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GENDER-BASED DIVISION OF CHILD-REARING RESPONSIBILITIES:
A DEVELOPMENTAL INVESTIGATION

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State
University, San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Psychology

by
Thomas R. Klock
December, 1984

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ABSTRACT

The past several years have brought considerable flux in family relationships, especially in the area of child-rearing responsibility. While the literature has extensively examined sex-role behavior and stereotyping, the study of the division of child-rearing responsibility and its stereotypic nature has been largely ignored. This is a serious omission in light of the claims in the literature that no real changes in traditional sex-role attitudes and expectations will occur until we see significant changes toward a balance of child-rearing responsibilities between parents. Five groups of 20 males and 20 females from each of preschool, second grade, fourth grade, seventh grade, and adult age groups responded to a Parenting Questionnaire. Five categories of child-rearing responsibilities were rated (Active-Recreational, Physical Caretaking, Emotional Support, Educational Guidance, and Discipline-Administrative). Subject variables analyzed were age group and gender. The results revealed that age group was primarily predictive of how "sex-appropriately" an individual views the division of child-rearing responsibility. Preschoolers were moderately stereotypic in their responding, fourth graders the highest,

with a non-significant decline over the developmental span in this responding. While Physical Caretaking was rated as primarily a maternal responsibility, all other categories were viewed to be shared by both parents, supporting the notion that an "emergent," balanced perspective toward the division of child-rearing responsibilities is taking hold in the family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract. iii

List of Tables. vi

Acknowledgements. vii

Introductions 1

Method. 13

 Subjects 13

 Questionnaire. 14

 Procedure. 16

Results 18

 Analysis of Variance 18

 Father, Mother, and Both Responding. 22

 Categoric Responding 27

Discussion. 37

Appendices. 47

 Appendix A 47

 Appendix B 49

 Appendix C 50

 Appendix D 52

 Appendix E 54

 Appendix F 56

 Appendix G 58

 Appendix H 60

References. 61

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1 - Age Group Data	14
2 - Reliability Scales for Items and Categories.	16
3 - Summary of Sex-Appropriate Responses by Age Group and Gender	19
4 - ANOVA Table, Sex-Appropriate Responses by Sex and Age Group.	20
5 - "Father" Responses Across Age Groups	23
6 - "Mother" Responses Across Age Groups	24
7 - "Both" Responses Across Age Groups	25
8 - Summary of Responses to Cumulative Question by Age Group	27
9 - Summary of Active-Recreational Responses by Age Group.	29
10 - Summary of Physical Caretaking Responses by Age Group.	31
11 - Summary of Educational Guidance Responses by Age Group.	32
12 - Summary of Emotional Support Responses by Age Group.	34
13 - Summary of Discipline-Administrative Responses by Age Group	35

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Gender-Based Division of Child-Rearing Responsibilities:
A Developmental Investigation

The family and its fluctuating role in society has been a major focus of research and discussion for the last several years (Butler, 1979; Skolnick & Skolnick, 1977). Earlier theorization by Parsons and Bales (1955) regarded the family and the role that each member plays in it to be determined by a differential power structure. According to this paradigm, the father assumes the most powerful role of task leader while the mother assumes the less powerful role of socioemotional leader. Thus the father was traditionally associated with occupational- and provider-roles while the mother devoted herself to the home and children (Fein, 1978). As a child enters the family and internalizes this power structure, gender and sex-role identities develop, as well as stereotypes accompanying these roles (Parsons, 1964). In order to interpret the society's sex-role attitudes, expectations, and behaviors, thereby being able to differentiate between self and others, the child constructs meaningful categories or generalizations about these "proper" behaviors. Thus, stereotyping is used by the child to make sense of a complex world, where reaction to people as individuals is often generalized to a larger

group as a whole (Lewis & Weinraub, 1979; Middlebrook, 1980). This process not only applies to the way children learn the stereotypic roles that males and females are to play, which is our primary concern, but to how these stereotypes are retained in later life (Andersen & Bem, 1981; Bem, 1981; Middlebrook, 1980). Indeed, many modern theorists have pointed out that sex roles will not change until the division of parental responsibilities in the family becomes more balanced, as will be discussed shortly (cf. Baumrind, 1980; Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1977).

Until recent years, American child-rearing practices seem to have conformed to these Parsonian notions. The differential treatment children receive from their parents based solely on the child's gender may influence the child's perceptions of stereotypic child-rearing and other roles (Stuart, 1976). Brooks-Gunn and Matthews (1979) point out that this differential treatment begins early, even at birth, through sex-specific greeting cards, clothing, toys, and so forth. In the first six months of life, mothers handle boys more vigorously while verbalizing more to girls; after six months, girls receive much more physical contact than boys, which may in part be responsible for stereotypically greater male independence (Stuart, 1976). The father's role has indeed been viewed as secondary in importance in child rearing. By and large the father differentially interacts with his children dependent on the situation and the sex of

the child, and then usually as a "figure head" while the mother is primarily responsible for child-rearing (Berman, 1980; Lamb, Frodi, Hwang, Frodi, & Steinberg, 1982; Stuart, 1976). Children's books reinforce traditional stereotypic child-rearing roles, as does the mass media. Magazines, newspapers, and television reflect the traditional positions of men as domineering and women as housewives, servants, and sexual release objects, thereby reinforcing these traditional power structures (Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979; Eitzen, 1980; Stuart, 1976).

More recently, the applicability and desirability of this perspective has been brought into question. In the view of many, it is possible that, like other stereotypes our culture embraces, although retaining some kernels of truth, our traditional sex-role beliefs may be a reflection of cognitive and historical biases that have little to do with successful child rearing (cf. Feldman & Hilterman, 1975; Jones, 1979; Jones & Nisbett, 1971; Middlebrook, 1980; Weisberg, 1980). In the late 1960's and early 1970's, a more "modern" perspective on child-rearing responsibilities began to emerge. At this time, as Fein (1978) points out, a major goal of fathering was viewed to be successful child development, putting considerable emphasis on the father's role in this aspect of the family for the first time. However, much of the research conducted to support this view has come under question and attack. Indeed, relatively

few studies of actual fathering behavior were conducted by researchers embracing this perspective.

Contemporarily, a more "emergent" perspective has arisen in which men are viewed as psychologically and otherwise capable to participate in a full range of parenting behaviors (Fein, 1978). Unlike the Parsonian and "modern" perspective, this would entail a sharing of responsibility for child-rearing that is not dependent upon ascribed roles based on the gender of the parent, which Fein feels will be more beneficial for both parents and children than simply making the father's place in the family a subject of study and emphasis. Recent years have certainly brought an increase in non-traditional child-care arrangements involving working mothers, single-parent families, step parenting, and so forth (Baumrind, 1982; Butler, 1979; Fein, 1978), as well as increased research into the role fathers are to play in light of such changes (Cordes, 1983).

Today's family and the many changes it faces certainly seems to reinforce the need for it to adapt to such an emergent perspective in child rearing, as Cunningham (1983) points out. Yet her analysis of recent findings by Barnett and Baruch clearly demonstrates that, at least for middle class families featuring older parents (their mean age was 40), little change in actual male participation in child rearing has been observed. In fact, their study revealed that regardless of whether a particular task was "masculine"

or "feminine," fathers spent less than one-fourth of the total time mothers did in child rearing, even if the mother is employed. In this light, current research has made compelling the claim that no real changes in traditional sex-role attitudes and expectations will occur until a move toward more symmetrical child care with more balanced male and female involvement with and responsibility for children is made (Baumrind, 1980; Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1977; Hoffman & Teyber, 1981a, 1981b). Thus a marked change in attitudes toward child-rearing responsibilities would reflect whether or not such an emergent perspective is beginning to take hold in the family.

