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**THE INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF GENDER
ROLE ATTITUDES: DO FATHERS MATTER?**

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A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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Prior research on the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes has focused on the effect mothers' attitudes and employment have on offspring's attitudes, neglecting the role fathers may play. Using a sample of 414 young adults from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), this research examines the effects of fathers' gender role attitudes and non-traditional gender-related behaviors (i.e., housework participation) on young adult offspring's gender role attitudes, both independently and jointly with mothers' influence. In addition, the effects of time fathers spend with children and the closeness of the father-child relationship on the intergenerational transmission of attitudes are considered. Finally, gender differences in the transmission of gender role attitudes between fathers and offspring are examined.

Results show that fathers' gender role attitudes have an effect on the gender role attitudes of their young adult offspring, even after controlling for the effects of mothers' attitudes. Fathers with more traditional attitudes tend to have offspring with more traditional attitudes. However, fathers' performance of housework does not affect offspring's attitudes. This suggests that fathers' attitudes are more important in the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes than are fathers' behaviors. Findings also show that the effect of fathers' attitudes on offspring's attitudes is not conditioned on amount of time fathers spend with offspring or the closeness of the father-child relationship. There is also some evidence that fathers' attitudes affect adult female offspring's attitudes more so than adult male offspring's attitudes.

These findings suggest that fathers' attitudes should no longer be neglected when examining children's gender role attitudes, and mothers may not be as instrumental to offspring's gender role attitudes as has been previously assumed. Future research should examine the role of family structure in the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes between fathers and children.

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INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of this research project is to identify the effects fathers have on their offspring's gender role socialization. Mothers have a significant influence on their children's family-related gender roles, with traditional mothers producing children with traditional values and non-traditional mothers producing non-traditional children. However, research to date is only beginning to consider the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes between fathers and children. It is important to examine the mechanisms through which gender role attitudes are formed as these attitudes influence behavioral expectations. For instance, if gender equality is a desired goal, it is necessary to understand how attitudes about appropriate roles for men and women are learned. I examine whether and how fathers influence their offspring's gender role attitudes, net of mothers' influence.

To explain the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes between fathers and children, it is necessary to better understand the relationship between fathers' and offspring's gender role attitudes. This research incorporates the influence of both fathers' attitudes *and* behaviors to clarify the mechanisms through which fathers affect their offspring's gender role attitudes. Although research on the intergenerational transmission of attitudes between mothers and children shows that mothers' attitudes may be better predictors of children's attitudes than mothers' behaviors (Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain 1997; Starrels 1992; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983), the comparison between fathers' attitudes and behaviors in predicting offspring's gender role attitudes has not been examined.

Using both waves of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), I address whether fathers' attitudes or fathers' behaviors influence their young adult (i.e., 18-24 years old) offspring's gender role attitudes, and examine the relative influence of fathers and mothers on offspring's attitudes. I consider whether the amount of paternal participation in children's lives influences the intergenerational transmission of gender roles from fathers to children, and whether father-child time spent together is associated with traditional or egalitarian gender role attitudes in children. In addition, I examine whether the closeness of the father-child relationship affects fathers' influence on their offspring's gender role attitudes. Finally, I address whether fathers have a similar influence on both sons and daughters.

BACKGROUND

Intergenerational transmission of attitudes and values is strongest in substantive areas that are highly controlled by the family. In attitudinal domains where a wider variety of socializing agents may influence children's beliefs, parent-child similarity may be weaker (Acock 1984). For example, religious beliefs are relatively concrete, and parents have a great amount of control over their children's religious training. Therefore, intergenerational transmission of religious beliefs is fairly strong. In contrast, gender role attitudes are more abstract, and there are several influences outside of the family that will affect a child's gender role socialization (e.g., peers, media, school), so parent-child agreement may be weaker. Parent-child attitude similarity, however, is still relatively high on most issues, including gender role attitudes and behaviors (Acock 1984; Glass, Bengtson, and Chorn Dunham 1986; Miller and Glass 1989).

The level of attitudinal similarity between parents and children depends on a variety of factors, including the gender of the parent and the gender of the child (Acock 1984; Acock and Yang 1984; Blair 1992; Haigler, Day, and Marshall 1995; Kagel and Maitland Schilling 1985; Nelson and Keith 1990; Starrels 1992; Steele and Barling 1996). Some researchers argue that same-sex identification results in relatively strong intergenerational transmission of attitudes and beliefs due to a higher degree of understanding and intimacy between parents and children of the same sex (Acock 1984; Blair 1992; Steele and Barling 1996). Blair (1992) concludes that "father and mother effects [a]re consistently strongest in relation to the child of the same sex" (p.202). In contrast, other research shows that parents may influence the gender role attitudes of children of the opposite sex more than children of the same sex (Nelson and Keith 1990).

And still others contend that mothers have a stronger effect on their children than fathers, regardless of gender of the children, and that mothers affect both sons and daughters similarly (Glass et al. 1986; Haigler et al. 1995; Starrels 1992; Thornton 1983; Tuck, Rolfe, and Adair 1994). In sum, there are a variety of factors that influence the intergenerational transmission of attitudes, including the type of attitudes being transmitted and the sex of the parent and child.

The Effects of Mothers on Offspring's Gender Role Attitudes

Early research on attitude transmission shows that *parents* have a significant effect on the attitudes of children (Acock 1984; Glass et al. 1986; Miller and Glass 1989). However, much of the more recent work on gender role attitude transmission examines only the role of *mothers*, neglecting the role that fathers may play (Axinn and Thornton 1993; Moen et al. 1997; Starrels 1992; Steele and Barling 1996; Tuck et al. 1994; Willets-Bloom and Nock 1994; Wolfer and Moen 1996). To better understand the role of fathers in shaping offspring's gender role attitudes, it is useful to know what influence mothers have and precisely how they affect their children. Research on the effect mothers' attitudes and gender-related behaviors provides insight into the mechanisms through which the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes between parents and offspring occurs.

Mothers have a significant positive influence on the gender role attitudes of their children (e.g., Acock 1984; Arditti, Godwin, and Scanzoni 1991; Baruch and Barnett 1986; Moen et al. 1997; Starrels 1992; Steele and Barling 1996; Thornton et al. 1983; Tuck et al. 1994; Willets-Bloom and Nock 1994). Overall, the more traditional the gender role attitudes of the mother, the more traditional are the gender role attitudes of

her children (Starrels 1992; Thornton et al. 1983). Researchers often contend that maternal attitudes are better predictors of offspring's attitudes than are paternal attitudes, and that the effect mothers have on children often lasts through adulthood (Glass et al. 1986; Starrels 1992; Steele and Barling 1996). Much of the research that addresses the means through which mothers affect their offspring's gender role attitudes focuses on maternal employment.

