

much conflict is more likely to believe that two role-related selves can coexist harmoniously. In contrast, a girl who sees her mother struggling with her work and family roles may come to feel that two role-related selves will inevitably generate internal conflict. It is important to ask whether the processes through which role-related multiple selves are formed during adolescence and the contradictions that at least some girls sense in the various aspects of their self-concept could impact their expectations for their own futures. That is, would girls who have internalized a harmonious coexistence of role-related selves expect to hold fulfilling jobs while simultaneously experiencing a satisfying family life? Conversely, would girls who have conflicting selves express pessimism regarding the coordination of roles in the future?

Marchena's chapter brings to the forefront the importance of adolescents' perceptions of their parents' WFRC and WFRM. This commentary expands on Marchena's study by focusing on adolescent girls and their perceptions of their mothers' balancing of work and family responsibilities. In particular, we suggest that adolescent girls' perceptions of their mothers may influence their expectations, hopes, and goals for their own future work and family roles. We further propose that adolescent girls' perceptions of their mothers may affect their developing self-concept, which can, in turn, impact their expectations and goals. We believe this is a research direction worth pursuing as it may shed light on the development of both girls' and boys' expectations and goals for their future education, professional aspirations, marriage, and parenthood.

14 Imagining family roles: parental influences on the expectations of adolescents in dual-earner families

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In the US in recent years, the majority of two-parent families with children have become two-income families (Cherlin 1992; Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, and Crouter 2000). In contrast to the post-war era, when it was normative for husbands to work for pay while wives cared for home and children, today the average married woman is employed. In addition, her husband may be more involved in housework and childcare than before (Bianchi et al. 2000; Demo and Acock 1993). Given that parental influence on children's gender socialization is well established (e.g., see Eccles 1993; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983), a key question is what kinds of gender-related attitudes children in dual-earner families have. One might expect them to think in relatively egalitarian terms as they begin to form ideas about how they will organize their lives, particularly with respect to the major responsibilities for earning an income, childcare, and household chores. Further, one might expect the strength of children's egalitarian orientation to vary systematically depending on whether parents are equal partners, or whether the husband remains the primary earner while the wife retains most of the responsibility for the home and children.

This chapter investigates the accuracy of the above predictions, as well as several related ones. The phenomenon to be explained is how the children of dual-earner couples believe they will divide responsibility for the "breadwinner" role and the "homemaker" role when they are adults. This is related to, but distinct from, the more commonly studied issue of children's gender role norms, which is a question of how children feel they *should* behave, as opposed to how they think they *will* behave. The focus here is on how variations in expectations relate to parental influence. What effects do the gender attitudes, role behavior, and parenting styles of mothers and fathers have on their children's expectations about the future marital division of labor? Both qualitative and quantitative data from mothers, fathers, and adolescents who participated in the 500 Family Study are used to investigate this question.

Recent trends in American marriages

Contemporary American adolescents are growing up in an era when typical parental roles have undergone a fifty-year process of transformation. The "traditional" family, consisting of a breadwinner father and a stay-at-home mother, has become increasingly rare. The key change in two-parent families has been the entry of married women with children into paid employment. This trend has combined with the rise of the single-parent family to considerably increase the proportion of mothers in the labor force.

In married couples, men also appear to have taken on more housework in recent decades (Bianchi et al. 2000). Research, however, suggests that men's participation in housework has not changed to an extent comparable to their wives' increasing presence in the workforce. The current situation is one where the average wife and mother works, but continues to do the lion's share of the household chores (Demo and Acock 1993). For Hochschild, this is one component of a "stalled revolution," a contradiction between equality in the work place and inequality in the home. The stalled revolution arises from the fact that "the exodus of women into the workforce has not been accompanied by a cultural understanding of marriage and work that would make this transition smooth" (Hochschild 1989: 12).

Scholars have devoted considerable thought to explaining why men have not increased their participation at home in a way that comes close to compensating for women's increased work responsibilities. Several mechanisms have been proposed, including relative power, early socialization, and gender as performance. In the latter explanation, associated with the symbolic interactionist school (Berk 1985; West and Zimmerman 1987), housework is an opportunity for both sexes to "do gender." By taking responsibility for the housework, women confirm their femininity. Just as importantly, their husbands demonstrate their masculinity by holding themselves aloof from such tasks.

On the other hand, not every family is average. Although many dual-earner couples divide the housework in a way consistent with the predictions of the performative theory of gender, at least a few have pioneered highly egalitarian housework arrangements. These couples tend to be distinctive both ideologically and structurally. Ideologically, they believe in equality and are "child-centered"; structurally, they are likely to have middle-class standards of living and to be highly educated (Coltrane 1989; Risman and Johnson-Sumerford 1998).

Parental influence on family role expectations

If teens' family role expectations are influenced by their parents, the above considerations suggest that children in middle-class, dual-earner families would be more likely than others to have egalitarian expectations. But is such a conclusion warranted? Do parents influence their children's expectations about future family roles? Children's expectations about how they will divide roles within their future marriages are conceptually different from their norms about how marriages ought to be arranged. However, the two constructs are similar enough that one would expect factors that predict the latter to predict the former as well. In the literature on transmission of gender norms, the three most important explanatory variables are attitude transmission, the division of household labor, and maternal employment. In addition, this chapter explores the influence of a fourth predictor: parenting style.

Attitude transmission

It is well-established that parents, and mothers in particular, transmit their gender role attitudes to their children. Mothers' current beliefs about proper gender roles have a strong influence on their children's contemporary attitudes (Cunningham 2001a; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983). Additionally, mothers' beliefs when their children are young continue to influence them over time (Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain 1997).

In general, past studies have focused on mother-child influence because many data sets include limited information from fathers. An advantage of the 500 Family Study is that data were collected from both parents in each family. Thus, in this chapter the gender role attitudes of mothers and fathers are included in statistical models in order to see whether both have a significant effect on adolescent expectations. The initial supposition is that they both do.

Hypothesis 1. The more liberal (egalitarian) the mother's or father's gender role attitudes, the more likely his or her children will be to expect equal sharing of breadwinning and homemaking roles.

Division of household labor

Aside from attitude transmission, scholars have found that parents influence their children's gender-related attitudes and beliefs by modeling behavior. This has two components. One is housework modeling,

specifically the question of how much female-typed housework the father does. The other is work modeling, which comes down to the question of whether the mother works, and secondarily, the prestige and other characteristics of her job.

Although Booth and Amato's (1994) study of the effect of parental "non-traditionalism" on children used the amount of housework done by the father in the family as one index of non-traditionalism, it has been rare for scholars to consider parental housework as a factor predicting children's gender role attitudes. An exception is Cunningham (2001a), who looks at the relationship between parental housework and children's opinions about the ideal division of housework; he finds 18-year-olds' beliefs about responsibility for both female-typed chores and childcare to be significantly related to the parents' earlier division of these tasks. This result holds even when controlling for the parents' gender role attitudes.

Another advantage of the 500 Family Study is that, as in Cunningham's work, it is possible to relate parents' housework to children's attitudes while controlling for the parents' attitudes. Thus, it is possible to corroborate Cunningham's finding by testing the following hypothesis about role modeling.

Hypothesis 2. The larger the father's share of female-typed housework, the more likely his children will be to expect equal sharing of tasks.

Maternal employment

On the question of whether maternal employment affects children's gender attitudes, the existing research is not unanimous. On the positive side, Dennehy and Mortimer (1993) report that high school boys are more likely to accept the notion of wives returning to work after giving birth if their own mothers are employed. Similarly, Stephan and Corder (1985) find that high school students whose parents are both employed in "high-prestige occupations" are more likely than others to expect to form families in which the wife combines career and family.

