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Attitudes about Stay-At-Home Fathers

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Attitudes about Stay-At-Home Fathers

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For: Methods of Social Research
Professor Catherine L. Moran, Ph.D.
University of New Hampshire
May 5, 2010

Abstract

Research has shown that stay-at-home fathers are evaluated more negatively than stay-at-home mothers (Rosenwasser, Gonzalez, and Adams 1985; Kroska 2001) and working parents (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2005). Stay-at-home fathers who are also breadwinners have been evaluated more positively than stay-at-home fathers who do not contribute financially to their families (Rosenwasser, Gonzalez, and Adams 1985). Participants in the present study were 236 students enrolled in undergraduate classes on the UNH Durham campus. Each participant read a description of one of six hypothetical parents and answered questions about his or her attitudes toward the hypothetical parent as well as his or her perceptions of others' attitudes toward the parent. Results indicated that UNH Durham students do not hold especially negative attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers, although they believe that others see stay-at-home fathers as less successful and less respected by their coworkers than employed parents and stay-at-home mothers.

Stay-at-home fathers represent a small but growing group within the United Sates. In 2002, 336,000 men were at home caring for their children. Of these men, 189,000 had wives that were employed full time (U.S. Census Bureau 2002). Stay-at-home fathers are sociologically important because they represent a reversal of traditional gender roles. Traditional norms about masculinity center on the idea that men should be breadwinners; stay-at-home fathers completely violate this idea. The theory of hegemonic masculinity holds that there is a "dominant cultural ideal of masculinity" which is "constructed in relation to femininities, and in relation to subordinated masculinities" (Connell 1985, 1987, as cited in Brandth and Kvande 1998:296). This suggests that stay-at-home fathers will be viewed as a subordinate group because they are not breadwinners and therefore do not conform to the "dominant cultural ideal of masculinity."

The present research assessed college students' attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. Specifically, it investigated whether stay-at-home fathers are evaluated more or less positively than working parents and stay-at-home mothers. In addition, it investigated differences in attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers who comply more or less with traditional masculine norms. This was operationalized in terms of economic productivity, since being a breadwinner is considered central to traditional conceptions of masculinity. Lastly, participant sex was treated as an independent variable.

Attitudes toward Stay-At-Home Fathers

Prentice and Carranza (2002) examined gender stereotypes about men and women. Two-hundred-eight undergraduates completed questionnaires about how desirable certain traits are for people in general, and men and women specifically, in America. The researchers wanted to explore norms that applied to both genders, as well as norms that were either stronger or weaker for men or women. They found that it is considered more important for men to possess traits that

are associated with work and business success and less important for them to possess nurturing traits. This provides evidence that traditional masculinity is associated with working and not with childcare.

Kroska (2001) asked 309 adults (mean age=48.6 years) to evaluate twelve different roles, including "a Housewife, a Househusband, [and] a Breadwinner" (p. 25). Subjects also rated the potency (power) and activity of each role. Subjects' evaluations of the househusband role were generally more negative than their evaluations of the housewife role. Similarly, they rated a househusband as less powerful than a housewife. Both male and female participants considered a (gender neutral) breadwinner to be better and more powerful than a househusband.

Research by Brescoll and Uhlmann (2005) directly addressed attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. In two studies, the researchers asked participants to rate their attitudes toward hypothetical parents. In the first study the sample consisted of 73 adults between the ages of 17 and 79 years old. Each participant read a description of a stay-at-home mother, a stay-at-home father, a working mother, or a working father. In all four cases, the hypothetical parent was described as having 3 children, including one infant. In the second study each of the 79 adult participants read about and rated all four hypothetical parents. In both studies, the researchers found that the stay-at-home father was viewed more negatively than the working father, the stay-at-home mother, and the working mother. In addition, in the first study, the stay-at-home father was rated as the worst parent.

Sinno and Killen (2009) also examined attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. The researchers interviewed 121 children (67 second-graders and 54 fifth-graders) about mothers and fathers who either work or stay home. According to the researchers, it was considered "more

acceptable for a father to want to get a full-time job than for a father to want to stay at home" (p. 21).