The employment status of the mother is a strong predictor of her children's gender role attitudes, specifically the children's attitudes toward employed mothers. In 1998, 70 percent of married couple families with children under the age of 18 contained an employed mother (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1998). In general, children whose mothers were employed when they were growing up have more egalitarian attitudes, and more positive views toward maternal employment, while those who grew up with homemaker mothers typically have more traditional and gender stereotypical views (Starrels 1992; Tuck et al. 1994; Willetts-Bloom and Nock 1994; Wolfer and Moen 1996). When mothers work outside of the home, they display to their children that there are a wide variety of possibilities for women's lives, which influences the children's gender role attitudes regarding maternal employment (Tuck et al. 1994; Willetts-Bloom and Nock 1994; Wolfer and Moen 1996). Employed mothers serve as role models for their children, demonstrating that women can be good mothers and successfully employed at the same time (Wolfer and Moen 1996). Mothers who delay or do not return to the work force after the birth of a child display to their children that care of the family and home is a woman's primary responsibility, reinforcing traditional gender role attitudes in their children (Wolfer and Moen 1996).

Still, it appears that maternal attitudes have a greater impact on offspring's attitudes than maternal behaviors (Moen et al. 1997; Thornton et al. 1983). Moen et al. (1997) use a longitudinal data set based on 245 mother-daughter pairs. The mothers were interviewed in 1956, when the daughters were young, and again in 1986 when the daughters were adults. The daughters were interviewed in 1986. The gender role ideology of mothers in 1956 significantly predicts daughters' gender role attitudes. Mothers who had traditional gender ideologies in 1956 have daughters who are relatively traditional in 1986, while mothers who had non-traditional gender ideologies in 1956 have daughters who are non-traditional in 1986 (Moen et al. 1997). However, daughters' gender role attitudes are more similar to their mothers' attitudes in 1986 than their mothers' attitudes in 1956. This may be due to mothers' attitudes becoming increasingly egalitarian over time, suggesting that attitudes do change over the life course (Moen et al. 1997). Moen et al. (1997) also find that maternal labor force participation when the daughters were young does not significantly influence daughters' gender role attitudes. In sum, Moen et al. (1997) demonstrate that mothers' attitudes, more so than behaviors (i.e., maternal employment) are important in influencing daughters' attitudes.

Mothers also affect the gender role attitudes of their children through the amount of time they spend with their children. The more time mothers spend with their children, the greater the attitude similarity (Starrels 1992). However, the closeness of the relationship between mothers and children (as measured by children's and mothers' reports of closeness, frequency of performing enjoyable activities together, and whether the child confides in his/her mother when unhappy) does not appear to be related to attitude similarity (Starrels 1992).

The relationship between maternal employment and more egalitarian gender role attitudes in children also is affected by the gender of the children. Girls tend to have more egalitarian gender role attitudes than boys (Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Starrels 1992; Tuck et al. 1994; Willets-Bloom and Nock 1994). However, it is unclear whether maternal employment influences male children's gender role attitudes in the same way or to the same extent as it affects female children's attitudes (Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Nelson and Keith 1990; Willets-Bloom and Nock 1994). Some studies show that males' gender role attitudes are not significantly influenced by maternal employment (Nelson and Keith 1990). However, others find that males and females are influenced similarly by maternal employment (Tuck et al. 1994).

Overall, the gender-related behaviors of mothers influence the gender role attitudes of their children. Children of employed mothers have more egalitarian gender role attitudes than children whose mothers are not employed. Additionally, mothers' attitudes are very strong predictors of their offspring's attitudes; traditional mothers typically have traditional children and less traditional mothers typically have less traditional children.

The Effects of Fathers on Offspring's Gender Role Attitudes

Researchers have not established the degree to which fathers influence their offspring's gender role attitudes, although most suggest that fathers do make some difference (Carlson 1984; Hardesty, Wenk, and Morgan 1995; Ivey and Yaktus 1996; Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Williams, Radin, and Allegro 1992). Moreover, the mechanisms through which fathers affect their offspring's gender role attitudes are unclear. Much of the research on the effect fathers have on children's gender role

attitudes examines fathers' behaviors (e.g., paternal participation) but neglects to examine their attitudes (Baruch and Barnett 1986; Carlson 1984; Hardesty et al. 1995; Ivey and Yaktus; Williams et al. 1992). To date, no research has compared fathers' behaviors and attitudes to determine which has a greater effect on offspring's gender role attitudes. In addition, the interactive relationships between fathers' gender roles attitudes, the time fathers spend with their children, and the closeness of the father-child relationship and how these factors influence offspring's gender roles largely have been neglected. Researchers also have not fully discussed whether and how paternal influence differs for male versus female children.

It is unclear, for example, whether father involvement fosters more traditional or more egalitarian attitudes in children. There are two dominant views regarding the effect fathers may have on offspring's gender role attitudes. Parsonian theory suggests that fathers serve an instrumental purpose in their children's lives (Baruch and Barnett 1986). The primary function of fathers is to be role models for occupational behaviors and goals, and to teach children about the world outside of the family. A fathers' involvement in parenting is seen as a form of dominance and a display of power in the home. However, involved fathers are also viewed as more nurturing, which may influence boys to want to be more like their fathers (Baruch and Barnett 1986). This perspective assumes that paternal involvement will encourage children of both sexes to be more traditional (Baruch and Barnett 1986). Some research supports the Parsonian view. For example, children of highly involved fathers have negative attitudes toward mother-dominated families and favorable attitudes toward father-dominated families (Ivey and Yaktus

1996). These children may see the benefits of high father involvement, and feel that it is best for families to have fathers that are highly influential in the lives of children.