Maternal employment may also affect children's expectations about role sharing at home. Stephan and Corder report that the children of dual-career couples are more likely to expect that the husbands in their future families will participate in childcare. Cunningham finds that women are more likely to share housework with their husbands if their own mothers were employed. Maternal employment, Cunningham suggests, "might operate [by] minimizing the extent to which sons and daughters make an

association between gender and the performance of particular kinds of work" (2001b: 186).

The proposition that maternal employment affects children's attitudes is not universally supported. Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain (1997) find that children's gender role attitudes are explained by parental attitudes, but not by the mother's employment behavior. In an earlier paper, Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn (1983) reached the same conclusion. However, it must be noted that these authors are trying to explain broad indices of child gender role attitudes. For example, Moen et al.'s gender role attitude scale contains items not directly related to work, such as whether it is acceptable for a woman to "argue with a man not her husband at a social gathering" or "travel long distances by herself" (1997: 285). Among those who found an effect for maternal employment on children's attitudes, the dependent variable is more focused – children's expectations about work and childcare in the future. It seems reasonable that these specific expectations would be more influenced by maternal employment than a child's diffuse feelings about proper gender roles. Since it is precisely expectations about the future marital division of labor that are of interest here, the following hypothesis is suggested.

Hypothesis 3. The greater the mother's relative responsibility for paid work, the more likely children will be to expect equal sharing of tasks.

Parenting style

Aside from attitude transmission and role modeling, is there any other way in which parents influence teens' gender and family expectations? Although it is less often considered in the literature, parents also influence teenagers' orientations through their style of interaction. Rathunde and colleagues (Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde, and Whalen 1993) identified two dimensions of parenting practice – family support and family challenge – which are particularly consequential for adolescents' views about their futures. Family support is defined as "the parents' responsiveness to the child. In a responsive family, the child is comfortable in the home, spends time with other family members, and feels loved and cared for." Family challenge, by contrast, "refers to the stimulation, discipline, or training that parents and other family members direct towards the child. Challenge also includes the expectations the child perceives family members to have of him or her and the child's desire to fulfill those expectations" (Rathunde, Carroll, and Huang 2000: 115–16). Rathunde and colleagues found that family support promoted optimism in teenagers, family challenge promoted motivation, and the combination of the two

encouraged an achievement orientation. Corroborating evidence was provided by Schneider and Stevenson (1999) who found that adolescents of both genders tended to have high educational and occupational aspirations if their parents were supportive and challenging.

These results suggest that daughters of parents who are both supportive and challenging would expect to be heavily invested in the world of paid work. They may also expect to have husbands who do a considerable share of the household labor and childcare if they recognize that accepting traditional female responsibility for the home makes it difficult to pursue a career, suggesting the final hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4. The higher the parents' scores on family support and challenge, the more likely girls will be to expect equal sharing of the breadwinner and homemaker roles.

Gender-specific effects

Of the four hypotheses offered, only the last makes any mention of the child's gender. Considering that men and women continue to play somewhat different roles in the vast majority of families, it seems reasonable to suppose that adolescent boys' and girls' expectations about the future are influenced by different sets of factors. Yet when researchers have explicitly asked whether parental effects on gender socialization vary by gender of the child, more often than not they have found no difference (see e.g., Cunningham 2001b; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983). Still, the occasional findings of gender-specific effects means one can hardly ignore them. Without explicitly hypothesizing where they might occur, it is prudent to test for gender-specific effects in relation to all hypotheses.

Method

Sample

For this research, the unit of analysis is the family triad, consisting of father, mother, and adolescent child. Accordingly, the survey data provided by each parent and by the teenaged child are matched with one another. If more than one teenager in the same family completed a survey, only one triad of father, mother, and child was selected for analysis. Using two or more triads from a single family would give the parents disproportionate influence over the results.

Largely because of the use of family-matched data, some cases are not included in the analysis. Of the families who participated in the

500 Family Study, 379 have adolescent children, defined as children between the ages of 12 and 18. In 142 of these families, one member of the triad (either the adolescent or a parent) failed to complete a survey. These cases were excluded. In addition, since the surveys were filled out by the respondents and mailed to the research center, there was no way to guarantee that all questions were answered. Consequently 58 additional families were dropped due to missing data.¹ Finally, since the focus of this analysis is the effect of dual-earner parents on children's expectations, a small number of two-parent families in which one parent was out of the labor force at the time of the survey were excluded. Following the standard definition, an individual is out of the labor force if he or she is neither working nor actively looking for work.

After exclusions, the final sample size is 160 families. Considering the number of families that were excluded, it is important to ask whether they differ from those who remain. Two-sample t-tests comparing the included and excluded families show a few differences at the 95 percent confidence level, but more similarities. Included adolescents are about half a year older than those excluded. Included parents are also older on average, which reflects the fact that older adolescents tend to have older parents. Mothers and fathers in included families work a slightly longer workweek than others (an average difference of about two hours per week for men and four hours for women). Further, the ratio of father's to mother's work hours is lower on average in included versus excluded families. This suggests that included parents share the burden of earning income in a relatively equal way, which may be consequential for their children's gender-related expectations.

In many other ways, however, the included and excluded families are not significantly different. The two groups of parents do not differ in terms of educational attainment, gender role attitudes, housework (either absolute number of hours or the relative share performed by each parent), income (either absolute value or relative share earned by each parent), and parenting style. In addition, teens in the two groups have about the same gender composition, and they are no more or less likely to have egalitarian expectations about their future marriages.

It is not possible to draw definitive conclusions from these t-tests. The majority of the excluded families are excluded because one family member did not take part in the study, and it is impossible to say whether such people differ in important ways from individuals who chose to participate. Based on the data that are available, however, it seems that the included families are not much different from the other dual-earner families in the 500 Family Study.

Dependent variables

The dependent variables were constructed based on three questions about teens' family role expectations: the first question concerns the future division of housework or chores; the second, taking care of children; and the third, responsibility for providing financial support for the family. In each case, teens were asked, "In the future, who do you expect will take responsibility for these tasks, you or your spouse?" There were five response options: "mostly you," "you slightly more than spouse," "you and your spouse/partner equally," "spouse slightly more than you," and "mostly your spouse."

For each item, at least 89 percent of respondents of each gender selected either the egalitarian answer ("you and your spouse/partner equally") or the slightly traditional answer to these questions. (A boy who says his wife will do slightly more than half the housework is an example of a slightly traditional answer.) Therefore, each of the dependent measures was recoded into a dummy variable distinguishing teens with egalitarian versus traditional expectations. In most cases, a response of one indicates that the adolescent expects to share the role in question (housework, childcare, or earning money) equally with his or her spouse. A response of zero indicates expectations more or less in line with traditional gender roles.

Explanatory variables

Parents' gender ideologies are measured by a construct consisting of four questions. Participants were asked to rate the following statements on a five-point Likert scale: "It should not bother the husband if a wife's job sometimes requires her to be away from him overnight." "If his wife works full-time, a husband should share equally in household chores such as cooking, cleaning and washing." "It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have a career herself." "Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons."²

On the survey, parents were asked how many hours per week they spent working at certain "core" household tasks that have traditionally been assigned to females. These include shopping for the household, cooking, washing dishes, cleaning the house, and doing laundry. The original response options were categorical but have been recoded into continuous variables using the median number of hours in each category. The percentage of both parents' housework that is performed by the father was then calculated. This percentage is used as an index of the parental division of labor at home.

