they witness on a regular basis. Namely, the present study focuses on how children reason about the separation of gender roles in the home context.

Children witness from early in life that parents divide roles based on gender and little work has looked at how children reason about this issue. If young children are able to reason that gender exclusion in the peer context is at times unfair, children and adolescents might have the same reasoning about parental roles. Examining individuals' reasoning about parental roles is an important endeavor in that it can provide insight into decisions that they may make for themselves in future contexts of balancing work and family.

Social cognitive domain theory provides a guiding structure to understand when and how individuals coordinate issues that are complex and multifaceted, such as the issue of parental roles based on gender (Killen, et al., 2007). The main parental role that the current study addresses is that of the caretaker in the home as opposed to the breadwinner. Before investigating children's reasoning about parental roles it is important to assess how and why these roles may be divided in the adult world. Adult research shows that the division of parental roles based on gender exists and that adults make judgments of others based on expectations of gender roles. However, research has not yet been able to account for the developmental progression of these evaluations, which the present study will address.

Recent research has indicated that for adults being involved in multiple roles of the family is beneficial for both genders, both physically and mentally (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). Sharing of roles in families has changed in recent years, with women comprising 58 % of all employed Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000) and 70% of all homes comprised of dual-earning couples (Raley, Mattingly, & Bianchi, 2006). In addition, there has been an increase in men's attitudes about making more time for their families (Barnett, 2004). Further, many more women are in typically male-dominated careers, such as medicine and engineering (Caplow, Hicks, & Wattenberg, 2001), while many men have increased their responsibility for household chores, leaving time for their wives to be successful in the work world (Bond, Thompson, Galinsky, & Prattos, 2003; Coltrane, 1996). This in turn has affected many children who are growing up in more egalitarian-based homes. Despite these changes that have helped to decrease the gender gap in the workforce and household, there remain significant inequalities regarding male and female roles and opportunities in the home (Deaux & Lafrance, 1998). Societal stereotypes of gender roles persist and continue to limit full equality regarding gender as well as the benefits of full family involvement. In particular, the parental roles of primary breadwinner and primary caretaker are still highly differentiated by gender.

The Caretaker

There has been much research conducted from adult social psychology literature which highlights that the role of caretaker is highly associated with mothers and therefore impacts adults' evaluations about women and men in the caretaker role.

The social psychology theory of the "good" mother stereotype, or the idea that mothers should be the primary caretaker and that good mothers are constantly available for their family's needs above all else, has been studied extensively to uncover what components make up the "good mother". Bridges and Etaugh (1995) found that continuously employed mothers were viewed differently based on the value that they placed on their job. For instance, mothers who continually worked for financial reasons were seen as more communal than those who were working for personal fulfillment. Furthering this notion of a good mother being one whose main focus is her children, mothers who discontinued or interrupted their work until their children were school age were perceived in one study to be more committed to their role of motherhood (Gorman & Fritsche, 2002). In addition, those who were described as unsatisfied with being home were then viewed as less committed to their role, whereas those mothers who were described as less satisfied with returning to work at any point were seen as more selfless.

The belief that the caretaker role is primarily for mothers, whether they are working mothers or not, continues to be endorsed by society and parents themselves. On a societal level, a recent review of children's books highlighted that mothers are portrayed more often than fathers in general and were always more affectionate (Anderson & Hamilton, 2005). In addition, fathers were never seen kissing or feeding babies and were rarely seen talking with children. This one study of over 100 children's books shows that mothers may be put in the role of primary caregiver because fathers are portrayed as somewhat incompetent as nurturers. In the real world, 40% of men and 36% of women continue to believe that the family would be

better off with a father who works and a mother who stays home to take care of the

children (Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). Fathers continue to believe that the

key way to show love for their family is by earning money (Townsend, 2002), and

many mothers and fathers see the wife's income as secondary and therefore her role

in the workforce as less important than her role in childcare (Nomaguchi et al., 2005).

The effects of dividing the roles in the family by gender are problematic for

both mothers and fathers. Women are forced to decide between having a family and

being a "good mother" and pursuing a career (Tiedje, 2004). A man, conversely, may

feel pressured to be the breadwinner and to be an "ideal worker" who spends over 40

hours a week at the office (Williams & Cooper, 2004). Many fathers may indeed be

highly successful at caretaking as was found in a study of fathers with sole custody

who were as nurturing and loving with their children as any mother (Coltrane, 1996).

Wives however are left trying to be "good mothers" and continue to do a majority of

the household chores and spend a majority of their time with the children as

compared to husbands (Bianchi, 2000; Douglas & Michaels, 2004). This perpetuates

gender inequality by limiting the options that both men and women have in leading

truly fulfilling lives. In addition to the limitations of options, men and women may

be held to different standards in various roles making it more difficult for them to

succeed in a counter stereotypic role.

Shifting Standards

Work in the adult social psychology literature has also investigated

expectations that are placed on both males and females and how these may influence

an individuals' treatment of others based on gender roles. This work is relevant for a

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developmental approach because the constructs are well researched and provide a heuristic for examining the origins of gender concepts in childhood. In much of this research, one's expectations for each gender often rely on a simple comparison of gender. For example, adults are often asked whether men or women are more nurturing or more aggressive. Work from the shifting standards theory has shown, however, that when individuals judge a person's abilities, behaviors, or personality attributes in a subjective manner (e.g., *very bad* to *very good*), they often are judging against some abstract comparison that varies by individual (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis, & Nelson, 1991). These variations many times can be attributed to stereotypic views of a particular group, such that a *very good* for one group may differ greatly from a *very good* for another group. As an example, there is a stereotype that females have better verbal skills than males. If an individual is shown the same article and told one time that it is written by a male and another time that it is written by a female, both the male and female may receive a *very good* for how well the article is written but the meaning behind the judgment may be very different. For the female, it may mean that the article is done very well overall, but for the male it may mean that the article was written very well "for a man." The shifting standards theory then has highlighted the phenomenon of changing one's standards dependent upon the comparison group in mind (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat et al., 1991).

Research particularly looking at the working role has found that females are seen as less competent and often must do more job related tasks to be seen as a competent worker when performing tasks that are stereotypically male (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). However, those who had worked for both male and female

managers stated no differences in their leadership styles, compared to undergraduates who had not had working experience who expected gender differences in management to be pervasive (Powell, 1990, 1993).

These comparisons of the sexes in general are usually qualified by subgroups which are imbedded within already existent stereotypes. For example, within the category of "female", there exists a subgroup for "mother" and one for "professional woman", both of which have different stereotypical qualities beyond being female. "Mothers" are often seen as high in warmth and low on competence (Cuddy et al., 2004). Because of these qualities, mothers are regarded by adults as a low status group which is well-liked because they seem caring, but is not well respected because many think mothering is an easy task that comes naturally (Neff & Terry-Schmidt, 2002). Professional women, on the other hand, are seen as low in warmth and high in competence (Cuddy et al., 2004). Because of these perceived qualities, many adults see them as worthy of respect because of their success, while at the same time disliking them because they assume that their success is unjust or that they left behind their natural quality of nurturance.

In the workforce, these characteristics assigned by gender show a disadvantage to mothers because, although they gain in their inherent quality of warmth, their competence is perceived to be reduced (Cuddy et al., 2004). On the other hand, fathers fair better sometimes in the workplace because they maintain competence expectations and gain in warmth. This advantage, however, could be lost to a father who is seen as the primary caretaker (i.e., the one who takes on the majority of the childcare tasks). If attention is called to the "motherhood" role, such

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as when leaving work early, his level of competence may not change but his warmth level has superseded it (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

When comparing subgroups within genders, there is an expectation that mothers should be better than fathers at taking care of children. In addition, it is expected that fathers are better than mothers at working outside the home and being the family's "breadwinner." When individuals in past research have been asked to judge males and females in the role of caretaker or breadwinner (Liben & Bigler, 2002), there was no indication of the subject's abstract comparison group. Without using an objective measure of what one must accomplish to excel at caretaking or be considered a good worker, there is no marker to know if the individual is good compared to others of the same gender or to all individuals.

Shifting standards research has also shown there are differing judgments of the roles that accompany the subgroup of parent within each gender. Fuegan et al. (2004) examined what would happen when combining this subcategory of parent with the category of worker (which most parents are), on both a subjective and an objective measure. Fuegan and colleagues (2004) found that when making subjective comparisons, parents, overall, were seen as less committed to work than non-parents. There also was an interesting result of outgroup favoritism, where males thought that mothers were more committed to work and women thought fathers were more committed to work. This is an interesting finding because it illustrates a personal identification with the parent. A woman may think that if she were a parent, she would expect herself to always be there for her family (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995). A man may think that women are more committed because they have to do more work

to prove that they are committed. In another light, woman are more likely to see that other women have varied levels of commitment, but not see that men do (Biernat & Ma, 2005); therefore, they may believe that the men are more dominant and better workers and need more information to disconfirm that they too may want to be nurturing at home.

When asked to make an objective comparison of mother workers and father workers in which promotion, hiring, and training were taken into account, the differences begin to rest more with gender of the parent worker rather than just on the role of parent. Overall, fathers were held to lower standards for performance than mothers. Being a male parent did not affect a subject's decision to hire or promote the individual. For some subjects, the increase in nurturance from the parenting role for fathers made them more attractive to training and hiring. It may be that because fathers are still seen as being the "provider" when in the parent role, their need for being hired and promoted is greater than a mother's need. The idea that gender of the working parent comes into major focus when assessing decisions to be made about mother and father workers supports the theory of shifting standards (Fuegan et al., 2004). Mothers and fathers are seen similarly in their performance when compared to non-parent workers, but when the reference group changes and one is pitted against the other, decisions regarding their performance are based on gender of the parent.

The Fuegan et al. (2004) study demonstrated that the descriptors of parent and worker make for a complicated issue in the minds of many adults. On the one hand, adults seem to be embracing gender equality when they judge both mothers and fathers to be less than the ideal worker when compared to non-parent workers.

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However, gender inequality still exists when working mothers are compared to working fathers. Working mothers need to "prove" themselves as dedicated workers while working fathers are given leeway. This could be indicative of why mothers earn 60% less than fathers at work (Waldfogel, 1998). It could also be a reason why many women feel pressure when they combine the roles of mother and professional (Tiedje, 2004). In general, all the work previously cited from the perspective of adults' understandings and judgments of gender difference and inequality give light to the complications of the issue as well as the drastic effects that decisions based on gender can have for an individual. The present study offers a developmental perspective which examines when individuals begin to see the coordination of parent and professional and when the connection begins to weigh in on their decisions about future direction in life.

Influences on Understanding of Gender Issues

Gender Attitudes and Family Background

Expectations that affect decisions about adults' proper roles in society directly impact children's mothers and fathers. The lives of their mothers and fathers are in turn helping to aid in their understanding of gender and the expectations of roles that accompany it. Children experience both the gender attitudes and beliefs of their parents as well as being witness to their parental gender roles. One day, these children will themselves have to make decisions about professions, about parenting, and most importantly about whether or not they wish to adhere to the stereotypic roles of adulthood proscribed by society.

Research has highlighted the fact that parental beliefs about gender, implicitly or explicitly expressed in the home, affect children's concepts of gender roles. A meta-analysis conducted by Tenenbaum and Leaper (2002) revealed that parents' gender schema about others, as opposed to themselves, was more influential on their children's attitudes toward gender. Children who had mothers with more traditional gender schemas of women were more likely to have traditional gender schemas about adult careers. These mothers were more likely to do chores in the home and although not explicitly stating that housework is a woman's job, the behavior is readily observable to children. In comparison, many older non-traditional career-oriented women indicate having working mothers as role models and were found to perceive less conflict in combining work and family in their own lives (Almquist, 1974; Murrell et al., 1991).

Differences in child chore assignment based on gender have also been related to gender-role attitudes. In families where girls held much more responsibility than boys for chores, a large gap in sibling gender-role attitudes emerged, with boys having more traditional beliefs (Crouter et al., 2000). Boys held egalitarian views if and only if the son's role behavior was congruent with their father's gender-role behavior and attitudes (McHale et al., 1990). In addition, it has been found that parental encouragement of both feminine and masculine tasks led to an increased involvement by children in cross-gendered activities (Antill, Goodnow, Russell, & Cotton, 1996). For males, the impact was stronger for the same-sex parent, i.e., if the father participated in typical female chores, such as the laundry, then his son was more likely to participate in these types of tasks as well.

Research has found that parents who have more egalitarian gender schemas about themselves and society have children who are less gender stereotypical about careers and occupations (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). In addition, sons of egalitarian fathers were found to be more accepting of female activities and less likely to associate them with a negative stigma (Deutsch et al., 2001). This is likely because egalitarian households provide both daughters and sons with diverse experiences related to careers and household responsibilities. Sons can find the joys related to childcare and realize that job choice does not have to correlate with unending hours of work. For daughters, they are able to realize that they do not have to sacrifice career choice for family life if they choose a husband willing to help with childcare responsibilities.

Several researchers have also found that paternal attention and intimacy are positively correlated with children's self-esteem (Deutsch et al., 2001; Tamis-LeMonda & Cabrera, 2002). Deutsch and colleagues (2001) suggest that this is because paternal involvement in childcare gives both male and female children a broader selection of interests in activities and subjects, which may influence their future career goals. The more variety of activities and subjects that children can choose from, the more opportunities they have to excel in one area, which can increase their self-esteem.

Paternal involvement in childcare has also been shown to have lasting effects on the gender attitudes of children. Fathers who have a combination of long work hours and a high overload of stress at their jobs are consistently associated with having less positive relationships with their adolescent children (Crouter et al., 2001).

This holds true for both younger and older adolescents and both sons and daughters. Young adults in intact families, whose fathers were highly involved in childrearing and housework when they were young, held egalitarian views about gender roles in career and family contexts (Williams & Radin, 1999). Although maternal employment and egalitarian roles in the family have not shown any deficit or positive academic effects for sons, daughters from these environments have been found to be significantly affected in positive ways, such as displaying more independent coping skills and higher achievement test scores (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995).

Gender Expectations from Family and Self

As shown above, parents' own beliefs about gender differences can impact the socialization of gender attitudes and gender stereotypes in their children. The effects on a child's family life have been duly noted; however, parents' beliefs about gender can also interfere with their expectations for their children in academics and sports, where they may expect their children to be involved in interests that are in accordance with gender stereotypes. Eccles, Jacobs, and Harold (1990) found that when parents held gender-stereotyped beliefs about one gender being more talented in a particular domain, they were more likely to have lower expectations of their child of the opposite gender, and this in some ways affected how the child of the opposite gender performed. For example, a mother who believes that boys are naturally more talented than girls in mathematics will then expect less from her daughter in mathematics, and a self-fulfilling prophecy for the daughter could ensue (Eccles, Frome, Yoon, Freedman-Doan, & Jacobs, 2000).

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Research has shown that many parents endorse the belief that boys are better at science and fathers, in particular, will offer more explanations and scientific input to their sons than their daughters (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). This same study also noted that mothers' and fathers' beliefs about their child's scientific ability was related to the child's feelings of self-efficacy in the science domain and mothers' beliefs were further related to child's interest. On the other hand, young girls who had aspirations of science and engineering were more likely to perceive higher parental expectations for this domain and have higher self-esteem (Mau & Domnick, 1995). These findings highlight that many young girls may be receiving messages that science is too difficult for them and therefore lose interest in the topic, further decreasing their self-efficacy in the domain, rather than challenging themselves to pursue what is a prosperous field of study.

Children often have their own self-beliefs and competence beliefs about academics and sports activities. Younger children (1st grade) are found to have more positive outlooks about their capabilities in various arenas. As children grow older (4th grade), their concepts of their personal abilities differ by gender. Boys tend to have more positive competence beliefs in sports and mathematics than girls, while girls tend to have more positive competence beliefs in reading and music than boys (Eccles, Wigfield, Harold, & Blumenfeld, 1993). Further, girls are less likely to believe that they can work to be the best in their worst academic subject (usually math) than boys. Boys are less likely to think that they can improve to be the best in areas such as music or art (Freedman-Doan, Wigfield, Eccles, Blumenfield, Arbreton, & Harold, 2000).

Because there does not seem to be a biological component to differences in academic ability (Eccles, Barber, & Jozefowicz, 1999), it is most probable that these ideas about self-competence are influenced by the beliefs of parents, teachers, and peer groups. Children, then, may internalize these stereotypes and avoid areas in which there is a bias against them. If teachers and parents implicitly or explicitly believe the gender stereotypes, they may not encourage children to explore their full potential.