A second perspective asserts that fathers who are participating in childcare are displaying non-traditional gender roles to their children (Baruch and Barnett 1986). Since involved fathers are crossing gender role boundaries, their children may learn that a broad range of behaviors are appropriate for both males and females. This perspective assumes that families with high paternal involvement will have children who have less traditional attitudes (Baruch and Barnett 1986). Sons who have close, warm, and nurturing relationships with their fathers have a decreased orientation toward work and increased orientation toward parenting (Hardesty et al. 1995). Carlson (1984) shows that sons in dual-career families with highly involved fathers have significantly fewer gender stereotypes than sons in dual-career families in which the mother is the primary caregiver or families with a homemaker mother. This study suggests that when sons see their parents share household tasks and see their fathers perform stereotypically feminine chores, they form more egalitarian gender role attitudes. Also, sons of highly involved fathers see benefits to high paternal involvement, and are likely to want to be highly involved in their own children's lives (Williams et al. 1992). In addition, fathers who participate in household tasks and childcare tend to include their sons in stereotypically feminine chores, and tend to play stereotypically masculine games with their daughters, which may result in more egalitarian or less gender-stereotyped attitudes in both sons and daughters (Williams et al. 1992).

Some research suggests that neither perspective is accurate, and that fathers make little or no difference in the gender role attitudes of their children (Baruch and Barnett

1986; Tuck et al. 1994; Williams et al. 1992). Baruch and Barnett (1986) claim that “the relation between children’s sex-role attitudes and fathers’ participation in family work are weak” (p. 1221). However, these findings should be read with caution, as these researchers examine relatively young children (i.e., ages 5 and 10) whose gender role attitudes may not be fully formed or may change before they reach adulthood. Other studies suggest that although mothers’ occupation is a significant predictor of children’s attitudes, fathers’ occupation may not be associated with children’s gender role attitudes (Tuck et al. 1994). This is supported by research of a very small sample (N=32) that shows that children raised in two-parent homes with highly involved fathers do not have less traditional gender role attitudes than families with less involved fathers (Williams et al. 1992).

Despite some research that suggests that fathers matter little in the development of children’s gender role attitudes, most research indicates that fathers do have some influence (e.g., Hardesty et al. 1995; Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Nelson and Keith 1990; Steele and Barling 1996; Williams et al. 1992). Time fathers spend with children is believed to influence children’s gender role attitudes. Hardesty et al. (1995) find that the more time sons spend with their fathers, the more stereotypical their gender role views. However, this may be a reflection of the fathers’ gender role attitudes. Fathers tend to have more traditional gender role attitudes than mothers, so it is possible that increased time with fathers simply results in greater father-son attitude similarity. Additionally, the more time fathers spend with daughters, the more likely fathers’ and daughters’ attitudes will be similar. Traditional fathers who spend a great deal of time with their daughters have daughters who are more traditional, and non-traditional fathers have daughters who

are non-traditional (Nelson and Keith 1990). Furthermore, fathers of daughters have more liberal gender role attitudes than fathers of sons (Nelson and Keith 1990). It appears that the more time fathers spend with children, the more the father's level of traditionality "rubs off" on them.

Some research suggests that fathers tend to reinforce gender-stereotypical attitudes and behaviors in their children and exhibit different parenting behaviors toward sons and daughters (Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Williams et al. 1992). Fathers frequently play the reciprocal "male role" with daughters and are often more receptive to particularly feminine daughters, encouraging feminine behaviors (Williams et al. 1992). Fathers' encouragement and reinforcement of stereotypical behaviors may result in more traditional gender role attitudes and behaviors in children, especially daughters. To the extent that fathers do not reinforce traditional gender role behaviors in their daughters, daughters are more likely to develop less traditional gender role attitudes (Williams et al. 1992). That is, if fathers do not play the reciprocal "male role," their daughters are less likely to display traditional gender roles.

Many researchers suggest that fathers have less of an influence on the gender role attitudes of daughters than sons, which supports the same-sex identification argument (Hardesty et al. 1995; Steele and Barling 1996; Williams et al. 1992). Hardesty et al. (1995) demonstrate that the closeness of the father-daughter relationship matters little in girls' gender role attitude development. The same study finds that the closeness of the father-son relationship and the amount of time spent together are positively associated with father-son attitude similarity.

In sum, there is some evidence that children of highly involved fathers have less traditional attitudes. However, a small amount of research also suggests that father involvement may encourage traditional attitudes in their children. Although it is unclear whether paternal participation fosters more or less traditional gender role attitudes in children, and despite some research that suggests that fathers make little difference, it is highly likely that fathers have *some* effect on the gender role attitudes of their children. It is also probable that fathers have more influence on the attitude development of their sons than their daughters.

In the present study, I examine the effects of fathers' gender role attitudes and non-traditional gender-related behaviors (i.e., housework participation) on young adult offspring's gender role attitudes, both independently and jointly with mothers' influence. In addition, I examine whether time fathers spend with children and the closeness of the father-child relationship moderate the effect of fathers' attitudes on those of their offspring. Finally, I consider whether fathers' influence may differ for male and female offspring. This research is guided by socialization theory.

THEORY

Socialization Theory

Socialization theory has dominated research on the intergenerational transmission of attitudes, values, and beliefs for several decades. According to socialization theory, early childhood socialization influences the development of attitudes and beliefs that are held throughout adulthood (Acock 1984; Glass et al. 1986; Ivey and Yaktus 1996; Jacklin and Baker 1993; Miller and Glass 1989; Moen et al. 1997; Starrels 1992; Thornton et al. 1983; Williams et al. 1992). Socialization theory pays particular attention to parents because of their critical role in early childhood socialization (Jacklin and Baker 1993; Starrels 1992). As the primary socializing agents of children, parents have a great deal of influence over their children's attitudes and beliefs, including gender role attitudes (Eccles, Jacobs, Harold, Yoon, Arbreton, and Freedman-Doan 1993; Jacklin and Baker 1993; Moen 1997; Starrels 1992; Williams et al. 1992). Similar attitudes and values between parents and children are believed to be the result of successful primary socialization (Glass et al. 1986; Miller and Glass 1989).

Socialization theory argues that there are two primary ways that children learn behaviors and attitudes from their parents. First, to learn appropriate gendered behavior, children are likely to model their same-sex parents' behaviors, which results in similarities between same-sex parents and children (Glass et al. 1986; Moen et al. 1997; Starrels 1992; Thornton et al. 1983). Second, through "verbal persuasion" by parents, children are encouraged to share their parents' attitudes (Moen et al. 1997). Unfortunately, socialization theory offers little explanation for how mothers' and fathers' attitudes and behaviors influence their children when the parents' beliefs are not congruent with one another.