The mother's relative share of work hours was calculated in a similar way. On the survey, each parent was asked to report hours spent at his or her main job. A separate series of questions asked about hours at second jobs, if any. The original, categorical response options were recoded based on the category medians. After adding together hours at each job, the percentage of total parent hours logged by the mother was computed. This percentage is used as a measure of relative parental responsibility for the breadwinner role.

Family support and family challenge are measured using the Support/Challenge Questionnaire that has been employed on several occasions by Rathunde and colleagues. Each construct reflects adolescents' levels of agreement with sixteen statements about their family life and their parents' parenting practices. Examples of support statements are "We enjoy having dinner together and talking" and "If I have a problem, I get special attention and help." "I'm expected to do my best" and "We enjoy playing competitive games" are typical statements from the challenge scale. Negatively worded items were reverse scored to match with the positive items and then an overall mean for each measure was calculated.³

Finally, a number of demographic measures are included as controls because they may explain part of the variation in adolescents' gender-related expectations or parents' attitudes, division of labor, and parenting styles. The controls utilized are the teenager's gender and age, the mother's age, and household income.⁴ In addition, considering that the dependent variables are children's expectations about marital life, including the issue of who will do childcare, it is reasonable to suppose that teens who do not plan to get married or to have children will have different attitudes than those who do. Fortunately, the survey asks adolescents about their future family plans. A dummy variable was created to index adolescents who indicate the odds are "low" or "very low" that they would get married and/or have children. This dummy variable is also used as a control.

Results*Descriptive findings*

Table 14.1 provides adolescents' responses to the three questions about family role expectations. The last row below each question shows the percent egalitarian, which represents those who expect to share a given task equally with their spouse, as well as the small number who expect to divide tasks in a "role reversal" way (such as the 2.6 percent of boys who expect to do more housework than their spouses).

Table 14.1 *Distribution of responses to family role expectation questions by gender of respondent*

	Boys %	Girls %
Who will do housework/chores?		
Mostly you	0.0	6.0
You slightly more than spouse	2.6	26.2
You and your spouse equally	67.1	66.7
Spouse slightly more than you	26.3	1.2
Mostly your spouse	4.0	0.0
Percent "egalitarian"	69.7	67.9
Who will take care of your children?		
Mostly you	0.0	2.4
You slightly more than spouse	2.6	32.1
You and your spouse equally	75.0	65.5
Spouse slightly more than you	22.4	0.0
Mostly your spouse	0.0	0.0
Percent "egalitarian"	77.6	65.5
Who will earn money to support the family?		
Mostly you	5.3	0.0
You slightly more than spouse	47.4	2.4
You and your spouse equally	42.1	73.8
Spouse slightly more than you	5.3	23.8
Mostly your spouse	0.0	0.0
Percent "egalitarian"	47.4	76.6***

Notes: Total number of cases is 160.

Not all columns sum to 100 percent due to rounding.

*** $p < .001$ (difference between groups)

As table 14.1 shows, the majority of teenagers expect to share family tasks in an egalitarian fashion: 70 percent of boys and 68 percent of girls have egalitarian expectations about housework; 78 and 66 percent respectively have egalitarian expectations about childcare. The difference between genders is not significant in either case. Earning money for the family, however, is a different story. While 77 percent of girls expect to share the breadwinner role equally with their husbands, only 47 percent of boys have a similar expectation ($p < .001$). It appears that while boys have absorbed cultural messages telling them that they need to take an active role at home, they have not relinquished plans to be their family's primary earner. Given the principle of marital homogamy, which posits that individuals from similar backgrounds tend to marry, this is troubling. The numbers suggest that disagreements over

the work role may be a source of conflict in these respondents' future marriages.

Means and standard deviations of all independent variables are presented in table 14.2. The numbers are first shown for the total sample, and then separately for adolescent boys and girls. The adolescent sample is almost evenly split by gender (53 percent female, 47 percent male); this closely tracks the numbers for the entire 500 Family Study. The mean age is 15.6. A full 92 percent of respondents feel they are likely to marry and have children. The average adolescent in the sample lives in a family with a household income above \$100,000. This is not surprising given that these are dual-earner households, and that many parents have individual incomes close to, or above, that figure (see chapter 2).

Parents' gender role attitude scores are, on average, quite far towards the egalitarian end of the scale. This finding is not surprising given that these parents share the characteristics of those who have led national gender attitude trends in a liberal direction (Brewster and Padavic 2000). Specifically, the mothers in the sample all work, and most parents of either gender are highly educated.⁵

While some fathers in the sample do no female-typed housework, the average father does about one-third of the work performed by either parent, meaning the mother does the other two-thirds. This is a good deal more egalitarian than the national average (Bianchi et al. 2000). The average mother in the sample in turn logs about 40 percent of the hours worked by either parent, with her husband accounting for the other 60 percent. Finally, teens rate their parents as high on both supportive and challenging dimensions of parenting, although girls tend to give their parents higher scores than boys.

Predicting adolescents' role expectations

Do any of the parent characteristics discussed above explain adolescent expectations? Results from a series of logistic regression models estimated to answer this question are shown in table 14.3. All coefficients are presented as odds ratios.

There are five models reported in table 14.3. Models 1, 2a, and 3a use only the main effect of each explanatory variable to predict adolescents' expectations about doing housework/chores, taking care of children, and earning money to support the family, respectively. It is possible that parents' effects on their children's family role expectations vary by the gender of the child. Accordingly, models were estimated to allow for interaction effects between gender and the other explanatory variables. All possible gender interactions were tested, but only interactions significant at

Table 14.2 Means and standard deviations of independent variables

	All adolescents				Boys		Girls	
	Mean	S.D.	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Teen's gender (dummy=1 if female)	0.53	0.50	NA	NA	—	—	—	—
Teen's age	15.60	1.60	12	18	15.72	1.66	15.48	1.53
Household income (thousands)	47.26	4.54	29	56	46.67	4.76	47.79	4.29
Teen unlikely to get married or have kids (dummy)	116.05	43.55	12.5	175	112.99	43.60	118.81	43.58
Mother's gender role attitude scale (1-5)	0.08	0.26	NA	NA	0.07	0.25	0.08	0.28
Father's gender role attitude scale (1-5)	4.39	0.56	1.75	5	4.28*	0.60	4.49	0.51
The percentage of "female" housework performed by dad	4.34	0.55	2.5	5	4.31	0.55	4.36	0.54
The percentage of family work hours logged by mom	35.73	16.79	0	80.56	36.30	17.54	35.21	16.18
Family support (0-3)	41.87	11.90	12.00	65.34	41.43	13.02	42.28	10.85
Family challenge (0-3)	2.26	0.44	0.25	2.94	2.16**	0.50	2.35	0.36
N	2.25	0.34	0.75	2.81	2.14***	0.39	2.35	0.26
	160				76			84

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (t-test for the difference in means between boys and girls)

Table 14.3 Logistic regression coefficients (expressed as odds ratios) from regressions predicting whether teenaged children of dual-earner parents expect to share tasks equally