Taken together, the research by Prentice and Carranza (2002), Kroska (2001), Brescoll and Uhlmann (2005), and Sinno and Killen (2009) suggests that stay-at-home fathers do not conform to traditional masculine norms and are negatively evaluated as a consequence. One problem with comparing these findings is that all the researchers used slightly different variables and measures. For example, Kroska (2001) asked participants to rate the househusband role on scales of evaluation, activity, and potency. In contrast, Brescoll and Uhlmann (2005) asked participants to read descriptions of hypothetical parents and rate their attitudes. The problem is that attitudes and evaluations are not exactly the same, and the methods used to measure these variables are also different. Because this is a relatively new body of literature, some inconsistency has to be accepted. This paper includes research that measured evaluations of stay-at-home fathers, attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers, and approval of stay-at-home fathers.

The Effect of Breadwinner Status

Rosenwasser, Gonzalez, and Adams (1985) studied college students' evaluations of stay-at-home parents. They conducted two studies, each with a sample size of 249 participants. In both studies participants were asked to rate hypothetical stay-at-home mothers and fathers on scales of evaluation, potency, and activity. In order to determine whether economic productivity influenced evaluations, the researchers described each hypothetical housespouse as a journalist who made \$0, \$4,000, or \$24,000 per year. In general, they found that stay-at-home fathers were evaluated more negatively than stay-at-home mothers. With regard to economic productivity, they found that "higher earning stimulus persons were evaluated more positively" (p. 260). In

addition, in the first study, stay-at-home parents who earned \$24,000 per year were rated as more powerful and more active than stay-at-home parents who only earned \$4,000 per year. This suggests that if a stay-at-home father fulfills the breadwinner role to some degree, he will be viewed more positively.

Riggs (1997) also assessed the extent to which breadwinning is related to approval of stay-at-home fathers. She administered questionnaires to 117 college students. Each student read a description of one of eight hypothetical parents. In addition to manipulating the sex and employment status of the hypothetical parents, Riggs included "primary motive for current or previous employment" as an independent variable (p. 568). She found that "unemployed fathers who had worked for financial reasons received less approval than those who had worked for personal fulfillment" (p. 575). In other words, it was viewed as more acceptable for fathers to stay home if they were not previously the major breadwinner.

The Effect of Participant Sex

There is evidence to suggest that women evaluate stay-at-home fathers more positively than men do. Wentworth and Chell (2001) surveyed 526 undergraduate and graduate students about the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with traditional and nontraditional roles.

They found that women had less negative perceptions of househusbands and showed "a greater disagreement with the traditional role structure" compared to men (p. 647).

Riggs (1998) also found evidence of sex differences in approval of traditional and nontraditional gender roles. Her sample consisted of 120 college students. Each participant rated their approval of a hypothetical mother or father who would either stay home or return to work after the birth of a child. Riggs found that "females gave significantly higher approval ratings of an unemployed male target person than did males, and females gave significantly

higher approval ratings of an employed female target person than did males" (p. 440). This suggests that women are more accepting of nontraditional gender roles compared to men.

This paper has reviewed the literature on attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. There is ample evidence that stay-at-home fathers are evaluated more negatively than stay-at-home mothers (Rosenwasser, Gonzalez, and Adams 1985; Kroska 2001) and working parents (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2005). Researchers have also found that stay-at-home fathers are rated as less powerful than housewives (Kroska 2001), and considered worse parents than stay-at-home mothers, working mothers, and working fathers (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2005). One variable that seems to affect evaluations of stay-at-home fathers is the extent to which they financially contribute to their families. Rosenwasser, Gonzalez, and Adams (1985) found that stay-at-home parents who earned \$24,000 per year were evaluated more positively and rated as more powerful than stay-at-home parents who only earned \$4,000 per year. Participant sex also seems to affect evaluations of stay-at-home fathers. In general, women have less traditional attitudes toward gender roles, and are more likely to approve of stay-at-home fathers compared to men (Riggs 1998; Wentworth and Chell 2001).