When one examines the research to determine the extent to which this perspective is taking hold, relatively few studies of actual child-rearing responsibilities can be found, which is a major oversight in view of the claims of the above-mentioned literature. One earlier study by Kagan and Lemkin (1960) examined specific attributes children perceive as belonging to each parent with respect to nurturance, punitiveness, source of fear, and competence. The children were questioned in three manners: (1) asking indirect questions about line drawings of a father, mother, and child; (2) asking which parent was missing from pictures of a child in a situation usually involving a parent; and (3) asking direct questions about their own relationship with their parents. All three methods found fathers to be

more fear arousing, more competent and more punitive than mothers. Both sexes viewed mothers as nicer. Thus stereotypic responses were obtained, but the study was limited to the dispositional attributions children made about their parents in artificial settings rather than the specific roles they feel the parents should play in child-rearing.

A more recent study by Kellerman & Katz (1978) examined parental child-care participation with regard to adult attitudes and expectations. A sample of parents rated several child-rearing behaviors in light of what they felt were ideal maternal and paternal responsibility components (e.g., they would rate an activity to be 70% mother's responsibility and 30% father's responsibility). Five categories of child-rearing behaviors were rated:

- (1) Educational Guidance (activities in which the primary parental activity aimed at either instructing the child in a specific skill or area of knowledge, or providing the child with the resources that would aid in this acquisition);
- (2) Physical Caretaking (items dealing with both direct and indirect attempts to maintain the physical well being of the child, remedying illness, etc.);
- (3) Emotional Support (maintenance of the child's psychological well being and amelioration of emotional upsets);
- (4) Discipline-Administrative (establishment and maintenance of rules and regulations, administration of both privileges and punishments); and

(5) Active-Recreational (items related to parental involvement with and in regard to leisure time activities). The basic physical caretaking was overwhelmingly rated to be a maternal task. Mothers were seen as responsible for cultivating the child's aesthetic sensitivities, while fathers were seen as primarily involved in the development of physical assertiveness and mechanical skills. The majority of educational guidance items were rated as parentally shared. Mothers were viewed as primarily responsible for emotional support and the assignment of household chores and other areas of administration. Overall, then, mothers were attributed primary responsibility for the majority of behaviors, fathers the smallest proportion, and a moderate amount were rated as shared responsibilities. Thus for their particular sample, a clear relationship can be seen between the participants' responses and traditionalistic views of the division of child-rearing responsibility.

Thus these studies, although examining some aspects of the gender-based division of child-rearing responsibilities, fall short of providing an answer as to whether or not changes in perspectives of these responsibilities are really occurring. Although some current literature is putting more emphasis on the emergent perspective, especially on the father's role in it (e.g., Booth & Edwards, 1980; Cordes, 1983; Hoffman & Teyber, 1981b), and while others have examined sex-role stereotyping across many age groups (see below), the sex-role

attitudes of children regarding parental child-rearing responsibility has been ignored. In light of today's great societal flux and the claims of those promoting this emergent perspective, this is a serious empirical oversight. The development of attitudes of children are effected by their changing cognitive abilities, emotional factors, and behavioral reactions to objects, groups, or activities (Middlebrook, 1980; West & Wicklund, 1980). Although developmental psychologists may disagree over the permanence of these formed attitudes, the immediate family environment is certainly the primary place in which at least initial attitudes toward child-rearing responsibilities are learned (cf. Berger, 1980; Lerner, 1976; Schell & Hall, 1983). The ignoring of these important attitudes of children across their developmental span thus is detrimental to the validity of the claims discussed above.

As was mentioned, the previous empirical research in this area has been far from complete. The Kagan and Lemkin (1960) study examined only the dispositional attributions by children of their parents, not of their roles as caretakers. The Kellerman and Katz (1978) study examined only the views of adults. Their obtained results were also possibly biased, since their entire sample was drawn from a parenting class. Also, their division of traditional child-care tasks was weighted toward the mother as primary caretaker. Finally, Barnett and Baruch's study sample, as

reported by Cunningham (1983), was primarily made up of older parents from middle class backgrounds, those most resistant to change, ignoring younger parents that would seem to embrace an emergent perspective more readily. Evaluation of an adult group, especially of these younger adults, is crucial therefore to determine whether or not today's parents (and their children) are actually embracing a more emergent perspective on child-rearing responsibilities.

In light of such oversights and poor empirical planning in existing research, it becomes obvious that we do not have any basis from which to claim whether or not traditional sex-role attitudes about child rearing are actually in transition, as Fein claims. The purpose of the present study was to evaluate these perceptions in a less biased, more thorough manner as they change across the developmental span. In order to do so, we must have a framework on which to build, and the most applicable one is the previous research in the area of sex-role stereotyping, since the development of child-rearing attitudes and sex-role attitudes are hypothesized to follow a similar developmental pattern (cf. Middlebrook, 1980, and below).

While research into the area of child-rearing responsibility has been limited, there has been extensive recent research concerning children's sex-role stereotyping. This stereotyping, as well as the ability to recognize parental roles, has been demonstrated to occur and develop throughout

the childhood years. Children as young as 2 to 2 1/2 years of age have been found to express stereotypic ideas and make limited sex-appropriate dispositional attributes (Kuhn, Nash, & Brucken, 1978). By age 3, however, children can more readily ascribe these sex-appropriate attributes to other children and adults (Gettys & Cann, 1981; Haugh, Hoffman, & Cowan, 1980). This is before the child has a fully developed sense of self or gender identity (Bergman, 1980; Haugh et al., 1980; Schell & Hall, 1983). Although this sex typing is minimal in preschoolers, it reaches a peak somewhere between kindergarten and third grade (Gettys & Cann, 1981; Tremain, Schau, & Busch, 1982; Uberg, 1982; Williams, Bennett, & Best, 1975). Indeed, this pattern of increasing levels of stereotyping after preschool is illuminated by the finding that children develop a more concrete view of parenting roles between ages 3 and 7, after which a decrease in levels of stereotypic responding should be expected (Lerner, 1976; Watson & Amgott-Kwan, 1983). By the end of elementary school, the period in which acquisition and refinement of gender differences takes place, this stereotypic responding decreases and then remains relatively stable across the junior high years and on into adulthood (Marantz & Mansfield, 1977; Payne, 1981; Rust & Lloyd, 1982; Zuckerman & Sayre, 1982).

Thus, a clear pattern can be seen in the development of children's ability to make attributions about adult sex-roles

and occupations. The age groups selected to participate in the present study were designed to be representative of key change points in levels of stereotypic responding as indicated by this literature, and were expected to parallel this same developmental pattern fairly closely if indeed the two types of sex-role attitude development are intertwined. The adult group was added to serve as a possibly less biased replication of the Kellerman and Katz (1978) and Barnett and Baruch (Cunningham, 1983) studies, since their studies were possibly erroneous in many aspects, as was discussed above. Therefore, based on this pattern of responding and the other literature mentioned above, we can hypothesize that sex-stereotypic perceptions of maternal and paternal child-care responsibilities will be found across all age groups, although this stereotypic responding will be higher in the younger children than older children and adult groups, and decrease significantly over the developmental span. If an emergent perspective is being embraced, we would then expect to see a significant proportion of the response, to be rated as shared responsibilities rather than being directed toward a specific parent, which would instead be indicative of a Parsonian, or at best "modern" perspective still being embraced by our participants. If we do not see these two aspects of the hypothesis occurring in the pattern described here, then we cannot confidently claim that this new perspective on child rearing is emerging in the family today. Also

hypothesized was that both the age group of the respondents and their gender would be significant predictors of the level of stereotypic responding observed, since this was reflected in the above literature on the development of sex-role stereotyping.