Socialization theory also does not address how children's attitudes are formed when mothers' or fathers' behaviors and attitudes are inconsistent (Moen et al. 1997). For example, a father may have relatively egalitarian attitudes and beliefs about gender roles but may do very little housework and childcare. It is unclear whether children are more likely to form their attitudes based on parents' behaviors or attitudes.

Some theorists suggest that the level of attitude congruence between parents and children may depend on the amount and type of parent-child interaction (Starrels 1992). Scholars typically refer to two types of solidarity. Associational solidarity refers to the amount of time parents and children spend together and is frequently used to test whether greater time spent together results in greater parent-child attitude similarity (Acock 1984; Starrels 1992). In contrast, affective solidarity refers to the level of closeness or the strength of bonds between parents and children. A higher level of affective solidarity is expected to result in greater parent-child attitude congruence because the parents' opinions will be considered more important to the child (Acock 1984; Starrels 1992).

Research on these two types of solidarity yields mixed results. Although associational solidarity has been examined frequently, some researchers believe that it is unimportant because parents and children can spend a great deal of time together and never discuss the issues under examination (Acock 1984). Likewise, despite the theoretical significance of affective solidarity, Acock (1984) suggests that there is little empirical evidence that the level of closeness between parents and children affects the level of similarity between them. Starrels (1992) also demonstrates that mothers' and offspring's attitudes regarding maternal employment remain similar after controlling for the level of closeness between the mother and her children.

In sum, socialization theory suggests that attitudes and beliefs learned from parents in early childhood are relatively stable throughout life (Glass et al. 1986; Miller and Glass 1989). Glass et al. (1986) claim that “childhood socialization is so intense, prolonged, and psychodynamically important that the attitudes and values formed in the family context persist well into adulthood,” (p. 686). However, if there is a decrease in attitude similarity between generations, it is because the intensity of the parent-child relationship and the effect that parents have on children lessens as children age. As children distance themselves further from parents, they are socialized into other social groups, which may change their attitudes. These changes in the parent-child relationship may result in diminishing attitudinal similarity between parents and children throughout the life course (Glass et al. 1986; Miller and Glass 1989).

HYPOTHESES

Parents and children have similar attitudes and behaviors on many issues, including gender role attitudes. Socialization theory suggests that parents socialize their children to have attitudes similar to their own; children learn attitudes through modeling their parents. Additionally, children learn through their parents' "verbal persuasion" to share their attitudes. Hence, I hypothesize that offspring's traditional gender role attitudes at Time 2 are positively associated with fathers' traditional gender role attitudes at Time 1. Furthermore, I expect fathers' attitudes to be positively associated with offspring's attitudes net of mothers' attitudes.

Prior studies also demonstrate that mothers' non-traditional gender related behaviors (i.e., maternal employment) affect offspring's gender role attitudes (Starrels 1992; Tuck et al. 1994; Willetts-Bloom and Nock 1994; Wolfer and Moen 1996). Assuming children model fathers similarly to mothers, fathers' performance of non-traditional gender related behaviors (i.e., housework participation) should also affect offspring's attitudes. I anticipate offspring's traditional gender role attitudes at Time 2 are negatively related to the amount of housework the father performed at Time 1. That is, greater housework participation by fathers is associated with less traditional attitudes in offspring. Additionally, I hypothesize that this relationship remains consistent net of mothers' participation in non-traditional gender related behaviors (i.e., labor force participation)ⁱ.

Research on mother-daughter pairs shows that mothers' gender role attitudes are better predictors of daughters' gender role attitudes than mothers' behaviors (Moen et al. 1997). Although mothers' and fathers' attitudes may differ, the mechanism through which children are influenced by their parents is likely to be the same. Thus, I predict

that offspring's traditional gender role attitudes at Time 2 are positively related to fathers' traditional attitudes at Time 1, net of the amount of housework fathers performed at Time 1.

Some socialization theory researchers suggest that the level of attitude similarity between parents and children depends on the amount of interaction between them (associational solidarity) and the closeness of the relationship (affective solidarity). Higher levels of associational and affective solidarity are expected to result in greater parent-child attitude congruence. I hypothesize that the influence of fathers' traditional gender role attitudes on those of the offspring is conditioned on the amount of time fathers and children spend together at Time 1 such that higher levels of time spent together yield a greater positive relationship between fathers' and offspring's gender role attitudes. Similarly, I hypothesize that the effect of fathers' traditional attitudes on offspring's attitudes is conditioned on the level of closeness between fathers and children such that higher levels of closeness and fathers' traditional attitudes are positively associated with offspring's traditional gender role attitudes.

Socialization theory also suggests that children will model the parent with whom they identify most. Therefore, attitudinal similarity is expected to be greater among fathers and sons than fathers and daughters. In general, research shows that same-sex identification is relatively strong. Therefore, I expect that the effect of fathers' attitudes is greater for sons than daughters, and this relationship will remain after controlling for mothers' attitudes. I also hypothesize that the effect of mothers' attitudes is greater for daughters than sons, even after controlling for fathers' attitudes.

METHOD

Data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) are used to test these hypotheses. The NSFH is comprised of two waves. NSFH Wave I, collected in 1987-1988, is a nationally representative probability sample of 13,007 respondents. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, single-parent families, families with step-children, cohabiting couples, and recently married people were oversampled. An adult from each selected household was chosen randomly to be the primary respondent. NSFH Wave II (N=10,008), collected in 1992-1994, is a follow-up study of the original respondents. Additionally, Wave II includes telephone interviews conducted with 1,090 focal children who were aged 13-18 during Wave I and aged 18-23 in Wave II. This group of focal children comprise the sample analyzed here provided that their parents were married and their fathers were interviewed either as primary respondents or spouses of primary respondents. There were 856 focal children aged 13-18 in Wave I who lived with both biological parents, and 526 of these focal children were interviewed in Wave II. Only offspring who are never married at Wave II are examined, reducing the sample size to 424. Respondents missing data on the measures used for gender or the dependent variable are deleted, leaving 414 cases with valid data on offspring's gender role attitudesⁱⁱ. Analyses are performed using ordinary least squares regression (OLS), as the dependent variable is interval level. Also, continuous independent variables used in interaction terms are centered to reduce multicollinearity and provide more accurate results. Centering continuous variables does not change the interpretation of regression coefficients (Aiken and West 1991).

