

Evaluations of change:
Differences between parents and
how father needs to change

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The word *family* has dramatically changed and transformed over the last few generations. The meaning of the word, like many others, is shaped by various outside factors; experience, culture, social perceptives, relationships, and gender views. Nevertheless, the true meaning is held by the individual and one's internal definition of the word. Like the word *family*, it could be argued that *fatherhood* is also left loosely defined, leaving the individual to create the exact characterization. Research has shown that parents create their own parenting theory based on socialization, experience, culture, social perceptives, relationships, and gender views (Belsky, 1984).

The Family and Pop Culture

In 2009, a national poll was taken of "who is your favorite TV dad?" and not surprisingly, two of the most iconic families for their generations were chosen; Dr. Cliff Huxtable of *The Cosby Show* and Ward Cleaver of *Leave it to Beaver* (The Harris Poll, 2009). In their own way, these fictional fathers have become role models to the fathers of today, specifically for Caucasian and Hispanic men. These two characters hold very different roles in their family, however, they represent polar opposite interpretations of what it means to be a father, similar to that of what a real (non-fictional) man goes through in his quest to be a father.

Ward and June Cleaver, from *Leave It to Beaver*, are often depicted as the archetypal parents of the 1950s generation. Ward's character is depicted as having few interests at home, other than monitoring his sons, eating his dinner at the head of the table, reading his evening newspaper on the living room couch and enjoying coffee. In

contrast to Ward, June is the picture perfect housewife who is dedicated to her family. When her boys arrive home from school, she is shown to be in her immaculate kitchen preparing their afternoon snack, making an elaborate dinner or icing a cake, while always wearing a perfect outfit, hair, makeup, and beautiful pearls.

The flawless Cleaver family paints a picture that was traditionally thought of as the role model family. The family is headed by the breadwinner father who's only role in raising the children is to set good moral standards and discipline them. Like Ward Cleaver, traditionally, fathers have been seen as the providers of the family (Lamb, 2004), which has resulted in much of the past research focusing on the amount of financial support fathers provided and how that contributed to the child's well-being. All the while, the stay-at-home mom cooks for the family and takes care of the home. In modern terms, this dynamic can be seen as outdated or unreachable for some families. Although, this is still the standard of many homes and families, it is not necessarily possible for this to be the cookie cutter for them all. With the movement towards gender equality and parents playing equal roles in their children's lives, these stereotypes are viewed as outdated and extreme (Lamb, 2004).

With a presence of a modern movement to change and equalize gender roles, the definition of fatherhood is also changing. Cliff and Clair Huxtable from *The Cosby Show*, depict a more modern parenting duo that seems to represent the polar opposite of Cleaver's. Like Ward, Cliff is a working and dedicated father, however, unlike Ward's stoic nature, Cliff is very eccentric and silly with his family, especially his children. Clair

is a powerful, assertive, liberated woman who works as a lawyer, yet her character is still motherly and silly. She is the head of the household, often Cliff has to sneak around to do bad things and she is the chief disciplinarian of the children.

Two very different iconic families, yet they are representative of what fathers are going through today to understand their role within their families and with their children. Just from these two shows ranging from the 1950s to the 1980s, within the media there is a cultural shift in the depiction of men as fathers. As the role of the father changes, the meaning of what it is to be a father and the expectations from both men and women about his role may widely vary from person to person more than in comparison to previous generations. As a result, men may have to redefine their internal expectation for their roles as father (Parke, 2002) within their family situation. Without the creation of the modern day father or even an outline for those to follow, it would be nearly impossible to shake the outdated stereotyped gender roles fathers have been labeled with for well over half a century or more.

This study seeks to explore the role of the father within the father-child relationship. Specifically, researchers have sought to understand how mothers and fathers describe what the father needs to change within his relationship with the child. In addition to these narratives, surveys of gender roles and masculine attributes will be used to understand gender roles, and whether the parents define themselves as traditional or nontraditional in their beliefs (see measures for full explanation) and how those views influence their reports of the father. These constructions may lead to differences in

expectations and roles for the father, which inevitably may differ by gender. By understanding the consistencies and inconsistencies between the parents' perceptions of the relationship, researchers can understand how parents' beliefs and the role of the father is changing and how mothers and fathers are defining his role.

