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Signature:

Sarah Friedman

Date

Still a “Stalled Revolution”?
Young Adults’ Work/Family Plans and Experiences

By

Sarah Friedman
Doctor of Philosophy

Sociology

Irene Browne (Advisor)

Karen Hegtvedt (Committee Member)

Beth Reingold (Committee Member)

Regina Werum (Committee Member)

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

Still a “Stalled Revolution”?
Young Adults’ Work/Family Plans and Experiences

By

Sarah Friedman
B.A., Brandeis University, 2003
M.A., Emory University, 2009

Advisor: Irene Browne, Ph.D.

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology
2011

Abstract

Still a “Stalled Revolution”? Young Adults’ Work/Family Plans and Experiences

By Sarah Friedman

Twenty years ago, Arlie Hochschild described the “stalled revolution”: women have fully entered the full-time labor force, increasingly in male-dominated fields, yet men have not comparably shifted into female-dominated fields or responsibility for household labor and childcare. This study investigates whether the revolution is still “stalled.” To what extent do contemporary young women and men hold non-traditional goals? What role do their parents play in the formation of non-traditional or traditional goals? Are men and women who want to cross gender boundaries in family or work able to achieve their non-traditional goals? To address these questions, I use longitudinal data from the National Survey of Families and Households which include surveys with young adults at ages 18-23 and ages 28-33, and focus on a group that should have the most opportunities to pursue non-traditional goals: predominantly-white, middle- to upper-income young adults.

Results indicate that, even among this privileged sample, the revolution is still stalled. Although both young women and men hold high marriage and parenthood desires, only 25% of women and 10% of men aspire to non-traditional occupations. Most young adults with non-traditional aspirations did not achieve those goals, though there are great gender differences in occupational trajectories. The results show that women experience high levels of work/family conflict and men are still constrained by a narrow definition of “appropriate” masculinity.

The influence of parental socialization factors on occupational trajectories, however, may be evidence that the revolution will unfold across generations. For instance, fathers’ egalitarian attitudes about gender increase men’s likelihood of pursuing non-traditional occupations. Similarly, mothers’ egalitarian attitudes increase women’s non-traditional aspirations. As contemporary young adults hold more egalitarian attitudes than previous generations, these young adults may increase their own children’s willingness to pursue non-traditional paths. Likewise, women were more likely to achieve non-traditional goals if their mothers worked outside the home. Since contemporary women are more likely to work when they have young children, they may increase the next generation of young women’s willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional paths. Although the revolution may appear quite stalled, these findings support the claim that it is slowly unfolding.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude to all the people who, both directly and indirectly, helped me navigate this journey. It has not always been an easy process, but I can say with full certainty that it would have been impossible without the kindness, wisdom, and unwavering support I received over the years.

My dissertation committee provided insight and feedback to help nurture this dissertation from a tentative idea to the finished product. Karen Hegtvedt and Beth Reingold were instrumental in helping me frame my arguments, present ideas more clearly, and maintain a focus on the bigger picture. Regina Werum worked with me to hammer out the dissertation topic, pushed me to develop my analysis and strengthen my writing, and provided valuable comments and suggestions on drafts along the way. In addition to directly assisting with the dissertation process, Regina has been an advocate and a mentor throughout my graduate school career. She offered empathy and encouragement when I doubted my ability to complete the Ph.D., and tough love when I needed a push to get moving. This dissertation never would have started without her. Without Irene Browne, this dissertation never would have been finished. Irene read countless drafts and offered guidance on everything from my smallest questions to the overarching framework. In addition to her serving as a dissertation advisor, she also provided advice on navigating the job market. I am very fortunate to have had both Regina and Irene as advisors, particularly during this final stage of the Ph.D.

In addition to my dissertation committee, I owe thanks to Rob O'Reilly, who helped me get started managing a large dataset and underscored the value of taking it one step at a time. Katie Wilson was consistently organized and knowledgeable about all the random questions I've had along the way. Maggie Stephens was generous with her wisdom, support, and encouragement over these last few years and kept me company in the final waiting period of the dissertation defense. Kendra Freeman shared resources and advice as I learned how to use STATA and answered my many questions about analyses. Both Kendra and Caddie Rankin were invaluable in the early stages of the dissertation and served as sounding boards for ideas and getting started with the process. Through their encouragement, confidence, and their own successes, Caddie, Kendra, Jake Bucher, and Barret Michalec helped me realize that I could actually complete this.

Outside of Emory, I must express my appreciation and apologies to the friends I have neglected as my own work/life balance tipped toward "dissertation" and away from everything else. With patience and understanding, they were steadfast in the belief that I would succeed. I am grateful for the love and support they have given me over the years.

My family and extended "family" members have sustained me, and I would not be the woman I am today without them. At holiday dinners and visits, they always wanted to hear about my progress and when I would finish, and they have been encouraging and supportive as that date shifted. Their pride in my accomplishments and outpouring of love and congratulations at the completion of my dissertation has been tremendous.

Zach Friedman and Melanie Hammer have been among my biggest supporters, even though it took nearly seven years of graduate school and a Ph.D. for Zach to admit that I am the “smart one.” When all I saw were revisions and pressing deadlines, they offered enthusiasm and excitement about my nearing the finish line. They also gave me the wonderful role of being an aunt. Madeleine has brought more joy than I thought possible from one small person. I look forward to continuing to watch her grow as a feisty, adventurous, and bright young girl and soon-to-be older sister.

My parents, Gloria Nuland and Michael Friedman, have been remarkable. They offered unconditional support and guidance when this journey was difficult, and rejoiced with me at each step along the way. With utter dedication and commitment to their family and to each other, they provided exceptional role models of what family should look like. My father taught me about the importance of finding balance, pursuing your passions, and having an open heart. My mother kept me grounded, has been my greatest cheerleader, and showed me that anything is possible with integrity and courage. They instilled in me a love of learning, and all of my accomplishments are truly because of the confidence, inspiration, and love they have given me.

It is hard to put into words how much Joel Ring has given me throughout this process. He believed in me when I was unsure, allowed me to have my moments of feeling completely overwhelmed and then pushed me to shake it off and get back to work, and challenged me to think outside of my comfort zone and about new ways of being and doing. He brought love, determination, resilience, and open, honest, and frequent communication to our own efforts to find balance. With all the unknowns and uncertainties, he has been a source of stability. I am so lucky to have had him by my side, and I look forward to continuing our journeys together.

President Obama said: “We recognize our own mortality, and are reminded that in the fleeting time we have on this earth, what matters is not wealth, or status, or power, or fame – but rather how well we have loved, and what small part we have played in bettering the lives of others.”

To all of the above, my colleagues, my supporters, my family, and my friends – I hope that I can bring the same love and betterment to others that you have shown me. This wouldn't have been possible without you.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

THE “STALLED REVOLUTION”?

Over the past five decades, options for women outside of the primary role of mother have opened substantially, as attitudes towards women’s roles in the family and the workplace expanded and women’s participation in the labor force grew. Currently, the majority of women with children are working in the paid labor force, compared to less than 35% 50 years ago (Jacobs 1989a, 1995b; Jacobsen 1994; Padavic and Reskin 2002; Reskin 1993). Women are also more likely to work in male-dominated occupations than in previous generations (Padavic and Reskin 2002). Dual-earner households now outnumber traditional (male breadwinner / female homemaker) households by roughly three to one (Clarkberg and Moen 2001; Han and Moen 1999; Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, and Crouter 2000). Men’s work and family commitments have also shifted. Longitudinal studies have found that, over time, men express increased family importance compared to earlier cohorts (Baber and Monaghan 1988; Davey 1998; Willinger 1993) and many young men report that having a family is at least as important as work (Radcliffe Public Policy Center 2000; Gerson 1989; Willinger 1993).

Alongside the substantial changes in the labor market and the movement of women into male-dominated occupations, however, some aspects of work and family life have changed at a much slower rate. The model of the “traditional” family continues to reflect social expectations (Coltrane 1998; Coontz 1992; Kimmel 1996). Hochschild (1989) refers to this as the “stalled revolution”: while women have increasingly entered the paid labor force and the public sphere, men have not equally entered the private sphere in household contributions. Attitudes about gender are changing, yet it appears

that perhaps actual experiences at home are not changing as quickly. In particular, women are expected to get married and to carry the main responsibility for childcare and housework, while men are expected to fulfill the role of breadwinner (Hays 1997; Hochschild 1989, 1997). This leaves many young adults pitted between the ideologies of “tradition” and the changes taking place throughout society. Given these changes taking place, what happens to young adults’ goals and outcomes? Do they reflect the changes in society or are they still limited by the slower changes in institutions and expectations of “tradition”?

This dissertation addresses these important questions. In particular, I focus on the development of young adults’ aspirations for work and family roles and the relationship between those goals and the actual work/family outcomes that they achieve. By looking at goals and outcomes with longitudinal data, I am able to unpack the processes through which women and men follow traditional or non-traditional family and career paths. To “unstall” the revolution, it is not enough for some young adults to desire non-traditional paths, particularly when it is primarily women pursuing non-traditional occupations. Rather, it is necessary for more young women and young men to aspire to non-traditional paths. Likewise, non-traditional aspirations alone are not sufficient; young adults must also achieve non-traditional goals.

Hochschild made her claim that the gender revolution is “stalled” twenty years ago. Some scholars argue that the revolution is not stalled, and that gender equality will be achieved as new generations enter adulthood with a wider range of opportunities and more egalitarian attitudes. Thus, given the changes that have taken place in society in terms of more egalitarian attitudes about appropriate gender roles (Thornton and Young-

DeMarco 2001), more women in the workplace (Padavic and Reskin 2002), and men's (albeit slight) increase in household labor contributions (Bianchi et al. 2000; Sayer 2005), it is possible that contemporary young adults hold less traditional work/family aspirations than the earlier generation examined by Hochschild and other scholars. Although excellent studies have focused on the work/family goals and outcomes of cohorts of young adults born in the 1940s through 1960s (e.g. Gerson 1985, 1993), it is also necessary to examine the plans and outcomes of those born *after* the women's movement to assess whether the gender revolution remains "stalled."

Gerson (2001) offers a framework that highlights the possibility of an important "cohort effect" on the influences of the changes in women's and men's roles. Gerson differentiates these contemporary young adults as the "children of the gender revolution," compared to earlier cohorts who she terms the "parents of the revolution." These "children of the revolution" are presumably more likely to hold non-traditional goals and, given the changes in society, more likely to achieve them. Also, unlike earlier cohorts, these children of the revolution are being raised by mothers who lived through the gender revolution, and who were more likely than their own mothers to work outside the home and hold egalitarian gender attitudes. Thus, it is important to understand to what extent mothers and fathers "of the revolution" are shaping non-traditional goals among their children, and whether these non-traditional goals are actually achieved when the children become adults.

My dissertation brings together theories of individual processes – particularly within the family – to study what leads to variation in work/family goals and outcomes. By doing so, I am able to reexamine Hochschild's concept of the "stalled revolution" and

to highlight factors that increase young adults' likelihood of pursuing non-traditional plans, as well as factors that increase their likelihood of actually achieving those goals. I look at the family and work goals and outcomes among a group of young adults who would be the most likely to achieve their aspirations. Many of the young adults in this study are from privileged backgrounds: many are White (76.9%) and many are from families in the top two income quintiles (53.4%). Given these racial and class privileges, one might expect that these young adults would be poised to reap the benefits of the 2nd-wave feminist movements and, thus, be less "stalled" in pursuing their work and family aspirations. With this sample of privileged young adults, I am able to conduct a more stringent interrogation of the question of whether the gender revolution is "stalled."

CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

While many researchers examine women's and men's experiences with work and family, this dissertation moves the literature forward by also looking at young adults' plans that precede their concrete experiences in work and family. Through a longitudinal analysis of aspirations among young adults and their actual work/family outcomes ten years later, I can address the question, "Are the majority of men and women in traditional occupations and family roles because they aspired to these outcomes, or do women and men who develop non-traditional aspirations for their work and family lives have difficulty achieving their goals?"

My longitudinal dataset also allows me to examine the factors that influence whether young adult women and men plan to cross gender boundaries in family and work roles. Scholars who argue that the gender revolution is not stalled contend that change

will occur as the children of the revolution develop non-traditional aspirations growing up exposed to more egalitarian attitudes and greater opportunities for women. Much of this first-hand exposure will happen in the family. Thus, it is important to understand how parents influence young adults' work/family aspirations. Specifically, how do parents affect the willingness of young adults to pursue non-traditional goals?

In addition, Hochschild argues that in order for the revolution to become “unstalled,” it is not sufficient for some women to have non-traditional plans. Rather, men must also pursue non-traditional paths to bring greater equality between women and men at work and at home. Thus, it is necessary to examine parental influences on non-traditional goals for male children as well as female children. In Chapter 4, I explore the factors that influence variation in young men's and women's willingness to pursue non-traditional goals.

Although many young adults hope that their work/family plans will have a direct effect on their experiences, intervening factors can veer those plans off-course such as inflexible workplaces, family responsibilities, and pressures to pursue gender normative roles (Stone 2007b; Stone and Lovejoy 2004). In Chapter 5, I examine the relationship between work/family plans and outcomes to broaden our understanding of where young adults “leak out” of non-traditional pipelines. Such an examination builds knowledge of what factors influence variation in young adults' ability to achieve their goals, particularly when those goals are non-traditional.

To address these issues, I argue it is crucial to focus on the relationship between socialization experiences and individual aspirations. Socialization experiences pass on norms of “appropriate” values and behaviors, including ideas about gender, work, and

family roles. In this way, socialization experiences can serve a reproductive function (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984). At the same time, however, individuals have the capacity for creative interpretation (Corsaro 1992). Thus, a focus on socialization experiences is beneficial to an analysis of why some young adults pursue “traditional” work/family arrangements while others seek non-traditional roles.

This study examines how socialization content in the family of origin influences variation in both willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional goals. To do so, I bridge several complementary perspectives to address how the content of socialization experiences impacts work/family plans and outcomes. First, parental role-modeling perspectives highlight the important influence of parents’ experiences, such as maternal work histories, parents’ educational attainment, and the division of household labor, in guiding young adults’ plans and potentially shaping their experiences.

Additionally, parents’ attitudes about appropriate gender roles can be influential forces on their children’s own attitudes. An emphasis on both parents’ and the young adults’ gender role attitudes looks more closely at the attitudinal component and how individual’s beliefs about gender (and internalization of ideas about gender roles) shape their goals and experiences. I explore how these attitudes about gender roles influence variation in young adults’ willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional goals.

Thus, my central research questions for this project are:

Gender and Work/Family Plans

- What factors influence the work/family aspirations of young adults, especially their pursuit of non-traditional goals?
- How do work/family plans vary both across- and within-genders?

- How do socialization content from parents and gender role attitudes affect variation in young adults' work/family aspirations?

Gender and Work/Family Outcomes

- What is the relationship between work/family aspirations and outcomes?
- What factors contribute to or hinder young adults' ability to achieve work/family goals?
- How do the pathways from work/family plans to outcomes vary both across- and within-gender, as well as by type of plan (traditional vs. non-traditional)?
- How do socialization content from parents and gender role attitudes affect variation in young adults' work/family outcomes?

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LITERATURE

This study offers three main contributions to the literature. My study expands our understanding of the processes steering women and men into nontraditional goals, the relationship between plans and outcomes, and the influence of socialization content from mothers and fathers. Below, I discuss each of these contributions in greater depth.

Pathways toward (or away from) non-traditional goals and outcomes

First, these findings contribute to knowledge about the processes that steer women and men into (or out of) non-traditional pathways. A longitudinal examination of this relationship between plans and outcomes is particularly relevant for policy. As the struggling economy further impacts young adults' ability to "have it all," it is crucial to understand when individuals do and do not meet their goals in order to promote effective change and provide support to enable achieving their aspirations. While we know a lot about women's career choices, we know less about men's choices. Yet, if Hochschild is

correct in her assessment of the “stalled revolution,” it is important for *men* to engage in non-traditional activities at home and work for complete gender equality to be achieved. My research illuminates the processes that may help “unstall” the gender revolution.

This study contributes to the literature in examining variation in young adults’ willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional work/family goals. I explore whether “male privilege” (McIntosh 1988; Williams 1992) makes it easier for men to achieve their work/family plans, including non-traditional plans, or if hegemonic masculinity places greater pressure on men and steers them away from non-traditional plans (Coltrane 2004; Pleck 1976; Orrange 2002). I focus on whether the processes leading to non-traditional pathways – both planning and achieving those goals – differ for women and men. I find that men are actually less likely than women to achieve non-traditional occupational goals regardless of marriage and parenthood outcomes.

The relationship between plans and outcomes

Second, I further the discussion on the extent to which work/family plans influence outcomes. Some scholars argue behavioral intentions are the best predictors of future behaviors (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980; Cunningham 2005; Hoffnung 2004), while others claim that young adults’ plans are often unreliable at gauging outcomes (Holland and Eisenhart 1990; Jacobs 1989a; Rindfuss, Cooksey, and Sutterlin 1999). Much scholarly research (Blair-Loy 2003; Gerson 2010; Hoffnung 2004; Moen and Roehling 2005; Stone 2007a), as well as anecdotal evidence and media stories (Belkin 2003; Story 2005), have focused on contemporary women’s struggles to “have it all.”

I engage this discussion by focusing on what factors increase women's ability to achieve their goals (i.e., their intentions predict their future behavior) and under which circumstances they fail to do so (i.e., their intentions do not match their outcomes), paying particular attention to the relationship between occupational goal type (traditional or non-traditional) and work/family outcomes. Likewise, I analyze the factors that influence men's ability to achieve occupational goals and whether these vary by goal type. I find that, for both women and men, young adults are far more likely to achieve traditional occupational goals than non-traditional goals. Women are actually more likely to achieve non-traditional goals than men are, yet this is often at the expense of marriage and parenthood.

The impact of socialization content

Finally, I test the influence of parental socialization content on young adults' willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional work/family plans. My research focuses on specific experiences in the family of origin that influence young women's and men's work/family plans and the degree to which these are traditional or non-traditional. Likewise, I examine if socialization content has a continued influence on the young adults' work/family outcomes.

One of my key findings is that, overall, socialization content are significant factors in shaping young adults' work/family plans (see Chapter 4). However, this relationship is not simply straightforward: young adults do not merely imitate what their parents model. Young adults' attitudes often diverge from those of their parents, and their plans can follow in their parents' footsteps or seek a different path entirely.

I also find that, contrary to the arguments of some researchers (e.g. Gerson 1985), socialization content has a continued effect on young adults' achievement of occupational goals, independent of their own attitudes and what type of goal they had (see Chapter 5). That is, the impact of socialization experiences does not disappear over the life course, as peers and concrete experiences (e.g. having children) exert greater influence (Gerson 1985; Risman and Schwartz 1989; Risman, Atkinson, and Blackwelder 1999).

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

In the next chapter, I provide a more detailed discussion of the theoretical approach. I explain how my interest in this project originated and draw on perspectives on the relationship between gender, work, and family. I discuss why we may or may not expect the “stalled revolution” to continue for contemporary young adults given changes in society after the 2nd-wave women's movement as well as continued work/family incompatibilities. Then I discuss what we currently know about young adults' work/family aspirations and what empirical gaps still remain. To address these gaps, I describe individual-level factors that influence young adults' willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional work/family paths. I focus primarily on the impact of parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes, as well as the young adults' gender role attitudes, on work/family plans and experiences.

In Chapter 3, I describe the data and methods used in this study. I focus on variation in the young adults' work/family plans in Chapter 4, paying particular attention to explanations of within-gender variation regarding traditional or non-traditional plans. In Chapter 5, I examine the relationship between plans and outcomes. I focus on across-

and within-gender variation regarding factors that increase the ability to achieve occupational outcomes, as well as if those pathways vary based on occupational goal type (traditional or non-traditional). Finally, in Chapter 6, I synthesize the major findings, describe the implications, and discuss project limitations and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

My initial interest in this topic began with studying gender as a social structure (Connell 1987, 1995; Epstein 1988; Lorber 1994; Risman 1998, 2004) and what that means for individual work/family experiences. After reading about gendered experiences at home and at work (e.g. Budig and England 2001; Crittenden 2001; Gerson 1985; Hays 1997; Hochschild 1989, 1997; Jacobs 1989a; Kanter 1977; Moen and Roehling 2005; Reskin and Padavic 1994), I wondered about young adults' plans for work and family. Anecdotal articles highlighted a new traditionalism among elite women planning to "opt out" of the labor force when they had children (Belkin 2003; Story 2005), yet scholarly work rejected those claims and instead emphasized continued gender inequality and constraints limiting women's abilities to successfully balance work and family (Boushey 2005; Graff 2007; Percheski 2008; Stone 2007a; Stone and Lovejoy 2004; Williams, Manvell, and Bornstein 2006).

I was left with several questions. First, given all of the changes in society – particularly regarding women's increased role in the labor force and in male-dominated occupations (Jacobs 1989a, 1995b; Jacobsen 1994; Padavic and Reskin 2002; Reskin 1993), as well as more egalitarian attitudes about gender roles (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001) – have young adults' goals changed to reflect those shifts? When do they conform to "traditional" gender expectations and when do they hold non-traditional aspirations? What factors shape those aspirations? What influences whether or not they achieve those goals? Are women more likely than men to hold non-traditional

aspirations? Who is more likely to achieve their non-traditional aspirations, men or women?

These questions form the core of my dissertation. In this chapter, I present the framework I draw on for my analyses in this project. I start by further describing the overarching puzzles related to women's and men's work/family aspirations and experiences that guide this study. Then, I provide an overview of what we currently know about young adults' work/family aspirations, as well as what gaps remain in the literature. Next, I review the theoretical framework related to the development of work/family aspirations and describe what factors influence young adults' willingness to pursue non-traditional work/family plans. I focus in particular on individual-level factors, especially in the family of origin: parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes about appropriate gender roles, and the young adults' attitudes about gender roles. Then, in the next major section, I discuss the relationship between work/family plans and outcomes and explore the extent to which plans are related to outcomes. I describe the relationship between gender, work experiences, and family outcomes to provide a framework for understanding why some young adults are more able to achieve their occupational goals than others – particularly if those goals are non-traditional.

IS THE “STALLED REVOLUTION” STILL STALLED?

As society has changed over recent decades, women have experienced greater opportunities in the work sphere and men have slightly higher involvement in the home sphere. Hochschild described the “stalled revolution” over twenty years ago. Given these changes in society, there are reasons to believe that the “stall” has lessened. Yet while

some structures in society have been changing, such as the increased presence of women in the full-time labor force and in increasingly diverse occupations, the underlying ideology and view of what is “traditional” (and hence “normal”) has perhaps not changed as quickly (Coltrane 1998, 2004; Coontz 1992). Thus, it is also possible that the stall has continued.

Generational changes and the unstalled revolution

While some influential studies of work/family aspirations and outcomes focus on a cohort of individuals born in the 1940s and 1950s (e.g. Gerson 1985, 1993), this research provides an important contribution by focusing on contemporary young adults. Research on women who were in their 30s in the 1980s centers on those Gerson (2001) calls the “parents of the gender revolution.” Women coming of age after the women’s movement, who Gerson (2001) refers to as the “children of the revolution,” have more opportunities available to them than did previous generations.

Currently, women are increasingly working in the paid labor force (Jacobs 1989a, 1995a; Jacobsen 1994; Reskin 1993): while 34% of American women were in the paid labor force in 1950, 70% of women were participating in the labor force in 2000 (Padavic and Reskin 2002). In recent years, women have come to equal nearly half of the adult labor force and, due to the current recession, in some places represent a majority of workers (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics). Women are also more likely to work in male-dominated occupations than in previous generations (Padavic and Reskin 2002). The number of women working when their children are young has also increased (Han and Moen 1999; Moen 1992; Perry-Jenkins et al. 2000), and dual-earner households now

outnumber traditional (male breadwinner / female homemaker) households by roughly three to one (Clarkberg and Moen 2001).

In addition to these changes in women's employment, societal attitudes about appropriate gender roles have become more egalitarian over time (Thornton 1989; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983). Young adults' age at first marriage and first childbirth has steadily risen (Ventura and Bachrach 2000), and more children are born outside of marriage than in earlier decades (Wu, Bumpass, and Musick 2001). With increasingly egalitarian gender role attitudes in society and more women working in diverse occupations, it is quite possible that today's young women differ from earlier cohorts. Likewise, today's men are more likely to rank family as high in importance compared to previous generations of men (Baber and Monaghan 1988; Davey 1998; Gerson 1989; Radcliffe Public Policy Center 2000; Willinger 1993). A small but growing number of men are entering traditionally female occupations or staying home to take care of their children while their wife works (Williams 1995). Given these shifts, as well as economic changes and the decline of the male breadwinner (Jacobs and Gerson 2001; Morris and Western 1999), it is also possible that men's work/family aspirations have shifted as well. At the same time, however, hegemonic beliefs about gender and "appropriate" gender roles may slow the pace of change.

Hegemonic gender ideologies and the still stalled revolution

Gender can be defined as more than an ascribed characteristic of individuals, but as an institution that shapes expectations and experiences (Connell 1987, 1995; Epstein 1988; Lorber 1994; Risman 1998). Risman (2004) describes gender as a social structure.

She argues that gender exists beyond individual characteristics and choices, but is embedded in society; gender is internalized through individual actors, sets expectations, constrains and facilitates behaviors and interactions, leads to different experiences in society, and is legitimated through ideology. Similarly, Ridgeway and Correll (2004b) theorize how hegemonic beliefs about gender form a system in which gender is institutionalized; the distinction of women and men defines how individuals should behave and perpetuates inequality on the basis of that distinction.

On the micro-level, individuals learn how to “do gender” (West and Zimmerman 1987) and how to fill “appropriate” gender roles in society, which include work and family roles. Given different cultural beliefs about what constitutes “appropriate” masculinity versus what is “appropriate” femininity, there are different expectations about how men and women ought to pursue work and family roles. An analysis of these norms helps provide an understanding of how young adults’ willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional work/family plans may vary by gender, as well as why Hochschild’s (1989) “stalled revolution” may still persist.

Men and traditional or non-traditional work/family roles

Hegemonic masculinity is frequently described as a narrowly defined set of “appropriate” behaviors (Kimmel 1996; Kivel 1992, 2007). While some theorists argue that society confers more privileges on masculine roles than on feminine roles (Cohen and Huffman 2003; Connell 1987; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999), men’s opportunities to transgress gender boundaries are not as privileged. Rather, masculinity is severely constrained and indications of crossing gender boundaries are often met with

sanctions (both verbal and physical). Many of the insults used to maintain the narrow “act-like-a-man” box (Kivel 1992, 2007) center around associating “inappropriate” behavior with being feminine or gay (Pascoe 2007). While women are certainly not immune from sanctions for veering from stereotypical feminine norms, the restrictions on “appropriate” masculinity are often more narrow than “appropriate” femininity and carry harsher consequences for violations.

In regards to work/family roles, the modern cultural definition of masculinity is linked to the “traditional” role of the male breadwinner, so men’s family contributions are often defined by their economic and work commitments (Barnett and Baruch 1987; Bielby and Bielby 1989; Friedman and Weissbrod 2005; Nock 1998; Rindfuss et al. 1999; Townsend 2002; Wiley 1991). Men’s experience as “tokens” (Kanter 1977) in non-traditional occupations demonstrates both their male privilege and the restrictions and pressures of hegemonic masculinity. When men are in female-dominated occupations, they tend to receive more privileges and advantages than their female counterparts or than women in male-dominated occupations. Their male privilege, rather than disadvantaging them in non-traditional occupations, generally serves to offer more opportunities, more prestigious specialties, and more pressure for advancement (Barnett, Baron, and Stuart 2000; Cognard-Black 2004; Williams 1992).¹

At the same time, men also frequently face stigma and social sanctions discouraging work in female-dominated occupations (Barnett et al. 2000; Jacobs 1989a,

¹ It is important to note that the advantages men receive in female-dominated occupations are racialized, with white men more likely to receive those advantages than their non-white peers. For example, Williams (1992) found that male nurses were treated with more respect, worked in more prestigious areas, and were generally assumed to have more education (such as being mistaken for doctors) than female nurses. Wingfield (2009) notes that this experience was more relevant for white male nurses, as black male nurses were generally seen as lower ranking than their white counterparts and at times were assumed to be orderlies.

1993; Wooton 1997). Thus, when men in non-traditional occupations are encouraged to move to higher status fields, it is also a symptom of male pressure to abide by normative gender roles. Likewise, as female-dominated occupations pay less and are lower status than male-dominated occupations, men in non-traditional occupations are in lower status roles than those men in traditional occupations. Given social pressures to work in “appropriate” masculine roles and occupations, as well as the tangible status benefits of male-dominated occupations, it remains important to further unpack why young men would pursue non-traditional female-dominated occupations.

Although research has examined men’s experiences in these non-traditional/female-dominated occupations and family roles (e.g. Williams 1992), less work has focused on men’s aspirations regarding traditional or non-traditional occupations and work/family balance. A key component of this study is to systematically examine the factors that influence young men’s willingness and ability to cross gender-boundaries and pursue non-traditional paths. In doing so, this research examines the extent to which the revolution is still “stalled” in terms of men’s work/family roles.

Women and traditional or non-traditional work/family roles

Given the higher status and pay of male-dominated occupations (Bradley 1993; Jacobs 1993), it is not surprising that some women would pursue those non-traditional fields. While women in non-traditional male-dominated occupations may gain higher status, however, they often face great difficulties in pursuing those fields. Women are more likely than their male peers to face discrimination and the “glass ceiling” limiting their advancement in male-dominated fields (e.g. Cotter et al. 2001; Reskin and Roos

1990). Likewise, the conceptualization of work and family roles for women poses additional difficulties for women on non-traditional pathways.

For women, the relationship between work and family roles is quite different than for men. While the ideal husband/father is defined by economic contributions, the ideal wife/mother is conceptualized in direct conflict with the fulfillment of ideal employee roles. Even though women are increasingly in the full-time labor force, they remain primarily responsible for household tasks and childrearing (Bianchi et al. 2000; Blair and Lichter 1991; Coltrane 2000; Deutsch 1999; Demo and Acock 1993; Hochschild 1989; Sanchez and Thomson 1997; Sayer 2005; Schneider and Waite 2005; Shelton and John 1996; Spain and Bianchi 1996). Similarly, the notion of the ideal mother is shaped by what Hays (1997) refers to as the “ideology of intensive mothering,” which assumes high levels of maternal involvement in children’s daily lives. In addition to the daily home maintenance, the time commitment of intensive mothering precludes the time commitment of the ideal worker; thus, women are often pitted between the two conflicting demands of fulfilling the ideal employee roles and the ideal wife/mother role (Bielby and Bielby 1989; Williams 2000). Similarly, employers often demonstrate biases toward mothers and rank them lower in competence for work-related skills, which increases the conflict mothers’ face between family and work roles (Ridgeway and Correll 2004a).

These tensions between women’s work and family roles are representative of the “stalled revolution”: while women have increasingly entered the paid labor force and the public sphere, men have not equally entered the private sphere in household contributions. Attitudes about gender are changing, yet it appears that perhaps actual

experiences at home are not changing as quickly. Women's work/family conflict can be especially pronounced in male-dominated occupations, which are frequently more "all-or-nothing" in their time requirements (Hewlett and Luce 2005). Thus, while contemporary young women have more opportunities available to them than did earlier cohorts of women, there are still continued incompatibilities between work and family roles that may decrease the likelihood of women pursuing or achieving non-traditional occupational paths.

What questions remain about gender and work/family roles?

In summary, gender differences at home and in the workplace provide the backdrop to this study on young adults' work/family aspirations, choices, and experiences. Gender differences in work/family preferences and commitment can be viewed as individual choices situated within broader structural constraints and opportunities, which vary by gender (Bielby 1992). These gendered experiences mold the choices young adults perceive as possible in their own lives. Perceptions of limited gender equality, pressures to maintain normative gender roles, restricted options, and anticipations of work/family conflict may narrow young adults' aspirations into gender-stereotypical paths. Women's increased presence in the paid labor force and in male-dominated occupations, however, may broaden young women's own aspirations. Yet, persistent gender differences in work/family experiences may make achieving those goals more difficult for women than for men. Similarly, men may express greater interest in family roles and female-dominated occupations, but pressure to conform to hegemonic masculinity may decrease the likelihood of men holding non-traditional goals or

achieving them. Thus, my hypotheses for the relationship between gender and work/family plans are as follows:

- Hypothesis 1a Women will express greater desire for marriage and parenthood than men
- Hypothesis 1b The majority of young adults will anticipate gender-stereotypical occupations,
- Hypothesis 1c Women will exhibit a greater preference for male-dominated occupations than men have for female-dominated occupations.

In addition to examining variation between women's and men's work/family plans, this study explores factors that influence both across- and within-gender variation in willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional paths. To do so, I examine the following questions: What influences young adults' willingness to pursue traditional or non-traditional work/family roles? What shapes the likelihood of achieving those goals? To what extent does gender influence these pathways? What explains within-gender variation?

To address these questions, I first examine what we currently know about young adults' work/family aspirations and what gaps still remain in the literature. I then discuss the individual-level factors that shed light on variation in young adults' work/family plans and conditions under which young adults pursue and achieve traditional or non-traditional goals. I describe how socialization experiences influence work/family plans. Specifically, I describe the relationship between parental role-modeling and young adults' work/family goals, particularly focusing on maternal work histories, the division of household labor, parents' educational attainment, and family structure. Next, I focus on how parents' gender role attitudes impact their young adult children's attitudes and goals. Then, I examine how cultural ideologies about gender shape young adults'

work/family aspirations. For each of these relationships, I examine across- and within-gender variation.

While previous research has often focused on these components by analyzing these processes as empirically distinct, this study offers a unique contribution by testing the influence of parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes in combination to assess the relative strength of each argument (see the theoretical diagram in Figure 2.1). Taken together, these factors afford a holistic and comprehensive examination both across- and within-gender variation in young adults' work/family aspirations and outcomes.

[Figure 2.1 here]

In the final major section of this chapter, I examine how focusing on these complementary factors helps shed light on the relationship between work/family goals and outcomes. I describe research on the stability, or lack thereof, of work/family aspirations and the relationship between aspirations and outcomes. In particular, I focus on who achieves work/family goals by assessing the impact of gender, parental role-modeling, and gender role attitudes on the ability to achieve work/family plans. Finally, I discuss what happens when people do not meet their work/family goals and how individuals deal with work/family conflict.

CONTEMPORARY YOUNG ADULTS' WORK/FAMILY ASPIRATIONS

Aspirations represent a key component of a life course perspective and studying aspirations is a way to tap into and understand how people shape and pursue their goals in

life (Shanahan 2000).² Additionally, researchers argue that “emerging adulthood” (ages 18-25) is a distinct and important phase of contemporary life between adolescence and adulthood, during which individuals make decisions about their work/family goals (Arnett 2000) and engage in future “multiple role planning” (McCracken and Weitzman 1997). While there is a debate over how much aspirations predict future behavior (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980; Carlson, McLanahan, and England 2004; Cunningham 2005; Hoffnung 2004; Holland and Eisenhart 1990; Jacobs 1989a; Low et al. 2005; Rindfuss et al. 1999; Sewell and Hauser 1980), scholars such as Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) and Hoffnung (2004) argue that aspirations are crucial for understanding individual’s behaviors. This study will contribute to this debate by examining the extent to which aspirations match future behavior and the conditions under which this occurs. Later in this chapter I discuss in greater detail the debate over how much aspirations predict outcomes. First, I describe what we currently know about young adults’ work/family aspirations and then I examine factors that influence how aspirations develop.

What do we know about current work/family aspirations of young men and women? What do we still need to know?

In recent decades, attitudes about gender roles have become more egalitarian (Cichy, Lefkowitz, and Fingerman 2007; Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001) and more women are in the paid labor force including when they have young children (Clarkberg

² It is possible to distinguish between aspirations in an ideal sense and concrete intentions or plans for the future. However, the data used for this research does not allow for a sufficient examination of both since the young adults were not asked about their ideal vision of work/family roles. Rather, questions are posed as more closely related to individuals’ own plans for their future roles (the questions and variables are described in more detail in Chapter 3). The “aspirations” described in this study are assumed to be individuals’ concrete plans – regardless of whether or not these plans are actually realistic or achievable. Thus, I use the terms “aspirations” and “intentions” interchangeably to refer to the plans that the young adults’ have for their work and family roles and behaviors.

and Moen 2001; Padavic and Reskin 2002). However, 20 years after Hochschild described the “stalled revolution,” persistent gender norms continue to structure work and family roles. Given changing social norms on one hand, and the continued gendering of work and family behaviors on the other, what do young adults today want? Do their aspirations follow the changing norms and reflect more egalitarian attitudes? Or do their goals reflect the stubborn reality of gendered responsibilities and experiences?

Wanting it all, but anticipating conflict?

Many studies of men’s work/family experiences emphasize how men’s work and family roles are related to each other in that to be successful in one (i.e., to be a good worker) defines success in the other (i.e., to be a good worker is to be a good provider, which is to be a good husband and father [Coltrane 2004; Orrange 2002]). Given the often complementary nature of men’s work and family roles, much research on expectations of work/family conflict thus focuses more on young women who are more likely to experience conflict between the demands of work and family roles. Yet there is conflicting evidence in the literature over how much contemporary women expect to “have it all” in work and family, and how much they anticipate conflict in balancing work and family.

One claim is that young women today are less likely to anticipate conflict in “having it all” than women in earlier generations. Although women still overwhelmingly express desires to marry and have children (Gerson 2010), they are increasingly committed to work and careers (Baber and Monaghan 1988). Studies of high school girls have found that the vast majority want to marry and become mothers someday, and

nearly all anticipate working outside of the home when they have children (Dennehy and Mortimer 1992). Similarly, studies of college women reveal that most expect to marry, have children, and pursue careers without conflict (Hoffnung 2004). Overall, research finds that the majority of contemporary young adults anticipate marriage (Pew Research Center 2007).

Longitudinal studies find that women express increased expectations to work full-time (Baber and Monaghan 1988; Kaufman 2005; Morgan and Affleck 1989; Spade and Reese 1991; Stake and Rogers 1989). In general, many studies have found that young women want and expect both motherhood and work for pay (Baber and Monaghan 1988; Bielby and Bielby 1984; Davey 1998; Goldin 2006; Granrose and Kaplan 1996; Hartung and Rogers 2000; Hoffnung 1993; Machung 1989; Maines and Hardesty 1987; Morgan and Affleck 1989; Novack and Novack 1996; O'Connell, Betz, and Kurth 1989). Some have found that young women do not think they will have significant career interruptions to have families (Blau and Ferber 1992; Reskin and Padavic 1994) and believe they can combine work and family without trade-offs (Greenhaus and Parasuraman 1999; Sanders et al. 1998; Spade and Reese 1991); these young women are often unaware of the realities of career trade-offs and work/family conflict, which may be setting themselves up for disappointment later in life (Schroeder, Blood, and Maluso 1992).

Other studies have found that young adults are more realistic and aware of the persistent gendered expectations for work and family. Rather than expecting to “have it all” without conflict, some studies find young women want marriage, parenthood, and careers but expect conflict in successfully balancing the roles (Coltrane 1998, 2000, 2004; Livingston, Burley, and Springer 1996; Machung 1989; Sanders et al. 1998;

Schroeder, Blood, and Maluso 1993; Spade and Reese 1991). Women want egalitarian partnerships and marriage/parenthood in combination with work, but often express ambivalence and uncertainty regarding the possibility of doing so (Orrange 2002; Stone and McKee 2000). Likewise, women anticipate doing more housework than men (Fiorentine 1988; Kaufman 2005; Machung 1989) and are more likely than men to expect constraints in their ability to balance work and family roles (Cinamon 2006; Gerson 2002; Johnson, Oesterle, and Mortimer 2001; Johnson and Mortimer 2000). Yet even in expecting trade-offs, such as delayed marriage, fewer children, or career sacrifices, women still want to have all the roles of wife, mother, and career (Bridges 1987). Similarly, some studies find that contemporary young men still identify with a “provider” role and envision their future work/family roles to fall along “traditional” roles of the male breadwinner and the female caregiver (Orrange 2003).

Non-traditional goals and traditional expectations

Based on women’s expectations of conflict and persistent “traditional” gender role expectations, some argue that women have a “contingency orientation” toward work: given the cultural restrictions they face in work and family, they have historically opted for traditional (female-dominated) occupations (Baber and Monaghan 1988). Additionally, the issue of balancing work and family in the past was generally dealt with by women returning to work after their children were school-aged (Kaufman 1995; Spain and Bianchi 1996). Research has found that many young women anticipate delaying marriage and parenthood to establish their careers and also expect interrupted careers when they do start a family (Eccles 1987; Kaufman 1995; Machung 1989; Stone and

McKee 2000). Some women expect reducing their hours or working part-time, or taking long breaks from the labor force to raise children (O'Connell et al. 1989). In her study of college students' plans for work and family, Machung (1989) found that young women and men both expressed great interest in careers, marriage, and parenthood. Yet, both viewed husbands' jobs as more important than wives' jobs and both anticipated wives (either themselves or their future spouse) to be the primary caregivers. In another similar study, Novack and Novack (1996) found that, while young women's career aspirations equaled those of young men, the majority of young women and men believe that the responsibility of providing child care should fall primarily on the mother.

Despite women's increased presence in and commitment to the paid labor force, in many ways the "traditional" expectation of the male breadwinner and the female homemaker continue to define household responsibilities as women's domain which, in turn, poses conflict for women's career aspirations. While women may aspire to non-traditional careers, their equal desire for family leads them to a breaking point: as their career paths require full-time attention, many sacrifice career advancement to fulfill marital and parental obligations or have fewer children to continue career pursuits (Baber and Monaghan 1988). Despite young women's desires for egalitarian marriages and high aspirations for careers, many – even young professional women in law and business school – expect to take time off from work to care for children (Dennehy and Mortimer 1992; O'Connell et al. 1989); while they describe egalitarian aspirations, their expected work/family patterns reflect a default to the traditional breadwinner/homemaker model (Orrange 2002).³

³ There are some differences by race. African-American women are more likely to plan continuous work careers and take less time out of the labor force when they become mothers, which some researchers argue

Young adults may aspire to balance family and careers, but when realistically evaluating the lower likelihood of achieving both many fall back on “traditional” gendered arrangements. Gerson (2010) notes that young adults’ “second-best fallback strategies” differ by gender. Young women desire egalitarian partnerships and balancing work and family but, if that is not an option, prefer economic self-reliance for financial security. Young men, on the other hand, fall back on a “traditional” model (Orrange 2003). If it proves difficult to balance work and family in an egalitarian fashion, the young men put work first and prefer to have a partner manage the household tasks. These “fallback strategies” do not always present themselves when young adults are envisioning their future work/family roles. Instead, while they may hope for balance, many may find that their experiences with work and family do not match up to the aspirations they held.

In summary, existing studies of young adults’ work and family goals produce seemingly contradictory results. Some claim that many young adults expect to “have it all” with regards to work and family (Hoffnung 2004). Others argue that many, particularly young women, are more realistic and anticipate conflict in successfully balancing work and family responsibilities (Stone and McKee 2000). This study further explores young adults’ work/family aspirations. I do not treat young adults’ goals as an either/or scenario of *either* young adults want to “have it all” *or* they anticipate conflict in doing so. Rather, I examine the factors related to variation in young adults’ work/family plans by exploring under which conditions young adults pursue traditional goals and when they desire non-traditional paths.

is due to their higher likelihood of being single mothers (McLanahan and Booth 1989; McLanahan and Sandefur 1994; Okamoto and England 1999; Rexroat 1990).

WHAT AFFECTS YOUNG ADULTS' WILLINGNESS TO PURSUE NON-TRADITIONAL WORK/FAMILY PLANS?

Scholars have presented several factors that influence the development of aspirations, including parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, gender socialization, and gender role attitudes. Rather than testing one factor for aspirations, I test the relative strength of these multiple components; I argue that by considering these influences together, we can produce a more comprehensive explanation of young adults' work and family aspirations and the relationship between aspirations and work/family outcomes. I will discuss each of these components in more depth in the next major section. First, in this section, I begin by describing the limitation of human capital approaches to understanding the development of aspirations, followed by how an examination of socialization content and gender role attitudes is useful for such an understanding.

The limitations of human capital approaches

Work/family choices and human capital theory

Human capital theory (e.g. Becker 1985) explains gender differences in the workplace (such as differences in men's and women's wages) from the perspective of cost-benefit analysis. From this approach, employers evaluate their employees on the basis of their human capital – both tangible characteristics (e.g. level of education and training) and intangible (e.g. commitment). If gender differences exist in occupational experiences, such as the sex composition of occupational choices or the wages men and women earn, human capital theory would contend that these can be explained by human capital differences and rational choices.

In regards to work and family, human capital approaches often focus on the different commitments women and men have, with women placing a greater emphasis on family and men placing a greater emphasis on careers (Ferree 1990; Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf 1980). Scholars argue that these varying commitments impact experiences at home and at work. For example, women and men tend to work in sex-segregated occupations (Jacobs 1989b; Reskin 1993). From a human capital perspective, women and men pursue traditional (sex-stereotypical) occupations for rational reasons (Bielby and Bielby 1988). Women focus on female-dominated occupations because these careers are “flatter” in their trajectories and have lower penalties for interrupted careers (such as absence from the labor force when children are young - see Polachek 1981; Tam 1997). Women rationally choose careers that are accommodating to family responsibilities, make career exit and entry more accessible, and thus increase their lifetime earnings.

To explain gender differences in lifetime wages, Sewell et al. (1980) find that women begin their careers with slightly higher status levels than their male counterparts. Over their work history, however, men experience upward mobility while women experience slight downward mobility. Sewell et al. speculate that women’s downward mobility is partially due to their interrupted careers – a human capital argument. From this view, because women are more likely to have gaps in their career paths, the career gaps will decrease human capital which will, in turn, lead to lower status and lower paying careers upon returning to the paid labor force.

Criticisms of human capital approaches

Other scholars (such as Kanter 1977) argue that women's disadvantages and lack of mobility in the labor force is not due to human capital differences but rather gendered organizations and the differences between male- and female-dominated occupations. Female-dominated occupations tend to be characterized by limited mobility and dead-end positions. Male-dominated occupations have longer promotion ladders than do female-dominated occupations (Petersen and Saporta 2004). Additionally, the "rungs" in the mobility ladder for female-dominated occupations are generally closer together (as well as more lateral promotions), so mobility through promotions brings less upward advancement and mobility than promotions in male-dominated occupations (Barnett et al. 2000).

Other research challenges the human capital explanation and finds that women have higher lifetime earnings in male-dominated fields (England 1984; England et al. 1988). Likewise, though human capital arguments claim that women choose careers in female-dominated occupations to make it easier to balance work and family (Gutek 2001; Marini and Britton 1984; Polachek 1981), other research has found that women do not have any more flexibility or autonomy in female-dominated occupations than in male-dominated occupations. Some find that female-dominated occupations are more flexible and more likely to offer part-time options (Reskin and Bielby 2005), and are easier to reenter after family interruptions (Wolf and Rosenfeld 1978). Others find that female-dominated occupations offer less flexibility in work schedules, less autonomy in timing breaks at work, and less freedom to take time off from work for family or personal reasons (Glass 1990; Glass and Camarigg 1992). Still others find that the type of

occupation (female- or male-dominated) has no significant effect on how quickly a woman returns to work after having a child (Desai and Waite 1991; Marsden, Kalleberg, and Cook 1993) or penalties for gaps in employment (England 1982).

Thus the question remains: if wages are lower and there are no substantial effects on work/family balance, why would women pursue female-dominated occupations? Why would men ever pursue the lower-paying female-dominated occupations? Criticisms of the human capital approaches argue that choices are not made in a vacuum: behaviors are not always real “choices” in the ideal sense, but are based on the limitations of actual opportunities. It is also important to take into account the social context in which individuals live and the structural opportunities that enable or limitations that constrain the ability to achieve goals (Burawoy 1977; Coser 1975; Granovetter 1985; Horan 1978). Regarding women’s career trajectories, choices are often affected by structural constraints including employer discrimination (Reskin and Hartmann 1986; Petersen and Saporta 2004), differences in career structures and advancement ladders, occupational sex segregation (Jacobs 1989a), and family obligations (Hochschild 1989). For example, as Lorber argues, social structures shape the relationship between work and parenting: rather than focusing on psychological or biological differences between women and men leading to women’s greater role in caretaking, Lorber argues that structural opportunities for women’s career advancement and higher incomes could alter the default of female caregiving by giving more economic incentives, rather than penalties, for mothers’ employment (Lorber et al. 1981).

Gendered aspirations, then, can be said to develop due to broader social structures that enable “choices” or constrain options. While women’s opportunities in society have

broadened and more women aspire to career achievement, women are still assumed to be responsible for family obligations and face structural difficulties in balancing career plans with family goals. This social context constrains women's real choices and increases the challenges that women face in successfully navigating career paths – particularly male-dominated career paths – in combination with marriage and parenthood (Marini 1989; Reskin 1993; Stone and Lovejoy 2004). Likewise, while men may have greater privileges in society relative to women, hegemonic masculinity constrains men's ability to pursue non-traditional paths.

Rather than simply focusing on “choices” as distinct from cultural norms and social structures, it is necessary to focus on how aspirations and experiences (and the relationship between the two) vary by gender. Preferences are not inherent or biologically given, but develop through socialization processes and experiences in conjunction with structural opportunities. Likewise, there exists a wide range of within-gender variation in contemporary young adults' willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional work/family paths. An examination of the relationship between socialization content, ideologies about gender, and work/family plans and outcomes helps shed light on both across- and within-gender variation in aspirations and experiences.

Socialization experiences and work/family aspirations

On the micro-level level, socialization experiences create routines, model behavior, and enforce adhering to societal norms. These routines provide guidelines for action which allow for the generalizability of norms and behaviors in various settings, which largely serves to reproduce the social structure. As Corsaro and Eder describe:

“[S]ocialization is a reproductive rather than a linear process. The process is reproductive in the sense that children do not merely individually internalize the external adult culture; rather they become a part of adult culture, that is, contribute to its reproduction” (Corsaro and Eder 1995:427-428). However, Corsaro and Eder describe how this process consists of “creative appropriation”. Rather than strict imitation or internalization of social norms, individuals can adopt new behaviors and define new roles.

Thus, on one hand, socialization serves a largely reproductive purpose in that individuals learn the existing “rules of the game” and how to transfer these rules from one social context to another. These rules include ideas about what defines masculinity and femininity. In doing so, individuals’ actions serve to reinforce the status quo. However, on the other hand, individuals have the capacity for “creative appropriation” (Corsaro and Eder 1995), for reflexivity, for challenging existing norms and structures, and for enacting new ways of thinking and behaving. Thus, it is critical to focus on socialization content as a key factor in the reproduction of social norms as well as inspiring creativity and social change. An examination of socialization content can help explain the tendency for men and women to follow the “rules of the game” in terms of gender norms, *and* for some men and women to develop non-traditional aspirations for family and work.

Goffman (1977:314) describes the family as a “socialization depot.” Whether viewed favorably as a way to teach social roles (i.e., functionalist approaches) or as a site for reproducing inequality (i.e., conflict and feminist approaches), many researchers agree that the family is a key arena for learning social norms and shaping behavior (Kerpelman and Schvaneveldt 1999; Moen and Roehling 2005). One way to understand

how socialization content is transmitted is through the perspective of parental role-modeling. In his *social cognitive (learning) theory*, Bandura (1986) examines observational learning: individuals observe how behaviors are performed as well as what is considered “appropriate” behavior (that is, what behaviors are rewarded), and then use this information to guide their own future action. In this sense, parents model “appropriate” and normative behavior, as well as what constitutes “inappropriate” behavior, to their children.

Thus, one way that socialization content is transmitted is in the family by parents instructing children on attitudes and behaviors, children seeking out information and guidance, and children’s observations of their parents’ own attitudes and how their parents behave (Acock and Bengtson 1980; Beck and Jennings 1975; Cunningham 2001b; Glass, Bengtson, and Dunham 1986; Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain 1997). In this sense, parents both actively teach and passively model attitudes and behaviors, which are also reinforced by rewards and sanctions. Children, then, build their understanding of what is possible and desirable in actions based on those observations. Thus, what parents model about work and family roles contribute to their children’s perception of the structure of opportunities and possibilities for their own work/family aspirations.