A child's doubt of his or her own abilities in academics and interests in the school years could limit his or her options for majors in college and his or her future occupations. For example, self-efficacy in high school math has been found to correlate with choosing math related majors in college (Hackett, 1985). Children often make links between occupations and the job's status in the culture based on whether it is a typical male or female job (Liben et al., 2001). In this research, children, ages six to eleven, rated occupations they interpreted as male oriented, such as being a doctor, as higher in status than occupations they interpreted as female oriented, such as being a teacher. Further, this study found that children preferred occupations that were associated with their own gender; i.e., girls preferred occupations such as teacher and nurse, while boys preferred occupations such as doctor and lawyer. These associations have been seen at a young age, however, these aspirations largely mimic the expectations that the larger culture has on men and women, with males choosing jobs strong in the domains in math and science and females choosing jobs which are strong in language arts and also highly agentic (Eccles, 1994).

As noted above, gender expectations are apparent and have a large effect on children's and adolescents' attitudes and many times their choice, or lack thereof, of activities. Individuals often witness gender expectations in the roles held by their parents both at work and at home, in the division of chores in the home, as well as in expectations about academic endeavors. These influences surrounding the individual have been shown to affect their attitudes toward gender-specific tasks and roles. Although there has been much research investigating the use of gender stereotypes and gender attitudes, much of this research has not examined the reasoning behind individual's use of gender stereotypes. As noted from the outset of this chapter, work from the social cognitive domain model has highlighted that individuals do not necessarily base all decisions in all gender-related contexts on gender stereotypes (Killen et al., 2006, Killen et al., 2007). In fact, many children see that judgments based solely on gender are unfair. Recent research from this model, including the present study, is looking to investigate when children draw on gender stereotypes or when they draw on their knowledge of fairness and rights to make decisions about contexts in which there are strong societal expectations for the genders.

Overview of Present Study

Purpose and Design

While much is known about gender stereotypes and gender expectations, very little is known about the developmental progression in social judgments and evaluations of parental gender roles. In particular, the parental role of caretaker is highly gender divided and complicated with stereotypes, societal expectations, and issues of fairness, and little is known about which social reasoning domain is used

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when individuals evaluate such a role. Prior research has shown that family background has an influence on children's gender attitudes but no work has examined how perceptions of one's own parents' roles or gender attitudes affect social reasoning about parental roles in the home. In addition, research has also shown that individuals, from children to young adults, often choose areas of interest based on their expectations for the future. However, there has been little research examining whether their expectations for the future in regards to family life will affect their social reasoning about issues of parental roles. The current project extended the literature about gender roles by closing the gap in these areas. Specifically, the present study investigated four factors: 1) age related changes in individuals' social reasoning about the parental caretaker role; 2) the influence of gender attitudes on these evaluations; 3) the influence of perceptions of family structure on these evaluations and 4) the influence of expectations for own future family life on these evaluations.

In the present study, children (5th grade), adolescents (8th grade) and young adults (undergraduates) completed a three-part survey. These age groups were chosen based on prior work from the social domain model which shows the complexity of reasoning that occurs with issues that involve some component of stereotypes. Work conducted by Killen, et al. (2000) with 4th, 7th, and 10th graders, found that with age, there was a greater concern for societal gender norms and group functioning when considering whether it was all right or not all right to exclude a male or female from a peer group or club. At the same time though work conducted by Smetana (2006) who examines parent and child relationships and Nucci (2006)

who examines complexity in social issues, show that with age, individuals begin to focus more on autonomy and personal choice than on group decisions. In addition, more recent work by Horn (2003) and Killen and colleagues (in press) has shown that with age, individuals become more aware and understanding of the inequality and unfairness of discrimination. From this literature then, which was mostly conducted in peer situations, the present study investigated if these age related changes would transfer to non-peer contexts involving gender roles.

The survey consisted of three sections: 1) *Parental Caretaking*, 2) *Attitudes toward Gender Scale*, and 3) *Personal Perceptions of Parental Roles and Expectations about Future Family Life*. The *Parental Caretaking* section included four hypothetical family situations in which the responsibilities of caretaker vary by gender of parent (for descriptions of the situations, see Table 1). For example, in one family, there is a mother who works late while the father comes home early to pick up their child from school, feed the family and get the child ready for bed. The mother takes their child out to the park on Saturdays. This scenario was repeated with a father who works late and a mother who comes home early to care for their child. In another situation, both parents arrive home at the same time but one parent (a mother in one scenario; a father in the other) does all of the caretaking while the other parent takes their child around the neighborhood some nights. All situations are about families in which both parents work full-time and there is one seven-year-old child. Participants were asked about the quality of the arrangement (1) overall, (2) for each parent, and (3) for the children. They were asked to rate each item on a 6-point Likert scale as well as select a social reasoning response. In addition, to further findings on

the development of shifting standards in children, they were asked to judge and evaluate the quality of each parent in the situation.

The second section of the survey, the *Attitudes toward Gender Scale,* was adapted from the UCSC Attitudes toward Gender Scale (Leaper, 1993) and the Pacific Attitudes toward Gender Scale (Vaillancourt & Leaper, 1997) and consisted of 6 items which targeted attitudes toward male and female roles in the home. Participants are asked to rate statements on a 6-point Likert scale that ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree".

The third section of the survey was the *Personal Perceptions of Parental Roles and Expectations about Future Family Life*. Children and adolescents who were assumed to still live at home were asked about their parents' roles in their current home, while young adults were asked about their parents' roles in their home as they were growing up. They were asked about who occupies their home, and if their mother and father work full-time, part-time, or stays at home. Participants were also asked which parent is/was responsible for a variety of caretaking tasks, by indicating "mostly mother", "mostly father" or "both equally". Next, participants were asked about their own expectations for their future family life. They were first asked (1) if they expect to have a job when they are older; (2) if they expect to have a family; and (3) if they expect to work when they have a family. Finally, participants were asked how often, when they are parents, they expect to be responsible for a variety of caretaking tasks in the home, by indicating "all of the time", "some of the time", or "not at all".

Hypotheses

There were several sets of hypotheses for this study. These hypotheses reflected four areas of investigation: 1) social reasoning about the parental role of caretaker; 2) how gender attitudes influence social reasoning; 3) how perceptions of parental roles influence social reasoning; and 4) how expectations for future family life influence social reasoning. In addition, there were hypotheses concerning age and gender differences within each of these categories and hypotheses about how the expected influential factors for social reasoning may relate to one another. (For an overview of the hypotheses, see Table 3.)

Parental Caretaking. Based on previous research from the social cognitive domain model showing that children and adolescents are aware of issues of unfairness (Killen et al., 2006; Turiel, 1998), it was expected that individuals would rate more positively and use more moral reasoning (in terms of fairness) for family arrangements in which one parent is working late and one parent is doing the caretaking, compared to those in which both parents come home at the same time and one parent still is doing more of the caretaking. Based on the study conducted by Sinno and Killen (2006) which found that children evaluate the caretaker role as more acceptable for mothers, it was expected that participants will rate the family arrangements that involve the mother doing more of the caretaking tasks more positively than the arrangements that involve the father doing more of the tasks.

Because previous research in the social domain literature has shown that even young children can grasp issues of fairness (Killen et al., 2006; Turiel, 1998), it was expected that arrangement type would influence social reasoning, with social

conventional reasons being used if one parent leaves work early and moral reasoning being used if both parents arrive home at the same time. Because research shows that mothers often do most of the caretaking tasks (Barnett, 2004; Deaux & Lafrance, 1998), participants were expected to use social conventional reasons in family arrangements in which the mother does more of the caretaking. Because fathers are less often expected to perform the caretaking tasks and are often rewarded for their help in the home (Nomaguchi et al., 2005), it was expected that participants would be more likely to use moral reasoning or recognize the situation as unfair when both parents arrive home at the same time and the father is doing most of the caretaking.

Females more than males were expected to produce moral reasons of unfairness for any family situation in which one parent is doing more of the caretaking tasks, regardless of parent's gender. This was expected because prior research from the social cognitive domain theory has shown that females are more cognizant of gender exclusion (Killen et al., 2000). Based on research by Stoddart and Turiel (1985) which found that children in adolescence were more likely to think about the exclusion that may accompany gender-atypical behavior, it was expected adolescents in this study would focus more on social conventions than children or young adults. However, it was also expected that moral reasoning would increase based on research showing the individuals become more understanding of the consequences of discrimination with age (Horn, 2003; Killen et al., in press). It was expected then that these reasoning categories would be dependent upon the gender of the parent in the role.

There were several hypotheses about how participants would evaluate the consequences of the family arrangements for each parent. It was expected that, overall, participants would give more negative ratings for how the arrangement fairs for parents who have more caretaking responsibilities than for those who have less responsibilities. However, it was also expected that there would be some variations by gender of the parent who performed the caretaking tasks. Because of the expectation that mothers are more nurturing and want to do more of the caretaking than fathers (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995; Neff & Terry-Schmidt, 2002), it was expected that participants would provide more positive ratings for the arrangement in which the mother is doing more of the caretaking than when the father is doing more of the caretaking.

Reasoning for mothers and fathers who do more of the caretaking was also expected to differ. Specifically, it was hypothesized that participants would be more likely to use societal expectations in situations involving the mother who does more caretaking than for the father who does more caretaking. When the mother is doing more of the caretaking, reasoning is expected to be related to the notion that mothers are naturally inclined to an arrangement in which they would do more of the childcare (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Neff & Terry-Schmidt, 2002; Pratto et al., 1994). When the mother is working late, it is hypothesized that adolescents' reasoning will use more societal expectations because they will assume that if she is a "good" mother, she will miss the time away from her children (Bridges & Etaugh, 1995). For situations involving fathers, it was hypothesized that adolescents will use more societal expectation reasoning when the father is working late and has less caretaking

responsibilities, but more personal choice reasoning when he is doing more caretaking but home at the same time as the mother. These reasoning differences were expected because of research showing that fathers are expected to be family breadwinners (Nomaguchi et al., 2005; Townsend, 2002) but not expected to do more of the caretaking (Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001).

Age differences in social reasoning were expected as well. With age, it is expected that personal choice reasoning will be used more often, because of research from the social cognitive domain model which shows starting in adolescence, individuals become more likely to take into account personal preferences (Nucci, 1996, Smetana & Asquith, 1994).

Hypotheses regarding the value of the arrangement for the child involved were expected to vary based on gender of the parent who is the primary caretaker. Participants were expected to provide more positive ratings for arrangements in which the mother is doing more to take care of the children than when the father is doing more. Based on findings from Sinno and Killen (2006) it is hypothesized that participants will use more moral reasoning, especially referring to the emotions of children in these situations, when the father is doing more to take care of the children. For example, mentioning that the children will not get to see their mother enough. In contrast, when the mother is doing more to take care of the children, it was expected that participants would use more gender stereotypes, reasoning that the mother is better than the father at caretaking. These predictions are connected to research which highlights that children and adults believe that mothers are better at caretaking and that it is more beneficial to the children to have the mother in this role (Liben &

Bigler, 2002; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). It was predicted that with age, stereotyped reasoning would decrease, as has been seen in many social cognitive domain studies on exclusion (Killen, et al., 2007).

Hypotheses regarding the final assessment in the *Parental Caretaking* section of the survey were based on research from the shifting standards literature (Fuegan et al., 2004). It was expected that parents who take on more caretaking responsibilities would be rated more positively than those who take on less caretaking responsibility, regardless of gender. However, fathers who take on more caretaking responsibilities would be rated more positively than mothers who take on more caretaking responsibilities as it is expected of mothers to do so. Differences in reasoning were expected based on work done by Sinno and Killen (2006) showing that the reasoning behind children's ratings differed by parent in question. For instance, it was expected that participants would use more societal expectations for the mother when she is the primary caretaker, regardless of work arrangement. Participants were expected to use more societal expectations for fathers who were secondary caretakers that needed to work late. When fathers were primary caretakers it was expected that participants would use more social conventional reasoning, stating that it works well for the family.

Attitudes toward Gender Scale. Gender attitudes were expected to influence participants' social reasoning responses (Leaper, 2002). It was expected that those with more egalitarian gender attitudes would be more likely to use moral reasoning when one parent is doing more caretaking than the other parent, since they are expected to be more concerned about equality of the genders. In contrast, it was

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expected that those with more traditional gender attitudes would use more social conventional reasoning about arrangements, stating that the separation of roles must work well for the family. Gender and age differences were expected within gender attitudes. It was expected that females would have more egalitarian attitudes than males, since they benefit more from a wider range of options (Ruble & Martin, 1998). With age, it was expected there would be an increase in egalitarian attitudes, since egalitarian attitudes are found to be higher as educational attainment increases (Barnett & Hyde, 2001).

Perceptions of Parental Roles. Participants' perceptions of their own family were expected to influence their social reasoning responses and be related to their gender attitude scores. Hypotheses about how participants' perceptions would affect their social reasoning were based on social cognitive domain research showing family work status has an impact on social reasoning (Sinno & Killen, 2006). This study found that children who were from a more traditional family status judged it more acceptable for mothers to do the caretaking and based their reasoning on gender stereotypes. Therefore, it is expected that participants who perceive more traditional parental roles in their home will use more societal expectations and gender stereotyped reasoning in all family arrangements. In comparison, it was expected that participants who perceive more egalitarian parental roles in their home would use more moral reasoning. For example, those who perceive an egalitarian home life were expected to judge arrangements involving both parents being home at the same time from work yet having unequal caretaking responsibilities as unfair; whereas, those who perceive a more traditional home life among parents were expected to

judge this as an acceptable arrangement based on societal expectations. It was also expected that participants who perceive their own family to be more egalitarian would have more egalitarian gender attitudes and those who perceive their own family to be more traditional would have more traditional gender attitudes, as has been shown in prior research relating family structure to children's attitudes (Crouter et al., 1995).

Expectations for Future Family Life. It was also hypothesized that participants' expectations for their future family life would influence their social reasoning responses and be related to their gender attitudes. Specifically, it was predicted that those who expected a more egalitarian division of parental roles in their own future would focus more on moral reasoning about family arrangements. This was expected because these participants would be more likely to want an equal division of caretaking in their own future and therefore would view family arrangements in which one parent is doing more of the caretaking as unfair. In contrast, those who expect a more traditional division of caretaking responsibilities in their future would be more likely to use societal expectation reasoning, since they are more likely to believe that mothers are better at caretaking and that having the father take on some of this responsibility will not be better for the family.

Concerning the relation between gender attitudes and future expectations, it was expected that participants with more egalitarian gender attitudes would have more egalitarian expectations for their own future family life. This hypothesis was based on research which has found that adolescents who have egalitarian attitudes are likely to be more open to less traditional careers for the genders (Tenenbaum &

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Leaper, 2002). In addition, adult couples who have less traditional home lives have

more egalitarian attitudes about gender overall (Barnett & Hyde, 2001).

Chapter 3: Methodology

Participants

Participants were 102 fifth graders, 98 eighth graders, and 100 first-year college undergraduates ($N = 300$) from public schools in the Mid-Atlantic. Participants represented the diverse metropolitan (schools' percentage of non-White students ranging from 30- 50%) from which they live. Participants were from middle income and working class family backgrounds as indicated by school district records. All minor students receiving parental consent and those undergraduates giving assent were surveyed (see Appendix A and B for consent forms). Fifth grade and eighth grade participants were recruited in their schools and were offered the opportunity to participate in a lottery for a gift card to a popular retail store and all students were given a small gift just for participating. The return rate for 5th grade was approximately 90% and the return rate for the 8th grade was approximately 60%. The college sample was recruited through a pool of Psychology students who received extra credit for participation. All students who signed up for the study, completed the survey.

Of those students who returned consent forms, the sample consisted of 49 female fifth-graders, 53 male fifth-graders, 59 female eighth-graders, 39 male eighth-graders, 52 female undergraduates, and 48 male undergraduates. The mean age of the fifth grade participants was 10.12 years ($SD = .43$) and the mean age of the eighth grade students was 13.08 ($SD = .40$). The mean age of the college undergraduates was 19.51 ($SD = 1.89$).

All participants completed a 25-minute survey. Participants in elementary and middle school completed the survey in their classroom at school per the requested time of the schools' principals and teachers. College students completed the survey in a private office on campus. Participants were told that there are no right or wrong answers, and that all information is confidential and anonymous.

Measures

The survey consisted of three sections in total (see Appendix C for a complete version of the survey). Each survey followed the same order of sections: *Parental Caretaking*, *Attitudes toward Gender Scale*, and *Personal Perceptions of Parental Roles and Expectations for Future Family Life*. Stories in the *Parental Caretaking Survey* were counterbalanced based on the gender of the parent who takes on more of the caretaking activities. The multiple choice options provided for each justification question were adapted from open-ended answers provided by participants in Sinno and Killen (2006) as were the coding categories. The *Attitudes toward Gender Scale* was developed for this project and was modified from the UCSC Attitudes toward Gender Scale (Leaper, 1993). Finally, the *Personal Perceptions and Expectations Survey* was developed for this project.