Independent variable	Doing housework/chores		Taking care of your children		Earning money to support the family	
	Model 1	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3a	Model 3b	Model 3b
Female	1.17	.63	.08*	4.53***	712.24	
Teen's age	1.21	.79	.77	.91	1.23	
Mother's age	.92	1.04	1.03	1.03	1.02	
Household income (thousands)	.99*	.99	.99	1.00	1.00	
Teen unlikely to get married or have kids	2.22	3.39	3.67	3.61	3.81	
Mother's gender role attitude scale	.91	.38*	.42	.79	.79	
Father's gender role attitude scale	1.50	.88	.78	1.77	1.63	
Percentage "female" housework performed by dad	1.03*	1.02	.99	1.00	1.00	
Percentage work hours logged by mom	.98	1.02	1.03	1.01	1.01	
Family support	1.12	16.05***	15.85***	2.22	3.59	
Family challenge	.77	.05**	.05**	.21	.05**	
Female*father's housework interaction	—	—	1.06*	—	—	
Female*-teen's age interaction	—	—	—	—	—	.45**
Female*-family challenge interaction	—	—	—	—	—	25.47*
Likelihood-ratio chi-square (df)	20.26 (11)	30.71 (11)	35.94 (12)	25.42 (11)	37.20 (13)	
Prob > chi2	.04	.00	.00	.01	.00	
Pseudo R ²	.10	.16	.19	.12	.18	

Note: Total number of cases is 160.
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

the .05 level were retained in the final models.⁶ The childcare and earning regressions with interaction terms are labeled models 2b and 3b. In the case of the housework regression, no interaction effects were significant at the $p < .05$ level. Therefore, there is only a single model predicting housework expectations.

In model 1, only one of the four expected paths of parental influence is evident. The father's share of female-typed chores has a significant effect as predicted by hypothesis 2. Note that while the odds ratio is only slightly larger than 1, this is because the father's share of housework is measured in percentage units. To understand the model, consider two hypothetical households: in one, the father does only 10 percent of the chores; in the other, the father does 50 percent. According to model 1, in the latter home children would be $1.03^{40} = 3.26$ times more likely to expect an egalitarian division of housework when they get married, all else being equal. Thus, in a home where the father does a large share of the core tasks, children are much more likely to expect to share the chores.

In models 2a and 2b, parenting style has a significant effect on adolescents' expectations about childcare. Supportive parenting makes teens more likely to expect an equal division of responsibility for childcare, but challenging parenting appears to have the opposite effect. Since the coefficients are of similar magnitude, these effects would appear to cancel each other out if parents are high on both dimensions of parenting. However, to the extent that parents are challenging but not supportive, this seems to contribute to less egalitarian outlooks among their children.

In the "main effects only" model (model 2a), the father's share of chores does not affect teenagers' expectations about childcare. In model 2b, the main effect remains insignificant, but there is a significant interaction between father's housework and gender. When fathers do a large share of "female" tasks, girls are likely to expect their future husbands to participate in *all* tasks done around the house, including childcare. Boys are also influenced by their fathers' participation in housework, but this influence apparently does not carry over to participation in childcare.

In model 2a, the mother's gender role attitude has a significant effect on expectations about childcare. However, the coefficient is in a direction contrary to hypothesis 1: mothers with more egalitarian attitudes have children who are less likely to expect to share childcare duties equally. In model 2b, the significance of this term is suppressed by the inclusion of the interaction between gender and father's housework, although the odds ratio does not change much in substantive terms. This unexpected finding seems to suggest that whatever influence maternal gender egalitarianism has on teens' expectations, it is not the simple attitude transmission that was discussed earlier in this chapter.

What about expectations about the breadwinner role? In model 3a, the teenager's gender is the only significant predictor. The significance of gender is not remarkable considering that many more girls than boys expect to share the breadwinner role equally with their spouses (see table 14.1). What is more surprising at first glance is that none of the measures of parental influence appear to have an effect. As it turns out, model 3b shows that there are several gender-specific effects on breadwinning expectations that are hidden when one looks only at "main effects." Family challenge is associated with less egalitarian earnings expectations for boys, but not girls. (For girls, the main effect of challenge is offset by the interaction between challenge and gender. The odds ratio is $0.05 * 25.47 = 1.27$, which is not statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level.) Although the coefficient for family support is not significant ($p < .08$), there is a trend for adolescents in supportive families toward more egalitarian expectations about earning money.

In model 3b, age is shown to be the only factor predicting girls' earning expectations. Specifically, older girls are less optimistic about the extent to which their future spouses will allow them to perform the breadwinning duties. One way to read this result is that girls who initially hope to find a husband willing to share become more "realistic" over time.⁷

If the teenager believes that he/she is unlikely to marry and have children, this has a large (but insignificant) effect on the odds of holding an egalitarian outlook in all of the models. This appears to be consistent with the theory of Goldscheider and Waite (1991), who fear that young people – especially women – whose gender beliefs are egalitarian will opt for "no families" rather than risk falling into traditional breadwinner-homemaker marriage patterns. However, only 8 percent of adolescents do not believe they will marry and have children, and most favor shared housework and childcare. Thus respondents seem more supportive of egalitarian "new families" rather than "no families."

To review, how well did the four hypotheses about parents' influence on adolescents' expectations fare? Hypothesis 1 – parents with egalitarian gender role attitudes will tend to have children with egalitarian role expectations – is not borne out. If anything, the opposite notion – that egalitarian parents have adolescents who desire more traditional families – is suggested by the coefficient for mother's gender role attitude in model 2a. Considering that this is the only instance where either parent's gender role attitude is significant, the evidence is too equivocal to draw strong conclusions.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that adolescents would have more egalitarian expectations when the father does female-typed housework. This is

confirmed, especially for girls. When the father participates in these tasks, children of both genders tend to be more egalitarian in their housework expectations, and girls are also more likely to expect an equal division of childcare responsibilities. By contrast, in none of the three regression equations does the percentage of work hours logged by the mother have any effect on adolescent expectations. Furthermore, the odds ratio is always very close to 1.0, suggesting that among adolescents in dual-earner families, family role expectations are independent of relative time spent in paid work. Consequently, hypothesis 3 – the more equal the parents' responsibility for paid work, the more likely children will be to expect equal sharing of tasks – is not confirmed.

Finally, hypothesis 4 predicted that parental support and challenge would affect girls' expectations; no predictions were made regarding boys. In fact, these dimensions of parenting style are shown to have more effects on boys than on girls.

Discussion

The central role of the division of housework

It was initially expected that parents influence their adolescents' family role expectations through attitude transmission, modeling paid work, and modeling household labor. In fact, the only consistent source of influence among these variables is the parents' division of household tasks. Because these other factors were hypothesized to matter, various alternate model specifications were tested. Parents' paid work and attitudes did not have the predicted effects in any of these alternate models.⁸

How can these null findings be interpreted? In part, they may be due to the homogeneity of the sample. In a more ethnically, racially, and economically diverse sample, variation among parents' attitudes and work behaviors would be greater, leading to more robust effects on adolescent expectations. For example, past literature (Cunningham 2001b; Stephan and Corder 1985) suggests that single-earner families, who are not represented in the sample analyzed, may exert a more traditional influence by virtue of parent role modeling. Children whose mothers work may form more egalitarian expectations than those whose mothers stay home; all the mothers in this sample, however, are employed (or at least looking for work).

Findings that parents' division of housework affects children's expectations about housework is, of course, perfectly in line with conventional social learning theory, as well as the symbolic interactionist concept of "doing gender." Since it is done at home, by definition, housework is a

result of activity in which children of dual-earner couples are easily able to observe their parents engaged in gender-differentiated role performances. Thus, it is not surprising that children in the bottom 10 percent of this sample's families, where the husband does less than one-eighth of the core housework, tend to construct different notions about appropriate gender roles than children in the top 10 percent, in which the husband does more than half of it.