For example, parents’ behaviors teach their children how to “do gender” (West and Zimmerman 1987): parents’ own actions demonstrate to children what “appropriate” gendered roles look like, which arguably influence their children’s expectations of their own future behaviors as women and men (Kerpelman and Schvaneveldt 1999; Thorn and Gilbert 1998). Parental role-modeling, particularly as it relates to the development of

work/family aspirations, occurs in a number of ways including: parents' work histories, the division of household labor, parents' educational attainment, as well as other family characteristics like family structure, race, and class. Thus, while parental role-modeling is one mechanism through which socialization experiences impact young adults' aspirations, the specific content that is modeled can affect variation in young adults' work/family plans.

Maternal employment

Given women's changing role in the labor force historically and based on family obligations, compared to men's more constant higher levels of employment throughout the life course, more variation tends to exist in maternal employment patterns than in fathers' employment. For this reason, in this study I focus on how variation in maternal employment is related to variation in their young adult children's work/family aspirations. From a role-modeling perspective, maternal employment is related to young adults' aspirations through the modeling of behaviors and expectations (Johnson 2002).

The observation of a working mother and satisfaction with her work role can lead to a young adult's belief in the possibility of either being a working mother or having a spouse/partner who is a working mother. From this perspective, if children and young adults see their mothers working outside the home, those young adults are more likely to see that behavior as normal and hold higher occupational aspirations for themselves or their spouse/partner (Eagly 1987). For women, this can include an increased preference for employment regardless of family roles. Additionally, maternal employment, especially in male-dominated fields, can increase women's desires for non-traditional

occupations. Conversely, dissatisfaction with a mother's employment can increase resistance to the idea of combining work and motherhood, which would translate to more traditional ideas about gender roles (Gerson 2010).

Empirical studies have found some support for this pattern. Maternal employment is related to more egalitarian ideas about appropriate gender roles (Angrist and Almquist 1975; Hoffman 1974; Marini and Briton 1984; Thornton et al. 1983). Young adults whose mothers worked outside the home are more likely to either expect to work themselves (if they are women), or to expect their wives to work (Dennehy and Mortimer 1992; Stephan and Corder 1985; Weinshenker 2006). Women whose mothers worked in male-dominated occupations are more likely themselves to be employed in male-dominated fields (Hofferth 1980); likewise, the sex-composition of fathers' occupations is related to the composition of their son's occupational field (Cullinan 1989). Earlier research has also found that mothers' employment has a significant effect on daughter's occupational goals and increases preferences for male-dominated occupations (Almquist and Angrist 1970). Given this research, it is possible that having working mothers will increase the likelihood of young adults' non-traditional career aspirations due to the more egalitarian role-modeling. Many of these studies, however, focus on young adults who grew up when working mothers were atypical. Contemporary young adults are more likely to have had mothers in the paid labor force. Thus, this study offers a more recent test of the relationship between variation in mother's employment, namely whether or not the mother worked outside the home when their child was 5 years old or 12 years old, and their young adult children's work/family aspirations.

Similarly, maternal employment can also influence young adults' perceptions of work/family balance. If mothers are able to successfully balance work and family, this can model the possibility of doing so to their children and increase their children's belief that balancing work and family is possible. Empirical research has found some support for this claim. Young adults from dual-career families are more likely to desire dual-career families for themselves and less likely to anticipate work/family conflict (Barnett and Baruch 1987; Barnett et al. 2003; Stephan and Corder 1985), yet other studies argue that this finding only applies to male respondents (Weer et al. 2006). Mothers' employment affects children's views of the ideal division of household labor and leads to more egalitarian attitudes (Cunningham 2001b), as well as more egalitarian attitudes toward working mothers (Willetts-Bloom and Nock 1994). With more egalitarian role-modeling and attitudes, young women and men may receive more support for non-traditional aspirations. This study provides an additional empirical test of the relationship between maternal employment and variation in young adults' work/family plans.

The hypotheses I test regarding maternal employment and work/family plans are:

- Hypothesis 2a Maternal employment will decrease women's marriage and parenthood desires
- Hypothesis 2b Maternal employment will increase women's preference for non-traditional occupations
- Hypothesis 2c Maternal employment will increase men's marriage and parenthood desires
- Hypothesis 2d Maternal employment will increase men's preference for non-traditional occupations

Parents' division of household labor

Just as maternal employment can model "appropriate" work/family roles, the way parents divide household labor can also model gender roles to their children. For

example, if young adults witnessed more egalitarian division of labor in their childhood home, they may be more likely to themselves value an equitable division in their future households. A more “traditional” division of labor, with the mother being primarily responsible for household work, would then be related to modeling more traditional work/family goals for young women and men.

Research finds that parents’ division of household labor is an important role model to young adults’ work/family goals and outcomes. Parents’ division of household labor affects children’s views of the ideal division of household labor (Cunningham 2001b). Young men are more likely to express a desire for an egalitarian household if their father participated in household work (Thorn and Gilbert 1998). Likewise, both women and men whose parents displayed an egalitarian division of labor are more likely to value both work and family roles (Grzywacz and Marks 2000; Thorn and Gilbert 1998). In fact, some researchers argue that parents’ employment status has less of an impact than the degree of egalitarianism in the household division of labor; individuals from more egalitarian households are less likely to anticipate conflict in work/family plans (Grzywacz and Marks 2000). Based on these studies, it is possible that higher levels of egalitarianism in the home model a desirable family arrangement and are also more conducive for crossing gender boundaries, including young women’s and men’s interest in non-traditional careers. Thus, the hypotheses I test for the impact of division of household labor on work/family plans are:

- Hypothesis 3a Parents’ more egalitarian division of household labor will increase women’s and men’s marriage and parenthood desires
- Hypothesis 3b Parents’ more egalitarian division of household labor will increase women’s and men’s preference for non-traditional occupations

This study builds on previous research on parental attitudes and experiences by testing the strength of various forms of parental role-modeling on variation in young adults' work/family plans. By testing the effect of each of the parental attitudes and experiences, I am able to determine which factors are more significant as well as gender differences in that significance.

Parents' education levels

From a role-modeling perspective, parents' educational attainment levels can influence the aspirations and work/family roles of their children. For example, Hitlin (2006a) speculates that more highly educated mothers can foster an environment with lower emphasis on traditionally feminine concerns of valuing others before the self, which he argues is negatively related to non-traditional occupational goals. Thus, having a more highly educated mother leads to the development of more non-traditional occupational goals for women.

Some studies find that parents' education levels are related to young adults' educational and occupational goals and outcomes. For example, Tangri (1972) found that mothers' and fathers' educational levels are related to women's greater likelihood of pursuing non-traditional careers. Similarly, Correll (2004) argues that mothers' high levels of education are related to young adults' more egalitarian gender role attitudes. Others find sex-specific influences and argue that fathers' higher education primarily increases men's educational aspirations (Cohen 1987; Featherman and Hauser 1978). This study examines the influence of both mothers' and fathers' educational attainment level on variation in the work/family plans of young women and men to further test the

relationship between the opposite- and same-sex parents' experiences and their children's own goals.

The influence of parents' educational attainment is a prime example of how researchers focus on different influences of socialization content. Some emphasize the direct nature of socialization where, in this example of education, parents' own behaviors model what is desirable and "appropriate" for their children to pursue in their own lives. Yet parental education can be less about direct modeling and more about the opportunities that their education provides. For example, Cunningham (2001b) believes that higher parental educational attainment increases the likelihood of exposing both the parents and children to more egalitarian ideals, and also increases the chances of observing women in non-domestic roles, which would increase women's non-traditional aspirations.

This type of perspective on socialization processes emphasizes *status inheritance*. For educational attainment, parents' education may open doors for their children regarding the type of people with whom they come into contact. For example, Horvat, Weininger, and Lareau (2003) find that middle-class parents are more likely to have networks with professionals than working-class or poor parents. Rather than filling a direct modeling purpose of teaching what goals are appropriate, parents' experiences can lead to the development of goals and attitudes based on societal characteristics and status (Glass et al. 1986; Moen et al. 1997; Vollebergh, Iedema, and Raaijmakers 1999). That is, higher parental education may be related to more egalitarian gender role attitudes and higher income and socio-economic status. These attitudes and class backgrounds in turn may lead to greater opportunities and exposure to different "models." As Glass,

Bengston, and Dunham argue: “In this way, similarities in social structural position may create attitudinal similarities between parents and adult children through a common-cause association (i.e., parents and children have undergone similar attitude-shaping experiences)” (Glass et al. 1986:686).

Parents’ experiences, then, may also be influential based on the context they create for their children, as opposed to simply modeling behaviors. For women, role-models with higher educational attainment can increase interest in male-dominated fields given the higher levels of education those fields often require. Likewise, these non-traditional goals can be related to women’s decreased desires for marriage and parenthood. For men, higher paternal educational attainment may similarly increase the interest in traditional male-dominated fields given their higher status and education required and, thus, decrease marriage and parenthood desires. It is also possible, however, that fathers’ higher levels of education and greater resources in the family are associated with increased support for men’s non-traditional goals. Given these two tendencies, it is unclear which direction parental education will pull men’s occupational goals. Mothers’ higher educational attainment may be more similar to the above discussion of the impact of egalitarianism on men’s family desires. Thus, mothers’ higher education may increase men’s marriage and parenthood desires as well as non-traditional occupational goals.

I test the following hypotheses for the relationship between parents’ educational attainment and young adults’ work/family plans:

- Hypothesis 4a Mothers’ and fathers’ higher levels of education will decrease women’s desires for marriage and parenthood
- Hypothesis 4b Mothers’ higher levels of education will increase men’s desires for marriage and parenthood

- Hypothesis 4c Fathers' higher levels of education will decrease men's desires for marriage and parenthood
- Hypothesis 4d Parents' higher levels of education will increase women's desires for non-traditional occupations
- Hypothesis 4e Mothers' higher levels of education will increase men's desires for non-traditional occupations
- Hypothesis 4f Exploratory testing regarding the direction of influence of paternal higher education on men's occupational desires

Race and class influences

From the work of Horvat et al, we might expect that parental characteristics such as race and class background may be less about direct socialization content than about providing opportunities (or a lack thereof) based on the parents' position in the social structure. For example, the "traditional" stay-at-home mother has generally been more accessible for white women of higher class backgrounds. Women from upper classes historically did not need to work outside the home and could center their roles on maintaining the home, helping their husbands, and raising the children (Coontz 1992; Ostrander 1984). Higher levels of education could ensure marriage to a man of higher status, thus allowing for these roles. Working-class women, on the other hand, were more likely to view marriage as an economic necessity (Mickelson 1989; Richardson 1981).

These class patterns are not universal and vary by race. Black women tend to gain higher levels of educational attainment than black men, and educated black women are more likely to gain reliable employment than black men (McDaniel et al. 2010). Given their educational and occupational advantages relative to their black male peers, black women may not view marriage as a means to economic security; in fact, marriage may be seen as a liability and black women may instead emphasize economic independence (Casper and Bianchi 2002). Although the sample in this research is not large enough to

thoroughly examine racial and class differences in explaining variation in young adults' work/family plans, I control for the impact of race and class.

Family structure

Similar to the influence of race and class, family structure can have both a direct and indirect impact on modeling work/family behaviors. Studies of maternal employment often presume two parents in the household and the potential option for the mother to stay home. Children raised in single-parent (usually female-headed) households have generally seen their mothers fulfilling both family responsibilities and working outside the home. As a result, some studies find that women from single-parent homes have more egalitarian gender role attitudes (Wright and Young 1998). However, other studies find that family structure has no significant impact on gender role attitudes (Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Slavkin and Stright 2000).⁴

As much variation in attitudes and role modeling exists within family types as across family types (Conley 2004). For example, Gerson (2002) finds that some young adults from separated/divorced families express relief and satisfaction that their unhappily-married parents separated, while others expressed resentment and disappointment. Among those with still-married parents, some young adults were happy with the relationship while others would rather have separated parents than unhappily

⁴ Family types and family structures encompass more than whether a family is a single-parent or two-parent household. This can include whether or not the household consists of opposite-sex parents or same-sex parents. Unfortunately, the data used in this research does not include surveys with respondents in same-sex relationships so the analyses are restricted to heterosexual parents. Likewise, family type and structure can include step-parents and step-children, half-siblings, adopted children, and extended family members in the household, among other variation. For the scope of this project, I focus primarily on the distinction between young adults' raised in two-parent households or single-parent households. Future research can more deeply analyze the relationship between family type/structure, including more variation in those forms, and young adults' work/family plans and outcomes.

married parents. Whether their parents were together or not, young adults generally had an interest in their parents staying together if they were happy and separating if there was irresolvable conflict. From the diverse experiences and family structures that are increasingly common, individuals may view marriage favorably or unfavorably independent of whether or not their parents remain married; rather, their perception of their parents' happiness and satisfaction with their choices (whether to stay together or separate) can shape their view of the desirability and longevity of marriage and expectation of work/family conflict. Overall, she argues that despite large variation in family types, the majority of young adults anticipate fulfilling the cultural imperative of marriage (Gerson 2010).

The majority of single-parent households, both nationally and in the data set used for this research, are female-headed. For this study, to account for single-parent households would preclude the ability to examine the influence of fathers on young adults' plans. Methodologically, I was faced with a choice between greater diversity in dual-parent and single-parent (primarily female-headed) households at the expense of father data, or using solely dual-parent households with the ability to examine both maternal and paternal influences. Given the diversity in attitudes both across and within family types as discussed above, I chose to focus on dual-parent households for my empirical section on young adults' work/family plans. While I may lose minimal variation by excluding single-parent households, I gain the ability to test the significance of both mothers' and fathers' education and attitudes on young adults' work/family plans.⁵

⁵ Respondents from the two-parent households had slightly higher marriage and parenthood desires than those from the broader sample from diverse family types. However, family structure had no significant

Parents' attitudes and work/family aspirations

As with the above discussion, parents' attitudes can be both directly taught, passively observed (Campbell 1969; Chodorow 1978), and can form the basis for shared social position in which children learn "appropriate" roles as with the above discussion of status inheritance (Bengtson 1975). Similarly, parents can reinforce their attitudes through both rewards for compliance and sanctions for veering from what is considered appropriate (Axinn and Thornton 1993; Baumrind 1978; Gecas and Seff 1990; Smith 1988). In this way, parents' attitudes can have an effect on their children's behaviors independent of the children's own attitudes. For example, children who believe that cohabitation before marriage is appropriate may choose not to cohabit if their parents' views of cohabitation are negative (Gecas and Seff 1990; Smith 1988). Axinn and Thornton (1993) speculate that this decision can be based on sanctions that the parents may execute if their young adult child cohabitates, including financial sanctions (such as refusing to help with tuition or rental payments) or emotional sanctions (such as disapproval or reduced parent-child contact). For these reasons, parents' attitudes, especially about topics related to appropriate gender roles, can be very influential in shaping their young adult children's own attitudes and behaviors.

Much research has focused on mothers' attitudes, finding that mothers' gender role attitudes are related to their children's attitudes (Cunningham 2001b; Moen et al. 1997; Thornton et al. 1983). Some find that this influence is stronger on daughters' attitudes and behaviors than on sons (Thornton et al. 1983), including their sexual behavior (Thornton and Camburn 1987), cohabitation (Axinn and Thornton 1993), and

effect on occupational plans or outcomes. Each of these effects will be discussed in more detail in the empirical chapters.

career aspirations and choices (Steele and Barling 1996). There is less information about influence of fathers' attitudes, as many data sets have limited information on fathers; some research, however, has found that fathers' attitudes are less influential than mothers' (Acock and Bengtson 1978; Weinshenker 2006), while other research finds that the same-sex parent is more influential than the opposite-sex parent (Baruch and Barnett 1986; Marini 1980; Rollins and White 1982; Rosenfeld 1978).

Still other studies have found that the relationship between parents' values and children's values is relatively weak (Rohan and Zanna 1996). A valuable contribution of this study is the use of the National Survey of Families and Households, which has data on both young adults' and their parents' gender role attitudes. Given these data, I am able to test the strength of the independent effects of young adults' attitudes and parents' attitudes on young adults' work/family plans. Additionally, the sample I draw on includes interviews with both mothers and fathers of the young adults, which allows for an analysis of the influence of same-sex and opposite-sex parents on variation in both young women's and men's work/family aspirations.

It is particularly beneficial to examine fathers' gender role attitudes as they relate to men's willingness to aspire to non-traditional occupations and family roles. With the privileges and benefits associated with men's performance of hegemonic masculinity, why would young men cross gender boundaries? Given the influence of parents' attitudes on young adults' aspirations, it is possible that fathers' egalitarian attitudes promote a less narrow view of "appropriate" masculinity and, thus, allow for more non-traditional aspirations. However, if fathers are engaging in "traditional" roles and hold conservative

attitudes about gender roles, young men – even among the “children of the revolution” – may still be aspiring to “traditional” work and family roles.

I test the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 5 Parents’ more conservative gender role attitudes will increase young adults’ desires for marriage, parenthood, and traditional occupations

How do gender role attitudes influence aspirations?

One way that socialization shapes individual “choices” is through the development of an individual’s gender role attitudes. Gender role attitudes can be seen as a sort of “worldview” (Luker 1984) that affects plans for marriage, parenthood, work, and other social choices. Gender role attitudes essentially define what is “masculine” and what is “feminine”; the extent to which an individual subscribes to these gender norms can affect the degree to which they engage in traditional gender normative role-planning and behavior.

Gender role ideologies regarding the appropriate division of work and family obligations can shape young adults’ expectations of work/family balance and, as a consequence, influence their occupational aspirations and behaviors (Cassidy and Warren 1996; Morgan and Waite 1987). Some research (e.g. Baruch and Barnett 1986), however, finds that gender role attitudes are not significantly related to expectations of work/family conflict or work/family choices. This research contributes to the debate in the literature over whether attitudes actually matter for young adults’ work/family aspirations and experiences. Additionally, my study builds on research that examines the relationship between gender and gender role attitudes.

Hochschild (1989) identifies three ideologies that shape outlooks on work and family. *Traditional ideologies* identify appropriate gender roles as having the man in the paid labor force and the woman responsible for unpaid labor at home. An *egalitarian ideology* emphasizes equality of work and home spheres for both male and female partners. A *transitional ideology* reflects a mix of traditional and egalitarian – generally, where the woman identifies with both work and home spheres but the man’s main role is career-driven (as described referring to the “stalled revolution” above).

Hochschild conducted her research in 1985, and recent work assessing the relevance of her typology provides mixed results. The literature shows some support for the presence of the transitional ideology (Beutel and Marini 1995; Dio et al. 1996; Halaby 2003; Marini et al. 1996; Xiao 2000). Some research argues that men are more likely to hold traditional gender role attitudes while women are more likely to hold egalitarian attitudes (Beutel and Marini 1995; Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Covin and Brush 1991; Davis and Greenstein 2004; Fan and Marini 2000; Kerpelman and Schvaneveldt 1999; Novack and Novack 1996; Schroeder et al. 1993; Spade and Reese 1991; Stevens et al. 1992; Tuck, Rolfe, and Adair 1994; Willetts-Bloom and Nock 1994; Willinger 1993). But counter-findings argue that there are limited gender differences in attitudes (Beutel and Johnson 2004; Fiorentine 1988; Prince-Gibson and Schwartz 1998).

Regardless of gender differences in attitudes, career and family choices are not made in isolation. Instead, some argue that decisions are often made in accordance with gender role attitudes. Given that gender role attitudes have become more egalitarian over time (Thornton 1989), this study empirically tests the impact of gender role attitudes on variation in young adults’ work/family plans. Additionally, gender role attitudes are

examined in relation to other important factors that shape the choices that women and men make and the options they have available, including parental role modeling and parents' attitudes. I test the following hypotheses for the relationship between gender role attitudes and work/family plans:

- Hypothesis 6a Young adults with more conservative gender role attitudes will have greater desires for marriage and parenthood than those with more egalitarian attitudes
- Hypothesis 6b Young adults with more conservative gender role attitudes will be more likely to anticipate traditional (gender-stereotypical) occupations

To summarize this broad section, socialization experiences transmit cultural norms from one generation to the next so that individuals can learn “appropriate” roles – particularly including appropriate gender roles and what it means to be “masculine” or “feminine.” While these norms and expectations can change over time, they are largely taken for granted as natural and thus form often unconscious “worldviews” through which individuals understand their place in society. This study focuses on socialization content, specifically through factors of parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes, and the influence of gender role attitudes. I bridge these components to provide a more holistic and comprehensive examination of the across- and within-gender variation in young adults' work/family aspirations. Additionally, I contribute to the existing literature by focusing on young adults' non-traditional aspirations, efforts to balance work and family, and the relationship between work/family aspirations and outcomes. In the next section, I explain the framework for understanding how work/family aspirations are related to work/family outcomes.

WHAT AFFECTS YOUNG ADULTS' ABILITY TO ACHIEVE NON-TRADITIONAL PLANS?

Many studies of young adults' work/family experiences focus primarily on their goals and aspirations (e.g. Baber and Monaghan 1988; Barnett et al. 2003; Correll 2004; Machung 1989; Spade and Reese 1991). Others focus primarily on concrete gendered experiences in the home and/or in the workplace (e.g. Bianchi et al. 2000; Bielby and Bielby 1989; Browne and Misra 2003; Crittenden 2001; England 2005; Hochschild 1989; Padavic and Reskin 2002; Reskin 1993). Regardless of career goals, whether they are traditionally female-dominated or non-traditional male-dominated fields, women still face the challenges of balancing careers with family expectations and men are rewarded for success in "masculine" pursuits. Women's perceived opportunities are broader and as a result women may aspire to higher educational and occupational achievement than in previous generations. Yet despite social changes, balancing work and family continues to be a challenge for many women. Likewise, while young men may place high value on family roles, the continued strength of hegemonic masculinity and its impact on work and family experiences may lead to conflict in achieving non-traditional work and family goals. In light of this, some researchers analyze how well individuals are able to meet their work/family goals as well as gender differences in doing so. As Hochschild's (1989) description of the "stalled revolution" suggests, it is not enough for young women and men to hold non-traditional work/family goals; rather, it is important to also examine what influences young adults' ability to achieve those goals.

Longitudinal studies (e.g. Hoffnung 2004) have the benefit of analyzing both goals and outcomes, without relying on recollections of past goals (e.g. in Gerson 1985). Studying the relationship between goals and outcomes is valuable to determine if and

where people “leak out” of the pipeline towards their goals as well as recognizing what paths are more successful (Hoffnung 2004). This study benefits from the longitudinal component of the National Survey of Families and Households, where the young adults’ were interviewed at their plans stage (ages 18-23) and again ten years later. Among research on the relationship between goals and outcomes, it is possible to analyze the relative stability of goals over time and the strength of goals as a predictor of outcomes, as well what happens if and when people do not achieve their goals.

The (in)stability of goals

Some research finds the relative stability of goals over time, particularly occupational goals. Studies find that career interests are fairly stable from adolescence through middle adulthood, so a shift in occupational types from goals to outcomes may reflect more of the structure of work/family and occupations rather than a change in interests (Low et al. 2005). Additionally, others find that career aspirations are increasingly stable with age and are relatively stable by young adulthood (Jacobs, Karen, and McClelland 1991).

Some theorists argue that behavioral intentions are the best predictors of behaviors (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980). The *theory of planned behavior* (TPB) focuses on the relationship between attitudes, intentions, and behaviors. First, an individual has an attitude toward a specific behavior. If that individual believes performing the specific behavior will lead to a positive outcome, they will have a positive attitude toward the behavior. Likewise, if the perception is that the behavior will have a negative outcome, then the individual would have a negative attitude toward the behavior.

Second, the individual takes into account the “subjective norm”: their idea of how others perceive the behavior. Presumably, the individual wants to meet the expectations of others. If those relevant other people believe the behavior to be positive, the individual will have a positive subjective norm; if others see the behavior as negative, the individual will want to meet their expectations and thus have a negative subjective norm toward the behavior. Thus, expectations of others can either facilitate engaging in certain behaviors or constrain how an individual may express their attitude in behavior.

Finally, the third major component in the TPB perspective is perceived behavioral control, or how much the individual perceives s/he has control over doing the behavior or how easy they believe it will be to do the behavior (Ajzen 1991; Sutton 1998). Overall, an individual will do a behavior if they view that behavior positively, think that others want them to perform the behavior, and believe that the behavior is relatively easy to perform. While intentions are related to behaviors, they are not a sufficient cause when the behavior is not perceived to be under an individual’s control. In summary, from the TPB perspective, an individual’s behavioral intentions – based on their attitude toward the behavior, others’ constraints on their performing the behavior, and their ability to do the behavior – are directly related to their actions. As related to work and family behaviors, this type of approach would emphasize an individual’s behavioral intentions as the best predictors of work/family outcomes.

Some researchers find support for this argument that behavioral intentions are clear predictors of behaviors. Adolescents’ future expectations affect their later outcomes in regards to risky behaviors (Harris, Duncan, and Boijoly 2002), and adolescents’ educational aspirations are related to their educational attainment (Sewell and Hauser

1980). Regarding work/family plans, studies find that the sex-composition of occupational aspirations is significantly related to the sex-composition of the occupational outcome (Cullinan 1989), and that work/family plans are generally related to actual outcomes (Carlson et al. 2004; Cunningham 2005; Hoffnung 1992, 2004; Rexroat and Shehan 1984). Yet other research suggests that aspirations are not stable over time (Holland and Eisenhart 1990; Jacobs 1989a; Rindfuss et al. 1999). Adolescents' aspirations are often unrealistic and removed from the realities of work and family, so they are frequently unrelated to actual outcomes (Almquist, Angrist, and Mickelsen 1980; Gerson 1985; Jacobs 1987; Levine and Zimmerman 1995; Risman et al. 1999).

A more nuanced view of the relationship between goals and outcomes generally recognizes that structural constraints matter but expectations still influence outcomes (Correll 2001, 2004; Jacobs 1989a, 1995a; Okamoto and England 1999; Reynolds and Burge 2008). While the theory of planned behavior includes “perceived behavioral control” in explanations of the link between intentions and behavior, that perceived control is not always sufficient. Instead, some researchers examine how broader structural factors – which may or may not be perceived by individual actors – influence the likelihood of behaviors matching intentions (e.g. Stone 2007a for a discussion of how family obligations and workplace constraints influence women's "choice" to stay home with children).

Rather than an either/or of goals either influencing outcomes or not influencing outcomes, a balanced approach examines how and when aspirations predict goals and when structural factors and experiences facilitate or constrain outcomes (Reskin 1988;

Reskin and Roos 1990). As Williams (1998) states: “Instead of asking, ‘Are men and women the same or different?’ scholars are now asking, ‘Under what circumstances are men and women treated the same or differently?’” (Williams 1998:145-6). Similarly, Baird et al. (2008) argue that “both cultural beliefs about gender and institutional constraints shape women’s and men’s career-relevant decisions, in both early and later life” (Baird, Burge, and Reynolds 2008:950). Preferences and aspirations may set the path that young adults are on, but they (more frequently women) can face speedbumps and obstacles along the way that affect the outcomes (Gerson 1985; Stone 2007a; Stone and Lovejoy 2004).

Who achieves work/family goals?

The influence of gendered experiences: work/family incompatibilities

Aneshensel (1986) describes combining wife/mother and work roles as “socially structured role conflict” (Aneshensel 1986:104): the demands of marriage and motherhood in terms of domestic labor and childcare responsibilities are often incompatible with the demands of full-time work (Crittenden 2001; Hays 1997; Hochschild 1989). As a result of the gendered relationship between work and family roles, men are more likely to be able to commit to both without experiencing trade-offs between the two (Bielby and Bielby 1989). Women are more likely to experience work and family as interdependent and, due to their conceptualizations, as conflicting (Andrews and Bailyn 1993; Maines and Hardesty 1987).

Given the gendered norms of ideal workers, spouses, and parents, and the different experiences women and men have at home and in the workplace, it also follows

that marriage and parenthood have very different effects on women's and men's careers. Overall, marriage and especially having children hurts women's careers, but benefits men's careers. For men, the effects of marriage and parenthood are generally either neutral or positive and men can even receive wage premiums for marriage (Bielby and Bielby 1989; Kilbourne, England, and Beron 1994; Korenman and Neumark 1991; Petersen and Spilerman 1990; Schoeni 1995; Sewell et al. 1980), as well as better treatment and wage premiums for parenthood (Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007; Glauber 2008). Men's careers often benefit from marriage and having a wife, presumably in charge of household and childcare responsibilities.

For women, marriage and parenthood generally have a negative effect on careers. Coltrane (2004) describes this as the "career advancement double standard": men's family roles are seen as positively contributing to work success (by making him more responsible) without detracting from productivity (because someone else takes care of the household), while women's family roles are perceived as detracting from work commitment (Bielby 1992; Roth 2003, 2006). Thus, men who marry or have children are seen as more serious, better leaders, more responsible, and more committed to work; therefore, they are often perceived as more deserving of promotions and career advancement.

In contrast, marriage is seen as moving women to the "mommy track" (for the origins of the phrase "mommy track," see Schwartz 1989; and the resulting New York Times article, Lewin 1989, coining the phrase) and is interpreted as an indication of less commitment to career; social norms about women's responsibilities as wives and mothers are related to assumptions that marriage/parenthood mean a detraction in focus on

occupational goals or abilities (Correll 2001; Mahaffy and Ward 2002; Nash 1979). In a study of Stanford University graduates, Katchadourian and Boli (1994) found that career-oriented men were likely to marry women who would stay home to care for children. Career-oriented women, on the other hand, were likely to marry similarly minded career-oriented men. With two career-oriented adults in the household, these women were more likely to reduce their own work commitment to take care of family responsibilities. While men gained support from spouses to pursue their careers, women did not.

Similarly, married women and women with children do more housework than their male counterparts, and the wage penalty for time spent on housework is greater for women than for men (Hersch and Stratton 1997). While both marriage and parenthood are related to women's lower likelihood of occupational achievement, the effect is stronger for parenthood. Rindfuss et al. (1999) claim that "for women, the conflict between work and family would appear to be primarily a conflict between work and parenthood" (Rindfuss et al. 1999:253).

In general, parenthood has a negative impact on women's career achievement (Becker and Moen 1999; Betz 1993; Metz and Tharenou 2001; Schneider and Waite 2005). Women face a motherhood wage penalty, experiencing less mobility, fewer promotions, and a pay gap between mothers and non-mothers (Anderson, Binder, and Krause 2003; Budig and England 2001; Drobnic and Wittig 1997; Glauber 2007; Hochschild 1989; Machung 1989). For example, Mason and Goulden (2004) found that women in academia with young children (under six years old) were the least likely to attain a tenure-track faculty position, while men who were married and had young children were the most likely to get a tenure-track position. Similarly, Okamoto and

England (1999) found that women who are married or have children are more likely to be in female-dominated occupations than male-dominated occupations.

Additionally, having children under school-age reduces women's social networks (Munch, McPherson, and Smith-Lovin 1997). Due to the obligations and time commitment of motherhood, women with young children interact with fewer people and spend less time overall in interactions with people. Thus, having young children leads to a negative effect on women's social networks, which in turn can have a detrimental effect on women's career prospects. Over time, all of these gender differences related to marriage, parenthood, and work accumulate and lead to greater differences between women's and men's career paths. While women and men are socialized throughout the life course to occupy different spheres in society, certain life transitions seem to exacerbate these differences – such as childbearing. Smith-Lovin and McPherson (1993) argue that childbearing is a critical stage in differentiating gendered spheres as the experience of raising children is very different for women than for men. Since women are primarily held responsible for childrearing, domestic labor, and intensive nurturing roles in the family (e.g. Hays 1997; Hochschild 1989), having children can further distance the paths that women and men are on.

Both the workplace and the family remain “greedy institutions” (Coser 1974), demanding long hours and intense emotional commitment, and are largely structured in the “traditional” norms of the last century with expectations of female care-giving and male bread-winning. When workplaces are more flexible to the demands of family obligations, individuals and couples report greater work/life balance and satisfaction (Hill et al. 2001), but oftentimes workplaces are not particularly flexible or individuals

(especially women in higher status positions) are unlikely to take advantage of family-friendly policies due to the perceived stigma of being less committed to work (Correll et al. 2007; Hochschild 1997).

The lack of institutional support, long hours associated with being the “ideal employee”, and limited child care options all contribute to women’s lower success in balancing work and family. For example, Noonan and Corcoran (2004) found that women are more likely to “leak out” of legal professions before achieving partner status, often due to family responsibilities: part-time options are limited and often stigmatizing in the firms and limited child care opportunities make working long hours difficult for women, who face primary childcare responsibilities in the family. The same is frequently true in other elite professional and male-dominated fields, such as academia (Mason and Goulden 2004), business (Friedman and Greenhaus 2000), and STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields, e.g. Hill, Corbett, and St. Rose 2010).

Thus, women tend to face both workplace “pushes” and family “pulls” that make it difficult to balance work with family responsibilities (Stone 2007a). Rather than “opting out” of the workforce for a return to traditional homemaking (Belkin 2003), many women are effectively pushed out due to an inflexible workplace. Women are more likely than men to have interrupted careers, largely due to family responsibilities, with movement in and out of the labor force (Bielby 1992; Gerson 1985; Koenigsberg, Garet, and Rosenbaum 1994; Rexroat 1992; Rosenfeld and Spenner 1992; Sewell et al. 1980). This study contributes to the literature examining these “pushes” and “pulls” by examining gender differences in achieving work/family aspirations; by focusing on the longitudinal relationship between work/family aspirations and actual experiences, this

research highlights the interconnection between gender and marriage, parenthood, and work outcomes.

It is critical to examine how these “pushes” and “pulls” shape young adults’ work/family paths, since “choices” of how to balance work/family roles can have serious repercussions. When women do take time off from work to handle family obligations, they often face both short- and long-term career penalties (Fuchs Epstein et al. 1999; Gerson 2002; Gerson and Jacobs 2001; Jacobs and Gerson 2001; Raymon 2001). Interrupted careers can have a negative effect on women’s long-term financial stability, career advancement, and retirement prospects (O’Rand and Henretta 1982). These penalties can be even greater for women in male-dominated occupations. While female-dominated occupations have relatively flat achievement structures, and generally make “off-ramps” and “on-ramps” more easily manageable, the all-or-nothing advancement processes of male-dominated occupations make interruptions in work far more costly (Hewlett and Luce 2005). This research contributes to this examination of women’s efforts to balance work and family by emphasizing the relationship between women’s work/family aspirations and experiences, particularly in relation to the impact of family roles on occupational outcomes.

While women often face workplace “pushes” and family “pulls,” men who aspire to non-traditional occupations generally experience “pushes” in a very different direction. Rather than being pushed out of the work force, men in non-traditional occupations are often pushed upward to higher status roles to adhere to norms of hegemonic masculinity (via the “glass escalator,” Williams 1992). Supervisors and co-workers often assume that men prefer to move up and out of female-dominated fields to more “appropriate” male-

dominated occupations. Likewise, men are often assumed to possess the skills necessary for success in traditionally male-dominated fields (Ridgeway 1993, 1997). Female-dominated jobs often entail tasks that are socially defined as feminine – such as nurturing roles, caretaking, working with children, and providing assistance. For these reasons, men who work in female-dominated fields are often perceived as violating hegemonic masculinity and, thus, encouraged to move to male-dominated jobs. Additionally, men generally face the economic pressures of the “traditional” breadwinner and supporting a family and may consequently experience pressure to move to more traditional male-dominated, and frequently higher paying, occupations; rather than family “pulls” out of the work place, these “pulls” associated with hegemonic masculinity may pull men from female- to male-dominated occupations in pursuit of greater economic security.

This research examines both the privileges and pressures young men face in navigating their occupational trajectories. For those with non-traditional occupational goals, I examine whether their male privilege makes them more likely to achieve their aspirations or if their male pressures to maintain gender normative behavior mean that they face greater difficulty in achieving their goals than those pursuing traditional occupations, as well as in comparison to their female peers. As hegemonic masculinity continues to severely constrain what options are seen as “appropriate” for men, it is more difficult to “unstall” the revolution.

Given hegemonic gender norms and pressures to maintain “appropriate” gender roles, I test the following hypothesis for the relationship between occupational goal type and work/family outcomes:

Hypothesis 7 Young adults will be more likely to achieve traditional (gender-stereotypical) occupations than non-traditional occupations

Likewise, given the more narrow definition of “appropriate” masculinity than femininity, and the constraints of hegemonic masculinity for pursuing non-traditional paths, the hypotheses for the more specific relationship between gender and work/family outcomes are:

Hypothesis 8a Women will be more likely to be in non-traditional occupations than men

Hypothesis 8b Women will be more likely to achieve non-traditional occupational aspirations than men

Due to the greater conflict and trade-offs that women experience between family and work roles, compared to men’s neutral or positive relationship between work and family, I test the following hypotheses regarding family and occupational outcomes:

Hypothesis 9a Women with non-traditional goals and/or in non-traditional occupations will be less likely to have married and/or had children than women with traditional goals and/or in traditional occupations

Hypothesis 9b There will be no relation between men’s marriage and parenthood outcomes and their occupational outcomes

Gender role attitudes and outcomes

In addition to testing the impact of gender on young adults’ achieving work/family goals, I continue to examine the influence of gender role attitudes. Socialization content can shape gender role attitudes, which can in turn influence work/family choices and outcomes. For example, Pleck (1977) argues that gender role attitudes are the largest predictor of the division of household labor; Allen and Webster (2001) find more recent support for Pleck’s conclusion and argue that gender role attitudes have a significant effect on husband’s domestic work. Eccles’ (1987, 1994)

research describes how gender differences in educational and occupational outcomes are related to young adults' gender role attitudes and beliefs about appropriate careers for men and women.

Despite societal changes with more women working, including when they have young children, and attitudes about gender roles becoming more egalitarian over time (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001), attitudes about working mothers have lagged slightly behind. Moen (1992) found that while young adults were less likely to agree with the statement "it is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of home and family", a larger number express ambivalence with the impact of maternal employment on young children ("a preschool child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works"). She argues that this gap between aspirations (the ability of women to work when they have small children) and ambivalence (discomfort with the idea of working mothers) will lead to role conflict and role strain for young women. While egalitarian attitudes can reflect beliefs in gender equality, she believes that the expressed ambivalence may represent "a realistic appraisal of current options" (Moen 1992:21).

Similarly, Thornton and Young-DeMarco (2001) argue that the increase in egalitarian attitudes regarding appropriate gender roles in the family has largely leveled off in the 1990s. They claim that, while many adults articulate ideas of gender equality, many still maintain support for the gendered division of labor and concerns about the impact of working mothers on young children. As with Moen (1992), they believe this gap between egalitarian attitudes and lingering concerns about working mothers "will continue to be a source of adjustment and potential conflict. ... [C]ombining the

principles of gender equity, commitment to family and children, and the earning of a living outside the home will be difficult long-term issues for many American families” (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001:1032).

Given the norms of what constitutes an ideal worker and norms of what makes an ideal mother, this gap in attitudes can reflect the structured conflict for women between work and family. For young adults, those with more traditional gender role attitudes may be more likely to achieve their work/family goals. While young adults, particularly young women, with egalitarian attitudes may aspire to equal valuing of dual careers and equitable division of household responsibilities, the reality of continued gender differences at home and at work may make these young adults less likely to achieve their goals; they may want to “have it all,” but the structural ability to do so is not as easy as they may have hoped. Thus, the hypothesis for the relationship between gender role attitudes and work/family outcomes is:

Hypothesis 10 Young adults with more conservative gender role attitudes will be more likely to work in traditional occupations

Parental role-modeling, parents’ attitudes, and work/family outcomes

The experiences that young adults have in their childhood home and growing up can lead to gendered aspirations for work and family: the socialized and later internalized gendered norms can arguably lead to women’s greater emphasis on family and men’s emphasis on career (Chodorow 1978; Hochschild 1989). Yet other research has found that structural arrangements in society are a stronger explanation and a better way of understanding gendered work/family patterns (Epstein 1988; Kanter 1977; Risman 1998; Risman and Schwartz 1989). In fact, some studies have found little support for long-

lasting effects of socialization experiences on work/family roles: Gerson (1985) argues that adolescent preferences, shaped by socialization content and ideas about gender roles, had little to no relationship to women's actual work/family experiences in adulthood. Rather, structural contexts shape how individuals make seemingly intimate and personal decisions about work/family (Risman and Schwartz 1989; Stone 2007a). As Risman and Schwartz (1989) write, "[m]en and women are not created all at once – at birth or during early socialization – but are continually re-created during the life cycle by the opportunities available to them and their interactions with others" (Risman and Schwartz 1989:1). Thus, while socialization content based on parents' behaviors and attitudes may have a large impact on individuals at younger ages, it is possible that this content matters less as individuals get older. Instead, structural opportunities and constraints may exert a greater influence on young adults' experiences.

For example, young women in counties with high rates of women's employment anticipate work in higher paying careers than women who live in counties with low rates of women's employment (Baird 2008). Similarly, the degree of sex segregation in the community labor force affects young adults' occupational plans, so the sex composition of the current labor force is cyclically related to future labor forces (Xie and Shauman 1997). Epstein (1988) claims that what appear to be gender differences in preferences and experiences is actually a manifestation of structural location and would occur for any groups placed in similar contexts. The gendered "pushes" and "pulls" of inflexible work arrangements and family responsibilities contribute to women's different experiences in the workplace, as opposed to gendered selves or attitudes (Gerson 1985; Stone 2007a). While gender role attitudes and work/family expectations matter, adult experiences (such

as having children) are found to be a stronger predictor of women's labor force involvement (Risman et al. 1999). Preferences and goals matter, but structural factors can intervene and either reinforce plans or steer young adults off their intended course.

In summary, some researchers argue that, while socialization content such as the modeling of parents' experiences and attitudes can shape young adults' own attitudes and aspirations, such role-modeling has more limited effects on actual work/family outcomes (Gerson 1985). Others argue that socialization content can have a long-lasting effect on occupational outcomes (Jacobs 1989b). This study examines both factors related to variation in work/family plans and the relationship between work/family plans and outcomes. Given the availability of parent data on attitudes and experiences, I test the influence of parental role-modeling on the development of work/family aspirations. For the relationship between goals and outcomes, however, I focus more closely on the aspects most related to the individuals themselves – gender, gender role attitudes, and the type of work/family plans they held.

To maintain as large a sample as possible for the longitudinal chapter, given that not all respondents completed surveys at the outcomes time point, I broaden my sample requirements from the empirical chapter on work/family plans. While in the cross-sectional plans chapter I include only respondents with mother and father data to test the relationship between same- and opposite-sex parents and young women's and men's work/family goals, in the longitudinal chapter I utilize the full sample of young adults regardless of family structure and the availability of father data. While my preference would be to maintain the focus on the influence of both mothers and fathers, the limited size of the longitudinal sample precludes my ability to do so. Therefore, for the purposes

of these analyses, the role-modeling components I focus on for work/family outcomes include mothers' gender role attitudes, mothers' education, maternal employment, and control variables for family structure, race, and class.

The hypotheses I test for the relationship between parental role-modeling and work/family outcomes are:

Hypothesis 11a Maternal employment will increase women's likelihood of non-traditional work

Hypothesis 11b Mothers' higher levels of education will increase young adults' likelihood of work in male-dominated occupations

For the relationship between parents' gender role attitudes and work/family outcomes, I test the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 12 Mothers' more conservative gender role attitudes will increase the likelihood of young adults' work in traditional occupations

What happens when people don't meet their goals?

Regardless of the stability of aspirations, actual experiences, challenges, and competing obligations mean that some young adults will not meet their work/family goals. A large social demography literature exists regarding predictors of marriage and fertility (such as Altucher 2001; Miller and Pasta 1995; Rhea 2002; Schoen et al. 1997, 1999). Given that literature, and that the young adults in the sample for this study are ages 28-33 at the time of the follow-up "outcomes" interview, I primarily focus on the achievement of occupational goals. As described above regarding gender differences in work experiences, structural factors can facilitate or constrain an individual's ability to pursue their occupational preferences. Given these factors, there are also gender differences in what happens when young adults do not meet their occupational goals.

Gender and the gap between goals and outcomes

When there is a difference between occupational goals and outcomes, men are more likely to have moved up to higher status positions (such as becoming a manager) while women are more likely to have moved down to lower positions or exited the workforce altogether (Holland and Eisenhart 1990; Rindfuss et al. 1999). Particularly in higher status male-dominated occupations, women are frequently pushed out and/or pulled to family obligations (Maume 1999; Stone 2007b).

Some anecdotal stories claim that many highly educated women plan to and ultimately “opt out” of the labor force when they have children (Belkin 2003; Story 2005; see also Williams et al. 2006 for an analysis of the media coverage of the "opt out" storyline). However, empirical research has contradicted these claims. Some have rejected the notion that women are “opting out” in the first place, citing increases in the percentage of women working when they have young children (Boushey 2008; Graff 2007; Percheski 2008). For those women who do leave the paid work force upon having children, some studies have focused on the pressures faced both at work and at home. Since women are responsible for the majority of the housework (Hochschild 1989) and expected to be “supermoms” intensely involved in their children’s upbringing (Hays 1997), family pulls (e.g. childcare needs) and workplace pushes (e.g. lack of feasible part-time work options) constrain their ability to balance caring for children and pursuing full-time careers. As a result, women who intended to work full-time often end up leaving the work force, particularly women in male-dominated occupations (Boushey 2005; Pittman and Orthner 1989; Stone 2007b; Stone and Lovejoy 2004).

While young women in particular may begin with “Pollyanna”-esque ideals of having marriage, parenthood, and occupations (Mickelson 1989), many face challenges in doing so. The gender differences that do exist in aspirations as a result of socialization content are then exacerbated by the concrete experiences that women and men have in the family and at work. Women may increasingly want to “have it all” in regards to their work/family aspirations, but social structures and opportunities have not quite caught up. Given these experiences and the fact that women’s work and family roles are more likely to conflict, it is an unfortunate reality that many young women with high aspirations may be less likely than their male peers to achieve those goals, particularly those women who seek to combine family with non-traditional occupations (England, Reid, and Kilbourne 1996; Rindfuss et al. 1999) given the “all-or-nothing” nature of male-dominated fields (Hewlett and Luce 2005). Likewise, hegemonic norms about “appropriate” masculinity can inhibit men’s willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional paths. These conflicts and constraints may mean that Hochschild’s (1989) description of the “stalled revolution” is still apt over 20 years later. This study examines the contemporary extent of the “stall” and contributes to the longitudinal research on achieving work/family goals by examining the relationship between aspirations and outcomes for contemporary young adults. In particular, I examine the extent to which these constraints vary by gender and by occupational goal type (traditional vs. non-traditional).

Dealing with work/family conflict

Given the realities of work/family conflict, particularly for women trying to navigate the often incompatible roles, there are different strategies that individuals can

take to balance work and family. Since men's roles as worker and spouse/parent are generally more compatible than women's roles, these strategies are often more applicable to women's family and career choices. One strategy consists of the ordering of work and family: while men's roles make it possible to pursue both work and family simultaneously, women are often faced with sequential choices, either leaving work upon marriage/parenthood to return when children are older, or having children first and pursuing careers later in life. Another way to frame work/family strategies is by focusing on whether the strategy is *work-altering* or *family-altering*.

Work-altering strategies consist of changes in components of work behaviors. This can include working part-time, particularly when children are young. Part-time options, however, are often limited and many women must leave their original (often higher status) full-time jobs for part-time work in other lower status, lower pay, and lower benefits occupations generally with limited job security or room for advancement (Moen 1992). Another strategy involving work hours includes shift work or choosing non-traditional work hours to coordinate with a partner and balance child-care obligations. Presser (1988) notes that this strategy is more likely to be used by women than by men.

A third work-altering strategy is selecting less involved occupations or choosing positions that are more family-friendly; this can include rejecting the "fast track," such as partner-track law professions and tenure-track academic positions. This also includes lower willingness to work in positions that require travel and overtime hours. Men are more likely to travel and work longer hours, while women are more likely to take time off from work to handle family emergencies (such as a sick child); thus, men are more

likely to have work “spill over” into their family lives, whereas women are more likely to have family “spill over” into their work lives (Pleck 1977; see also Hochschild 1997).

Among these work-altering strategies, women are far more likely than men to have interrupted careers for family (Machung 1989) or to in other ways limit their careers for family (Jozefowicz, Barber, and Eccles 1993; Kerr 1985). Given expectations of interrupted careers, women are more likely to pursue careers that are perceived to be more conducive to family responsibilities, including traditionally female-dominated occupations (O'Connell et al. 1989; O'Neill and Polachek 1993). Women are more likely than men to report an inability to make firm career plans due to anticipated work/family conflict (Almquist and Angrist 1993; Angrist and Almquist 1975; Novack and Novack 1996). Others find that women are more likely to expect lower-status jobs, marked by part-time, flexible, or interrupted work once children are born (Eccles 1987; Estes 1985; Kaufman 1995; Machung 1989; Schroeder et al. 1992; Stone and McKee 2000). But as described above, these “choices” are often due to a lack of opportunities and a structured incompatibility between women’s work and family roles. Additionally, all of these work-altering strategies are generally less available to single-mothers and mothers in lower-class backgrounds, who often do not have the luxury to reduce their work hours for family responsibilities.

Family-altering strategies refer to the other side of the work/family conflict. Such strategies can include delaying childbearing until after a career is established (Baber and Monaghan 1988; Marini, Shin, and Raymond 1989), marrying and having children later, and having fewer children (Betz 1993; Spain and Bianchi 1996). While there is some fluidity between male- and female-dominated occupations and women may move

between the two occupational types (England 1982; Jacobs 1989a; Rosenfeld 1983; Rosenfeld and Spenner 1992), women tend to face greater obstacles in professional and male-dominated occupations (Coltrane 2004).

Between work- and family-altering options, women are often faced with an either/or choice given the inherent conflict in trying to balance work and family (Garey 1995). For men, these strategies are not as necessary given the complementary nature of their work/family roles. While both women and men report work-altering strategies such as refusing to work overtime to balance family responsibilities (Milkie and Peltola 1999a), most studies find that women exhibit greater career-altering strategies to balance work and family (Baber and Monaghan 1988; Becker and Moen 1999; Betz 1993; Larson and Richards 1994; Morgan and Affleck 1989; Spain and Bianchi 1996). This study examines the relationship between occupational and family outcomes to analyze gender differences in the use of work/family balance strategies.

Additionally, I pay particular attention to how the type of goals – whether traditional or non-traditional – impacts the ability to achieve work/family aspirations. For women, both cultural pressures and structural obstacles make balancing work and family difficult in general (Crittenden 2001; Hays 1997; Hochschild 1989, 1997; Moen and Roehling 2005). This difficulty can be exacerbated in non-traditional male-dominated occupations, where responsibility for family obligations can have more detrimental effects on career mobility (Roth 2006; Stone 2007a). Thus, women may be more likely to achieve traditional occupational goals in conjunction with family aspirations; non-traditional occupational goals may either come at the expense of marriage and children,

or pursuing family roles (particularly parenthood) may make achieving non-traditional occupational goals far less likely.

For men, work and family roles are generally more complementary and, thus, pursuing family roles of marriage and parenthood are less likely to have a negative impact on achieving occupational goals. However, this research examines if there is a relationship between men's type of occupational goals/outcomes and family roles. In particular, since non-traditional occupations offer lower status and pay than male-dominated occupations, men may be more likely to shift to male-dominated fields upon having a family due to pressures to fill the breadwinner role (Budig 2002; Coltrane 1998).

By drawing on the complementary perspectives of gender socialization, gender role attitudes, and parental role modeling, I analyze the broader context in which young adults attempt to balance work and family. I engage the debate over whether and, if so, how much work/family aspirations are related to outcomes. I broaden this discussion by examining how the type of occupational goal and outcome – whether traditional or non-traditional – is related to young adults' ability to achieve work/family goals. In doing so, I contribute to the literature by highlighting the relationship between gender, type of occupational goal, and achieving work/family aspirations.

STRUCTURE OF REMAINING CHAPTERS

In the next chapter, I describe the dataset, sample, conceptualization of variables, and methodological approach to the analyses. In Chapter 4, I examine determinants of variation in young adults' work/family plans, paying attention to across- and within-

gender variation and the influence of parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes. In particular, I focus on how these factors impact young adults' willingness to pursue non-traditional plans. In Chapter 5, I focus on work/family outcomes. I test the relationship between plans and outcomes, including any gender differences in that relationship, as well as the influence of gender role attitudes and parents' attitudes and experiences on young adults' ability to achieve work/family goals. I also examine the relationship between gender, family outcomes, and achieving occupational goals. In Chapter 6, I conclude by synthesizing the results and analyzing the findings in relation to the existing literature on gender, work, and family. I discuss implications of the research, limitations, and directions for future research projects.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

My research questions focus on the factors that affect work and family aspirations in young adults, and how those aspirations are translated into actual work and family outcomes in their lives. In particular, I examine how sex, parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes impact young adults' willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional paths. To answer these questions, I draw upon the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH). With a large, nationally-representative sample, a longitudinal design, and detailed questions about behaviors and attitudes of parents and their young adult children, the NSFH provides an excellent source of data to answer my research questions. In this chapter, I describe the NSFH and the statistical methods I use to test my hypotheses.