Parental Caretaking Survey

The *Parental Caretaking Survey* consisted of four hypothetical scenarios in which parents' involvement with caretaking tasks varied by gender of the parent (see Table 1 for details of each variation). In each scenario, families were described as

having one child who was seven years of age. In addition, each family was of dual-earning status, as this is the most common arrangement for American families (White & Rogers, 2000). In each scenario, the caretaking tasks described included: picking up the children from daycare and school, making dinner for the family, getting the kids ready for bed and taking the children to the park or practice. The caretaking tasks were chosen as they are frequently reported activities that parents mention when asked about their time spent with their children (Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). Each of these tasks involved both a sense of physical or mental necessity and an emotional connection for the parent- child relationship.

Variations in parental involvement with caretaking were determined by the work status of each parent in the scenario. In two scenarios, there was one parent who worked full-time but left work early to do more of the caretaking tasks, while the other parent worked late and did less of the caretaking. There was a variation in which the parent doing more caretaking tasks was the mother and one in which it was the father. In the two other scenarios, both parents arrived home from work at the same time; however, one parent was still taking responsibility for more of the caretaking. Again, there was a variation in which the parent doing more caretaking tasks was the mother and one in which it was the father.

All assessments following the scenarios asked children for both a judgment, as measured by a 6-point Likert scale, ranging from "very good" to "very bad", and a justification response. Justification responses were based on interview responses from participants in Sinno and Killen (2006) and fit into the following categories: "Moral", "Social Conventional", "Personal Choice", "Societal Expectations", or

"Gender Stereotype". A justification of "Moral" included a response that involved a focus on fairness to the family or toward the other parent. A justification of "Social Conventional" was a response that focused on practicality in the situation. A justification of "Personal Choice" included a response that involved issues of the parent making their own decision. A justification of "Societal Expectations" was a response which mirrored what the general societal expectation was for a mother or a father. Finally, a justification of "Gender Stereotype" was a response that clearly stated that only mothers are good at caretaking or only fathers are good at working, as opposed to alluding to this fact as in societal expectations (see Table 2 for examples of each type of social reasoning category).

The first assessment, *Overall Arrangement*, asked participants to evaluate the family arrangement in general. The questions read, "What do you think about this family arrangement? How good or bad is it?" and "Why?" This provided an overall idea of how adolescents view different family situations. The second assessment, *Arrangement for Parent*, asked participants to evaluate how well the family arrangement works for each parent, for example, "How good or bad is this arrangement for the mom/ dad?" and "Why?" The two questions involved in this assessment qualified how the arrangement was viewed for each parent. An adolescent may have answered that the overall arrangement worked well for the family, but was in some way unfair for one of the parents. The third assessment, *Arrangement for Children*, asked participants to respond to how the family situation and caretaking responsibilities of each parent may be affecting the children. Two questions were again involved in this assessment, and read as "How good or bad is it

for the kids that the dad/ mom is doing more at home to take care of them/ not

helping more at home to take care of them?" and "Why?" This assessment allowed

for the analyses to determine whether adolescents who thought the arrangement

worked well for the parents also thought that the children were benefiting in the same

way. The final assessment, *Overall Evaluation*, asked for an overall evaluation of the

quality of each parent. Adolescents were asked "How good or bad of a mother/ father

is Mrs. / Mr. (insert characters' last name)?" and "Why?" This final assessment

provided a means to examining whether there is a shifting standard for mothers and

fathers in the role of caretaking.

Modified Attitudes toward Gender Scale

The Modified *Attitudes toward Gender Scale* was adapted from the UCSC

Attitudes toward Gender Scale (Leaper, 1993) and the Pacific Attitudes toward

Gender Scale (Vaillancourt & Leaper, 1997) which are both modifications of Spence

and Helmreich's (1972) Attitudes toward Women Scale. The ATG and the PATG

were created to assess not only respondents' attitudes toward female roles but also

male roles. In addition, they were created to be more child-friendly and more modern

in their general assessments of male and female roles. For purposes of this study, 6

items which focus on mothers' and fathers' roles in the home, particularly, were

chosen. Scoring of this scale was similar to scoring in previous studies. Items

received scores from 1 ("strongly agree") to 6 ("strongly disagree"). Some items

were phrased in a stereotypical manner, and therefore the scores for these items were

reversed. For example, an answer of "strongly disagree" to "The husband should

have the primary responsibility for the financial support of the family," was scored as

a 1 rather than a 6 to be comparative to all other items. Scores for each item were summed and divided by 6. Composite scores ranged from 1 to 6 with the lower score representing a more egalitarian attitude toward gender.

Perceptions of Parental Roles and Expectations for the Future Survey

The final section of the survey, *Perceptions of Parental Roles and Expectations for Future Family Life*, was created for this study in order to measure two distinct factors that may affect participants' judgments of the parental role of caretaker. First, this measure assessed participants' general perceptions of their own home life, particularly which parent was responsible for the caretaking tasks. In addition, this measure examined participants' expectations for their own future home life, with particular focus on their role in caretaking activities. For both measures, participants were categorized as perceiving or expecting either egalitarian, traditional, or nontraditional families. Egalitarian was defined as a parental working status in which both parents worked full-time, or both parents completed an equal number of caretaking tasks. Traditional was defined as a parental working status in which the mother stayed at home and the father worked full-time, or the mother completed a majority of the caretaking tasks. Non traditional was defined as all other combinations within parental working status or division of caretaking tasks (Lamb, 1982).

As some of the participants in the survey may not live in homes where both parents are present, we first asked them who does live in their home. In addition, we asked if their mother and father currently work, "full-time", "part-time", or "not at

all". Those participants who answered that they do not live with either of their parents could leave this blank.

Participants were next asked about their perception of the caretaker role in their own family by answering who was more likely to perform certain caretaking tasks in their home as they were growing up. These tasks include: Getting the kids ready for day care or school; Picking the kids up from day care or school; Reading to the kids at night; Bathing the kids; Disciplining the kids; Making dinner for the kids; Taking the kids to the park; Taking the kids to practice; and Comforting the kids when they are upset. These items were chosen as some are reflected in the scenarios of the *Parental Caretaker Survey*. The additional items were chosen as they are reported frequently by parents as activities that would be included in their time spent with children (Milkie, et al., 2004). There were a total of 9 caretaking tasks and participants could answer either: "Mostly Mother", "Mostly Father", or "Both Equally". In order to obtain a composite score for perceptions of the parental caretaker role, an answer of "Both Equally" received 1 point; "Mostly Father" received 2 points; and "Mostly Mother" received 3 points. The scores were summed and divided by 9, with a score range from 1.00 to 3.00. Most participants' composite scores clustered around 2.00; therefore, to create more variation, three categories were created based on the natural splits of the sample. Scores from 1to1.75 signified a perception of an egalitarian family (27% of sample), scores from 1.76 to 2.25 signified a perception of a nontraditional family (47% of sample), and scores from 2.26 to 3.00 signified a perception of a more traditional family (26% of sample).

In order to investigate participants own expectations for the future, they were asked the following questions, "When you grow older, do you expect to have a job?"; "When you grow older, do you see yourself having a family?"; "Do you expect to work when you have a family?"; "How much of the taking care of the kids do you expect to do?" Gaining a sense of an expectation for an egalitarian or traditional future depended on gender of the participant. For instance, a male who expects to work full-time while having a family and not to be responsible for any of the caretaking tasks would be more traditional; while, a female who expects the same scenario would be considered non traditional. To gain further information about participants' expectations of the caretaker role in particular, participants were asked if they expect to do "All", "Some", or "None" of the 9 caretaking tasks previously asked about and what their expectations of their partner's role in these activities would be. Responses of "Some" received a 1; responses of "None" received a 2; and responses of "All" received a 3. For all participants a score closer to 1 indicated more egalitarian expectations for the future. A score close to 2 would indicate traditional expectations for males and a score close to 3 would indicate traditional expectations for females. In this measure, most participants' composite scores clustered around 1.00 with 93% stating that they expected to do some of the caretaking.

Design

A within-subjects design was used. Participants responded to all items. Story order for the *Parental Caretaking Survey* was counterbalanced by gender of the parent who takes on all of the caretaking tasks, while the other parent works late. Half of the participants first responded to the story in which a mother does all of the

caretaking activities while the father works late and the other half of the participants

first responded to the story in which a father does all of the caretaking activities while

the mother works late. These leading stories were chosen because one is the most

traditional of the stories (mother doing all, while father works late) and the other is

the least traditional (dad doing all, while mother works late). Stories in each version

varied between a parent working late and both parents coming home at the same time,

so that no two similar scenarios were presented in succession. Between subjects

variables included gender, age, attitudes toward gender score, perception of family

score and expectation of future caretaking scores.   Power analysis revealed that the

sample size of this study was sufficient for a medium effect size at the .05

significance level (Cohen, 1992).

Chapter 4: Results

Hypotheses were tested by conducting repeated measures ANOVAs. A recent review of published studies investigating social reasoning revealed that ANOVA models, instead of log-linear analytic procedures, are appropriate for this type of data due to the within-subjects (repeated measures) design (see Wainryb, Shaw, Laupa, & Smith, 2001, footnote 4). Follow-up tests to examine interaction effects were done using t-tests or one-way ANOVAs. Ratings on the 6-point Likert scale range from very good to very bad; hence, ratings that are closer to 1 signify more positive evaluations. Justifications were proportions of responses for each respective coding category. Simple linear regression was used to examine the connections between gender attitudes, perceptions of family structure and expectations for future family life. The data were analyzed for order and school effects, none were found and these variables were not further analyzed.

Results are organized in the following manner to coincide with the order of the measures. First, the ratings and social reasoning justifications about family arrangements and caretaking are discussed. Within this section, hypotheses pertinent to participants' evaluation of the overall arrangement, the arrangement for each parent, the arrangement for the child and their overall evaluation of the quality of each parent is discussed. Second, the influence of gender attitudes on social reasoning responses is discussed. Third, the influence of participants' perceptions of family structure on social reasoning and its relation to gender attitudes is discussed. Lastly, the influence of participants' expectations for their own future family life on

social reasoning and its relation to gender attitudes and perceptions of family structure is discussed.

<u>*Parental Caretaking Survey*</u>

Overall Arrangement

There were several hypotheses which focused on how individuals would rate and reason about the overall arrangements presented in the *Parental Caretaking Survey*. As a reminder, the arrangements varied by the hours that each parent was in work and the amount of caretaking for which they were responsible as well as by gender of parent in each role. For instance, in the first arrangement type, one parent would arrive home from work early to take over as primary caretaker and the other would stay at work late. In the second arrangement type, both parents would arrive home from work at the same time, but one parent would have more caretaking responsibilities as the primary caretaker. The parent in each role was varied by gender. Participants were asked what they thought of the family arrangement and why.

The first hypotheses regarding *overall arrangement* were focused on how the arrangement type and gender of the parent in the primary caretaker role would influence individuals' ratings. It was expected that the arrangement would be rated as better if one parent was coming home early to take over as caretaker rather than if both parents arrived home at the same time and one parent still had primary responsibility for caretaking. In addition, it was expected that arrangements in which the mom was the primary caretaker would be rated more positively than those in which the dad was the primary caretaker. A 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 4 (scenario)

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ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor revealed a main effect for scenario $F(3, 883) = 12.70$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Follow-up t-tests show that those arrangements in which one parent was coming home early ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 1.20$) were rated more positively than those arrangements in which both parents arrived home at the same time ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.33$). In addition, the arrangement was rated better if the mom was the primary caretaker ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.66$) than when the dad was the primary caretaker ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 1.23$) (see Figure 1).

The next set of hypotheses regarding *overall arrangement* pertained to the social reasoning that individuals used to justify their ratings. As expected, a 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 4 (scenario) X 3 (reasoning: social conventional, moral, personal choice) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors revealed that regardless of gender of parent in the caretaker role, participants used more social conventional reasoning ($M = .58$, $SD = .49$) when one parent leaves work early to take over as caretaker and more moral reasoning ($M = .49$, $SD = .50$) when one parent needs to be the caretaker even when both parents work the same hours $F(6, 1758) = 14.076$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. This finding reveals that individuals take group functioning or issues of practicality into consideration when reasoning about family arrangements but also recognize issues of fairness when one parent has more responsibility than the other.

In addition, it was found that gender of the parent in the caretaking role influenced participants' reasoning but not completely as expected. It was expected that participants would use more social conventional reasoning about mothers who did more caretaking; however, there were no overall differences in reasoning between

the scenarios in which the mother was the primary caretaker. As expected though, follow- up tests of an overall age effect $F (12, 1758) = 1.99, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$ revealed that there were age differences $F (2, 299) = 4.10, p < .05$ in reasoning about the mother as the primary caretaker, with adolescents using more social conventional reasoning (It works well for the family) than children or young adults, but only when the mom was doing more of the caretaking after both parents arrived home from work at the same time (see Table 4 for means).

There were significant differences in situations in which the father was the primary caretaker $F (2, 299) = 4.59, p < .01$. As expected, participants used more moral reasoning about the arrangement for the father ($M = .35, SD = .48$) as compared to the mother ($M = .27, SD = .45$) when he was the one who to leave work early to take over as the caretaker (It is unfair that he has more to do.). This finding reveals that although participants recognize issues of fairness in family arrangements, they are more likely to recognize this issue when the father is in the primary caretaker role. This effect may be influenced again by age related changes in reasoning. In these situations, children and adolescents were reasoning about the arrangement in moral terms while college students were reasoning from a personal choice perspective (see Table 4 for means).

It was also expected that there would be overall gender differences based on past research from the social domain model showing females more often than males use moral reasoning about gender exclusion (Killen & Stangor, 2001), however, no gender differences were found for this assessment. It is possible that participants

were not viewing family arrangements in terms of exclusion of one parent but rather unfair work load and therefore there were no differences.

Arrangement for Parents

After participants were asked about the overall family arrangements they were then asked to evaluate the family arrangement for each parent in the situation. Hypotheses regarding participants' responses were focused on how the arrangement was evaluated for the primary caretaker (the parent who had more caretaking responsibilities). A 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 4(scenario) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor revealed a main scenario effect for the arrangement for the primary caretaker F (3, 879) = 5.45, p < .01, η_p^2 = .02. Follow-up tests showed that when the dad was the primary caretaker, the arrangement was rated better for him if he was coming home early to do the caretaking (M = 2.86, SD = 1.19) rather than if he was the primary caretaker after both parents were home at the same time (M = 3.10, SD = 1.36). It was expected that this result would hold regardless of the gender of the parent, however, there were no differences when the mother was the primary caretaker (see Figure 2). There was also a main effect for gender F (1, 293) = 6.81, p < .01, η_p^2 = .02, with males (M = 2.90, SD = 1.26) rating the arrangement as better overall for the primary caretaker than females (M = 3.18, SD = 1.27). It is possible that females are made more aware of the responsibilities of caretaking than males through societal messages geared to women.

In regards to social reasoning about the *arrangement for parents,* it was expected that reasoning would be driven by gender of parent in the primary caretaking role. A 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 4 (scenario) X 4 (reasoning: social

conventional, moral, personal choice, societal expectations) ANOVA with repeated

measures on the last two factors revealed a reasoning by scenario effect $F (9, 2646) =$

32.56, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$ which was actually driven by two factors, that of gender of

parent and that of arrangement type. In conjunction with the differences in ratings for

the *overall arrangement,,* participants used more social conventional reasoning when

one parent came home early to take over as primary caretaker ($M = .27$, $SD = .44$) and

more moral reasoning when one parent was the primary caretaker but both arrived

home at the same time ($M = .34$, $SD = .48$). This finding shows that although

participants rated the situations as only better for the fathers when they arrived home

early and not the mothers, they do recognize the unfairness of the situation when one

parent has more caretaking responsibilities but both are working the same hours.

This finding though is also intermingled with results that match hypotheses about

the reasoning by scenario effect being influenced by gender of the parent who is in

the primary caretaking role. As expected, participants use more personal choice

reasoning when the dad is the primary caretaker and more societal expectations when

the mom is the primary caretaker (see Table 5 for means). This finding reveals that

fathers seem to have more flexibility in whether or not to take on more caretaking

responsibilities as opposed to mothers who are expected to be in this role.

In addition, as expected, there were age differences in social reasoning about the

arrangement for parents, however, not in the expected direction. Follow-ups of a

reasoning by scenario by grade interaction $F (6, 882) = 4.56$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$

revealed that with age, personal choice reasoning decreases and moral reasoning

increases (see Table 5 for means). It is possible, that in the family context,

individuals paid more attention to the division of labor in the household and recognized that the caretaking should have been more evenly divided.

Arrangement for Children

Although the family arrangements presented in the study emphasize parental roles in caretaking, the child in the family is also affected by how the family situation is arranged. For this reason, participants were asked to rate and provide reasoning about how the arrangement may affect the child in the family. It was expected that these analyses would be guided by the gender of the parent in the primary caretaking role, since this is the role that it is most affecting the child in the situation. In order to investigate ratings of the *arrangement for the child* a 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 4 (scenario) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor was conducted. As expected, it was found that participants rated the arrangement as better for the child when the mom was the primary caretaker F (3, 879) = 5.71, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$ ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.13$ for mom; $M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.15$ for dad). However, it was also found that if the dad was the primary caretaker, it would be better for the child if he were to come home early from work ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.10$) than do more of the caretaking while the mother was also home ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.14$). This highlights that participants still evaluate it as better for the child if the mom is doing the caretaking when she is available.