METHOD

Subjects

The participants were 160 school children drawn from feeder schools in the San Bernardino area (two preschools, three elementary school, and one junior high school) and 40 California State University, San Bernardino undergraduate students drawn from introductory psychology classes. The Riverside/San Bernardino, California area has a widely diverse population of various racial groups and socioeconomic backgrounds, and these schools chosen reflect that diversity. Each of the age groups consisted of 20 males and 20 females. As discussed above, the age groups were selected based on their representativeness of key developmental points. These were preschool, second grade, fourth grade, seventh grade, and adult. Table 1 lists the age group breakdown, age range, and mean ages. While the participants were representative of a wide variety of socioeconomic backgrounds, the majority (62.5%) were white, 18.5% were Mexican-American, 14.0% were black, and 5.0% listed their racial background as "Other."

In order to conduct the study in the various schools, the principals or administrators were contacted and their permission was granted. The children were required to return a parental permission slip which informed the parents of the

Table 1

Age Group Data

Age Group	Age Range	Mean Age
Preschool	2-5	4.025
Second Grade	7-9	7.525
Fourth Grade	8-11	9.375
Junior High	12-14	12.750
Adult	18-35	21.225
TOTAL	2-35	10.985

study and that only aggregate data would be used, not individual responses of their child, so that their child's anonymity was assured. Also, individual consent was given by the child, as discussed below. In the adult group, the permission of the instructors was obtained, and the participants individually consented to take part in the study. They were also informed that only aggregate data would be used, and that we were only interested in their perceptions of adult child-rearing responsibilities, thereby keeping deception to a minimum without biasing the responses of all participants.

Questionnaire

The Parenting Questionnaire listed 25 specific child-care activities, five from each of the five categories used by

Kellerman and Katz (1978). Appendix A is a copy of the questionnaire. The questions and their traditional classification as being characteristic of fathers, mothers, or both fathers and mothers is based upon such a delineation of these tasks by previous literature (Hoffman & Teyber, 1981b; Kagan & Lemkin, 1960; Kellerman & Katz, 1978). As the questionnaire indicates, possible responses were Father, Mother, or Both Father and Mother. The questionnaire was printed in six random orders so that each subject was equally likely to receive any one order as they were given the questionnaire. This was done to control for any ordering effects either of items (e.g., all one category of child-rearing tasks being grouped together on the questionnaire) or responses of the participants (e.g., a participant directing all responses to one parent or both parents based on the choice order). While the first 25 questions were representative of one of the five categories of child-rearing responsibilities evaluated, question 26 was designed to ascertain whom the respondent felt should be primarily responsible for the caretaking of the child.

Reliability scales (Cronbach alpha levels) were calculated for the item appropriateness for father, mother, and both, as well as for the various categories of child-rearing activities. Table 2 records the results of this analysis. All aspects were thus found to be highly reliable, and we can therefore be confident that each category measures what it claims to

measure.

Table 2

Reliability Scales for Items and Categories

Category/Item	Alpha Level
Mother-Appropriate	.848
Father-Appropriate	.646
Shared-Appropriate	.874
Active-Recreational	.586
Physical Caretaking	.742
Educational Guidance	.798
Emotional Support	.727
Discipline-Administrative	.737

Procedure

Each child from the preschool and second grade groups was taken individually by the experimenter, in some cases under observation by a staff member of the school, to a predesignated empty classroom or area to conduct the study. Efforts were taken to reduce stranger anxiety in the younger children, such as visiting classes before actually conducting the questionnaire. The experimenters told each participant that they were going to be asked several questions about the things that fathers do and mothers do, and that the child could

answer whether father, mother, or both should perform the task. The order of their response choice was varied as per the random order of the questionnaire (i.e., the choices were read in order as printed on the questionnaire). The experimenter then proceeded to ask each child-rearing question while recording each answer on a score sheet. Every few questions, or if the child perseverated in responding at any time, they were reminded of the three answer choices. Any child wishing to discontinue the questionnaire at any time was allowed to do so. One child did so and was replaced by another at a different preschool. Each child was then thanked for participating in the study and was asked not to tell the other children about the study.

The fourth grade, junior high, and adult participants were tested in groups and were administered the same questionnaire as the preschool and second grade participants. The experimenter gave an opening statement to the group of participants, introducing the experimenters and explaining the directions (see Appendix A for the exact directions given). Each participant recorded his or her own responses directly on the questionnaire in the spaces provided. The questionnaires were then gathered by the experimenters and they were thanked for their participation in the study. Gender, racial group, and age information were also gathered at this time.

RESULTS

Analysis of Variance

A 2 X 5 (gender by age group) analysis of variance was conducted on the basis of the "sex-appropriateness" of each response to the tasks listed on the Parenting Questionnaire. Based on the traditional classification found in the above mentioned literature, each task was labelled as father-appropriate, mother-appropriate, or both appropriate. Appendix B lists these tasks and their traditional classification. The summary of these "sex-appropriate" responses by age group and gender can be found in Table 3, and thus serves as the basis of the analysis.

The analysis of variance (see Table 4) revealed a main effect of age group, $F(4, 190) = 27.36, p < .001$, but no significant effects of gender in and of itself, $F(1, 190) = .023, n.s.$ However, a significant interaction of these two factors was found, $F(4, 190) = 3.93, p < .005$. Thus age group of the respondent is the primary predictor of the level of sex-appropriate, or stereotypic, responding of that particular individual, and gender in and of itself has little effect in how one would respond.

To determine the extent of the main effect and interaction as they relate to age group and sex differences, several post

Table 3

Summary of Sex-Appropriate Responses by Age Group and Gender

Age Group	Responses (%)	Mean	S.D.
Preschool			
Male	155 (30.5)	9.95	2.26
Female	176 (33.7)	8.95	2.59
Total	331 (32.1)	9.45	2.45
Second Grade			
Male	300 (58.0)	15.15	2.93
Female	346 (66.3)	17.75	2.95
Total	646 (62.2)	16.45	3.19
Fourth Grade			
Male	304 (81.5)	14.90	3.13
Female	317 (61.6)	15.95	3.46
Total	621 (69.9)	15.43	3.30
Junior High			
Male	319 (63.2)	15.75	2.94
Female	260 (51.6)	12.95	4.35
Total	579 (57.4)	14.35	3.93
Adult			
Male	263 (50.6)	14.55	4.19
Female	305 (58.7)	15.05	3.43
Total	568 (54.6)	14.80	3.78

Table 4

ANOVA Table, Sex-Appropriate Responses by Sex and Age Group

Source of Variation	<u>df</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Main Effects	5	1178.37	235.67	21.89**
Sex	1	0.25	0.25	0.023
Age Group	4	1178.12	294.53	27.36**
2-Way Interaction (Sex X Age Group)	4	169.28	42.32	3.93*
Residual	190	2045.55	10.77	
Total	199	3393.20	17.05	

*p < .005**p < .001

hoc tests were conducted. By use of a Scheffé criterion, a significant difference was found between preschool and second grade groups, with second graders being more "sex-appropriate" in their responding to the questionnaire than the preschoolers, $t(4, 195) = 9.45, p < .05$. Although on the average all groups were found to be more stereotypic in their responding than the preschool group, $t(4, 195) = 10.01, p < .05$, there were no significant differences between these groups individually in their levels of stereotypic responding using either Scheffé or Tukey criteria. No significant sex differences could be found using either criterion. Thus the main effect of age group seems to account primarily for the differences in levels of stereotypic responding that were obtained.

To further confirm these results, both correlational factors and omega squared were analyzed. The multiple correlation for the three factors (age group, gender, and sex-appropriate responding) was calculated, revealing that Multiple $R = .589$. $R^2 = .347$. This means that 34.7% of the total variance in the analysis has been accounted for and explained by the relationship between sex-appropriate responding, gender, and age group. While this is a significant proportion of the variance, $F(2, 197) = 49.47, p < .001$, it means that 65.3% of the total variance is unaccounted for, alluding to factors other than age group and gender significantly effecting how sex-appropriately an individual views the division of child rearing responsibility.