Variables

The Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study is the gender role attitudes of the focal children, aged 18-23, as reported at Wave II. The scale for gender role attitudes consists of three questions: (1) “It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family,” (2) “It is all right for mothers to work full-time when their youngest child is under age 5,” and (3) “A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife.” Response categories range from strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, to strongly disagree. These items are averaged to form the scale, and higher values indicate more traditional attitudes. The Cronbach’s alpha value for this scale is .47ⁱⁱⁱ. Table 1 shows the summary statistics for the variables examined in this project. Offspring’s average gender role attitude score is 2.30. Similar to prior research, descriptive statistics show that female offspring have significantly less traditional gender role attitudes (2.067) than male offspring (2.460).

The Independent Variables

Several independent variables are used in this study to measure potential sources of influence from fathers’ and mothers’ attitudes and behaviors, in addition to the amount of time they spend with their children and the closeness of the parent-child relationship. Fathers’ and mothers’ gender role attitudes, obtained from Wave I of the NSFH, are operationalized by their respective responses to six items. Respondents were asked how much they approve of (1) mothers who work full-time when their youngest child is under age 5, and (2) mothers who work part-time when their youngest child is under age 5.

Response categories range from one, strongly approve, to seven, strongly disapprove. The remaining four items in the scales are the following: (1) “It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family,” (2) “Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed,” (3) Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons,” and (4) If a husband and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally. Response categories are strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree. The items are standardized and averaged to form a scale for parents’ gender role attitudes. This combination or a similar combination of these items^{iv} have been frequently used in prior research to measure gender role attitudes (Blair 1992; DeMaris and Longmore 1996; Greenstein 1996; Lennon and Rosenfield 1994). The Cronbach’s alpha values for this scale are .64 and .63 for fathers and mothers, respectively.^v As shown in Table 1, the average gender role attitude score is 3.089 for mothers and 3.362 for fathers, indicating that mothers have less traditional attitudes than fathers.

Fathers’ non-traditional gender-related behaviors are measured by the number of hours they spend performing household tasks. At Wave I, respondents were asked how many hours they spent performing the following eight tasks: (1) preparing meals, (2) washing dishes and cleaning up after meals, (3) cleaning house, (4) outdoor and other household maintenance tasks (lawn and yard work, household repairs, painting, etc.), (5) shopping for groceries and other household goods, (6) washing, ironing, mending, (7) paying bills and keeping financial records, and (8) automobile maintenance and repair. Fathers’ participation in household tasks is measured by the total hours they spend on

these tasks^{vi}. Previous literature frequently uses these items to measure housework participation (Blair 1992; DeMaris and Longmore 1996; Lennon and Rosenfield 1994). Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .85 for fathers. As shown in Table 1, fathers spend an average of approximately 17 hours per week performing household tasks.

Mothers' non-traditional gender-related behaviors are measured by the total number of hours spent in paid labor in the previous week or a usual week at Wave I. Prior research typically uses maternal employment to gauge non-traditional behaviors of women (Starrels 1992; Tuck et al. 1994; Willetts-Bloom and Nock 1994; Wolfer and Moen 1996). Table 1 indicates that mothers spend nearly 29 hours per week in the paid labor force, on average^{vii}.

The amount of time fathers and mothers spend with their children at Wave I is measured by their summed responses to four questions regarding how often they spend time with their children performing the following activities: (1) in leisure activities away from home (picnics, movies, sports, etc.), (2) at home working on a project or playing together, (3) having private talks, and (4) helping with reading or homework. Response categories include never or rarely, once a month or less, several times a month, about once a week, several times a week, and almost every day. Previous researchers (Amato and Rivera 1999; Cooksey and Fondell 1996) have used these items to measure time parents spend with children. The reliability score for this scale is .75 for fathers and .72 for mothers. As shown in Table 1, mothers' average time spent with children is about two points higher than fathers on the scale for time spent with children, which is a significant difference (12.994 for fathers and 15.495 for mothers)^{viii}.

The closeness of the father-child and mother-child relationships are measured by parents' responses from Wave I regarding the quality of their relationships with their children. The parents were asked how they would describe their relationship with each of their children and were given a range of choices between 1 and 7, with 1 classified as "very poor" and 7 classified as "excellent." This item has been used to gauge the closeness of the parent-child relationship in prior research (Amato and Rivera 1999). Descriptive statistics in Table 1 show that mothers and fathers report comparable levels of closeness to their children (6.099 for fathers and 6.232 for mothers).

Control Variables

Offspring's controls.

Religious participation influences children's attitudes such that those who have more frequent church attendance are likely to have more traditional gender role attitudes (Willets-Bloom and Nock 1994). Religious participation is gauged by a question from Wave II asking how often the respondent attends religious services with response categories of never, about once a year, several times a year, about once a month, 2-3 times a month, nearly every week or every week, and more than once a week. As shown in Table 1, on average, offspring attend church several times a year (3.329).

Race/ethnicity is also included as a control variable, as different racial/ethnic groups may have differing gender role attitudes and/or influences on children (Starrels 1992). Race/ethnicity is coded with response categories of white, black, other (which includes Hispanics, American Indians, and Asians), or biracial (with white as the reference category). A large majority of the offspring are white (83.9%), and only 6.3 percent, 6.9 percent, and 2.9 percent are black, other, or biracial, respectively.

The employment status, school enrollment, and age of the children at Wave II are also likely to influence their gender role attitudes. Moen et al. (1997) find that daughters' education and occupation significantly influence their gender role attitudes. Education is positively associated with less traditional attitudes (Moen et al. 1997). Also, age and employment status may affect the transmission of gender role attitudes between fathers and offspring. As children age, fathers become less involved in their lives (Doherty et al. 1998; King 1994; Marsiglio 1991). The average age of the offspring is slightly over 20 years old, as indicated in Table 1. The intergenerational transmission of attitudes may also be influenced by work,^{ix} so I control for time use of children by measuring whether the focal children are employed, in school, employed and in school, or idle^x. Over one-third of the young adult children are in school (38.1%), over one-quarter are employed (26.3%), nearly one-third are both in school and employed (29.3%), and approximately 6 percent are idle (6.3%).

Parents' controls.

Parents with more frequent church attendance tend to have more traditional gender role attitudes (Willets-Bloom and Nock 1994). Frequency of mothers' and fathers' religious service attendance are measured using the same measure as offspring's church attendance. Fathers attend church almost once a month (3.980) and mothers attend church between once a month and 2-3 times a month (4.531), on average.