This chapter has three parts. First, I describe the data set used for this project. Second, I discuss how I operationalize the major concepts and variables using the data set. Finally, I describe the methodological approach taken to analyze the data in the empirical chapters.

DATA

Overview of data set

The primary data source in my analysis is the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), a nationally representative, longitudinal study of American households.⁶ The NSFH is a publicly available data resource that takes a holistic

⁶ <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/nsfh/>

approach to studying families. The survey addresses family experiences and life course events, including: childhood living arrangements; relationships with parents; marital and cohabitation experiences; education; work histories; fertility; parenting behaviors; household tasks; psychological well-being; and attitudes/opinions on social issues. The NSFH has been commonly used for sociological research on work/family expectations, roles, and experiences (e.g. Bianchi et al. 2000; Bittman et al. 2003; Kaufman and Uhlenberg 2000; Presser 1994).

The NSFH consists of three waves. Researchers carried out the first wave of data collection from March 1987 to May 1988 (Sweet, Bumpass, and Call 1988). The sample was constructed by randomly selecting households in the 48 contiguous states, with an over-sampling of African Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, families with step-children, single-parent families, recently married individuals, and cohabitating couples. One adult was randomly selected from each household to be the primary (main) respondent with a response rate of 74% (n=13,017).

Primary respondents in Wave 1 of NSFH completed face-to-face interviews and several self-administered components on sensitive topics. Additionally, spouses or cohabiting partners of the primary respondents completed shorter self-administered questionnaires (n=6,878, response rate 76%). Finally, if the main respondent had a biological, adopted or step-child, or a partner's child living in the household at Wave 1, the child was selected to be a focal child. If the primary respondent had more than one

The first wave of the NSFH was funded by a grant (HD21009) from the Center for Population Research of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development; the second and third waves were funded jointly by this grant and a grant (AG10266) from the National Institute on Aging. The survey was designed and carried out at the Center for Demography and Ecology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison under the direction of Larry Bumpass and James Sweet. The field work for the first two waves was done by the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University, and the third wave by the University of Wisconsin Survey Center.

child, a child was randomly selected. A focal child was chosen so that specific questions about parenting could be asked about one child in the household.

Researchers conducted a five-year follow-up to the NSFH from December 1992 through August 1994 (Sweet and Bumpass 1996). Wave 2 was again broad in focus, including: updates on family history; relationships between spouses/partners; parenting practices; relationships between parents and children; health and psychological well-being; education and employment experiences; and attitudes on a range of issues. Primary respondents (n=10,007) and their current spouse/partner (n=4,508 same spouse/partner from Wave 1; n=1,131 new spouse/partner since Wave 1) completed face-to-face interviews. If a relationship ended since the Wave 1 interview, the ex-spouse/partner (n=789) participated in an interview as well. Focal children (ages 10-17 n=1,414; ages 18-24 n=1,090) were interviewed by telephone, as well as one randomly selected parent (n=3,348) of the main respondent. The overall response rate was 81.7%.

The third wave of the NSFH was conducted between January 2001 and June 2003 (Sweet and Bumpass 2002). Due to budgetary constraints, researchers selected subsets of the original sample for Wave 3 interviews. A mid-to-later life sample included main respondents 45 and older (n=4,914) at Wave 3 with no focal children. A parent sample consisted of main respondents (n=4,076) and their young adult focal children (n=4,128). Spouses/partners of the main respondent from time 1 for both subsets were also interviewed (n=5,436). The selected respondents from the original sample were contacted whether or not they participated in Wave 2. Across both subsets, main respondents had a response rate of 63% (71% for those who completed a Wave 2 interview, 22% for those who had not). Spouses/partners had a response rate of 56% (68% for those who

completed a Wave 2 interviews; 20% for those who had not). Focal children had a response rate of 48% (61% of Wave 2 participants; 27% of Wave 2 non-participants). The overall response rate, including main respondents, spouses/partners, and focal children, was 57% (68% for Wave 2 respondents, 23% for Wave 2 non-respondents).

For this study, I focus primarily on data of the focal children who were ages 18-23 at Wave 2 and who completed a Wave 3 interview. Additionally, I utilize Wave 1 data from their parents (the primary respondents and spouses/partners). Next, I describe the benefits of the NSFH for this research, and in the subsequent section I provide more detail on the selection and sample characteristics.

Data set benefits

A benefit of using the NSFH includes public access to data from all three waves of the survey. This rich data set allows for both cross-sectional and longitudinal research on families. For this dissertation, the population of interest is young adults. Arnett (2000) describes “emerging adulthood” as a period during which young adults (roughly aged 18-25) are involved in “identity formation” and “moving toward making enduring decisions” (Arnett 2000:473). Researchers focus on emerging adults to shed light on the process of weighing work and family expectations and plans. The NSFH allows for an analysis of both young adults’ expectations/plans and their actual work/family outcomes: Wave 2 data includes responses when the focal children are ages 18-23; Wave 3 data provides a 10-year follow-up.

In addition to the focal child data collected at Waves 2 and 3, the NSFH allows for the use of data obtained directly from the children’s parents (the primary

respondents). By using the NSFH, I am able to examine child-level and parent-/family-level characteristics that impact my dependent variables. The scope of the NSFH itself includes questions related to all of my dependent and independent variables, which I describe in greater detail later in this chapter. Respondents answered questions about: marriage, fertility, and occupational goals (dependent variables); marital, fertility, and occupational experiences (dependent variables); maternal employment histories (independent variables); parental educational attainment (independent variables); parents' division of household labor (independent variable); parents' gender role attitudes (independent variables); the young adults' gender role attitudes (independent variables); and family background (control variables). The NSFH also uses Census codes for key occupational variables, which allows for the use of Census data as I describe in the next section.

Additional data sources

In addition to the NSFH, I use Census data for information about occupations. The NSFH codes occupations using the 1990 Census detailed occupation classification codes (see Appendices A and B). I draw on Census data for the percent of women in each detailed occupation in order to construct an indicator for traditional and non-traditional occupations: for Wave 2 of NSFH, I use 1990 Census data; for Wave 3 of NSFH, I use 2000 Census data. For the 1990 Census, I use a report from the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) that presents the percent female in each detailed occupation as well as

broader occupational categories.⁷ These data match the occupational coding of the NSFH.

To calculate percent female in occupations at the time of the NSFH Wave 3 interview, 2000 Census data is most up-to-date. In 2000, however, the Census changed the classification scheme for occupations while NSFH Wave 3 continued to use the 1990 codes. Occupation codes are not strictly comparable from 1990 to 2000.⁸ To deal with this issue, I reference the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) of the Minnesota Population Center which consists of American Community Surveys (2000-2008) and each Census from 1850-2000. A key benefit of this resource is that IPUMS assigns consistent codes across samples to allow for analysis at different times. Among these, IPUMS contains an OCC1990 code to convert 2000 Census responses to 1990 codes. While some reports favor converting 1990 codes to 2000 codes, IPUMS argues that the OCC1990 code is a useful variable to examine changes over a period of time. Additionally, because the NSFH codes occupations at Wave 3 in the 1990 Census codes, the IPUMS OCC1990 code is most directly comparable. I calculate the percent female in each occupation from the 2000 Census using the OCC1990 code and IPUMS data which can then be linked to occupations in Wave 3 of NSFH.

Final sample

⁷ <http://censtats.census.gov/cgi-bin/eo/eeojobs.pl>

⁸ http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/ioindex/pdfio/tech_0203.pdf

As discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), one limitation of NSFH data is that not all young adults have corresponding interviews conducted with both parents.⁹ When a young adult respondent has only one parent interviewed in NSFH, this parent is generally the mother as most single-parent households are female-headed. I faced a theoretical and empirical choice between restricting my sample to those young adults from two-parent households, in order to conduct analyses on the influence of both mothers and fathers on young adults' work/family plans and outcomes, or use a larger sample from more diverse family types at the expense of data about fathers. Gerson (2002, 2010) notes that there is often as much variation in views on work/family issues within family types as across family types, so it seems the benefit gained by including data about the young adults' fathers would outweigh the slight loss of variation posed by restricting the sample to young adults from two-parent households.¹⁰ Particularly for the empirical chapter on the young adults' aspirations for work and family roles, an examination of gender and parental role-modeling is enhanced by the ability to test the influence of both mothers and fathers.

My final sample for the empirical chapter on work/family aspirations includes 238 young adults (110 women, 128 men) between the ages of 18 and 23, from two-parent households, who have never been married nor had children at Wave 2 of the NSFH. These respondents completed both Wave 2 (ages 18-23) and Wave 3 (ages 28-33) interviews, have full data in their interviews for all seven dependent variables, and

⁹ One limitation of the dataset is that the NSFH does not include surveys of same-sex partnerships, so all relationships between primary respondents and spouses/partners are heterosexual and no focal children have two parents of the same sex in the household.

¹⁰ As I discuss in greater detail in the empirical chapters, young adults from two-parent households have slightly higher desires for marriage and parenthood. There is no relationship, however, between family structure and occupational goals or outcomes.

reported their sex, a key independent variable. One limitation of the NSFH data is that respondents who are in a cohabitating relationship, yet have never married, are treated as married in the survey questionnaire. Based on that designation, those cohabitating respondents are not asked questions regarding their desires for marriage; since these desires constitute a major dependent variable in my analyses, any respondents cohabitating at Wave 2 (N=30) are among those dropped from the sample due to missing data for dependent variables. As I will describe more fully in the next section, after determining my final sample, I use multiple imputation procedures to impute for missing values on independent variables (described below). This allows me to increase the sample size to N=1,428 (660 women, 768 men). Additionally, since I include only those respondents from two-parent homes where both parents participated in the NSFH, I draw on data from the young adults' mothers and fathers (the NSFH primary respondents and their partners/spouses) at Wave 1 of the NSFH.

For my empirical section on the relationship between expectations and behaviors, I use only those focal children who were interviewed in both Wave 2 and Wave 3 and do not have missing data on any dependent variables. Once again, I faced a choice between using a sample from two-parent households or from diverse family types. In this situation, using the same two-parent household sample from the chapter on aspirations would allow for an analysis of the relationship between father's attitudes/experiences and the young adults' work/family outcomes. However, in doing so, the sample size would drop even smaller to N=176.

With an already small pre-imputation sample, I became concerned about losing variation on the dependent variables by further reducing the sample size. Additionally,

the primary focus of the empirical chapter on work/family outcomes is on the relationship between the young adults' aspirations and their concrete outcomes. While some of the same independent variables factor prominently into the analysis of the relationship between plans and outcomes, my theoretical focus centers more on how gender moderates this relationship. Likewise, much of the parental role-modeling literature on the relationship between parents' attitudes/behaviors and their young adult children's own behaviors tends to focus on the influence of mothers (Cunningham 2001b; Moen et al. 1997; Thornton et al. 1983). Consistent with these studies and to maintain as large a sample size as possible, I opt to drop father data from the empirical chapter on work/family outcomes and control for family structure.¹¹ By doing so, I am able to increase the pre-imputation sample size to N=299 (150 men and 149 women). After using multiple imputation procedures, my final sample size for the empirical chapter on work/family outcomes is N=1,794 (900 men and 894 women).

Missing data

After cleaning and recoding the variables, I follow Royston's (2004) multivariate imputation with chained equations procedures for dealing with missing values for all analyses. This method is preferable to listwise deletion. Acock (2005) argues that listwise deletion frequently eliminates 20-50% of the sample and may lead to biased estimates. He explains that bias would arise due to the fact that cases with no missing data may not be representative of the entire sample or population. This could lead to underestimated

¹¹ Gerson (2002, 2010) claims that there is as much variation on work/family attitudes and experiences across diverse family types as there is within them. Consistent with this claim, the variable for family structure is not significant in any of my regression models predicting work/family outcomes and the relationship between plans and outcomes.

effects for some variables and exaggerated significance for others, and could actually reverse the direction of some effects (Acock 1989, 2005; King et al. 2001). Thus, Acock (2005) argues that, unless the sample is large and the missing values are missing completely at random – which he states is generally uncommon, especially in family research – listwise deletion is not a preferable approach to dealing with missing values.

Rather, multiple imputation procedures are preferable to maintain a larger sample size and reduce estimate bias, and have been used in studies on diverse topics such as death row sentencing (Petrie and Coverdill 2010), social mobility (Sharkey 2008), and child care (Gordon, Kaestner, and Korenman 2008).¹² Single imputation procedures generally underestimate standard errors, which can lead to more significance than actually present in the data (Acock 2005). For this reason, multiple imputation procedures are less problematic. Multiple imputation procedures create several copies of the data set and generate predicted values for each missing value using statistical techniques relevant for the variable's level of analysis (OLS regression for interval variables, ordinal logistic regression for ordinal variables, and multinomial logistic regression for nominal variables). The values predicted are somewhat different for each imputation. Royston (2004) argues that creating multiple “complete” datasets brings “the correct degree of randomness into the imputations and ... incorporate[s] that uncertainty when computing standard errors and confidence intervals for the parameters of interest” (Royston 2004:228).

Since researchers state five imputations are suitable (Acock 2005; Schafer 1997), five imputations were generated for this project. This created five versions of the dataset,

¹² See Acock (2005) and Allison (2001) for more thorough descriptions of the strengths and weaknesses of various strategies for dealing with missing values, as well as further discussions of the benefit of multiple imputation procedures.

each with different values for the missing cases. I conduct analyses using all five imputed datasets.

CONCEPTS AND MEASURES

Dependent variables

Plans

My first set of seven dependent variables is the *plans* that young adults have regarding work, marriage, and parenthood (see Table 3.1 for a list of the dependent variables). I focus on these three components of plans in the cross-sectional analysis for Chapter 4.

[Table 3.1 here]

Marriage plans

Marriage plans represent the focal children's feelings related to getting married. The NSFH includes a series of questions related to the respondents' expectations regarding marriage. I draw on three components of these to construct three dependent variables (a dichotomous variable for desires to get married; a dichotomous variable for expected dissatisfaction with never marrying; and an ordinal variable for youngest age at which the respondent would marry).

Desires to get married First, since all of the respondents in this sample are single/never married at the time of the Wave 2 interview, they are asked if they have a steady partner. For those with a steady partner, the NSFH asks: "Do you think that you will eventually marry (him/her)?" Answers range from "definitely won't," "probably won't," "50/50 chance," "probably will," to "definitely will." Respondents who answer "definitely won't," "probably won't," "50/50 chance," or those respondents without a steady partner, then receive the more general question: "How do you feel about getting married

someday?” Answers include: “definitely don’t want to,” “probably don’t want to,” “don’t know,” “probably want to,” and “definitely want to.” I combine the answers to these questions into one ordinal variable for desires to get married. I also create a dichotomous variable where 0 equals “low marriage desires” and 1 equals “high marriage desires.” I code respondents who indicated they “definitely” or “probably want to” get married as having “high marriage desires,” while I code all other responses as “low marriage desires.” I use this dichotomous variable as my first dependent variable for marriage plans in analyses.

Expected dissatisfaction with never marrying: Second, the NSFH asks all respondents “Suppose things turn out so that you do not marry, how would you feel?” Answers include “very happy,” “somewhat happy,” “neither happy nor unhappy,” “somewhat unhappy,” to “very unhappy.” I use these responses as an ordinal variable for descriptive analyses on the respondent’s anticipated dissatisfaction with never getting married. Additionally, as with the questions regarding the respondent’s desires to get married, I construct one dichotomous dependent variable on respondent’s expected dissatisfaction with never getting married. I code responses of “very happy,” “somewhat happy,” and “neither happy nor unhappy” as 0 “low dissatisfaction with never marrying,” and I code “very” or “somewhat unhappy” as 1 “high dissatisfaction.”

Youngest anticipated age at first marriage: Finally, focal children identify the youngest age at which they would marry. I separate these answers by sex and calculate the mean and standard deviation. To account for sex-specific differences in average age of first

marriage, whereby women tend to marry at younger ages than men, I categorize women's and men's identified youngest age they would marry as falling into "below average," "average," or "above average" ages.¹³ I code ages more than one standard deviation below the sex-specific mean as "below average," ages within one standard deviation below or above the sex-specific mean as "average," and ages greater than one standard deviation above the sex-specific mean as "above average." These translate to the following ranges: for women (mean 22.7, SD 2.98) I code desires to marry before age 20 as "below average," 20 to 26 as "average," and older than 26 as "above average"; for men I code desires to marry before age 21 as "below average," between ages 21 and 28 as "average," and above 28 as "above average."

Parenthood plans

I measure *parenthood plans* through three dependent variables: desires to have a child (dichotomous), anticipated dissatisfaction with never having children (dichotomous), and desired number of children (ordinal).

Desires to have children: First, the NSFH asks respondents: "How do you feel about having a child sometime?" Responses range from "definitely don't want to," "probably don't want to," "don't know," "probably want to," to "definitely want to." I use these responses for descriptive analyses of desires to have children. I also construct a dichotomous dependent variable: I code "don't know," "probably don't want to" or "definitely don't want to" as 0 "low parenthood desires"; I code "probably" and "definitely want to" as 1 "high parenthood desires."

¹³ <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/ms2.pdf>

Expected dissatisfaction with never having children: Second, the survey asks: “Suppose things turn out that you never have a child, how would you feel?” Possible responses include: “very happy,” “somewhat happy,” “neither happy nor unhappy,” “somewhat unhappy,” and “very unhappy.” I keep these responses as an ordinal variable for descriptive analyses. I construct a dichotomous dependent variable for multivariate analyses. I code “neither happy nor unhappy,” “somewhat happy,” and “very happy” as 0 “low dissatisfaction with never having children,” and “somewhat unhappy” and “very unhappy” as 1 “high dissatisfaction with never having children.”

Number of children desired: Finally, the NSFH poses the question: “If you were to have children, how many children do you think that you would want to have?” Respondents did not receive this question if they answered they “definitely don’t want to” have any children. I code a response of “definitely don’t want to” have any children as wanting to have 0 children. Overall, as with youngest age they would marry, I calculate the mean number of children desired and standard deviation (mean 2.26, SD 1.02) to construct an ordinal dependent variable. I code respondents who indicate they would like to have zero children (more than one standard deviation below the mean) as “below average,” respondents who indicate desires to have 1-3 children as “average” (within one standard deviation below or above the mean), and desires for 4 or more children as “above average” (greater than one standard deviation above the mean).

Work plans

Work plans describe the young adults' occupational goals. I use one dichotomous dependent variable constructed through the NSFH question: "What kind of work do you hope to do eventually?" Original responses are coded as 502 detailed occupational categories using 1990 Census codes, such as "legislators," "architects," and "elementary school teachers." I use the Census coding scheme to classify these into 22 broader categories within 5 main fields (see Appendices A and B for details) for descriptive analyses. I further categorize occupational goals by percent female in the occupation using 1990 Census data. I classify the responses into three categories: male-dominated occupations (under 35% female), gender-mixed occupations (35-65% female), and female-dominated occupations (over 65% female).

There has been some variation in the classification of occupational sex composition in the literature. Kanter (1977) discusses the experiences of "tokens" in the labor force: those whose sex-group is less than 15% of the overall population in the field. However, to limit occupations to male-dominated if they are 0-15% female or female-dominated if they are 85-100% female seems far too narrow for the purposes of this research. Rather, the purpose of this focus on occupational goals is to examine when young adults pursue careers that are not sex-stereotypical in general, though not necessarily where they would be in an overwhelming minority.

Other researchers have drawn the line between male- or female-dominated occupations and gender-mixed fields closer to the 30% cut-off. Gatta and Roos (2005) focus specifically on the changing sex-composition of "integrated" and "gender-mixed" fields, which they explore both narrowly as 45-55% female and broadly as 30-70%

female, respectively. Similarly, Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) considers 30-70% female to be “demographically balanced occupations,” and Jacobs (1989a) refers to the same range as “sex-neutral” occupations. Budig (2002) broadens the focus to 21-79% female as “balanced” occupations, while de Ruijter and Huffman (2003) go farther and label occupations 15-65% female as “gender-mixed.” Still others based the range on the current percentage of women in the paid labor force: Hakim (1998) defines “mixed occupations” as 25-55% female, based on a 15% range around the fact that women represent roughly 40% of the paid labor force.

Thus, as described above, many researchers label gender-mixed fields as approximately 30-70% female. In examining the distribution of occupational goal responses in this sample, I slightly narrow the range to 35-65%. Doing so maintains a larger sample of respondents who desire male- or female-dominated occupations, while also staying within the range that other researchers have used to define gender-mixed fields.

After classifying the desired occupations as male-dominated, gender-mixed, or female-dominated, I then create my dichotomous dependent variable for occupational goals: I code young adults who anticipate work in gender-mixed occupations or those where the respondent’s reported sex matches the primary sex composition of the occupation (male-dominated for men, female-dominated for women) as 0 “traditional occupational goal”; I code those young adults who expect work in the majority opposite-sex field (female-dominated for men, male-dominated for women) as 1 “non-traditional occupational goal.” I use this dichotomous occupational goal variable in logistic

regression models to analyze what influences young adults' plans for gender-stereotypical or non-traditional occupations.

I include gender-mixed fields as “traditional” occupational choices, rather than creating a trichotomous variable for male-dominated, gender-mixed, and female-dominated, for the following reasons. Gatta and Roos' (2005) examination of integrated occupations finds that, in 1990, 39.4% of the labor force was in “gender-mixed” fields (broadly defined 30-70% female). They also note that these gender-mixed fields are generally “feminizing” over time: they have become more integrated largely because women have entered traditionally male-dominated fields, rather than due to an influx of men into historically female-dominated occupations.

The main focus of my examination of occupational goals and outcomes is to analyze young adults who choose truly non-traditional occupations. As Hochschild (1989) notes, for the revolution to “unstall,” it is not sufficient for women to enter integrated or male-dominated fields. Likewise, for men to pursue work in gender-mixed fields is a positive improvement but not sufficient. Rather, men must also move into historically female-dominated fields. Thus, for these reasons, I label women's interest in male-dominated fields and men's in female-dominated fields as “non-traditional” goals, and include gender-mixed fields as “traditional” goals.

Outcomes

My second group of dependent variables for analysis, the central focus of Chapter 5, is the longitudinal work/family *outcomes* and whether or not the respondents achieved their work/family goals from Wave 2. I determine these by the young adults' actual work,

marriage, and parenthood behaviors that are reported at Wave 3. I use variables for marriage, parenthood, and work outcomes for descriptive and bivariate analyses. For multivariate analyses, I use one dichotomous dependent variable on whether or not the respondents met their occupational goals.

Marriage outcomes

I measure *marriage outcomes* by the young adults' responses if they have gotten married since the Wave 2 interview. I code outcomes as dichotomous "yes, has been married" or "no, never married." If they have married, I also code if they married at sex-specific "below average," "average," or "above average" ages.

Parenthood outcomes

I measure *parenthood outcomes* by the number of children the young adult has given birth to or fathered since Wave 2. As with parenthood plans, I code the number of children as "below average," "average," and "above average."

Work outcomes

For *work outcomes* in descriptive and bivariate analyses, I include the occupational field that the respondent works in, or most recent job if not currently working, at the time of the Wave 3 interview. I use 2000 Census data to code occupational fields in the same way as Wave 2 work plans: as "male-dominated" (less than 35% female), "gender-mixed" (35-65% female), or "female-dominated" (greater than 65% female). I examine if young women and men report working in gender-stereotypical (gender-mixed occupations; male-dominated fields for men, female-

dominated fields for women) or non-traditional occupations (female-dominated occupations for men, male-dominated occupations for women).

As described in Chapter 2, given the large social demography literature on predicting marriage and fertility outcomes (such as Altucher 2001; Miller and Pasta 1995; Rhea 2002; Schoen et al. 1997, 1999), I restrict my multivariate analyses of achieving aspirations to a focus on occupational goals and outcomes. For these multivariate analyses, I examine whether or not the young adults have met their occupational goals to analyze the relationship between work/family plans, family outcomes, gender, and occupational outcomes. To do so, I compare the occupational plans and occupational outcomes. For those where the goal occupational type (traditional or non-traditional) did not match the occupational outcome, I code those respondents as 0 “did not achieve occupational goals.” I code the respondent as 1 “achieved occupational goals” in two ways: first, if the respondent indicated a desire to work in a non-traditional occupation at Wave 2 and then works in a non-traditional occupation at Wave 3; second, if the respondent specified plans to work in a traditional/gender-stereotypical occupation at Wave 2 and does so at Wave 3. I use this dichotomous variable of achieving occupational goals for logistic regression models on occupational outcomes.

Independent variables

The NSFH includes measures to examine individual- and family-level characteristics that relate to young adults’ work/family goals and outcomes (see Table 3.2 for a list of the key independent variables). These include parental role-modeling

(parents' experiences), attitudes about appropriate gender roles (both the parents' and the young adults' attitudes), and sex.

[Table 3.2 here]

Sex

I code *sex* as a dichotomous variable based on the focal child's reported sex (0=male, 1=female).

Parental role-modeling

Maternal employment

I determine *maternal employment* by evaluating if the mothers were working or not when the young adults were 5 years old and 12 years old. Some researchers examine the influence of any periods of maternal employment during a broad age range, such as between birth and 11-years-old or ages 12-16 (Barnett et al. 2003). Frequently this is due to available data. Gupta (2006) notes that the questions in the data set he draws on only inquire about any maternal employment when the respondent was between the ages of 0-5, 6-11, and 12-17. Gupta (2006) follows Cunningham (2001a) and collapses the ranges of 6-11 and 12-17 years into one broader 6-17 range, largely because the differences in effects between the two later age ranges were not significant.

Gupta (2006) explains the importance of examining maternal employment at ages 0-5 and 6-17 separately:

[T]he distinction between the two periods is important. Children may be especially impressionable during their first few years. On the other hand, it may not be until later that they develop the cognitive sophistication to translate parents' influences into lasting beliefs or behaviors. The timing may also be meaningful from the

mothers' point of view. Many, perhaps most, women who step out of the labor force for the purpose of child rearing reenter once their children are older. It is therefore important to determine whether maternal employment [is influential independent of when] it occurred or whether its timing matters. (Gupta 2006:68)

For these reasons, I examine the influence of maternal employment at 5 years and at 12 years. First, maternal employment at 5 years is after the initial time period when women would take time off from work to care for children. There are more school-based childcare options by the time a child is 5-years-old, so a stay-at-home mother at age 5 could be representative of conscious choices more than financial necessity or childcare obligations. This is also why I do not examine maternal employment at 1 or 2 years: a stay-at-home mother when a child is 1-year-old may be home due to a "traditional" ideology and desire for the male breadwinner / female homemaker model, or that mother may be home due to a lack of affordable childcare. Since the NSFH does not ask mothers why they were or were not working at various time points, I opt to focus on maternal employment at 5-years-old to analyze its impact during early childhood.

Similarly, as Gupta (2006) argues, at 12-years-old the respondents were old enough to form more conscious opinions of their parents' choices. Thus, I include maternal employment at 12-years-old to determine if the timing of maternal employment is significant or if there is a consistent effect between maternal employment at 5 and maternal employment at 12 years.

To calculate when the mothers were working, I use the mothers' reported dates of "work spells": dates when they first began working, dates when they first stopped working, dates when they next began working, etc. When the young adults' mothers were the spouses/partners of the NSFH primary respondent, the survey instrument asked if

they were working in each year from 1970 to 1988. I use the young adults' birthdates to create a date code for when they were 5 years old and 12 years old. I then compare these date codes to the mothers' work spells and code as a dichotomous 0 "does not work" 1 "works" for both years.

Parents' division of household labor

I construct *parents' division of household labor* using nine questions about average weekly time spent on "preparing meals," "washing dishes and cleaning up after meals," "cleaning house," "outdoor and other household maintenance tasks (lawn and yard work, household repair, painting, etc.)," "shopping for groceries and other household goods," "washing, ironing, and mending," "paying bills and keeping financial records," "automobile maintenance and repair," and "driving other household members to work, school, or other activities." I use self-reports of time spent on household tasks for both parents.

Following Bianchi et al. (2000) and Gupta's (2006) methods for measuring household labor, I calculate the 95th percentile of time spent for each task. I code extreme responses above the 95th percentile back to the 95th percentile to minimize problems of over-estimation on time spent per task. Additionally, as both Bianchi et al. (2000) and Gupta (2006) do following South and Spitze's (1994) procedures, I impute missing values if the parents reported time spent on at least seven of the nine household tasks.¹⁴ I

¹⁴ For respondents with missing values because of no answer for a particular task, but the respondent answered at least seven of nine items, I code those missing tasks as 0 hours. According to South and Spitze (1994), skipping the particular item most likely indicates that the respondent did not spend any time on that task. For respondents who answered "inapplicable" for a given task, I also code these responses as 0 hours. South and Spitze (1994) argue that a response of "inapplicable" is likely if the respondent could not logically spend time on that particular task (e.g. auto maintenance for an individual who does not own a car). Finally, for respondents who answered "some time spent" or "don't know" for a particular task, I code

sum the weekly time spent on household tasks and, using the parents' reported sex, code the time spent as mother's or father's weekly time spent on household labor.¹⁵ I sum hours of household labor completed by both parents separately and the total hours per household. I use that total to determine the ratio of hours completed by the young adult's mother, which I code as "0-20%," "20-40%," "40-60%," "60-80%," or "80-100%."

Parents' educational attainment

I measure *parents' educational attainment* with the number of years of education the parents have completed. For parents who did not receive a high school diploma or equivalent, I code their educational attainment as the specific number of years completed which ranges from 0 "no formal education" to 11 "eleventh grade." I code parents with a high school diploma or equivalent as 12. After high school, I code the highest level of education attained as: 14 "two-year community college/vocational school/Associate's degree," 16 "four-year college or university Bachelor's degree," 18 "Master's degree," or 20 "doctoral or professional degree."

Gender role attitudes

To measure gender role attitudes for both the parents and the young adults themselves, I run factor analysis on six questions from the Primary Respondent (parent)

those responses as the median time spent on the task by the other respondents since it is reasonable to suspect that the respondent spent at least some time on the task. I use the median rather than the mean time spent to minimize the effect of outlier responses. Alternatively, Bianchi et al. (2000) tried replacing all non-numerical responses with the mean values as well as omitting all respondents who skipped one or more questions. Their substantive conclusions were not affected by the method used to handle the missing data. Thus, I have opted to impute the missing values using South and Spitze's (1994) procedures rather than excluding respondents who skipped one or two questions.

¹⁵ As described previously, same-sex partnerships are not included in the NSFH.

Wave 1 and Focal Child (young adult) Wave 2 NSFH interviews. These questions contain two underlying factors and I use these factors to generate two new variables: *attitudes about sexual relations* and *attitudes about home/work roles*.

Attitudes about sexual relations consist of questions pertaining to premarital sex (“It is all right for unmarried 18-year-olds to have sexual relations if they have strong affection for each other”), cohabitation (“It is all right for an unmarried couple to live together even if they have no interest in considering marriage”), and marriage as a lifetime relationship (“Marriage is a lifetime relationship and should not be ended except under extreme circumstances”).

Attitudes about home/work roles include questions of gender work/family roles, working mothers, and the division of household labor. The NSFH asks the primary respondents (the parents of the young adults in this sample) and focal children (the young adults of interest for this study) identical questions regarding the extent to which they agree/disagree with a statement about appropriate gender roles in work and family (“It is much better for everyone if the man earns the living and the woman takes care of the home and family”). Additionally, the survey poses two similar questions for attitudes about working mothers (parent question: “Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed”; young adult question: “It is all right for mothers to work full-time when their youngest child is under age 5”) and the division of household labor (parent question: “If a husband and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally”; young adult question: “A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife”).

Responses for all questions are on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = “strongly agree” to 5 = “strongly disagree.” I reverse the responses for three questions (“It is much better for everyone if the man earns the living and the woman takes care of the home and family”; “Marriage is a lifetime relationship and should not be ended except under extreme circumstances”; “Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed”) so low values for all questions, including the variables generated from factor analysis, reflect egalitarian gender role attitudes and high values reflect traditional gender role attitudes.

Control variables

I include several control variables in the analyses, including characteristics about the individual young adults and family characteristics. First, I code the young adults’ *race* as 0 “white” 1 “non-white” as there are not enough cases across detailed racial/ethnic categories to make more substantive analyses. The sample size also restricts my coding of the *religion* control variable into four major categories: Protestant, Catholic, other religions, and no religion. Finally, for individual characteristics, I control for the young adults’ *level of education* at the time of the follow-up interview used for work/family outcomes (coded as 11 “less than high school,” 12 “high school graduate or equivalent,” 13 “some college, no degree,” 14 “Associate’s degree,” 16 “Bachelor’s degree,” 18 “Master’s degree,” or 20 “Doctoral degree.”) In terms of family characteristics, I code the young adults’ *class* using the NSFH constructed measure for parents’ household income

in quintiles.¹⁶ For analyses using the larger sample of young adults from diverse family types, I include a dichotomous control variable for *family structure* where 0 represents those who grew up in a two-parent home with their biological parents and 1 those who did not.

ANALYSES

Plans

For my empirical chapter on young adults' work/family plans, I conduct chi-square and t-tests to examine the significance of gender differences in marital, parenthood, and occupational goals. To analyze the influence the independent variables (parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, sex, and gender role attitudes) on my seven dependent variables, I use different forms of logistic regression. Logistic regression predicts the probability of an occurrence – such as having a non-traditional occupational goal – when the variable is dichotomous. Thus, for the five dichotomous variables (desires to get married/have children; expected dissatisfaction with never marrying/having children; traditional or non-traditional occupational goals) I use logistic regression. For the two ordinal dependent variables (youngest age would marry and desired number of children in below/average/above categories), I use ordinal logistic regression. Ordinal logistic regression is preferable for these ordinal variables because it allows for an analysis of variables that are ordered but not continuous (modeled with OLS regression).

¹⁶ I use 1990 Census data (<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/historical/inequality/index.html>) to determine the range for income quintiles in 1990 dollars: lowest quintile \$0-12,500; 2nd quintile \$12,501 to \$23,662; 3rd quintile \$23,663 to \$36,200; 4th quintile \$36,201 to \$55,205; highest quintile above \$55,206.

For each model, I include control variables for race, religion, and class background. In the first model for analysis of each of the seven dependent variables, I add variables for parental role-modeling: maternal employment, parents' division of household labor, and parents' educational attainment. In the second model, I examine variables for parents' gender role attitudes: both mothers' and fathers' attitudes about sexual relations and attitudes about home/work roles. In the third model, I include only the young adults' sex with the control variables. In the fourth model, I test variables for the young adults' gender role attitudes (both attitudes about sexual relations and home/work roles variables). In the fifth (and full) model, I include all independent variables for parental role-modeling, parents' gender role attitudes, sex, and young adults' gender role attitudes with the control variables. Additionally, I run all these models (with the exception of the model containing only sex and the control variables) for women and for men separately.

Outcomes

For my chapter on young adults' work/family outcomes, I again conduct chi-square tests and t-tests to examine significance in gender differences in marital, parenthood, and occupational outcomes. I pay particular attention to whether or not the young adults achieved their occupational goals, as well as the relationship between marital/parenthood outcomes and occupational outcomes.

I use logistic regression to test the strength of the different perspectives for explaining variation in achieving occupational goals (dichotomous dependent variable). For each model, I include the control variables for race, religion, the young adults'

current level of completed education, the family class background, and family structure. In the first model for analysis of achieving occupational goals, I use variables for parental role-modeling. Based on the sample restrictions as described in the earlier section, these variables include maternal employment and maternal educational attainment. In the second model, I examine variables for parents' gender role attitudes, again including only mothers' attitudes about sexual relations and home/work roles. In the third model, I include only the young adults' sex with the control variables. In the fourth model, I test variables for the young adults' gender role attitudes (both attitudes about sexual relations and home/work roles variables). In the fifth model, I include the occupational goal variable (either traditional or non-traditional occupational goal). In the sixth (and full) model, I include all independent variables for parental role-modeling, parents' gender role attitudes, sex, young adults' gender role attitudes, and occupational goal type with the control variables. Additionally, I run all these models (with the exception of the model containing only sex and the control variables) for women and for men separately. Finally, I run these models with the inclusion of variables for marital and parenthood status to explore the relationship between family outcomes and achieving occupational goals.

CONCLUSION

The NSFH data allow me to investigate several key areas of contemporary young adults' work/family plans and experiences. The next two chapters present results from the analyses. I focus on gender differences and predictors of variation in family and work plans in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I present results of analyses of the relationship between

work/family plans and outcomes. In particular, I examine if gender differences have emerged and/or grown since the plans stage. I test the relationship between attitudes and outcomes, as well as family background and work/family outcomes. Finally, in Chapter 6, I conclude by synthesizing the overall findings and discussing the limitations of the study, policy implications, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 4: GENDER DIFFERENCES AND DETERMINANTS OF YOUNG ADULTS' PLANS FOR MARRIAGE, PARENTHOOD, AND OCCUPATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Following a traditional or non-traditional path in life entails formulating plans for family and work and encountering experiences, barriers and opportunities that facilitate or inhibit realizing those plans. As I discuss in Chapter 2, women and men face very different incentives, social expectations, and opportunity structures in these processes. Many researchers examine women's and men's experiences with work and family; however, it is crucial to understand young adults' plans as distinct from their concrete experiences in work and family. Hochschild's (1989) assessment of the "stalled revolution" assumes that women have greater desires for non-traditional work/family roles and men want more traditional arrangements. Similarly, Stone (2007a) argues that women are effectively pushed off of their desired non-traditional trajectories through barriers in the family and workplace, while the constraints of hegemonic masculinity may restrict men's paths to "appropriate" traditional roles (Coltrane 2004; Pleck 1976; Orrange 2002).

This chapter focuses on the determinants of those work/family *plans*. Prior to analyzing whether and how young adults are pushed or pulled away from non-traditional occupational paths, we need to understand if men and women enter adulthood with different plans or if they have similar plans but different experiences later in life. A benefit the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) is the longitudinal data consists of young adults' plans and experiences with work and family. This chapter primarily focuses on variation in young adults' marriage, parenthood, and work plans. In

the next chapter, I will examine the young adults' outcomes and the relationship between these plans and the outcomes they experience.

For this chapter, I draw on data from Wave 2 of the NSFH when the young adults were ages 18-23 (N=1,428). I examine desires for marriage and parenthood, as well as the type of occupation they hope to have. I will discuss each of these plans and specific variables in greater depth when I present the results (see also Chapter 3 for discussion of the conceptualization of variables, and Tables 3.1 and 3.2 for a list of all dependent and independent variables in the analyses).

To examine variation in young adults' work/family plans, I bridge several complementary perspectives and test Hypotheses 1-6. First, I examine how socialization factors shape young adults' plans. Parental role-modeling perspectives highlight the important influence of parents' experiences, such as work histories, the division of household labor, and educational attainment in guiding young adults' plans and potentially shaping their experiences. Additionally, parents' attitudes about appropriate gender roles can be influential forces on their children's own attitudes and plans. Similarly, I test the relationship between individual's beliefs about gender (gender role attitudes) and their own work/family aspirations. Finally, I examine these relationships for both across- and within-gender variation in work/family plans.

The first most striking finding is that despite the changes in gender roles that many have dubbed "revolutionary," young women and men express very similar plans for marriage and children. A stronger indicator of broadening gender roles *and* the stalled revolution is that the majority of young women plan to be employed and that over half of women expect to work in gender-mixed or male-dominated occupations. Although only

10% of men plan to work in non-traditional (female-dominated) occupations, this group represents a theoretically important cadre, who are resisting norms of hegemonic masculinity.

While the majority of young adults in this sample have high desires for marriage, parenthood, and sex-stereotypical occupations, the factors that influence those plans vary by gender. That is, different factors are steering women and men into non-traditional plans, particularly in terms of paid work. In the next chapter, I will examine what determines whether they realize their plans.

I begin this chapter with an overview of the descriptive and bivariate analyses. I describe the demographic characteristics of the sample and then describe the overall patterns of marriage, parenthood, and occupational plans with particular attention to gender differences among them. Multivariate analyses test the strength of sex, parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes as predictors of variation in the young adults' work and family plans (see the conceptual diagram in Figure 2.1).

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND BIVARIATE ANALYSES

My sample includes 1,428 young adults (660 women, 768 men) between the ages of 18 and 23, from two-parent households, who have never been married or had children at Wave 2 of the NSFH.¹⁷ Nearly sixty percent of all respondents (57.4% of men, 62.8% of women) come from families in the top two quintiles of earnings. Roughly 6% are from the lowest quintile, 10% from the 2nd quintile, and 23% from the 3rd quintile. This composition is similar for both male and female respondents. That the sample consists of

¹⁷ As described in Chapter 3, I use multiple imputation procedures to deal with missing values. Before multiple imputation, the sample size is 238 young adults (110 women, 128 men).

young adults who were raised in two-parent households is likely a contributing factor in this income distribution.

A large majority of respondents are White (79.83%). Due to the small sample size, all other races/ethnicities are collapsed into “Non-White.” Women are more heavily represented among non-White respondents (22.73% of women vs. 17.97% of men). As is the case in the broader U.S. population, there is a moderate correlation between race and class ($r = -0.296$) with non-White respondents more likely to be represented among the lower income quintiles.

The distribution of race and class within this young adult sample is particularly well suited for exploring work/family trajectories among those with more privileges in society. As Stone (2007a) examines in her research on professional women, adults with higher class backgrounds may be the most able to “choose” between several work/family options. With greater resources, privileged adults can outsource childcare and household labor which may be unaffordable for those from lower class backgrounds. Thus, young adults with racial and class privileges would likely be among those with the greatest opportunities and resources in society. Given these opportunities and resources, this privileged sample may have the most flexibility in pursuing their work/family goals.

Table 4.1 includes means, standard errors, and significant differences among young women and men for marriage, parenthood, and occupational plans.¹⁸ There are some significant gender differences (highlighted in gray), particularly among

¹⁸ As discussed in Chapter 3, I restrict the sample for this chapter to young adults’ from two-parent households. By doing so, I include variables for fathers’ education and gender role attitudes, as well as the division of household labor. There are some differences between this sample and if the sample included young adults’ from diverse family types and without father data (see Table 4.2). I will briefly address these differences when I describe the marriage, parenthood, and occupational plans of the young adults, and will discuss sample selection implications in Chapter 6.

occupational plans, but also a high degree of similarity among young women's and men's family (marriage and parenthood) plans.

[Table 4.1 here]

[Table 4.2 here]

Family plans

Marriage plans

There are three main variables I use to measure marriage plans: desires to get married, expected dissatisfaction with never marrying, and the youngest age at which the young adult would marry. On average, respondents express high desires to marry (from 1 “definitely don’t want to get married” to 5 “definitely want to get married”; mean 4.52) and high expected dissatisfaction with never marrying (from 1 “very happy” to 5 “very unhappy”; mean 3.69). I recode both variables as dichotomous (0 “low marriage desires” 1 “high marriage desires”) to create my dependent variables.¹⁹ By doing so, I focus on broader distinctions among responses rather than focusing on smaller differences (such as between “probably want to” and “definitely want to” marry; see Figures 4.1-4.4).

[Figure 4.1 here]

[Figure 4.2 here]

[Figure 4.3 here]

[Figure 4.4 here]

¹⁹ Feelings about getting married are recoded as “low marriage desires” if the respondent indicated they “definitely don’t,” “probably don’t,” or “don’t know” if they want to get married. “High marriage desires” are indicated by responses of “probably want to” or “definitely want to” get married. Likewise, for expected dissatisfaction with never getting married, responses of “very happy,” “somewhat happy,” and “neither happy nor unhappy” are coded as “low marriage desires”; “somewhat unhappy” and “very unhappy” are coded as “high marriage desires.”

Among responses for the dichotomous variables, the majority of respondents indicate high desires for marriage (96.86%); responses are similarly distributed by sex (96.3% of men and 97.6% of women indicate high marriage desires). In terms of dissatisfaction with never marrying, 68.3% of respondents indicate high levels of expected dissatisfaction with the prospect. Women express greater dissatisfaction with never marrying (74.6% of women indicate high anticipated dissatisfaction, compared to 63.4% of men), and these gender differences are statistically significant (chi-square = 24.784, $p = 0.000$). This finding is interesting, given that men fare worse outside of marriage than women (Bianchi, Subaiya, and Kahn 1999; Hanson, McLanahan, and Thomson 1998; Kilbourne et al. 1994; Lillard and Waite 1995; Waite 1995).

On average, the youngest age women state they would like to get married is 23.6, while men's youngest age on average is 24.5 (Figure 4.5). This is slightly lower than the national averages for age at first marriage in 1992 (women 24.4, men 26.5), when Wave 2 of NSFH was conducted, but consistent with gender differences in which women tend to marry at younger ages than do men.²⁰ The difference in age is statistically significant ($t = 7.678$, $p = 0.000$). However, when the variable for youngest age the respondent would marry is recoded into "below average," "average," and "above average" age, there are no longer any statistically significant gender differences (chi-square = 1.818, $p = 0.403$; see Figure 4.6).²¹

²⁰ <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/ms2.pdf>

²¹ Ages more than one standard deviation below the mean are coded as "below average," ages within one standard deviation below or above the mean are "average," and ages greater than one standard deviation above the mean are "above average." The means and standard deviations are calculated separately by sex. For men, the mean response for youngest age would marry is 24.2 (SD=3.4). Thus, for men desires to marry before age 21 are coded as "below average," between ages 21 and 28 as "average," and above 28 as "above average." For women (mean 22.7, SD 2.98), desires to marry before age 20 are "below average," 20 to 26 "average," and older than 26 "above average."

[Figure 4.5 here]

[Figure 4.6 here]

Parenthood plans

Men and women both express high desires to have children and high dissatisfaction with the thought of never having children. These variables are moderately correlated ($r=0.474$). Responses for desire to have children range from (1) “definitely don’t want to” to (5) “definitely want to” have children, and were nearly identical by sex: men average 4.447 while women average 4.444 (see Figure 4.7). Men’s anticipated dissatisfaction with never having children averages 4.09 on a scale of (1) “very happy” to (5) “very unhappy,” while women average 4.29. These gender differences are significant (chi-square = 34.828, $p = 0.000$; see Figure 4.8).

[Figure 4.7 here]

[Figure 4.8 here]

As with marital desires, feelings regarding having children and the prospect of never having children are recoded as dichotomous variables (“low parenthood desires” and “high parenthood desires”) to analyze broader categorizations of parenthood desires. In the dichotomous form, responses are still similar for desires to have children (men’s mean 0.913, women’s mean 0.921; chi-square 0.319, $p = 0.572$; see Figure 4.9).²² Women are still statistically more likely to express higher dissatisfaction with never

²² “Low parenthood desires” are responses of “definitely don’t want to,” “probably don’t want to,” and “don’t know” if they want to have children; “high parenthood desires” are “probably” and “definitely want to” have children. Similarly for dissatisfaction with never having children, “low parenthood desires” are those who would be “very happy,” “somewhat happy,” or “neither happy nor unhappy” if they never had children, while “high parenthood desires” are those who stated they would be “somewhat” or “very unhappy” if they never had children.

having children (men's mean 0.819, women's mean 0.857; chi-square = 4.301, $p = 0.038$; see Figure 4.10).

[Figure 4.9 here]

[Figure 4.10 here]

Overall, respondents indicate a very strong desire to have children: 91.6% state they “probably” or “definitely want to” have children, and 83.62% would be “somewhat” or “very unhappy” if they did not. Ninety-seven percent of respondents would like to have at least one child and 88.2% would like to have two or more. Women indicate interest in having slightly higher numbers of children than do men (women's average 2.38, men's average 2.32; Figure 4.11), but the difference is not statistically significant ($t = 1.202$, $p = 0.115$). When the number of children desired is clustered into “below average,” “average,” and “above average,” the gender differences are still not statistically significant (chi-square 1.877, $p = 0.391$; see Figure 4.12).²³

[Figure 4.11 here]

[Figure 4.12 here]

Overall gender differences in family plans

At first glance, women anticipate getting married at younger ages than do men, but when desired marital ages are recoded to reflect sex-specific averages the gender difference disappears. Overall, both young women and men express high desires to get

²³ The mean for number of children desired is 2.26 (SD = 1.02). Respondents who definitely do not want to have children and/or responded they would like to have 0 children are coded as “below average,” those indicating desires to have 1-3 children as “average,” and desires for 4 or more children as “above average.”

married and to have children.²⁴ Additionally, respondents are consistent with cultural norms regarding average age at first marriage and generally in keeping with the average number of children per person. Women are significantly more likely, however, to express dissatisfaction with never marrying and with never having children and there is more variation overall regarding expected dissatisfaction. Although statistically significant, these gender differences are not large.

In regards to desires to have children, 91% of respondents are coded as having “high parenthood desires” (answering they either “definitely want to” or “probably want to” have children) but only 83% have high levels of anticipated dissatisfaction with never having children (they would be “somewhat” or “very unhappy”). This can reflect the rates of child bearing among adults in the United States and the cultural norms of having children, about which some respondents might harbor uncertainty.²⁵

²⁴ Young adults’ from diverse families (including those not raised primarily in two-parent households and/or whose fathers did not complete a NSFH survey) likewise had strong marriage desires. However, slightly more variation exists among those from the larger sample than those from the sample used in this chapter (see Table 4.2). On all measures besides men’s expected dissatisfaction with never marrying, the young adults’ in this two-parent sample had higher marriage desires: higher desires to marry, women’s higher dissatisfaction with never marrying, and younger ages at which they would marry. In both samples, however, women have higher marriage desires than men.

It may be that those from two-parent households have more “traditional” goals of marriage due to their observation of long-term marriage in their household. Gerson (2010) notes, however, that individuals from similar family types may have very different perspectives on marriage. For example, an individual who grew up in a two-parent household where the parents were unhappily married and/or constantly fighting may have a more negative view toward marriage than an individual from a divorced family who observed an amicable separation and happier parents. For this reason, while the individuals from the smaller, two-parent household sample have somewhat higher marriage desires than those from the larger, diverse family types sample, it is likely that the processes through which parental role-modeling impact young adults’ plans are similar across family types.

²⁵ As with marriage plans, young adults from the smaller, single-parent household sample express slightly higher parenthood desires overall than those from the larger, diverse family types sample. Another notable difference is that men in the larger sample have higher desires for parenthood than their female counterparts (see Table 4.2). While the young adults in the sample used in this chapter have higher parenthood desires overall, the desires among those in the larger sample are still quite high. Once again, this points to the overall strong desires among young adults for marriage and parenthood, as well as the need to understand how family socialization processes influence their work/family plans.

Occupational plans

I examine occupational goals through the sex-composition of the desired field. To do so, I used 1990 Census reports of the percent female in each detailed occupation. I cluster the desired occupations following 1990 Census categories into 5 broad categories, 22 more specific categories (see Appendix A), and the full list of 502 detailed occupations (see Appendix B). I calculated the sex-composition at all levels. I examine all levels for descriptive and bivariate analyses, and focus multivariate analyses on the detailed occupational level. As I describe below, an analysis of broader occupational categories masks gender differences visible at the detailed level. For the detailed occupational level, I cluster responses into male-dominated (under 35% female), gender-mixed (35-65% female), and female-dominated occupations (over 65% female).

At the broadest occupational level (shown in Table 4.3), men and women have some similar goals. Young women and men are both most likely to identify “management, professional, and related occupations” as their expected occupations. Women are more likely to anticipate “service” or “sales and office” occupations while men are more likely to envision “production, transportation, and material moving” occupations. The differences fall along sex-segregated lines, as service, sales, and office occupations are female-dominated and production, transportation, and material moving occupations are male-dominated. The gender differences in occupational goals are statistically significant (chi-square = 151.471, $p = 0.000$).

[Table 4.3 here]

The top category of “management, professional, and related occupations” also demonstrates why it is crucial to examine more detailed levels of occupations. At the 22 category level, additional patterns begin to emerge (see Table 4.4). While men and women both prefer the broad “management, professional, and related occupations” category, within this category women are most concentrated in “education, training, and library” and men are most concentrated in “architecture and engineering” fields. Men also express high interest in “education, training, and library” fields, however, and both women and men are interested in “healthcare practitioner and technical” fields. In other areas, men are more likely to prefer “protective service,” “sales and related,” and “production” fields, while women are more concentrated in “personal services and care.” While these gender differences are statistically significant (chi-square = 424.104, $p = 0.000$), some of the similarities mask even greater differences between men’s and women’s goals at the detailed occupational level.