Omega squared analysis even further clarifies this. For the age group factor, $\omega^2 = .333$; for the gender factor, $\omega^2 = .003$; and for the interaction, $\omega^2 = .037$. This tells us that the age group factor account for 33.3% of this explained variance, the interaction only 3.7% of it, and the gender factor only accounts for .3% of the total variance in this relationship. Again, while the age factor does explain some of the variance, much more of it is explained by some other factor(s) not considered in this study.

Father, Mother, and Both Responding

As Tables 5 through 7 demonstrate, specific patterns of responding to all 26 questions can be noted dependent on the age group of the respondents, which is consistent with the results of the analysis of variance. Preschoolers considered the mother to be primarily responsible for child-rearing tasks (48.59%), the father as somewhat less responsible for these tasks (29.93%), and with least tasks being viewed to be a shared responsibility (21.48%). Second graders still viewed the mother as primarily responsible for child rearing (39.86%), although many tasks were now rated to be a shared responsibility (37.84%), and the father was viewed as least responsible for these tasks (22.30%). Fourth graders felt that child-rearing responsibility should be primarily shared (41.22%), although the mother was viewed to be a close second in responsibility (39.30%). The father was

Table 5
"Father" Responses Across Age Groups

Age Group	Responses (%)	Mean	S.D.
Preschool	308 (29.93)	11.85	3.37
Second Grade	232 (22.30)	8.88	9.45
Fourth Grade	173 (19.48)	6.65	8.98
Junior High	172 (17.05)	6.62	7.54
Adult	50 (4.81)	2.42	3.70

Table 6

"Mother" Responses Across Age Groups

Age Group	Responses (%)	Mean	S.D.
Preschool	500 (48.59)	19.23	4.83
Second Grade	415 (39.86)	15.88	10.76
Fourth Grade	349 (39.30)	13.42	8.46
Junior High	312 (31.22)	12.12	6.90
Adult	131 (12.60)	4.15	3.77

Table 7

"Both" Responses Across Age Groups

Age Group	Responses (%)	Mean	S.D.
Preschool	223 (21.48)	8.50	3.25
Second Grade	392 (37.84)	15.08	8.59
Fourth Grade	366 (41.22)	14.25	7.94
Junior High	522 (51.73)	20.08	7.55
Adult	859 (82.60)	33.38	5.25

again rated as least responsible for these tasks (19.48%). The junior high age respondents also felt that the responsibility for these tasks should be shared (51.73%), the mother second most responsible (31.22%), and the father least responsible (17.05%). The most dramatic differences were found in the adult group. They viewed child-rearing responsibility to be almost exclusively shared (82.60%), with the mother (12.60%) being rated only slightly more responsible for child-rearing tasks than the father (4.81%).

Thus, as age increased, the view that child-rearing responsibility should be shared significantly increased, $t(78) = 25.48$, $p < .01$. Also, as age increased, the rating of the mother's responsibility for child-rearing tasks significantly decreased, $t(78) = 15.57$, $p < .01$. The same was true for the rating of the father's responsibility, $t(78) = 11.92$, $p < .01$.

Responses to the cumulative question, "Who should take care of the child most of the time?", revealed that overall (percentagewise) the mother was viewed as primarily responsible for child rearing (49.5%). However, the view that this caretaking should be shared was rated a close second (40.0%). The father was viewed as least individually responsible for this primary care (10.5%). While there is no significant difference between the ratings of mother and shared primary responsibility, $t(18) = 1.40$, n.s., the two on the average are significantly greater than the father

attribution, $t(18) = 4.41$, $p < .01$. Table 8 summarizes the responses to this question.

Table 8

Summary of Responses to Cumulative Question by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Preschool	13 (32.5)	19 (47.5)	8 (20.0)
Second Grade	3 (7.5)	25 (62.5)	12 (30.0)
Fourth Grade	2 (5.0)	21 (52.5)	17 (42.5)
Junior High	2 (5.0)	20 (50.0)	18 (45.0)
Adult	1 (2.5)	14 (35.0)	25 (62.5)
TOTAL	21 (10.5)	99 (49.5)	80 (40.0)

Categoric Responding

As discussed above, each question was developed on the basis of the five categories used by Kellerman and Katz (1978): Active-Recreational, Physical Caretaking, Educational Guidance, Emotional Support, and Discipline-Administrative. Appendix B delineates these categories and tasks included as per that category. Only age differences were examined for each category since this was discovered to be the primary predictor of how each individual would respond. An analysis of variance was impossible for each category due to chance factors because of not enough subjects per category biasing

the obtained results. A complete breakdown of responses to each question per category can be found in Appendices C through G.

Active-Recreational. As Table 9 indicates, a summary of the Active-Recreational responses can be found delineated by age group. Although the preschool group rated the mother as primarily responsible for Active-Recreational tasks, the other children's groups rated this to be primarily the father's responsibility. However, the adult group viewed this to be a shared activity by and large, accounting for the overall rating that the responsibility for this task should be shared (43.8%). The father was viewed as second most responsible (39.6%). Although there is no significant difference between these two viewpoints, $t(48) = 0.52$, n.s., they were both significantly higher in overall responses than was the mother category (16.6%), $t(48) = 3.98$, $p < .01$.

Appendix C lists a complete breakdown of responses to each question in the Active-Recreational category by age group. Teaching a child to ride a bike was viewed to be the father's responsibility (46.7%), as was playing catch with the child (59.4%) and play-wrestling with the child (64.6%). However, taking a walk with the child (61.0%) and taking the child to the movies (69.3%) were rated as parentally shared responsibilities. An interesting response pattern by age group can also be noted here. In all five of these tasks, except for taking a walk with the child, the children's groups

Table 9

Summary of Active-Recreational Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Preschool	68 (34.5)	73 (37.1)	56 (28.4)
Second Grade	115 (58.1)	18 (9.1)	65 (37.8)
Fourth Grade	91 (46.0)	22 (11.1)	85 (42.9)
Junior High	90 (45.9)	29 (14.8)	77 (39.3)
Adult	28 (14.0)	22 (11.0)	150 (75.0)
TOTAL	392 (39.6)	164 (16.6)	433 (43.8)
Mean	15.68	6.56	17.32
S.D.	11.66	5.46	10.80

were all in agreement as to who should be primarily responsible for each task, while the adult group viewed these tasks to be parentally shared in responsibility. This can be seen to be true in most of the categories.

Physical Caretaking. Table 10 summarizes the Physical Caretaking responses by age group. Once again, the preschool through junior high age groups are in agreement as to which parent should be primarily responsible for these tasks. In this case, the mother is viewed to be primarily responsible for physical caretaking. Although the adult group felt overwhelmingly that these responsibilities should be shared (70.5%), overall the mother was rated to be primarily responsible (52.9%). This was significantly greater than the rating that these tasks should be shared, $t(48) = 2.63$, $p < .05$.

Appendix D lists a complete breakdown of responses to each Physical Caretaking task by age group. Taking the child to the doctor (47.9%), cleaning up after the child (66.7%), and giving the child his or her bath (57.8%) were all considered to be the mother's responsibility. Feeding the child was rated to be a shared responsibility (45.7%) with the mother seen just as responsible (44.7%). This similarity was due to the preschool, second grade, and junior high groups rating the mother as primarily responsible while the fourth grade and adult groups rated this to be a shared responsibility.