The amount of education obtained by parents, income, and the ages of the parents may influence their attitudes and how those attitudes are transmitted to children (Glass et al. 1986; Moen et al. 1997; Starrels 1992). As mothers' and fathers' education and age are likely to be highly correlated, mothers' educational attainment, measured in total

years of education, and age of fathers (in years) are controlled. In addition, both parents' income (coded as the log of income in dollars to compensate for skewness) are controlled. As shown in Table 1, mothers have slightly less than 13 years of education, on average. Fathers are approximately 44 years old at Wave I. Fathers also have substantially higher average income than mothers, earning over three times more than mothers (\$37,502 for fathers and \$11,875 for mothers).

A control is also included for parental separation between interview waves. Although all offspring were living with two biological parents at Wave I, parents may have separated between waves. The influence fathers have on offspring's gender role attitudes may be affected by family structure. Fathers' participation in their children's lives decreases following divorce, and the pattern is toward less contact as time since divorce increases (Amato and Booth 1991; Lye 1996). Children who experience parental divorce tend to have relatively poor relationships with their fathers (Kaufman and Uhlenberg 1998; Lye 1996), which may inhibit the transmission of gender role attitudes between generations. Approximately 9 percent of the parents in this sample separated between waves of the NSFH.

RESULTS

Table 2 shows the correlations between the variables under examination in this study. It is of particular interest that both fathers' and mothers' attitudes are positively associated with young adult offspring's attitudes, with fathers' attitudes having a stronger correlation than mothers'. However, fathers' housework is not correlated with children's attitudes. In contrast, mothers' non-traditional behavior, labor force participation, is negatively associated with traditional attitudes in offspring. Mothers' and fathers' time spent with offspring and the closeness of their relationships with offspring are not correlated with offspring attitudes. Fathers' and mothers' attitudes are positively correlated with one another, and fathers' housework participation is positively associated with mothers' labor force participation. Both fathers' and mothers' traditional gender role attitudes are negatively related to mothers' labor force participation, but neither are related to fathers' housework participation. Similarly, the amount of time fathers and mothers spend with children and their level of closeness with children are also positively correlated with one another.

Multivariate Analyses

The results of the multivariate analyses are presented in Table 3. As hypothesized, Model 1 shows that fathers' gender role attitudes are significant positive predictors of offspring's attitudes, net of the control variables. That is, fathers with more traditional attitudes tend to have children with more traditional attitudes, and fathers with less traditional attitudes tend to have children with less traditional attitudes. In addition, Model 2 demonstrates that fathers' attitudes are significantly positively associated with young adult children's gender role attitudes net of mothers' gender role attitudes.

However, mothers' attitudes are not significantly associated with offspring's attitudes, net of fathers' attitudes^{xi}.

I also expected fathers' housework participation to be positively associated with offspring's gender role attitudes. As shown in Model 3, fathers' housework participation does not influence offspring's gender role attitudes. Furthermore, when mothers' labor force participation is entered into the model in Model 4, neither parent's performance of non-traditional gendered behaviors is associated with offspring's gender role attitudes.

Following prior research demonstrating that mothers' attitudes are better predictors of offspring's attitudes than mothers' behaviors, I hypothesized that fathers' attitudes are positively associated with offspring's gender role attitudes, net of the amount of housework performed. Model 5 shows that fathers' attitudes are significantly positively associated with children's traditional gender role attitudes, net of the amount of housework fathers perform. It appears that fathers' gender role attitudes are better predictors of young adult children's attitudes than fathers' gender related behaviors. Model 6 shows that when mothers' and fathers' gender role attitudes and non-traditional gendered behaviors are entered simultaneously in the model, only fathers' gender role attitudes are significantly associated with offspring's attitudes. Given these results, there is evidence that fathers' gender role attitudes make a significant contribution to offspring's gender role attitudes. This relationship is also robust, as fathers' attitudes remain consistent positive predictors of young adult children's attitudes net of mothers' gender role attitudes and net of fathers' performance of non-traditional gendered behavior.

Table 3 also shows that across all six models, of the control variables entered into the models, offspring's gender and age are consistently associated with their gender role attitudes. Female offspring and older offspring consistently have less traditional attitudes than male and younger offspring. Additionally, mothers' church attendance approaches significance in all models such that greater church attendance by mothers is associated with more traditional attitudes in offspring. It is interesting to note that mothers' church attendance has a greater effect on offspring's attitudes than offspring's own church attendance. Mothers' income also appears to have a small negative effect on offspring's traditional attitudes. Mothers with greater income tend to have less traditional offspring.

I also hypothesized that the influence of fathers' traditional gender role attitudes on offspring's traditional attitudes is conditioned on the amount of time fathers and children spend together at Time 1. As shown in Model 1 of Table 4, the interaction between fathers' gender role attitudes and the amount of time fathers spend with children does not significantly affect children's gender role attitudes^{xii}. Similarly, I anticipated an interaction between fathers' attitudes and the closeness of the father-child relationship, but there is no significant interaction, as indicated in Model 2. Finally, I expected that the effect of fathers' attitudes were greater for sons than for daughters, and that the effect of mothers' attitudes was greater for daughters than sons. Model 3 shows that the interaction between fathers' attitudes and child's gender on attitudes is marginally significant, and the direction is such that the effect of fathers' attitudes is larger for female offspring than male offspring. There is no significant interaction between mothers' attitudes and the gender of the offspring, as shown in Model 4. Thus, fathers'

gender role attitudes influence the attitudes of adult female offspring, but do not influence the attitudes of adult male offspring.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study suggest that fathers do indeed have an effect on the gender role attitudes of their offspring. Similar to prior research on mothers, I find that more traditional fathers tend to have more traditional offspring. In addition, the association between fathers' and offspring's attitudes remains significant after controlling for mothers' attitudes, demonstrating that fathers make an independent contribution to offspring's attitudes. This research does not support the notion that fathers' performance of non-traditional behaviors (i.e., housework participation) affects offspring's attitudes. Thus, it appears that fathers' attitudes are more important to offspring gender role attitudes than are fathers' behaviors. These results provide support for socialization theory; offspring are socialized to share attitudes similar to their fathers'. However, the findings do not show that offspring's attitudes are formed by modeling fathers' performance of non-traditional gendered behavior. These findings also show that the effect of fathers' attitudes on offspring's attitudes does not depend on the time spent with children or the closeness of the father-child relationship.