Social learning theory and symbolic interactionist theory would both probably lead one to predict that parents' relative work hours should also affect adolescent expectations. However, there is at least one theoretical perspective that helps explain why dual-earner couples' housework might influence their children's family role expectations when their division of paid work does not. This is Hochschild's notion of the "stalled revolution" (1989). As Hochschild argued, it has become quite normative for two-parent families to have "transitional" gender roles, meaning that the husband accepts the wife's entry to the world of work so long as she continues to assume primary responsibility for home and children. If this is correct, and mothers are expected to "do it all" in our culture, then female participation in breadwinning will not seem nearly as unusual to children as a father who helps around the house. The latter remains much less normative, and thus far more likely to make an impression.

Explaining the effects of parenting style

Besides housework, the data show that parental support and challenge influence adolescents' family role expectations. According to the findings, family challenge reduces teens' odds of expecting an egalitarian division of childcare when they marry, and is also associated with boys expecting to keep the breadwinner role for themselves. Recall that challenge involves parents holding high expectations of their children. Perhaps boys who are challenged are more likely to internalize high expectations for themselves, and to have ambitious career plans. They come to realize that it is easier to be career-oriented if one has a traditional wife who puts her husband's career before her own, so they plan to marry this type of wife.

What about the girls? Challenging parents tend to encourage girls to think about and explore the world of work. In the course of this exploration girls may observe the unfortunate fact that women, rather than men, are most often the ones who make difficult choices between career and family, especially when children arrive. Thus, they may become less optimistic about sharing childcare in their own marriages. Other authors have conjectured that girls who become aware of the trade-off between career and family are likely to reject marriage and children entirely in

favor of personal achievement (Goldscheider and Waite 1991), but the low odds ratio for family challenge in the childcare regression suggests that the girls in this sample are planning to sacrifice career to some extent in order to raise children.

In contrast to family challenge, family support is associated with more egalitarian expectations about the division of childcare by adolescents of both sexes. How can this be explained? The odds ratio for support has an obvious interpretation where girls are concerned. As discussed earlier, teens from supportive families are more optimistic about the future. This optimism may carry over into girls' hopes for egalitarian childcare arrangements. However, this line of reasoning cannot account for the significant relationship between family support and boys' egalitarian expectations about childcare. The relationship between parenting practices and teens' gender attitudes and expectations is far from straightforward, and is an area ripe for future research.

Qualitative illustrations

Qualitative interviews, conducted with mothers, fathers, and adolescents in the 500 Family Study, help to illustrate the results of the regression models. The following four families were chosen in part because they comment explicitly on expectations for the future, parenting, and/or housework. Parenting style is not an explicit part of the interview protocol, and when teens were asked about their future plans, most were vague. While comments of the four families are not necessarily typical of the interviews conducted with families in the study, their responses to the survey questions reflect general trends in the data.

An active father and an egalitarian son: the Fleming-Colemans

In the Fleming-Coleman family, the father does a large share of the housework. Despite working full-time as a lawyer, Samson Fleming does about half of core household tasks according to his and his wife's reports. "The uniqueness in our family," Samson notes, "is the amount of workload that I carry in this family. I am the one that does the laundry. I'm the one that does the shopping and those kinds of outside activities that normally one would associate primarily with a woman, or the wife of the house." His wife, Marge Coleman, a college professor, concurs: "Well, I had a sense that my husband's a lot more involved in the home - in all the home-associated work. You know, like the laundry and the cooking. Well, none of us cook, but the dishwashing and the lunch packing. He does at least his share. I think that's pretty rare."

Samson's large contribution to the housework seems to have made an impression on his son Lewis, a twelfth-grader. He is already in the habit of helping out, particularly by driving his two younger siblings from place to place. "I feel it's my responsibility, and I love it," he claims. "I'm the big brother and I love being the big brother. You know, sometimes it's kind of irritating with being the one that has to shuttle everybody around. I'm almost like a soccer mom some weekdays. You know, I'm dropping my brother off at soccer and basketball. I'm picking my sister up from band, or driving her to swimming. We're in so many activities."

The family's perspective is consistent with the performative theory of why housework matters. In Lewis's mind, chores and gender do not seem to be strongly associated. Although he likens the job of chauffeuring his siblings to that of a "soccer mom," he also sees it as an appropriate responsibility for a big brother. Furthermore, on the survey he reports that he expects to do half the housework and the childcare when he gets married. Considering how non-traditional the Fleming-Colemans' division of labor is, it seems likely to be influential in Lewis's thinking.

Reproducing the second shift: the Lieberthals

In contrast, families in which the father does a relatively small proportion of the housework tend to produce children who expect the same unequal division of labor when they marry. Tenth-grader Tanya Lieberthal plans to play the homemaker role when she marries. When asked who should do the housework, she replies, "The wife. In my family, it's the wife. You know, there's this understanding that she's supposed to take care of the house. And frankly, she's the only one of the two who should take care of the house. So, she's got to worry about coming home and vacuuming and doing laundry and fixing things."

What makes Tanya remarkable is that she has these plans despite circumstances that would seem to encourage her to be more career-oriented. According to her father, she is at the top of her class at a highly competitive magnet school. An overachiever, she participates in a variety of extracurricular activities. As her father tells it, "She does a million things in high school. She's on the debate team. She's on the JV soccer team. She's on the newspaper. There are probably three or four other things that she does. I just can't think of them right now." In addition to this, she has liberal beliefs about gender; her gender attitude scale score is 5, the most egalitarian score possible.

Despite all of this, Tanya's stated plans involve working part time and taking primary responsibility for home and children. This is close to the path followed by her mother, who stayed home when Tanya and her two

siblings were young, and now continues to do nearly all the chores while working part time. Thus, just as was the case with Lewis Fleming, Tanya Lieberthal's story strongly suggests that dual-earner parents' division of housework affects their children's expectations.

Of particular interest is the way Tanya justifies her surprisingly gender-traditional plans. Asked whether she would rather have a husband who shares the chores, she observes, "I'm a bit of a control freak. So, I might tend towards [saying], 'I'll do everything just as long as I'm the one who decides how it gets done.'" Here, she is essentially saying that she should do the chores because she is an overachiever. This is highly reminiscent of Hochschild's concept of the "cultural cover-up." As Hochschild writes, "The common portrayal of the supermom working mother is that she is 'energetic' and 'competent' because these are her *personal* characteristics, not because she has been forced to adapt to an overly demanding schedule" (Hochschild 1989: 24, emphasis in the original). Apparently doubting that she has any choice but to do the housework in the future, Tanya justifies it in terms of being a "control freak" – a personal characteristic. Although still a teenager, she has been effectively socialized to accept the second shift.

High support and a strong father–daughter bond: the Castilles

Roger Castille is a professional actor and musician who now combines his performing career with steady work teaching drama at a four-year college. Daughter Candice, a tenth grader, is drawn to this way of life. Not only does she act, play music, and sing in choirs at her local high school, but she also hopes to follow in her father's footsteps and make a career out of one or more of these pursuits. Her expectations are quite egalitarian; she hopes her future husband will share in housework and childcare, thereby allowing her to make a significant contribution to family income.

Although Candice reports that her father does a good deal of housework, what is equally telling is that she indicates that her parents are very supportive and not too demanding of her. "I know that I get along better with my parents than a lot of people do . . . my parents respect us and listen to us and give us reasonable rules and not very many of them compared to other families I know." Roger agrees that he and his wife have been more supportive than challenging of Candice and her brother Victor, particularly when it comes to housework. During the interview, which took place in a basement cluttered with musical instruments, he says, "Well, you know, we have a very close relationship with our kids. We still go on vacation with them, and their friends envy their relationship with us, blah, blah, blah. But in some ways we have spoiled them.