Table 10

Summary of Physical Caretaking Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Preschool	48 (25.0)	107 (55.7)	37 (19.3)
Second Grade	18 (9.0)	141 (70.5)	41 (20.5)
Fourth Grade	10 (5.4)	97 (52.7)	77 (41.8)
Junior High	13 (6.9)	107 (56.6)	69 (36.5)
Adult	9 (4.5)	50 (25.0)	141 (70.5)
TOTAL	98 (10.0)	518 (52.9)	363 (37.1)
Mean	3.92	20.72	14.56
S.D.	3.68	7.86	8.68

Educational Guidance. Table 11 lists a summary of Educational Guidance responses by age group. Except for the preschool group's rating these tasks to be primarily the mother's responsibility, the respondents considered this area to be a shared responsibility. As can be seen in Appendix E, the only area that this did not hold in was in reading to the child, which was rated to be shared and the mother's responsibility (44.7% for each) equally. Overall, however, these tasks are significantly considered to be shared in responsibility, $t(48) = 3.71, p < .01$.

Table 11

Summary of Educational Guidance Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Preschool	60 (30.2)	112 (56.3)	27 (13.6)
Second Grade	28 (14.0)	77 (38.5)	95 (47.5)
Fourth Grade	25 (12.5)	56 (28.0)	119 (59.5)
Junior High	16 (8.2)	52 (26.7)	127 (65.1)
Adult	3 (1.5)	9 (4.5)	187 (94.0)
TOTAL	128 (12.9)	306 (30.9)	555 (56.1)
Mean	5.28	12.24	22.60
S.D.	4.12	7.87	11.52

Emotional Support. Table 12 summarizes the Emotional Support responses by age group. While the younger children (preschool and second grade) rated these tasks to be primarily the mother's responsibility, the older children and adults rated this to be a shared responsibility. Overall, although the emotional support was viewed to be a shared responsibility (50.5%), it is not significantly greater than the view that this should be the mother's responsibility (37.9%), $t(48) = 1.77$, n.s. However, the two views on the average are significantly greater than the belief that this should be the father's responsibility (11.6%), $t(48) = 5.83$, $p < .01$. Appendix F accounts for this lack of significant difference between the shared- and mother-responsibility attribution. Getting up with the child at night (46.15%) and singing to or rocking the baby (60%) were rated to be maternal responsibilities, while the other tasks were rated to be shared in responsibility.

Discipline-Administrative. Table 13 summarizes the Discipline-Administrative responses by age group. Again, with the exception of the preschool group, these tasks were rated to be primarily shared in parental responsibility (58.3% overall). This difference is also statistically significant from the other ratings, $t(48) = 5.71$, $p < .01$. The preschool group rated these tasks to be primarily the mother's responsibility. Appendix G also confirms this and expands on these results.

Table 12

Summary of Emotional Support Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Preschool	63 (32.3)	85 (43.6)	47 (24.1)
Second Grade	17 (8.5)	104 (52.3)	78 (39.2)
Fourth Grade	16 (8.4)	83 (43.7)	91 (47.9)
Junior High	16 (8.2)	67 (34.4)	112 (57.4)
Adult	2 (1.0)	28 (14.0)	170 (85.0)
TOTAL	114 (11.6)	374 (37.9)	498 (50.5)
Mean	4.56	14.96	19.92
S.D.	507	3.56	11.06

Table 13

Summary of Discipline-Administrative Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Preschool	60 (30.5)	89 (45.2)	48 (24.4)
Second Grade	50 (25.1)	49 (24.6)	100 (50.3)
Fourth Grade	29 (14.7)	48 (24.4)	120 (60.9)
Junior High	34 (17.3)	41 (20.8)	122 (61.9)
Adult	7 (3.5)	6 (3.0)	187 (93.5)
TOTAL	180 (18.2)	233 (23.5)	577 (58.3)
Mean	7.20	9.32	23.08
S.D.	4.80	6.70	10.02

Overall Results. Overall, parental child rearing responsibility was considered to be shared by both parents (49.2%). The mother was second highest in this responsibility attribution (32.3%) and the father was third. These differences were also significant, $t(248) = 8.82, p < .01$. Age differences were also noted. Many times the second grade, fourth grade, and often junior high respondents conformed with sex-traditional notions, although adults and preschoolers varied more in this respect, as noted in Tables 9 - 13 and Appendices C - G. Thus this full examination of categorical responding helps us to understand the nature of the results obtained via the analysis of variance.

DISCUSSION

As was hypothesized above, sex-traditional responding was found across all of the groups examined. Although it didn't follow the pattern precisely that can be noted in the development of sex-role stereotyping (see above), the parallel between the two is very similar. The level of stereotyping, or "sex-appropriate" responding, was lowest in the preschool group, the period in which children begin to ascribe sex-appropriate attributes to others and are developing their sense of self and gender identity. This level of sex-traditional responding peaked in the fourth grade group, the time period in which sex-typing has peaked and begins its decline in the above mentioned literature. After this period, the fourth grade, junior high, and adult groups declined slightly (though not significantly) in their levels of this responding. A larger decrease, then stabilization, was noted in the sex-role stereotyping literature after elementary school than was noted in the present study, as well as expected higher levels of stereotyping by preschoolers (see above). Despite these differences, by and large we can conclude that this part of the hypothesis was supported.

Also hypothesized was that both the age group and gender of the participants would significantly influence the way that

they responded to the Parenting Questionnaire (i.e., influence their views of the division of child-rearing responsibility). The age group an individual belongs to was actually discovered to be the primary factor determining how one would respond. Gender in and of itself had no impact on the way one responded to the questionnaire, although it did interact to a very slight extent with the age group of the respondent to determine how they would view child-rearing responsibilities. Future ramifications of this will be discussed shortly.

The age differences in responding call for further elaboration. Preschool-aged children rated the mother to be primarily responsible for all child-rearing tasks. The father was rated to be second in this responsibility, with very few tasks rated to be parentally shared responsibilities. Thus they saw a more strict division of child-rearing responsibilities between the two parents, which is much in keeping with traditionalistic, Parsonian notions of child-rearing roles. This type of responding is also found in the second grade group, whose responding was even more sex-traditional than the preschool groups. However, the fourth grade, junior high and adult groups felt that these responsibilities should be primarily shared by both parents. Indeed, this view is held almost exclusively by the adult group. It would seem to indicate that, while younger children are sex-traditional in their views of the division

of child-rearing responsibility, older children and adults appear to be embracing the "emergent" perspective in child-rearing that Fein (1978) claims. However, this also may be reflective of the fact that fathers are less involved in the lives of their children in early childhood, and increase after the so-called "resolution of the Oedipal complex," ages 6-7 (Berger, 1980; Berman, 1980; Booth & Edwards, 1978; Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979; Clarke-Stewart, 1978; Stuart, 1976). If this is the case, preschoolers, and to some extent second graders, would be less likely to respond in a way that recognizes paternal involvement with child-rearing.

The lack of significant effect of gender on the respondents' division of child-rearing responsibilities is important, especially in light of the importance of gender in many studies of sex-role attitude formation (e.g., Andersen & Bem, 1981; Berman, 1980; Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979; Gold & Andres, 1978; Lamb et al., 1982; Stuart, 1976). It means that the age group of the respondent primarily accounts for the differences we see in these attitudes, and that gender has almost no impact. Perhaps it does interact with other factors not accounted for in the present study, as will be discussed shortly, but for our purposes, the gender of the respondent is not a crucial factor accounting for the division of child-rearing responsibility as was reported. Perhaps it too is reflective of a change toward

a more androgynous, "emergent" viewpoint in sex roles in general (cf. Andersen & Bem, 1981; Bem, 1981; Fein, 1978).

This possible change in perspective is also reflected in the categoric responding by the different age groups. The Emotional Support, Educational Guidance, Active-Recreational, and Discipline-Administrative categories were, overall, considered to be areas that should be shared in responsibility by both parents. The Physical Caretaking of the child was still rated to be the responsibility of the mother, however. The Active-Recreational category, although primarily rated as a shared responsibility, did have a considerable weight of "father" responses. The ratings of these two categories, as well as Educational Guidance, fit closely with the sex-traditional classification delineated by the previous literature (i.e., Cunningham, 1983; Hoffman & Teyber, 1981b; Kagan & Lemkin, 1960; Kellerman & Katz, 1978). In other words, the mother is still viewed as primarily responsible for maintaining the physical well being of the child, the father's primary responsibility is providing supervision for leisuretime activities, and responsibility for the educational guidance of the child should be shared by both parents, all of which are in line with sex-traditional, Parsonian notions.