[Table 4.4 here]

For example, although both women and men are interested in “education, training, and library” fields, women are most likely to indicate “elementary school teachers” as their detailed occupation while men are more likely to indicate “secondary school teachers.” Within the “healthcare practitioner and technical fields,” though women are more likely than men to express interest in the field overall, 40% of women in that field indicate “nurse practitioner” as their desired detailed occupation, a heavily female-dominated occupation.

Among the full 502 detailed occupations, women's and men's top choices are the same for only three choices: "accountants and auditors," "lawyers," and "managers and administrators, general" (see Table 4.5). Of these, only accountants and auditors are gender-mixed and the other two are male-dominated. In fact, among the top occupational choices, men's list contains almost exclusively male-dominated fields, with the exception of accountants and auditors and secondary school teachers (gender-mixed). Women, on the other hand, indicate preference for six female-dominated fields, three gender-mixed fields, and three male-dominated fields among their top fields.

[Table 4.5 here]

The patterns of the gender composition of top occupational choices mirror the overall pattern in expected occupations. As reflected in Figures 4.13 and 4.14, men and women indicate predominantly gender-stereotypical occupations, even as young adults discussing the kind of work they hope to do someday. Nearly half of the women state a desire to work in traditionally female-dominated occupations, while roughly two-thirds of men express interest in traditionally male-dominated occupations. Regarding gender-mixed and non-traditional choices, however, men's and women's responses are distributed differently. Thirty percent of women expect to work in gender-mixed fields and nearly a quarter in male-dominated fields. The pattern is different for men as they express strong preference for male-dominated fields, some interest in gender-mixed fields, and low interest in female-dominated fields. When I collapse these categories into a dichotomous dependent variable – traditional (sex-typed or gender-mixed fields) or non-traditional (opposite-sex-dominated) occupational goals (see Figure 4.15) – the

gender differences in occupational goals are statistically significant (chi-square = 52.563, $p = 0.000$).²⁶ This is consistent with the literature on “token” experiences in occupations and pressure to maintain gender norms (Coltrane 2004; Pleck 1976; Orrange 2002), in which some findings suggest that men are more heavily sanctioned for veering from their gender norms.

[Figure 4.13 here]

[Figure 4.14 here]

[Figure 4.15 here]

Gender differences in occupational goals

These descriptive statistics indicate that, even as young adults, many women and men express marriage, parenthood, and occupational desires in keeping with cultural norms. The majority express desire for marriage and children, in spite of potential uncertainties with both, and many prefer sex-stereotypical occupations. While the gender differences are great between choosing male- or female-dominated occupations, however, there is still variation in occupational choices, particularly among women. Women express greater desire for non-traditional work, which is consistent with the literature on women’s expanded choices and labor force participation (Padavic and Reskin 2002).²⁷ In the next section, I use multivariate analyses to further examine predictors of variation in marriage, parenthood, and occupational goals and test these relationships. For each goal, I

²⁶ I also run analyses with “gender-mixed” fields coded as non-traditional; see Figure 4.16.

²⁷ While there are some sample differences between this sample (young adults from two-parent households) and the larger, diverse family type sample on marriage and parenthood desires, there are no significant differences on occupational plans (see Table 4.2). For the two-parent sample and the diverse family type sample, young women were significantly more likely than young men to express interest in non-traditional occupations. Likewise, there were no significant differences in the number of men or women with non-traditional occupational goals across sample type.

first examine the strength of parental role-modeling as a predictor and then analyze the influence of parents' attitudes, sex, and gender role attitudes on explaining across- and within-gender variation.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

In this section, I present results from the multivariate analyses (Tables 4.6 to 4.26) designed to test the strength of sex, parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes in explaining variation in young adults' willingness to pursue non-traditional work/family plans. I use logistic regression in most of the analyses discussed below because many of the dependent variables are dichotomous. Since the constructed variables for the youngest age the respondents would marry and the number of children they desire are ordinal variables, I use ordinal logistic regression for those analyses.

I organize the multivariate results around the analytical models conducted for each of the three groups of dependent variables. Within each group of dependent variables (marriage, parenthood, and occupational plans), I first examine the impact of sex on variation in young adults' work/family plans. Then, to analyze within-gender variation, I describe how parental role-modeling (maternal employment, division of household labor, parents' education) matters for variation in plans and how the control variables affect this relationship. Next, I discuss how parents' attitudes shape variation in work/family plans. Fourth, I examine the relationship between gender role attitudes and work/family plans. I test these relationships for the plans for marriage (Tables 4.6 to 4.14), parenthood (Tables 4.15 to 4.22), and occupational plans (Tables 4.23 and 4.24).²⁸

²⁸ In Tables 4.25 and 4.26, I present results for analyses run with "gender-mixed" fields coded as non-traditional.

I run all models separately for women and men to discuss across- and within-gender variation for each set of analyses. I then conclude by discussing the overall patterns in explaining variation in work/family plans and what this means for the next chapter on work/family outcomes.

Marriage plans

Overall, there is limited variation regarding marriage plans with the exception of dissatisfaction with never marrying. Ninety-six percent of respondents indicate they “probably” or “definitely want to” get married, and 90% want to get married within a sex-specific average age range, but 31% express low anticipated dissatisfaction with never marrying (reporting they would be “very happy,” “somewhat happy,” or “neither happy nor unhappy” if they never married). Due to the strong desires for marriage and average ages, there is likely to be limited significant effects of independent variables on those elements of marriage plans whereas there is more variation to be explained for dissatisfaction.²⁹ Below, I discuss the models for variation in the three dependent variables for marriage plans, overall and by sex (see Tables 4.6 to 4.13).

Sex and marriage plans

Given the overall strong desires for marriage, it is not surprising that sex is not a significant predictor of marriage desires (see Table 4.6). However, sex is a significant

²⁹ As discussed above, there are some differences between this sample from two-parent households, and a larger sample from diverse family types. Primarily, young adults’ in this sample express higher marriage and parenthood desires, though in both women express higher desires than men. While it is beyond the scope of this project to fully explore differences across samples, particularly in multivariate analyses, in future research I plan to examine how family type/structure impacts the relationship between socialization processes and young adults’ work/family plans.

predictor of increased dissatisfaction with never marrying, with women more likely to express anticipated dissatisfaction (see Table 4.7). These results support Hypothesis 1a (that women will place greater emphasis on marriage than men) and the argument that cultural norms regarding marriage are particularly strong. In a focus on gendered cultural norms, women are arguably socialized to place greater emphasis on family than men (Coltrane 1998, 2004; Coontz 1992). While most respondents express the culturally normative desire for marriage, women are more likely to be unhappy with never achieving that goal. This can be interpreted as women's greater interest in marriage than men: after looking past the general and common response of "want to" get married, women are more invested in the outcome.

[Table 4.6 here]

[Table 4.7 here]

Parental role-modeling and marriage plans

In the family, parents offer direct socialization by instructing children on attitudes and behaviors, children seek out information and guidance, and children also observe their parents' own attitudes and how their parents behave (Acock and Bengtson 1980; Beck and Jennings 1975; Cunningham 2001b; Glass et al. 1986; Moen et al. 1997). In this study, the parental role-modeling variables tap into these underlying concepts; the independent variables of maternal employment, division of household labor, and parental educational attainment represent how socialization processes operate and stand in for the active and passive ways that families model work/family roles. Thus, significant results for these variables, particularly when other factors are taken into account, can be

interpreted as support for arguments that parental socialization factors directly affect young adults' work/family aspirations. Overall, the partial models containing variables for parental role-modeling were the strongest models (other than the full models) in explaining variation in marriage plans.

Maternal employment and marriage plans

Mother's employment is often discussed in terms of both traditional gender norms and financial obligations. From one point of view, it is arguable that mothers staying home signify more traditional gender norms in the household. From another point of view, while mothers are frequently described as "opting out" of the workforce to stay home with children (e.g. Belkin 2003), some researchers have found that family class background has a strong effect on so-called "opting out." If traditional homemaker desires were the strongest factor in mothers' occupational choices, one would expect upper-class women to "opt out" at higher rates, yet some research has found increased "opting out" among working-class women as the cost/benefit analysis of childcare makes not working more financially feasible than working (Percheski 2008).

In this sample, mothers' employment at 5 and 12 years is correlated with class background, with higher-class women more likely to work when their children are 5 ($r = 0.116$) and 12 ($r = 0.186$). Class is also significantly related to higher marriage desires, but the effect of maternal employment persists with class in the model. However, the effect of maternal employment varies based on sex and the respondent's age at which the mother worked (see Table 4.8). For women, having a working mother when the young adult was 5 years old decreases desires to marry as well. This is consistent with the role-

modeling interpretation of a stay-at-home mother modeling traditional gender roles as desirable aspirations and Hypothesis 2a (which expected that maternal employment will decrease women's marriage desires). Yet maternal employment at age 12 increases both women's desires for marriage and expected dissatisfaction with never marrying (see Table 4.8 and 4.9).

[Table 4.8 here]

[Table 4.9 here]

Gerson (2010) describes how different individuals from similar family types (such as single-parent households, or two-parent households, or households with a stay-at-home mother, etc.) can come away from that upbringing with diverse feelings based on their unique circumstances and interpretations. For example, if viewed favorably and perceived as happy, a stay-at-home mother can model desirable goals and increase an individual's interest in a "traditional" marriage. If viewed unfavorably, however, the perception of an unhappy stay-at-home mother (and/or a financially trapped stay-at-home mother) can decrease interest in the institution of marriage – particularly for young women.

The difference in direction of influence from maternal employment at 5 or 12 years can be an indication of this effect. Having a stay-at-home mother at 5-years-old may be romanticized based on cultural norms of "intensive mothering" (Hays 1997). However, having a mother who did not work outside the home when the young adult was 12-years-old may be interpreted differently. Rather than seeing a romanticized "traditional" family, a 12-year-old with a stay-at-home mother may be more aware of

financial constraints, as well as family “pulls” and work “pushes” (Stone 2007a) that make it difficult for their mother to work outside the home.

Similarly, having a stay-at-home mother at 5-years-old significantly increases the young men’s expected dissatisfaction with never marrying, while a stay-at-home mother at 12-years-old is related to a significant decrease in women’s and men’s expected dissatisfaction with never marrying. As with the above, a stay-at-home mother at 5-years-old can reinforce the image of the desirability of the “traditional” family, and thus the anticipated dissatisfaction with not achieving that goal. Yet a stay-at-home mother at 12-years-old can seem old-fashioned for young adults with increasingly egalitarian attitudes about gender roles (Cichy et al. 2007; Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001). Rather, a working mother at 12-years-old can model independence, financial autonomy, and less of a need to rely on marriage for security.

Division of household labor and marriage plans

As with maternal employment, how parents divide household tasks can serve as a model of “appropriate” gender roles. From this perspective, it is expected that mothers who perform a higher ratio of the household labor would model “traditional” gender roles, while mothers who performed a lower ratio of household labor would model more egalitarian roles. Some researchers have found that an egalitarian division of household labor increases women’s and men’s value on both work and family roles (Grzywacz and Marks 2000; Thorn and Gilbert 1998). Thus, Hypothesis 3a expects that mother’s lower ratio of household labor, and thus more egalitarian role-modeling, will increase both women’s and men’s family desires.

In these models, mother's lower ratio of household labor increases men's marriage desires and increases women's expected dissatisfaction with never marrying (consistent with Hypothesis 3a), but has no other significant effects (see Table 4.10 for the ordinal logistic regression analysis for youngest age the young adults would marry overall, and Table 4.11 for the sex-specific models). The division of household labor is fundamentally related to issues of gender, "appropriate" roles, and power in the family. Observations of how an individual's parents divided household roles can certainly factor into an overall evaluation of roles in the family. It may be that the parents' division of household labor is more significant for the direct role-modeling of household labor, rather than broader interests in marriage. There is support for this in the literature, where studies find that individuals who grow up observing an egalitarian division of household labor are more likely to desire such an arrangement for themselves (Cunningham 2001b; Grzywacz and Marks 2000; Thorn and Gilbert 1998). This study finds some support, however, for the claim that such an observation has a direct influence on the young adults' marriage aspirations more broadly defined and supports Hypothesis 3a which expects an egalitarian division of household labor will increase men's and women's marriage aspirations.

[Table 4.10 here]

[Table 4.11 here]

Parents' educational attainment and marriage plans

In addition to examining parental role-modeling through maternal employment and the division of household labor, I examine how parents' educational attainment influences young adults' plans. A key factor for creating this sample was the inclusion of

both mother and father data to test their influence on young adults' work/family plans. Mother's higher education increases women's desires to marry. Mother's education, however, also decreases women's dissatisfaction with never marrying and increases the youngest age women would marry. The effect on women's dissatisfaction and marital age is in the expected direction of Hypothesis 4a, as mother's higher education leads to less traditional marriage plans for women. From a role-modeling perspective, mothers modeling more independence and autonomy can translate to greater educational and occupational aspirations for women and less reliance on marriage (Hitlin 2006b). Additionally, mothers with higher levels of education can allow for increased opportunities for daughters to meet women in occupations (Cunningham 2001b). This interaction can reinforce occupational aspirations for young women, particularly non-traditional goals and lower reliance on marriage.

These counterintuitive results – mother's higher education leading to an increase in desires to marry, but a decrease in the anticipated dissatisfaction with never marrying and expectations to marry at later ages – are not necessarily opposed. Rather, they may point to the overall increased cultural pressures to marry, particularly from families with higher status backgrounds, while at the same time modeling that it is acceptable for women to be independent. The fact that fathers' higher educational attainment increases women's expected dissatisfaction with never marrying also supports this claim. Thus, women with more educated mothers and fathers might express the cultural desirability of marriage, but also believe that marriage is not a necessity; they can pursue careers, financial independence, and perhaps marry later in life if desired (consistent with Hypothesis 4a).

The effect of parental educational attainment on young men's marriage plans is quite different. While father's level of education increases women's anticipated dissatisfaction with never marrying, father's higher educational attainment decreases men's desires to marry. This also can be interpreted similar to the above discussion of maternal education and modeling independence to daughters. While maternal education may open up non-traditional opportunities for young women, paternal education may model the "traditional" male focus on career advancement for young men. As higher levels of education are often related to higher status and higher paying occupations, young men may be more apt to focus on career than family when they have higher status fathers (consistent with Hypothesis 4c). At the same time, mothers' higher educational attainment is related to men's greater dissatisfaction with never marrying. This is consistent with Hypothesis 4b and the expectation that modeling of egalitarianism and mothers' opportunities in the home will increase men's marriage desires.

Unfortunately, the questions in the NSFH do not fully unpack the young adults' views of their parents' choices and experiences; therefore, this study cannot entirely disentangle the individual evaluation and impact of parents' experiences on young adults' work/family plans. However, these results do point to there being a significant relationship between parental role-modeling and young adults' aspirations, particularly regarding maternal employment and parental educational attainment. Thus, these quantitative results demonstrate the strength of a relationship that can perhaps be further understood by qualitative research.

Parents' attitudes and marriage plans

In addition to parental role-modeling through maternal employment, the division of household labor, and parents' educational attainment, similar perspectives emphasize how parents' gender role attitudes can be an influential factor in shaping young adults' own attitudes and work/family plans. An examination of the results of models containing parents' attitudes highlights the need to analyze young women's and men's marriage plans separately. In the overall model, mothers' attitudes are only significant on the measure for youngest desired marital age and the effect of father's attitudes about sexual relations drops out of the full models (see Tables 4.6, 4.7, and 4.10). However, these models mask the significance of parents' gender role attitudes in the sex-specific models (see Tables 4.8, 4.9, and 4.11; also Tables 4.12 and 4.13 comparing the full models overall and by sex for all measures).

[Table 4.12 here]

[Table 4.13 here]

As expected, parents' attitudes are significantly related to women's and men's marriage plans. But the effect of parents' attitudes falls along sex-specific lines with the same-sex parents having a stronger influence on the young adults in the anticipated direction. For women, mothers' more conservative gender role attitudes increase desires to get married and expected dissatisfaction with never marrying (consistent with Hypothesis 5). Similarly, fathers' conservative gender role attitudes have the same influence on men: higher desires to get married, higher anticipated dissatisfaction with

never marrying, and decreased youngest age at which the men would marry (also consistent with Hypothesis 5).

The influence of the opposite-sex parent is the complete reverse. For women, father's more conservative attitudes decrease desires to marry and increase the youngest age at which the women would marry. Similarly, for men, mother's more conservative attitudes decrease desires to marry and increase the youngest age at which they would marry. While the findings for the same-sex parent support the argument that same-sex parents have an influence on young adults' work/family plans, these results demonstrate an unexpected pattern among the impact of the opposite-sex parent. While it is beyond the scope of this study, further research could investigate the relationship between the young adults and their opposite-sex parent to see if the quality of that relationship partially explains the backlash type of effect that attitudes have on young adults' plans.

Gender role attitudes and marriage plans

Similar to the impact of parents' attitudes, individual's own attitudes about "appropriate" gender roles can be influential in shaping their desires to marry. Gender role attitudes have primarily sex-specific significance on expected dissatisfaction with never marrying and the youngest age at which respondents would marry (see Tables 4.9 and 4.11). For women, more conservative attitudes about sexual relations (ideas about premarital sex, cohabitation, and marriage as a lifelong relationship) decrease the youngest age women would marry. This is consistent with Hypothesis 6a and expectations about the influence of gender role attitudes, as more conservative attitudes

are related to more conservative or “traditional” marriage plans such as marrying at younger ages.

For women, however, conservative attitudes about home and work roles both decrease marriage desires and increase expected dissatisfaction with never marrying. This can be interpreted as supporting the idea that statements of desires to marry are a cultural norm rather than reflecting personal beliefs: nearly all respondents indicate they would like to marry, but some appear more invested in the outcome based on their expected dissatisfaction with the prospect of never marrying.

For men, the influence of gender role attitudes on marriage plans is in the opposite direction: attitudes about home/work roles have no significant effect, while more conservative attitudes about sexual relations increase the youngest age at which they would marry. At first glance, this is counter to expectations that conservative attitudes about sexual relations and attitudes about home/work roles would increase men’s dissatisfaction with never marrying and decrease the youngest marital age. It is possible that young men’s conservative attitudes about sexual relations lead to a desire to focus less on pre-marital relations and, rather, to be more settled in education and career before marriage. Yet, the significant influence of attitudes about sexual relations persists when educational and occupational goals are included in the model (see Table 4.14). It is important to note, however, that over 93% of the young men in this sample anticipate getting married at an “average” age (between ages 21 and 28). The limited variation in these goals may contribute to the persistent significance of attitudes about sexual relations even when occupational goals and educational goals are included in the model, both of which are independently related to men’s higher anticipated age at first marriage

(occupational goals: chi-square = 5.788, $p = 0.055$; educational goals: chi-square = 67.989, $p = 0.000$).

[Table 4.14 here]

Parenthood plans

Overall, there is little gender variation regarding desires to have children with nearly 92% of respondents indicating high parenthood desires (answering they “probably” or “definitely want to” have children, compared to low parenthood desires of “don’t know,” “probably don’t want to,” or “definitely don’t want to” have children). Similarly, the overwhelming majority of respondents (97%) want to have at least one child. There is slightly more variation regarding dissatisfaction with never having children: 84% of respondents state they would be “somewhat” or “very unhappy” if they never had children, compared with 16% who would be “neither happy nor unhappy,” “somewhat happy,” or “very happy” if they never had children. For the variation that does exist, predictors of variation in parenthood plans have some similarities to marriage plans: maternal employment and parents’ education continue to have strong effects, and gender role attitudes have similar effects (see Tables 4.15 to 4.22). Parents’ gender role attitudes have strong significance but in very different ways from marriage plans.

Sex and parenthood plans

While there are differences between women and men in the factors explaining variation in parenthood plans, sex is only significantly related to expected dissatisfaction with never having children (Tables 4.15, 4.17, and 4.19). Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, women are significantly more likely to express dissatisfaction with the idea of not having

children. The lack of significance of sex on overall desires to have children or the number of children desired, however, is counter to perspectives on gender norms and Hypothesis 1a which anticipate women having greater desires for children. This points to the more general, overarching cultural norm of anticipating parenthood yet, as with marriage plans and women's greater expected dissatisfaction with never marrying, perhaps women's greater investment in obtaining that goal.

Parental role-modeling and parenthood plans

As with the effect of parental role-modeling on marriage plans, parental role-modeling has a strong influence on young adults' parenthood plans. The significance for parenthood plans, however, is somewhat different than for marriage plans. In particular, fathers' higher education and mothers' attitudes about gender roles have similar effects, while maternal employment and fathers' attitudes about gender roles are different in their significance.

Maternal employment and parenthood plans

As discussed in the previous section, young women and men whose mothers worked when they were 5-years-old have significantly lower marriage desires and dissatisfaction with the prospect of never marrying. Likewise, maternal employment at 5 has the same effect on dissatisfaction with never having children for women (see Table 4.15 for the overall model and Table 4.16 for the sex-specific models). This is consistent with Hypothesis 2a and the idea that maternal employment models independence and work roles perhaps at the expense of family roles (Cunningham 2001b). Yet, while

maternal employment at 12-years-old was significant for increasing dissatisfaction with never marrying, it is not significantly related to dissatisfaction with never having children.

[Table 4.15 here]

[Table 4.16 here]

Regarding overall desires to have children, the effect of maternal employment varies by the young adult's sex (see Table 4.17 for the overall model and Table 4.18 for the sex-specific models). For women, as with anticipated dissatisfaction with not having children, the effect of maternal employment is consistent with the parental role-modeling perspective and supports Hypothesis 2a: women whose mothers worked outside the home have significantly lower desires to have children, perhaps due to the modeling of less "traditional" family roles.

[Table 4.17 here]

[Table 4.18 here]

For men, however, maternal employment at 5-years-old increases desires to have children and the number of children desired (consistent with Hypothesis 2c). While the "traditional" family consists of the male breadwinner (Coontz 1992), this may indicate men's ambivalence with that family type. Though the young men may anticipate putting great emphasis on their career advancement before starting a family, it is possible that they envision forming that family in a more egalitarian format. That is, while they may focus on careers, they may want a partner who does as well. Thus, having a working mother may model a desirable family structure that is less "traditional" and more

egalitarian; those men may be more apt to then want a family coming from that environment.

Division of household labor and parenthood plans

Perhaps lending support to the above interpretation of egalitarian role-modeling and men's greater family desires, the young men are significantly less likely to want children when their mothers performed a higher ratio of household labor (see Table 4.19 for the overall model on number of children desired and Table 4.20 for the sex-specific models). This may point to a parental role-modeling effect of egalitarian models on men's plans (consistent with Hypothesis 3a): with more egalitarian norms modeled in the home, in this case parents with a more equitable division of household labor, men are more likely to want a family for themselves.

[Table 4.19 here]

[Table 4.20 here]

Parents' educational attainment and parenthood plans

As with maternal employment and the division of household labor, mother's higher educational attainment increases men's dissatisfaction with not having children (see Table 4.16). Once again, it is possible to interpret this from a role-modeling perspective: mother's who model less "traditional" and more egalitarian behaviors (such as working when they have young children, more evenly dividing household labor, and achieving higher levels of education) may be teaching their sons to place higher emphasis on egalitarian partnerships and, as a result, on family in general. This is consistent with

Hypothesis 4b; a role-modeling perspective would assume that mother's more egalitarian behaviors would lead to men's greater emphasis on family, similar to the effect of mothers' education on men's marriage desires.

The influence of father's educational attainment on young men is consistent with the expected direction of Hypothesis 4c. When fathers' have higher educational attainment, their young adult sons have lower levels of dissatisfaction with never having children. This result is as predicted: when father's have higher status, such as higher education, their sons are more likely to place greater emphasis on career and less on family. Similarly, young men from higher class backgrounds are less likely to desire children, less likely to anticipate dissatisfaction with never having children, and expect to have fewer children overall. This could also be related to the significant relationship between men's higher class background and higher educational aspirations (chi-square = 93.126, $p = 0.000$), and the relationship between men's higher educational goals and lower numbers of children desired (chi-square = 40.079, $p = 0.000$).

Surprisingly, and counter to Hypothesis 4a, mother's educational attainment is not related to women's parenthood plans. As described in the previous section, maternal higher education is significantly related to women's higher desires for marriage. Yet the effect does not carry to parenthood plans. This could be evidence that mother's higher status leads women to have a greater faith and interest in the institution of marriage, versus women from lower status background viewing marriage as a potential economic liability (Casper and Bianchi 2002), while women's parenthood plans are less related to status. The fact that there is no significant relationship between family class background and women's parenthood plans provides some support for this interpretation. Becoming a

mother, rather than becoming a wife, is perhaps more of a cultural imperative across class backgrounds.

The relationship between status and parenthood plans does not only depend on the sex of the parent, but the sex of the young adult as well (see Tables 4.21 and 4.22 comparing the full models for all parenthood measures both overall and by sex). For men, father's educational attainment and coming from a higher class background have similar effects, while the influence of mother's educational attainment is different. For women, mother's educational attainment and coming from a higher class background have similar effects (namely, no significance), while the influence of father's educational attainment is different. Young women with more highly educated fathers are significantly more likely to express greater levels of anticipated dissatisfaction with never having children and desires for a larger number of children. It is possible that the influence of family status on women's parenthood plans is routed through father's education. Higher paternal education is a component of higher socio-economic status, which these results indicate is more important for women's parenthood goals than the simple measure for family class background based on income.

[Table 4.21 here]

[Table 4.22 here]

Parents' attitudes and parenthood plans

Just as these results point to a significant relationship between parental role-modeling and young adults' parenthood plans, the findings also support perspectives on the influence of parents' gender role attitudes. Parents' attitudes, however, have a sex-specific impact on parenthood plans. Additionally, the influence of parents' attitudes on

young men's parenthood plans is quite similar to the relationship between parents' attitudes and men's marriage plans, while the relationships between parents' attitudes and young women's marriage and parenthood plans are different.

For men, as with for marriage plans, fathers have a significant influence on parenthood plans. Fathers' more conservative gender role attitudes increase men's expected dissatisfaction with never having children and the number of children desired (consistent with Hypothesis 5; see Tables 4.16 and 4.20). At the same time, the relationship between mothers' attitudes and men's parenthood plans is slightly more complicated. As with marriage plans, mothers' conservative attitudes about sexual relations decrease men's desires to have children and anticipated dissatisfaction with never having children. Yet, mothers' conservative attitudes about home/work roles increase the number of children they wish to have. Regarding marriage plans, those same mothers' conservative attitudes about home/work roles increased the youngest age at which men would marry.

The effect of mothers' attitudes about home/work roles on marriage and parenthood plans have a seemingly opposite influence, with the same attitudes leading to both lower marriage desires (delaying marriage to later ages) and higher parenthood desires. This can, however, be interpreted as two sides to the same coin. Above, I discussed how men's own conservative attitudes increased the youngest age at which they would marry, and how that influence could indicate that men wish to be more settled in education and career before marriage to be a better traditional provider. It is possible that mothers' conservative attitudes about home/work roles have a similar effect. While these attitudes increased the men's youngest age they would marry, they also increased

their parenthood desires. Perhaps these two are related, in that parents' conservative attitudes are related to men's overall family goals: more conservative attitudes lead to more "traditional" goals, including parenthood and becoming a provider in the family – often by establishing a career first. Overall, parents' attitudes have a strong influence on men's parenthood plans.

Parents' attitudes also have a strong influence on women's parenthood plans, though not always in the expected direction. While mothers' conservative gender role attitudes increased women's marriage desires as expected in Hypothesis 5, these same attitudes decrease women's desires to have children. Additionally, while fathers' conservative attitudes decreased women's marriage desires, they increase women's parenthood desires. Essentially, the influence of mothers' and fathers' attitudes are opposite for women's marriage and parenthood plans, and the direction of influence flips between the type of plans. This is an unusual finding. While perspectives on parents' attitudes would expect a greater influence of mothers' attitudes than fathers' on young women, it is surprising that the direction of influence is inverted between marriage and parenthood plans.

It is possible that some of these significant results are exaggerated by the very limited variation overall, as nearly all respondents in the sample want to get married and have children. These findings, however, do strengthen the need to examine the influence of both same-sex and opposite-sex parents on young adults' plans, as well as to analyze marriage and parenthood plans separately. While some variables in these analyses have similar effects, such as the relationship between fathers' attitudes and men's marriage and parenthood plans, some have different influences on marriage and parenthood plans. As

with the discussion of marriage plans, it is difficult with these data to fully disentangle what is causing some of these effects, but these results do indicate a strong relationship between parents' attitudes and young adults' parenthood plans. Future research should more fully explore the gendered nature of this relationship.

Gender role attitudes and parenthood plans

For women, conservative attitudes about sexual relations and home/work roles increase desires to have children, but this effect drops out in the full model (see Table 4.18). Women's conservative attitudes about home/work roles, however, increase the number of children they wish to have (consistent with Hypothesis 6a), and this effect remains in the full models (see Table 4.20). While attitudes about sexual relations pertain to feelings about premarital sex, cohabitation, and marriage for life, attitudes about home/work roles are more directly related to beliefs about women's roles in the family. This could explain why the influence of attitudes about home/work roles on parenthood plans persists, given that the two are more closely related.

For men, the primary significance is that conservative attitudes decrease desires to have children. This is similar to the fact that these attitudes increase the youngest age at which they would marry. This is, of course, counter to the expectation in Hypothesis 6a that conservative attitudes lead to increased desires for marriage and children – as they do for women. As discussed previously, it is possible that the increase in marital age is related to a desire to fill a “traditional” provider role, which may require more investment in education and career before beginning a family. This interpretation could be consistent with the fact that men's more conservative attitudes increase the number of children they

wish to have. It could be that men's more conservative attitudes about home/work roles therefore are related to a pursuit of economic and occupational success before ultimately having a family. It is also possible that men with more conservative attitudes about gender roles may expect to have a stay-at-home wife and thus cannot rely on their wife's income to help financially support the family. Therefore, for financial reasons they might desire fewer children.

Unfortunately, the NSFH does not go deeper into the reasons behind the desired marital age, or why the young adults expect to be happy or unhappy with never having children, or other expressed desires related to marriage and parenthood plans. Future research should explore, for example, why conservative attitudes about home/work roles have different effects on women and men. However, these analyses do point to the significant influence of parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes on young adults' family plans. In the next section, I examine how these variables relate to work plans.

Occupational plans

I examine young adults' occupational plans as traditional (sex-stereotypical or gender-mixed; see Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of the conceptualization) or non-traditional (opposite-sex dominated).³⁰ Once again, I run analyses on occupational plans overall as well as sex-specific models to test both across- and within-gender variation (see Table 4.23 and 4.24). While women in non-traditional occupations may

³⁰ I also run analyses with gender-mixed fields coded as "non-traditional" (see Tables 4.25 and 4.26). However, the analytical models are stronger with gender-mixed coded as traditional. By focusing on opposite-sex dominated fields as non-traditional, I am able to focus on individuals who pursue occupations where they would be in the minority.

gain greater status and pay (Barnett et al. 2000), women are also likely to face discrimination and challenges in working in male-dominated fields (Cotter et al. 2001; Reskin and Roos 1990). Men, meanwhile, may gain advantages in female-dominated fields but also face stigma and pressure to move to more gender-normative occupations (Williams 1992). Given these struggles for both women and men in non-traditional occupations, this research analyzes what explains variation in occupational goals. In particular, I test the influence of sex (in the overall model), parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes on young adults' traditional or non-traditional occupational goals.

[Table 4.23 here]

[Table 4.24 here]

[Table 4.25 here]

[Table 4.26 here]

Sex and occupational plans

As expected in Hypothesis 1b, the young adults in this sample are significantly more likely to pursue traditional occupations than non-traditional occupations. Yet overall, sex is a strong predictor of non-traditional occupational plans, with women significantly more likely than men to want non-traditional occupations (see Table 4.23). This is consistent with Hypothesis 1c and the expectation that women will express greater variation in desired fields, and consistent with the literature finding greater acceptance of women pursuing male-typed activities than men pursuing female-typed activities.

Parental role-modeling and occupational plans

Parental role-modeling perspectives suggest that what parents do – their work histories, their division of household labor, and their educational attainment – demonstrates viable choices to their children. In regard to young adults' occupational plans, parents can model desirable career paths as well as provide opportunities for their children to observe other adults in similar roles. Just as parents' gender role attitudes can be significant in influencing their young adult children's own attitudes and plans, parents can model more or less traditional behaviors. Overall, parental role-modeling continues to be a significant influence on men's occupational plans, while gender role attitudes and parents' attitudes have stronger effects on women's occupational plans.

Maternal employment and occupational plans

The influence of maternal employment on young adults' occupational goals does not play-out in these data as the parental role-modeling perspective would anticipate. Since, arguably, maternal employment can model work roles and financial independence, as well as provide opportunities for children to observe their mothers in non-family roles, it was expected that maternal employment would increase women's non-traditional occupational goals: by having mothers who worked outside the home, the young women would be more apt to emphasize career roles and, thus, more likely to expect work in non-traditional occupations. However, the results do not support this expectation.

For women, maternal employment at 12-years-old decreases the likelihood of non-traditional occupational goals, counter to Hypothesis 2b (see Table 4.24). It is possible that maternal employment increases women's preference for work roles in

general, as opposed to desires to be a stay-at-home mother, but has less of a direct influence on the sex-composition of the desired occupation. Rather, the type of occupation the mother works in may have a stronger influence on the desired occupational type, as opposed to whether or not she works. However, the NSFH does not ask about detailed occupations throughout the mothers' employment histories. For this reason, future research would benefit from a detailed employment history to examine how mothers' specific occupational backgrounds are related to their daughters' occupational goals.

For men, maternal employment at 5-years-old also decreases the likelihood of non-traditional occupational goals (counter to Hypothesis 2d). To reiterate, given the stigma associated with men's pursuit of stereotypically feminine roles as well as pressure to move to gender-normative fields, a key question is what would lead men to pursue female-dominated occupations. From these results, having a working mother makes men less likely to do so and more likely to choose gender-mixed or male-dominated fields.

Again, the NSFH does not contain questions about detailed occupations throughout mothers' work histories. Given the gradual and slow shift of women into male-dominated occupations (Padavic and Reskin 2002), it is probable that working mothers were located in female-dominated or gender-mixed fields. Thus, while having a working mother models more egalitarian roles than a stay-at-home mother, a working mother in a traditional occupation may not lead young adult children to non-traditional fields. Rather, the mother's specific occupation may be more likely to do so. For example, Corcoran and Courant (1987) found that women were more likely to work in female-dominated occupations if their mother worked in a female-dominated occupation.

Additionally, beyond just maternal employment, it is possible that having a father in a non-traditional occupation would increase men's likelihood of pursuing non-traditional fields. While that is beyond the scope of this project given the data available, future research can address the relationship between parents' specific occupations and their children's occupational goals.

Division of household labor and occupational plans

Contrary to Hypothesis 3b, which expected that parents' more egalitarian division of household labor would increase the young adults' preference for non-traditional occupations, there is no significant relationship between division of household labor and occupational goals. Although it is likely that parents' modeling of household labor is related to their young adult children's own division of household labor (Cunningham 2001b), these results do not support the idea that parents' household labor directly influences young adults' occupational plans.

Parents' educational attainment and occupational plans

Contrary to role-modeling expectations (and Hypotheses 4d and 4e), mothers' higher educational attainment has no significant effect on young adults' occupational goals (see Tables 4.23 and 4.24). In particular, while Hypothesis 4d expected that maternal education would increase women's non-traditional occupational goals – as male-dominated fields often require higher levels of education – there was no significant relationship. Yet as with the above discussion of maternal employment and occupational plans, mothers may have higher levels of education but work in female-dominated

occupations. It is quite possible that the specific occupation is a larger predictor of young women's occupational goals, though still surprising that there is no significance of mothers' education. Hypothesis 4f was exploratory in nature to test the direction of influence of paternal education on men's occupational goals. In this sample, fathers' greater educational attainment increases the likelihood that men will pursue non-traditional occupations. This may be due to the fact that fathers with higher levels of education may afford more opportunities and resources for men to pursue their occupational goals, including more support for non-traditional goals. As with the discussion regarding parental employment histories and young adults' occupational goals, these findings point to the need for further research including parents' specific occupations and the relationship between the parents and the young adult children to more fully explore the relationship between parental education and occupational goals.

Parents' attitudes and occupational plans

The influence of parents' attitudes on young adults' occupational goals generally follows the expected patterns in Hypothesis 5 (see Table 4.24). For men, both mothers' and fathers' more conservative gender role attitudes decrease the likelihood of non-traditional occupational goals. When parents model traditional attitudes, their sons are more likely to pursue traditional occupations. For women, the same is true for the effect of mothers' attitudes: mothers' conservative attitudes about sexual relations and about home/work roles decrease the likelihood of women's non-traditional occupational goals. Fathers' attitudes, however, have the opposite influence: fathers' more conservative attitudes increase women's non-traditional occupational goals. Fathers' attitudes have a

complicated relationship with women's work/family plans. While, as expected, fathers' conservative attitudes increase women's parenthood desires, they also decrease marriage desires and increase the likelihood of non-traditional occupational goals. Without a more in-depth analysis of the father/daughter relationship, it is difficult to fully decipher what is causing this effect.

This project has a greater focus on breadth by examining: marriage, parenthood, and occupational goals; the relationship between goals and outcomes; the influence of parents' behaviors and attitudes; and the significance of gender differences and gender role attitudes. With this breadth comes the ability to test the relative influence of various perspectives on explaining variation in work/family plans and outcomes. However, given the scope of this research, breadth at times comes at the expense of depth. These results indicate a strong relationship between parents' attitudes and their young adult children's occupational goals. Future research can examine this relationship in greater depth to further unpack why, for example, fathers' conservative attitudes lead to women's non-traditional occupational goals.

Gender role attitudes and occupational plans

For women, conservative attitudes about sexual relations and home/work roles decrease the likelihood of non-traditional occupational goals (see Table 4.24). This is in the expected direction of Hypothesis 6b based on gender role attitudes perspectives. More conservative attitudes relate to women's greater belief in the institution of marriage, a "traditional" division of household roles, and dissatisfaction with the idea of working mothers when children are young. Given the results indicating that conservative attitudes

are related to traditional occupational goals, it is likely that these attitudes increase women's interest in stereotypically "family-friendly" female-dominated occupations.

For men, the relationship between gender role attitudes and occupational goals is not in the expected direction of Hypothesis 6b. Given that conservative attitudes include a belief in the male breadwinner / female homemaker model, it was expected that men's conservative attitudes would translate to a greater likelihood of traditional occupational goals. However, conservative attitudes about sexual relations increase men's likelihood of choosing non-traditional occupations. The number of men choosing non-traditional occupations overall is small (N=78, or roughly 10% of the men in this sample), though those who do are mainly clustered in goals of being physical therapists and elementary school teachers. Future research that focuses specifically on men's non-traditional occupational choices, in fields such as elementary education, could examine the relationship between these choices and traditional attitudes about sexual relations. Perhaps the image of elementary education as "family-friendly" is related to men's interest in the field when they have conservative attitudes about family relationships.

Race, class, and occupational goals

Finally, being from a higher class background decreases young adults' likelihood of choosing non-traditional occupations, yet this is only significant for men (see Table 4.24). Likewise, race is only significant for men as non-white men are more likely to choose non-traditional occupations. Class background and race are significantly related (chi-square = 141.163, $p = 0.000$), and this relationship can explain the influence on occupational choices. Female-dominated occupations are generally lower paying and

lower status than male-dominated occupations (Coltrane 2004; Reskin and Roos 1990; Roth 2006). Additionally, the higher status and higher paying male-dominated fields often require higher levels of education and training. For this reason, it is not surprising that individuals from lower class backgrounds would be more likely to choose female-dominated occupations. This is consistent with Bradley's (1993) and Gatta and Roos' (2005) findings that men from lower class backgrounds or with lower levels of education are more likely to work in female-dominated occupations, often due to a lack of better opportunities. This may help explain non-white men's non-traditional plans, as the non-white men in the sample are more likely to be from lower class backgrounds (chi-square = 85.599, $p = 0.000$) and more likely to anticipate lower levels of education than white men (chi-square = 22.359, $p = 0.000$).

DISCUSSION

These results suggest that sex is far less significant in explaining variation in work/family plans than anticipated. While gender theories anticipate women's greater family desires and perhaps lower career desires, these results point to the gradually shifting representation of women in the labor force. Overall, gender is not significantly related to most measures of marriage or parenthood desires – aside from women's higher anticipated dissatisfaction with never marrying or having children. Women are more likely, however, to expect non-traditional careers. This can be interpreted as evidence of the “stalled revolution” (Hochschild 1989): women's roles in society are broadening beyond the family, including male-dominated occupations; however, the same shift is not as evident for men's entry into the private sphere or female-dominated occupations.

In general, most of the respondents indicate a preference for marriage, children, and sex-stereotypical occupations. While the end desires are similar and reflect social expectations and norms, the paths to get there – the factors that shape and influence their plans – vary by gender. Overall, the findings support the claims that parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes matter for work/family plans. Yet some of these factors, particularly maternal employment and the opposite-sex parents' attitudes, influence work/family plans in unexpected directions.

Contrary to studies that find that socialization factors are not related to young adults' work/family plans (e.g. Gerson 1985), this study find significant relationships between parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and young adults' plans. This relationship, however, is not simply straightforward: young adults do not merely imitate what their parents model. Young adults' attitudes often diverge from those of their parents (particularly their opposite-sex parents), and their plans can follow in their parents' footsteps or seek a different path entirely.

Gerson (2010) explains how parental role-modeling can have diverse effects: while some may have positive interpretation of their parents' attitudes and behaviors, others may view them more negatively. Even from similar family types (such as two-parent households, or "traditional" gender arrangements, etc.), young adults demonstrate a range of responses. As Corsaro (1992) describes, individuals engage in creative appropriation of the information around them. While some may perceive egalitarian gender roles as liberating, others view them as problematic; while some resent their mothers for working outside the home, others resent them for sacrificing career

advancement to stay at home. From these diverse family structures, interactions, and attitudes, individuals construct diverse interpretations and actions.

The observation that individuals vary in their interpretation of and response to similar modeling does not mean that parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes do not matter. These results point to quite the opposite: parents' attitudes and behaviors are strongly related to their young adult children's own work/family plans. Rather, it is the direction of this influence that varies. Again, socialization factors are not a simple top-down modeling. This research provides additional support for the claim that socialization factors have a continued direct influence on young adults' work and family goals. Future research must continue to delve into questions of how and why this effect persists.

In the next chapter, I examine how these work/family plans are related to the young adults' work/family outcomes. Specifically, I focus on the achievement of occupational goals and how this varies by gender and by occupational goal type (traditional or non-traditional). Additionally, I test whether or not parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes have continued influences on young adults' work/family outcomes.

CHAPTER 5: HAVING IT ALL? THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUNG ADULTS' WORK/FAMILY PLANS AND OUTCOMES

INTRODUCTION

The evidence from work/family plans and aspirations discussed in Chapter 4 shows that we are not witnessing a demise of traditional gender roles in terms of marriage and family among the more privileged segments of the young adult population. Rather, the majority of young adults in this sample express great interest in marrying and having children. In the occupational arena, on the other hand, we find a stalled revolution (Hochschild 1989). Young women aspire to non-traditional occupations, while young men still plan to work in gender-stereotypical jobs.

But how much do plans and aspirations translate into actual family and work outcomes 10 years later? Although there are sex-specific relationships between parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, gender role attitudes, and work/family goals, I find overall support for the arguments that parental socialization content and gender role attitudes influence young adults' work/family goals. This raises three general questions: 1) What family and individual factors influence work and family outcomes for young adults? 2) Do plans matter in attaining non-traditional outcomes? 3) Are women more able to cross gender boundaries and achieve non-traditional goals than men (as the stalled revolution would suggest)?

In this chapter, I continue to examine the influence of sex, parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes on shaping the lives of young adults. Beyond their documented effect on work/family plans (as discussed in Chapter 4), I test these multiple complementary perspectives (and Hypotheses 7-12) to analyze variation in whether or not young adults meet their work/family goals. By doing so, I contribute to

the literature on the relationship between work/family goals and outcomes. While some researchers argue that goals are not significant predictors of outcomes (Almquist et al. 1980; Jacobs 1987; Levine and Zimmerman 1995; Risman et al. 1999), others claim that goals are important predictors of outcomes (Carlson et al. 2004; Cunningham 2005; Hoffnung 1992, 2004; Rexroat and Shehan 1984). Rather than taking an either/or approach of goals either influencing outcomes or not influencing outcomes, a more nuanced view of the relationship between goals and outcomes recognizes that expectations matter but can be facilitated or constrained by structural factors (Correll 2001, 2004; Jacobs 1989a, 1995a; Reskin 1988; Reskin and Roos 1990; Reynolds and Burge 2008). Instead of asking *if* goals are related to outcomes, I ask: *when* do young adults' goals predict their outcomes? What factors increase the likelihood of achieving their goals, and what factors decrease that likelihood?

Due to the limited variation in the young adults' marriage and parenthood goals, the still relatively young age of the sample (28-33 years old at Wave 3), and the large existing literature on predictors of marital and fertility behaviors (such as Altucher 2001; Miller and Pasta 1995; Rhea 2002; Schoen et al. 1997, 1999), I primarily focus on achieving occupational goals. For women, non-traditional occupations may confer higher status and pay, but these occupations are generally harder to achieve than traditional occupations given employer discrimination, work demands, and family obligations (Coltrane 2004; Hewlett and Luce 2005; Kanter 1977; Orrange 2002; Reskin and Roos 1990; Roth 2006; Stone 2007a). For men, however, non-traditional occupations are generally lower status and lower pay than sex-stereotypical fields (Bradley 1993; Jacobs 1993; Kilbourne et al. 1994). From one perspective, male privilege may make it easier for

men to achieve their occupational goals than women, particularly if those goals are non-traditional (Barnett et al. 2000; Cognard-Black 2004; Williams 1992). From another perspective, men have lower material incentives to enter female-dominated occupations (Okamoto and England 1999) and may actually face greater pressure than women to adhere to gender normative behavior and, thus, may be less likely to achieve non-traditional goals (Barnett et al. 2000; Jacobs 1993; Wooton 1997). Thus, both male privilege and the constraints of hegemonic masculinity steer men into traditional roles and away from non-traditional occupations (into the narrow “act-like-a-man” box; Kivel 1992, 2007).

As expected, the young adults in this sample are far less likely to achieve non-traditional occupational goals than traditional goals. Perhaps due to the greater constraints of hegemonic masculinity regarding what occupations are considered “appropriate,” I find that women are more likely than men to achieve non-traditional occupational goals. Achieving those non-traditional goals, however, often comes at the expense of marriage and parenthood. Despite their increased presence in the full-time labor force, women remain largely responsible for household labor and childcare and encounter obstacles in the workforce and at home (Hays 1997; Hochschild 1989; Stone 2007a). Young women’s goals may be broadening, but deeper rooted expectations about family responsibilities and experiences in the workplace are perhaps not changing as quickly. Likewise, while young men may place high value on family roles, they continue to remain largely in sex-stereotypical occupations and to benefit from marriage and parenthood (rather than marriage/parenthood having a negative influence, as is the case for women). Twenty years later, despite changes in society and the increased opportunities available to the

“children of the gender revolution” (Gerson 2001), it appears that the revolution is still quite stalled (Hochschild 1989).

The data for this chapter come from the NSFH Wave 3 10-year follow-up. The sample consists of 1,794 young adults (900 men and 894 women) who were ages 28-33 at the time of Wave 3 of the NSFH (administered 2000-2002).³¹ I focus on whether or not the young adults achieved the occupational plans they described as 18-23 year olds and how the likelihood of achieving goals varies. Studying the relationship between occupational goals and outcomes is valuable to determine if and where people “leak out” of the pipeline towards their goals as well as recognizing what paths are more successful (Hoffnung 2004). For the revolution to “unstall,” it is not enough for some young adults to hold non-traditional aspirations; rather, it is crucial that both young women and young men are able to achieve non-traditional outcomes. To focus on this ability to achieve non-traditional occupational goals, I examine both across- and within-gender variation to test if parental socialization factors continue to influence young adults’ outcomes as they did their work/family plans. Additionally, I test the relationship between parents’ attitudes and the young adults’ own gender role attitudes and occupational outcomes. Finally, I pay particular attention to how gender role attitudes influence outcomes (see Table 5.1 for the dependent variable examined in this chapter, as well as additional control variables not included in Chapter 4).

[Table 5.1 here]

In the rest of this chapter, I first present the results from descriptive and bivariate analyses. I briefly discuss across- and within-gender differences in marriage and

³¹ As described in Chapter 3, I use multiple imputation procedures to deal with missing values and increase the sample size. The pre-imputation sample size is N=299 young adults (N=150 men, N=149 women).

parenthood outcomes. Then, I examine occupational outcomes. In particular, I focus on the relationship between the type of occupational goal (traditional or non-traditional) and achieving occupational goals. I examine how gender, marriage, and parenthood affect this relationship. After presenting the descriptive and bivariate analyses, I discuss the results from the multivariate analyses of achieving occupational goals. Specifically, I describe the influence of sex, parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes on achieving occupational goals. Finally, I conclude the chapter by synthesizing the findings and discussing the implications.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND BIVARIATE ANALYSES

Marriage and parenthood outcomes

Table 5.2 includes the means, standard errors, and significant differences among young women and men for marriage, parenthood, and occupational outcomes.³² By the Wave 3 interview, 55.33% of men and 61.07% of women have married; 34.67% of men and 47.65% of women have had children (see Figures 5.1 to 5.4). While nearly all respondents indicated desires to marry (roughly 97% stating they “definitely” or “probably want to” get married) and have children (roughly 92% “definitely” or “probably want to” have children), the fact that a large number of respondents had not met those goals by the Wave 3 interview is likely due to their ages. The average age at first marriage at the Wave 3 interview (2000) was 26.8 for men and 25.1 for women, and the average age at first childbirth was 24.9 (Census 2000). Given that these respondents

³² As discussed in Chapter 3, the sample for this empirical chapter includes young adults' from diverse family types, not just two-parent households.

were 28-33 at the time of the interview, it is quite possible that many of those who have not married or had children will do so at a later age.

[Table 5.2 here]

[Figure 5.1 here]

[Figure 5.2 here]

[Figure 5.3 here]

[Figure 5.4 here]

Due to the extensive existing literature on demography and marital/fertility outcomes (such as Altucher 2001; Miller and Pasta 1995; Rhea 2002; Schoen et al. 1997, 1999), the limited variation in marriage and parenthood goals among young adults in this sample, and the age of the respondents at the time of the most recent interview, I focus primarily on occupational plans and outcomes. More specifically, I analyze whether or not the young adults met their occupational goals, the relationship between achieving occupational goals and marriage/parenthood plans and outcomes, and predictors of meeting occupational goals. I pay particular attention to across- and within-gender differences among these analyses.

Occupational outcomes

At Wave 2 of the NSFH (ages 18-23), the young adults identified the type of work they hoped to do and most respondents preferred sex-stereotypical occupations. Women were more likely to express interest in non-traditional occupations: about eleven percent

of men hoped to work in non-traditional fields, compared with nearly 25% of women.³³

At Wave 3 (ages 28-33), the young adults listed their current or most recent occupation if they were not in the labor force at the time of the interview (see Tables 5.3 to 5.5). I code the young adults as meeting their occupational goals if they wanted and achieved a traditional (sex-stereotypical) occupation, or if they wanted and achieved a non-traditional occupation. I code the young adults as not achieving their occupational goal if they wanted a traditional occupation and ended up in a non-traditional field, or if they wanted a non-traditional occupation and ended up in a traditional field.

[Table 5.3 here]

[Table 5.4 here]

[Table 5.5 here]

Overall, 80.94% of the respondents achieved their occupational goals and 19.06% did not (see Table 5.6). The young adults were more likely to meet traditional goals (92.18% achieved) as opposed to non-traditional goals (32.14% achieved), a difference that is statistically significant (chi-square 637.943, $p = 0.000$). For men, non-traditional (female-dominated) occupations pay less and have lower status than traditional (male-dominated) occupations (Bradley 1993; Jacobs 1993). Given the pressure to move to more lucrative and gender normative fields (Coltrane 2004; Pleck 1976; Orrange 2002), it is not surprising that men are more likely to achieve traditional occupational goals than non-traditional goals. While non-traditional (male-dominated) fields may carry higher status and pay for women, the stigma, unwelcoming climate, and discrimination (e.g. Cotter et al. 2001; Reskin and Roos 1990) that women often face in those non-traditional

³³ For women, I code male-dominated occupations (less than 35% female) as non-traditional; for men, I code female-dominated occupations (greater than 65% female) as non-traditional.

occupations could certainly contribute to the lower success among those with non-traditional goals than their peers with traditional goals.