We haven't demanded a lot of housework out of them, you know, which explains why the basement looks like this."

High family support seems to be an important part of the explanation for Candice's aspirations and expectations. Supportiveness fosters a strong father–daughter bond. As Candice notes, "Mom and daddy admit that I'm daddy's favorite . . . he tells me all the time that he just like thinks of me, and goes, 'Oh, she's so cute.'" While not explicit in the interview, this close relationship may have encouraged her to follow in her father's footsteps. And if she is to pursue the demanding life of a musician or an actor, it would be reasonable to expect to have egalitarian arrangements in her marriage. This, then, could be one mechanism by which high family support leads to egalitarian expectations.

High challenge and a son who aims high: the Summers

A good illustration of the effects of high family challenge on teenage boys is provided by Kendall Summers, a twelfth grader. On the survey, Kendall reported that when he gets married, he hopes to be the primary breadwinner while his wife does most of the childcare. While he is unsure about his future occupation, he sees himself in the traditional provider role. "My dad works because it makes him feel good to keep us happy and to support us as a family. And I think it would do the same for me. You know, hard work . . . would be fulfilling for me knowing that I was helping keep the family together." As this comment indicates, Kendall's plans are influenced not just by parental challenge but also by the division of roles between his father, a small business owner, and his mother, who had just recently found part-time work after spending many years as a housewife and volunteer worker. Even though parents' relative work hours have no influence on adolescent expectations in the aggregate, the fact that his father has been more attached to the workforce than his mother seems to influence Kendall's expectations.

When asked what values his parents have tried to instill in him, Kendall immediately mentions the work ethic and responsibility: "Mainly that nothing is just handed to anyone. Hard work is the way to get everything." Since encouragement to work hard is a component of Rathunde's challenge scale, Kendall's comment is consistent with rating his parents as high on challenge.

Kendall's mother concurs that she and her husband push him, particularly to do well in school. "I know he probably feels stressed from that. With his grades, it's probably a big stress for him because we have just always told him that it's an unfortunate thing that the world out there has become competitive, and a lot of the competitiveness is unfair that's

out there now. And so you really do need to strive to be at the top or do something to distinguish yourself."

While it may seem that the case of Kendall Summers merely shows that adolescent sons in dual-earner families aspire to be like their fathers, recall that mothers and fathers in the subsample analyzed are not equal participants in the workforce. As seen in table 14.2, fathers work more hours per week, on average, than mothers. A fact not shown in the table is that on average they also earn nearly twice as much as mothers. Also, some families such as the Summers became dual-earner families only recently, when the mother, formerly a full-time homemaker, entered the workforce. Nevertheless, 47 percent of boys expect to share responsibility for family income equally with their wives, and 78 percent expect equal sharing of childcare. The factor that appears to distinguish Kendall from these other adolescents is parental challenge. The boys whose parents push them hardest tend to orient themselves toward achievement in the workplace. While this is speculation, such boys may conclude that they would prefer a traditional wife who will support their aspirations.

Conclusion

It is important to offer some cautions about these results. First, participants in the 500 Family Study are not representative of the American population in general, but only of middle- and upper-middle-class dual-earner families with children. The results cannot be generalized beyond this population. Furthermore, the data are cross-sectional, making attributions of causality problematic. For example, it may seem that parents' gender role attitudes are shaping their children's attitudes. As Glass and her co-authors have shown, however, the pattern of influence can also proceed in the other direction (Glass, Bengtson, and Dunham 1986).

Despite these limitations, the study has several strengths relative to the existing research on gender role socialization. The sample includes as much data for fathers as for mothers or children. This allows analysis of both parents' influence on their children, rather than merely the mothers' influence, as is commonly done. Also, systematic consideration is given to the ways in which socialization effects vary by the gender of the child. Finally, the availability of matching qualitative and quantitative data allows greater insight into results than would be possible in a purely quantitative study.

Several suggestive findings have emerged from this study. When fathers participate in traditionally female household tasks, children are more likely to expect to share housework in the future; girls are also more likely to expect that their husbands will share childcare with them. On the other

hand, mother's relative participation in work outside the home has no effect. Viewed as a deviation from the normative "transitional" arrangement in dual-earner families, where mothers retain primary responsibility for housework, the father's contribution to housework appears to make a particularly deep impression on children.

Another noteworthy finding is that parenting style affects teens' gender role expectations, even when parental attitudes and role modeling are controlled. Family support appears to lead children to expect a more egalitarian division of childcare, while family challenge has the opposite effect. When parents are perceived as challenging, boys are more likely to expect to be their family's primary breadwinner. It was speculated, with some corroborating evidence from the qualitative data, that boys who aspire to challenging careers hope for wives who will be supportive of them rather than pursuing their own careers. This is troubling, especially given the finding that more boys than girls expect the husband to be the main breadwinner in their marriages. Given the principle of marital homogamy, the work role may remain a source of conflict in middle-class marriages in the future. Of course, these conclusions would be bolstered if they were backed by similar findings using other samples. While the effects of parental attitudes and role modeling are the subject of a considerable literature, this is a relatively new area for research and requires additional investigation.

NOTES

1. Conservative attempts were made to fill in missing data based on the respondent's own answers. For example, on the support and challenge scales, if an adolescent answered 14 or 15 of the relevant 16 items, missing values were set equal to the mean of the respondent's non-missing items. No attempt was made to impute values for any variables based on sample means.
2. A construct based on these four items has a Cronbach's alpha of .62 for fathers and .58 for mothers.
3. In the subsample of 160 families, Cronbach's alpha is .87 for support and .74 for challenge.
4. Several other controls were considered but not used. Father's and mother's age are very highly correlated ($r = .77$); of the two, mother's age was chosen because there is less missing data. Parent educational attainment was not used because it is highly correlated with household income ($r = .49$ for mother's education and .52 for fathers). Finally, while race could presumably have a powerful effect on family role expectations, the effect of a dummy variable for non-white or mixed racial membership was never significant, and excluding it had no appreciable effect on any of the other coefficients in the models, perhaps because 84 percent of adolescents in the sample are white. Therefore, to preserve a degree of freedom, race is not included in the analysis. Income

- was calculated based on procedures developed by Casey Mulligan and Yona Rubenstein (see technical appendix B).
5. Among the families used in this analysis, the median education for a parent of either gender is a master's degree or equivalent.
 6. Generally it is best to test all theoretically interesting interaction terms at once, rather than including and excluding them on the basis of significance. The problem is that gender could plausibly interact with parents' gender role attitudes, division of labor, parenting style, or even the teenager's own age. Given the sample size, there are not enough degrees of freedom in the model to test all these interactions at the same time. Running separate regressions for adolescent boys and girls was not feasible. By including all main effects in the models, but selectively including interaction terms, an appropriate balance is sought between methodological correctness and the difficulties of working with a small sample.
 7. The large but statistically insignificant main effect for gender in model 3b needs to be understood in relation to the gender-by-age and gender-by-challenge interaction effects. In model 3b, it appears that girls are 712 times more likely than boys to expect to share breadwinning responsibility equally with their future spouses. But in fact, the true difference in odds ratios between boys and girls is $712 * 0.45^{age} * 25.47^{challenge}$. Thus, a 14-year-old girl who rates her parents as being at the mean on family challenge is predicted to be 14.49 times more likely than the average boy in the sample to expect an equal division of breadwinning responsibility. Change the girl's age to 18, however, and she is predicted to be only 0.59 times as likely as a boy to have this expectation. Manipulating the girl's family challenge rating would have similarly dramatic effects on the odds ratio.
 8. It seemed possible that multicollinearity between the four indicators of parental attitude transmission and role modeling is raising the standard errors of the estimates, and thereby preventing some coefficients from reaching significance at the .05 level. This is to be expected if couples with egalitarian beliefs about gender roles are likely to put their beliefs into practice by sharing housework and income-earning responsibility. Inspection of the correlation matrix did reveal significant correlations among the four variables. To test for distortions in results due to multicollinearity, logistic regression models were estimated again with fewer predictors. Each of the the main effects models was run four times in succession, each time including only one of the four indicators of parental influence. In no cases did these variables achieve statistical significance at the .05 level, except where they were already found to be significant in the complete models.