Although some of the Emotional support tasks were rated to be the mother's responsibility which would be in line with sex-traditional notions, overall this responsibility

was rated to be shared. This is noteworthy in that the emotional support of children has been previously thought of as a maternal activity. The same attribution is made for the Discipline-Administrative ascribed to these two categories may reflect a change in perspective toward the one discussed by Fein, unseen in research to this point.

On the one hand, based on these findings, the emergent perspective does appear to have some support, which may indicate that an actual shift in perspectives and child-rearing attitudes is beginning to take place. Yet on the other hand, younger children's responses seemed to indicate a more Parsonian, sex-traditional view of child-rearing. What is the source of this polarity in responding? Three possible explanations are offered here. One is that perhaps, since the literature points out these younger children are still developing their self- and gender-identities, and that they do have limited cognitive and stereotyping abilities (berger, 1980; Haugh et al., 1980; Kuhn et al., 1978; Schell & Hall, 1983; Tomlinson-Keasey, 1980). They are not as capable as older children and adults in responding to such a task, and would possibly account for the differences we see in responding by the children and adults, as was reflected in the hypothesis.

A second possibility leading to this response, alluded to earlier, is that parenting has been traditionally the job of the mother for the early years of the child's life,

while the father's involvement doesn't really increase until school age is reached. Indeed, as was noted, infants and young children receive much more attention from the mother until that point, although these activities have been demonstrated to be significantly triadically related, and that over time the direction of influence shifts from mother-child to father-child (Baumrind, 1982; Berman, 1980; Booth & Edwards, 1978; Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979; Clarke-Stewart, 1978; Stuart, 1976). Although male involvement with infants and young children is indeed limited, it is not completely absent and may increase in the future (Berger, 1980; Booth & Edwards, 1978; Hoffman & Teyber, 1981b). If the lack of father involvement in child rearing is indeed at play here, these younger children may not have the realization that activities can be shared with the mother, and thereby producing the strict division of tasks that were observed.

This ties in with the third possible explanation. Perhaps this difference is the result of the seeming "double standard" of changing attitudes but not actions Cunningham (1983) discussed. As Tomlinson-Keasey (1980) points out, although the child's ability to classify and adopt gender-specific roles is limited, the process through which children of this age level learn these attitudes is through identification with and imitation of the parents. If this can also be transferred to child-rearing attitudes, as we have seen other

areas of parallelism between the two types of attitude development, then perhaps the adults' expressed attitudes and parental actions are in opposition to each other. Indeed, many of the preschoolers responded to some of the questions, "My mommy puts me to bed," or "My daddy plays catch with me," or some similar pattern. If they are responding based on their own experiences with their parents, then evidently alleged attitude changes have not been reflected in the actual division of child-rearing responsibilities.

These results also confirm previous research in the area of attitude formation, as was discussed above (i.e., Bem, 1981; Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979; Feldman & Hilterman, 1975; Jones, 1979; Jones & Nisbett, 1971; Middlebrook, 1980; Weisberg, 1980; West & Wicklund, 1980). Not only are sex-role and prejudicial attitudes learned and differ across the developmental span, but so do the attitudes a child forms, learns, and attributes to his or her parents as to child-rearing responsibility, and in turn pass these attitudes to their children. This reflects a common developmental trend in attitude formation, and would tend to lend further credence to the theoretical positions of the above mentioned studies.

The present study also raises some interesting questions for the consideration of future research in the area. As was pointed out, the age group of the respondent was the main factor accounting for the obtained results, with gender

factors having almost no effect in this responding. This left 60% or more of the total variance unaccounted for by other factors. One of these may well have been lack of control over SES factors, a limitation for this study. Although there were a wide variety of groups undoubtedly represented, there was no definite control for this, and would most likely effect how a participant would rate the division of child-rearing responsibilities. SES was found to be a factor in other sex-role stereotyping research, demonstrating that cultural and SES differences influence how sex-traditionally a person would respond (Berman, 1980; Schell & Hall, 1983; Stuart, 1976; Zuckerman & Sayre, 1982).

Racial group factors were not suitable for analysis due to a lack of equivalency between groups, yet is undoubtedly an important factor in the way participants responded. Also important but not included because of the ethical difficulty of keeping individuals anonymous is the employment of the mother, an important variable in sex-stereotyping (DeFonzo & Boudreau, 1979; Gold & Andres, 1978; Jones & McBride, 1980). This undoubtedly is of consequence in the way participants responded, despite the facts that Cunningham (1983) brought to light about mothers still doing the majority of housework whether employed or not. The status of the parental relationship (e.g., married, divorced, single-parent family, etc.) is bound to have a major impact in the way an individual responds. These were all ethical

roadblocks for the present study that creative future research must somehow bypass so that a better understanding of child-rearing responsibilities can be brought to light. Also, it would be ideal for future research to expand the age groups considered for a more thorough analysis of developmental changes. Perhaps adding a 10th grade group, middle-adult, and later-adult group would allow for this, especially in analyzing the cohort variables the older adults would represent. Finally, the level of father involvement with children would serve as a possible predictor of level of sex-appropriate responding, as noted extensively above. An ideal prediction equation including these new variables can be found in Appendix H, and will be useful for those considering such future research (cf. Hinkle, Wiersma, & Jurs, 1979; Loftus & Loftus, 1982). Multiple regression analysis is the best format to incorporate these variables, plus individual analyses of sex-appropriate and categoric responses.

In sum, the present study was intended to serve as a "missing link" between the sex-role stereotyping literature and the extremely limited literature in the area of child-rearing responsibilities. This is only a stepping stone toward future research into this key area of the family as it faces social pressure and flux. One child summed up this changing aspect all too well in response to the question of who should take care of the child most of the time: "The

babysitter." As this flux continues, updated examinations of theory versus actual attitude change are going to be crucial in determining which are actually in transition and which are purely in the mind of the psychologist.

APPENDIX A

PARENTING QUESTIONNAIRE

Directions: Listed below are several parental child care activities. Please read each statement carefully and decide whom you feel should do the task--Mother, Father, or Both (Mother & Father). Indicate your choice by putting a checkmark in one of the three boxes provided beside each item. There are no right or wrong answers.

Your Age: _____ Your Sex: Male _____ Female: _____

Your Racial Background: Black _____ Mexican-American _____
 White _____ Other _____

<u>Which Parent(s) Should:</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Both</u>
1. Teach their child to ride a bike			
2. Tell their child when he/she is being good			
3. Put their child to bed at night			
4. Get up with the child at night if he/she cries			
5. Play catch with their child			
6. Teach their child to count			
7. Give the child his/her bath			
8. Help the child with his/her schoolwork			
9. Tell their child when to go to bed			
10. Teach their child the alphabet			
11. Play-wrestle with their child			
12. Punish their child			
13. Tell their child what his/her chores are			
14. Take their child to the doctor			
15. Read to their child			

Which Parent(s) Should:	Father	Mother	Both
16. Make their child feel better when he/she gets hurt			
17. Take their child to the movies			
18. Dress their child			
19. Feed their child			
20. Tell the child what to do			
21. Take a walk with their child			
22. Clean up after their child			
23. Teach their child to say please & thank you			
24. Hold and hug their child			
25. Sing to and rock the baby			
26. Who should take care of the child most of the time			