Most prior research on fathers' contributions to children's gender role attitudes focuses on paternal behaviors, specifically paternal participation. As noted earlier, some researchers have suggested that the association between children's gender role attitudes and paternal participation is weak (Baruch and Barnett 1986). This may be because fathers affect their children's attitudes primarily through their attitudes rather than their participation. This study demonstrates that paternal participation (i.e., time spent with children and the closeness of the father-child relationship) has no effect on children's

attitudes. Prior research has generally ignored fathers' attitudes, yet their attitudes are better predictors of children's gender role attitudes than are their behaviors.

Additionally, there is limited evidence in this study that the effect of fathers' attitudes on offspring's attitudes is greater for daughters than sons. Prior research examining how mothers and fathers uniquely affect sons' and daughters' gender role attitudes has provided mixed results. While some studies find that parents have a greater influence on same-sex children (e.g. Acock 1984; Blair 1992; Steele and Barling 1996), others demonstrate that parents affect offspring of both sexes similarly (e.g., Glass et al. 1986; Haigler et al. 1995; Starrels 1992; Thornton 1983; Tuck, Rolfe, and Adair 1994). One study shows that parents have a greater effect on opposite-sex children (e.g., Nelson and Keith 1990). No theoretical explanation has been offered for why parents may affect opposite-sex children more than same-sex children. Further examination for possible mediating factors is necessary to clarify what role gender plays in the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes.

The findings of this study suggest that fathers' attitudes should not be neglected when examining children's gender role attitudes. It is clear that fathers' attitudes play a role in offspring's attitudes. That is, fathers' attitudes *do* have lasting effects on their children's gender role attitudes, even into the offspring's young adulthood. Indeed, offspring may be modeling their fathers to learn gender role attitudes, as socialization theory suggests.

These results also show that mothers' attitudes are not significant predictors when fathers' attitudes are included in the model. It appears that the mother-centered focus of prior research may provide incomplete or even misleading results. Mothers' attitudes

may not be as important to children's gender role attitudes as has been assumed. Fathers' attitudes appear to be the primary mechanism through which offspring learn gender role attitudes from their parents. In fact, controlling for mothers' gender role attitudes does not alter the effect of fathers' gender role attitudes on offspring's attitudes.

In future research, we need to incorporate fathers' attitudes when examining children's gender role attitudes, rather than focusing primarily on mothers. This study demonstrates that children's gender role attitudes are a function of their fathers' attitudes. Mothers' gender role attitudes have no appreciable impact. Also, more research needs to be conducted to clarify whether there is some effect of parental behavior on children's attitudes. It is quite possible that paternal participation in non-traditional behaviors other than housework, such as employment in traditionally female-dominated occupations, may affect offspring's gender role attitudes. In addition, future research could examine how offspring's gender related behaviors are affected by fathers' attitudes and behaviors. It is possible that offspring's attitudes develop as a result of learning fathers' attitudes, but offspring's own behaviors, such as housework, labor force participation, and employment in a non-traditional occupation, are affected by fathers' participation in non-traditional activities.

It also would be beneficial to better understand how family structure affects the intergenerational transmission of gender role attitudes between fathers and offspring, given the increasing diversity in family forms in the United States. Although nearly 60 percent of families consist of two biological parents and their offspring, 15 percent of families include stepparents and one-quarter are single parent families (Schaefer 2000), suggesting that family forms other than those with two biological parents need to be

examined. Still, this study provides some insight into how family structure affects fathers' influence on offspring's gender role attitudes. On one hand, the present study demonstrates that time fathers spend with children and the closeness of the father-child relationship do not modify the influence of fathers' attitudes on offspring's attitudes, suggesting that the gender role attitudes of nonresident fathers may significantly influence those of their offspring. On the other hand, it may be possible that offspring learn fathers' gender role attitudes through watching their parents "do gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987), meaning that the influence of non-resident fathers is probably minimal. Offspring in families where there is little opportunity to see parents interact with one another may learn fathers' attitudes differently, or not learn them at all. This important issue merits future research attention.

ENDNOTES

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- ⁱ Although mothers' labor force participation is currently normative, it is still not considered the "ideal" situation for many people. Additionally, the absence of maternal employment demonstrates very traditional gendered behavior.
- ⁱⁱ Most cases are lost through the constraint of having two biological parents living with the child during Wave I.
- ⁱⁱⁱ A Cronbach's alpha of .47 is low, so analyses were run using each of the measures in the scale for offspring's gender role attitudes. Performing analyses with each of the measures independently does not produce results that substantively differ from using the measures collectively. Additionally, the Cronbach's alpha including all three items is higher than including any two of the items.
- ^{iv} Similar combinations include omitting any of these items and/or adding a different item to the scale.
- ^v The measures of gender role attitudes for parents and children are slightly different due to changes in question wording between Wave I and Wave II.
- ^{vi} The number of hours spent performing housework was capped at 80 hours.
- ^{vii} Measures of parents' traditional behaviors (i.e., mothers' housework participation and fathers' hours of employment) were omitted. When these items were included in analyses, they did not contribute to the models.
- ^{viii} This measure has no obvious metric, and should not be confused with hours spent with the child.
- ^{ix} As adult children gain a sense of identity outside the family through marriage and work the effects fathers have on offspring diminish (Amato 1994; Roberts and Bengtson 1993; Umberson 1992). As a result, this study does not include married offspring in analyses, as several components associated with marriage may affect attitudes.
- ^x A control variable for educational attainment of offspring was also examined but had no effect on offspring's attitudes and was, therefore, omitted from analyses.
- ^{xi} As noted earlier, prior research demonstrates an association between mothers' gender role attitudes and offspring's attitudes. This relationship is not found in the present research. To account for the discrepancy, a separate analysis (not shown) using only mothers' gender role attitudes reveals a positive significant association between mothers' attitudes and offspring's attitudes, demonstrating that the effect of mothers' attitudes is present only when fathers' attitudes are not in the model. Analyses were also performed

to test for interactions between mothers' and fathers' attitudes to explore how fathers' attitudes explain the effect of mothers' attitudes on offspring. No interaction was found.