[Table 5.6 here]

It is important to look more closely, however, at gender differences in rates of achieving occupational goals. About 83% of men and 78.52% of women achieved their occupational goals, and that difference is statistically significant (see Table 5.7; chi-square = 6.725, $p = 0.010$). Yet this surface level distinction masks different patterns for young women and men based on the type of occupation they desired. For men with traditional goals, 91.04% achieved those goals; for men with non-traditional goals, 18.75% achieved their goals. Within these same occupational categorizations, however, women were more likely to meet each goal: 93.58% of women with traditional aspirations achieved their goal, and 37.5% of women with non-traditional occupational goals met those goals. That is, within occupational categories, women were actually more likely than men to meet traditional goals (chi-square = 3.211, $p = 0.073$) and non-traditional goals (chi-square = 11.053, $p = 0.001$).

[Table 5.7 here]

Women's lower likelihood of meeting occupational goals overall, but higher likelihood of meeting occupational goals within the traditional/non-traditional categories, can be explained by the fact that more women identified non-traditional occupational goals to start with (27.15% of women compared to 11.18% of men). Women's overall lower likelihood of meeting occupational goals seems to be related to their increased likelihood of pursuing non-traditional occupations: since more women pursue non-

traditional occupations, and those young adults pursuing non-traditional occupations are less likely to achieve them, then women are less likely to achieve their occupational goals.

To reiterate, it is not surprising that many men do not pursue or persist in non-traditional occupations given the higher status and higher pay of male-dominated occupations as well as pressures of hegemonic masculinity to move to gender normative fields. While women are more likely to hold non-traditional goals than their male peers, many are still not able to achieve those goals. An examination of the gendered relationship between work and family outcomes helps shed light on women's non-traditional occupational trajectories.

Balancing work and family

The young adults' ability to achieve their occupational goals does not exist in a vacuum, but is also related to their pursuit of, and experience with, marriage and parenthood. Hochschild (1989) describes how the "stalled revolution," which leaves women working outside the home but still largely responsible for the "second shift" of work at home, leads to greater conflict between work and family for women. For women, this conflict often leads to either career trade-offs (i.e. shifting career plans or interrupted work histories) or family trade-offs (i.e. delaying or forgoing marriage or parenthood to advance a career). For men, the role of husband or father is more likely to be synonymous with being an ideal worker (i.e. full-time work, possibility for over-time or weekend work, longer hours, work as the top priority, etc.), so advancing a career while

simultaneously pursuing marriage and parenthood is not typically an either/or conundrum (Coltrane 2004; Orrange 2002).

These differences in experiences balancing work and family are evident among the young adults who are included in this sample. For men, occupational goals are not significantly related to marital outcomes: 54.48% of men with traditional occupational goals were married by Wave 3 of the NSFH, compared with 62.05% of men with non-traditional goals, though this difference is not statistically significant (see Table 5.8; chi-square = 2.233, $p = 0.135$). Women, however, were significantly more likely to have married if they held traditional occupational goals: 64.22% of women with traditional occupational goals married by Wave 3, compared with 52.50% of women with non-traditional goals (chi-square = 10.144, $p = 0.001$).

[Table 5.8 here]

The difference also exists among occupational outcomes (see Table 5.8). Men currently, or most recently, working in traditional occupations were not significantly more likely to have married (55.56%) than men in non-traditional occupations (53.33%; chi-square = 0.162, $p = 0.687$). The difference in marriage rates is significant among women, as 62.99% of women in traditional fields have married compared with 50.00% of women in non-traditional fields (chi-square = 7.988, $p = 0.005$).

The gender differences in the relationship between parenthood and occupational outcomes are even more striking. For men, occupational goals have a limited relationship with their parenthood status at Wave 3: 33.58% of men with traditional goals and 43.75% of men with non-traditional occupational goals have had children by Wave 3 (see Table 5.8; chi-square = 3.915, $p = 0.116$). Occupational outcomes are also only slightly related

to men's parenthood status: 35.56% with traditional occupational outcomes and 26.67% with non-traditional occupational outcomes had children by Wave 3 (chi-square = 2.826, $p = 0.093$).

For women, occupational goals and outcomes are significantly related to parenthood status (see Table 5.8). Women with traditional occupational goals were more likely to have children by Wave 3 (51.38%) than those with non-traditional goals (37.50%; chi-square = 13.552, $p = 0.000$). The type of field the women currently or most recently worked in is even more strongly related to parenthood outcomes. Women in traditional occupations were nearly three times as likely to have had children by Wave 3 as those working in non-traditional occupations (52.76% vs. 18.18%; chi-square = 53.915, $p = 0.000$).

Similarly, it is interesting to note a difference between the specific occupations of women in non-traditional fields who have children and those who do not. Among those in non-traditional fields who have children, they are primarily located in lower status occupations including carpet installers, firefighting occupations, and truck drivers. Women in non-traditional fields without children, on the other hand, are more likely to be located in higher status fields such as: computer systems analysts and scientists, industrial engineers, lawyers, and securities and financial services. These higher status fields may make it more difficult for women to achieve occupational success and begin a family, as there are higher educational requirements and greater time investments required.

These patterns are in keeping with Hochschild's (1989) and Stone's (2007a) perspectives on gender and work/family balance, and consistent with Hypotheses 9a and 9b. For men, pursuing a career (whether it is traditional/sex-stereotypical or not) is

generally not related to their marriage or parenthood experiences. That is, men face limited repercussions by simultaneously advancing their careers, getting married, and having children. While women face “family pulls” and penalties in occupations due to marriage and parenthood (Stone 2007b; Stone and Lovejoy 2004), men can actually gain occupational advantages and higher wages by being married and having children (Bielby and Bielby 1989; Correll et al. 2007; Glauber 2008; Kilbourne et al. 1994). Similarly, marriage is related to higher levels of education for men only ($t = 5.770$, $p = 0.000$); women who have married have completed lower levels of education than women who have not ($t = 2.249$, $p = 0.025$). Likewise, having children has no significant relationship with men’s educational attainment ($t = 0.375$, $p = 0.708$) but is significantly related to women’s lower educational attainment ($t = 11.892$, $p = 0.000$).

While marriage and parenthood have either neutral or positive effects on men’s occupational outcomes, women’s experiences with work and family, particularly those aspiring to non-traditional occupations, are quite different. Women frequently face “motherhood wage penalties” (Anderson et al. 2003; Budig and England 2001; Drobnic and Wittig 1997; Glauber 2007; Hochschild 1989; Machung 1989). Likewise, as discussed above, the women in this sample who pursued or achieved non-traditional occupations primarily did so at the expense of marriage and parenthood.

Due to the age of this sample (28-33), it is likely that many of these women in non-traditional fields have chosen to delay, rather than forgo altogether, marriage and parenthood. In fact, the majority of never-married women with non-traditional occupational goals or outcomes express high desires to marry (73.68% and 71.43%, respectively, indicating they “probably” or “definitely want to” marry someday).

Similarly, 83.33% of women with non-traditional occupational goals and 78.95% of women with non-traditional occupational outcomes indicate that they would like to have children. There is no significant impact of occupational goal or outcome type (traditional or non-traditional) on women's desires to marry (chi-square = 1.764, $p = 0.184$ for occupational goals; chi-square = 1.792, $p = 0.181$ for occupational outcomes) or desires to have children (chi-square = 1.599, $p = 0.206$ for occupational goals; chi-square = 2.241, $p = 0.134$ for occupational outcomes). Therefore, it seems that women have delayed marriage and parenthood to pursue non-traditional occupations, rather than those women with non-traditional goals or outcomes simply not wanting marriage or children. Yet even among women in traditional occupations, which some argue can be more conducive to balancing work and family (Reskin and Bielby 2005), it can be more difficult to balance occupational success with family than for their male peers. Additionally, this conflict in balancing work and family affects the work statuses (not working, part-time, full-time) of young adults.

Work status and marriage/parenthood outcomes

In the Wave 3 interview, the young adults were asked to identify their current occupation or, if they were not currently working, their most recent occupation. Among the sample, 86.24% were currently working (94.00% of men and 81.88% of women). While qualitative data is not available to address the specific reasons why the particular young adults are not working, many of the reasons can be inferred from other answers. For example, 11.11% of men and 11.76% of women not currently working report being enrolled in school of some sort. Additionally, 5.56% of men and 5.88% of women not

currently working report living in a dormitory, fraternity, or barracks (0.5% of all men and 1.12% of all women). For all of the respondents living in a dormitory, fraternity, or barracks, none report being currently enrolled in school so they are presumably in military service.

Among all men not currently working, the majority (61.11%) reported that they looked for a job within the last month, while only 23.53% of women not currently working looked for a job within the month. These young adults are likely not voluntarily out of work, but rather unemployed, recently out of school (or soon to finish school in the case of a handful of respondents currently in school and looking for work), or between jobs.

Of those not currently working, the majority of men (66.67%) had neither married nor had children (see Table 5.9). In fact, none of the men who were not currently working had both married and had children. Women who were not currently working were entirely different: the majority (59.26%) had both married and had children (see Table 5.10), while 25.93% had neither married nor had children. Put another way, of the young adults with children, 98.08% of men were currently working compared with 74.65% of women. It seems then that most men who are not currently working are in between jobs and looking for work, while many of the women who are not working are tending to family responsibilities.

[Table 5.9 here]

[Table 5.10 here]

Men's work-status as single, fatherless adults, or as married adults, or as parents, is relatively stable. 94% of men report that they are currently working at the time of the

Wave 3 interview. Likewise, 91.67% of men with children report working full-time when their first child was 1 year old (see Table 5.11). Similarly, 90.91% of men report working full-time when their first child was 2 years old. In fact, being married and having children are related to men's increased likelihood of currently working. 89.55% of men who have never married were currently working, compared with 97.59% of men who had married (see Table 5.12; chi-square = 25.483, $p = 0.000$). Ninety-eight percent of the men with children were currently working as opposed to 91.84% of men without children (chi-square = 14.074, $p = 0.000$).

[Table 5.11 here]

[Table 5.12 here]

For women, the opposite is true (see Table 5.12). Unmarried women are more likely to report currently working, though that difference is not statistically significant (84.48% compared with 80.22% of women who had married; chi-square = 2.603, $p = 0.107$). The difference is significant based on parenthood status, with 88.46% of childless women who reported that they were currently working, compared with 74.65% of women with children (chi-square = 28.680, $p = 0.000$). Consistent with Hochschild's (1989) research of the second shift, and other studies on women's continued responsibility as the primary caregiver (e.g. Hays 1997), the women in this sample were presumably more likely than men to be out of work due to family responsibilities.

Stone (2007a) argues that high status careers are particularly difficult for women to navigate with children due to discrimination against mothers, unwelcoming climates, and a lack of flexibility or part-time options. Some scholars (Mason and Goulden 2004) find that male-dominated fields are essentially "all or nothing" for women. Thus, when

women in non-traditional occupations have children, they are effectively pushed out of the workplace. Likewise, the higher stakes nature of male-dominated fields makes career re-entry more difficult (Hewlett and Luce 2005). Female-dominated occupations, on the other hand, often offer more part-time or flexible options, greater understanding of family obligations, and better work hours, which all make it easier to work when children are young (Gutek 2001; Marini and Briton 1984; Polachek 1981; Tam 1997),

The fact that male-dominated occupations are arguably more “all or nothing” is evident among the young women in the sample with non-traditional occupational goals and outcomes (Table 5.13). For the women in this sample, non-traditional occupational goals and experiences are related to a lower likelihood of working full-time when their children are young. However, the number of women who had non-traditional occupational goals who have children is relatively small (37.50%, which is 10.06% of all women [N=894] in the sample) and the number currently in non-traditional occupations who have children is even smaller (18.18%, just 2.68% of all women in the sample). The small sample size of these non-traditional women with children limits the extent of the analysis, and unfortunately the data do not include all the specific occupations that the women have worked in from their aspirations to the Wave 3 interview, but the basic trends support the argument that female-dominated fields may be easier to balance work with family responsibilities.

[Table 5.13 here]

Women with non-traditional occupational goals were more than twice as likely to not work when their first child was 1 year old (46.15% of women with non-traditional occupational goals, vs. 21.57% of women with traditional goals). Nearly 65% of women

who had traditional occupational goals worked full-time when their first child was 1 year old compared with 38.46% of women with non-traditional goals. Similar numbers of women worked part-time (13.73% of women with traditional goals, 15.38% of women with non-traditional goals). The differences in full-time work or not working based on occupational goals are statistically significant (chi-square = 21.476, $p = 0.000$).

In fact, at each age point for their children, women with non-traditional goals were less likely to work full-time and more likely to not work at all. Almost 70% of women with traditional goals worked when their first child was 2 years old, while only 25.00% of women with non-traditional goals did so (chi-square 47.143, $p = 0.000$). Among those with multiple children, 71.43% of women with non-traditional goals were not working when their 2nd child was 1 year old, compared with 21.05% of women with traditional goals (chi-square = 35.879, $p = 0.000$); 66.67% of women with non-traditional goals were not working when their 2nd child was 2 years old, compared with 18.75% of women with traditional goals (chi-square = 29.726, $p = 0.000$).

A similar pattern is true among women with non-traditional occupational outcomes. Women with traditional work outcomes are more likely to have worked full-time when their first child was 1 year old (60.00%) than the women with non-traditional work outcomes (50.00%), though this difference is not statistically significant (chi-square = 2.580, $p = 0.275$). Among women with older children, 61.54% of women with traditional occupations worked full-time when their first child was 2 years old, compared with 33.33% of women in non-traditional occupations (chi-square = 8.865, $p = 0.012$).

It is possible that some of these patterns are due to social class differences between women with traditional occupations and women with non-traditional

occupations. Since male-dominated occupations tend to pay more than female-dominated occupations, women in those non-traditional fields may have earned more money and, thus, have more opportunities to afford to stay home with young children. Yet as Stone (2007a) notes, many “choices” to stay home – particularly in male-dominated fields – are often the result of inflexible workplaces and family obligations. Unfortunately, the NSFH does not include questions about the causes of gaps in employment or the specific occupations that the young adults worked in throughout their employment histories. Future research should draw on a larger sample of women with children who have non-traditional occupational goals and experiences to further examine Stone’s (2007a) findings with quantitative analyses, and to go in greater depth into the relationship between occupational types and work status.

Summary of descriptive statistics and bivariate analyses

Overall, most respondents wanted marriage, parenthood, and careers. While just over half the sample (58.19%) had married and roughly one third (41.14%) had children, the young adults were still relatively young (ages 28-33) at the time of the Wave 3. It is quite likely that many of these young adults will go on to marry and/or have children later in life, and most still express strong interest in marriage (64.29% indicating they “definitely” or “probably want to” get married) and parenthood (83.41% indicate they want to have children). For the nearly 20% of respondents who did not achieve their occupational goals, however, the explanation is not as straightforward.

Of course, it is possible that the young adults who did not meet their occupational goals were not blocked in achieving their aspirations but, rather, may have changed their

goals. Yet it is far more frequent for the young adults in this sample to shift from non-traditional goals to traditional outcomes (7.82% of young adults with traditional occupational goals ended up in non-traditional occupations, compared to 67.86% of those with non-traditional goals who ended up in traditional occupations), which points to something specific to non-traditional occupations. If not achieving occupational goals were simply a reflection of changing goals, it is unlikely that the direction of change would be so one-sided from non-traditional to traditional.

The young men in this sample were far more likely to prefer traditional occupations to begin with. Likewise, given the lower status and pay of female-dominated occupations and pressure to pursue gender-normative fields, it is possible that men with non-traditional occupational goals were effectively pushed toward more “appropriate” roles (Williams 1992, 1995). Although more women aspired to non-traditional occupations, the majority still ended-up in traditional fields. The gendered relationship between occupational goals, marriage, parenthood, and occupational outcomes helps shed light on the relationship between goals and outcomes.

Consistent with other research on men’s work and family expectations, including the complementary nature of being an ideal worker and being an ideal husband/father (Coltrane 2004; Orange 2002), men’s marital and parenthood status is not significantly related to meeting their occupational goals. In fact, researchers have found that marriage and parenthood often confer career advantages for men (Bielby and Bielby 1989; Correll et al. 2007; Glauber 2008; Kilbourne et al. 1994). Women, on the other hand, remain largely responsible for household labor and caregiving, regardless of occupational field (Bianchi et al. 2000; Demo and Acock 1993; Deutsch 1999; Sanchez and Thomson 1997;

Sayer 2005; Shelton and John 1996; Spain and Bianchi 1996). Additionally, women tend to face greater employer discrimination in male-dominated fields, including motherhood wage penalties and “mommy tracking” away from vertical mobility (Correll 2001; Mahaffy and Ward 2002; Nash 1979). For these reasons, despite the potential for higher status and pay than in female-dominated occupations, women are likely to “leak out” of the non-traditional occupational pipeline.

Surprisingly, just as researchers argue that marriage confers benefits for men’s careers, it appears that marriage is beneficial for women in this sample. Across occupational goal type, women who had married by the Wave 3 interview were more likely to meet their occupational goals (see Table 5.14). However, the same is not true for parenthood. All of the women with traditional goals who had children met their occupational goals (i.e., they ended up in traditional occupations). Yet among women with non-traditional goals, the majority neither had children nor met their occupational goal (see Table 5.15). Most tended to either meet their non-traditional occupational goal or have children, while the fewest had both children and non-traditional occupational outcomes. This is similar to Okamoto and England’s (1999) finding that women who have children are more likely to be in female-dominated occupations. This is also consistent with Rindfuss et al.’s (1999) claim that “for women, the conflict between work and family would appear to be primarily a conflict between work and parenthood” (Rindfuss et al. 1999:253), though that statement should be modified to state that the conflict is primarily between work and parenthood *for women with non-traditional goals*.³⁴

³⁴ Of course, many discussions of work-family conflict include measures that are not focused on in this research, such as the division of household labor or missing work to care for sick children. It is arguable

[Table 5.14 here]

[Table 5.15 here]

As scholars argue (e.g. Stone 2007a), while many women pursue non-traditional occupations, the pressures of family caretaking and the inflexibility of the male-dominated workplace make successfully balancing work and family difficult. Some of these women may shift to traditional occupations upon marrying and/or having children. Among the women who had non-traditional goals and who did land in non-traditional employment, for many it was at the cost of delaying or forgoing parenthood. While the data used in this study limit the ability to fully test measures of “family pulls” and “workplace pushes” (Stone 2007a), this relationship between family and work outcomes does seem to indicate that non-traditional occupations are far less conducive for women balancing work and family life.

In the next section, I further explore factors that influence whether or not the young adults meet their occupational goals.³⁵ I test whether the influence of sex on achieving occupational goals remains after taking into account other independent and control variables. For all of the models, I run analyses by sex to analyze the within-gender processes shaping the achievement of occupational goals. While socialization

that parenthood may have similar effects on work-family conflict across occupational type, primarily because women remain largely responsible for childcare and household responsibilities. What this result points to, however, is the greater difficulty women face in attempting to balance non-traditional occupations and *parenthood itself*.

³⁵ Multivariate analyses in this chapter are limited in scope due to the sample and sample size. There was very little variation in marriage and parenthood goals, with nearly all respondents indicating a desire to marry and have children. Due to the limited variation in goals, the still relatively young age of the sample (28-33 years old at Wave 3), and the large existing literature on predictors of marital and fertility behaviors (such as Altucher 2001; Miller and Pasta 1995; Rhea 2002; Schoen et al. 1997, 1999), I do not run multivariate analyses on achieving marriage/parenthood goals. Instead, I focus the multivariate analyses on achieving occupational goals.

factors were significant determinants of young adults' work/family plans, I test if these factors continue to influence young adults' occupational outcomes. Likewise, I examine the relationship between mothers' gender role attitudes and the young adults' likelihood of achieving occupational goals.³⁶ I also test the significance of the young adults' gender role attitudes. In the concluding chapter, I synthesize the findings from Chapter 4 on the young adults' work/family plans and this chapter on outcomes, as well as discuss policy implications and directions for future research.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

In Tables 5.16 and 5.17, I present the results of multivariate analyses overall and by sex. Overall, multivariate analyses support the conclusions drawn from bivariate analyses regarding the relationship between gender and achieving occupational goals. Additionally, I find that parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes continue to have a significant influence on young adults' occupational outcomes. Likewise, the young adults' gender role attitudes are significantly related to whether or not they achieved their occupational goals.

[Table 5.16 here]

[Table 5.17 here]

³⁶ While I utilized a sample of adults from two-parent households for Chapter 4's analysis of the relationship between the same-sex and opposite-sex parent on young adults' work/family goals, the sample would be too small for these analyses given that not all respondents completed both Wave 2 and Wave 3 interviews. For this reason, I use the broader sample from diverse family types to maintain as large a sample as possible (as I describe in Chapter 3). The majority of single-parent households were female-headed, which means that the respondents missing data for one parent were primarily missing father data. Thus, for the analyses in this chapter, I restrict my focus to only mothers' experiences (employment and educational attainment) and mothers' attitudes.

Sex and meeting occupational goals

Consistent with the bivariate analyses, women are less likely than men to achieve their occupational goals. When the type of occupation desired is included in the full model with sex, however, the direction of the effect reverses: women are then more likely to achieve their occupational goals. As addressed in the discussion of the bivariate analyses, among each occupational type (traditional/non-traditional) women are more likely to meet the goal. That is, a greater percentage of women meet traditional occupational goals than men, and a greater percentage of women meet non-traditional occupational goals (consistent with Hypothesis 8b). Women are less likely to meet occupational goals overall because more women have non-traditional goals. As the model including occupational goal type indicates, young adults aspiring to non-traditional occupations are significantly less likely to achieve their goals (consistent with Hypothesis 7). Thus, with more women wanting non-traditional occupations, more are likely to fail at achieving those goals.

Parental role-modeling and meeting occupational goals

In Chapter 4, I discussed how socialization factors are significantly related to young adults' work/family plans. Independent of the young adults' own attitudes about gender roles, parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes were influential factors in shaping the young adults' goals. Some researchers argue that the impact of parental socialization factors decreases over the life course, as peers and concrete experiences (e.g. having children) exert greater influence (Gerson 1985; Risman and Schwartz 1989; Risman et al. 1999). It is possible, however, that parental role-modeling continues to

inform young adults' work/family decisions. In fact, I find just that: parental role-modeling has a significant effect on young adults' achievement of occupational goals, independent of their own attitudes and what type of goal they had.³⁷

Maternal employment and meeting occupational goals

Maternal employment has significant but gendered effects on young adults' achievement of occupational goals. For men, maternal employment at age 5 increases the likelihood of meeting occupational goals. This could be related to the fact that maternal employment at 5 increases men's likelihood of pursuing traditional occupations, which overall they are more likely to achieve. The effect remains significant, however, when the type of occupational goal is included in the model.

Some researchers (e.g. Booth and Amato 1994; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1993) argue that parental non-traditionalism, such as maternal employment when not solely for economic security in the family, increases the likelihood that young adults will live independently before they get married. These findings may be representative of a similar pattern: young adults with less traditional families (e.g. with mothers who worked outside the home) may have gained the support and resources for greater independence

³⁷ About 42% of the respondents grew up in households that did not always have two parents in them. In the NSFH, the young adults' used in this sample are the children of the survey's primary respondents. When applicable, the researchers also surveyed the primary respondent's spouse or partner. For many of these young adults who did not grow up in exclusively two-parent households, only the primary respondent was surveyed. The majority of the single-parent households are female-headed, thus most young adults' who are not from exclusively two-parent households are missing surveys with their fathers.

In her recent book, Gerson (2010) argues that young adults from diverse family types have as much variation regarding thoughts about marriage across family types as within family types. Additionally, I expect parents' attitudes and experiences to have a greater influence on young adults' plans than on their work/family outcomes. For these reasons, I draw upon the full sample of young adults for this chapter and forgo analyses on fathers' attitudes and experiences. Thus, the parental role-modeling variables I include in these analyses are maternal employment and education. Likewise, I focus solely on mothers' gender role attitudes.

before marriage. This independence could translate to increased focus on careers and, thus, greater likelihood of achieving occupational goals.

Likewise, for women, maternal employment at age 12 significantly increases the likelihood of meeting occupational goals. Maternal employment at 12 decreased women's likelihood of choosing non-traditional occupations which could be why it increases the chances of meeting occupational goals, as women pursuing traditional occupations were more likely to meet their goals. However, this effect also remains when occupational goal type is taken into account in the full model. Independent of the effect on desired occupation, and controlling for desired type of occupation, having a mother who worked when the young woman was 12 increases her likelihood of meeting those goals (consistent with Hypothesis 11a).

This supports the *role-modeling* perspective, particularly the influence of the same-sex parent: mother's employment, and thus potentially greater opportunities and independence, can be modeled to daughters who have a successful model to follow. Additionally, for men, maternal employment may increase independence and support for successfully pursuing desired careers. This also provides support for the claim that the influence of parental socialization factors persists beyond work/family plans, but also shape young adults' outcomes. What is not clear, however, is why maternal employment at 5 influences only men while maternal employment at 12 influences only women. Further research can continue to explore the relationship between maternal role-modeling in employment and young adults' occupational outcomes.

Maternal educational attainment and meeting occupational goals

Similarly, mother's higher levels of education increase women's likelihood of meeting occupational goals, regardless of goal type (consistent with Hypothesis 11b). Contrary to the effect of mother's experiences on young women's plans, mothers with higher status and education seem to model expanded opportunities for their daughters. Whether that translates to the daughters pursuing traditional or non-traditional occupations, the fact of their mother's employment and higher education increases the likelihood they will meet their occupational goals.

Mothers' attitudes and meeting occupational goals

Some researchers argue that parents' attitudes are transmitted to their young adult children (Moen et al. 1997; Vollebergh et al. 1999). While the transmission is not always direct, parents' attitudes are frequently significant forces in shaping young adults' own attitudes. In Chapter 4, I described how my analysis of young adults' work/family goals supports the claim that parents' attitudes are significantly related to young adults' work/family plans. Likewise, I find that mothers' attitudes have a continued influence on their young adult children's occupational outcomes.

For both women and men, mothers' conservative attitudes about sexual relations and conservative attitudes about home/work roles increase the likelihood of meeting occupational goals (consistent with Hypothesis 12). It may be expected that mothers' conservative attitudes would increase the likelihood of marriage and children, which could influence the achievement of occupational goals. The significance of mothers' attitudes persists, however, even when marital and parenthood status variables are

included in the models (see Table 5.17). Similarly, while mothers' attitudes may shape their young adult children's own attitudes, mothers' attitudes are still significant when the young adults' gender role attitudes are in the model.

For young adults with traditional occupational goals, one interpretation could be that mothers' attitudes are related to support of their occupational aspirations and that support could help enable their occupational goal achievement. It is not as clear why mothers' conservative attitudes would increase the likelihood of achieving non-traditional goals (as evidenced by the continued significance when occupational goal type is included in the model). This could be partially explained by the young adults' relationship with their mother, which is beyond the scope of this project. While this research points to the continued significance of mothers' attitudes on young adults' work/family plans and occupational outcomes, further research should focus on how young adults' relationship with their mothers and perception of their mothers' attitudes and behaviors impacts their occupational choices.

Gender role attitudes and meeting occupational goals

In Chapter 4, I discuss how men's conservative attitudes about sexual relations increase their desire for non-traditional occupations. Related to the direction of the effect of attitudes on plans, it is surprising that men's conservative attitudes about sexual relations increase achieving goals. It would be expected that if men have more conservative attitudes about sexual relations and, thus, more preference for non-traditional occupations, they would be less likely to achieve those goals (since non-traditional occupational goals are less likely to be achieved overall). Similarly, one could

expect that since conservative attitudes about home/work roles increase the preference for traditional occupations (as discussed in Chapter 4), the indirect effect would be increasing the likelihood of achieving occupational goals (since traditional occupational goals are more likely to be achieved overall).

The opposite is true (counter to Hypothesis 10). For women, more conservative attitudes about home/work roles are related to a decreased likelihood of meeting occupational goals. This effect is only significant for those with traditional goals (see Table 5.18). While it may be expected that conservative attitudes would decrease women's likelihood of achieving non-traditional goals, perhaps indirectly through the negative effect of parenthood on women's non-traditional career trajectories, these results find that conservative attitudes only have a negative effect on women achieving traditional goals.

[Table 5.18 here]

It is important to note that the number of women who did not achieve traditional goals is very small (N=42, or 4.70% of all women in the sample). Among these specific women, many made the shift from either vaguely defined female-dominated occupational goals (such as "sales workers, other commodities") to male-dominated occupational outcomes such as "securities and financial services," or from service-oriented female-dominated occupations (such as "secretaries") to relatively low-status male-dominated occupations (such as "farm workers"). Given these patterns, women's lack of achievement of traditional occupational goals does not necessarily mean they shifted to higher status positions which required higher levels of education. Rather, it may simply be that the original goals were in slightly vague categories or that the women continued

to work in relatively low-status positions. Keeping these patterns in mind, it may not be as significant as the results seem to indicate that conservative attitudes lead to women's lack of achievement of traditional goals.

For men, conservative attitudes about sexual relations increase meeting occupational goals. However, men's marital and parenthood statuses are not significantly related to achieving occupational goals. Conservative attitudes about sexual relations have a significant effect on meeting occupational goals independent of marriage or parenthood. Likewise, this effect persists even with occupational goal type included in the model: regardless of whether the men pursued traditional or non-traditional occupations, more conservative attitudes about sexual relations increase the likelihood of meeting those goals.

While attitudes about home/work roles relate to ideas about "traditional" gender roles in the family (support for the male breadwinner and female homemaker model, or the appropriateness of having a working mother, or how household labor should be divided), attitudes about sexual relations pertain to beliefs about premarital sex, cohabitation, and marriage as a lifetime relationship. If the young men in this sample act in accordance with their attitudes, it may be that those with conservative attitudes about sexual relations are less likely to cohabit before marriage or engage in premarital sex. It may be that avoiding premarital sex and/or cohabitation lead to greater occupational focus and, thus, achievement of occupational goals. It is important to keep in mind, however, that there is limited variation in men's achievement of occupational goals. The vast majority of those with traditional goals ended up in traditional occupations (91.04%).

Further research would benefit from a larger sample of men with non-traditional occupational goals and/or outcomes.

Notable control variables and meeting occupational goals

Non-white men are less likely to meet their occupational goals, though there is no significant effect of race for women. While the sample size of non-white men is small (N=126 or 14% of all men), all non-white men with non-traditional occupational goals ended up in traditional occupations. However, the number of non-white men with non-traditional goals was exceptionally small (N=18): 14.29% of non-white men, an already small sample, or 2% of the entire male sample. A sample size this low is too small to draw any substantive conclusions. It is interesting to note, however, that all non-white men who desired non-traditional occupations began with hopes for medical/health fields, albeit in female-dominated roles (clinical laboratory technologists and technicians; nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants; and physical therapists). These same men ended up as janitors and cleaners, production supervisors, and secondary school teachers, though again the sample is far too small to analyze.

Higher levels of education are not significantly related to men's occupational goal achievement. For women, though, higher levels of completed education decrease the likelihood of meeting occupational goals. This effect, however, drops out of the model containing the occupational goal type (traditional or non-traditional goal) as well as the full model. This can be explained by the relationship between education and occupations. Women with non-traditional occupational goals are significantly more likely to achieve higher levels of education ($t = -6.684$, $p = 0.000$), most likely due to the higher status and

higher educational requirements of many male-dominated occupations they desire. Thus, higher levels of education are related to non-traditional occupations, which in turn are related to lowered likelihood of achieving occupational goals. In fact, in the model examining occupational goal achievement for women by goal type (see Table 5.18), higher levels of education decrease the likelihood of meeting traditional goals and increase the likelihood of meeting non-traditional occupational goals. This further supports the argument that higher education is related to women's non-traditional occupational trajectories. Higher education increases the likelihood of achieving non-traditional occupational goals. However, women are less likely to achieve non-traditional goals and, thus, education decreases the likelihood of meeting occupational goals when goal type is not included.

Finally, as Gerson (2010) described, there is often as much variation in young adults' attitudes, plans, and outcomes within family types as there is across family types. Given this, in this broader sample of young adults from both two-parent and single-parent households, it is not surprising that family structure has no significant relationship for the achievement of occupational goals. Rather, as discussed above and in Chapter 4, what their parents do, their parents' attitudes, sex, and the young adults' attitudes are far more influential than whether or not they grew up in a two-parent household.

DISCUSSION

Much research that examines the influence of parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes focuses more on childhood socialization and attitudes in early adulthood (e.g. Corsaro and Eder 1995; Hitlin 2006b). Fewer studies examine if there is a significant and

continued relationship between parental socialization factors and young adult work/family outcomes. This study finds that there is: parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes are significantly related to young adults' achievement of their occupational goals. In some ways, the direction of the significance is as expected. Consistent with role-modeling perspectives, maternal employment and higher levels of maternal educational attainment increase women's likelihood of achieving their occupational goals. The impact of mothers' gender role attitudes is more complex and it may be that the young adults' quality of relationship with their mother impacts the influence of the mothers' attitudes. While that is beyond the scope of this project, future research would benefit from a more in-depth examination of that relationship.

Perhaps the most notable finding from this analysis is in regards to the relationship between gender and the achievement of occupational goals. At first glance, men are more likely to meet occupational goals than women. However, women are more likely to meet their goals when desired type of occupation is taken into account, primarily due to the fact that more women than men desire non-traditional occupations. This pattern can be interpreted in several ways: as an indication of male privilege; as reflective of male pressure; as representation of women's expanded opportunities; and as evidence of a continued "stalled revolution."

In the first interpretation, men's greater preference for traditional occupations and greater success in achieving their occupational goals can be viewed as an indicator of male privilege. While women face discrimination, barriers, and greater family obstacles to overcome (Correll et al. 2007; England 2005; Hays 1997; Stone 2007a), men are more able to pursue and be successful in higher status (male-dominated) careers. Male-

dominated occupations are generally higher status and pay more than female-dominated occupations (Bradley 1993; Jacobs 1993; Reskin and Roos 1990), so a male preference for these jobs is a reflection of men's higher status in society.

From this point of view, men's lack of success in non-traditional (female-dominated) occupations can be seen not as failure, but as tracking men back into socially acceptable male-dominated (higher status/pay) occupations and away from devalued "feminine" activities. In some ways this can be viewed as a sign of men's privilege and higher status, as men are essentially rewarded for conforming with hegemonic masculinity, but can also be viewed as the limitations men experience. While women are, in many ways, allowed to pursue male-typed activities, men face greater societal sanctions in stereotypically feminine pursuits. This reflects both a stigma surrounding femininity as well as men's subsequent constraints in what is considered acceptable behavior. From this second interpretation, men's success in occupational goals is due to the severe limitations on those goals in the first place and greater male pressure to pursue gender-normative behavior (Williams 1992),

From a third point of view, women's greater interest and success in non-traditional occupations can be interpreted as an indication of women's expanding opportunities in the workplace. While women are still more likely to desire and achieve traditional occupations than non-traditional occupations, women held greater variation in occupational goals and outcomes than men. This points to women's broader options, increasingly among those are non-traditional/male-dominated fields, while men's options are still largely limited to sex-stereotypical fields (Coltrane 2004; Pleck 1976; Orange 2002).

A final more nuanced interpretation suggests that women's greater numbers in non-traditional goals and outcomes can be seen as a sign of change, albeit one-sided: shifting attitudes about gender and women's expanding opportunities translate to women's broader goals and experiences, while men are still largely constrained in stereotypically male-typed activities. As Hochschild (1989) describes, this is a feature of the "stalled revolution": women have fully entered the workforce and, increasingly, male-dominated occupations, while men are stagnated in sex-stereotypical roles (traditional occupations and fewer household responsibilities). Hochschild notes that this leaves women primarily responsible for stereotypically feminine roles, namely household labor and child/family care.

The patterns among young women's and men's occupational aspirations and outcomes in this sample lend support to Hochschild's claim: while women's expectations have broadened and opportunities have expanded (though on a slower pace than changing attitudes and goals), the stereotypical notions of what is "appropriate" for men has not changed as much. Women may desire non-traditional occupations, but the continued reality of women's "second shift" makes successfully balancing work and family more difficult.

Likewise, while many men aspire to marriage and parenthood, there remains a significant gender difference in the effect of family on occupational outcomes. For men in this sample, there is a very limited relationship between family and occupational outcomes. This is consistent with studies that find the impact of marriage and parenthood on men's careers is either neutral or positive (Bielby and Bielby 1989; Correll et al. 2007; Glauber 2008; Kilbourne et al. 1994). The relationship is different for women. While the

women in this sample are more likely to achieve their occupational goals if they have married, parenthood has a significant negative effect on women's likelihood of meeting non-traditional occupational goals. This is consistent with the literature and Rindfuss et al.'s (1999) claim that "for women, the conflict between work and family would appear to be primarily a conflict between work and parenthood" (Rindfuss et al. 1999:253).

These results point to where along the "pipeline" women are leaking out of non-traditional career paths, while hegemonic masculinity appears to severely constrain men's non-traditional trajectories from the beginning. While women are increasingly likely to pursue non-traditional/male-dominated fields, actually achieving those aspirations is increasingly difficult at each step along the way. Women face discrimination (Reskin and Hartmann 1986; Petersen and Saporta 2004), family pressures and obligations (Stone 2007a), and a lack of policies and workplace flexibility to allow for greater work/life balance (Correll et al. 2007; Hochschild 1997) in male-dominated fields. Not surprisingly, then, more women in this sample aspired to non-traditional occupations than actually achieved them. While women were more likely than men to meet their non-traditional career goals, the low number of those who did so (37.5% of women with non-traditional goals) – and even lower number who did so and had children (10% of women with non-traditional goals) – points to a continued problem in women's ability to be successful in male-dominated fields.

A limitation of the NSFH for this study is the way in which the survey addressed employment histories. While the young adults describe their work histories in terms of each time they started or stopped working for 4 or more months, there are few questions about their specific occupations and decisions along the way. In Wave 2, the young adults

are asked about the kind of work they hope to do, and in Wave 3 they are asked their current or most recent job. For the data about various work spells, the survey does not ask what occupation they were in at each stage.

Due to this limitation, it is impossible to see at which point they veered from their occupational goals. For example, a young woman may state in Wave 2 that she wants to work in a non-traditional occupation and at Wave 3 may be currently working in a traditional field. There is no way to know if she ever worked in that non-traditional field or, if so, at what point she left the field. This means that key questions cannot be asked: Did she work in a non-traditional field until she married and/or had children? Or did she already “leak” out of the non-traditional pipeline prior to entering the workforce? Did she simply change her mind about what type of occupation she wanted to pursue? For the purposes of this study, that young woman can only be coded as not achieving her non-traditional occupational goal.

It seems unlikely that the explanation is a simple case of changing aspirations. If it were, one might expect to see similar numbers of young adults changing from traditional goals to non-traditional outcomes as is observed with the change from non-traditional goals to traditional outcomes. Given that the latter is far more common, it seems that there are more factors at play than just changing goals. On a related note, it is possible to assume that women shifted away from non-traditional goals when they desired marriage and children: perhaps they perceived traditional occupations as more conducive to family life. The majority of women in non-traditional occupations in this sample, however, still have strong marriage and parenthood desires. Rather, gender norms and the gendered relationship between marriage, parenthood, and occupational

outcomes offer more convincing explanations for the achievement (or lack thereof) of non-traditional occupational goals.

Future qualitative research can further probe the reasons for veering from (or sticking to) occupational goals, including more specifically when young adults leave a particular career trajectory. Life history approaches to occupational choices present unique problems, however, as individuals may romanticize their choices: for example, Stone and Lovejoy (2004) found that women may describe their staying home with children as a choice, but also describe the structural constraints they faced that effectively pushed them out of the workforce. For these reasons, a more comprehensive set of questions from a quantitative data set may be beneficial in addressing non-traditional career trajectories. Rather than relying on anecdotal or remembered paths, such a survey could follow young adults through their careers and better measure the predictors of meeting occupational goals.

In the next chapter, I synthesize the findings from Chapter 4 and 5 on young adults' work/family plans and outcomes. I focus on the overall across- and within-gender patterns and themes from the findings, as well as how these findings relate to theoretical approaches and policy implications for gender, work, and family. Additionally, I discuss the limitations of this study and offer directions for future research.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study seeks to contribute to the existing literature on gender, work, and family, particularly regarding young adults' plans and experiences in balancing work and family roles, as well as non-traditional work/family trajectories. Twenty years ago, Hochschild (1989) described the "stalled revolution": while women have fully entered the labor force, increasingly in male-dominated fields and when they have children, men have not shifted as much into female-dominated fields or into responsibility for household labor and childcare. This study finds that, 20 years later, even among young adults in this privileged sample who should be the most willing and able to cross gender boundaries, the revolution is still stalled.

Although both the young women and young men in this sample hold high desires for marriage and parenthood, there continue to be great gender differences in occupational trajectories and the impact of family on occupational outcomes. Women hold broader aspirations for occupations, while men remain largely stagnated with traditional occupational goals. Similarly, men remain narrowly constrained in the "act-like-a-man" box (Kivel 1992, 2007) and are less likely than women to achieve non-traditional occupational goals. Women, however, are more likely to face trade-offs between family and non-traditional occupations.

Yet given the patterns in the effects of parental socialization factors and gender role attitudes, it is possible that the revolution is "still unfolding" (Lang and Risman 2007). Previous studies descriptively chart the gender differences in work/family plans or outcomes, or focus primarily on one contextual factor or determinant (e.g. Hoffnung 2004; Jacobs et al. 1991; Milkie and Peltola 1999b; Percheski 2008; Shu and Marini

1998b). I examined determinants of both across- and within-gender variation of plans and outcomes, focusing on several key perspectives: parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, and gender role attitudes. I argue that these factors are not experienced as distinct entities, but rather occur in conjunction with one another. While each approach individually provides a piece of the puzzle for understanding young adults' goals and experiences, taken collectively they offer a more holistic and comprehensive explanation. Additionally, by using the National Survey of Families and Households, this study drew on data from two time points to explore both across- and within-gender variation in plans, outcomes, and the longitudinal relationship between the two.

Overall, this research finds that socialization factors have a continued direct effect for young adults' plans and experiences with work and family. But individuals are not simply sponges who absorb the values and behaviors of those surrounding them. Rather, socialization factors work in complex ways and individuals have the capacity for creative interpretation of what they witness and experience. Similarly, attitudes about gender roles are related to desires for future work/family roles, but again this provides only a piece of the puzzle. Young adults form their own aspirations for work and family based on their experiences growing up, their parents' attitudes, their own attitudes, and broader cultural norms. Taken collectively, the complementary perspectives utilized in this study provide a more holistic approach to examining young adults' work/family plans and outcomes.

While Hochschild (1989) referred to the "stalled revolution" over twenty years ago, contemporary young adults continue to show signs that this may not be a permanent stall. Rather, as Lang and Risman (2007) describe, it may be a "still unfolding" revolution. Young women continue to have high desires for family and career,

increasingly in male-dominated fields. Young men also express high family desires and some interest in non-traditional occupations. Unfortunately, many of these young adults' "leak out" of these non-traditional pathways. Yet the fact that many express these desires and some do achieve those goals points to the fact that Hochschild's "stalled revolution" is not completely halted. Rather, the rate of progress may simply be slower than some of us would prefer.

Although a small number of women and an even smaller number of men ended up in non-traditional occupations, the influence of parental socialization factors and gender role attitudes on their occupational trajectories may be evidence that the revolution will continue to unfold across generations. For men, fathers' attitudes about gender are particularly important influences: fathers' more egalitarian attitudes increase men's likelihood of pursuing non-traditional occupations. Given this relationship, as contemporary young men continue to express more egalitarian attitudes about gender roles than previous generations (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001), these young men may pass down these egalitarian attitudes to their own children and encourage their sons' willingness to pursue non-traditional paths.

Similarly, the women in this sample are more likely to hold non-traditional occupational aspirations when their mothers have more egalitarian attitudes about gender, and are more likely to achieve those goals if their mothers worked outside the home when they were young. As with young men, contemporary young women hold more egalitarian attitudes about gender than women in earlier generations. Likewise, women are increasingly in the labor force when they have young children (Padavic and Reskin 2002). As the young women in this sample raise their own children – with more

egalitarian attitudes and the higher likelihood of working when their children are young – it is likely that they will have a positive influence on the next generation of young women’s willingness and ability to pursue non-traditional paths.

Although the revolution may appear quite stalled, these findings support the claim that it is slowly unfolding. Research such as this contributes to examining where the “stall” is occurring, including the pressures men face to maintain gender normative behavior and the conflict women experience in balancing parenthood and non-traditional occupations. This examination helps provide the groundwork for further efforts to “unstall” the revolution and move toward greater gender equity at work and at home.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

There are three main contributions from this research regarding the impact of parental socialization factors on young adults’ plans and outcomes, the relationship between plans and outcomes, and factors influencing non-traditional pathways and experiences (see Table 6.1 for a complete list of all hypotheses tested and whether or not they were supported in the results).

[Table 6.1 here]

The impact of socialization factors

First, I find that parental socialization factors have a direct influence on young adults’ plans and outcomes, and that there are gender differences in when and how they matter. Socialization is not simply a direct, top-down process and young adults do not merely imitate what their parents model. Rather, the results suggest that young adults engage in “creative appropriation” (Corsaro 1992; Corsaro and Eder 1995), albeit in

gendered ways. That is, young adults' attitudes and plans often diverge from those of their parents in gender-specific ways. Likewise, while the young women and men in this sample express similarly high desires for marriage and parenthood, the paths that led them to those desires vary. Parental role-modeling did not affect all young adults in the same way.

This is consistent with Gerson's (2010) claim that young adults from diverse family types may come away from their experiences with vastly different interpretations. Of course, this is not to say that parental role-modeling and socialization processes are not important. The variables used in these analyses – maternal employment, the division of household labor, and parental educational attainment – stand in for the various active and passive ways that families model work/family roles. These variables tap into the underlying concepts of role-modeling and, thus, the significant findings can be interpreted as support for arguments that parental socialization factors have a direct effect on young adults' work/family plans and outcomes. Likewise, contrary to the arguments of some researchers, I find that socialization factors have a continued effect on young adults' achievement of occupational goals, independent of their own attitudes and what type of goal they had. That is, the impact of parental socialization does not disappear over the life course, as peers and concrete experiences (e.g. having children) exert greater influence (Gerson 1985; Risman and Schwartz 1989; Risman et al. 1999).

I also argue that we need to further explore how socialization content matters by examining how they are related to both across- and within-gender variation in work/family plans and outcomes. The significance of multiple types of parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes suggest that we need multiple, more complex theories of

socialization factors and the lasting effect on young adult children. Further research must delve more deeply into the influence of this parental socialization content. In particular, we need to continue to take into account gender differences in terms of the parent and the young adult child, as well as complement these quantitative findings with more in-depth qualitative analyses of the meaning of parental role-modeling and parents' attitudes for young adults' choices.

The relationship between plans and outcomes

My second major contribution lies in testing the relationship between work/family plans and outcomes. While some researchers argue that behavioral intentions are the best predictors of behaviors (e.g. Ajzen and Fishbein 1980), others claim that behaviors are not strongly related to intentions (Holland and Eisenhart 1990; Jacobs 1989a; Rindfuss et al. 1999). Rather than a clear distinction of *either* goals influence outcomes *or* they do not, I find that intentions matter but broader contextual factors and experiences matter too. Consistent with other researchers (e.g. Gerson 1985; Stone 2007a; Stone and Lovejoy 2004), my findings demonstrate that preferences and aspirations may set the path that young adults are on, but they can face gendered speedbumps and obstacles along the way that affect the outcomes.

Additionally, I find that the relationship between plans and outcomes varies both by gender and by occupational goal type. As expected, given pressures to maintain gender normative behavior, young adults' are far more likely to achieve traditional occupational goals than non-traditional goals. Also consistent with expectations from the literature, women are more likely to aspire to non-traditional occupations than men.

However, women are also more likely to achieve those non-traditional goals. While women may gain higher status and pay in male-dominated occupations (Bradley 1993; Jacobs 1993), one might expect that male privilege (Williams 1992) would make it easier for men to achieve non-traditional goals. Rather, my research supports the argument that men face greater societal sanctions in stereotypically feminine pursuits. Due to the stigma surrounding men performing “feminine” roles and constraints in what is considered acceptable behavior (Coltrane 2004; Pleck 1976; Orrange 2002), men face greater pressure to pursue gender-normative roles.

Pathways toward (or away from) non-traditional plans and outcomes

Primarily traditional family plans

These findings lead to my third main contribution: my research builds on the knowledge of what factors lead young women and men toward or away from non-traditional plans and outcomes. Overall, the young adults in this sample express high desires for marriage and parenthood. The limited differences between men and women on these desires seem to indicate the power of cultural and social norms for the majority of U.S. adults to ultimately marry and have children. It is possible that these desires could be interpreted from a socio-biological interpretation, and that marriage and children are “hard wired” into humans as mechanisms to guarantee reproduction of the species. Likewise, approaches that focus on rational decision-making could argue that the social rewards for marriage and children outweigh the disincentives. However, the differences between responses for desires to marry/have children and expected dissatisfaction with

never marrying/having children seem to support the first interpretation (regarding the strength of cultural norms).

For example, when measured on a five-point scale, most respondents indicate they would “probably” or “definitely” want to get married yet almost a third of respondents indicate low dissatisfaction (“very happy,” “somewhat happy,” or “neither happy nor unhappy”) with never marrying (roughly 25% of women and almost 40% of men). Similarly, while most respondents “probably” or “definitely” want to have children, a sizable number (roughly 14% of women, 20% of men) indicate they would either be “very happy,” “somewhat happy,” or “neither happy nor unhappy” with never having children.

This could reflect the cultural norm of marriage and parenthood coupled with a sense of ambivalence regarding the institutions, thus responses of desires to get married/have children but lower dissatisfaction with the thought of not participating in the institution and abiding by cultural norms. It is important to note that women had higher levels of expected dissatisfaction with never marrying or having children. For men, these gaps between desires and expected dissatisfaction could perhaps be indicative of adherence to cultural norms (re: marriage and parenthood) while still some uncertainty about their actual desires to do so. For women, however, researchers often describe the roles of wife and mother as cultural imperatives (Crittenden 2001; Douglas and Michaels 2004; Hays 1997): as women’s identities are more fundamentally tied to family roles, it is not surprising that women would anticipate greater dissatisfaction with not achieving marriage or parenthood.

Gender and non-traditional occupational plans

While the young adults' in this sample have little variation in their overall high desires for marriage and parenthood, there are significant gender differences and variation in occupational goals and outcomes. Nearly one quarter of the young women express desires to work in male-dominated fields, while only approximately 10% of the young men seek female-dominated occupations. As described above, women were more likely to achieve those non-traditional goals: 37.5% did so, compared with the 18.75% of men who achieved their non-traditional occupational goals. It appears that, while the young adults' overall were less likely to meet non-traditional goals than traditional goals, women and men face different challenges in non-traditional career trajectories.

To reiterate, men's "leaking out" of non-traditional occupational trajectories is likely due to the pressure they face to maintain gender normative behavior and work in traditional "breadwinner" roles. Thus, many men are steered away from willingness to pursue non-traditional occupations and hegemonic masculinity further constrains their ability to achieve those occupational goals. For women, while gender norms make it more acceptable to pursue non-traditional occupations, an examination of the gendered relationship between work and family outcomes helps shed light on women's non-traditional occupational trajectories.

For women, the majority who had non-traditional occupational goals neither achieved those goals nor had children. Equally common was the likelihood of either achieving the non-traditional goal or having children. Most telling, the fewest number of women with non-traditional goals both achieved that goal and had children by the time of the Wave 3 interview. It is possible that, while the majority expressed high desires to

have children at the Wave 2 interview, this reflects a change in women's parenthood desires. The majority, however, still expressed that they wanted to have children someday. Rather, this supports the argument that women continue to face great challenges in successfully balancing parenthood and work in male-dominated occupations.