On the basis of this evidence, I developed three hypotheses for the present research: (1) Stay-at-home fathers will be evaluated more negatively than stay-at-home mothers and working parents; (2) Stay-at-home fathers who are also breadwinners, and therefore conform to hegemonic masculinity, will be evaluated more positively than stay-at-home fathers who do not contribute financially to their families; and (3) Female participants will evaluate stay-at-home fathers more positively compared to male participants.

Methods

Sample

I chose to use cluster sampling to randomly sample ten classrooms on the UNH Durham campus. My population was all students enrolled in 400-799 level classes at UNH Durham. I chose to exclude independent studies, internships, lab sessions, and recitations because they often do not meet at scheduled times and sometimes overlap with other classes. First, I used an online list randomizer to randomize all undergraduate majors at UNH Durham and selected the first ten majors on the list. Next, I obtained lists of all the undergraduate classes in each of the ten majors. Finally, I used the same online list randomizer to randomly select one class from each of the ten majors. I then contacted the ten professors by email and requested permission to administer my survey to their students at the beginning of a class period. When professors denied me access to their classes, I randomly selected new classes from the same majors. A weakness of this sampling design was that it yielded some very small classes with less than 20 students. In addition, three of the randomly selected majors contain huge majorities of women. Therefore, my final sample contained an overrepresentation of women.

Participants were 236 UNH Durham students. Seventy-five percent of participants were female (N=177) and twenty-five percent were male (N=59). The mean age of participants was 20.8 years (range=18-36 years). While the vast majority of participants were undergraduate students, approximately ten participants were graduate students. This is due to the fact that one of the 700 level classes I sampled was also offered as a graduate course.

Procedure and Measures

I chose to use a survey design for this study. This allowed me to sample a large amount of participants easily. By administering the survey in person I achieved a high response rate. The questionnaire began with a statement of informed consent. Participation in the study was taken as consent. This was followed by one of six vignettes describing an employed father, an

employed mother, a stay-at-home father with an annual income of \$20,000, a stay-at-home mother with an annual income of \$20,000, a stay-at-home father with no income, or a stay-at-home mother with no income. The vignettes were adapted from Riggs (1997); Rosenwasser, Gonzales, and Adams (1985); and Brescoll and Uhlmann (2005).

After reading the vignettes, participants answered seven questions about their attitudes toward the hypothetical parents. The seven questions were originally developed by Brescoll and Uhlmann (2005). The first four items assessed participants' evaluations of the hypothetical parents. Participants rated their agreement with each of four statements on 6-point Likert-type scales (1=strongly disagree, 6=strongly agree). These were followed by a feeling thermometer, which asked each participant to rate how warmly or coldly he or she felt toward the hypothetical parent on a scale from zero to one hundred (0=extremely cold, 50=neutral, 100=extremely warm). The last two items assessed participants' opinions about others' attitudes toward the hypothetical parents. For example, one item read "John/Jennifer is the type of person that others see as successful." Again, participants rated their agreement with the two statements on 6-point Likert-type scales (1=strongly disagree, 6=strongly agree). Participants were asked to provide their sex and age at the end of the survey. Copies of the six vignettes and the survey instrument are located in the appendix.

Results

I chose to use SPSS to analyze my data. Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were performed for the six Likert-scale items and the feeling thermometer to determine if participants rated the six hypothetical parents significantly differently for any of the questions. In addition, two indexes were constructed. The first consisted of the four evaluation items and the second consisted of the two items about others' opinions. Considering how few items made up each

index, the reliability coefficients were high (0.83 for the evaluation index and 0.74 for the others' opinions index). An ANOVA was performed for each of the indexes to determine if ratings differed significantly between the six hypothetical parents. Unfortunately, the low number of male participants prevented me from examining sex differences statistically.

Evaluation

The first item required participants to agree or disagree with the statement, "John/Jennifer is a good parent." An ANOVA indicated that the differences in ratings for the six hypothetical parents approached significance (F= 2.19, *df*= 5/228, p=0.067). The stay-at-home father with an annual income of \$20,000 was considered the best parent (M=5.31, SD=0.83), followed by the stay-at-home mother with an annual income of \$20,000 (M=5.18, SD=0.56), the stay-at-home mother with no income (M=5.13, SD=0.58), the stay-at-home father with no income (M=5.03, SD=0.89), the employed father (M=4.87, SD=0.86), and the employed mother (M=4.79, SD=1.06).