APPENDIX B

Parental Child Care Responsibilities

Category/Task	Traditional Classification
ACTIVE-RECREATIONAL	
Teach their child to ride a bike	Father
Play catch with their child	Father
Take a walk with their child	Both
Play-wrestle with their child	Father
Take their child to the movies	Both
PHYSICAL CARETAKING	
Take their child to the doctor	Mother
Feed their child	Mother
Clean up after their child	Mother
Dress their child	Mother
Give the child his/her bath	Mother
EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE	
Teach their child to say please & thank you	Both
Teach their child to count	Both
Help their child with his/her schoolwork	Both
Read to the child	Both
Teach their child the alphabet	Both
EMOTIONAL SUPPORT	
Get up with the child at night if he/she cries	Mother
Sing to and rock the baby	Mother
Hold and hug their child	Both
Make the child feel better when hurt	Mother
Put their child to bed at night	Both
DISCIPLINE-ADMINISTRATIVE	
Punish their child	Both
Tell their child what to do	Both
Tell their child when he/she is being good	Both
Tell their child what his/her chores are	Mother
Tell their child when to go to bed	Mother

APPENDIX C

Breakdown of Active-Recreational Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Teach their child how to ride a bike			
Preschool	15 (37.5)	15 (37.5)	10 (25.0)
Second Grade	23 (59.0)	0 (0.0)	16 (41.0)
Fourth Grade	24 (63.2)	1 (2.6)	13 (34.2)
Junior High	20 (52.6)	5 (13.2)	13 (34.2)
Adult	9 (22.5)	7 (17.5)	24 (60.0)
TOTAL	91 (46.7)	28 (14.4)	76 (39.0)
Mean	18.2	5.6	15.2
S.D.	6.23	5.98	5.36
Play catch with their child			
Preschool	14 (36.8)	12 (31.6)	12 (31.6)
Second Grade	35 (87.5)	1 (2.5)	4 (10.0)
Fourth Grade	32 (80.0)	1 (2.5)	7 (17.5)
Junior High	29 (74.4)	4 (10.3)	6 (15.4)
Adult	9 (22.5)	7 (17.5)	24 (60.0)
TOTAL	117 (59.4)	24 (12.2)	56 (28.4)
Mean	23.40	4.80	11.20
S.D.	12.22	4.55	9.31

Take a walk with their child

Preschool	9 (22.5)	20 (50.0)	11 (27.5)
Second Grade	7 (17.5)	11 (27.5)	22 (55.0)
Fourth Grade	0 (0.0)	13 (32.5)	27 (67.5)
Junior High	6 (15.0)	10 (25.0)	24 (60.0)
Adult	1 (2.5)	1 (2.5)	38 (95.0)
TOTAL	23 (11.5)	55 (27.5)	122 (61.0)
Mean	4.60	11.00	24.40
S.D.	3.91	6.82	9.71

Play-wrestle with their child

Preschool	18 (46.2)	16 (41.0)	5 (12.8)
Second Grade	37 (92.5)	1 (2.5)	2 (5.0)
Fourth Grade	33 (82.5)	2 (5.0)	5 (12.5)
Junior High	29 (74.4)	4 (10.3)	6 (15.0)
Adult	11 (27.5)	6 (15.0)	23 (57.5)
TOTAL	128 (64.6)	29 (14.6)	41 (20.7)
Mean	25.60	5.80	8.20
S.D.	10.81	6.02	8.41

Take their child to the movie

Preschool	12 (30.0)	10 (25.0)	18 (45.0)
Second Grade	13 (33.3)	5 (12.8)	21 (53.8)
Fourth Grade	2 (5.0)	5 (12.5)	33 (82.5)
Junior High	6 (15.0)	6 (15.0)	28 (70.0)
Adult	0 (0.0)	2 (5.0)	38 (95.0)
Total	33 (16.6)	28 (14.1)	138 (69.3)
Mean	6.60	5.60	27.60
S.D.	5.81	2.88	8.26

APPENDIX D

Breakdown of Physical Caretaking Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Take their child to the doctor			
Preschool	8 (21.1)	25 (65.8)	5 (13.2)
Second Grade	7 (17.5)	19 (47.5)	14 (35.0)
Fourth Grade	2 (5.0)	15 (37.5)	23 (57.5)
Junior High	4 (10.0)	14 (35.0)	22 (55.0)
Adult	5 (12.5)	12 (30.0)	23 (57.5)
TOTAL	26 (13.1)	85 (43.8)	87 (44.8)
Mean	3.80	17.00	17.40
S.D.	2.39	5.15	7.89
Feed their child			
Preschool	12 (30.0)	18 (45.0)	10 (25.0)
Second Grade	3 (7.5)	27 (67.5)	10 (25.0)
Fourth Grade	1 (2.6)	16 (41.0)	22 (56.4)
Junior High	2 (5.3)	21 (52.5)	15 (39.5)
Adult	1 (2.5)	6 (15.0)	33 (82.5)
TOTAL	19 (9.6)	88 (44.7)	90 (45.7)
Mean	3.80	17.60	18.00
S.D.	4.66	7.70	9.72

Clean up after their child

Preschool	15 (44.1)	11 (32.4)	8 (20.0)
Second Grade	1 (2.5)	33 (82.5)	6 (15.0)
Fourth Grade	3 (7.5)	24 (60.0)	13 (32.5)
Junior High	3 (8.1)	25 (67.6)	9 (24.3)
Adult	1 (2.5)	6 (15.0)	33 (82.5)
TOTAL	23 (12.0)	100 (52.4)	68 (35.6)
Mean	4.60	20.00	13.60
S.D.	5.90	10.72	10.60

Dress their child

Preschool	5 (12.5)	28 (70.0)	7 (17.5)
Second Grade	1 (2.5)	33 (82.5)	6 (15.0)
Fourth Grade	1 (2.5)	30 (75.0)	9 (22.5)
Junior High	2 (5.7)	24 (68.6)	9 (25.7)
Adult	0 (0.0)	15 (37.5)	25 (62.5)
TOTAL	9 (4.6)	130 (66.7)	56 (28.7)
Mean	1.80	36.00	11.20
S.D.	1.92	6.96	7.82

Give the child his/her bath

Preschool	8 (20.0)	25 (62.5)	7 (17.5)
Second Grade	6 (15.0)	29 (72.5)	5 (12.5)
Fourth Grade	3 (7.5)	27 (67.5)	10 (25.0)
Junior High	2 (5.1)	23 (59.0)	14 (35.9)
Adult	2 (5.0)	11 (27.5)	27 (67.5)
TOTAL	21 (10.6)	115 (57.8)	63 (31.7)
Mean	4.20	23.00	12.60
S.D.	2.68	7.07	8.73

APPENDIX E

Breakdown of Educational Guidance Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Teach their child to say please and thank you			
Preschool	10 (25.0)	22 (55.0)	8 (20.0)
Second Grade	6 (15.0)	18 (45.0)	16 (40.0)
Fourth Grade	8 (20.0)	9 (22.5)	23 (57.5)
Junior High	3 (7.5)	13 (32.5)	24 (60.0)
Adult	0 (0.0)	1 (2.5)	39 (97.5)
TOTAL	27 (13.5)	63 (31.5)	110 (55.0)
Mean	5.40	12.60	22.00
S.D.	3.97	8.14	11.47
Teach their child to count			
Preschool	14 (35.9)	16 (41.0)	9 (23.1)
Second Grade	4 (10.0)	14 (35.0)	22 (55.0)
Fourth Grade	5 (12.5)	9 (22.5)	26 (65.0)
Junior High	4 (10.3)	10 (25.6)	25 (64.1)
Adult	1 (2.6)	2 (5.1)	36 (92.3)
TOTAL	24 (12.4)	51 (26.4)	118 (61.1)
Mean	4.80	10.20	23.60
S.D.	5.36	5.40	9.71