Commentary

Mick Cunningham

Understanding contemporary adolescents' perspectives on the intersection of work and family holds tremendous import for future trends in family life. The extent to which contemporary adolescents are aware of work-family issues is not well-understood, and this is especially true for boys. We know that many girls receive messages from multiple sources about the centrality of marriage and children for their adult lives, but the extent to which boys ever contemplate these topics is unclear.

The chapter by Weinshenker offers us an exemplary use of multi-source data on families in the service of enhancing our theoretical and empirical understanding of the nexus of work and family life. Weinshenker uses several types of measures of family, employment, and their intersection to illuminate the ways that adolescents envision their lives in the future. The analysis of multiple data-gathering modalities from multiple family members offers great potential for helping us better understand the day-to-day context of family life.

The investigation of the relationships between parenting style and gender-related outcomes in Weinshenker's chapter constitutes an important step forward in an emerging area of research. I begin by examining how integration of quantitative and qualitative data holds the potential to allow researchers to make significant strides in the construction of theories of family. I then argue that Weinshenker's findings about the importance of parenting style for adolescents' expectations about future family life may provide an important missing piece in the development of theories of gender socialization in families.

Does Lewis Fleming "do gender?"

The collection of in-depth interviews provides an excellent opportunity to "go behind" survey responses so that those responses may be interpreted in terms of the respondent's "life space" and the sense that the respondent makes of it (Cain 1973: 9). Indeed, Weinshenker's analysis does a remarkable job of linking statements from adolescents' in-depth interviews to existing sociological research

on gender in families. However, an integrated analysis of information drawn from in-depth interviews and survey data is complex; Weinshenker could take his analysis even further by specifically identifying ways that his multi-source findings combine to support, refute, or modify existing theoretical explanations of the phenomena under study. Below is one example of how Weinshenker's analysis could be used as the basis for further theoretical development.

Given the 500 Family Study research design, it is an interesting and highly interpretive exercise to search for quotes relevant to a particular topic when the topic may not have been specifically and consistently addressed in the in-depth interviews. For instance, there is an evocative quote in Weinshenker's analysis of the Fleming-Coleman family in which Lewis, a twelfth-grade son in an egalitarian family, refers to himself as a "soccer mom." Weinshenker uses this self-description to argue that chores and gender are not strongly linked in Lewis Fleming's mind. He then infers that Lewis's description provides support for a performative theory of gender.

While I strongly agree that Lewis Fleming's own understanding of gender-appropriate tasks is shaped by his parents' relatively egalitarian actions, it seems likely that, contrary to Weinshenker's interpretation, Lewis makes a strong association between gender and specific types of chores. Indeed, his use of the term "soccer mom" suggests that Lewis is well aware of cultural definitions of masculine and feminine work. West and Zimmerman (1987), among others, argue that everyone is accountable for "doing gender." Further, as Weinshenker points out, in my research on intergenerational patterns in the division of housework I argue that paternal modeling of routine housework or maternal modeling of paid employment might work by "minimizing the extent to which sons and daughters make an association between gender and the performance of particular kinds of work" (Cunningham 2001b: 186). However, Lewis's comments offer a potential critique of this argument.

Rather than being unaware of the connection between gender and family work, Lewis is clearly cognizant of the fact that his role as a caretaker for his siblings could be interpreted as "feminine" work. For some reason, Lewis is both willing and able to ignore these cultural definitions of gender. Understanding his decision to "un-do gender" provides an excellent opportunity to re-evaluate the limitations of theories of gender performance, showing that parental socialization may have the potential to override the strong influence of context that performative theories place at the center of gendered interactions. It seems likely that his father's example is likely to be critical to Lewis's actions. Lewis's mother and father also express awareness that their own family patterns conflict with widely shared cultural understandings of gender. It seems that what is being "transmitted" from parents to children is the acceptability of breaking cultural stereotypes in the service of some other goal. The question of what that other goal might be remains to be answered.

The potential importance of family relationship dynamics

Fortunately, Weinshenker's analysis of parenting styles suggests a potentially rich source of theorizing about what some of the personal or familial goals that "trump" gender might be. The role of family relationships and parent-child dynamics in shaping gendered family patterns is not well understood, although a small number of disparate studies have pointed to the potential importance of family relationship dynamics for gender-related outcomes. For instance, in his qualitative study of couples who participate equally in family work, Coltrane (1989) argues that many sharing couples are best characterized not so much by their feminist gender ideologies as by their "child-centeredness" and "equity ideals." This finding suggests a potential theoretical mechanism through which the effects of parental support and/or challenge operate. Lewis's parents may reason that their children's well-being, given their particular circumstances (context), will be best served by following an unconventional model of household arrangements. It is possible that Lewis's recognition of the importance of ensuring children's well-being (in this case, his siblings), in combination with his father's significant participation in housework and/or his mother's central economic role in the family, interact in such a way that Lewis has the personal resources to ignore prevailing cultural definitions of gender. Together, Weinshenker's analyses of parental modeling and parenting styles combine to point toward an emerging research agenda regarding the determinants of egalitarian ideals and practices among children.

There are several aspects of Weinshenker's measures of family challenge and family support that suggest areas for future investigation. First, measures of fathers' and mothers' independent contributions to each of these might be enlightening. For instance, it may be especially important to understand the extent to which the father, in particular, is responsible for fostering a supportive or challenging environment. Weinshenker's findings suggest that fathers' participation in housework holds particularly strong significance for adolescent girls' expectations about future responsibility for childcare. In an investigation of "child-centered fathering," Coltrane and Adams (2001) showed that men's participation in child-centered activities, including helping children with homework, driving children to activities, and having private talks with children, was associated with greater relative participation by men in the kinds of routine housework Weinshenker uses as his indicator of the parental division of labor. It is unclear whether this type of child-centered fathering would be linked to adolescent children's perceptions of family support, but it seems likely that fathers' involvement in child-centered family work might shape children's future expectations about housework and childcare. Future research examining the connections between fathers' day-to-day interactions in families, their level

of commitment to children's well-being, and changes in fathers' gender-related attitudes and behaviors may offer additional insights into our understanding of contemporary family practices.

The findings regarding the influence of family challenge are also worthy of future investigation. Again, it may be important to know not only which parent is the primary source of adolescents' perceptions of challenge, but also whether this sense of challenge is communicated equally to sons and daughters. Weinshenker finds that children, especially boys, who are frequently challenged by their parents have less egalitarian expectations about their future family roles. The individual family challenge measures suggest that children who report high levels of family challenge probably generalize this challenge to the world of paid work and economic success more than to raising healthy children or having successful family relationships. Therefore, it seems likely that the prevalence of the "ideal worker" ideology among middle-class families is likely to continue to produce gender-stratified family responsibilities (Williams 2000). Given these possibilities, it may be fruitful for future investigations to consider interactions between parenting styles and each parent's gender ideology and contributions to family work.