In regards to participants' social reasoning about the *arrangement for the child*, it was expected that there would be differences in reasoning depending on gender of parent in the primary caretaker role. It was expected that there would be more gender stereotypes used for mothers in the role, with participants mentioning

that only mothers are good at or know how to take care of children. For fathers in the role, it was expected that more moral reasoning would be used in reference to empathy towards the child who may miss not seeing both parents equally. A 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 4 (scenario) X 3 (reasoning: social conventional, moral, gender stereotyped) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors revealed several significant results that matched some of these expectations. Unexpectedly, there was an overall reasoning effect $F(2, 584) = 825.72$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .74$, with participants using more moral reasoning overall, regardless of gender of parent (see Table 6 for means). In addition, there was a reasoning by scenario effect $F(6, 1752) = 13.83$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, which revealed that when participants were not using moral reasoning, there were differences based on gender of parent in the primary caretaker role. For fathers, participants used more social conventional reasoning; while, for mothers, participants used more gender stereotyped reasoning, especially when she was the primary caretaker and the father arrived home from work at the same time as her (see Table 6 for means).

In addition to these findings, a reasoning by grade effect was found $F(4, 584) = 4.16$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$ which highlighted that, as expected, gender stereotyped reasoning decreased with age and it was found moral reasoning increased with age (see Table 6 for means). Overall, it seems that participants are more concerned with how fair it is to the child to miss out on time with either parent, but that this concern increases with age.

Overall Evaluation of Parents

Once children have evaluated the family arrangement for all members of the family, they were then asked to evaluate the quality of each parent. The hypotheses regarding this assessment focused on the ratings and social reasoning about both the parent in the primary caretaker and the secondary caretaker role. This was important to examine to understand participants' reasoning about the quality of both parents in each situation, as there may be differing standards for each parent as well as differences in how they reason about the arrangements overall.

As was expected, when comparing all assessments of the *overall evaluation of parents*, a 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 8 (scenario) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor revealed that participants rated the primary caretaker ($M = 1.71$, $SD = .83$) as a better parent than the secondary caretaker ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 1.25$), $F(7, 2044) = 292.00$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .50$. It was expected that when examining ratings of just the primary caretaker, that fathers would be rated more positively for being in this role, however, there were no significant findings by gender of parent in evaluating the primary caretaker.

When examining how participants rate the secondary caretaker, a 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 4 (scenario) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor, however, revealed a main scenario effect $F(3, 882) = 18.12$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. This finding shows that the secondary caretaker was rated as a better parent if they were working later ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.27$) rather than if they were home at the same time as their spouse and still did less work ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 1.23$). In addition, when both parents arrive home at the same time, the dad ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.16$) is rated as a better parent

in the secondary caretaking position than the mom ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.29$). This finding matches with expectations from the shifting standard that fathers will need to do less caretaking to be seen as good fathers. As expected there are also differences in ratings by grade $F(6, 882) = 6.631$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Grade effects revealed that with age, participants began to rate the secondary caretaker more positively as a parent ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.40$, for children; $M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.15$, for adolescents; $M = 3.16$, $SD = 1.07$, for young adults). These findings show that with age, individuals are becoming aware of the effort that the secondary caretaker may be giving to the role in the family even if they are not as present to the children (see Figure 3).

In regards to social reasoning about participants' *overall evaluations of parents*, there were several hypotheses which reflected that there would be differences in reasoning based on gender of the parent in the primary and secondary caretaker role. For the primary caretaker role, it was expected that participants would use more societal expectations for mothers referring to the expectation that she should be spending much time with her family. For fathers in the primary caretaker role, it was expected that more social conventional reasoning would be used, with participants referring to his spending some time with the family but focusing on making money for the family. A 2 (gender) X 3 (grade) X 4 (scenario) X 3 (reasoning: social conventional, moral, societal expectations) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors confirmed these expectations with a reasoning by scenario effect $F(6, 1752) = 973.38$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .77$. Follow-up tests revealed that regardless of work arrangement, participants used social conventional reasoning to evaluate a father ($M = .95$, $SD = .23$) who is the primary caretaker compared to

evaluations of the mother ($M = .09$, $SD = .29$). When the mother was the primary

caretaker, her parenting quality was reasoned about more from a societal expectation

perspective in comparison to the father (see Table 7 for means). This finding was

stronger when she was coming home early to take over as caretaker ($M = .91$, $SD =$

$.28$) than when she was home at the same time as the father ($M = .84$, $SD = .37$).

There were different expectations for *overall evaluations of parents* in the

secondary caretaker role, particularly for fathers. It was expected that when

evaluating fathers in the secondary caretaker role that are at work later, participants

would use more societal expectation reasoning. A 2(gender) X 3(grade) X

4(scenario) X 3 (reasoning: social conventional, moral, societal expectations)

ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors confirmed this hypothesis

with a reasoning by scenario effect $F (6, 1758) = 59.16$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .50$, but also

revealed many other interesting differences in participants' reasoning about the

secondary caretaker based on gender of parent in the role. First, the results did show

that societal expectations were used more for the dad when he was working late ($M =$

$.28$, $SD = .45$) as compared to when he was home at the same time and was the

secondary caretaker ($M = .09$, $SD = .29$). When he was home at the same time as the

mother, participants used more social conventional reasoning ($M = .78$, $SD = .41$).

This finding shows that participants were aware of the societal expectations about

fathers' role as caretaker, in that he is expected to be the primary provider of income,

but also that spending at least some time with the family is important to evaluating

him as a father.

In addition to findings about reasoning related to evaluations of the father as a secondary caretaker, there were differences in reasoning about the mother as a secondary caretaker. Participants used more social conventional reasoning when evaluating the mom when she was working late ($M = .46$, $SD = .50$), and more societal expectation reasoning when she was home at the same time as the dad but still the secondary caretaker ($M = .56$, $SD = .50$). The findings show that participants were again aware that the societal expectations of mothers are to be in the caretaking role and therefore evaluate her as a parent based on how much time she spends with the family. They also though are cognizant that some mothers need to work and that she may need to make some money to help the family.

In addition to overall reasoning differences, there were both age and gender differences in reasoning about the secondary caretaker as a parent (see Table 8 for means). A reasoning by scenario by grade interaction $F(12, 1758) = 6.02$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, revealed that there were differences in evaluations of parents based on gender of parent in the secondary caretaking role, but only when they are staying at work late. For mothers who were the secondary caretaker, young adults used more social conventional reasoning than children and adolescents who used more societal expectations. For fathers who were the secondary caretaker, young adults used a mix of social conventional and societal expectations while children and adolescents used more social conventional reasoning. Age differences show that there is a shift in reasoning about parents' roles in making money for the family, with those who are older being more concerned with the importance of this aspect of parenting.

A reasoning by scenario by gender interaction $F(6, 1758) = 5.59$, $p < .01$, η_p^2 = .04, revealed that there were differences based on both the type of arrangement and the gender of parent in the secondary caretaker role. Females used more social conventional reasoning than males ($M = .74$, $SD = .44$, for females; $M = .56$, $SD = .50$) to evaluate a dad who was the secondary caretaker because he needed to work late, while males more than females used more societal expectation reasoning ($M = .36$, $SD = .48$, for males; $M = .21$, $SD = .41$, for females). When the mother was the secondary caretaker, but home at the same time as the father, females used more societal expectation reasoning than males ($M = .63$, $SD = .48$, for females; $M = .47$, $SD = .50$, for males), while males more than females used more social conventional reasoning ($M = .36$, $SD = .48$, for males; $M = .21$, $SD = .41$, for females). These gender differences reveal that females seem to be more aware of societal expectations for mothers and males seem to be more aware of societal expectations for fathers.

Attitudes toward Gender Scale

Scores on the *Attitudes toward Gender Scale* were divided into two categories, traditional and egalitarian. Fifty-seven percent of the sample was labeled as egalitarian. Hypotheses regarding the *Attitudes toward Gender Scale* involved both how individuals' attitudes toward gender roles in caretaking would influence their social reasoning as well as differences based on both gender and age. The expected differences in both gender and age were confirmed. For gender, $F(1, 298) = 12.87$, $p < .01$, females were found to be more egalitarian in their attitudes toward gender roles than males ($M = 1.34$, $SD = .48$, for females; $M = 1.54$, $SD = .50$, for males). For age, $F(2, 298) = 18.10$, $p < .01$, participants' attitudes toward gender roles in caretaking

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become more egalitarian with age ($M = 1.64$, $SD = .48$, for children; $M = 1.42$, $SD = .50$, for adolescents; $M = 1.24$, $SD = .43$, for young adults).

It was expected that participants with egalitarian attitudes would use more moral reasoning about the *overall arrangement*, while those participants with traditional attitudes would use more social conventional reasoning. There were no significant differences in *overall arrangement* based on individuals' attitudes toward gender score. However, there were differences found in both the ratings and social reasoning about the *overall evaluations of parents* based on individuals' attitudes toward caretaking.

In regards to ratings of *overall evaluations of parents*, a 2 (gender attitudes) X 8 (scenario) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor revealed a scenario by gender attitudes interaction $F (7, 2072) = 2.35$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Follow-up tests revealed that regardless of gender of parent who is the primary caretaker after both parents are home at the same time, participants with more egalitarian attitudes ($M = 1.57$, $SD = .70$) are rating them as better parents than those with more traditional attitudes ($M = 1.81$, $SD = .99$). In addition, those with egalitarian attitudes ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.24$) are also more likely to rate a parent who stays at work later and is the secondary caretaker as a better parent than those with traditional attitudes ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.28$).

In regards to social reasoning about *overall evaluations of parents*, a 2 (gender attitudes) X 8 (scenario) X 3 (reasoning: social conventional, moral, societal expectations) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors revealed that there were differences based on gender attitudes. When both parents arrive home at

the same time, there were differences based on the mother in the primary caretaker role and the father in the secondary caretaker role, $F (14, 4144) = 2.38, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .01$. When the mother was the primary caretaker, those with more egalitarian gender attitudes used more societal expectations ($M = .88, SD = .33$) than those with traditional gender attitudes ($M = .79, SD = .41$). When the father was the secondary caretaker, those with egalitarian attitudes again used more societal expectations ($M = .33, SD = .47$) than those with traditional attitudes ($M = .21, SD = .21$). Those with traditional gender attitudes used more social conventional reasoning ($M = .72, SD = .45$) about the dad as the secondary caretaker than those with egalitarian attitudes ($M = .61, SD = .49$). This finding reveals that gender attitudes have an effect on social reasoning, particularly when judging the quality of parents. Those with egalitarian attitudes are more favorable of the quality of parents in both the primary and the secondary caretaking role. In addition, those with egalitarian attitudes are aware of the societal expectations on mothers and fathers and still judge them as good parents. Those with traditional attitudes seem to focus more on the time the parent spends with the family in their judgments of parents' quality.

Perceptions of Parental Roles and Expectations for the Future Survey

Perceptions of Parental Roles

Based on individuals' responses to several questions about their family background, three categories of perceptions of parental roles were created for two variables, that of their parents' working status while they were living at home and their perception of the division of caretaking tasks completed by their parents. The three categories consisted of egalitarian, non-traditional, and traditional. For the

parental working status variable, forty-one percent of the sample was labeled as egalitarian, forty-two percent of the sample was labeled traditional and seventeen percent was labeled as non-traditional. For the perception of parental caretaking done by parents, twenty-seven percent of the sample was labeled egalitarian, twenty-seven percent was labeled as traditional, and forty-seven percent was labeled as non-traditional.

Hypotheses regarding the perception of parental roles involved both how individuals' perceptions of parental work status and perception of parental caretaking would influence their social reasoning as well as how these perceptions would be related to their gender attitudes. The expected positive relation among perceptions of family parental roles and gender attitudes was confirmed. This positive relation was only significant though with perceptions of family work status and not with perceptions of parental division of caretaking tasks. A simple regression revealed that family work status was predictive of gender attitudes, $(r = .188, p < .01)$, meaning that those who perceived an egalitarian work status among their parents were also more likely to have more egalitarian gender attitudes.

In regards to social reasoning, analyses were conducted on how perceptions of parental roles affected all assessments in the *Parental Caretaking Survey*; however, it was expected that participants who perceived their parents as egalitarian would use more moral reasoning when asked to give an *overall evaluation of the arrangement* and an *overall evaluation of parents*, while those participants with traditional perceptions of their parents would use more societal expectations reasoning or gender stereotyped reasoning. First, when examining individuals' social reasoning about the

overall arrangement, a 3(grade) X 3(work status) X 3 (perception of caretaking) X 4(scenario) X 3(reasoning: social conventional, moral, personal choice) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors revealed a significant reasoning by scenario by grade by perception of parents' caretaking interaction F (24, 1632) = 1.65, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Follow-up tests showed that the differences by perception of parents' caretaking were most apparent in children and only in the family arrangement in which the mother was the primary caretaker even when both parents were home at the same time. In this situation, as expected, children from egalitarian families used more moral reasoning than those from traditional or non traditional families (see Table 4 for means). This effect may not have appeared for the older age groups as they may be too far removed from remembering how parents divided some of the caretaking tasks in their home.

There were differences found in both the ratings and social reasoning about the *overall evaluations of parents* based on individuals' perceptions of parental roles which confirmed hypotheses and others which did not. There were no significant differences in individuals' ratings of the primary caretaker. When examining individuals' social reasoning about their evaluations of the primary caretaker, however, there were differences based on both perception of family working status and perceptions of parental caretaking. A 3 (work status) X 3 (perception of caretaking) X 4 (scenario) X 3 (reasoning: social conventional, moral, societal expectations) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors revealed a reasoning by family work status interaction F (4, 576) = 2.375, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, in which participants who perceived their parents work status as egalitarian used more

moral reasoning than those who perceived a traditional or non traditional work status among parents ($M = .07$, $SD = .01$; $M = .02$, $SD = .01$; $M = .03$, $SD = .02$). In addition, a reasoning by scenario by perception of parents' caretaking $F(12, 1728) = 2.61$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, unexpectedly showed that in the situation in which the mother left work early to be the primary caretaker, those who perceived their parents' division of caretaking tasks as egalitarian used more societal expectations ($M = .98$, $SD = .16$) than those from traditional families who used more social conventional ($M = .87$, $SD = .34$) reasoning. This was the only family arrangement in which significant differences were found in evaluations of the primary caretaker.

Results from individuals' ratings and reasoning about their overall evaluation of the secondary caretaker, reveal again some findings that match the original expectations and others which do not. For ratings of the secondary caretaker, a 3 (work status) X 3 (perception of caretaking) X 4 (scenario) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor, revealed an interaction effect for scenario by perception of family work status $F(6, 870) = 2.95$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Follow- up tests revealed that the significant difference was again in the family arrangement in which the mother leaves work early to be the primary caretaker. In this situation, those who perceive a more non traditional work status among their parents rated the father as a worse parent than those who perceive a more egalitarian or traditional family work status while living at home ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.32$, for non traditional; $M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.27$, for egalitarian; $M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.11$, for traditional).

When investigating differences in social reasoning about the secondary caretaker by perceptions of parental roles, a 3 (work status) X 3 (perception of

caretaking) X 4 (scenario) X 3 (reasoning: social conventional, moral, societal

expectations) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors revealed a

reasoning by family work status by perception of parents' caretaking $F(8, 578) =$

2.08, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Follow-up tests revealed a complicated but very interesting

picture. Those participants who perceive an egalitarian work arrangement between

their parents but perceived a traditional division of caretaking tasks, used more

societal expectations about the secondary caretaker ($M = .42$, $SD = .50$). In these

families, although both parents work full-time, there is still a traditional division of

caretaking and the children in these families were more aware of the societal

expectations of mothers and fathers. Those participants who perceive a non

traditional work status among their parents but also an egalitarian perception of their

parents' caretaking, used more social conventional reasoning about the secondary

caretaker than others ($M = .66$, $SD = .51$). In these families, where either both parents

are part-time or the mother works more than the father, but the caretaking is done

equally by both parents, their children were more likely to be concerned with the

family functioning or practicality of the secondary caretaker's role. Finally, those

participants who perceive a non traditional work status for their parents, but have a

traditional perception of their parents' caretaking, were more likely to use moral

reasoning than any other group ($M = .19$, $SD = .39$). In this instance, when there is a

non traditional work arrangement but caretaking is still completed in a traditional

way, children of these families were more concerned about the fairness of the

secondary caretaker not helping out, particularly when the mother was the secondary

caretaker ($M = .27$, $SD = .46$) as compared to the father as the secondary caretaker ($M = .12$, $SD = .33$).