ANOVAs revealed that differences in ratings for the other three evaluation items were not significant. In other words, participants did not differ across parent type in their agreement with the items "John/Jennifer is contributing equally to the family's well being," "John/Jennifer is selfish," and "John's/Jennifer's decision to work [stay home with his/her children] was a good one." An ANOVA was also performed for the evaluation index. This test revealed that evaluation index scores did not differ significantly across the six parent types.

Feeling Thermometer

Feeling thermometer ratings were generally high (M=71.1, SD=18.9, range=25-100). An ANOVA indicated that differences across parent type approached significance. Separate ANOVAs were then performed for male and female participants. Male participants did not

assign significantly different feeling thermometer ratings to the six hypothetical parents. On the other hand, for female participants, the differences were marginally significant (F= 2.18, *df*= 5/168, p= 0.059). Females felt most warmly toward the stay-at-home mother with no income (M= 77.1, SD=20.02) and least warmly toward the stay-at-home father with no income (M= 64.3, SD=19.79). Mean female feeling thermometer ratings for each hypothetical parent are presented in Table 1.

 Table 1. Female Feeling Thermometer Ratings by Parent Type

	Mean	SD
Employed Father	65	15.81
Stay-At-Home Father with Income	69.82	15.6
Stay-At-Home Father without Income	64.36	19.79
Employed Mother	65.65	19.78
Stay-At-Home Mother with Income	72.04	17.32
Stay-At-Home Mother without Income	77.07	20.02

Others' Opinions

The two items about others' opinions required participants to agree or disagree with the statements "John/Jennifer is the type of person that others see as successful," and "John's/Jennifer's coworkers respect his/her decision to work [stay home with his/her children]." An ANOVA performed on the first item revealed that differences in ratings for the six hypothetical parents were significant (F=12.42, *df*= 5/228, p<0.001). The employed mother was considered most successful (M=4.97, SD=0.71), followed by the employed father (M=4.63, SD=0.77), the stay-at-home mother with no income (M=4.08, SD=1.19), the stay-at-home mother with an annual income of \$20,000 (M=4.03, SD=1.14), the stay-at-home father with an annual income of \$20,000 (M=3.74, SD=0.99), and the stay-at-home father with no income (M=3.36, SD=1.31).

An ANOVA performed on the item "John's/Jennifer's coworkers respect his/her decision to work [stay home with his/her children]" revealed that differences in ratings for the six hypothetical parents were significant (F= 5.21, *df*= 5/224, p<0.001). The employed father was considered most respected by his coworkers (M=4.77, SD=0.81), followed by the employed mother (M=4.67, SD=0.93), the stay-at-home mother with no income (M=4.37, SD=0.97), the stay-at-home mother with an annual income of \$20,000 (M=4.24, SD=1.16), the stay-at-home father with an annual income of \$20,000 (M=3.92, SD=0.98), and the stay-at-home father with no income (M=3.79, SD=1.44).

The mean score on the others' opinions index was 8.4 (SD=2.0, range=2-12). An ANOVA indicated that there were significant differences in scores for the six hypothetical parents (F= 10.93, df= 5/224, p<.001). Employed mothers and fathers scored highest on others' opinions, while the stay-at-home fathers scored lowest. The mean index scores for each parent type are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Others' Opinions Index Scores by Parent Type

	Mean	SD
Employed Father	9.41	1.45
Stay-At-Home Father with Income	7.67	1.69
Stay-At-Home Father without Income	7.11	2.39
Employed Mother	9.64	1.5
Stay-At-Home Mother with Income	8.32	1.93
Stay-At-Home Mother without Income	8.45	1.93

Discussion

The results of this research provide partial support for my hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that stay-at-home fathers would be evaluated more negatively than stay-at-home mothers and working parents. I actually found that the stay-at-home father with an annual income of \$20,000 was considered the best parent and the employed mother and father were

considered the worst parents. There were no significant differences for the other three evaluation items. In support of my hypothesis, female participants felt least warm toward the stay-at-home dad with no earnings. The results of the others' opinions items also supported my hypothesis. Participants believed that others view stay-at-home fathers as less successful and less respected than working parents and stay-at-home mothers.