Combined with consideration of the consistent influence of fathers' relative participation in routine housework, research on parenting styles and family relationship dynamics offers the potential for the formulation of a comprehensive model of the influences that lead to "sharing couples." Despite some continuing evidence of a "stalled revolution" (Hochschild 1989), there is also growing evidence that men are becoming more involved in the kinds of family work that have historically been performed by women. Weinshenker's powerful and provocative analysis suggests a number of new directions researchers should thoroughly investigate in the search for mechanisms that may provide a "jump start" for the stalled revolution.

Jennifer Glass

Weinshenker has done an admirable job of summarizing the existing theories about how parents influence their children's anticipated division of labor between spouses – direct transmission of parents' ideas and beliefs about gender roles, and modeling both fathers' actual participation in housework and childcare and mothers' employment and earnings outside the home. His analyses also shows the limitations of these theories, which fail to take into account the character of the relationship between parents and their teenagers. Developmental psychologists have paid much more attention to the ways in which the quality of parent-child relationships affect children's social and intellectual development; it

is not surprising that those same characteristics might influence how adolescents plan to organize their own family lives.

I find it particularly intriguing that parental warmth and support encourage both young women and young men to anticipate more egalitarian divisions of childcare and breadwinning, although the latter does not quite attain statistical significance. The items in this scale suggest that the adolescents who scored highest on this measure received a great deal of love and attention from their parents – presumably both parents, although the scale items are unclear on the exact referent. Even if one parent put in more time on childcare tasks than the other, the scale clearly measures the emotional atmosphere created by both parents. If there was tension in the household over one spouse's inadequate participation in family life, or if one parent was clearly not supportive of the adolescent although the other was, scale scores would remain low. Given the traditionally greater involvement of mothers in childcare and the difficulties in American culture with distant or uninvolved fathers, high scores on the family support measures are likely to indicate a family in which the father is involved in his adolescents' daily lives and demonstrates affection and appreciation for them. Irrespective of his participation in daily housework, such a father creates a role model for involved fatherhood that leads daughters to expect similar involvement from their future husbands and sons to expect to be equally involved in their children's lives. Those adolescents who felt nurtured and cherished see the nurturing of children as a positive enriching experience they want to share with their future spouses. The nurturing of boys in particular during adolescence may be important in predisposing them to share childcare in the future.

The finding that girls alter their expectations about shared breadwinning as they age is also interesting but not surprising. Perhaps girls learn more about the gender wage gap as they age and their naive belief that gender equality has been "achieved" fades away. Perhaps their own experiences as young wage workers demonstrate the gender wage gap in a more visceral way. Given the wage differential between male-dominated and female-dominated jobs even in the low wage service sector, it may be quite reasonable for girls to anticipate marrying someone who earns more than they are capable of earning, no matter how egalitarian their intentions. This seems particularly plausible when one considers the modal "traditional" response to the breadwinning item – that one's spouse would earn slightly more than the respondent. Weinshenker is quite right that this is movement toward a more realistic assessment of young women's statistical chances of marrying someone with higher earnings than their own. However, I am not sure that this indicates women are lowering their own career aspirations or planning on reducing their work involvement following marriage. It may simply be a reflection of the way that shared breadwinning is operationalized here – as equal earnings rather than equal involvement or effort in the labor force. In dual-earner households where both partners work full time, women's

earnings constitute about 40 percent of household income. Most households could not afford a 40 percent cut in income, meaning that these households are highly dependent on wives' earnings even though they are not equivalent to husbands'.

Finally, the findings that high levels of parental challenge encourage adolescent boys to form more traditional expectations regarding their responsibility for breadwinning and their role in childcare are troubling. High levels of parental challenge affect girls differently – increasing both their expectation that they will have primary care for their children and their expectation that they will provide financial support for their family, although the latter effect falls just short of statistical significance. Parental challenge thus seems to prepare boys for traditional male careers that require a supportive secondary earner spouse, but prepares girls to become “superwomen” who carry responsibility for both breadwinning and childcare simultaneously.

What could be the psychological mechanism driving these results? Turning to the actual scale items, the parental challenge items reflect youth's engagement in a wide variety of activities in high challenge households (interests and hobbies, extracurricular activities, competitive games), the high level of achievement and hard work expected of them in this wide range of pursuits (use time wisely, do your best, be a hard worker, expect to be good at what you do, make family members proud), and the value placed on individualism (self-confidence, self-discipline, independence, individual accomplishment, and responsibility). Although Weinschenker rightly supposes that such households should nourish high aspirations for success in both sons and daughters, there is nothing in the scale items that challenges the traditional sex typing of adult social roles. Given his portrait of the parents in this sample as typifying Hochschild's (1989) “stalled revolution” in gender roles, perhaps the high achieving children in these households understand success in very gender-biased ways. For the sons, this parental pressure to succeed results in a very traditional orientation toward achievement outside of home and family. Given cultural conceptions of masculinity that view successful fatherhood as synonymous with financial provision, these young ambitious men may see no contradiction between their roles as workers and fathers (Simon 1995). For daughters, the pressure to achieve combined with an ideology of individualism and self-discipline results in an orientation toward both career and family involvement with only minor assistance from a partner. Because traditional definitions of successful motherhood require enormous investments of time and energy in children (Hays 1996), these young women may see heavy maternal involvement as imperative while expecting relatively less involvement from their future husbands.

If correct, this interpretation suggests that a possible interaction between gender egalitarianism among parents and a high level of parental challenge may be necessary to translate parental challenge into aspirations for shared childcare

and mutual career support. Until achievement in childrearing becomes part of the general cultural lexicon for success among both genders, parents may need to do more explicit role modeling and direct teaching of such expectations to their sons, while deemphasizing them among their daughters, if they expect to see greater egalitarianism among their children.

Weinschenker has done a good job of working with the available measures in the data set to understand the determinants of adolescents' work and family aspirations, but other measures might help illuminate some of the more perplexing findings here. For example, parents' gender role attitudes had virtually no impact on their children, and even the direct example of father's participation in domestic labor had only limited impact. If measures of the amount of parental conflict over housework and childcare were available, I wonder if they might not condition the effects of parents' attitudes and behavior. Adolescents watching their parents fight continually over a more equitable division of housework might view fathers' housework as bought at too high a price, or might make egalitarian attitudes seem less attractive.

I also wonder about the differential impact of time use versus responsibility for domestic labor. Some literature suggests that even when fathers contribute substantially to the total time spent in domestic labor, mothers continue to shoulder the responsibility for thinking about and organizing domestic tasks and childcare activities. While time use measures tap one dimension of the division of household labor, this hidden labor of planning and worrying about domestic life and children's well-being is often transparent to children. Children pick up fairly quickly on who in the household can be relied upon to make sure that activities get planned and tasks get done. When this responsibility is truly shared by both parents, it might make a bigger difference in their children's future expectations than time use alone.

What these interpretations share is an emphasis on the emotional climate in the family rather than just the actual behavior of parents. Adolescents who feel both their parents are involved in their lives, both can be counted on to keep the household running smoothly, and both accept their roles with equanimity instead of reluctance or hostility, are more likely to expect shared childcare and breadwinning in their own future relationships. Weinschenker's significant contribution here is the attention he draws to the psychological elements of family life that often get missed in sociologists' focus on the structural organization of family life. Future research on adolescents' family and career aspirations would be well advised to pick up on the intriguing start that Weinschenker's analysis provides.