Expectations for Future Family Life

Hypotheses regarding individuals' expectations for their future family life involved both how individuals' expectations of their own work status and expectations of the division of parental caretaking in their future family would influence their social reasoning as well as how these expectations would be related to their gender attitudes.

The expected positive relation among expectations for their future family life and gender attitudes was confirmed. A simple regression revealed that gender attitudes were predictive of expectations for working full-time when having a family in the future, ($r = -.14$, $p < .05$), meaning that those with more egalitarian gender attitudes were more likely to expect to work full-time in the future, even with a family. In addition to this finding, gender was predictive of expecting to work full-time in the future while also having a family ($r = .25$, $p < .01$), revealing that females were less likely than males to expect to have a full-time job in the future when they also have a family. As for the connections between gender attitudes and the expectations for completion of caretaking tasks in their future home, a simple regression revealed a significant relation. Gender attitudes were predictive of both an individuals' expectations of their own role in caretaking ($r = .27$, $p < .01$) and their expectations of their partners' role in caretaking ($r = .26$, $p < .01$). These findings show that those with egalitarian gender attitudes are more likely to expect an egalitarian division of caretaking in their future family life.

Hypotheses regarding the influence of expectations of future family life on social reasoning were not able to be confirmed. These analyses were unable to be completed due to the nature of the participants' responses lacking variability. It was expected that individuals' expectations could be divided into categories similar to the perceptions of their family structure while living at home, those of egalitarian, traditional, and non traditional. However, participants' expectations for family work status in the future revealed that 99.7% expected to work in the future, and 95% expected to have a family in the future. A smaller percentage, 68% expected to have a full-time job when they have a family, but there was not enough variability for this to have an impact on social reasoning differences. Individuals in this grouping were shown previously to be affected by both their gender attitudes and by their gender.

In addition, participants' expectations for the division of caretaking tasks in their future family were also lacking enough variability to have an effect on social reasoning. For this assessment, 93% expected to do some of the caretaking in their family and 96% expected their partners to do some of the caretaking for most tasks. However, for those participants who did respond that they expected to do all of certain tasks, there was a significant difference by gender based on the task in question. For example, more females than males responded that they expected to do all of the following tasks: getting the kids ready for and picking them up from day care or school; bathing the kids; disciplining the kids; making dinner for the kids; and comforting the kids when they are upset. In contrast, for the tasks of taking the kids to the park or to practice, more males than females expected to do all of these tasks.

Chapter 5: Discussion

There has been a vast amount of research showing that individuals are aware and utilize stereotypes and expectations based on gender in their judgments of behaviors, activities, and occupations (Biernat & Ma, 2005; Liben & Bigler, 2002; Ruble, Martin, & Berenbaum, 2006). In addition, work from the social cognitive domain model has shown that beginning at a young age, individuals are able to recognize issues of fairness and equality, and that this occurs in situations regarding gender (Killen, et al., 2001; Killen et al., 2007; Killen & Stangor, 2001). Previous research has often focused on knowledge of gender expectations in child and adult roles (Liben & Bigler, 2002) or social reasoning about gender exclusion in peer contexts (Killen & colleagues, 2001). There has been little work however that has investigated children's evaluations of gender expectations regarding parental domestic roles, particularly caretaking.

The current study then was interested in examining age related changes in social reasoning about adult roles in the family context. In addition, previous research has shown that gender attitudes (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002), family structure (Deutsch, et al., 2001; Leaper, 2002; Sinno & Killen, 2006), and gender expectations (Eccles, et al., 1999; Mau & Domnick, 1995) affect how individuals' interpret and respond to issues of gender. Therefore, the present study investigated how these factors may influence individuals' social reasoning about parental gender roles in the family. This study found that social reasoning about parental roles is multifaceted and complex depending on the context of the situation and that the above mentioned factors do appear to have an effect on social reasoning.

Social Reasoning about the Caretaker Role

Recent research has called into question taking into account the perspective of children in how they view family situations (Galinsky, 2005). The primary goal of the present study was to investigate age related changes in social reasoning about the parental caretaking role from a social cognitive domain perspective. Reasoning about contexts which involve gender expectations often fall into a multifaceted domain, because gender roles can be accepted or rejected for various reasons, including being rejected because of unfairness (moral) or being accepted because they fit cultural standards (social conventional) (Killen, et al., 2000). This notion can be clearly seen in a recent study by Sinno and Killen (2006) which found that children judged it more acceptable for mothers to be in the caretaker role. However, they reasoned about the caretaker role from different domains of knowledge based on the gender of the parent in the role. When the mother was the primary caretaker, children used more personal choice reasoning in that the mother could decide to stay at home to take care of children or go to work. For fathers who wanted to be the primary caretaker, children used more gender stereotypes about his incompetence in the role.

Although this study revealed that children's social reasoning about parental roles was complex, it did not take into account the complications that occur in the family context. Most often families in the United States today are not making decisions about one parent staying home full-time while the other parent works full-time (Bond et al., 2003); rather, most parents are in a dual-earning relationship. These contextual differences serve to modify family members' gendered activities and behaviors, in that caretaking tasks need to be completed while both parents are

working. For this reason, the present study was designed to examine individuals'

reasoning about the caretaker role when these types of contextual differences are

added to the family situations. The complexities added to this study included the

number of hours that each parent spent at work (either at work until 5 or leaving work

early) and the amount of caretaking (all the caretaking or some of the caretaking) that

they were responsible for when they arrived home. The gender of the parent in these

work and caretaking roles was also varied. With this complexity added to the

situation, it was expected that social reasoning about family arrangements would also

become more complex and multifaceted. This study then questioned how children,

adolescents and young adults balance these complicated issues? Do they reason

about the family context from a practicality perspective, a fairness perspective or a

societal expectation perspective?

Results clearly confirm that social reasoning about the family context is

multifaceted and that individuals take into account both family arrangements and the

gender of the parent in the caretaker role. In addition, social reasoning differed

depending on which aspect of the context was called into question, the overall

arrangement for the family as a whole, the arrangement for the parents, or the

arrangement for the child.

When evaluating the overall arrangement, participants rated families in which

one parent was coming home early more positively and reasoned about them in social

conventional terms, in terms of practicality. When both parents arrived home at the

same time, individuals' ratings were more negative and they viewed these situations

from a moral perspective, particularly in regards to fairness. This finding reveals that

individuals take group functioning or issues of practicality into consideration when reasoning about family arrangements but also recognize issues of fairness when one parent has more responsibility than the other.

In addition to these complexities, similar to Sinno and Killen (2006), arrangements were still rated as better if the mom was the primary caretaker than when the dad was the primary caretaker, regardless of her work arrangement. This finding seems to highlight the strength of expectations on mothers to be in the caretaking role. In addition, it was found that gender of the parent in the caretaking role influenced participants' reasoning but not completely as expected. Adolescents used more social conventional reasoning (It works well for the family) than children or young adults, but only when the mom was doing more of the caretaking after both parents arrived home from work at the same time. Viewing the mother as a primary caretaker after she arrives home from work clearly relates to research highlighting the "second shift" of many working mothers (Raley et al., 2006). It is possible that adolescents paid more attention to the conventions of the second shift of mothers as research has shown it is an age of gender intensification (Eccles, 1987), but it is interesting that this only occurred for the acceptance of the mother in the role of caretaker and not as a rejection of the father as a caretaker.

For the father as the primary caretaker, most participants used more moral reasoning about the arrangement (It is unfair that he has more to do.). This finding reveals that although participants recognize issues of fairness in family arrangements, they are more likely to recognize this issue when the father is in the primary caretaker role. This effect may be influenced again by age related changes in reasoning. In

these situations, children and adolescents were reasoning about the arrangement in moral terms of fairness while college students are reasoning from a personal choice perspective. Again there seems to be an expectation of mothers to be in this role and to be helping out as much as possible and to place their families before anything else (Galinsky, 2000; Gorman & Fritsche, 2002). In Galinsky's study (2000) with children, more said they had too little time with fathers as compared with mothers, so they may be under the impression that fathers can not do the caretaking alone. Children and adolescents may be reasoning more from a social experience perspective, while young adults may be taking into consideration the benefits of having the father help out in caretaking (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). This may be particularly true for this sample since they are college educated and many expect that both parents will help with caretaking when they have a family in the future.

After participants were asked about the overall family arrangements, they were then asked to evaluate the family arrangement for each parent in the situation. This aspect of the study was related to the fact that although participants may judge a certain arrangement as working for the family they may also take into consideration that the arrangement does not necessarily work well for each parent. This idea was confirmed with participants using more social conventional reasoning when one parent came home early to take over as primary caretaker and more moral reasoning when one parent was the primary caretaker but both arrived home at the same time.

This finding though is also intermingled with results showing that gender of the parent in the primary caretaking role also affects social reasoning. Participants used more personal choice reasoning when the dad is the primary caretaker; yet, most

participants used more societal expectations for the mother. This finding is contrary to the findings in Sinno and Killen (2006), since the mother in that study had more personal choice than the father. This finding reveals then when looking only at the caretaking role and not placing it against the breadwinner role, that fathers seem to have more flexibility in whether or not to take on more caretaking responsibilities as opposed to mothers who are expected to be in this role (Fuegan, et al., 2004).

In this particular assessment, there was also a main effect for gender, with males rating the arrangement as better overall for the primary caretaker than females. It is possible that females are made more aware of the responsibilities of caretaking than males through societal messages geared to women. For one, parents are often displaying proper caretaking roles for women by encouraging young girls to play with dolls and pretend cook, more so than young boys (Pomerleau, Bolduc, Malcuit, & Cossette, 1990) and in their distribution of chores, which for girls will more often involve the caretaking of siblings (Crouter, Manke, & McHale, 1995). In addition, the media is more likely to show mothers in the caretaking role and this can be seen from media geared to children (Anderson & Hamilton, 2005) to parenting magazines (Sunderland, 2006) to television commercials which often show fathers as purely incompetent at being with children alone (Kaufman, 1999).

Again, when referencing this aspect of the context, there was an age difference in social reasoning with personal choice reasoning decreasing and moral reasoning increasing. It was expected that the opposite change would occur as previous research in the social domain model has shown that individuals become more aware of personal decisions as they enter adolescence (Smetana, 2006). It is

possible, that in the family context, individuals paid more attention to the fairness of division of labor in the household and recognized that the caretaking should have been more evenly divided. In addition, although individuals overall used more personal choice for fathers than mothers, with age, participants may be more likely to see the arrangement for the father as a personal choice he should make for the good of the family rather than for himself and therefore focus on moral reasoning when he is not helping out more with caretaking.

Although the family arrangements presented in the study emphasize parental roles in caretaking, children in families are also affected by how the family situation is arranged. As noted by several children in the Sinno and Killen (2006), the most important factor in evaluating parental decisions was who was going to be there for the children. For this reason, it was expected that these analyses would be guided by the gender of the parent in the primary caretaking role.

It was found that participants rated the arrangement as better for the kids when the mom was the primary caretaker. However, it was also found that if the dad was the primary caretaker, it would be better for the child if he were to come home early from work than do more of the caretaking while the mother was also home. This result highlights that participants still evaluate it as better for the child if the mom is doing the caretaking when she is available.

Overall, participants used more moral reasoning when evaluating the arrangement for the children, regardless of gender of parent. Although when participants were not using moral reasoning, there were differences based on gender of parent in the primary caretaking role. Similar to Sinno and Killen (2006)

participants used more social conventional reasoning for fathers; while, for mothers, participants used more gender stereotyped reasoning. In addition gender stereotyped reasoning decreased with age and moral reasoning increased. Overall, it seems that participants are more concerned with how fair it is to the child to miss out on time with either parent, but that this concern increases with age. It may be that in the Sinno and Killen (2006) study there was not an overwhelming use of moral reasoning because there was always one parent staying home full-time for the children. This finding shows that reasoning changes as complexity is added to the situation. Individuals become more concerned with morality when taking additional factors into consideration (Killen, et al., 2007).

The final interest in age related changes in social reasoning was related to research from social psychology (Biernat, et al., 1991). The shifting standards theory which shows that there are different standards for men and women in stereotyped roles was incorporated to better understand how children might evaluate and reason about the quality of parents in the different caretaker roles. Participants rated the primary caretaker as a better parent than the secondary caretaker. This matches with the other social reasoning findings that emphasize concern for the family. Based on the shifting standards theory (Biernat & Manis, 1994) it was expected that when examining ratings of just the primary caretaker, that fathers would be rated more positively for being in this role, however, there were no significant findings by gender of parent in evaluating the primary caretaker because the primary caretaker was evaluated highly positively overall.

However there were differences in ratings of the secondary caretaker, who was rated as a better parent if they were working later, rather than if they were home at the same time as their spouse and still did less work. In addition, when both parents arrived home at the same time, the dad was rated as a better parent in the secondary caretaking position than the mom. This finding matches with expectations from the shifting standard theory that fathers will need to do less caretaking to be seen as good fathers (Fuegan, et al., 2004). With age, individuals rate the secondary caretaker as a better parent showing that they are becoming aware of the effort that the secondary caretaker may be giving to the role even if they are not as present to the children.

Regardless of work arrangement, participants used social conventional reasoning to evaluate a father who is the primary caretaker and a mother who is the secondary caretaker. In contrast, a mother's parenting quality as the primary caretaker was reasoned about more from a societal expectation perspective while this was used for fathers in the secondary caretaking role. This finding shows that participants were aware of the societal expectations about mothers' and fathers' role as caretaker (Nomaguchi, et al., 2005; Plant et al., 2000) but were also able to somewhat coordinate issues of practicality into their reasoning (Killen, et al., 2000). For fathers, they are often expected to be the primary provider of income, but participants also took into consideration that spending at least some time with the family is important to evaluating him as a father. For mothers, participants were aware that the societal expectations of mothers are to be in the caretaking role and therefore evaluate her as a parent based on how much time she spends with the

family. They also though are cognizant that some mothers need to work and that she may need to make some money to help the family. Further research is warranted to see how these two types of reasoning are coordinated in the same evaluation and why one may take precedence over the other.

When taking an overall view of social reasoning in the family context, this study finds that individuals are attempting to balance the many social components that impact family decisions about parental caretaking roles. When complexity is added to the situation by varying work arrangements and gender of parent in the primary caretaking role, individuals are recognizing that there are arrangements in which morality, in terms of fairness, is called into question. This reasoning increases with age as well. However, this recognition of fairness and equality is comprised with the need to also take into account societal expectations that are placed on mothers and fathers. This study found that three factors, including gender attitudes, perceptions of parental roles and expectations for the future have some effect on which of these domains of reasoning takes precedence; however, there is still conflict in these domains even when these factors are taken into account, warranting further research on social reasoning about the family context.

The Effects of Gender Attitudes

Research has highlighted the fact that parental beliefs about gender, implicitly or explicitly expressed in the home, affect children's own concepts of gender roles and how they perceive the balance of work and family (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Murrell, et al., 1991; Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). It was expected that in so far as parents' gender attitudes affected their children's attitudes, so would these attitudes

have an effect on individuals' social reasoning. These differences were apparent in the arrangement of work schedules for the parents. When both parents arrived home at the same time, participants with more egalitarian attitudes rated them as better parents than those with more traditional attitudes. In addition, those with egalitarian attitudes were also more likely to rate a parent who stays at work later and is the secondary caretaker as a better parent than those with traditional attitudes.

When both parents arrived home at the same time, there were differences based on the mother in the primary caretaker role and the father in the secondary caretaker role. Those individuals with egalitarian attitudes used more societal expectations when the mother was the primary caretaker, and when the father was the secondary caretaker. Those with traditional gender attitudes used more social conventional reasoning about the dad as the secondary caretaker than those with egalitarian attitudes.

The effect gender attitudes had on social reasoning is most notable in the finding that having egalitarian attitudes is related to seeing parents as good parents in either type of caretaking role since they are aware of the societal expectations on mothers and fathers. Those with traditional attitudes seem to focus more on the time the parent spends with the family in their judgments of parents' quality. This may be because those with traditional gender attitudes may place more emphasis on the family being together or doing what is best for the family rather than on the family members' individuality. Those with egalitarian attitudes may place more emphasis on individuality and note that parents can be good at both parenting and fulfilling societal expectations.

There has been much research showing that children may observe sex-typed behaviors in parents' interactions with one another or be exposed to sex-typed division of labor in marriage relationships (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003). The current study though was interested in whether children in two parent homes view some of the inequality in these roles and when. In addition, how does their perception of their parents' roles in the home affect their own gender attitudes and how does this relate to social reasoning in the family context.

Similar to previous studies looking at the family environment (Leaper, 2002) it was found that those who perceived an egalitarian work status among their parents were also more likely to have more egalitarian gender attitudes. Although we did not have direct information from the parents about their work arrangement, the individual's perception of family structure has been shown to be just as important (Galinsky, 2005) to their conceptualization of gender expectations, if not more important.