As scholars argue (e.g. Stone 2007a), while an increasing number of women pursue non-traditional occupations, the pressures of family caretaking and the inflexibility of the male-dominated workplace make successfully balancing work and family difficult. Some of these women may shift to traditional occupations upon marrying and/or having children. Among the women who had non-traditional goals and who did land in non-traditional employment, for many it was at the cost of delaying or forgoing parenthood. While the data used in this study limit the ability to fully test measures of "family pulls" and "workplace pushes" (Stone 2007a), this relationship between family and work outcomes does seem to indicate that non-traditional occupations are far less conducive for women balancing work and family life.

Young women's goals may be broadening, but deeper rooted expectations about family responsibilities and experiences in the workplace are perhaps not changing as quickly. Likewise, while young men may place high value on family roles, they continue to remain largely in sex-stereotypical occupations and to benefit from marriage and parenthood (rather than marriage/parenthood having a negative influence, as is the case for women). While many young adults in this sample come from relatively privileged backgrounds in regards to race (roughly 80% white) and class (roughly 60% from the top two income quintiles), they still face challenges in pursuing and achieving non-traditional

goals. If these young adults – with all the resources and opportunities they have by virtue of their racial and class privileges – are often not able to achieve non-traditional goals, what does that mean for those with fewer resources? Twenty years later, it appears that the revolution is still quite stalled (Hochschild 1989).

OTHER BENEFITS OF THE PROJECT

This study also has several benefits in terms of sample demographics and methodology.

Generational differences

Some influential studies of young adults' work/family plans focus on a cohort of women born in the 1940s and 1950s (e.g. Gerson 1985, 1993). Research on women who were in their 30s in the 1980s centers on those Gerson (2001) calls the "parents of the gender revolution." Women coming of age after the women's movement, who Gerson (2001) refers to as the "children of the revolution," have more opportunities available to them than did previous generations. With increasingly egalitarian gender role attitudes in society and more women working in diverse occupations, it is quite possible that today's young women differ from earlier cohorts. Likewise, given economic changes and the decline of the male breadwinner, it is also possible that men's work/family aspirations have shifted as well.

These changes can arguably occur in different directions. From one perspective, one might expect young women today to hold equal aspirations to young men for family and occupational advancement: given the successes of the women's movement, more young women may expect to "have it all." Similarly, given that younger cohorts express

more egalitarian gender role attitudes than previous cohorts (Cichy et al. 2007), young men may express higher desires for family than men in earlier generations. However, researchers argue that young women today are less likely to identify as feminists (Peltola, Milkie, and Presser 2004; Schnittker, Powell, and Freese 2003). Young women, detached from the women's movement, may feel as though women have "made it"; thus may feel fewer obligations to prove themselves at work and may feel more comfortable taking time off for family (Percheski 2008). This study provides a key focus on the "children of the revolution" and finds that, while the young adults hold more egalitarian attitudes about gender and strong desires for family and careers, lingering gender norms mean that Hochschild's (1989) "stalled revolution" appears to still be stalled.

Other methodological issues and sample characteristics

Much research on the relationship between gender, initial work/family aspirations, and subsequent work/family outcomes remains incomplete. Quantitative studies that look at causal pathways are often based on cohorts born in the 1940s or 1950s, or use a cross-sectional design (Gerson 1985; Jacobs 1987). Excellent qualitative studies exist that examine contemporary cohorts, but these studies offer limited generalizability (Hoffnung 2004). Moreover, the bulk of the quantitative and qualitative research on non-traditional aspirations and work outcomes focuses on women. Thus, we still do not know about predictors of variation in contemporary young adults' work/family plans, particularly in determining under what conditions young adults' pursue or achieve non-traditional goals. My study addresses these gaps in the literature by using a quantitative longitudinal analysis to test determinants of variation in young adults' work/family aspirations, as well as the way that gender and type of goal

(traditional or non-traditional) influence the relationship between work/family aspirations and outcomes.

Some studies have relied on qualitative methods to analyze young adults' work/family plans and experiences (e.g. Davey 1998; Gerson 1985; Hoffnung 2004). Qualitative methods are particularly well suited for investigating the meanings young adults attach to work and family. Quantitative studies are better equipped for analyses of the predictors of plans/outcomes, as well as the strength of the relationship between plans and outcomes. While some studies have used quantitative methods, many have done so by looking cross-sectionally at either young adults' plans (e.g. Jacobs et al. 1991; Shu and Marini 1998a) or their work/family experiences (e.g. Milkie and Peltola 1999a; Percheski 2008). Longitudinal research is more appropriate to study the relationship between plans and outcomes, rather than relying on a cross-sectional study where respondents are asked to recollect their plans from an earlier time (e.g. Gerson 1985). A benefit of using the National Survey of Families and Households for this study is the ability to examine both young adults' plans when they are formulating them at ages 18-23, as well as their actual experiences at ages 28-33.

Similarly, some research on work/family plans and experiences focuses exclusively on women's aspirations and outcomes (e.g. Baber and Monaghan 1988; Gerson 1985; Granrose and Kaplan 1996; Hallett and Gilbert 1997; McCracken and Weitzman 1997; Novack and Novack 1996; Rexroat and Shehan 1984; Risman et al. 1999). While it is certainly beneficial to have in-depth examinations of women's experiences, it is necessary to study both women and men to make any sort of claims regarding gender differences.

Many studies that examine work/family aspirations do so for adolescents (e.g. Cunningham 2001b; Davis and Pearce 2007; Dennehy and Mortimer 1992; Hitlin 2006a; Johnson et al. 2001; Mahaffy and Ward 2002; Marini and Greenberger 1978; Reynolds et al. 2006; Weinshenker 2006). This is particularly useful in research that charts the stability (or lack thereof) of intentions over the life course (e.g. Low et al. 2005; Rindfuss et al. 1999). However, in comparing aspirations to adult outcomes, it is potentially problematic to set a baseline in adolescence. While intentions may be stabilizing in adolescence and relatively similar to young adult goals, adolescents are often still somewhat removed from making stable, lasting decisions. For example, while the majority of adolescents anticipate work in professional fields, many do not have concrete plans or realistic expectations of how to meet those occupational goals (Reynolds et al. 2006; Schneider and Stevenson 1999). The age gap between adolescence and young adulthood (or emerging adulthood, roughly ages 18-25; see Arnett 2000) is related to the development of knowledge and more realistic expectations. By 18-25, many young adults have left home for either college or work, have likely begun to engage in adult relationships, and have started to think more realistically about their future plans than their 13- to 17-year-old counter-parts. This study sets the baseline of work/family plans at ages 18-23 and examines experiences in a 10-year follow-up at ages 28-33.

Overall, this study offers a unique contribution by testing the influence of parental role-modeling, parents' attitudes, gender socialization, and gender role attitudes in combination to assess the relative strength of each argument. Taken together, these perspectives afford a holistic and comprehensive examination of young adults' work/family aspirations and outcomes. Additionally, this research offers significant

contributions to the literature by testing the predictors of non-traditional aspirations and outcomes for women and for men and using longitudinal data to analyze the relationship between aspirations and outcomes.

DIRECTION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Sample characteristics, diverse family types, and same-sex relationships

In addition to the above discussion regarding non-traditional career trajectories, there are several other directions for future research. A benefit of the NSFH and the focus on the work/family plans of young adults' from two-parent households is the ability to isolate the effect of same-sex and opposite-sex parents on both young women's and men's choices. Qualitative research can further unpack these relationships, but this type of focus provides important insight into the sex-specific ways that socialization processes unfold.

A limitation of the National Survey of Families and Households is that the inclusion of father data in the analysis of work/family plans led to the exclusion of respondents raised in single-parent (primarily female-headed) households. These diverse family structures, independent of the relationship of family structure to race and class, are likely to be related to young adults' marriage, parenthood, and occupational plans. For example, a brief review of the differences between the sample used in this project and the broader sample from diverse family types finds that young adults from two-parent households hold slightly higher marriage and parenthood desires, but there is no significant difference for occupational plans. A greater analysis of these family structures

and relationships requires both a large sample and more qualitative research than allowed for with the NSFH.

Similarly, the NSFH does not include respondents in same-sex relationships. This means that none of the young adults' in this sample were raised in households with parents of the same sex. Further research can address the influence of the socialization processes examined in this research on young adults who were raised in households with parents in a same-sex relationship.

Specific occupational types and detailed employment histories

Another limitation of the NSFH is that the survey only asks about dates when the mother was working or not working, not about the specific occupations she held. Given these data, it is impossible to tell if the effect of maternal employment varies between mothers working in traditional occupations and mothers working in non-traditional occupations. Parental role-modeling perspectives would expect that mothers in non-traditional occupations would increase the likelihood of daughters aspiring to those fields. Likewise, paternal employment in non-traditional occupations could be related to their sons' own interest in female-dominated fields. Further research should address these relationships.

Additionally, the NSFH does not contain information about the young adults' detailed employment histories. While there are questions about the type of work they hope to do someday (at ages 18-23) and what their current or most recent occupation is (at ages 28-33), the young adults' do not report the various occupations they have held during those intervening years. Further research would benefit greatly by tracking young

adults through their occupational trajectories. This would allow for a better understanding of where along the pipeline they “leak out” of non-traditional occupations. For example, detailed employment histories would reveal which young adults’ left the non-traditional occupational pathway prior to ever working full-time. These young adults’ experiences and reasons for “leaking out” would be very different than those who, for example, left after having children. Future research could investigate the factors that influence *when* young adults leave non-traditional pathways – not just *if* they do.

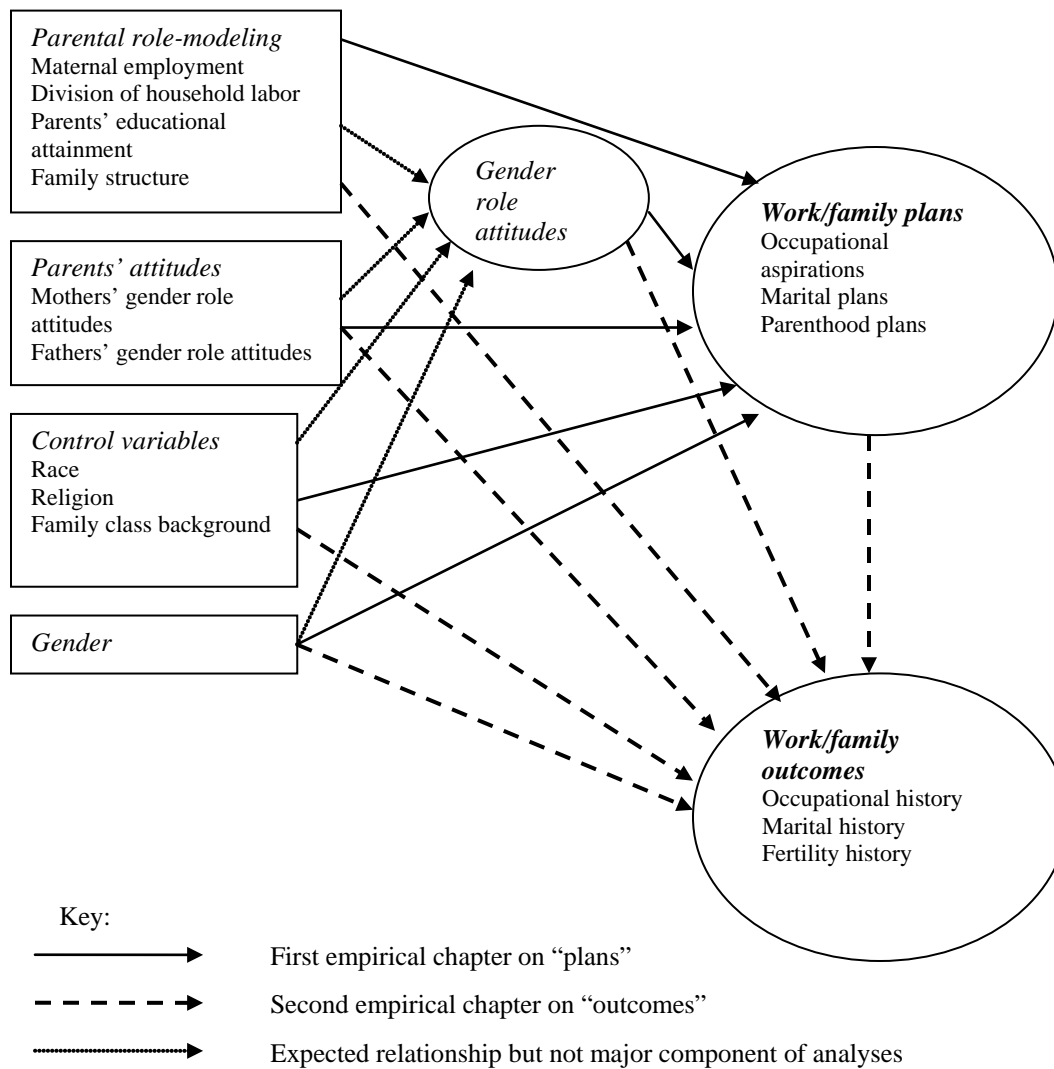
FINAL THOUGHTS

In summary, twenty years after Hochschild (1989) described the “stalled revolution,” young adults in this sample still continue to face gendered work/family trajectories. Yet there are also signs that this may be a “still unfolding” revolution (Lang and Risman 2007). Both young women and men express high desires for marriage and parenthood. Women continue to hold career aspirations that include historically male-dominated fields, and some men do indicate interest in female-dominated fields. While many of these young adults hit various obstacles that hinder their ability to pursue non-traditional fields, such as pressures to maintain gender normative behavior and conflict between work and family roles, it is important to note the various factors that increase their willingness to set-off on non-traditional pathways. These influences include parental socialization factors, parents’ attitudes, and gender role attitudes. As societal attitudes about “appropriate” gender roles become more egalitarian (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001) and as the number of women working when they have children continues to increase (Padavic and Reskin 2002), it is quite possible that the revolution will

continue to “unstall” over time. This study contributes to a broader understanding of where the “stall” is occurring, as well as the factors that may help “unstall” the revolution and move toward greater gender equity at home and at work.

Tables and Figures

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Diagram



CHAPTER 3

Table 3.1: Measures and Scales for Dependent Variables

<i>Dependent Variables</i>	<i>Measures</i>
Marriage Plans	
Feelings about getting married	<p>“How do you feel about getting married someday?” (dichotomous)</p> <p>0 low = “definitely don’t want to”, “probably don’t want to”, or “don’t know”; 1 high = “probably” or “definitely want to”</p>
Expected dissatisfaction with never marrying	<p>“Suppose things turn out so that you do not marry, how would you feel?” (dichotomous)</p> <p>0 low = “very happy”, “somewhat happy”, or “neither happy nor unhappy”; 1 high = “somewhat unhappy” or “very unhappy”</p>
Youngest age would marry	<p>“If you were to marry, what is the youngest age at which you would consider getting married?” (ordinal)</p> <p>For women: under 20 = “below average”; 20 to 26 = “average”; older than 26 = “above average”</p> <p>For men: under 21 = “below average”; 21 to 28 = “average”; older than 28 = “above average”</p>
Parenthood Plans	
Feelings about having children	<p>“How do you feel about having a child sometime?” (dichotomous)</p> <p>0 low = “definitely don’t want to”, “probably don’t want to”, or “don’t know”; 1 high = “probably” or “definitely want to”</p>
Expected dissatisfaction with never having children	<p>“Suppose things turn out that you never have a child, how would you feel?” (dichotomous)</p> <p>0 low = “very happy”, “somewhat happy”, or “neither happy nor unhappy”; 1 high = “somewhat unhappy” or “very unhappy”</p>
Number of children desired	<p>“If you were to have children, how many children do you think that you would want to have?” (ordinal)</p> <p>0 = “below average”; 1 to 3 = “average”; 4 or more = “above average”</p>
Occupational Plans	
	<p>“What kind of work do you hope to do eventually?”</p> <p>0 = “traditional” (sex-stereotypical or gender-mixed field); 1 = “non-traditional” (opposite-sex-dominated field)³⁸</p>

³⁸ See Appendices A and B for complete listings of all detailed occupations and occupational categories

Table 3.2: Measures and Scales for Independent Variables

<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Measures</i>
Parental Role-Modeling	
Maternal employment (at 5 years; at 12 years)	Mother was employed when young adult child was 5-years-old (dichotomous; 1=yes) Mother was employed when young adult child was 12-years-old (dichotomous; 1=yes)
Division of household labor	Parents' self-reports of weekly time spent (ordinal): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparing meals • Washing dishes • Cleaning house • Outdoor tasks • Shopping • Washing, ironing • Paying bills • Auto maintenance • Driving Mother's household labor as proportion of total hours completed by both spouses: 0-20%, 20-40%, 40-60%, 60-80%, 80-100%
Parents' educational attainment	For mother and father, each separately (ordinal): Highest level of education completed, from "none" to "doctorate or professional degree"
Parents' and Young Adults' Gender Role Attitudes	
Attitudes about sexual relations	Factor resulting from factor analysis (continuous) Level of agreement ("strongly agree" to "strongly disagree") with the following statements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "It is all right for unmarried 18-year-olds to have sexual relations if they have strong affection for each other" • "It is all right for an unmarried couple to live together even if they have no interest in considering marriage" • "Marriage is a lifetime relationship and should not be ended except under extreme circumstances"

Table 3.2, continued:

Attitudes about home/work roles	<p>Factor resulting from factor analysis (continuous)</p> <p>Level of agreement (“strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”) with the following statements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family” • Respondent-specific question about working mothers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed” (only the parents asked this) ○ “It is all right for mothers to work full-time when their youngest child is under age 5” (only the young adults asked this) • Respondent-specific question about household labor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “If a husband and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally” (only the parents asked this) ○ “A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife” (only the young adults asked this)
Sex	Young adults’ self-reported sex (dichotomous; 0 = “male”, 1 = “female”)

CHAPTER 4

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics and Significance Tests of Gender Differences for Dependent Variables in Analyses of Work/Family Plans

	Total (n=1,428)		Men (n=768)		Women (n=660)		Significance Tests of Gender Differences	
DEPENDENT VARIABLES								
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Chi ²	p
<i>Marriage Plans</i>								
Feelings about getting married (0 low, 1 high) ³⁹	0.975	0.004	0.976	0.005	0.972	0.006	0.213	0.645
Expected dissatisfaction with never marrying (0 low, 1 high)	0.681	0.012	0.609	0.017	0.764	0.016	38.861	0.000
Youngest age would marry (1 below average, 2 average, 3 above average)	2.017	0.007	2.000	0.009	2.036	0.011	8.556	0.014
<i>Parenthood Plans</i>								
Feelings about having children (0 low, 1 high)	0.920	0.007	0.914	0.010	0.927	0.010	0.843	0.358
Expected dissatisfaction with never having children (0 low, 1 high)	0.827	0.009	0.797	0.015	0.864	0.013	11.095	0.001
Number of children desired (1 below average, 2 average, 3 above average)	2.092	0.009	2.094	0.014	2.091	0.013	3.516	0.172
<i>Occupational Plans</i>								
Traditional occupational plan (0 traditional, 1 non-traditional occupation)	0.168	0.009	0.102	0.011	0.245	0.017	52.56	0.000

³⁹ See Chapter 3 for a description of the conceptualization and measurement of each dependent and independent variable. Additionally, see Tables 3.1 and 3.2 for a variable list including the source question(s), variable type, and coding information.

Table 4.1, continued:

	Total (n=1,428)		Men (n=768)		Women (n=660)		Tests of Gender Differences	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES								
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Chi²	p
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment when child was 5 yrs (0 does not work, 1 works)	0.434	0.013	0.433	0.018	0.434	0.019	0.001	0.970
Maternal employment when child was 12 yrs (0 does not work, 1 works)	0.622	0.013	0.602	0.017	0.646	0.019	2.930	0.087
Mother's ratio of household labor (1 <20%, 2 20-40%, 3 40-60%, 4 60-80%, 5 80-100%)	3.967	0.025	3.948	0.035	3.987	0.036	14.508	0.006
Mother's level of completed education (0 no formal education to 20 doctoral degree) ⁴⁰	12.42	0.067	12.25	0.091	12.61	0.101	42.332	0.000
Father's level of completed education (0 no formal education to 20 doctoral degree)	13.29	0.083	13.01	0.104	13.62	0.131	50.568	0.000

⁴⁰ Completed education is coded as the number of years of school completed. Years under 12 represent the last grade completed (such as 8 for eighth grade). High school diploma/GED are coded 12, some college without completing a degree as 13, associate's degree/two-year college as 14, Bachelor's degree 16, Master's degree 18, doctoral/professional degree 20.

Table 4.1, continued:

	Total (n=1,428)		Men (n=768)		Women (n=660)		Tests of Gender Differences	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES								
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	t-test	P
<i>Parents' Attitudes</i> ⁴¹								
Mother's attitudes about sexual relations (Factor analysis range: low [egalitarian] -2.584, high [conservative] 2.26)	0.153	0.024	0.186	0.034	0.114	0.035	1.456	0.073
Mother's attitudes about home/work roles (Factor analysis range: low [egalitarian] -2.995, high [conservative] 2.672)	0.251	0.051	0.208	0.032	0.301	0.041	1.812	0.035
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations (Factor analysis range: low [egalitarian] -2.278, high [conservative] 2.887)	0.087	0.026	0.052	0.035	0.127	0.039	1.425	0.077
Attitudes about home/work roles (Factor analysis range: low [egalitarian] -2.037, high [conservative] 2.936)	-0.089	0.026	0.117	0.034	-0.329	-.039	8.753	0.000

⁴¹ All individual variables about gender role attitudes were coded so low values represent more egalitarian attitudes and higher value represent more conservative attitudes. I ran factor analysis on the six variables and created two new variables: attitudes about sexual relations and attitudes about home/work roles.

Table 4.1, continued:

	Total (n=1,428)	Men (n=768)	Women (n=660)	Tests of Gender Differences	
CONTROL VARIABLES					
	%	%	%	Chi²	p
Race				4.992	0.025
0 white	79.83	82.03	77.27		
1 non-white	20.17	17.97	22.73		
Religion				35.807	0.000
1 no religion	17.53	20.89	13.64		
2 Catholic	28.33	26.89	30.00		
3 Protestant	48.60	44.26	53.64		
4 other religion	5.54	7.96	2.73		
Household earnings, in quintiles				34.515	0.000
1 lowest quintile	6.09	5.00	7.37		
2 second quintile	10.91	15.00	6.14		
3 third quintile	23.10	22.63	23.66		
4 fourth quintile	29.70	30.39	28.88		
5 highest quintile	30.19	26.97	33.95		

Table 4.2: Differences on Dependent Variable Means by Sex, for Small Sample (two-parent households) vs. Large Sample (diverse family types)

	Men		Significance Tests of Sample Differences		Women		Significance Tests of Sample Differences	
	Small sample (N=768)	Large sample (N=1620)			Small sample (N=660)	Large sample (N=1368)		
	Mean	Mean	Chi ²	p	Mean	Mean	Chi ²	P
<i>Marriage Plans</i>								
Feelings about getting married (0 low, 1 high)	0.976	0.937	42.857	0.000	0.972	0.961	5.016	0.025
Expected dissatisfaction with never marrying (0 low, 1 high)	0.609	0.648	1.714	0.190	0.764	0.719	17.020	0.000
Youngest age would marry (1 below average, 2 average, 3 above average)	2.000	2.019	53.290	0.000	2.036	2.079	34.232	0.000
<i>Parenthood Plans</i>								
Feelings about having children (0 low, 1 high)	0.914	0.926	1.035	0.309	0.927	0.895	13.049	0.000
Expected dissatisfaction with never having children (0 low, 1 high)	0.797	0.793	2.999	0.083	0.864	0.816	21.501	0.000
Number of children desired (1 below average, 2 average, 3 above average)	2.094	2.056	30.000	0.000	2.091	2.070	40.602	0.000
<i>Occupational Plans</i>								
Traditional occupational plan (0 traditional occupation, 1 non-traditional occupation)	0.102	0.111	0.781	0.377	0.245	0.254	0.323	0.570

Figure 4.1: Feelings About Getting Married, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Ordinal Variable

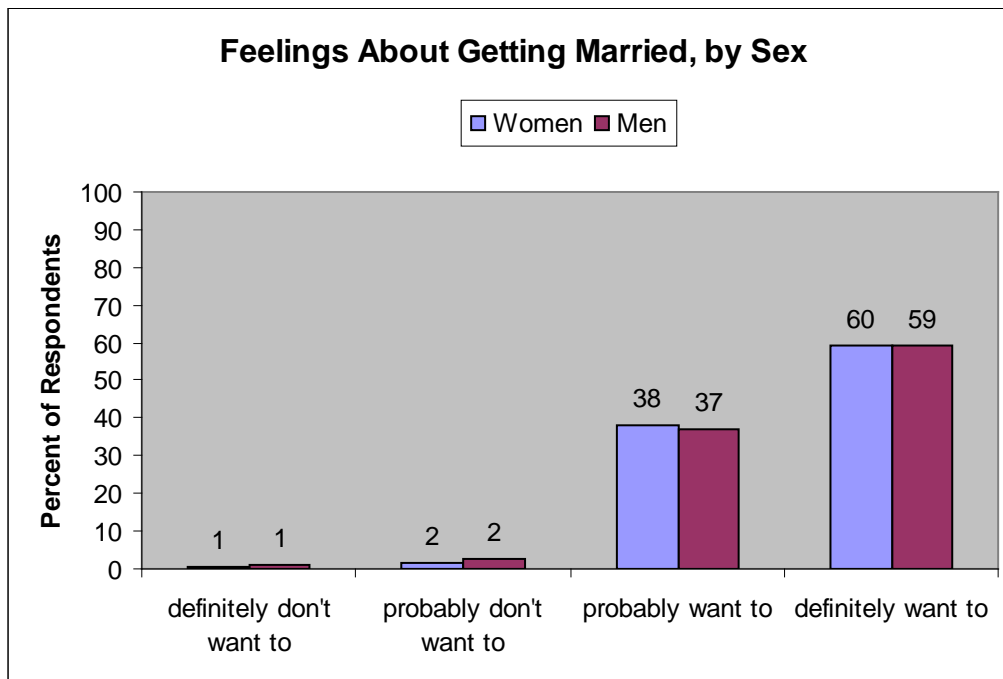


Figure 4.2: Feelings About Getting Married, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Dichotomous Variable

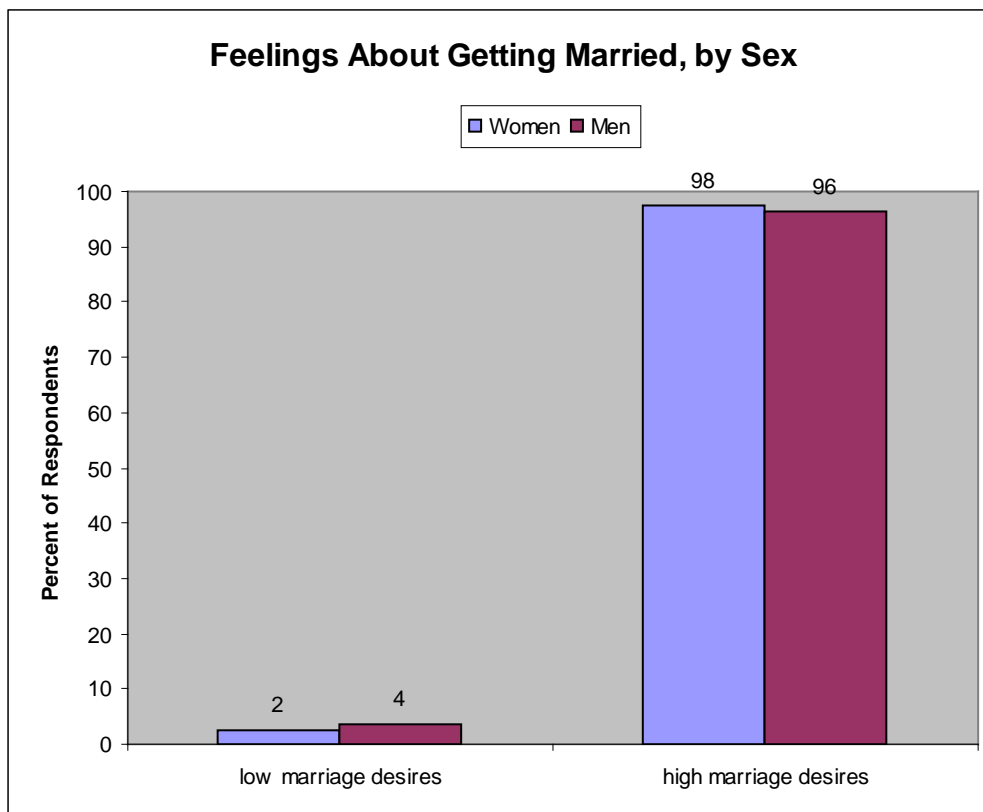


Figure 4.3: Expected Dissatisfaction With Never Marrying, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Ordinal Variable

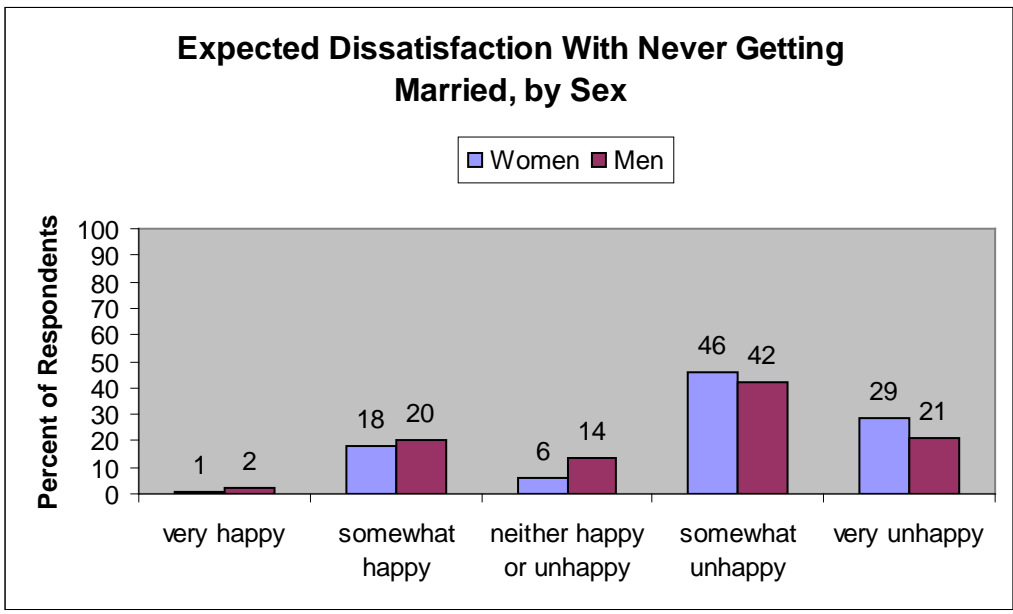


Figure 4.4: Expected Dissatisfaction With Never Marrying, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Dichotomous Variable

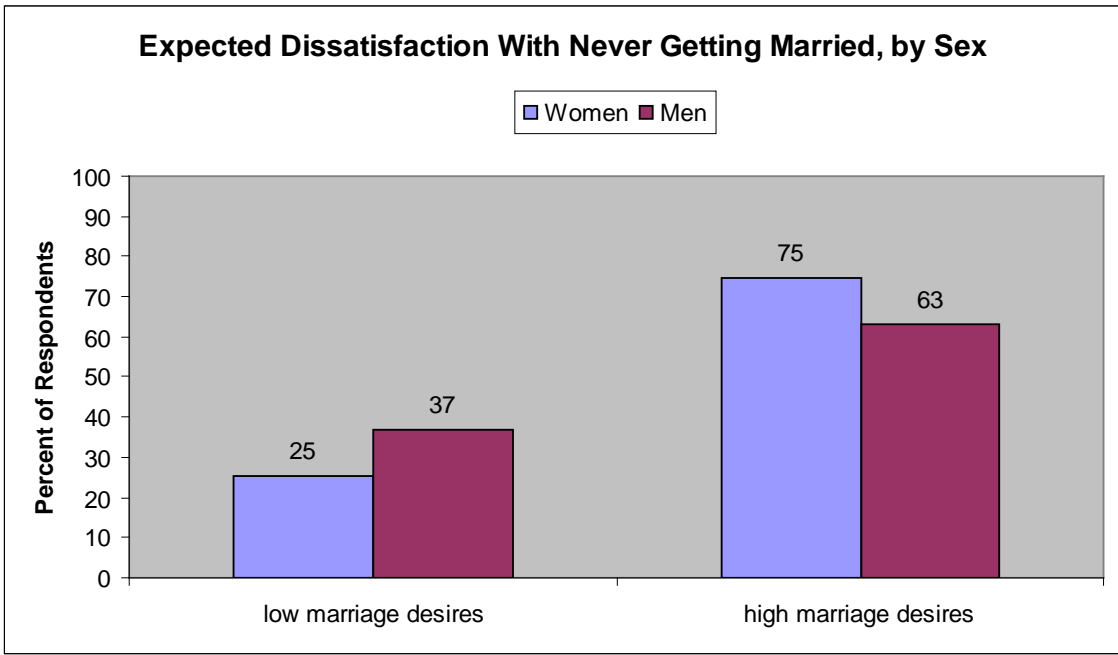


Figure 4.5: Youngest Age Would Marry, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)

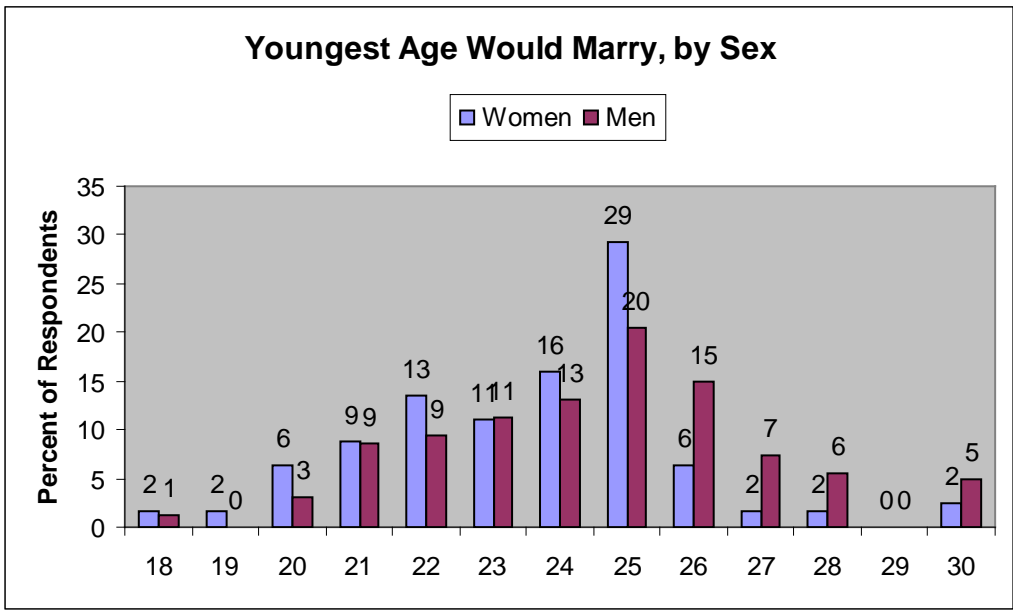


Figure 4.6: Youngest Age Would Marry, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Clustered Variable

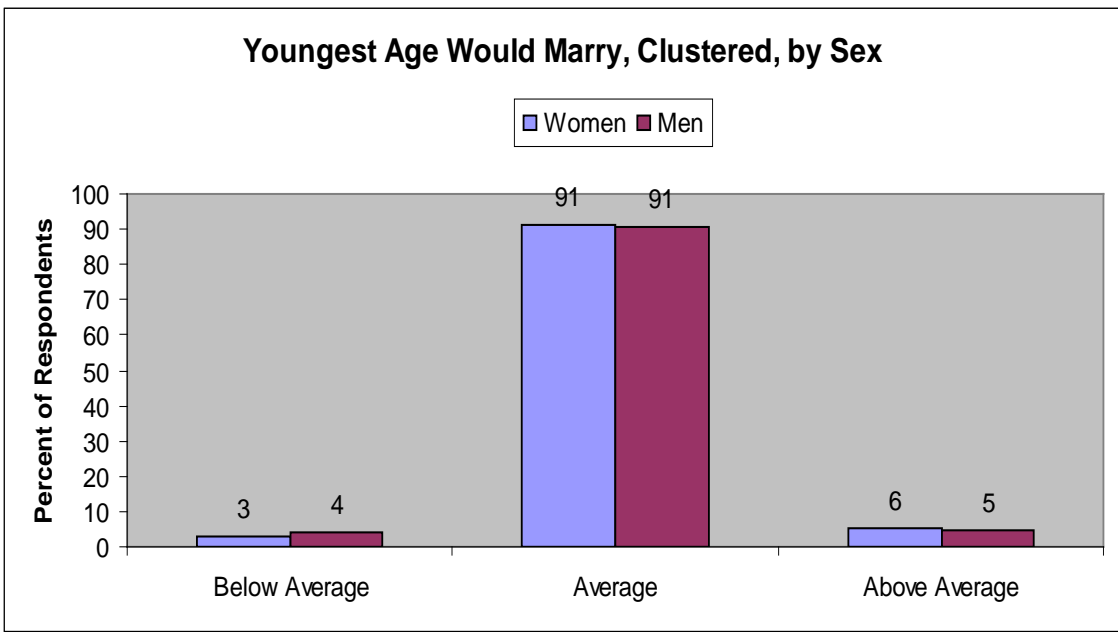


Figure 4.7: Feelings About Having Children, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Ordinal Variable

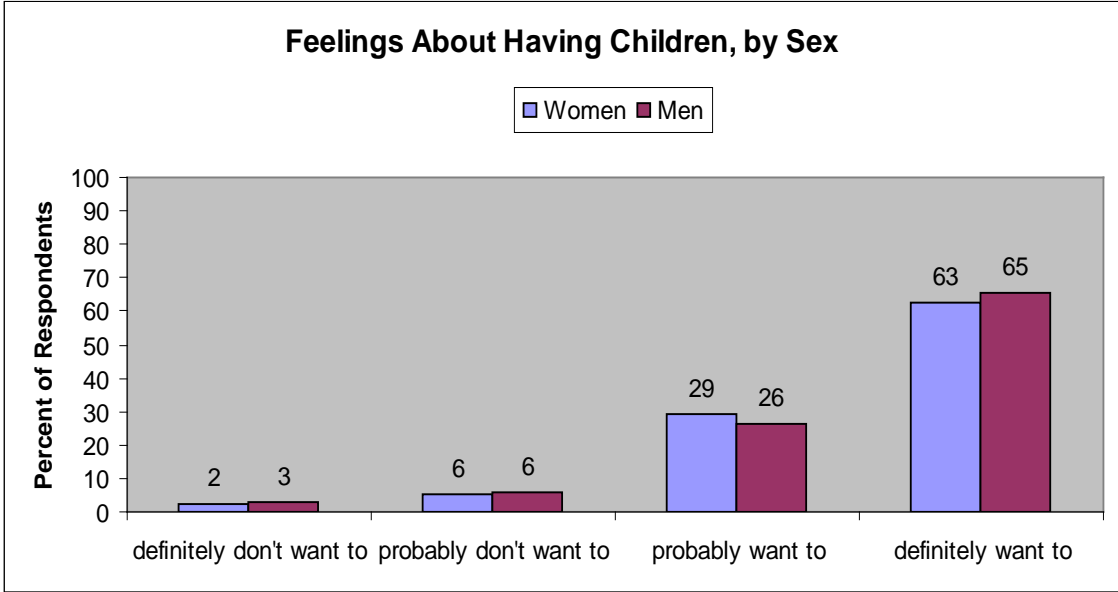


Figure 4.8: Expected Dissatisfaction With Never Having Children, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Ordinal Variable

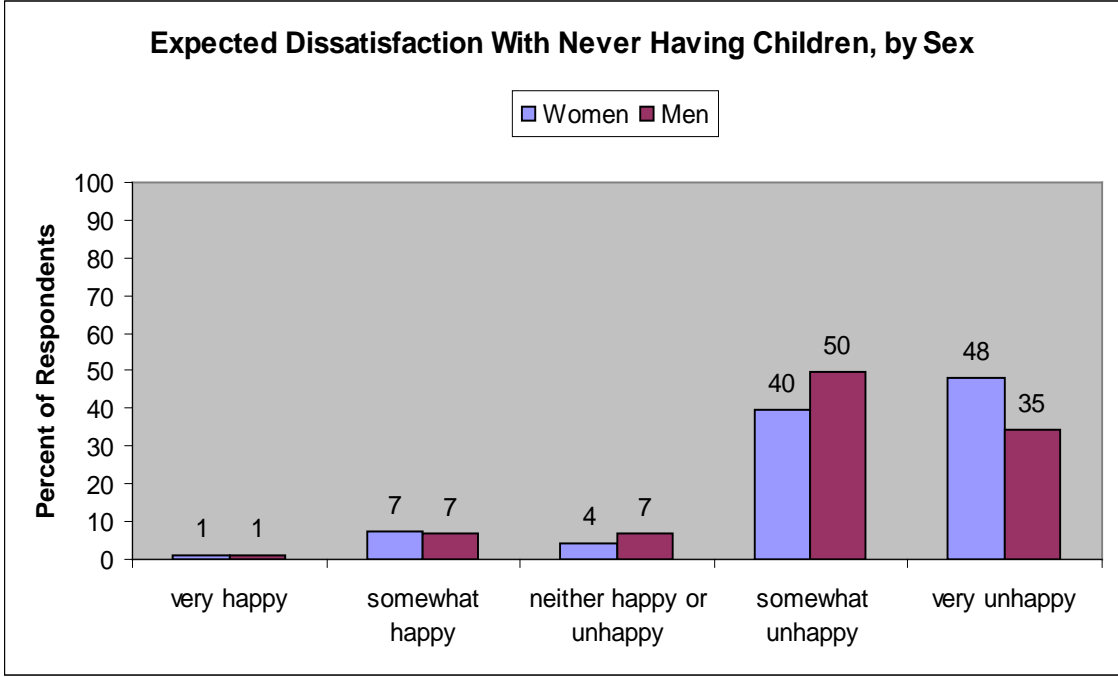


Figure 4.9: Feelings About Having Children, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Dichotomous Variable

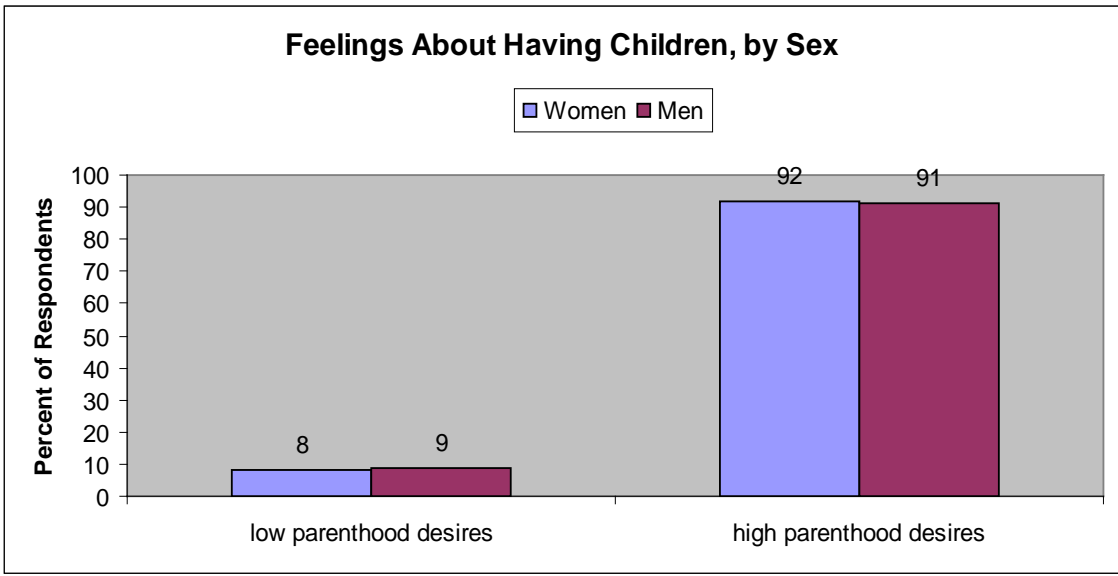


Figure 4.10: Expected Dissatisfaction With Never Having Children, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Dichotomous Variable

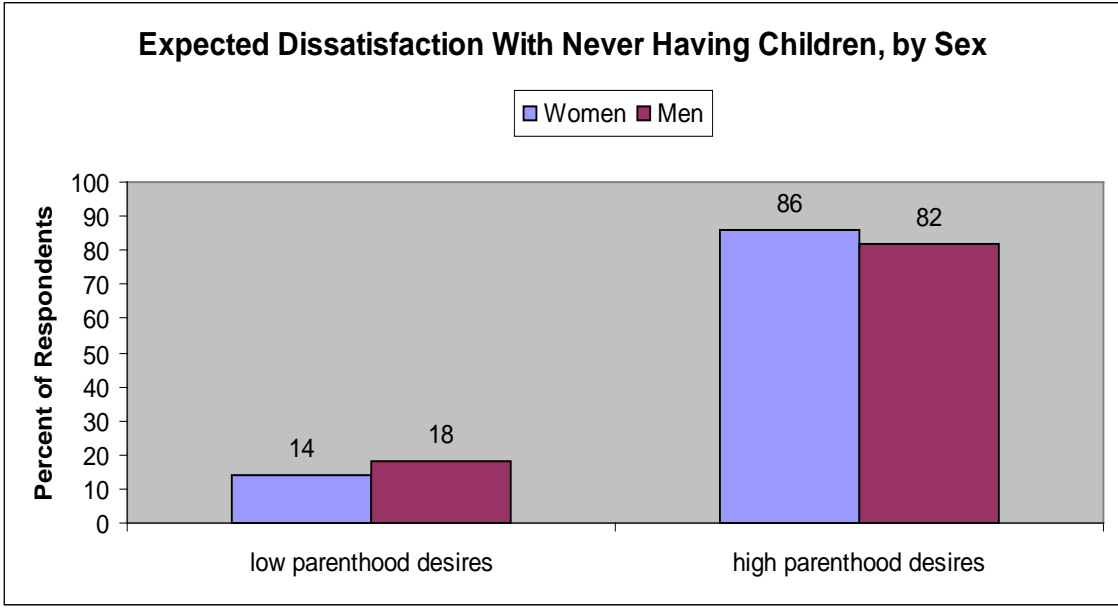


Figure 4.11: Number of Children Desired, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)

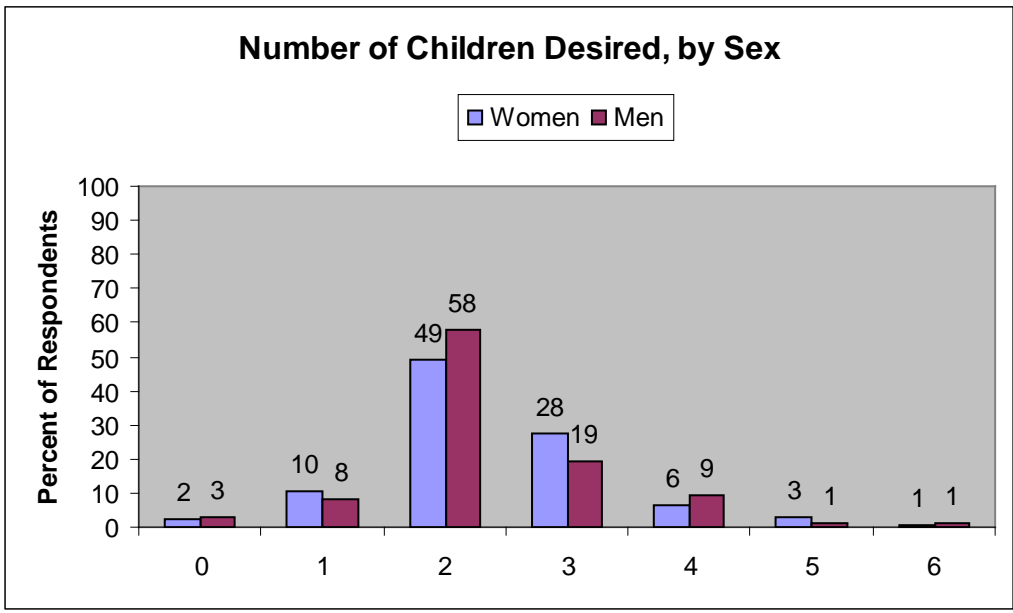


Figure 4.12: Number of Children Desired, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women): Clustered Variable

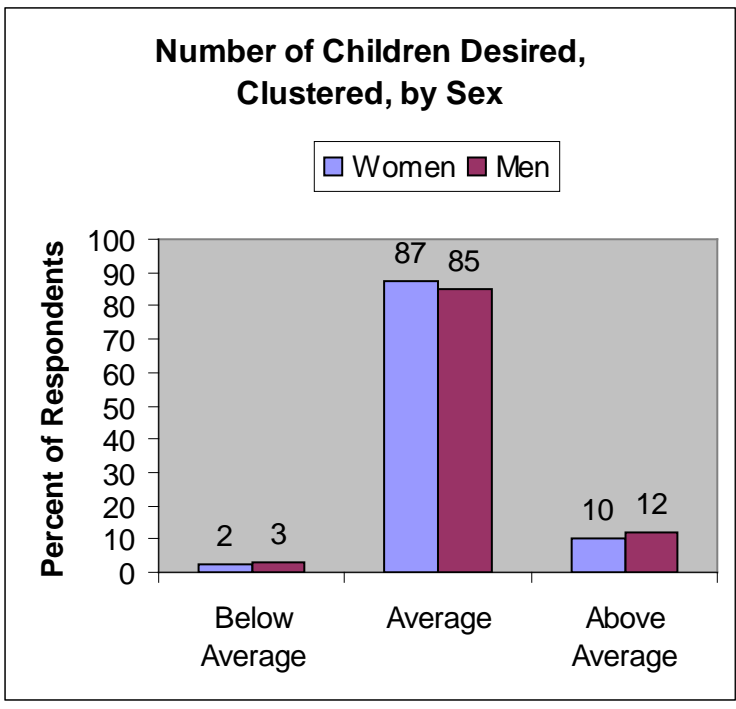


Table 4.3: Occupational Goals (5 Categories), by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)

Occupational Category (5)	Percent of Women	Percent of Men
Management, professional, and related occupations	79.09	58.59
Service occupations	10.00	9.38
Sales and office occupations	8.18	8.59
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations	0.91	9.38
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	1.82	14.06

Table 4.4: Occupational Goals (22 Categories), by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)

Occupation Category (22)	Percent of Women	Percent of Men
Management	7.27	7.03
Business and financial operations	3.64	4.69
Computer and mathematical	0.00	1.56
Architecture and engineering	3.64	13.28
Life, physical, and social science	11.82	3.91
Community and social services	1.82	0.78
Legal occupations	3.64	3.91
Education, training, library	20.00	9.38
Arts, design, entertainment, sports, media	9.09	4.69
Healthcare practitioner and technical	18.18	9.38
Healthcare support	0.91	0.78
Protective service	2.73	7.81
Food preparation and serving related	0.00	0.78
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance	0.00	0.00
Personal services and care	6.36	0.00
Sales and related	1.82	8.59
Office and administrative support	6.36	0.00
Farming, fishing, forestry	0.00	1.56
Construction and extraction	0.91	3.91
Installation, maintenance, and repair	0.00	3.91
Production	1.82	12.50
Transportation and material moving	0.00	1.56

Table 4.5: Top Detailed Occupational Choices, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)*Women's Top 12 detailed occupations:*

1. Teachers, elementary school (female-dominated)
2. Psychologists (gender-mixed)
3. Registered nurses (female-dominated)
4. Accountants and auditors (gender-mixed)
- Lawyers (male-dominated)
- Managers and administrators, general (male-dominated)
7. Dietitians (female-dominated)
- Hairdressers and cosmetologists (female-dominated)
- Physical therapists (female-dominated)
- Physicians (male-dominated)
- Public relations specialists (gender-mixed)
- Secretaries (female-dominated)

Men's Top 10 detailed occupations:

1. Police and detectives, public service (male-dominated)
2. Civil engineers (male-dominated)
3. Lawyers (male-dominated)
- Supervisors and proprietors, sales (male-dominated)
5. Accountants and auditors (gender-mixed)
6. Architects (male-dominated)
- Computer programmers (male-dominated)
- Electricians (male-dominated)
- Managers and administrators, general (male-dominated)
- Teachers, secondary school (gender-mixed)