The second hypothesis was that stay-at-home fathers who are also breadwinners would be evaluated more positively than stay-at-home fathers who do not contribute financially to their families. The results of the present study fully supported this hypothesis. The stay-at-home father with an annual income of \$20,000 was considered a better parent than the stay-at-home father with no income. Female participants felt more warmly toward the stay-at-home father with income compared to the stay-at-home father without income. In addition, according to participants, others view the stay-at-home father with an annual income of \$20,000 as more successful and more respected by his coworkers than the stay-at-home father with no income.

The third hypothesis was that female participants would evaluate stay-at-home fathers more positively compared to male participants. Unfortunately, the small number of men in my sample prevented me from analyzing sex differences. The overrepresentation of women is also a concern because it may have skewed the results. In other words, the results of this study primarily represent the attitudes of female students at UNH Durham. It is quite likely that a different pattern of results would have been obtained if an equal number of males and females had participated.

It seems that students at UNH Durham have conflicting attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. Contrary to the finding by Brescoll and Uhlmann (2005) that stay-at-home fathers are considered worse parents than working parents and stay-at-home mothers, participants rated the

stay-at-home father with income as the best parent. A possible explanation for this finding is that the stay-at-home father with income represents the best of both worlds. He is a good parent because he is a primary caregiver to his child, and also because he fulfills the role of breadwinner. It also makes sense that the employed parents were rated as the worst parents, considering that they spend less time with their children than the stay-at-home parents.

Although participants did not appear to hold negative attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers, they agreed that other people hold those negative attitudes. This is an interesting finding and suggests that there might have been a social desirability bias behind responses. It is possible that participants did not want to admit that they were prejudiced against stay-at-home fathers, but felt comfortable admitting that other people are prejudiced.

Studying attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers is sociologically important because negative attitudes can lead to stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. These, in turn, could affect the quality of life of stay-at-home fathers. The results of my research indicate that students at UNH Durham do not hold especially negative attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. This finding has positive implications for society. Although my results are not generalizable beyond the UNH Durham population, they do suggest that people might be becoming more accepting of stay-at-home fathers. Research conducted twenty-five years ago, as well as research conducted as recently as five years ago, revealed much more negative attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers (Rosenwasser, Gonzalez, and Adams 1985; Kroska 2001; Brescoll and Uhlmann 2005).

There are a few possible explanations for the relatively unprejudiced attitudes held by participants in this study. I have already addressed the possibility that a social desirability bias may have been acting, as well as the possible effect of the overrepresentation of female

participants. It is also possible that this finding has to do with the fact that more women than men now attend UNH Durham. College students today might realize that as women achieve higher educational attainment they may be more able than their husbands to obtain high-paying jobs. For this reason, college students might increasingly view being a stay-at-home father as a viable option. Along the same line, the current economic recession may have affected participants' attitudes. In this economic climate, it is not guaranteed that college students will obtain jobs after graduation. Therefore, college students may be more open to family arrangements other than the currently conventional dual-earner arrangement. They may anticipate the possibility that only one partner will be able to get a job, and it might be the woman. This could lead participants to be more open to the possibility of becoming or marrying a stay-at-home father.

Limitations of the present study include the relatively small sample size, as well as the overrepresentation of women in the sample. Due to the fact that there were six versions of the survey, 236 participants was not an ideal sample size. I would have liked to sample closer to 350 participants. It is likely that I would have found more statistically significant results with a larger sample. The fact that only 25% of the participants were men was also a problem. Only approximately ten men completed each version of the survey. This prevented me from analyzing sex differences in attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. The overrepresentation of female participants was primarily the result of random sampling. Three of the majors that were randomly selected from all undergraduate majors were Hospitality Management, Occupational Therapy, and Women's Studies. This yielded three large classes that contained primarily women. The lesson in this is that random sampling is not perfect. Although it is highly valued

by researchers, it can lead to a sample that is not completely representative of the population under study.