For perceptions of work status of parents, participants who perceived their parents' work status as egalitarian used more moral reasoning overall than those who perceived a traditional or non traditional work status among parents. The differences by perception of parents' caretaking were most apparent in children and only in the family arrangement in which the mother was the primary caretaker even when both parents were home at the same time. In this situation, children from egalitarian families used more moral reasoning than those from traditional or non traditional families. This effect may not have appeared for the older age groups as they may be

too far removed from remembering how parents divide some of the caretaking tasks in their home.

Further differences were found based on perceptions of family structure, but all appeared in the situation in which the mom left work early to be the primary caretaker. Those who perceived their parents' division of caretaking tasks as egalitarian used more societal expectations than those from traditional families who used more social conventional reasoning. It is possible that when evaluating the mother as the primary caretaker who leaves work early, those with egalitarian families are recognizing the expectations of that mother, while those from traditional families are simply viewing it as what works well for the family with no other alternatives. Other research from the social cognitive domain model has shown that at times the use of social conventional reasoning has a foundation of stereotypes about roles, but this was unable to be deciphered in the present study's survey measure (Killen, et al., 2007). Future research needs to further investigate why children from more traditional families view that having a mother leave work early is good for the family. In addition, further research should investigate if those from egalitarian families recognize the societal expectations but also view these expectations as wrong. In addition, these participants were all from two parent homes and these findings may change based on the structure of parents in the home.

The Effects of Expectations for Future Family Life

Implications of family gender socialization may be most apparent later, for instance, in kinds of education and career decisions individuals make and in family roles they assume in adult lives (McHale et al., 2003). The present study attempted to

examine this implication by asking individuals about their future expectations for the balance of work and family. It was found that family gender socialization affects gender attitudes and that these attitudes affect expectations for the future.

Gender attitudes were predictive of expectations for working full-time when having a family in the future, meaning that those with more egalitarian gender attitudes were more likely to expect to work full-time in the future, even with a family. They were also more likely to expect an egalitarian division of caretaking in their future family life.

In addition to this finding, gender was predictive of expecting to work full-time in the future while also having a family, revealing that females were less likely than males to expect to have a full-time job in the future when they also have a family. These findings are interesting to note because there still appears to be a difference in the expectations of each gender for who should be in the caretaking role. More females than males are expecting to limit their future career path in order to make room for their family. Further research needs to discover why this difference continues to exist, even though there has been an enormous increase in women in college and in professional occupations (Battle & Wigfield, 2003; Caplow, et al., 2001). However, both males and females who have egalitarian attitudes are expecting to both contribute to the caretaking of their children. This is a positive advancement in that research has shown the positive benefits of father involvement in childcare (Tamis-LeMonda & Cabrera, 2002). It is additionally important though to discover how to encourage more individuals to have an egalitarian attitude toward the role of caretaking.

This current study was also interested in how individuals' expectations may affect their social reasoning about the parental role of caretaker. Expectations for future family life were not variable enough though to have an effect on social reasoning. There are several reasons why there may not have been enough variability in the expectations for the future measure presented to participants in this study. For one, participants were asked if they expected themselves and their future partner to do "all", "some", or "none" of the caretaking for several different tasks. A Likert scale which allowed for more variability in responses would have allowed for a broader range of expectations for the future. Most participants answered "some" for each task, but asking them how many times a week they expected to complete the task would have offered a stronger indication of their true expectations for these tasks. Time diaries with adults and children about other activities in the home have been shown to use this type of assessment successfully (McHale, et al., 2003; Nomaguchi, et al., 2005), and could be successfully incorporated into future studies on expectations about tasks and activities. With this additional data, it is expected that there would be variability in social reasoning about the parental caretaker role as there was with gender attitudes, since gender attitudes were shown to affect future expectations.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are a few limitations to this study which should be noted. These limitations provide a basis for further research investigation. First, one limitation of this study was the use of a survey methodology in assessing individuals' social reasoning. Many previous studies conducted by the social cognitive domain theory on gender issues have used interview methodologies (Killen, et al., 2006). The

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benefit of using an interview methodology is that one can take a more in depth approach to examining social reasoning. The interviewer is able to account for the use of two domains in one given assessment rather than having the participant make a forced choice decision. In addition, there is the ability to add a counter probe technique to the interview in which the interviewer can ask the individual about a domain that they may not have mentioned in their original response. With this type of technique, the researcher can still assess and analyze the participant's first response but can also account for whether or not they at least recognize another social domain at work in the scenario.

Using a counter probe technique with the family context could allow for further investigations of how individuals balance the many complexities of family situations. It is possible that a participant is thinking of several domains at the same time. Using an interview methodology instead of a survey would allow for investigation of when one domain takes precedence over the others. Finally, the interview methodology would allow for examining changes in reasoning within each individual as they move from question to question, instead of relying on group differences.

A second limitation of the present study is the ability to generalize to children who are not from dual-earning, two parent homes. As noted by other researchers interested in family dynamics, there are micro-level characteristics of the immediate setting, such as who else is present in the home that may determine whether parents' gender schemas are activated and motivate sex-typed treatment of children (McHale, et al., 2003). It is possible then that the effects of perceptions of their own parents'

parental roles in the home on social reasoning may be different if there were more individuals in our sample living in single parent homes (Hofferth, Cabrera, Carlson, Coley, Day, & Schindler, 2007). In this type of environment, parents are taking on the expectations for both male and female roles and how children then interpret the messages about gender expectations may be dramatically different and may result in different reasoning about the family context in general. The results of this study therefore are not generalizable to individuals who are not raised in two parent homes.

In addition, this study was conducted in a metropolitan area of the United States, and most participants came from families in which mothers often had high-status careers. In addition, most of the participants expected to have high-status jobs. Researchers have noted that macro-level-economic forces may support more on less gendered roles by parents and in turn, parents' values and aspirations for child-rearing (McHale, et al., 2003), and some of this may have had an impact on the findings of this study. Taking this limitation into consideration, it is important to investigate social reasoning about parental roles by continuing this research with various ethnic, cultural, socioeconomic and religious groups, as has been done by other researchers who use the social cognitive domain model. Factors including ethnicity, religion, social class, and secular change, have been linked to adults' gender role attitudes (Thornton & Young- DeMarco, 2001.). These adults then may be displaying different child-rearing goals or expectations for their children which may then affect the way that these children reason about the caretaking role.

Finally, a third limitation of this study was that information regarding perceptions of parental roles was obtained solely from participants and not from

parents directly. Parental support of one another in parenting roles has been shown to enhance a child's well-being (Gable, Belsky, & Crinc, 1995). Often times, the relationship and interactions between parents seem to be very salient to children, and in other instances children may not be aware of subtleties in parents' beliefs and attitudes. There may be some discrepancy then in what children in families perceive about their family dynamics and what is occurring in reality and both aspects of the situation can have important implications for how children develop.

As a means to further understanding how parental roles in the home may affect individuals' social reasoning about the family context, future research should obtain information from parents about their role in caretaking and their attitudes toward in gender expectations related to this role. Having this information in conjunction with children's perceptions, allows for studying the substance of parents' socialization messages and how children perceive and interpret those messages. Research will then be able to identify which messages about gender children are accepting and which messages children may be rejecting and how this conceptualization of gender reveals itself in social reasoning about gender roles overall.

Conclusion

The findings of the present research study extend the existing literature from the social cognitive domain theory about age related changes in social reasoning about issues of gender by investigating their social reasoning about the parental caretaker role (Killen, et al., 2007). The data from the current study indicates that the family context is one that is multifaceted and complex. When individuals take into

account parental work arrangements they invoke moral reasoning, focusing on fairness, about the division of caretaking tasks. However, individuals are still aware of the societal expectations of mothers and fathers and often use these expectations to reason about who should be in the caretaking role. Even so, there are differences in adherence to these domains of reasoning when taking age, gender attitudes and perceptions of parental roles into account. The present study's findings provide just a first step in taking a developmental approach to understanding how individuals may make decisions about the balance of work and family. However, future work on social reasoning about the caretaking role must investigate when individuals are able to recognize the division of caretaking may incorporate a component of unfair exclusion based on gender.

Recent research of parental roles has shown that taking on multiples roles in the family can enhance the lives of mothers and fathers as well as their children (Barnett & Rivers, 2004). For mothers, working outside the home in a job that they enjoy allows for a continuation of their individuality in ideas and thoughts and improves their overall well-being. For fathers, an increased role in caretaking allows them to feel more integrated into family life and has mental health benefits for decreasing stress (Barnett, 2005).   Parents, who share the demands of multiple parenting roles, have been shown to display better moods and have more energy at home. Children from these families, in turn, are developing well, both academically and emotionally, and reinvest their energy back to the workforce and their own families later in life (Barber & Eccles, 1992; Barnett & Rivers, 2004; Galinsky, 2005).

The topic of parental roles and family and work balance are important in various contexts within the U.S. and around the world. Examining the developmental underpinnings of social reasoning behind the balance of work and family and parental roles is important to the field as it can elucidate the developmental trajectory of children's understanding about gender role opportunities, family structures, and issues related to family policy, social cognition, and moral reasoning.

Without knowing the reasons why family roles continue to be divided by gender, research cannot offer solutions for making the roles more equitable. Examining age related changes in social reasoning about parental roles is an important endeavor in that it can provide insight into decisions that individuals may make for themselves in future contexts of balancing work and family.

Tables

Table 1: Description of Variations in Parental Caretaking Survey

Scenario	Description
Smith Family	The father comes home from work early every day to pick up their child from school. The father then takes care of making dinner for the family, and getting their child ready for bed. The mother works late during the week and on Saturdays takes their child to the park.
Johnson Family	Both parents arrive home from work at the same time. The mother picks up their child from school. The mother takes care of cooking dinner for the family and gets their child ready for bed. Some nights, the father takes the child for a walk around the neighborhood.
Parker Family	Both parents arrive home from work at the same time. The father picks up their child from school. The father takes care of cooking dinner for the family and gets their child ready for bed. Some nights, the mother takes the child for a walk around the neighborhood.

(Table 1 continued)

Scenario	Description
Campbell Family	The mother comes home from work early every day to pick up their child from school. The mother then takes care of making dinner for the family, and getting their child ready for bed. The father works late during the week and on Saturdays takes their child to the park.

Note: In all scenarios, both parents work full-time. Each family has a seven-year-old child.

Table 2: Description of Social Reasoning Responses

Social Reasoning Category	Examples of Responses
Moral	It is not fair for one parent to do more than the other
	The parents should share taking care of the kids
	It is not fair that the child does not get to see one parent as much as the other
	One parent is not being fair to the family
Social Conventional	It works well for the family
	She/He decided with her husband/ his wife
	She/ He can spend more time with the family
	She/ He can make more money for the family
Personal Choice	The parents chose this arrangement
	She might miss being at work
	He might want to be with the kids more
	She/ He does not have time to do what she/ he wants
Societal Expectations	She can focus on the children
	He can focus on work
Gender Stereotypes	The dad does not know as much about caretaking as the mom
	The mom is better at caretaking than the dad

Table 3: Summary of Hypotheses

Parental Caretaking Survey

Overall Arrangement
1. Participants will rate family arrangements in which one parent is working late and one parent is doing the caretaking more positively than those in which both parents come home at the same time and one parent is still doing more of the caretaking.

2. Participants will rate the family arrangements that involve the mother doing more of the caretaking tasks more positively than the arrangements that involve the father doing more of the tasks.

3. Participants will reason that the family arrangements in which one parent is the primary caretaker but both parents arrive home at the same time are based on social conventional reasons of family functioning.

4. Females more than males will produce moral reasons of unfairness for any family situation in which one parent is doing more of the caretaking tasks, regardless of gender.

5. Adolescents are expected to use more social conventional reasoning than children or young adults.

Arrangement for Parents
6. Participants will give more negative ratings to the arrangement for the parent who has to do more caretaking even when both arrive home at the same time.

7. Participants will provide more positive ratings about the arrangement for the mother when she is doing more of the caretaking than for the father when he is doing more of the caretaking.

8. Participants will reason with more societal expectations about the arrangement when the mother is the primary caretaker.

9. Participants will use more personal choice reasoning when the father is the primary caretaker.

10. With age, participants will focus more on personal choice issues for both genders.

(Table 3 continues)

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(Table 3 continued)

Arrangement for Children Reasoning

    11. Participants will provide more positive ratings for arrangements in which the mother is the primary caretaker.

    12. Participants will use more moral reasoning, pertaining to empathy, when the father is the primary caretaker.

    13. Participants will use more gender stereotyped reasoning when the mom is the primary caretaker.

    14. With age, the use of gender stereotypes will decrease.

Overall Evaluation of Parents

    15. Parents who take on more caretaking responsibilities will be rated more positively than those who take on less.

    16. Fathers who take on more caretaking responsibilities will be rated more positively than mothers who take on more caretaking responsibilities.

    17. With age, participants will rate the secondary caretaker more positively as a parent.

    18. Participants will use more societal expectation reasoning when evaluating mothers as primary caretakers, regardless of work arrangements.

    19. Participants will use more societal expectations for fathers who are secondary caretakers and work late.

    20. Participants will use more social conventional reasoning for fathers who are primary caretakers.

(Table 3 continued)

<u>Attitudes toward Gender Scale</u>

    21. Participants with more egalitarian gender attitudes will use more moral reasoning about the overall arrangement.

    22. Participants with more traditional gender attitudes will use more social conventional reasoning about the overall arrangement.

    23. Females will have more egalitarian scores than males.

    24. With age, participants will have more egalitarian scores.

<u>Perceptions and Expectations Survey</u>

Perceptions of Family Background

    25. Participants who perceive a more traditional family structure will use more societal expectations and gender stereotyped reasoning.

    26. Participants who perceive a more egalitarian family structure will use more moral reasoning.

    27. Participants' perception of their family background will be positively related to their gender attitudes.

Expectations for Future Family Life

    28. Participants who expect a more egalitarian family structure in their future will focus more on moral reasoning about family arrangements.

    29. Participants who expect a more traditional family structure in their future will focus more on societal expectation reasoning about family arrangements.

    30. Participants' gender attitudes will be positively related to their expectations for their own future.

Table 4: Proportion of Reasoning Responses about Overall Arrangement by Grade
and Perception of Parent Caretaking

Grade X Perception of Parent Caretaking		Arrangement Type X Gender of Primary Caretaker											
		ALL						MOST					
			Mom			Dad			Mom			Dad	
		SC	MR	PC	SC	MR	PC	SC	MR	PC	SC	MR	PC
5th Grade	Egalitarian	.60	.35	.05	.49	.49	.03	.24	.73	.03	.32	.65	.03
		(.50)	(.48)	(.23)	(.51)	(.51)	(.16)	(.43)	(.45)	(.16)	(.47)	(.48)	(.16)
	Non Traditional	.50	.31	.19	.50	.40	.10	.42	.48	.10	.38	.58	.04
		(.50)	(.47)	(.39)	(.51)	(.49)	(.31)	(.50)	(.50)	(.31)	(.49)	(.50)	(.20)
	Traditional	.71	.23	.06	.76	.24	.00	.47	.47	.06	.41	.53	.06
		(.47)	(.44)	(.24)	(.44)	(.44)	(.00)	(.51)	(.51)	(.24)	(.51)	(.51)	(.24)
	Total	.57	.31	.12	.54	.40	.06	.36	.57	.07	.36	.60	.04
		(.50)	(.46)	(.32)	(.50)	(.49)	(.24)	(.48)	(.50)	(.25)	(.48)	(.49)	(.20)
8th Grade	Egalitarian	.63	.37	.00	.47	.50	.03	.57	.37	.07	.43	.57	.00
		(.49)	(.49)	(.00)	(.51)	(.51)	(.18)	(.50)	(.49)	(.25)	(.50)	(.50)	(.00)
	Non Traditional	.56	.35	.09	.60	.35	.05	.58	.33	.09	.44	.49	.07
		(.50)	(.48)	(.29)	(.49)	(.48)	(.21)	(.50)	(.47)	(.29)	(.50)	(.51)	(.26)
	Traditional	.79	.17	.04	.46	.50	.04	.50	.46	.04	.67	.25	.08
		(.41)	(.38)	(.20)	(.51)	(.51)	(.20)	(.51)	(.51)	(.20)	(.48)	(.44)	(.28)
	Total	.64	.31	.05	.53	.43	.04	.56	.37	.07	.49	.45	.05
		(.48)	(.46)	(.22)	(.50)	(.50)	(.20)	(.50)	(.49)	(.26)	(.50)	(.50)	(.22)
College	Egalitarian	.69	.15	.15	.54	.23	.23	.38	.54	.08	.54	.38	.08
		(.48)	(.38)	(.38)	(.52)	(.44)	(.44)	(.51)	(.52)	(.28)	(.52)	(.51)	(.28)
	Non Traditional	.73	.20	.08	.59	.24	.18	.49	.47	.04	.37	.53	.10
		(.45)	(.40)	(.27)	(.50)	(.43)	(.39)	(.50)	(.50)	(.20)	(.49)	(.50)	(.30)
	Traditional	.58	.22	.19	.67	.19	.14	.46	.40	.14	.36	.53	.11
		(.50)	(.42)	(.40)	(.48)	(.40)	(.35)	(.51)	(.50)	(.36)	(.49)	(.50)	(.32)
	Total	.67	.20	.13	.61	.22	.17	.46	.45	.46	.39	.51	.10
		(.47)	(.40)	(.34)	(.49)	(.42)	(.38)	(.50)	(.50)	(.50)	(.49)	(.50)	(.30)
Combined Total		.63	.27	.10	.56	.35	.09	.49	.47	.07	.41	.52	.06
		(.48)	(.45)	(.30)	(.50)	(.48)	(.29)	(.50)	(.50)	(.26)	(.49)	(.50)	(.24)