Figure 4.13: Desired Occupational Type, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)

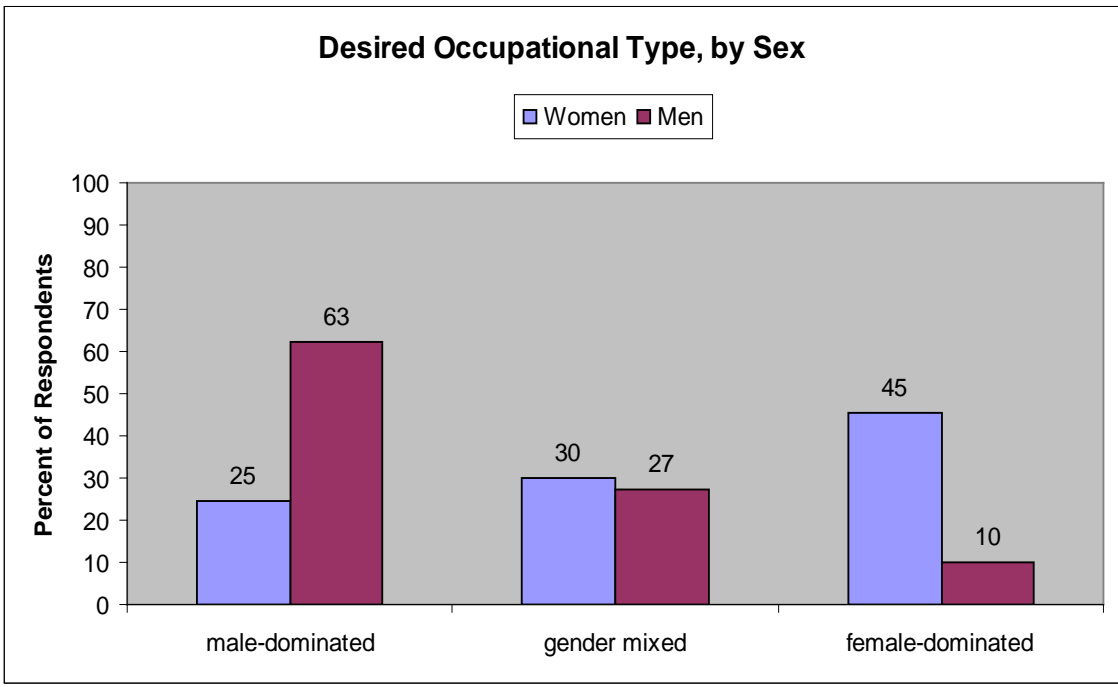


Figure 4.14: Desired Occupational Type, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)

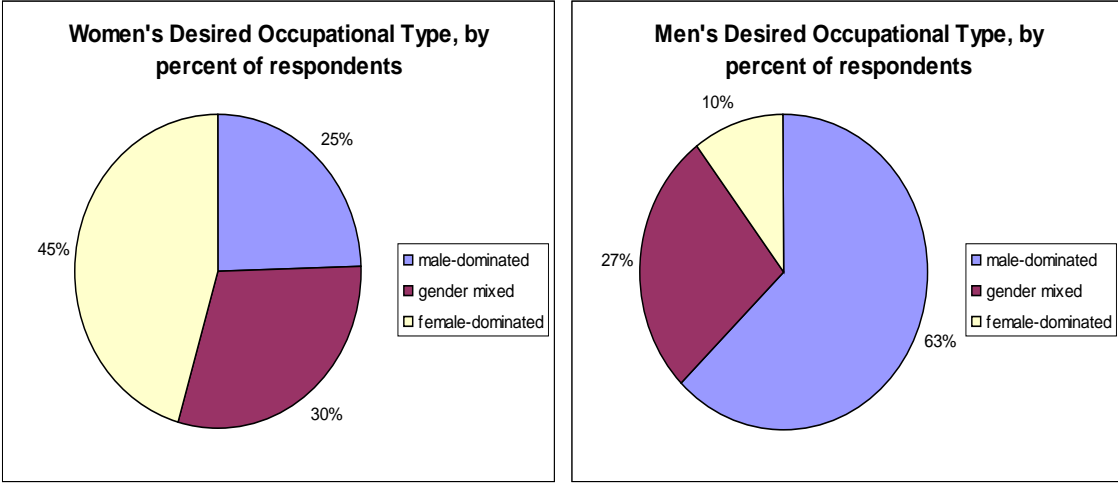


Figure 4.15: Desired Occupations as Traditional or Non-Traditional, by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)

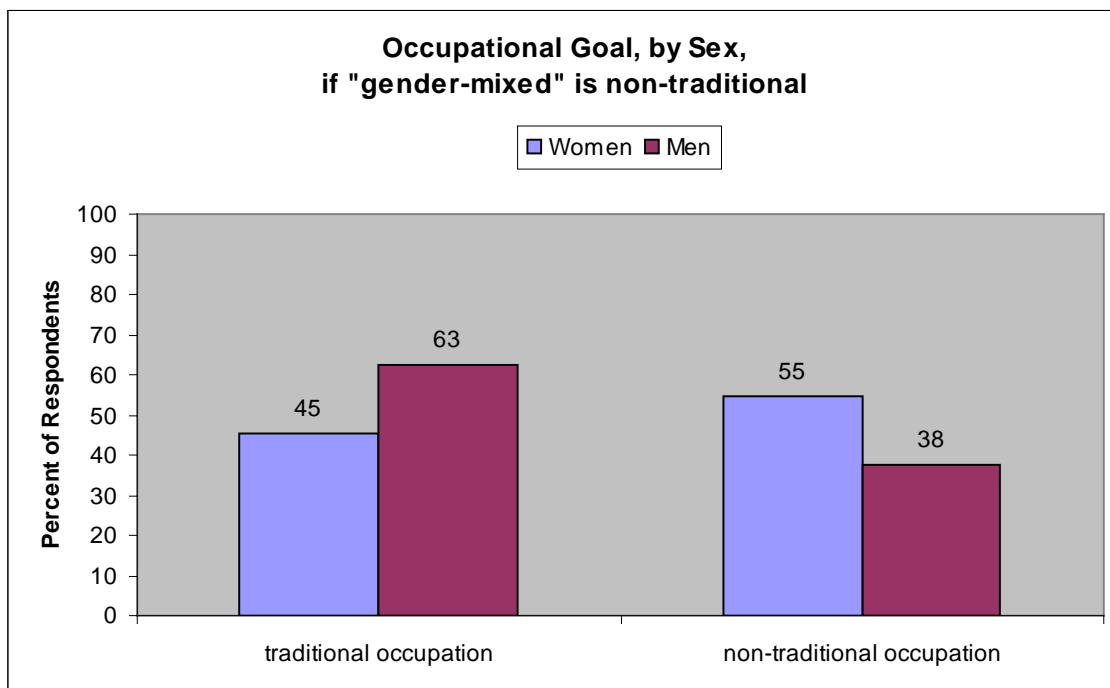


Figure 4.16: Desired Occupations as Traditional or Non-Traditional (with Gender-Mixed coded as Non-Traditional), by Sex (N=768 men, N=660 women)

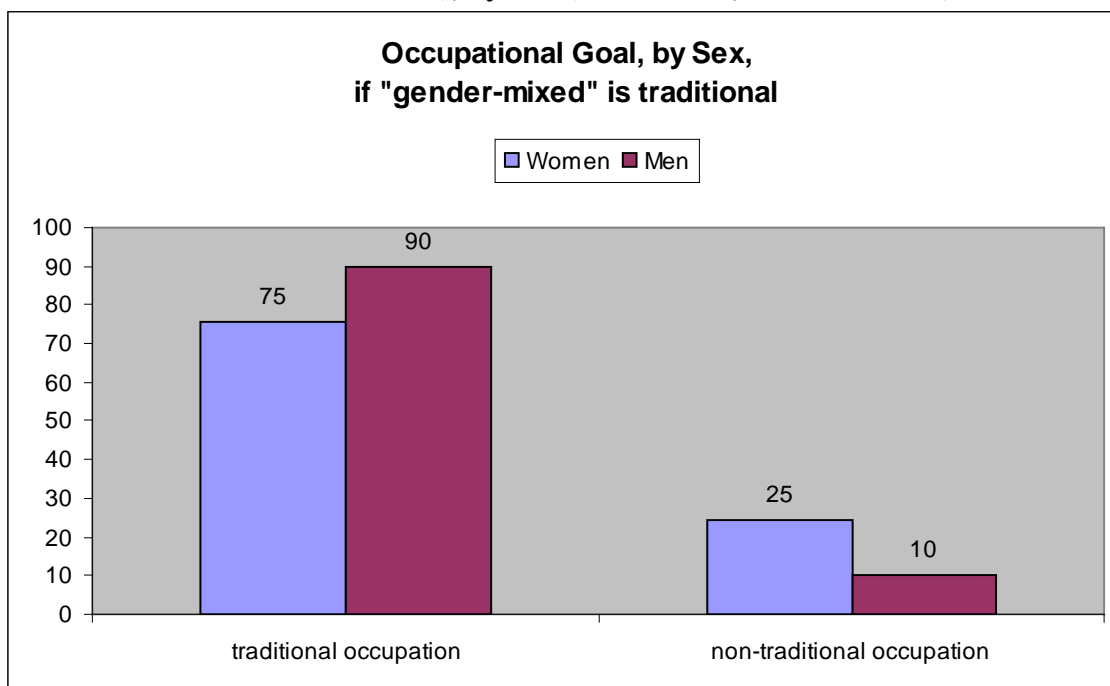


Table 4.6: Logistic Regression Analysis of Feelings About Getting Married, Overall (N=1322)

	Model 1 <i>Sex</i>	Model 2 <i>Parental Role- Modeling</i>	Model 3 <i>Parents’ Attitudes</i>	Model 4 <i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	Model 5 <i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	0.875 (0.30)				0.620 (0.27)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>					
Maternal employment at 5 years		0.135*** (0.06)			0.138*** (0.07)
at 12 years		3.497** (1.35)			5.078*** (2.33)
Division of household labor		0.583* (0.14)			0.647 (0.16)
Parents’ education					
Mothers’ education		1.281* (0.13)			1.339** (0.14)
Fathers’ education		0.881 (0.08)			0.865 (0.08)
<i>Parents’ Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Mothers’ attitudes					
About sexual relations			1.181 (0.25)		1.310 (0.33)
About home/work roles			1.526* (0.28)		1.461 (0.28)
Fathers’ attitudes					
About sexual relations			0.849 (0.17)		0.725 (0.15)
About home/work roles			1.052 (0.20)		0.910 (0.18)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Attitudes about sexual relations				1.333 (0.24)	1.296 (0.28)
Attitudes about home/work roles				1.017 (0.18)	1.006 (0.22)
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Race	1.370 (0.65)	2.062 (1.12)	1.323 (0.64)	1.328 (0.63)	3.084 (2.04)
Religion	0.628* (0.14)	0.667 (0.15)	0.590* (0.14)	0.570* (0.13)	0.580* (0.15)
Family class background	1.156 (0.17)	1.188 (0.22)	1.142 (0.18)	1.182 (0.18)	1.203 (0.23)
Log likelihood	-161.103	-137.909	-153.635	-159.672	-132.983
Pseudo R ²	0.017	0.128	0.037	0.025	0.158

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.7: Logistic Regression Analysis of Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Marrying, Overall (N=1322)

	Model 1 <i>Sex</i>	Model 2 <i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>	Model 3 <i>Parents' Attitudes</i>	Model 4 <i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	Model 5 <i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	2.093*** (0.25)				2.121*** (0.28)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>					
Maternal employment at 5 years		0.560*** (0.07)			0.601*** (0.08)
at 12 years		1.865*** (0.25)			1.841*** (0.26)
Division of household labor		0.960 (0.07)			0.921 (0.07)
<i>Parents' education</i>					
Mothers' education		1.062 (0.03)			1.077* (0.04)
Fathers' education		1.077** (0.03)			1.073* (0.03)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			0.975 (0.07)		1.010 (0.08)
About home/work roles			1.083 (0.07)		1.048 (0.08)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			0.996 (0.07)		0.944 (0.07)
About home/work roles			1.137* (0.07)		1.218** (0.08)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Attitudes about sexual relations				1.012 (0.06)	1.010 (0.07)
Attitudes about home/work roles				0.922 (0.05)	0.978 (0.07)
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Race	0.833 (0.13)	1.291 (0.22)	0.920 (0.14)	0.887 (0.13)	1.196 (0.21)
Religion	1.074 (0.07)	1.091 (0.08)	1.063 (0.08)	1.088 (0.08)	1.080 (0.09)
Family class background	0.963 (0.05)	0.851* (0.05)	0.996 (0.05)	0.989 (0.05)	0.825** (0.05)
Log likelihood	-861.896	-798.367	-858.980	-877.454	-771.495
Pseudo R ²	0.023	0.036	0.005	0.002	0.064

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.8: Logistic Regression Analysis of Feelings About Getting Married, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment								
at 5 years	0.060***	0.048***					0.121**	0.000**
	(0.05)	(0.04)					(0.10)	(0.00)
at 12 years	1.140	26.505***					0.349	17946.440
	(0.64)	(25.19)					(0.30)	(53082.29)
Division of household labor	0.162***	1.066					0.159**	1.857
	(0.09)	(0.35)					(0.10)	(0.81)
Parents' education								
Mothers' education	1.371*	1.412*					1.379	2.029**
	(0.22)	(0.21)					(0.29)	(0.49)
Fathers' education	0.550***	1.028					0.526**	0.698
	(0.09)	(0.12)					(0.11)	(0.16)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Mothers' attitudes								
Attitudes about sexual relations			0.539*	4.180***			0.284**	25.321***
			(0.15)	(1.64)			(0.14)	(24.21)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.438	2.000*			0.955	2.321*
			(0.40)	(0.56)			(0.33)	(0.78)
Fathers' attitudes								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.360	0.474*			1.657	0.377*
			(0.44)	(0.14)			(0.75)	(0.16)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.447	0.617			2.448*	0.085**
			(0.45)	(0.19)			(1.06)	(0.07)

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Table 4.8: Logistic Regression Analysis of Feelings About Getting Married, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations					1.715*	1.173	1.694	1.773
					(0.47)	(0.31)	(0.61)	(0.95)
Attitudes about home/work roles					1.155	0.925	1.092	0.218*
					(0.29)	(0.22)	(0.40)	(0.14)
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Race	-- ⁴²	7.949*	--	0.422	--	0.468	--	9.146
		(7.96)		(0.24)		(0.26)		(12.45)
Religion	0.418*	0.708	0.269**	1.081	0.289**	1.061	0.281*	0.171*
	(0.17)	(0.29)	(0.11)	(0.42)	(0.11)	(0.36)	(0.14)	(0.13)
Family class background	2.753**	0.869	1.458	0.913	1.400	0.919	3.772**	0.889
	(0.86)	(0.25)	(0.36)	(0.21)	(0.29)	(0.20)	(1.60)	(0.50)
Log likelihood	-56.167	-62.058	-70.325	-67.067	-77.386	-77.609	-49.910	-44.048
Pseudo R ²	0.301	0.203	0.132	0.144	0.090	0.014	0.378	0.433

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

⁴² All non-white men in the sample had “high marriage desires”, so race was dropped from the models for men.

Table 4.9: Logistic Regression Analysis of Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Marrying, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment								
at 5 years	0.577**	0.503**					0.567**	0.657
	(0.10)	(0.13)					(0.10)	(0.18)
at 12 years	1.519*	2.335***					1.544*	1.953*
	(0.26)	(0.60)					(0.29)	(0.52)
Division of household labor	1.020	0.817					1.003	0.765*
	(0.09)	(0.10)					(0.09)	(0.10)
Parents' education								
Mothers' education	1.243***	0.868**					1.252***	0.864**
	(0.06)	(0.05)					(0.06)	(0.05)
Fathers' education	1.006	1.135**					1.007	1.162**
	(0.04)	(0.05)					(0.04)	(0.06)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Mothers' attitudes								
Attitudes about sexual relations			0.918	1.176			0.911	1.272
			(0.08)	(0.14)			(0.09)	(0.18)
Attitudes about home/work roles			0.901	1.267*			0.881	1.276*
			(0.09)	(0.13)			(0.09)	(0.14)
Fathers' attitudes								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.251*	0.718**			1.114	0.784
			(0.12)	(0.08)			(0.12)	(0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.142	1.135			1.272**	1.166
			(0.09)	(0.13)			(0.11)	(0.15)

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Table 4.9: Logistic Regression Analysis of Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Marrying, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations					1.162 (0.10)	0.791* (0.08)	1.201 (0.11)	0.858 (0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles					0.857 (0.07)	1.261* (0.12)	0.836 (0.08)	1.290* (0.14)
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Race	1.390 (0.33)	0.786 (0.22)	1.002 (0.21)	0.608* (0.14)	1.033 (0.21)	0.632* (0.14)	1.442 (0.35)	0.715 (0.21)
Religion	1.087 (0.10)	1.138 (0.16)	1.024 (0.09)	1.169 (0.15)	1.039 (0.09)	1.187 (0.15)	1.021 (0.10)	1.254 (0.19)
Family class background	0.859 (0.07)	0.760** (0.08)	1.029 (0.07)	0.843 (0.07)	1.050 (0.07)	0.814* (0.07)	0.827* (0.07)	0.726** (0.08)
Log likelihood	-453.127	-309.082	-492.676	-336.212	-500.465	-346.753	-444.014	-296.066
Pseudo R ²	0.051	0.061	0.008	0.035	0.008	0.025	0.067	0.096

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.10: Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis of Youngest Age Would Marry, Overall (N=1322)

	Model 1 <i>Sex</i>	Model 2 <i>Parental Role- Modeling</i>	Model 3 <i>Parents' Attitudes</i>	Model 4 <i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	Model 5 <i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	1.599* (0.33)				1.471 (0.33)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>					
Maternal employment					
At 5 years		0.616* (0.14)			0.563* (0.14)
At 12 years		0.776 (0.18)			0.769 (0.19)
Division of household labor		0.745* (0.09)			0.744* (0.09)
Parents' education					
Mothers' education		1.098 (0.06)			1.091 (0.06)
Fathers' education		1.055 (0.05)			1.014 (0.05)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Mothers' attitudes					
About sexual relations			1.016 (0.12)		1.009 (0.13)
About home/work roles			1.353** (0.16)		1.311* (0.16)
Fathers' attitudes					
About sexual relations			1.050 (0.13)		1.170 (0.16)
About home/work roles			0.738** (0.08)		0.759* (0.09)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Attitudes about sexual relations				0.993 (0.11)	0.826 (0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles				0.823 (0.09)	0.868 (0.10)
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Race	1.740* (0.44)	2.072* (0.60)	1.731* (0.46)	1.805* (0.46)	1.837* (0.55)
Religion	0.940 (0.11)	0.990 (0.13)	0.914 (0.11)	0.960 (0.12)	0.990 (0.13)
Family class background	1.189 (0.11)	1.095 (0.12)	1.247* (0.12)	1.195* (0.11)	1.155 (0.13)
Log likelihood	-440.817	-404.549	-427.296	-441.159	-393.442
Pseudo R ²	0.015	0.034	0.027	0.013	0.059

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.11: Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis of Youngest Age Would Marry, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment								
at 5 years	0.720 (0.24)	0.638 (0.23)					0.906 (0.33)	0.336** (0.14)
at 12 years	2.448* (0.91)	0.266*** (0.10)					3.316** (1.36)	0.247*** (0.10)
Division of household labor	0.664* (0.12)	0.866 (0.15)					0.700 (0.13)	0.855 (0.16)
<i>Parents' education</i>								
Mothers' education	0.999 (0.09)	1.140 (0.09)					1.002 (0.09)	1.193* (0.09)
Fathers' education	1.022 (0.08)	1.121 (0.07)					1.013 (0.08)	1.064 (0.07)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.207 (0.21)	0.857 (0.15)			1.469 (0.31)	0.741 (0.15)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.867** (0.36)	1.083 (0.16)			2.013*** (0.42)	0.919 (0.14)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.019 (0.19)	1.075 (0.17)			0.892 (0.19)	1.553* (0.30)
Attitudes about home/work roles			0.662* (0.11)	0.825 (0.13)			0.632* (0.11)	0.902 (0.16)

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Table 4.11: Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis of Youngest Age Would Marry, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations					1.813*** (0.31)	0.619** (0.09)	1.641* (0.33)	0.436*** (0.08)
Attitudes about home/work roles					0.957 (0.16)	0.822 (0.11)	0.912 (0.16)	0.888 (0.14)
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Race	0.986 (0.44)	2.662* (1.10)	1.215 (0.51)	2.039* (0.69)	1.339 (0.54)	2.420** (0.80)	1.069 (0.50)	4.458*** (1.96)
Religion	0.791 (0.14)	1.252 (0.25)	0.808 (0.14)	1.023 (0.19)	0.670* (0.13)	1.175 (0.22)	0.606* (0.12)	1.584* (0.33)
Family class background	1.182 (0.20)	1.031 (0.15)	1.458** (0.21)	1.098 (0.14)	1.298 (0.17)	1.083 (0.13)	1.385 (0.24)	1.100 (0.17)
Log likelihood	-182.587	-201.675	-192.715	-225.835	-200.350	-224.875	-168.407	-186.938
Pseudo R ²	0.050	0.092	0.057	0.018	0.039	0.039	0.123	0.156

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.12: Comparing Full Models for Marriage Plans, Overall (N=1322)

	<i>Feelings about Getting Married</i> (Logistic regression)	<i>Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Getting Married</i> (Logistic regression)	<i>Youngest Age Would Marry</i> (Ordinal logistic regression)
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	0.620 (0.27)	2.121*** (0.28)	1.471 (0.33)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>			
Maternal employment			
At 5 years	0.138*** (0.07)	0.601*** (0.08)	0.563* (0.14)
At 12 years	5.078*** (2.33)	1.841*** (0.26)	0.769 (0.19)
Division of household labor	0.647 (0.16)	0.921 (0.07)	0.744* (0.09)
Parents' education			
Mothers' education	1.339** (0.14)	1.077* (0.04)	1.091 (0.06)
Fathers' education	0.865 (0.08)	1.073* (0.03)	1.014 (0.05)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>			
Mothers' attitudes			
About sexual relations	1.310 (0.33)	1.010 (0.08)	1.009 (0.13)
About home/work roles	1.461 (0.28)	1.048 (0.08)	1.311* (0.16)
Fathers' attitudes			
About sexual relations	0.725 (0.15)	0.944 (0.07)	1.170 (0.16)
About home/work roles	0.910 (0.18)	1.218** (0.08)	0.759* (0.09)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>			
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.296 (0.28)	1.010 (0.07)	0.826 (0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles	1.006 (0.22)	0.978 (0.07)	0.868 (0.10)
<i>Control Variables</i>			
Race	3.084 (2.04)	1.196 (0.21)	1.837* (0.55)
Religion	0.580* (0.15)	1.080 (0.09)	0.990 (0.13)
Family class background	1.203 (0.23)	0.825** (0.05)	1.155 (0.13)
Log likelihood	-132.983	-771.495	-393.442
Pseudo R ²	0.158	0.064	0.059

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.13: Comparing Full Models for Marriage Plans, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	<i>Feelings about Getting Married</i>		<i>Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Getting Married</i>		<i>Youngest Age Would Marry</i>	
	(Logistic regression)		(Logistic regression)		(Ordinal logistic regression)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>						
Maternal employment						
at 5 years	0.121** (0.10)	0.000** (0.00)	0.567** (0.10)	0.657 (0.18)	0.906 (0.33)	0.336** (0.14)
at 12 years	0.349 (0.30)	17946.440*** (53082.29)	1.544* (0.29)	1.953* (0.52)	3.316** (1.36)	0.247*** (0.10)
Division of household labor	0.159** (0.10)	1.857 (0.81)	1.003 (0.09)	0.765* (0.10)	0.700 (0.13)	0.855 (0.16)
Parents' education						
Mothers' education	1.379 (0.29)	2.029** (0.49)	1.252*** (0.06)	0.864** (0.05)	1.002 (0.09)	1.193* (0.09)
Fathers' education	0.526** (0.11)	0.698 (0.16)	1.007 (0.04)	1.162** (0.06)	1.013 (0.08)	1.064 (0.07)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>						
Mothers' attitudes						
Attitudes about sexual relations	0.284** (0.14)	25.321*** (24.21)	0.911 (0.09)	1.272 (0.18)	1.469 (0.31)	0.741 (0.15)
Attitudes about home/work roles	0.955 (0.33)	2.321* (0.78)	0.881 (0.09)	1.276* (0.14)	2.013*** (0.42)	0.919 (0.14)
Fathers' attitudes						
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.657 (0.75)	0.377* (0.16)	1.114 (0.12)	0.784 (0.11)	0.892 (0.19)	1.553* (0.30)
Attitudes about home/work roles	2.448* (1.06)	0.085** (0.07)	1.272** (0.11)	1.166 (0.15)	0.632* (0.11)	0.902 (0.16)

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Table 4.13: Comparing Full Models for Marriage Plans, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	<i>Feelings about Getting Married</i> (Logistic regression)		<i>Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Getting Married</i> (Logistic regression)		<i>Youngest Age Would Marry</i> (Ordinal logistic regression)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>						
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.694 (0.61)	1.773 (0.95)	1.201 (0.11)	0.858 (0.11)	1.641* (0.33)	0.436*** (0.08)
Attitudes about home/work roles	1.092 (0.40)	0.218* (0.14)	0.836 (0.08)	1.290* (0.14)	0.912 (0.16)	0.888 (0.14)
<i>Control Variables</i>						
Race	--	9.146 (12.45)	1.442 (0.35)	0.715 (0.21)	1.069 (0.50)	4.458*** (1.96)
Religion	0.281* (0.14)	0.171* (0.13)	1.021 (0.10)	1.254 (0.19)	0.606* (0.12)	1.584* (0.33)
Family class background	3.772** (1.60)	0.889 (0.50)	0.827* (0.07)	0.726** (0.08)	1.385 (0.24)	1.100 (0.17)
Log likelihood	-49.910	-44.048	-444.014	-296.066	-168.407	-186.938
Pseudo R ²	0.378	0.433	0.067	0.096	0.123	0.156

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.14: Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis of Youngest Age Would Marry, for Men (N=900), with Educational and Occupational Goals

	<i>Youngest Age Would Marry</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>	
Maternal employment	
at 5 years	0.957 (0.35)
at 12 years	3.656** (1.51)
Division of household labor	0.695* (0.13)
Parents' education	
Mothers' education	1.001 (0.09)
Fathers' education	0.934 (0.08)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>	
Mothers' attitudes	
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.426 (0.30)
Attitudes about home/work roles	1.998*** (0.41)
Fathers' attitudes	
Attitudes about sexual relations	0.845 (0.18)
Attitudes about home/work roles	0.648* (0.12)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.680* (0.35)
Attitudes about home/work roles	0.989 (0.18)
<i>Control Variables</i>	
Race	0.901 (0.44)
Religion	0.576** (0.12)
Family class background	1.463* (0.26)
<i>Other Goals</i>	
Educational goal	1.312* (0.15)
Occupational goal (1=non-traditional)	1.463 (0.82)
Log likelihood	-165.513
Pseudo R ²	0.138

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.15: Logistic Regression Analysis of Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Having Children, Overall (N=1322)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>	<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>	<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	<i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	1.597** (0.24)				1.504* (0.25)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>					
Maternal employment					
At 5 years		0.640** (0.11)			0.625** (0.11)
At 12 years		1.822*** (0.30)			1.400 (0.24)
Division of household labor		0.922 (0.08)			0.910 (0.09)
<i>Parents' education</i>					
Mothers' education		1.249*** (0.05)			1.242*** (0.05)
Fathers' education		0.915** (0.03)			0.925* (0.03)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			0.643*** (0.06)		0.667*** (0.06)
About home/work roles			0.921 (0.08)		0.946 (0.09)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			1.268** (0.11)		1.210 (0.12)
About home/work roles			1.130 (0.09)		1.173 (0.10)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Attitudes about sexual relations				0.919 (0.07)	0.952 (0.09)
Attitudes about home/work roles				0.932 (0.07)	0.984 (0.08)
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Race	2.501*** (0.58)	3.888*** (1.09)	2.667*** (0.64)	2.589*** (0.60)	3.836*** (1.11)
Religion	0.911 (0.08)	0.914 (0.08)	0.885 (0.08)	0.954 (0.09)	0.934 (0.09)
Family class background	0.977 (0.06)	0.904 (0.07)	0.977 (0.07)	0.992 (0.06)	0.888 (0.07)
Log likelihood	-629.431	-573.782	-606.685	-631.121	-556.617
Pseudo R ²	0.026	0.058	0.041	0.019	0.082

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.16: Logistic Regression Analysis of Expected Dissatisfaction With Never Having Children, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment								
at 5 years	1.003 (0.22)	0.300*** (0.09)					0.934 (0.22)	0.306*** (0.10)
at 12 years	1.591* (0.34)	1.492 (0.50)					1.087 (0.26)	1.255 (0.44)
Division of household labor	1.006 (0.12)	0.903 (0.14)					0.930 (0.12)	0.959 (0.16)
<i>Parents' education</i>								
Mothers' education	1.537*** (0.09)	0.977 (0.06)					1.608*** (0.11)	0.958 (0.06)
Fathers' education	0.750*** (0.04)	1.109 (0.06)					0.747*** (0.04)	1.157* (0.07)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			0.482*** (0.05)	1.112 (0.17)			0.502*** (0.07)	0.907 (0.15)
Attitudes about home/work roles			0.953 (0.12)	0.882 (0.11)			1.050 (0.15)	0.791 (0.11)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.623*** (0.21)	0.879 (0.13)			1.413* (0.21)	0.814 (0.14)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.316* (0.14)	0.933 (0.13)			1.588*** (0.21)	0.920 (0.15)

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Table 4.16: Logistic Regression Analysis of Expected Dissatisfaction With Never Having Children, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations					0.895 (0.09)	0.950 (0.12)	1.031 (0.13)	1.076 (0.17)
Attitudes about home/work roles					0.858 (0.09)	1.204 (0.15)	0.751* (0.10)	1.236 (0.17)
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Race	4.148** (1.80)	3.826** (1.63)	2.804** (0.99)	1.829 (0.64)	2.764** (0.91)	2.098* (0.72)	5.259*** (2.38)	3.665** (1.67)
Religion	0.709** (0.08)	1.528* (0.26)	0.679*** (0.08)	1.430* (0.22)	0.815 (0.09)	1.379* (0.21)	0.690** (0.09)	1.627** (0.30)
Family class background	0.881 (0.10)	0.990 (0.12)	0.882 (0.08)	1.010 (0.11)	0.920 (0.08)	1.048 (0.11)	0.842 (0.10)	0.922 (0.11)
Log likelihood	-313.113	-222.991	-333.645	-245.732	-366.693	-251.372	-289.900	-218.474
Pseudo R ²	0.137	0.070	0.111	0.025	0.036	0.024	0.197	0.086

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.17: Logistic Regression Analysis of Feelings About Having Children, Overall (N=1322)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>	<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>	<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	<i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	1.273 (0.26)				1.201 (0.27)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>					
Maternal employment at 5 years		0.888 (0.20)			1.093 (0.26)
at 12 years		1.358 (0.30)			1.084 (0.26)
Division of household labor		0.815 (0.10)			0.820 (0.11)
<i>Parents' education</i>					
Mothers' education		1.215*** (0.07)			1.206** (0.07)
Fathers' education		0.998 (0.04)			1.046 (0.05)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			0.674*** (0.08)		0.639*** (0.09)
About home/work roles			0.959 (0.11)		0.919 (0.12)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			1.737*** (0.23)		1.488** (0.21)
About home/work roles			1.298* (0.15)		1.447** (0.17)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Attitudes about sexual relations				1.408** (0.16)	1.438** (0.20)
Attitudes about home/work roles				0.945 (0.09)	1.036 (0.12)
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Race	1.827 (0.59)	2.534* (0.93)	1.757 (0.58)	1.811 (0.58)	2.618* (1.02)
Religion	1.052 (0.12)	1.071 (0.13)	0.966 (0.11)	0.965 (0.11)	0.900 (0.11)
Family class background	0.796* (0.08)	0.662*** (0.08)	0.824* (0.08)	0.831* (0.08)	0.647*** (0.08)
Log likelihood	-383.497	-359.693	-363.236	-376.902	-340.580
Pseudo R ²	0.019	0.046	0.053	0.029	0.089

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.18: Logistic Regression Analysis of Feelings About Having Children, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)	(s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment								
at 5 years	2.832**	0.176***					2.796**	0.211**
	(1.01)	(0.07)					(1.05)	(0.10)
at 12 years	1.145	1.001					0.874	0.816
	(0.35)	(0.48)					(0.30)	(0.44)
Division of household labor	0.526***	1.547*					0.464***	1.792**
	(0.10)	(0.26)					(0.10)	(0.36)
<i>Parents' education</i>								
Mothers' education	1.279**	1.045					1.304**	1.118
	(0.10)	(0.09)					(0.11)	(0.11)
Fathers' education	0.929	1.113					0.940	1.114
	(0.06)	(0.09)					(0.07)	(0.11)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			0.517***	0.913			0.524**	0.751
			(0.08)	(0.18)			(0.10)	(0.16)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.151	0.750			1.288	0.558**
			(0.19)	(0.13)			(0.23)	(0.12)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.180	3.427***			1.078	3.355***
			(0.21)	(0.86)			(0.21)	(1.05)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.018	2.013***			1.412	2.085**
			(0.16)	(0.41)			(0.26)	(0.58)

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Table 4.18: Logistic Regression Analysis of Feelings About Having Children, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations					1.137 (0.17)	2.142*** (0.43)	1.263 (0.23)	1.572 (0.44)
Attitudes about home/work roles					0.732* (0.10)	1.490* (0.25)	0.735 (0.13)	1.349 (0.27)
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Race	-- ⁴³	1.643 (0.76)	--	0.756 (0.30)	--	0.534 (0.21)	--	0.967 (0.54)
Religion	0.870 (0.13)	1.656* (0.38)	0.944 (0.14)	1.379 (0.27)	0.942 (0.14)	1.203 (0.24)	0.872 (0.15)	1.856* (0.47)
Family class background	0.507*** (0.09)	0.917 (0.15)	0.616*** (0.08)	1.076 (0.16)	0.639*** (0.08)	0.930 (0.13)	0.509*** (0.09)	0.942 (0.17)
Log likelihood	-183.384	-142.675	-198.029	-143.704	-211.721	-153.768	-169.977	-121.499
Pseudo R ²	0.148	0.115	0.092	0.130	0.044	0.074	0.201	0.244

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

⁴³ All non-white men in the sample had “high parenthood desires”, so race was dropped from the models for men.

Table 4.19: Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis of Number of Children Desired, Overall (N=1322)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>	<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>	<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	<i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	0.912 (0.14)				0.974 (0.16)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>					
Maternal employment at 5 years		0.990 (0.17)			1.327 (0.24)
at 12 years		1.360 (0.24)			1.385 (0.26)
Division of household labor		0.970 (0.08)			0.925 (0.09)
<i>Parents' education</i>					
Mothers' education		0.983 (0.04)			1.007 (0.04)
Fathers' education		1.023 (0.04)			1.049 (0.04)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			0.863 (0.08)		0.892 (0.09)
About home/work roles			1.532*** (0.14)		1.531*** (0.15)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			1.104 (0.10)		0.998 (0.10)
About home/work roles			1.443*** (0.12)		1.452*** (0.13)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Attitudes about sexual relations				1.239** (0.10)	1.213* (0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles				1.273** (0.10)	1.267** (0.11)
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Race	2.009*** (0.37)	2.023*** (0.42)	2.302*** (0.45)	2.057*** (0.38)	2.490*** (0.55)
Religion	1.475*** (0.14)	1.475*** (0.15)	1.347** (0.14)	1.353** (0.14)	1.259* (0.14)
Family class background	1.067 (0.07)	1.041 (0.09)	1.159* (0.08)	1.096 (0.07)	1.062 (0.09)
Log likelihood	-657.095	-617.978	-614.260	-643.631	-577.903
Pseudo R ²	0.023	0.026	0.063	0.036	0.079

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.20: Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis of Number of Children Desired, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment								
at 5 years	1.753* (0.40)	0.538* (0.16)					2.361*** (0.58)	0.784 (0.25)
at 12 years	1.703* (0.41)	0.992 (0.30)					1.565 (0.41)	0.952 (0.31)
Division of household labor	1.101 (0.13)	0.949 (0.13)					1.021 (0.13)	0.945 (0.14)
<i>Parents' education</i>								
Mothers' education	1.027 (0.06)	0.896 (0.05)					1.109 (0.07)	0.885 (0.06)
Fathers' education	0.982 (0.05)	1.081 (0.05)					1.010 (0.06)	1.127* (0.06)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			0.707** (0.09)	1.270 (0.19)			0.785 (0.12)	1.187 (0.20)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.626*** (0.22)	1.642*** (0.22)			1.645*** (0.23)	1.495** (0.22)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.446** (0.19)	0.766* (0.10)			1.242 (0.18)	0.627** (0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles			1.677*** (0.18)	1.105 (0.15)			1.718*** (0.20)	1.072 (0.16)

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Table 4.20: Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis of Number of Children Desired, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations					1.337** (0.15)	1.167 (0.14)	1.341* (0.17)	1.304 (0.20)
Attitudes about home/work roles					1.281* (0.14)	1.278* (0.15)	1.384** (0.17)	1.283* (0.16)
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Race	2.859*** (0.80)	1.421 (0.50)	3.698*** (1.01)	1.232 (0.37)	3.293*** (0.85)	1.266 (0.36)	4.075*** (1.25)	1.276 (0.48)
Religion	1.468** (0.18)	1.539* (0.28)	1.286* (0.16)	1.405* (0.24)	1.351* (0.17)	1.316 (0.23)	1.094 (0.16)	1.488* (0.28)
Family class background	1.108 (0.12)	1.024 (0.13)	1.230* (0.12)	1.037 (0.12)	1.221* (0.11)	0.971 (0.10)	1.072 (0.12)	0.987 (0.13)
Log likelihood	-342.786	-260.659	-338.760	-260.768	-362.893	-275.026	-307.440	-246.646
Pseudo R ²	0.059	0.027	0.111	0.044	0.058	0.020	0.148	0.070

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.21: Comparing Full Models for Parenthood Plans, Overall (N=1322)

	<i>Feelings about Having Children</i> (Logistic regression)	<i>Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Having Children</i> (Logistic regression)	<i>Number of Children Desired</i> (Ordinal logistic regression)
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	1.201 (0.27)	1.504* (0.25)	0.974 (0.16)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>			
Maternal employment			
At 5 years	1.093 (0.26)	0.625** (0.11)	1.327 (0.24)
At 12 years	1.084 (0.26)	1.400 (0.24)	1.385 (0.26)
Division of household labor	0.820 (0.11)	0.910 (0.09)	0.925 (0.09)
Parents' education			
Mothers' education	1.206** (0.07)	1.242*** (0.05)	1.007 (0.04)
Fathers' education	1.046 (0.05)	0.925* (0.03)	1.049 (0.04)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>			
Mothers' attitudes			
About sexual relations	0.639*** (0.09)	0.667*** (0.06)	0.892 (0.09)
About home/work roles	0.919 (0.12)	0.946 (0.09)	1.531*** (0.15)
Fathers' attitudes			
About sexual relations	1.488** (0.21)	1.210 (0.12)	0.998 (0.10)
About home/work roles	1.447** (0.17)	1.173 (0.10)	1.452*** (0.13)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>			
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.438** (0.20)	0.952 (0.09)	1.213* (0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles	1.036 (0.12)	0.984 (0.08)	1.267** (0.11)
<i>Control Variables</i>			
Race	2.618* (1.02)	3.836*** (1.11)	2.490*** (0.55)
Religion	0.900 (0.11)	0.934 (0.09)	1.259* (0.14)
Family class background	0.647*** (0.08)	0.888 (0.07)	1.062 (0.09)
Log likelihood	-340.580	-556.617	-577.903
Pseudo R ²	0.089	0.082	0.079

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.22: Comparing Full Models for Parenthood Plans, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	<i>Feelings about Having Children</i>		<i>Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Having Children</i>		<i>Number of Children Desired</i>	
	(Logistic regression)		(Logistic regression)		(Ordinal logistic regression)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>						
Maternal employment						
at 5 years	2.796** (1.05)	0.211** (0.10)	0.934 (0.22)	0.306*** (0.10)	2.361*** (0.58)	0.784 (0.25)
at 12 years	0.874 (0.30)	0.816 (0.44)	1.087 (0.26)	1.255 (0.44)	1.565 (0.41)	0.952 (0.31)
Division of household labor	0.464*** (0.10)	1.792** (0.36)	0.930 (0.12)	0.959 (0.16)	1.021 (0.13)	0.945 (0.14)
Parents' education						
Mothers' education	1.304** (0.11)	1.118 (0.11)	1.608*** (0.11)	0.958 (0.06)	1.109 (0.07)	0.885 (0.06)
Fathers' education	0.940 (0.07)	1.114 (0.11)	0.747*** (0.04)	1.157* (0.07)	1.010 (0.06)	1.127* (0.06)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>						
Mothers' attitudes						
Attitudes about sexual relations	0.524** (0.10)	0.751 (0.16)	0.502*** (0.07)	0.907 (0.15)	0.785 (0.12)	1.187 (0.20)
Attitudes about home/work roles	1.288 (0.23)	0.558** (0.12)	1.050 (0.15)	0.791 (0.11)	1.645*** (0.23)	1.495** (0.22)
Fathers' attitudes						
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.078 (0.21)	3.355*** (1.05)	1.413* (0.21)	0.814 (0.14)	1.242 (0.18)	0.627** (0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles	1.412 (0.26)	2.085** (0.58)	1.588*** (0.21)	0.920 (0.15)	1.718*** (0.20)	1.072 (0.16)

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Table 4.22: Comparing Full Models for Parenthood Plans, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	<i>Feelings about Having Children</i> (Logistic regression)		<i>Expected Dissatisfaction with Never Having Children</i> (Logistic regression)		<i>Number of Children Desired</i> (Ordinal logistic regression)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>						
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.263 (0.23)	1.572 (0.44)	1.031 (0.13)	1.076 (0.17)	1.341* (0.17)	1.304 (0.20)
Attitudes about home/work roles	0.735 (0.13)	1.349 (0.27)	0.751* (0.10)	1.236 (0.17)	1.384** (0.17)	1.283* (0.16)
<i>Control Variables</i>						
Race	--	0.967 (0.54)	5.259*** (2.38)	3.665** (1.67)	4.075*** (1.25)	1.276 (0.48)
Religion	0.872 (0.15)	1.856* (0.47)	0.690** (0.09)	1.627** (0.30)	1.094 (0.16)	1.488* (0.28)
Family class background	0.509*** (0.09)	0.942 (0.17)	0.842 (0.10)	0.922 (0.11)	1.072 (0.12)	0.987 (0.13)
Log likelihood	-169.977	-121.499	-289.900	-218.474	-307.440	-246.646
Pseudo R ²	0.201	0.244	0.197	0.086	0.148	0.070

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.23: Logistic Regression Analysis of Occupational Plans, Overall (N=1322)

	Model 1 <i>Sex</i>	Model 2 <i>Parental Role- Modeling</i>	Model 3 <i>Parents' Attitudes</i>	Model 4 <i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	Model 5 <i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	2.935*** (0.45)				2.753*** (0.46)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>					
Maternal employment at 5 years		0.591** (0.10)			0.581** (0.11)
at 12 years		0.555*** (0.09)			0.463*** (0.08)
Division of household labor		0.971 (0.08)			0.952 (0.09)
<i>Parents' education</i>					
Mothers' education		1.038 (0.04)			1.023 (0.04)
Fathers' education		1.082* (0.04)			1.081* (0.04)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			0.865 (0.07)		0.751** (0.08)
About home/work roles			0.989 (0.08)		0.845 (0.07)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			1.069 (0.09)		1.169 (0.12)
About home/work roles			1.296*** (0.10)		1.455*** (0.13)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Attitudes about sexual relations				0.959 (0.08)	0.862 (0.09)
Attitudes about home/work roles				0.658*** (0.05)	0.739*** (0.06)
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Race	1.041 (0.19)	1.387 (0.28)	1.221 (0.23)	1.145 (0.21)	1.275 (0.28)
Religion	0.859 (0.08)	0.959 (0.09)	0.894 (0.08)	0.918 (0.08)	1.015 (0.10)
Family class background	0.920 (0.06)	0.889 (0.07)	0.975 (0.06)	0.928 (0.06)	0.868 (0.07)
Log likelihood	-608.301	-576.944	-615.645	-618.586	-532.089
Pseudo R ²	0.045	0.041	0.012	0.027	0.113

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.24: Logistic Regression Analysis of Occupational Plans, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment								
at 5 years	0.553* (0.16)	0.789 (0.19)					0.462* (0.15)	0.738 (0.21)
at 12 years	0.653 (0.18)	0.380*** (0.09)					0.702 (0.22)	0.284*** (0.08)
Division of household labor	1.178 (0.18)	0.909 (0.11)					1.402 (0.25)	0.839 (0.12)
<i>Parents' education</i>								
Mothers' education	1.046 (0.07)	0.992 (0.05)					1.110 (0.09)	1.007 (0.06)
Fathers' education	1.164* (0.07)	1.046 (0.04)					1.179* (0.08)	1.072 (0.06)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.166 (0.16)	0.645*** (0.08)			0.905 (0.15)	0.596*** (0.09)
Attitudes about home/work roles			0.859 (0.13)	0.865 (0.09)			0.714* (0.12)	0.753* (0.09)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			0.727* (0.12)	1.414** (0.17)			0.559** (0.11)	2.071*** (0.30)
Attitudes about home/work roles			0.839 (0.11)	2.063*** (0.25)			0.833 (0.14)	2.838*** (0.42)

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Table 4.24: Logistic Regression Analysis of Occupational Plans, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations					1.522** (0.20)	0.702** (0.08)	1.932*** (0.31)	0.451*** (0.07)
Attitudes about home/work roles					1.124 (0.15)	0.554*** (0.06)	1.240 (0.20)	0.483*** (0.06)
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Race	2.859** (0.92)	0.576 (0.18)	2.122* (0.64)	0.829 (0.22)	2.209** (0.64)	0.822 (0.21)	3.875*** (1.34)	0.784 (0.27)
Religion	1.332 (0.20)	0.757* (0.10)	1.450* (0.22)	0.595*** (0.08)	1.012 (0.16)	0.696** (0.09)	1.312 (0.23)	0.737* (0.11)
Family class background	0.702** (0.09)	0.980 (0.10)	0.805 (0.09)	1.101 (0.10)	0.870 (0.09)	0.950 (0.08)	0.622*** (0.09)	1.050 (0.12)
Log likelihood	-215.797	-320.662	-231.405	-324.881	-236.324	-331.306	-199.757	-259.915
Pseudo R ²	0.084	0.063	0.048	0.083	0.049	0.083	0.151	0.237

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.25: Logistic Regression Analysis of Occupational Plans, with Gender-Mixed Fields Coded as Non-Traditional, Overall (N=1322)

	Model 1 <i>Sex</i>	Model 2 <i>Parental Role- Modeling</i>	Model 3 <i>Parents' Attitudes</i>	Model 4 <i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	Model 5 <i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	2.059*** (0.23)				2.032*** (0.25)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>					
Maternal employment at 5 years		1.316* (0.16)			1.300* (0.17)
at 12 years		0.799 (0.10)			0.697** (0.09)
Division of household labor		0.973 (0.06)			0.939 (0.06)
<i>Parents' education</i>					
Mothers' education		1.185*** (0.04)			1.184*** (0.04)
Fathers' education		1.019 (0.03)			1.006 (0.03)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			0.825** (0.05)		0.840* (0.06)
About home/work roles			0.977 (0.06)		0.989 (0.07)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>					
About sexual relations			1.100 (0.07)		1.139 (0.08)
About home/work roles			1.061 (0.06)		1.167* (0.08)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>					
Attitudes about sexual relations				0.915 (0.05)	0.876 (0.06)
Attitudes about home/work roles				0.797*** (0.04)	0.903 (0.06)
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Race	0.630** (0.09)	0.816 (0.13)	0.712* (0.10)	0.689** (0.10)	0.749 (0.12)
Religion	0.925 (0.06)	0.925 (0.06)	0.940 (0.06)	0.982 (0.07)	0.953 (0.07)
Family class background	1.033 (0.05)	0.896 (0.05)	1.058 (0.05)	1.038 (0.05)	0.882* (0.05)
Log likelihood	-942.315	-885.572	-940.612	-951.045	-851.949
Pseudo R ²	0.029	0.034	0.011	0.016	0.065

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4.26: Logistic Regression Analysis of Occupational Plans, with Gender-Mixed Fields Coded as Non-Traditional, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>								
Maternal employment								
at 5 years	1.388 (0.24)	1.643* (0.33)					1.353 (0.25)	1.832** (0.41)
at 12 years	0.895 (0.16)	0.477*** (0.10)					0.701 (0.13)	0.426*** (0.10)
Division of household labor	0.926 (0.08)	0.984 (0.10)					0.924 (0.09)	1.020 (0.11)
<i>Parents' education</i>								
Mothers' education	1.200*** (0.06)	1.133** (0.05)					1.132* (0.06)	1.143** (0.05)
Fathers' education	1.108** (0.04)	0.945 (0.03)					1.169*** (0.05)	0.955 (0.04)
<i>Parents' Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
<i>Mothers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			0.782** (0.07)	0.875 (0.09)			0.712** (0.08)	0.856 (0.10)
Attitudes about home/work roles			0.671*** (0.07)	1.172 (0.11)			0.668*** (0.07)	1.173 (0.12)
<i>Fathers' attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations			1.443*** (0.14)	0.877 (0.09)			1.457*** (0.16)	0.968 (0.12)
Attitudes about home/work roles			0.824* (0.07)	1.508*** (0.15)			0.906 (0.08)	1.721*** (0.19)

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Table 4.26: Logistic Regression Analysis of Occupational Plans, Gender-Mixed Fields Coded as Non-Traditional, by Sex (N=711 men, N=611 women), continued

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		<i>Parents' Attitudes</i>		<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)	Odds Ratio (s/e)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>								
Attitudes about sexual relations					0.990 (0.08)	0.847 (0.07)	1.070 (0.10)	0.785* (0.09)
Attitudes about home/work roles					0.931 (0.08)	0.781** (0.06)	1.121 (0.11)	0.744** (0.07)
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Race	1.432 (0.33)	0.291*** (0.07)	0.945 (0.20)	0.419*** (0.09)	1.104 (0.23)	0.399*** (0.08)	1.350 (0.32)	0.348*** (0.09)
Religion	0.973 (0.09)	0.862 (0.10)	1.014 (0.09)	0.872 (0.10)	0.988 (0.09)	0.887 (0.10)	0.972 (0.10)	0.904 (0.12)
Family class background	0.767** (0.07)	1.010 (0.09)	0.986 (0.07)	1.115 (0.08)	1.022 (0.07)	1.023 (0.07)	0.751** (0.07)	1.058 (0.10)
Log likelihood	-446.828	-398.292	-472.637	-408.341	-497.833	-425.987	-430.444	-369.427
Pseudo R ²	0.053	0.063	0.041	0.067	0.001	0.047	0.085	0.122

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

CHAPTER 5

Table 5.1: Measures and Scales for Dependent and Independent Variables Added for the Analysis of Work/Family Outcomes

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Measures</i>
Achieving occupational goals	<p>“What is your current / most recent occupation”</p> <p>Labeled as “traditional” (sex-stereotypical or gender-mixed field) or “non-traditional” (opposite-sex-dominated field)⁴⁴</p> <p>If the occupational outcome does not meet the occupational goal (e.g. non-traditional goal, traditional outcome), coded as 0 “does not achieve occupational goal”; if the occupational outcome does match the occupational goal, coded as 1 “achieves occupational goal”</p>
<i>Control Variables</i>	<i>Measures</i>
Family structure	Coded as 0 “always lived with two biological parents”, 1 “did not always live with two biological parents”
Completed education	<p>Highest level of education completed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less than high school • High school graduate • Some college, no degree • Associate’s degree • Bachelor’s degree • Master’s degree • Doctorate or professional degree

⁴⁴ See Appendices A and B for complete listings of all detailed occupations and occupational categories