Future researchers should continue to investigate attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. This is an important topic that has implications for society. The results of the present study suggest that UNH Durham students do not hold especially negative attitudes toward stay-at-home fathers. Future research should investigate whether my findings actually represent changing cultural attitudes. Research should be conducted at universities in other parts of the country, as well as among adults and children.

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Appendix

Parent Descriptions

Female X Stay-at-home X No Income

Jennifer is a 34-year-old married woman with a one-year-old baby. Jennifer's husband is employed full-time outside of the home, and Jennifer previously worked full-time as a newspaper reporter. Jennifer decided to stop working after the birth of their baby and plans to stay home with their child throughout the childhood years. Jennifer still writes as a hobby but does not earn any money.

Female X Stay-at-home X Income

Jennifer is a 34-year-old married woman with a one-year-old baby. Jennifer's husband is employed full-time outside of the home, and Jennifer previously worked full-time as a newspaper reporter. Jennifer decided to stop working after the birth of their baby and plans to stay home with their child throughout the childhood years. Jennifer does some freelance writing from home and earns about \$20,000 a year.

Female X Employed

Jennifer is a 34-year-old married woman with a one-year-old baby. Jennifer's husband is employed full-time outside of the home, and Jennifer works as a newspaper reporter. Jennifer decided to return to work full-time after the birth of their baby and plans to continue working outside the home throughout the childhood years.

Male X Stay-at-home X No Income

John is a 34-year-old married man with a one-year-old baby. John's wife is employed full-time outside of the home, and John previously worked full-time as a newspaper reporter. John decided to stop working after the birth of their baby and plans to stay home with their child throughout the childhood years. John still writes as a hobby but does not earn any money.

Male X Stay-at-home X Income

John is a 34-year-old married man with a one-year-old baby. John's wife is employed full-time outside of the home, and John previously worked full-time as a newspaper reporter. John decided to stop working after the birth of their baby and plans to stay home with their child throughout the childhood years. John does some freelance writing from home and earns about \$20,000 a year.

Male X Employed

John is a 34-year-old married man with a one-year-old baby. John's wife is employed full-time outside of the home, and John works as a newspaper reporter. John decided to return to work full-time after the birth of their baby and plans to continue working outside the home throughout the childhood years.

Attitudes about Parents

A research project on attitudes about parents is being conducted by Tanya Rouleau, a student in the Department of Sociology at the University of New Hampshire. Your class was randomly selected from all classes at UNH; your participation is important. Your participation will take approximately ten minutes. You are not required to participate in this research and you may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty. You many also leave blank any items on the questionnaire you prefer not to answer.

Please do not write your name on this survey. All responses will be treated confidentially, and information about individual responses will not be released.

If you agree to participate in this research project as described, please complete the attached questionnaire. If you do not want to participate, please sit quietly and return a blank survey at any time.

Once you are done please drop your questionnaire in the box located at the front of the room. Thank you.

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me at tjx34@unh.edu. You may also contact my professor, Dr. Catherine Moran, at clmoran@unh.edu.

Please read the following paragraph before answering any questions.

Jennifer is a 34-year-old married woman with a one-year-old baby. Jennifer's husband is employed full-time outside of the home, and Jennifer previously worked full-time as a newspaper reporter. Jennifer decided to stop working after the birth of their baby and plans to stay home with their child throughout the childhood years. Jennifer still writes as a hobby but does not earn any money.

Please check the box that indicates your level of agreement with each of the following statements.

	Strongly	Disagree	Slightly	Slightly	Agree	Strongly
	Disagree		Disagree	Agree		Agree
John/Jennifer is a good						
parent.						
John/Jennifer is contributing						
equally to the family's well-						
being.						
John/Jennifer is selfish.						
John's/Jennifer's decision to						
work [stay home with his/her						
children] was a good one.						

children] was a good one.						
On a scale from 0-100, how wa 100=extremely warm]	ırmly or coldly o	do you feel towa	rd this person?	[0=extremely co	old, 50=neutral,	

Please check the box that indicates your level of agreement with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
John/Jennifer is the type of person that others see as successful.						
John's/Jennifer's coworkers respect his/her decision to work [stay home with						

his/her children]. Please answer the following questions.

What is your sex? a. Male b. Female					
How old are you in years?					