Note: N = 300. All= home early; Most= home at 5; SC= Social Conventional;
MR= Moral; PC= Personal Choice. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table 5: Proportion of Reasoning Responses about Arrangement for Primary Caretaker by Grade

Grade	ALL Mom				ALL Dad				MOST Mom				MOST Dad			
	SC	MR	PC	SE	SC	MR	PC	SE	SC	MR	PC	SE	SC	MR	PC	SE
5th Grade	.21	.17	.21	.45	.24	.17	.51	.09	.12	.28	.19	.44	.21	.21	.50	.09
	(.41)	(.37)	(.41)	(.61)	(.43)	(.37)	(.50)	(.29)	(.32)	(.45)	(.39)	(.61)	(.41)	(.41)	(.50)	(.29)
8th Grade	.26	.23	.21	.30	.23	.22	.52	.03	.24	.30	.11	.40	.19	.31	.47	.03
	(.44)	(.43)	(.41)	(.46)	(.43)	(.42)	(.50)	(.17)	(.56)	(.46)	(.32)	(.49)	(.40)	(.46)	(.50)	(.17)
College	.29	.25	.18	.28	.38	.19	.39	.06	.19	.46	.09	.28	.18	.46	.33	.03
	(.44)	(.44)	(.39)	(.45)	(.48)	(.39)	(.49)	(.24)	(.39)	(.50)	(.29)	(.47)	(.39)	(.50)	(.47)	(.17)
Total	.22	.22	.20	.34	.28	.19	.47	.06	.18	.35	.13	.37	.19	.32	.43	.05
	(.41)	(.41)	(.40)	(.52)	(.45)	(.39)	(.39)	(.24)	(.44)	(.48)	(.34)	(.53)	(.40)	(.47)	(.50)	(.22)

Note: *N*= 300. All= home early; Most= home at 5; SC= Social Conventional; MR= Moral; PC= Personal Choice; SE= Societal Expectations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table 6: Proportion of Reasoning Responses about Arrangement for Child with Primary Caretaker by Grade

	Arrangement Type X Gender of Primary Caretaker											
	ALL						MOST					
Grade	Mom			Dad			Mom			Dad		
	SC	MR	GS	SC	MR	GS	SC	MR	GS	SC	MR	GS
5th Grade	.02	.78	.20	.10	.75	.15	.05	.71	.25	.11	.81	.08
	(.14)	(.41)	(.40)	(.30)	(.43)	(.36)	(.22)	(.46)	(.43)	(.31)	(.39)	(.27)
8th Grade	.02	.79	.19	.06	.84	.10	.03	.67	.30	.04	.88	.09
	(.14)	(.41)	(.40)	(.24)	(.37)	(.30)	(.17)	(.47)	(.46)	(.20)	(.36)	(.29)
College	.00	.88	.12	.05	.90	.05	.01	.77	.22	.03	.95	.02
	(.00)	(.33)	(.33)	(.22)	(.30)	(.22)	(.10)	(.42)	(.42)	(.33)	(.22)	(.14)
Combined	.01	.82	.17	.07	.83	.10	.03	.72	.25	.06	.88	.06
Total	(.12)	(.39)	(.38)	(.26)	(.38)	(.30)	(.17)	(.45)	(.44)	(.24)	(.34)	(.24)

Note: *N*= 300. All= home early; Most= home at 5; SC= Social Conventional; MR= Moral; GS= Gender Stereotypes. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table 7: Proportion of Reasoning Responses about Evaluation of Primary Caretaker by Grade

	Arrangement Type X Gender of Primary Caretaker											
	ALL						MOST					
Grade	Mom			Dad			Mom			Dad		
	SC	MR	SE	SC	MR	SE	SC	MR	SE	SC	MR	SE
5th Grade	.07	.02	.91	.94	.03	.03	.14	.07	.79	.93	.05	.02
	(.25)	(.14)	(.29)	(.24)	(.17)	(.17)	(.35)	(.25)	(.25)	(.25)	(.22)	(.14)
8th Grade	.07	.01	.92	.94	.04	.00	.12	.05	.83	.93	.04	.02
	(.26)	(.10)	(.28)	(.22)	(.20)	(.00)	(.33)	(.22)	(.38)	(.30)	(.20)	(.14)
College	.08	.01	.91	.99	.01	.00	.09	.01	.90	.95	.02	.00
	(.27)	(.10)	(.29)	(.10)	(.10)	(.00)	(.29)	(.10)	(.30)	(.22)	(.14)	(.00)
Combined	.07	.01	.91	.96	.03	.01	.12	.04	.84	.94	.04	.01
Total	(.26)	(.11)	(.28)	(.20)	(.16)	(.10)	(.32)	(.20)	(.37)	(.26)	(.19)	(.12)

Note: *N*= 300. All= home early; Most= home at 5; SC= Social Conventional; MR= Moral; SE= Societal Expectations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table 8: Proportion of Reasoning Responses about Evaluation of Secondary Caretaker by Grade and Gender

Table 8 Grade X Gender		Arrangement Type X Gender of Primary Caretaker											
		ALL						MOST					
			Mom			Dad			Mom			Dad	
		SC	MR	SE	SC	MR	SE	SC	MR	SE	SC	MR	SE
5th Grade	Females	.90	.08	.02	.43	.08	.49	.86	.12	.02	.14	.16	.69
		(.31)	(.28)	(.14)	(.50)	(.28)	(.51)	(.35)	(.33)	(.14)	(.35)	(.37)	(.47)
	Males	.60	.11	.28	.36	.08	.57	.74	.15	.11	.47	.11	.42
		(.49)	(.32)	(.45)	(.48)	(.27)	(.50)	(.45)	(.36)	(.32)	(.50)	(.32)	(.50)
	Total	.74	.10	.16	.39	.08	.53	.79	.14	.07	.31	.14	.55
		(.44)	(.30)	(.37)	(.49)	(.27)	(.50)	(.41)	(.35)	(.25)	(.47)	(.35)	(.50)
8th Grade	Females	.76	.05	.19	.37	.10	.53	.75	.14	.12	.22	.10	.68
		(.43)	(.22)	(.39)	(.49)	(.30)	(.50)	(.44)	(.35)	(.33)	(.42)	(.30)	(.47)
	Males	.67	.08	.26	.36	.15	.49	.84	.03	.13	.31	.15	.54
		(.48)	(.27)	(.44)	(.49)	(.37)	(.51)	(.37)	(.16)	(.34)	(.47)	(.37)	(.51)
	Total	.72	.06	.21	.37	.12	.51	.79	.09	.12	.26	.12	.62
		(.45)	(.24)	(.41)	(.48)	(.33)	(.50)	(.41)	(.29)	(.33)	(.44)	(.33)	(.49)
College	Females	.58	.02	.40	.62	.06	.33	.73	.21	.06	.27	.21	.52
		(.50)	(.14)	(.50)	(.49)	(.24)	(.47)	(.45)	(.41)	(.24)	(.48)	(.41)	(.50)
	Males	.42	.04	.52	.63	.04	.33	.81	.08	.10	.28	.23	.49
		(.50)	(.20)	(.50)	(.49)	(.20)	(.48)	(.39)	(.28)	(.31)	(.45)	(.43)	(.51)
	Total	.50	.03	.46	.62	.05	.33	.77	.15	.08	.27	.22	.51
		(.50)	(.17)	(.50)	(.49)	(.22)	(.47)	(.42)	(.36)	(.27)	(.48)	(.42)	(.50)
Combined Total		.66	.06	.28	.46	.08	.46	.78	.13	.09	.28	.16	.56
		(.48)	(.24)	(.45)	(.50)	(.28)	(.50)	(.41)	(.33)	(.29)	(.45)	(.37)	(.50)

Note: *N*= 300. All= home early; Most= home at 5; SC= Social Conventional; MR= Moral; SE= Societal Expectations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Figures

Figure 1: Ratings for Overall Arrangement
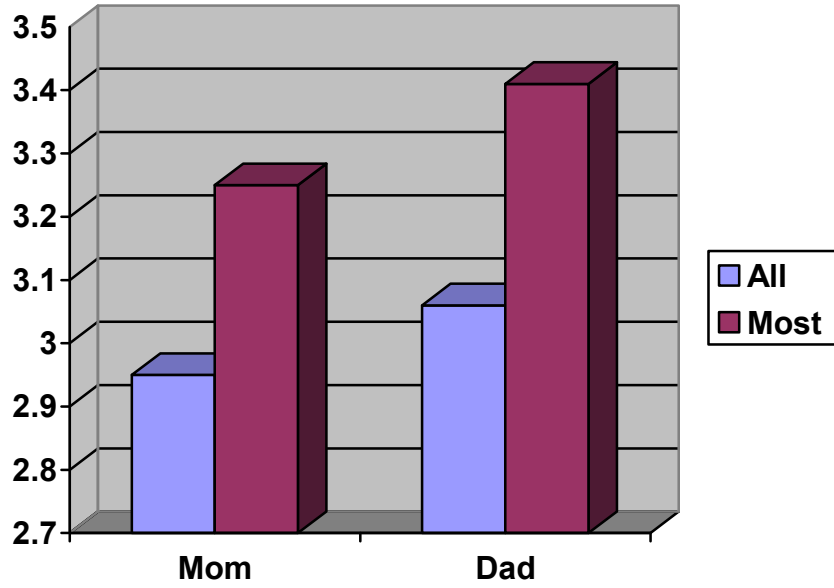
Note: *N*= 300. Range: 1= very good; 6= very bad. All= home early; Most= home at 5. Mom and Dad= primary caretaker.

Figure 2: Ratings for Arrangement for Primary Caretaker
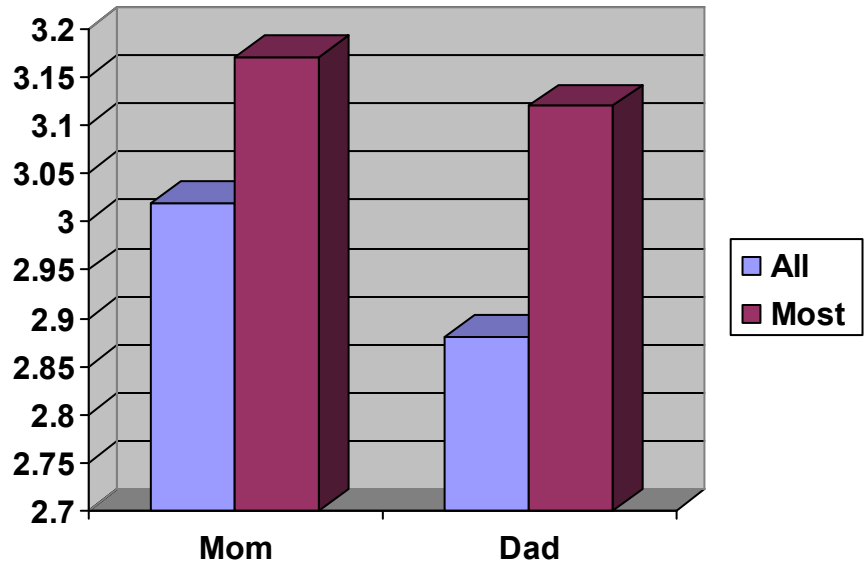
Note: *N*= 300. Range: 1= very good; 6= very bad. All= home early; Most= home at 5. Mom and Dad= primary caretaker.

Figure 3: Ratings for Evaluation of Secondary Caretaker
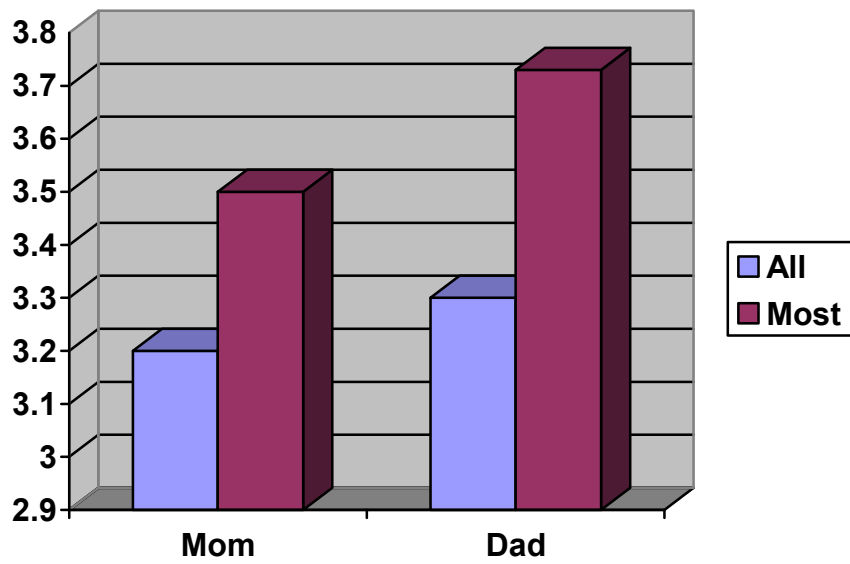
Note: *N*= 300. Range: 1= very good; 6= very bad. All= home early; Most= home at 5. Mom and Dad= primary caretaker.

Appendices

PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM FOR 5th AND 8th GRADERS

Project Title	Adolescents' Evaluations of the Parental Caretaker Role
Parental Consent	I agree to allow my child to participate in a program of research conducted by Professor Melanie Killen, Department of Human Development, University of Maryland, College Park.
Purpose	The purpose of the research is to understand how adolescents evaluate parental roles within the family context, as well as to examine children's attitudes about gender roles in society.
Procedures	The procedure involves completing a survey, lasting approximately 25 minutes for one time only. My child will take the survey in class or taken out of class per the requests of the school administrators. A trained female research assistant from the University of Maryland will be present. Short stories, developed by the researcher, about family situations will be presented to my child and simple, straightforward questions evaluating the situation will be asked. In addition, my child will be asked to complete a short questionnaire assessing his/her attitudes toward gender roles in society regarding parenting and work-related expectations. My child will also be asked questions about who does certain tasks in your child's family. Example questions include: Who should make decisions about family roles? Why?
Confidentiality	All information collected in the study is confidential. My child's name will not be identified after the survey is complete. Non-identifiable ID numbers will be assigned. All surveys will be stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office and will only be accessible to trained research assistants. At the completion of the study, approximately December, 2006, all surveys will be destroyed.
Risks	There are no known risks involved with participation in this study.
Benefits:	My child's participation in this study is completely voluntary.

Freedom to *Withdraw and* *Ask Questions*	Participation in this project or deciding not to participate will not affect my child's grade. I am free to ask any questions or withdraw my child from participation at any time without penalty. My child will be told that he/she may stop participating if he/she chooses. My child may refuse to answer any of the questions without penalty.
Contact Information *Of Institutional* *Review Board*	If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, MD, 20742 Email: irb@deans.umd.edu; Telephone: 301-405-4212
Name, Address *and Phone Number* *of Faculty Advisor*	Professor Melanie Killen Dept. of Human Development 3304 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD 20742-1131 Off. 301-405-3176

_____   _____

Name of Child   Date of Birth

_____   _____

Signature of Parent/Guardian   Date

CONSENT FORM FOR COLLEGE UNDERGRADUATES

Project Title	Adolescents' Evaluations of the Parental Caretaker Role
Consent	I agree to participate in one study conducted by Professor Melanie Killen, Department of Human Development, University of Maryland, College Park.
Purpose	The purpose of the research is to understand how adolescents evaluate parental roles within the family context, as well as to examine their attitudes about gender roles in society.
Procedures	The procedure involves completing a survey, lasting approximately 25 minutes. You will take the survey in a quiet office on the University campus. A trained female research assistant from the University of Maryland will be present. Short stories, developed by the researcher, about parents' roles in caretaking will be presented and simple, straightforward questions evaluating the situation will be asked. In addition, you will be asked to complete a short questionnaire assessing your attitudes toward gender roles in society regarding parenting and work-related expectations. You will also be asked questions about who does certain tasks in your family. Example questions include: Who should make decisions about family roles? Why?
Confidentiality	All information collected in the study is confidential. Your name will not be identified after the survey is complete. Non-identifiable ID numbers will be assigned. All surveys will be stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office and will only be accessible to trained research assistants. At the completion of the study, approximately December, 2006, all surveys will be destroyed.
Risks	There are no known risks involved with participation in this study.
Benefits: Freedom to Withdraw and Ask Questions	Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Participation in this project or deciding not to participate will not affect your grade. I am free to ask any questions or withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Contact Information If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or
Of Institutional wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:
Review Board Institutional Review Board
Office, University of Maryland, College Park, MD, 20742
Email: irb@deans.umd.edu; Telephone: 301-405-4212

Name, Address Professor Melanie Killen
and Phone Number Dept. of Human Development
of Faculty Advisor 3304 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD 20742-1131
Off. 301-405-3176

Signature _____ Date _____

University of Maryland
Evaluations of Social Roles Survey

Stefanie Sinno and Dr. Melanie Killen

Instructions:
We are interested in what students your age think about the stories described in this survey. In particular we want to know what you think about what mothers and fathers do in the family.