^{xii} The main effects for fathers' time spent with offspring and closeness with offspring do not significantly affect offspring's gender role attitudes. That is, the addition of time fathers spend with offspring or closeness with offspring prior to entering the interaction terms does not reduce or change the effect of fathers' attitudes on offspring's attitudes.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean or Percent	Standard Deviation	Range
Dependent Variable			
Child's Attitudes ^{xii}	2.30	0.85	1-4.67
Male	2.46*	0.66	1-4.33
Female	2.07	0.72	1-4.67
Independent Variables			
Father's Attitudes	3.36*	0.85	1-5
Mother's Attitudes	3.09	0.90	1-5
Father's Hours Performing Housework	17.13	15.37	0-80
Mother's Hours in Paid Labor	28.77	17.81	0-80
Father's Time Spent with Children	12.99*	4.63	4-24
Mother's Time Spent with Children	15.50	4.82	5-24
Father's Closeness With Child	6.10	1.25	1-7
Mother's Closeness With Child	6.23	1.08	1-7
Controls-Children			
Percent Female	45.5%		
Children's Church Attendance	3.33	2.41	1-7
Children's Race			
Black	6.3%		
White	83.9%		
Other	6.9%		
Biracial	2.9%		
Children's Time Use			
In School	38.1%		
Employed	26.3%		
Both	29.3%		
Idle	6.3%		
Children's Age	20.38	2.14	18-25
Controls-Parents			
Father's Church Attendance	3.98*	2.34	1-7
Mother's Church Attendance	4.53	2.29	1-7
Mother's Education	12.86	2.70	0-18
Father's Age at Wave I	44.06	7.05	26-66
Father's Income	37502*	57260	0-750000
Mother's Income	11875	40291	0-700000
Separated Between Waves	8.9%		

Note: N=414; All analyses are weighted using the individual level sample weight

¹ Higher values indicate more traditional attitudes

* T-test indicates significant difference between groups

Table 2: Correlation Matrix

	Child's Attitudes	Father's Attitudes	Mother's Attitudes	Father's Housework	Mother's Labor Force	Father's Time Spent	Mother's Time Spent	Father's Closeness	Mother's Closeness
Child's Attitudes	1.00								
Father's Attitudes	0.25***	1.00							
Mother's Attitudes	0.18***	0.48***	1.00						
Fathers' Housework	-0.02	0.01	0.01	1.00					
Mother's Labor Force	-0.12*	-0.19***	-0.25***	0.44*	1.00				
Father's Time Spent	-0.01	-0.05	0.03	0.07	-0.05	1.00			
Mother's Time Spent	-0.01	0.05	0.07	-0.08	-0.12**	0.26***	1.00		
Father's Closeness	-0.03	0.04	0.07	-0.01	-0.02	0.35***	0.12*	1.00	
Mother's Closeness	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.00	-0.03	0.13**	0.21***	0.32***	1.00

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

Note: N=414; All analyses are weighted using the individual level sample weight.

Table 3: OLS Regression Results for Parents' Attitudes and Gendered Behavior on Offspring Attitudes

Independent Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Intercept	3.32***	3.30***	3.42***	3.38***	3.34***	3.31***
Father's Attitudes	.21***	.18**			.21***	.18**
Mother's Attitudes		.09				.09
Father's Housework			.00	.00	.00	.00
Mother's Labor Force				.00		.00
Child Controls						
Child's Gender ¹	.42***	.43***	.44***	.43***	.43***	.43***
Child's Church Attendance	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Race ²						
Black	-.13	-.13	-.16	-.16	-.12	-.12
Other	-.23	-.25	-.23	-.22	-.23	-.24†
Biracial	.24	.23	.29	.28	.24	.23
Time Use ³						
Employed	-.04	-.06	-.06	-.07	-.06	-.07
In School	-.19	-.20	-.26†	-.26†	-.20	-.21
Employed and In School	-.14	-.15	-.14	-.15	-.14	-.16
Age	-.06**	-.06**	-.07**	-.06**	-.06**	-.06**
Parent Controls						
Father's Church Attendance	.00	-.01	.00	.00	.00	-.01
Mother's Church Attendance	.04†	.04†	.04†	.04†	.04†	.04†
Mother's Education	-.03	-.02	-.03*	-.04*	.03†	-.03
Father's Age	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Father's Income	.01	.01	.00	.00	.01	.01
Mother's Income	-.01*	-.01*	-.02**	-.01*	-.01*	.01
Separated Between Waves	.07	.06	.12	.12	.08	
Adjusted R ²	.17	.17	.14	.14	.16	.17
F	5.79***	5.59***	4.94***	4.70***	5.51***	5.06***

*** p<.001; ** p<.01; * p<.05; † p<.10

¹ Female is omitted category

² White is omitted category

³ Idle is omitted category

Note: N=414; All analyses are weighted using the individual level sample weight

Table 4: Interaction Effects

Independent Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	3.19***	3.30***	3.34***	3.35***
Father's Attitudes	.96*	.21***	.32***	
Mother's Attitudes				.25
Father's Time Spent	-.01	-.01		
Father's Closeness				
Father's Attitudes x Time Spent	.08			
Father's Attitudes x Closeness		-.04		
Father's Attitudes x Child's Gender			-.20†	
Mother's Attitudes x Child's Gender				-.17
Child Controls				
Child's Gender ¹	.42***	.42***	.43***	.44***
Child's Church Attendance	.01	.01	.01	.01
Race ²				
Black	-.13	-.13	-.14	-.16
Other	-.24†	-.22	-.23	-.28†
Biracial	.27	.25	.21	.25
Time Use ³				
Employed	-.04	-.04	-.02	-.05
In School	-.18	-.18	-.17	-.24
Employed and In School	-.13	-.13	-.11	-.14
Age	-.07**	-.06**	-.07**	-.07**
Parent Controls				
Father's Church Attendance	.00	.00	.00	.00
Mother's Church Attendance	.04†	.04†	.04†	.04†
Mother's Education	-.03†	-.03	-.02	-.03†
Father's Age	.01	.01	.01	.01
Father's Income	.01	.01	.01	.00
Mother's Income	-.01*	-.01*	-.01*	-.01*
Separated Between Waves	.09	.07	.07	.07
Adjusted R ²	.17	.16	.17	.16
F	5.34	5.21	5.68	5.21

*** p<.001; ** p<.01; * p<.05; † p<.10

¹ Female is omitted category

² White is omitted category

³ Idle is omitted category

Note: N=414; All analyses are weighted using the individual level sample weight