Help their child with their homework

Preschool	11 (27.5)	25 (62.5)	4 (10.0)
Second Grade	5 (17.5)	14 (35.0)	21 (52.5)
Fourth Grade	3 (7.5)	8 (20.0)	29 (72.5)
Junior High	3 (7.5)	3 (7.5)	34 (85.0)
Adult	1 (2.5)	2 (5.0)	37 (92.5)
TOTAL	23 (11.5)	52 (26.0)	125 (62.5)
Mean	4.60	10.40	25.00
S.D.	3.85	9.45	13.21

Read to their child

Preschool	11 (27.5)	27 (67.5)	2 (5.0)
Second Grade	6 (15.0)	19 (47.5)	15 (37.5)
Fourth Grade	2 (5.0)	21 (52.5)	17 (42.5)
Junior High	2 (5.4)	18 (48.6)	17 (45.9)
Adult	0 (0.0)	3 (7.5)	37 (92.5)
TOTAL	21 (10.7)	88 (44.7)	88 (44.7)
Mean	4.20	17.60	17.60
S.D.	4.38	8.88	12.52

Teach their child the alphabet

Preschool	14 (35.0)	22 (55.0)	4 (10.0)
Second Grade	7 (17.5)	12 (30.0)	21 (52.5)
Fourth Grade	7 (17.5)	9 (22.5)	24 (60.0)
Junior High	4 (10.3)	8 (20.5)	27 (67.5)
Adult	1 (2.5)	1 (2.5)	38 (95.0)
TOTAL	33 (16.6)	52 (26.1)	114 (57.3)
Mean	6.60	10.40	22.80
S.D.	4.83	7.64	12.32

APPENDIX F

Breakdown of Emotional Support Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Get up with their child at night if he/she cries			
Preschool	16 (42.1)	16 (42.1)	6 (15.8)
Second Grade	6 (15.4)	27 (69.2)	6 (15.4)
Fourth Grade	6 (15.0)	21 (52.5)	13 (32.5)
Junior High	2 (5.3)	19 (50.0)	17 (44.7)
Adult	0 (0.0)	7 (17.5)	33 (82.5)
TOTAL	30 (15.4)	90 (46.15)	75 (38.5)
Mean	6.00	18.00	15.00
S.D.	6.16	7.35	11.11
Sing to and rock their baby			
Preschool	3 (7.7)	24 (61.5)	12 (30.8)
Second Grade	4 (10.0)	35 (87.5)	1 (2.5)
Fourth Grade	1 (2.6)	26 (68.4)	11 (28.9)
Junior High	4 (10.5)	19 (50.0)	15 (39.5)
Adult	1 (2.5)	13 (32.5)	26 (62.5)
TOTAL	13 (6.7)	117 (60.0)	65 (33.3)
Mean	2.60	23.40	13.00
S.D.	1.52	8.20	8.97

Hold and hug their child

Preschool	11 (27.5)	20 (50.0)	9 (22.5)
Second Grade	2 (5.0)	4 (10.0)	34 (85.0)
Fourth Grade	1 (2.5)	7 (17.5)	32 (80.0)
Junior High	2 (5.0)	7 (17.5)	31 (77.5)
Adult	0 (0.0)	1 (2.5)	39 (97.5)
TOTAL	16 (8.0)	39 (19.5)	145 (72.5)
Mean	3.20	7.80	29.00
S.D.	4.44	7.26	11.60

Make their child feel better when he/she gets hurt

Preschool	17 (43.6)	11 (28.2)	11 (28.2)
Second Grade	3 (7.5)	22 (50.0)	17 (42.5)
Fourth Grade	6 (15.0)	15 (37.5)	19 (47.5)
Junior High	4 (10.0)	8 (20.0)	28 (70.0)
Adult	1 (2.5)	2 (5.0)	37 (92.5)
TOTAL	31 (15.6)	56 (28.1)	112 (56.3)
Mean	6.20	11.20	22.40
S.D.	6.30	6.83	10.19

Put their child to bed at night

Preschool	16 (41.0)	14 (35.9)	9 (23.1)
Second Grade	2 (5.0)	18 (45.0)	20 (50.0)
Fourth Grade	2 (5.1)	21 (53.8)	16 (41.0)
Junior High	4 (10.3)	14 (35.9)	21 (53.8)
Adult	0 (0.0)	5 (12.5)	35 (87.5)
TOTAL	24 (12.2)	72 (36.5)	101 (51.3)
Mean	4.80	14.40	20.02
S.D.	6.42	6.02	9.52

APPENDIX G

Breakdown of Discipline-Administrative Responses by Age Group

Age Group	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Both (%)
Punish their child			
Preschool	16 (41.0)	14 (35.9)	9 (23.1)
Second Grade	17 (42.5)	1 (2.5)	22 (55.0)
Fourth Grade	8 (20.5)	6 (15.4)	25 (64.1)
Junior High	8 (20.0)	6 (15.0)	26 (65.0)
Adult	0 (0.0)	1 (2.5)	39 (97.5)
TOTAL	49 (24.7)	28 (14.1)	121 (61.1)
Mean	9.80	5.60	24.20
S.D.	6.94	5.32	10.71
Tell their child what to do			
Preschool	8 (20.5)	19 (48.7)	12 (30.8)
Second Grade	6 (15.4)	5 (17.8)	28 (71.8)
Fourth Grade	8 (20.0)	5 (12.5)	27 (67.5)
Junior High	9 (22.5)	4 (10.0)	27 (67.5)
Adult	2 (5.0)	1 (2.5)	37 (92.5)
TOTAL	33 (16.7)	34 (17.2)	131 (66.2)
Mean	6.60	6.80	26.20
S.D.	2.79	7.01	8.98

Tell their child when he/she is being good

Preschool	10 (25.0)	18 (45.0)	12 (30.0)
Second Grade	4 (10.0)	9 (22.5)	27 (67.5)
Fourth Grade	1 (2.5)	9 (22.5)	30 (75.0)
Junior High	5 (12.8)	10 (25.6)	24 (61.5)
Adult	1 (2.5)	1 (2.5)	38 (95.0)
TOTAL	21 (10.6)	47 (23.6)	131 (65.8)
Mean	4.20	9.40	26.20
S.D.	3.70	6.02	9.50

Tell their child what his/her chores are

Preschool	13 (33.3)	18 (46.2)	8 (20.5)
Second Grade	11 (27.5)	19 (47.5)	10 (25.0)
Fourth Grade	3 (2.6)	18 (47.4)	17 (44.7)
Junior High	8 (20.0)	9 (22.5)	23 (57.5)
Adult	3 (7.5)	2 (5.0)	35 (87.5)
TOTAL	38 (19.3)	66 (33.5)	93 (47.2)
Mean	7.60	13.20	18.60
S.D.	4.56	7.46	10.92

Tell their child when to go to bed

Preschool	13 (32.5)	20 (50.0)	7 (17.5)
Second Grade	12 (30.0)	15 (37.5)	13 (32.5)
Fourth Grade	9 (22.5)	10 (25.0)	21 (52.5)
Junior High	4 (10.0)	12 (30.0)	22 (55.0)
Adult	1 (2.5)	1 (2.5)	38 (95.0)
TOTAL	39 (19.7)	58 (29.3)	101 (51.0)
Mean	7.80	11.60	20.20
S.D.	5.17	7.02	11.69

APPENDIX H

Prediction Equation for Future Research

- I. Formula for predicting a plane of best fit for one dependent variable by seven independent variables:

$$y' = x_1b_1 + x_2b_2 + x_3b_3 + x_4b_4 + x_5b_5 + x_6b_6 + x_7b_7 + a$$

where y' = dependent variable

x = independent variables 1 - 7

b = weighted slope associated with the I.V.

a = error

- II. Applied to the variables as discussed:

y' = Level of Sex-Appropriate Responding

x_1 = Age Group

x_2 = Gender

x_3 = Racial Background

x_4 = Maternal Employment

x_5 = Status of Parent's Relationship

x_6 = Father's Involvement

x_7 = SES

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