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions in this survey. Please respond to these questions as honestly as you can. If there is not a "perfect" answer, please choose the **best one** of the available choices. Please complete the entire form. If you have any questions, you may raise your hand and a research assistant will answer your question as best as possible.

All of your answers will be confidential. Only members of the University of Maryland research team will see the completed surveys. All answers are also anonymous because we are not recording individual names on each form.

Thank you very much for your participation.

School: _____ Class/ Teacher: _____

Grade: _____ Gender: _____

Date of birth: _____ Today's Date: _____

For more information, please contact:
Stefanie Sinno, Research Assistant
Dr. Melanie Killen, Professor of Human Development
University of Maryland
Department of Human Development
3304 Benjamin Building
College Park, MD 20742
Email: stsinno@umd.edu; mkillen@umd.edu
Phone: 301-405-8495; 301-405-3176

Section A

Please read each of the following stories carefully. For each question, circle ONE answer.

Story A:
In the Smith family, there is a mother, a father and their 7-year-old child. Both Mr. and Mrs. Smith work full-time at a computer company. In this family, Mr. Smith comes home from work early everyday to pick up their child from school. Mr. Smith takes care of making dinner for the family, and getting their child ready for bed. Mrs. Smith often works late during the week. On Saturdays, Mrs. Smith takes their child to the park.

1. What do you think about this family arrangement? How good or bad is it? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very

2. Why? (circle one)
   a. It works well for the family
   b. It is not fair for one parent to do more than the other
   c. The parents most likely chose this arrangement
   d. The child only gets to really spend time with one parent
   e. The parents should be more evenly sharing taking care of their child

3. How good or bad is this arrangement for the mom? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

4. Why? (circle one)
   a. She can focus on work
   b. She might miss being with her child
   c. She decided this with her husband
   d. She can make more money for the family
   e. She is not being fair by not helping more at home
   f. She does not have time to do what she wants

5. How good or bad is this arrangement for the dad? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

6. Why? (circle one)
   a. He can focus on his child
   b. He will miss being at work
   c. He decided this with his wife
   d. He can spend more time with the family
   e. He is unfairly doing more of the work at home
   f. He does not have time to do what he wants

7. How good or bad is it for the child that the dad is doing more caretaking at
    home? (circle one)

    1   2   3   4   5   6

    Very Good   Good   A little Good   A little Bad   Bad   Very Bad

8. Why? (circle one)
    a. The child gets to see the dad more than other kids
    b. The dad might not know as much as the mom about taking care of kids
    c. The child does not get to see the mom as much as other kids
    d. The dad might know more than the mom about taking care of kids

9. How good or bad is it for the child that the mom is not helping more with
    caretaking? (circle one)

    1   2   3   4   5   6

    Very Good   Good   A little Good   A little Bad   Bad   Very Bad

10. Why? (circle one)
    a. The child gets to see the dad more than other kids
    b. The dad might not know as much as the mom about taking care of kids
    c. The child does not get to see the mom as much as other kids
    d. The dad might know more than the mom about taking care of kids

11. How good or bad of a father is Mr. Smith? (circle one)

    1   2   3   4   5   6

    Very Good   Good   A little Good   A little Bad   Bad   Very Bad

12. Why? (circle one)
    a. He spends time with the family
    b. He does not work enough to make money for the family
    c. He is not fair to his family
    d. He works to make some money for the family

13. How good or bad of a mother is Mrs. Smith? (circle one)

    1   2   3   4   5   6

    Very Good   Good   A little Good   A little Bad   Bad   Very Bad

14. Why? (circle one)
    a. She spends some time with the family
    b. She does not spend enough time with the family
    c. She is not fair to her family
    d. She works to make money for the family

Story B:
In the Johnson family, there is a mother, a father and their 7-year-old child. Both Mr. and Mrs. Johnson work full-time at a hospital. In this family, both parents are home from work by 5:00 p.m. Mrs. Johnson picks up their child from school, takes care of cooking dinner for the family and also gets their child ready for bed by giving the child a bath and reading the child a book. Some nights, Mr. Johnson takes their child for a walk around the neighborhood.

1. How good or bad is this family arrangement? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

2. Why? (circle one)
    a. It works well for the family
    b. It is not fair for one parent to do more than the other
    c. The parents most likely chose this arrangement
    d. The child only gets to really spend time with one parent
    e. The parents should be more evenly sharing taking care of their child

3. How good or bad is this arrangement for the mom? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

4. Why? (circle one)
    a. She can focus on her child
    b. She might miss being at work
    c. She decided this with her husband
    d. She can spend more time with the family
    e. She is unfairly during more of the work at home
    f. She does not have time to do what she wants

5. How good or bad is this arrangement for the dad? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

6. Why? (circle one)
    a. He can focus on work
    b. He might miss being with his child
    c. He decided this with his wife
    d. He can make more money for the family
    e. He is not being fair by not helping more at home
    f. He has time to do what he wants

7. How good or bad is it for the child that the mom is doing more caretaking at home? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

8. Why? (circle one)
   a. The child gets to see the mom more than other kids
   b. The dad might not know as much as the mom about taking care of kids
   c. The child does not get to see the dad as much as other kids
   d. The dad might know more than the mom about taking care of kids

9. How good or bad is it for the child that the dad is not helping more with caretaking?(circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

10. Why? (circle one)
   a. The child gets to see the mom more than other kids
   b. The dad might not know as much as the mom about taking care of kids
   c. The child does not get to see the dad as much as other kids
   d. The dad might know more than the mom about taking care of kids

11. How good of a father is Mr. Johnson? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

12. Why? (circle one)
   a. He spends some time with the family
   b. He does not spend enough time with the family
   c. He is not fair to his family
   d. He works to make money for the family

13. How good of a mother is Mrs. Johnson? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

14. Why? (circle one)
   a. She spends a lot of time with the family
   b. She does not work enough to make money for the family
   c. She is not fair to her family
   d. She spends time with the family

Story C:
In the Campbell family, there is a mother, a father, and their 7-year-old child. Both Mr. and Mrs. Campbell work full-time at an electronic business. In this family, Mrs. Campbell comes home from work early everyday to pick up their child from school. Mrs. Campbell takes care of making dinner for the family and getting their child ready for bed. Mr. Campbell often works late. On Saturdays he takes their child to the park.

1. How good or bad is this family arrangement? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

2. Why? (circle one)
   a. It works well for the family
   b. It is not fair for one parent to do more than the other
   c. The parents most likely chose this arrangement
   d. The child only gets to really spend time with one parent
   e. The parents should be sharing taking care of their child

3. How good or bad is this arrangement for the mom? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

4. Why? (circle one)
   a. She can focus on her child
   b. She might miss being at work
   c. She decided this with her husband
   d. She can spend more time with the family
   e. She is unfairly doing more of the work at home
   f. She does not have time to do what she wants

5. How good or bad is this arrangement for the dad? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

6. Why? (circle one)
   a. He can focus on work
   b. He might miss being with his child
   c. He decided this with his wife
   d. He can make more money for the family
   e. He is not being fair by not helping more at home
   f. He does not have time to do what he wants

7. How good or bad is it for the kids that the mom is doing more caretaking at home? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

8. Why? (circle one)
    a. The child gets to see the mom more than other kids
    b. The dad might not know as much as the mom about taking care of kids
    c. The child does not get to see the dad as much as other kids
    d. The dad might know more than the mom about taking care of kids

9. How good or bad is it for the kids that the dad is not helping more with caretaking?(circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

10. Why? (circle one)
    a. The child gets to see the mom more than other kids
    b. The dad might not know as much as the mom about taking care of kids
    c. The child does not get to see the dad as much as other kids
    d. The dad might know more than the mom about taking care of kids

11. How good of a father is Mr. Campbell? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

12. Why? (circle one)
    a. He spends some time with the family
    b. He does not spend enough time with the family
    c. He is not fair to his family
    d. He works to make money for the family

13. How good of a mother is Mrs. Campbell? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

14. Why? (circle one)
    a. She spends time with the family
    b. She does not work enough to make money for the family
    c. She is not fair to her family
    d. She works to make some money for the family

Story D:
In the Parker family, there is a mother, a father, and their 7-year-old child. Both Mr. and Mrs. Parker work full-time jobs at an office. In this family, both parents are home from work by 5:00 pm. Mr. Parker picks up their child from school, takes care of cooking dinner for the family and also gets their child ready for bed by giving the child a bath and reading to the child. Some nights, Mrs. Parker takes their child for a walk to the park.

1. How good or bad is this family arrangement? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

2. Why? (circle one)
    a. It works well for the family
    b. It is not fair for one parent to do more than the other
    c. The parents most likely chose this arrangement
    d. The child only gets to really spend time with one parent
    e. The parents should be more evenly sharing taking care of the child

3. How good or bad is this arrangement for the mom? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

4. Why? (circle one)
    a. She can focus on work
    b. She might miss being with her child
    c. She decided this with her husband
    d. She can make more money for the family
    e. She is not being fair by not helping more at home
    f. She has time to do what she wants

5. How good or bad is this arrangement for the dad? (circle one)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good	A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

6. Why? (circle one)
    a. He can focus on his child
    b. He might miss being at work
    c. He decided this with his wife
    d. He can spend more time with the family
    e. He is unfairly doing more of the work at home
    f. He does not have time to do what he wants

7. How good or bad is it for the child that the dad is doing more caretaking at home? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

8. Why? (circle one)
   a. The child gets to see the dad more than other kids
   b. The dad might not know as much as the mom about taking care of kids
   c. The child does not get to see the mom as much as other kids
   d. The dad might know more than the mom about taking care of kids

9. How good or bad is it for the child that the mom is not helping more with caretaking?(circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

10. Why? (circle one)
   a. The child gets to see the dad more than other kids
   b. The dad might not know as much as the mom about taking care of kids
   c. The child does not get to see the mom as much as other kids
   d. The dad might know more than the mom about taking care of kids

11. How good of a father is Mr. Parker? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

12. Why? (circle one)
   a. He spends a lot of time with the family
   b. He does not work enough to make money for the family
   c. He is not fair to his family
   d. He spends time with the family

13. How good of a mother is Mrs. Parker? (circle one)

1	2	3		4	5	6
Very Good	Good	A little Good		A little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

14. Why? (circle one)
   a. She spends some time with the family
   b. She does not spend enough time with the family
   c. She is not fair to her family
   d. She works to make money for the family

Section B

Please circle the number that matches most with your opinion about each statement below, on a scale from 1= strongly agree to 6=strongly disagree. For each question, circle ONE answer.

1. In general, the mother should have greater responsibility than the father in taking care of the children.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

2. It should be acceptable for a man to stay home and care for the children while his wife works.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

3. It should be acceptable for the wife to earn more than the husband.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

4. The husband should have primary responsibility for the financial support of the family.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

5. It should be equally acceptable for a man or a woman to stay at home and care for the children while the other person works.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

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

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Section C

The questions below ask a little about your family and your own thoughts about the future. Please respond to the questions as honestly as possible.
For each question, circle ONE answer.

1. In your home, do you live with your:

Mother only   Mother and Father   Father only   Guardian

2. In your family, does your mother currently work?

Yes, Full-time   Yes, Part-time   No

4. In your family, does your father currently work?

Yes, Full-time   Yes, Part-time   No

In your family, do you notice that the following tasks are done by:
(Circle one answer after each task.)

Tasks	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
7. Getting the kids ready for day care or school	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
8. Picking up the kids from day care or school	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
9. Reading to the kids at night	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
10. Bathing the kids	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
11. Disciplining the kids	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
12. Making dinner for the kids	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
13. Taking the kids to the park	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
14. Taking the kids to practice	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
15. Comforting the kids when they are upset	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally

16. When you grow older, do you expect to have a job?   Yes   No

17. When you grow older, do you see yourself having a family?   Yes   No

18. If you have a family, do you expect to work?

Yes, Full-time   Yes, Part-time   No

20. If you have a family, do you expect your partner to work?

Yes, Full-time   Yes, Part-time   No

22. If you have a family, how much of the taking care of the kids do you expect to do?

All   Some   None

23. If you have a family, how much of the taking care of the kids do you expect your partner to do?

All   Some   None

If you expect to do all or some of the taking care of the kids, how much of the following tasks do you expect to do when you have your own family? (Circle one answer after each task.)

Tasks	All	Some	None
24. Getting the kids ready for day care or school	All	Some	None
25. Picking up the kids from day care or school	All	Some	None
26. Reading to the kids at night	All	Some	None
27. Bathing the kids	All	Some	None
28. Disciplining the kids	All	Some	None
29. Making dinner for the kids	All	Some	None
30. Taking the kids to the park	All	Some	None
31. Taking the kids to practice	All	Some	None
32. Comforting the kids when they are upset	All	Some	None

If you have a family, how much of the following tasks do you expect your future partner to do for taking care of the kids? (Circle one answer after each task.)

Tasks	All	Some	None
33. Getting the kids ready for day care or school	All	Some	None
34. Picking up the kids from day care or school	All	Some	None
35. Reading to the kids at night	All	Some	None
36. Bathing the kids	All	Some	None
37. Disciplining the kids	All	Some	None
38. Making dinner for the kids	All	Some	None
39. Taking the kids to the park	All	Some	None
40. Taking the kids to practice	All	Some	None
41. Comforting the kids when they are upset	All	Some	None

Thank you for your participation.

Section C

The questions below ask a little about your family and your own thoughts about the future. Please respond to the questions as honestly as possible.
For each question, circle ONE answer.

1. When you were younger, did you live with your:

Mother only   Mother and Father   Father only   Guardian

2. When you were younger, did your mother work?

Yes, Full-time   Yes, Part-time   No

4. When you were younger, did your father work?

Yes, Full-time   Yes, Part-time   No

When you were younger, did you notice that the following tasks were done by:
(Circle one answer after each task.)

Tasks	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
7.Getting the kids ready for day care or school	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
8. Picking up the kids from day care or school	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
9. Reading to the kids at night	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
10. Bathing the kids	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
11. Disciplining the kids	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
12. Making dinner for the kids	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
13. Taking the kids to the park	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
14. Taking the kids to practice	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally
15. Comforting the kids when they are upset	Mostly mother	Mostly father	Both equally

16. When you finish your education, do you expect to have a job?
      Yes   No

17. When you finish your education, do you see yourself having a family?
      Yes   No

18. If you have a family, do you expect to work?
Yes, Full-time   Yes, Part-time   No

20. If you have a family, do you expect your partner to work?
Yes, Full-time   Yes, Part-time   No

22. If you have a family, how much of the taking care of the kids do you expect to do?
All   Some   None

23. If you have a family, how much of the taking care of the kids do you expect your partner to do?
All   Some   None

If you expect to do all or some of the taking care of the kids, how much of the following tasks do you expect to do when you have your own family? (Circle one answer after each task.)

Tasks	All	Some	None
24. Getting the kids ready for day care or school	All	Some	None
25. Picking up the kids from day care or school	All	Some	None
26. Reading to the kids at night	All	Some	None
27. Bathing the kids	All	Some	None
28. Disciplining the kids	All	Some	None
29. Making dinner for the kids	All	Some	None
30. Taking the kids to the park	All	Some	None
31. Taking the kids to practice	All	Some	None
32. Comforting the kids when they are upset	All	Some	None

If you have a family, how much of the following tasks do you expect your future partner to do for taking care of the kids? (Circle one answer after each task.)

Tasks	All	Some	None
33. Getting the kids ready for day care or school	All	Some	None
34. Picking up the kids from day care or school	All	Some	None
35. Reading to the kids at night	All	Some	None
36. Bathing the kids	All	Some	None
37. Disciplining the kids	All	Some	None
38. Making dinner for the kids	All	Some	None
39. Taking the kids to the park	All	Some	None
40. Taking the kids to practice	All	Some	None
41. Comforting the kids when they are upset	All	Some	None

Thank you for your participation.

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