Table 5.2: Descriptive Statistics and Significance Tests of Gender Differences

	Total (n=1794)		Men (n=900)		Women (n=894)		Significance Tests of Gender Differences	
FAMILY OUTCOMES								
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Chi ²	P
<i>Marriage outcomes</i> (0 no, never married, 1 yes, has married)	0.582	0.012	0.553	0.017	0.611	0.016	6.075	0.014
<i>Parenthood outcomes</i> (0 no, has no children, 1 yes, has had children)	0.411	0.012	0.347	0.016	0.476	0.016	31.226	0.000
DEPENDENT VARIABLE								
<i>Occupational outcome</i> (0 traditional, 1 non- traditional)	0.124	0.008	0.100	0.010	0.148	0.012	9.392	0.002
<i>Achieved occupational goal</i> (0 did not achieve goal, 1 achieved goal)	0.809	0.009	0.833	0.012	0.785	0.014	6.725	0.010
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES								
<i>Family structure</i> (0 always lived with two biological parents, 1 did not always live with two biological parents)	0.421	0.012	0.407	0.016	0.436	0.017	1.609	0.205
<i>Completed education</i> (0 no formal education to 20 doctoral or professional degree)	14.41	0.052	14.11	0.074	14.71	0.071	51.494	0.000

Figure 5.1: Marital Status at Wave 3 Interview, by Sex (N=900 men, N=894 women)

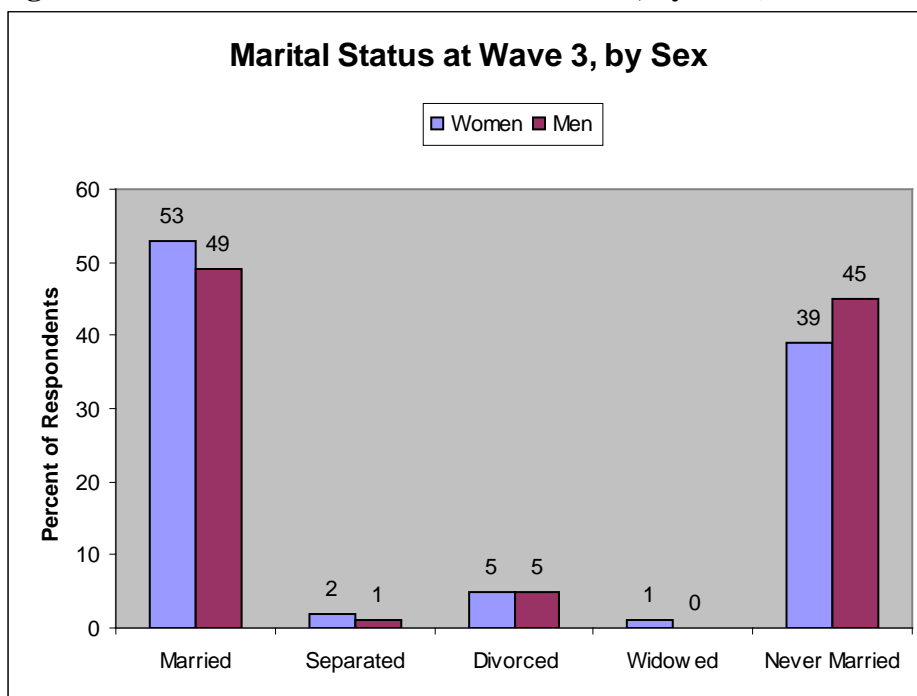


Figure 5.2: Ever Married by Wave 3 Interview, by Sex (N=900 men, N=894 women)

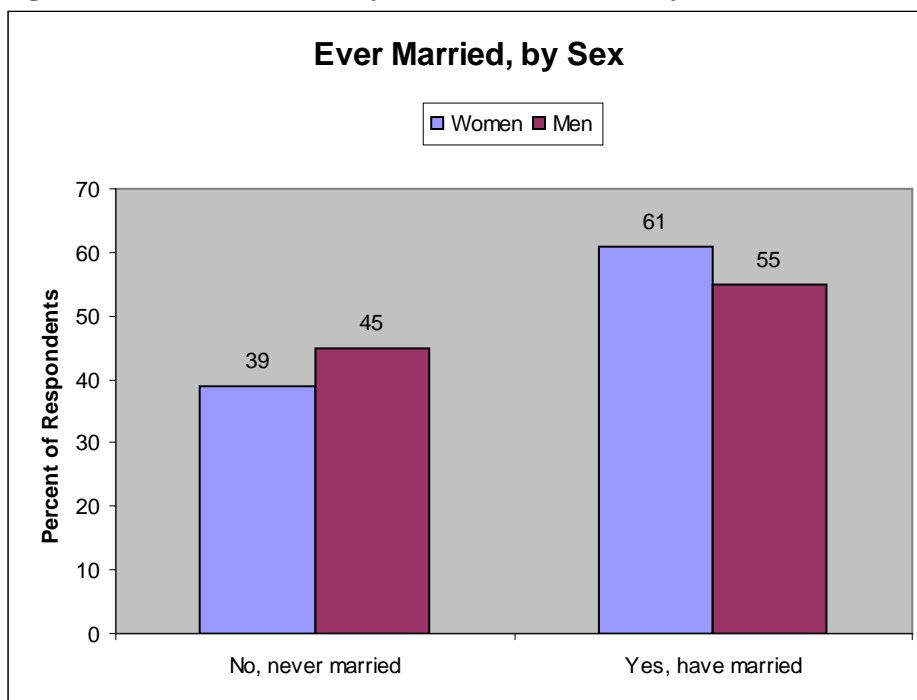


Figure 5.3: Ever Had Children by Wave 3 Interview, by Sex (N=900 men, N=894 women)

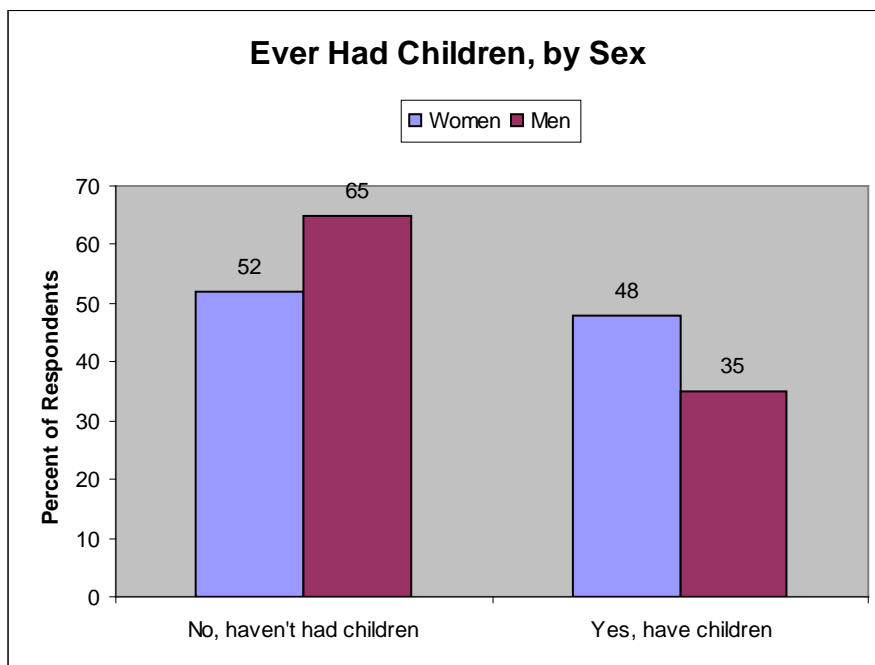


Figure 5.4: Number of Children by Wave 3 Interview, by Sex (N=900 men, N=894 women)

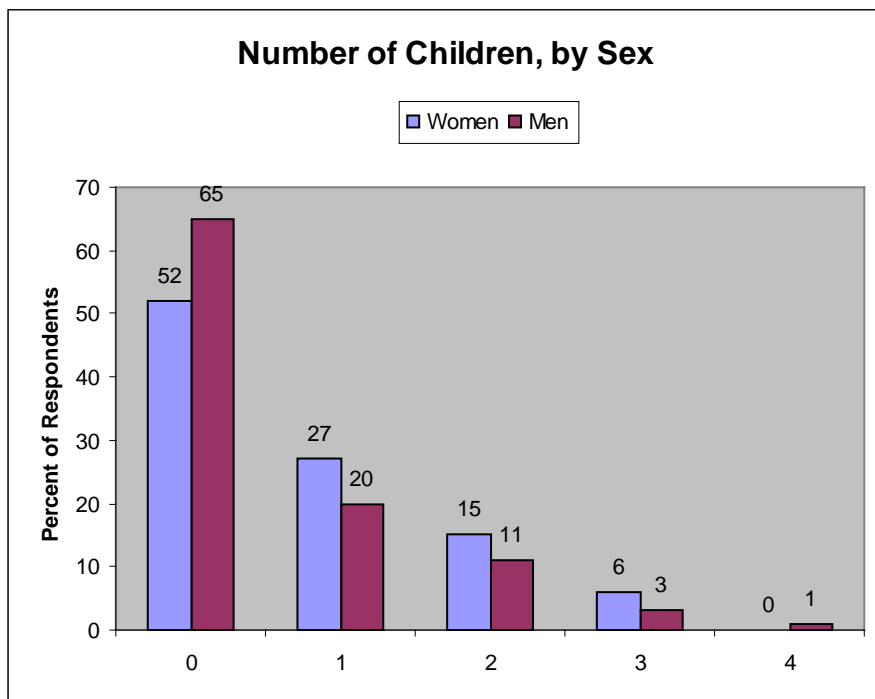


Table 5.3: Current or Most Recent Occupation, 5 Major Categories, by Sex (N=900 men, N=894 women)

Occupational Category (5)	Percent of Men	Percent of Women
Management, professional, and related occupations	46.00	56.38
Service occupations	6.67	14.77
Sales and office occupations	19.33	26.17
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations	10.67	0.67
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	17.33	2.01

Table 5.4: Current or Most Recent Occupation, 22 Categories, by Sex (N=900 men, N=894 women)

Occupation category (22)	Percent of men	Percent of women
Management	17.33	11.41
Business and financial operations	5.33	6.04
Computer and mathematical	2.00	1.34
Architecture and engineering	6.00	1.34
Life, physical, and social science	2.67	2.01
Community and social services	1.33	4.70
Legal occupations	0.67	2.01
Education, training, library	7.33	12.08
Arts, design, entertainment, sports, media	2.67	4.70
Healthcare practitioner and technical	0.67	10.74
Healthcare support	0.00	2.01
Protective service	3.33	2.01
Food preparation and serving related	0.67	2.68
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance	1.33	0.00
Personal services and care	1.33	8.05
Sales and related	13.33	8.72
Office and administrative support	6.00	17.45
Farming, fishing, forestry	0.00	0.67
Construction and extraction	6.67	0.00
Installation, maintenance, and repair	4.00	0.00
Production	6.67	0.67
Transportation and material moving	10.67	1.34

Table 5.5: Top Detailed Occupations, by Sex (N=900 men, N=894 women)*Women's Top 10 Detailed Occupations*

1. Social workers
2. Managers and administrators, not specified
3. Hairdressers and cosmetologists
- Teachers, elementary school
5. Accountants and auditors
- Bookkeepers, accounting and auditing clerks
- Health technologists and technicians, not specified
- Personnel, training, and labor relations specialists
- Secretaries
- Teachers, prekindergarten and kindergarten

Men's Top 9 Detailed Occupations

1. Managers and administrators, not specified
2. Truck drivers
3. Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations
- Teachers, secondary school
5. Managers, food serving and lodging establishments
6. Computer systems analysts and scientists
- Industrial truck and tractor equipment operators
- Sales workers, other commodities
- Supervisors, constructing, not specified

Table 5.6: Percent of Respondents Who Achieved Occupational Goal, by Occupational Goal Type (N=1794 overall; N=1458 traditional goals, N=336 non-traditional goals)

	Overall	Traditional goal	Non-traditional goal	Chi ²	P
<i>Overall % Achieved Goal</i>	80.94	92.18	32.14	637.943	0.000

Table 5.7: Percent of Respondents Who Achieved Occupational Goal, by Sex and Occupational Goal Type (N=900 men, N=894 women)

	Men	Women	Chi ²	P
<i>Overall</i>	83.33	78.52	6.725	0.010
<i>By Goal Type</i>				
Traditional goal	91.04	93.58	3.211	0.073
Non-traditional goal	18.75	37.50	11.053	0.001

Table 5.8: Marriage and Parenthood Outcomes, Significant Differences by Gender and Occupational Goal/Outcome (N=900 men, N=894 women)

	Traditional Goal	Non-Traditional Goal	Significance Tests		Traditional Outcome	Non-Traditional Outcome	Significance Tests	
	%	%	Chi ²	P	%	%	Chi ²	P
% Ever Married								
<i>Overall</i>	58.85	55.36	1.368	0.242	59.16	51.35	4.876	0.027
Men, overall	54.48	62.05	2.233	0.135	55.56	53.33	0.162	0.687
Women, overall	64.22	52.50	10.144	0.001	62.99	50.00	7.988	0.005
% Ever Had Children								
<i>Overall</i>	41.56	39.29	0.585	0.444	43.89	21.62	39.848	0.000
Men, overall	33.58	43.75	3.915	0.048	35.56	26.67	2.826	0.093
Women, overall	51.38	37.50	13.552	0.000	52.76	18.18	53.915	0.000

Table 5.9: Marital and Parenthood Status among Men Not Currently Working (N=54)

Ever Married	Have had children		Total
	<i>No, have no children</i>	<i>Yes, have had children</i>	
<i>No, never married</i>	36 66.67%	6 11.11%	42 77.78%
<i>Yes, have married</i>	12 22.22%	0 0.00%	12 22.22%
Total	48 88.89%	6 11.11%	54 100.00%

Table 5.10: Marital and Parenthood Status among Women Not Currently Working (N=162)

Ever Married	Have had children		Total
	<i>No, have no children</i>	<i>Yes, have had children</i>	
<i>No, never married</i>	42 25.93%	12 7.41 %	54 33.33%
<i>Yes, have married</i>	12 7.41%	96 59.26%	108 66.67%
Total	54 33.33%	108 66.67%	162 100.00%

Table 5.11: Work Status by Child and Age of Child, by Sex

	Men	Women
Work Status when 1st Child was 1-year-old	<i>N</i> =288	<i>N</i> =384
% Not working	4.17%	26.56%
% Working part-time	4.17%	14.06%
% Working full-time	91.67%	59.38%
Work Status when 1st Child was 2-years-old	<i>N</i> =264	<i>N</i> =330
% Not working	4.55%	27.27%
% Working part-time	4.55%	12.73%
% Working full-time	90.91%	60.00%
Work Status when 2nd Child was 1-year-old	<i>N</i> =120	<i>N</i> =156
% Not working	0.00%	34.62%
% Working part-time	10.00%	19.23%
% Working full-time	90.00%	46.15%
Work Status when 2nd Child was 2-years-old	<i>N</i> =84	<i>N</i> =132
% Not working	7.14%	31.82%
% Working part-time	0.00%	13.64%
% Working full-time	92.86%	54.55%

Table 5.12: Percent Currently Working by Marital Status, Parenthood Status, and Sex (N=900 men, N=894 women)

	Men	Women
Marital Status		
Never married	89.55%	84.48%
Have married	97.59%	80.22%
Parenthood Status		
No children	91.84%	88.46%
Have had children	98.08%	74.65%

Table 5.13: Women's Work Status by Child, Age of Child, and Occupational Goal and Outcome

	Occupational Goal		Occupational Outcome	
	Traditional	Non-traditional	Traditional	Non-traditional
Work Status when 1st Child was 1-year-old (N=384)	(N=306)	(N=78)	(N=360)	(N=24)
% Not working	21.57%	46.15%	26.67%	25.00%
% Working part-time	13.73%	15.38%	13.33%	25.00%
% Working full-time	64.71%	38.46%	60.00%	50.00%
Work Status when 1st Child was 2-years-old (N=330)	(N=258)	(N=72)	(N=312)	(N=18)
% Not working	20.93%	50.00%	26.92%	33.33%
% Working part-time	9.30%	25.00%	11.54%	33.33%
% Working full-time	69.77%	25.00%	61.54%	33.33%
Work Status when 2nd Child was 1-year-old (N=156)	(N=114)	(N=42)	(N=150)	(N=6)
% Not working	21.05%	71.43%	36.00%	0.00%
% Working part-time	21.05%	14.29%	16.00%	100.00%
% Working full-time	57.89%	14.29%	48.00%	0.00%
Work Status when 2nd Child was 2-years-old (N=132)	(N=96)	(N=36)	(N=132)	(N=0)
% Not working	18.75%	66.67%	31.82%	--
% Working part-time	18.75%	0.00%	13.64%	--
% Working full-time	62.50%	33.33%	54.55%	--

Table 5.14: Achievement of Occupational Goals by Sex, Marital Status, and Parenthood Status (N=900 men, N=894 women)

	Never Married	Have Married	Significance Tests		Have No Children	Have Had Children	Significance Tests	
	%	%	Chi²	P	%	%	Chi²	P
Overall % Achieved Occupational Goal	76.80	83.91	14.292	0.000	78.98	83.74	6.386	0.012
Traditional Goal (N=1458)	89.00	94.41	14.315	0.000	88.73	97.03	33.825	0.000
Non-Traditional Goal (N=336)	28.00	35.48	2.132	0.144	38.24	22.73	8.837	0.003
Men, % Achieved Occupational Goal	83.58	83.13	0.032	0.857	83.67	82.69	0.141	0.707
Traditional Goal (N=804)	90.16	91.78	0.639	0.424	89.89	93.33	2.611	0.106
Non-Traditional Goal (N=96)	16.67	20.00	0.164	0.685	22.22	14.29	0.977	0.323
Women, % Achieved Occupational Goal	68.97	84.62	30.867	0.000	73.08	84.51	17.277	0.000
Traditional Goal (N=654)	87.18	97.14	24.823	0.000	86.79	100.00	47.423	0.000
Non-Traditional Goal (N=240)	31.58	42.86	3.248	0.072	44.00	26.67	7.211	0.007

Table 5.15: Occupational Goal Achievement and Parenthood Status for Women with Non-Traditional Occupational Goals (N=240 women)

Achieved Occupational Goal	Have had children		Total
	<i>No, have no children</i>	<i>Yes, have had children</i>	
<i>No, did not achieve occupational goal</i>	84 35.0%	66 27.5%	150 62.5%
<i>Yes, achieved occupational goal</i>	66 27.5%	24 10.0%	90 37.5%
Total	150 62.5%	90 37.5%	240 100.0%

Table 5.16: Logistic Regression Analysis of Meeting Occupational Goals, Overall (N=1734)

	Model 1 <i>Sex</i>	Model 2 <i>Occupation Goal Type</i>	Model 3 <i>Parental Role- Modeling</i>	Model 4 <i>Mothers' Attitudes</i>	Model 5 <i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	Model 6 <i>Family Outcomes</i>	Model 7 <i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Sex</i>	0.721** (0.09)						1.462* (0.27)
<i>Occupational Goal Type</i>		0.034*** (0.01)					0.022*** (0.00)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>							
Maternal employment							
At 5 years			1.864*** (0.26)				1.835*** (0.33)
At 12 years			1.113 (0.15)				1.974*** (0.39)
Mothers' education			0.892*** (0.03)				1.013 (0.04)
<i>Mothers' Gender Role Attitudes</i>							
Attitudes about sexual relations				1.354*** (0.09)			1.564*** (0.15)
Attitudes about home/work roles				1.207** (0.08)			1.476*** (0.14)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>							
Attitudes about sexual relations					1.220** (0.08)		1.162 (0.12)
Attitudes about home/work roles					1.077 (0.07)		0.943 (0.08)

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

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Table 5.16: Logistic Regression Analysis of Meeting Occupational Goals, Overall (N=1734), continued

	Model 1 <i>Sex</i>	Model 2 <i>Occupation Goal Type</i>	Model 3 <i>Parental Role- Modeling</i>	Model 4 <i>Parents' Attitudes</i>	Model 5 <i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>	Model 6 <i>Family Outcomes</i>	Model 7 <i>Full Model</i>
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Family Outcomes</i>							
Ever married						1.450** (0.21)	1.632** (0.31)
Ever had children						1.161 (0.17)	1.397 (0.28)
<i>Control Variables</i>							
Race	0.668* (0.11)	0.515** (0.11)	0.538*** (0.09)	0.617** (0.10)	0.631** (0.11)	0.673* (0.11)	0.479** (0.11)
Religion	0.875 (0.06)	0.742*** (0.07)	0.829** (0.06)	0.803** (0.06)	0.817** (0.06)	0.851* (0.06)	0.553*** (0.06)
Family class background	1.080 (0.05)	0.966 (0.06)	1.016 (0.05)	1.080 (0.06)	1.080 (0.05)	1.069 (0.05)	0.873 (0.06)
Family structure	0.998 (0.13)	0.853 (0.14)	0.914 (0.12)	1.175 (0.16)	1.038 (0.13)	0.991 (0.13)	0.908 (0.17)
Completed education	0.969 (0.03)	1.073 (0.04)	1.013 (0.03)	0.958 (0.03)	0.971 (0.03)	0.964 (0.03)	1.125* (0.05)
Log likelihood	-845.165	-581.634	-823.541	-821.795	-840.343	-841.699	-522.661
Pseudo R ²	0.015	0.322	0.034	0.031	0.017	0.019	0.381

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 5.17: Logistic Regression Analysis of Meeting Occupational Goals, by Sex (N=871 men, N=863 women)

	Model 1 <i>Occupational Goal Type</i>		Model 2 <i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		Model 3 <i>Mothers' Attitudes</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Occupational Goal Type</i>	0.020*** (0.01)	0.029*** (0.01)				
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>						
Maternal employment at 5 years			2.281*** (0.47)	1.402 (0.29)		
at 12 years			0.730 (0.16)	1.748** (0.34)		
Mothers' education			0.801*** (0.04)	1.002 (0.04)		
<i>Mothers' Attitudes</i>						
About sexual relations					1.315** (0.12)	1.444*** (0.14)
About home/work roles					1.292* (0.14)	1.212* (0.11)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>						
Attitudes about sexual relations						
Attitudes about home/work roles						
<i>Family Outcomes</i>						
Ever married						
Ever had children						
<i>Control Variables</i>						
Race	0.469** (0.14)	0.446** (0.14)	0.460** (0.12)	0.792 (0.20)	0.486** (0.12)	0.786 (0.19)
Religion	0.798 (0.10)	0.611*** (0.09)	0.845 (0.08)	0.811* (0.09)	0.823* (0.08)	0.774* (0.08)
Family class background	1.194 (0.12)	0.788* (0.08)	1.092 (0.09)	0.986 (0.07)	1.113 (0.09)	1.083 (0.08)
Family structure	0.811 (0.19)	0.792 (0.19)	0.796 (0.16)	1.011 (0.19)	0.993 (0.20)	1.393 (0.26)
Completed education	1.004 (0.05)	1.080 (0.06)	1.154** (0.06)	0.913* (0.04)	1.050 (0.05)	0.911* (0.04)
Log likelihood	-269.448	-299.795	-363.078	-440.496	-371.255	-437.798
Pseudo R ²	0.319	0.346	0.074	0.034	0.047	0.036

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

(continued on next page)

Table 5.17: Logistic Regression Analysis of Meeting Occupational Goals, by Sex (N=871 men, N=863 women), continued

	Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		<i>Family Outcomes</i>		<i>Full Model</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Occupational Goal Type</i>					0.009*** (0.00)	0.012*** (0.00)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>						
Maternal employment at 5 years					4.856*** (1.48)	0.840 (0.25)
at 12 years					0.950 (0.29)	6.923*** (2.16)
Mothers' education					0.899 (0.05)	1.188** (0.08)
<i>Mothers' Attitudes</i>						
About sexual relations					1.304 (0.19)	1.944*** (0.30)
About home/work roles					1.481* (0.23)	1.915*** (0.28)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>						
Attitudes about sexual relations	1.396** (0.16)	1.117 (0.09)			1.931*** (0.37)	0.774 (0.11)
Attitudes about home/work roles	1.205 (0.12)	0.980 (0.08)			1.183 (0.14)	0.606*** (0.08)
<i>Family Outcomes</i>						
Ever married			0.925 (0.19)	2.188*** (0.43)	1.046 (0.30)	2.888*** (0.86)
Ever had children			1.105 (0.24)	1.222 (0.26)	1.578 (0.51)	1.685 (0.52)
<i>Control Variables</i>						
Race	0.560* (0.13)	0.783 (0.19)	0.507** (0.12)	1.088 (0.27)	0.348** (0.13)	1.487 (0.58)
Religion	0.807* (0.08)	0.840 (0.09)	0.879 (0.09)	0.858 (0.09)	0.660** (0.09)	0.383*** (0.07)
Family class background	1.079 (0.08)	1.087 (0.08)	1.095 (0.08)	1.100 (0.08)	1.024 (0.11)	0.704** (0.08)
Family structure	0.914 (0.18)	1.158 (0.21)	0.822 (0.16)	1.159 (0.21)	1.032 (0.29)	0.961 (0.28)
Completed education	1.090 (0.05)	0.905* (0.04)	1.061 (0.05)	0.929 (0.04)	1.093 (0.08)	1.165 (0.09)
Log likelihood	-377.767	-450.124	-386.047	-438.194	-227.869	-244.490
Pseudo R ²	0.039	0.016	0.024	0.043	0.412	0.460

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 5.18: Logistic Regression Analysis of Meeting Occupational Goals by Occupational Goal Type, for Women (N=630 traditional goals, N=233 non-traditional goals)

	Traditional Goals	Non-Traditional Goals
	Odds ratio (s/e)	Odds ratio (s/e)
<i>Parental Role-Modeling</i>		
Maternal employment at 5 years	1.046 (0.64)	1.781 (1.10)
at 12 years	15.948** (13.79)	66.752*** (46.77)
Mothers' education	0.819 (0.11)	0.957 (0.12)
<i>Mothers' Gender Role Attitudes</i>		
Attitudes about sexual relations	21.958*** (12.46)	1.515 (0.51)
Attitudes about home/work roles	4.095*** (1.41)	3.001*** (0.83)
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>		
Attitudes about sexual relations	0.334** (0.12)	0.679 (0.21)
Attitudes about home/work roles	0.409*** (0.10)	0.676 (0.24)
<i>Family Outcomes</i>		
Ever married	39.987*** (27.90)	13.760*** (9.78)
Ever had children	--- ⁴⁵	0.195* (0.14)
<i>Control Variables</i>		
Race	2.778 (1.96)	4.701 (4.43)
Religion	0.523 (0.18)	0.268*** (0.09)
Family class background	0.416*** (0.10)	0.734 (0.22)
Family structure	0.410 (0.21)	3.452 (2.37)
Completed education	0.619*** (0.08)	2.589*** (0.58)
Log likelihood	-87.512	-81.314
Pseudo R ²	0.433	0.472

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

⁴⁵ All women with traditional goals who had children achieved their occupational goal, so the variable for having children is not included in the model predicting achievement of traditional occupational goals.

Table 6.1: Hypotheses and Results

#	Work/family aspirations <i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Supported</i>
	<i>Gender and work/family plans</i>	
1a	Women will express greater marriage and parenthood desire than men	Partial
1b	The majority of young adults will anticipate gender-stereotypical occupations	Yes
1c	Women will exhibit a greater preference for male-dominated occupations than men have for female-dominated occupations.	Yes
	<i>Parental role-modeling and work/family plans</i>	
2a	Maternal employment will decrease women's marriage and parenthood desires	Yes
2b	Maternal employment will increase women's preference for non-traditional occupations	No
2c	Maternal employment will increase men's marriage and parenthood desires	Yes
2d	Maternal employment will increase men's preference for non-traditional occupations	No
3a	Parents' more egalitarian division of household labor will increase women's and men's marriage and parenthood desires	Yes
3b	Parents' more egalitarian division of household labor will increase women's and men's preference for non-traditional occupations	No
4a	Mothers' and fathers' higher levels of education will decrease women's desires for marriage and parenthood	Partial
4b	Fathers' higher levels of education will decrease men's desires for marriage and parenthood	Yes
4c	Mothers' higher levels of education will increase men's desires for marriage and parenthood	Yes
4d	Parents' higher levels of education will increase women's desires for non-traditional occupations	No
4e	Mothers' higher levels of education will increase men's desires for non-traditional occupations	No
4f	Exploratory re: the influence of paternal education on men's occupational goals	---
	<i>Parents' attitudes and work/family plans</i>	
5	Parents' more conservative gender role attitudes will increase young adults' desires for marriage, parenthood, and traditional occupations	Partial
	<i>Gender role attitudes and work/family plans</i>	
6a	Young adults with more conservative attitudes will have greater marriage and parenthood desires than those with egalitarian attitudes	Partial
6b	Young adults with more conservative gender role attitudes will be more likely to anticipate traditional (gender-stereotypical) occupations	Yes

Table 6.1, continued

Work/family outcomes		
#	<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Supported</i>
7	<i>Occupational goal type and work/family outcomes</i> Young adults will be more likely to achieve traditional (gender-stereotypical) occupations than non-traditional occupations	Yes
8a	<i>Gender and work/family outcomes</i> Women will be more likely to be in non-traditional occupations than men	Yes
8b	Women will be more likely to achieve non-traditional occupational aspirations than men	Yes
9a	<i>Family outcomes and occupational outcomes</i> Women with non-traditional goals and/or in non-traditional occupations will be less likely to have married and/or had children than women with traditional goals and/or in traditional occupations	Yes
9b	There will be no relation between men's marriage and parenthood outcomes and their occupational outcomes	Yes
10	<i>Gender role attitudes and work/family outcomes</i> Young adults with more conservative gender role attitudes will be more likely to work in traditional occupations	No
11a	<i>Parental role-modeling and work/family outcomes</i> Maternal employment will increase women's likelihood of non-traditional work	Yes
11b	Mothers' higher levels of education will increase young adults' likelihood of work in male-dominated occupations	Yes
12	<i>Parents' attitudes and work/family outcomes</i> Mothers' more conservative gender role attitudes will increase the likelihood of young adults' work in traditional occupations	Yes

Appendices

Appendix A: Occupational Classification Scheme, 5 major categories and 22 sub-categories, Census 1990

1. Management, professional, and related occupations
 - a. Management, business, financial operations
 - i. Management (1)
 - ii. Business and financial operations (2)
 - b. Professional and related occupations
 - i. Computer and mathematical occupations (3)
 - ii. Architecture and engineering (4)
 - iii. Life, physical, and social science occupations (5)
 - iv. Community and social services (6)
 - v. Legal occupations (7)
 - vi. Education, training, and library occupations (8)
 - vii. Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media (9)
 - viii. Healthcare practitioner and technical occupations (10)
2. Service occupations
 - a. Healthcare support occupations (11)
 - b. Protective service occupations (12)
 - c. Food preparation and serving related occupations (13)
 - d. Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance (14)
 - e. Personal care and service (15)
3. Sales and office occupations
 - a. Sales and related occupations (16)
 - b. Office and administrative support occupations (17)
4. Natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations
 - a. Farming, fishing, forestry (18)
 - b. Construction and extraction (19)
 - c. Installation, maintenance, and repair (20)
5. Production, transportation, and material moving occupations
 - a. Production (21)
 - b. Transportation and material moving (22)

Appendix B: 502 Detailed Occupations from NSFH, Census 1990 Classification

e.g. 003 = Census 1990 occupation code

(#) = code for 22 categories of occupations

- 003 (1) Legislators
- 004 (1) Chief executives and general administrators, public administration
- 005 (1) Administrators and officials, public administration
- 006 (1) Administrators, protective services
- 007 (1) Financial managers
- 008 (1) Personnel and labor relations managers
- 009 (1) Purchasing managers
- 013 (1) Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations
- 014 (1) Administrators, education and related fields
- 015 (1) Managers, medicine and health
- 016 (1) Postmasters and mail superintendents
- 017 (1) Managers, food serving and lodging establishments
- 018 (1) Managers, properties and real estate
- 019 (1) Funeral directors
- 021 (1) Managers, service organizations, n.e.c.
- 022 (1) Managers and administrators, n.e.c.
- 023 (2) Accountants and auditors
- 024 (2) Underwriters
- 025 (2) Other financial officers
- 026 (2) Management analysts
- 027 (2) Personnel, training, and labor relations specialists
- 028 (2) Purchasing agents and buyers, farm products
- 029 (2) Buyers, wholesale and retail trade except farm products
- 033 (2) Purchasing agents and buyers, n.e.c.
- 034 (2) Business and promotion agents
- 035 (19) Construction inspectors
- 036 (2) Inspectors and compliance officers, except construction
- 037 (1) Management related occupations, n.e.c.
- 043 (4) Architects
- 044 (4) Aerospace
- 045 (19) Metallurgical and materials
- 046 (4) Mining
- 047 (4) Petroleum
- 048 (4) Chemical
- 049 (4) Nuclear
- 053 (4) Civil
- 054 (4) Agricultural
- 055 (4) Electrical and electronic
- 056 (4) Industrial
- 057 (4) Mechanical
- 058 (4) Marine and naval architects

- 059 (4) Engineers, n.e.c.
- 063 (4) Surveyors and mapping scientists
- 064 (3) Computer systems analysts and scientists
- 065 (3) Operations and systems researchers and analysts
- 066 (3) Actuaries
- 067 (3) Statisticians
- 068 (3) Mathematical scientists, n.e.c.
- 069 (5) Physicists and astronomers
- 073 (5) Chemists, except biochemists
- 074 (5) Atmospheric and space scientists
- 075 (5) Geologists and geodesists
- 076 (5) Physical scientists, n.e.c.
- 077 (5) Agricultural and food scientists
- 078 (5) Biological and life scientists
- 079 (5) Forestry and conservation scientists
- 083 (5) Medical scientists
- 084 (10) Physicians
- 085 (10) Dentists
- 086 (10) Veterinarians
- 087 (10) Optometrists
- 088 (10) Podiatrists
- 089 (10) Health diagnosing practitioners, n.e.c.
- 095 (10) Registered nurses
- 096 (10) Pharmacists
- 097 (10) Dietitians
- 098 (10) Respiratory therapists
- 099 (10) Occupational therapists
- 103 (10) Physical therapists
- 104 (10) Speech therapists
- 105 (10) Therapists n.e.c.
- 106 (10) Physicians' assistants
- 113 (8) Earth, environmental, and marine science teachers
- 114 (8) Biological science teachers
- 115 (8) Chemistry teachers
- 116 (8) Physics teachers
- 117 (8) Natural science teachers, n e.c.
- 118 (8) Psychology teachers
- 119 (8) Economics teachers
- 123 (8) History teachers
- 124 (8) Political science teachers
- 125 (8) Sociology teachers
- 126 (8) Social science teachers, n.e.c.
- 127 (8) Engineering teachers
- 128 (8) Mathematical science teachers
- 129 (8) Computer science teachers
- 133 (8) Medical science teachers

- 134 (8) Health specialties teachers
- 135 (8) Business, commerce, and marketing teachers
- 136 (8) Agriculture and forestry teachers
- 137 (8) Art, drama, and music teachers
- 138 (8) Physical education teachers
- 139 (8) Education teachers
- 143 (8) English teachers
- 144 (8) Foreign language teachers
- 145 (8) Law teachers
- 146 (8) Social work teachers
- 147 (8) Theology teachers
- 148 (8) Trade and industrial teachers
- 149 (8) Home economics teachers
- 153 (8) Teachers, postsecondary, n.e.c.
- 154 (8) Postsecondary teachers, subject not specified
- 155 (8) Teachers, prekindergarten and Kindergarten
- 156 (8) Teachers, elementary school
- 157 (8) Teachers, secondary school
- 158 (8) Teachers, special education
- 159 (8) Teachers, n.e.c.
- 163 (8) Counselors, educational and vocational
- 164 (8) Librarians
- 165 (8) Archivists and curators
- 166 (5) Economists
- 167 (5) Psychologists
- 168 (5) Sociologists
- 169 (5) Social scientists, n.e.c.
- 173 (5) Urban planners
- 174 (6) Social workers
- 175 (15) Recreation workers
- 176 (6) Clergy
- 177 (6) Religious workers, n.e.c.
- 178 (7) Lawyers
- 179 (7) Judges
- 183 (9) Authors
- 184 (9) Technical writers
- 185 (9) Designers
- 186 (9) Musicians and composers
- 187 (9) Actors and directors
- 188 (9) Painters, sculptors, craft-artists, and artist printmakers
- 189 (9) Photographers
- 193 (9) Dancers
- 194 (9) Artists, performers, and related workers, n.e.c.
- 195 (9) Editors and reporters
- 197 (9) Public relations specialists
- 198 (9) Announcers

- 199 (9) Athletes
- 203 (10) Clinical laboratory technologists and technicians
- 204 (10) Dental hygienists
- 205 (10) Health record technologists and technicians
- 206 (10) Radiologic technicians
- 207 (10) Licensed practical nurses
- 208 (10) Health technologists and technicians, n.e.c.
- 213 (4) Electrical and electronic technicians
- 214 (4) Industrial engineering technicians
- 215 (4) Mechanical engineering technicians
- 216 (4) Engineering technicians, n.e.c.
- 217 (4) Drafting occupations
- 218 (4) Surveying and mapping technicians
- 223 (5) Biological technicians
- 224 (5) Chemical technicians
- 225 (5) Science technicians, n.e.c.
- 226 (22) Airplane pilots and navigators
- 227 (22) Air traffic controllers
- 228 (9) Broadcast equipment operators
- 229 (21) Computer programmers
- 233 (21) Tool programmers, numerical control
- 234 (7) Legal assistants
- 235 (10) Technicians, n.e.c.
- 243 (16) Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations
- 253 (16) Insurance sales occupations
- 254 (16) Real estate sales occupations
- 255 (16) Securities and financial services sales occupations
- 256 (16) Advertising and related sales occupations
- 257 (16) Sales occupations, other business services
- 258 (16) Sales engineers
- 259 (16) Sales representatives, mining, manufacturing, and wholesale
- 263 (16) Sales workers, motor vehicles and boats
- 264 (16) Sales workers, apparel
- 265 (16) Sales workers, shoes
- 266 (16) Sales workers, furniture and home furnishings
- 267 (16) Sales workers; radio, TV, hi-fi, and appliances
- 268 (16) Sales workers, hardware and building supplies
- 269 (16) Sales workers, parts
- 274 (16) Sales workers, other commodities
- 275 (16) Sales counter clerks
- 276 (16) Cashiers
- 277 (16) Street and door-to-door sales workers
- 278 (16) News vendors
- 283 (16) Demonstrators, promoters and models, sales
- 284 (16) Auctioneers
- 285 (17) Sales support occupations, n.e.c.

- 303 (17) Supervisors, general office
- 304 (17) Supervisors, computer equipment operators
- 305 (17) Supervisors, financial records processing
- 306 (17) Chief communications operators
- 307 (17) Supervisors; distribution, scheduling, and adjusting clerks
- 308 (17) Computer operators
- 309 (17) Peripheral equipment operators
- 313 (17) Secretaries
- 314 (17) Stenographers
- 315 (17) Typists
- 316 (17) Interviewers
- 317 (17) Hotel clerks
- 318 (17) Transportation ticket and reservation agents
- 319 (17) Receptionists
- 323 (17) Information clerks, n.e.c.
- 325 (17) Classified-ad clerks
- 326 (17) Correspondence clerks
- 327 (17) Order clerks
- 328 (17) Personnel clerks, except payroll and timekeeping
- 329 (17) Library clerks
- 335 (17) File clerks
- 336 (17) Records clerks
- 337 (17) Bookkeepers, accounting, and auditing clerks
- 338 (17) Payroll and timekeeping clerks
- 339 (17) Billing clerks
- 343 (17) Cost and rate clerks
- 344 (17) Billing, posting, and calculating machine operators
- 345 (17) Duplicating machine operators
- 346 (17) Mail preparing and paper handling machine operators
- 347 (17) Office machine operators, n.e.c.
- 348 (17) Telephone operators
- 353 (17) Communications equipment operators, n.e.c.
- 354 (17) Postal clerks, exc. mail carriers
- 355 (17) Mail carriers, postal service
- 356 (17) Mail clerks, exc. postal service
- 357 (17) Messengers
- 359 (17) Dispatchers
- 363 (17) Production coordinators
- 364 (17) Traffic, shipping, and receiving clerks
- 365 (17) Stock and inventory clerks
- 366 (17) Meter readers
- 368 (17) Weighers, measurers, checkers and samplers
- 373 (17) Expeditors
- 374 (17) Material recording, scheduling, and distributing clerks n.e.c
- 375 (17) Insurance adjusters, examiners, and investigators
- 376 (17) Investigators and adjustors except insurance

377 (17) Eligibility clerks, Social welfare
378 (17) Bill and account collectors
379 (17) General office clerks
383 (17) Bank tellers
384 (17) Proofreaders
385 (17) Data-entry keyers
386 (17) Statistical clerks
387 (17) Teachers' aides
389 (17) Administrative support occupations n.e.c.
403 (21) Launderers and ironers
404 (15) Cooks, private household
405 (15) Housekeepers and butlers
406 (15) Child care workers, private household
407 (15) Private household cleaners and servants
413 (12) Supervisors, firefighting and fire prevention occupations
414 (12) Supervisors, police and detectives
415 (12) Supervisors, guards
416 (12) Fire inspection and fire prevention occupations
417 (12) Firefighting occupations
418 (12) Police and detectives, public service
423 (12) Sheriffs, bailiffs, and other law enforcement officers
424 (12) Correctional institution officers
425 (12) Crossing guards
426 (12) Guards and police, exc public service
427 (12) Protective service occupations, n.e.c
433 (13) Supervisors, food preparation and service occupations
434 (13) Bartenders
435 (13) Waiters and waitresses
436 (13) Cooks
438 (13) Food counter, fountain and related occupations
439 (13) Kitchen workers, food preparation
443 (13) Waiters'/waitresses' assistants
444 (13) Miscellaneous food preparation occupations
445 (11) Dental assistants
446 (11) Health aides, except nursing
447 (11) Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants
448 (14) Supervisors, cleaning and building service workers
449 (14) Maids and housemen
453 (14) Janitors and cleaners
454 (14) Elevator operators
455 (14) Pest control occupations
456 (15) Supervisors, personal service occupations
457 (15) Barbers
458 (15) Hairdressers and cosmetologists
459 (15) Attendants, amusement and recreation facilities
461 (15) Guides

462 (15) Ushers
463 (15) Public transportation attendants
464 (15) Baggage porters and bellhops
465 (15) Welfare service aides
466 (15) Family child care providers
467 (15) Early childhood teacher's assistants
468 (15) Child care workers, n.e.c.
469 (15) Personal service occupations, n.e.c.
473 (1) Farmers, except horticultural
474 (1) Horticultural specialty farmers
475 (1) Managers, farms, except horticultural
476 (1) Managers, horticultural specialty farms
477 (18) Supervisors, farm workers
479 (18) Farm workers
483 (18) Marine life cultivation workers
484 (18) Nursery workers
485 (18) Supervisors, related agricultural occupations
486 (18) Groundskeepers and gardeners, except farm
487 (15) Animal caretakers, except farm
488 (18) Graders and sorters, agricultural products
489 (18) Inspectors, agricultural products
494 (18) Supervisors, forestry, and logging workers
495 (18) Forestry workers, except logging
496 (18) Timber cutting and logging occupations
497 (18) Captains and other officers, fishing vessels
498 (18) Fishers
499 (18) Hunters and trappers
503 (20) Supervisors, mechanics and repairers
505 (20) Automobile mechanics
506 (20) Automobile mechanic apprentices
507 (20) Bus, truck, and stationary engine mechanics
508 (20) Aircraft engine mechanics
509 (20) Small engine repairers
514 (20) Automobile body and related repairers
515 (20) Aircraft mechanics, exc. engine
516 (20) Heavy equipment mechanics
517 (20) Farm equipment mechanics
518 (20) Industrial machinery repairers
519 (20) Machinery maintenance occupations
523 (20) Electronic repairers, communications and industrial equipment
525 (20) Data processing equipment repairers
526 (20) Household appliance and power tool repairers
527 (20) Telephone line installers and repairers
529 (20) Telephone installers and repairers
533 (20) Miscellaneous electrical and electronic equipment repairers
534 (20) Heating, air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics

535 (20) Camera, watch, and musical instrument repairers
536 (20) Locksmiths and safe repairers
538 (20) Office machine repairers
539 (20) Mechanical controls and valve repairers
543 (20) Elevator installers and repairers
544 (20) Millwrights
547 (20) Specified mechanics and repairers, n.e.c.
549 (20) Not specified mechanics and repairers
553 (19) Supervisors; brickmasons, stonemasons, and tile setters
554 (19) Supervisors, carpenters and related workers
555 (19) Supervisors, electricians and power transmission installers
556 (19) Supervisors; painters, paperhangers, and plasterers
557 (19) Supervisors; plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters
558 (19) Supervisors, construction n.e.c.
563 (19) Brickmasons and stonemasons
564 (19) Brickmason and stonemason apprentices
565 (19) Tile setters, hard and soft
566 (19) Carpet installers
567 (19) Carpenters
569 (19) Carpenter apprentices
573 (19) Drywall installers
575 (19) Electricians
576 (19) Electrician apprentices
577 (19) Electrical power installers and repairers
579 (19) Painters, construction and maintenance
583 (19) Paperhangers
584 (19) Plasterers
585 (19) Plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters
587 (19) Plumber, pipefitter, and steamfitter apprentices
588 (19) Concrete and terrazzo finishers
589 (19) Glaziers
593 (19) Insulation workers
594 (19) Paving, surfacing, and tamping equipment operators
595 (19) Roofers
596 (19) Sheetmetal duct installers
597 (19) Structural metal workers
598 (19) Drillers, earth
599 (19) Construction trades, n.e.c.
613 (19) Supervisors, extractive occupations
614 (19) Drillers, oil well
615 (19) Explosives workers
616 (19) Mining machine operators
617 (19) Mining occupations, n.e.c.
628 (21) Supervisors, production occupations
634 (21) Tool and die makers
635 (21) Tool and die maker apprentices

- 636 (21) Precision assemblers, metal
- 637 (21) Machinists
- 639 (21) Machinist apprentices
- 643 (21) Boilermakers
- 644 (21) Precision grinders, filers, and tool sharpeners
- 645 (21) Patternmakers and model makers, metal
- 646 (21) Lay out workers
- 647 (21) Precious stones and metals workers (Jewelers)
- 649 (21) Engravers, metal
- 653 (21) Sheet metal workers
- 654 (21) Sheet metal worker apprentices
- 655 (21) Miscellaneous precision metal workers
- 656 (21) Patternmakers and model makers, wood
- 657 (21) Cabinet makers and bench carpenters
- 658 (21) Furniture and wood finishers
- 659 (21) Miscellaneous precision woodworkers
- 666 (21) Dressmakers
- 667 (21) Tailors
- 668 (21) Upholsterers
- 669 (21) Shoe repairers
- 674 (21) Miscellaneous precision apparel and fabric workers
- 675 (21) Hand molders and shapers, except jewelers
- 676 (21) Patternmakers, lay-out workers, and cutters
- 677 (21) Optical goods workers
- 678 (21) Dental laboratory and medical appliance technicians
- 679 (21) Bookbinders
- 683 (21) Electrical and electronic equipment assemblers
- 684 (21) Miscellaneous precision workers, n.e.c.
- 686 (21) Butchers and meat cutters
- 687 (21) Bakers
- 688 (21) Food batchmakers
- 689 (21) Inspectors, testers, and graders
- 693 (21) Adjusters and calibrators
- 694 (21) Water and sewage treatment plant operators
- 695 (21) Power plant operators
- 696 (21) Stationary engineers
- 699 (21) Miscellaneous plant and system operators
- 703 (21) Lathe and turning machine set-up operators
- 704 (21) Lathe and turning machine operators
- 705 (21) Milling and planing machine operators
- 706 (21) Punching and stamping press machine operators
- 707 (21) Rolling machine operators
- 708 (21) Drilling and boring machine operators
- 709 (21) Grinding, abrading, buffing, and polishing machine operators
- 713 (21) Forging machine operators
- 714 (21) Numerical control machine operators

- 715 (21) Miscellaneous metal, plastic, stone, and glass working machine operators
- 717 (21) Fabricating machine operators n.e.c.
- 719 (21) Molding and casting machine operators
- 723 (21) Metal plating machine operators
- 724 (21) Heat treating equipment operators
- 725 (21) Miscellaneous metal and plastic processing machine operators
- 726 (21) Wood lathe, routing and planing machine operators
- 727 (21) Sawing machine operators
- 728 (21) Shaping and joining machine operators
- 729 (21) Nailing and tacking machine operators
- 733 (21) Miscellaneous woodworking machine operators
- 734 (21) Printing press operators
- 735 (21) Photoengravers and lithographers
- 736 (21) Typesetters and compositors
- 737 (21) Miscellaneous printing machine operators
- 738 (21) Winding and twisting machine operators
- 739 (21) Knitting, looping, taping, and weaving machine operators
- 743 (21) Textile cutting machine operators
- 744 (21) Textile sewing machine operators
- 745 (21) Shoe machine operators
- 747 (21) Pressing machine operators
- 748 (21) Laundering and dry cleaning machine operators
- 749 (21) Miscellaneous textile machine operators
- 753 (21) Cementing and gluing machine operators
- 754 (21) Packaging and filling machine operators
- 755 (21) Extruding and forming machine operators
- 756 (21) Mixing and blending machine operators
- 757 (21) Separating, filtering, and clarifying machine operators
- 758 (21) Compressing and compacting machine operators
- 759 (21) Painting and paint spraying machine operators
- 763 (21) Roasting and baking machine operators, food
- 764 (21) Washing, cleaning, and pickling machine operators
- 765 (21) Folding machine operators
- 766 (21) Furnace, kiln, and oven operators, exc. food
- 768 (21) Crushing and grinding machine operators
- 769 (21) Slicing and cutting machine operators
- 773 (21) Motion picture projectionists
- 774 (21) Photographic process machine operators
- 777 (21) Miscellaneous machine operators, n.e.c.
- 779 (21) Machine operators, not specified
- 783 (21) Welders and cutters
- 784 (21) Solderers and brazers
- 785 (21) Assemblers
- 786 (21) Hand cutting and trimming occupations
- 787 (21) Hand molding, casting, and forming occupations
- 789 (21) Hand painting, coating, and decorating occupations

- 793 (21) Hand engraving and printing occupations
- 795 (21) Miscellaneous hand working occupations
- 796 (21) Production inspectors, checkers, and entertainers
- 797 (21) Production testers
- 798 (21) Production samplers and weighers
- 799 (21) Graders and sorters, exc. agricultural
- 803 (22) Supervisors, motor vehicle operators
- 804 (22) Truck drivers
- 806 (22) Driver-sales workers
- 808 (22) Bus drivers
- 809 (22) Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs
- 813 (22) Parking lot attendants
- 814 (22) Motor transportation occupations, n.e.c.
- 823 (22) Railroad conductors and yardmasters
- 824 (22) Locomotive operating occupations
- 825 (22) Railroad brake, signal, and switch operators
- 826 (22) Rail vehicle operators, n.e.c.
- 828 (22) Ship captains and mates, except fishing boats
- 829 (22) Sailors and deckhands
- 833 (22) Marine engineers
- 834 (22) Bridge, lock, and lighthouse tenders
- 843 (22) Supervisors, material moving equipment operators
- 844 (22) Operating engineers
- 845 (22) Longshore equipment operators
- 848 (22) Hoist and winch operators
- 849 (22) Crane and tower operators
- 853 (22) Excavating and loading machine operators
- 855 (22) Grader, dozer, and scraper operators
- 856 (22) Industrial truck and tractor equipment operators
- 859 (22) Miscellaneous material moving equipment operators
- 864 (22) Supervisors, handlers, equipment cleaners, and laborers, n.e.c.
- 865 (20) Helpers, mechanics and repairers
- 866 (19) Helpers, construction trades
- 867 (19) Helpers, surveyor
- 868 (19) Helpers, extractive occupations
- 869 (19) Construction laborers
- 874 (21) Production helpers
- 875 (22) Garbage collectors
- 876 (22) Stevedores
- 877 (22) Stock handlers and baggers
- 878 (22) Machine feeders and offbearers
- 883 (22) Freight, stock, and material handlers, n.e.c.
- 885 (22) Garage and service station related occupations
- 887 (22) Vehicle washers and equipment cleaners
- 888 (22) Hand packers and packagers
- 889 (22) Laborers, except construction

- 903 (23) Commissioned Officers and Warrant Officers
- 904 (23) Non-commissioned Officers and Other Enlisted Personnel
- 905 (23) Military occupation, rank not specified

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