Fatherhood as a Changing Social Construction

Ideas about what makes a father, expectations of how he should behave, should not behave, and definitions of good fathering are ever-changing social constructions rather than absolute truths (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998). The foundation of paternal involvement was defined by Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985); nevertheless, father involvement has been modified, shifted, changed, and conceptualized in different ways as research progresses. Since academia measures their participants who are a product of cultural trends, it can be suggested that these conclusions of past, present and future research are influenced by culture and are merely measuring the typical father of that time.

In comparison to previous generations, the current generation of fathers may be finding more flexibility within their role as women enter the work force. As dual earning families become more common, both men and women are redefining their individual roles and expectations not only for themselves but also for their partners. It is more socially acceptable and encouraged for fathers to be warm, involved and loving unlike the old-fashioned stereotypical idea of the stoic, uninvolved father and the warm, involved mother of the 1950's. However, as mothers leave the families to return to work, there is

more pressure than ever before for men to take on more responsibilities within the home (e.g., helping with housework and childcare), in contrast, single earner families usually has lower father involvement (Riley, 1990). In recent decades, modern women asked men to take on greater roles within the family and childcare (Hochschild, 1989), reinforcing the notion that fatherhood was not limited to just breadwinning. Additionally, an analysis of historical trends of gender roles in the 20th century has shown that fatherhood ideals are shifting towards fathers playing an equal role in co-parenting (Pleck & Pleck, 1997). Responsible fathering is even defined by Doherty, Kouneski, and Erickson (1998) as establishing paternity, being present, taking and sharing economic support, and being actively involved within the child's life in addition to a collaborative helping relationship with the mother, suggesting a co-parenting relationship.

The definition of father has not only changed socially over the past decades but also within research. Most family research about fathers has been overshadowed by the role of the mother until the last generation, and what research has been done on fathers has mainly focused on the father's behaviors (Lamb, 2004). To determine to what extent the father played a role in the child's life, past research relied heavily on father involvement to characterize and define the role of the father. One of the most foundational papers by Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine (1985) proposed that father involvement was broken down into three categories: (1) parental engagement, direct interaction with the child; (2) accessibility, how available the father is for the child; and (3) responsibility, ensuring that the child is taken care of and providing resources. Since

this paper was released, various interpretations of father involvement have been evolved. A notable variation of father involvement was created by Hofferth (2003), which described the paternal aspect as: (1) time spent with the child, (2) warmth, (3) monitoring and control, and responsibility. While similar to what Lamb, et al. (1985) created; Hofferth (2003) acknowledges affection or *warmth* as a key within the relationship.

Scholars have been debating the extent that fathers' involvement has increased in the last 20 years (Pleck, 1997); however, most studies have used the mother as a comparison. Pleck (1997) summarized a series of studies that were done in 1980-2000, which compared father involvement to mothers and found that fathers spent about 40% (with 100% meaning equal contribution as mother) of the amount of time and were available only about 2/3 of the time as mothers. However, if this is compared to Pleck's analysis of the 1970 to early 1980's, fathers were only 33% engaged and 50% accessible compared to mothers. It can be concluded that there is a cultural shift towards fathers being more involved than previous generations and moving towards a more egalitarian parental relationship in terms of the relationship with the child. In a similar study by Bianchi, Robinson and Milkie (2006) fathers' engagement in 2000 was 94% higher than in 1965. However in 2000, fathers were still only spending 65% as much time with their children in comparison to their spouse, nevertheless an increase of 20% since 1965.

The Influence of Gender Roles and Fatherhood

Gender roles are a powerful influence in today's society. Gender role stereotypes have the potential to distort definitions of good parenting and may suggest mothers are

more nurturing, emotional, capable at raising children, and loving (Pleck, 1997); whereas men may be thought of as less emotional, stronger, viewed as a better disciplinarian and better suited for hard labor. Although these stereotypes are viewed as outdated and extreme (Lamb, 2004), such beliefs still influence individual social constructions of gender, even in the context of parenting (Amato & Riviera, 1999). Nevertheless, these stereotypes leave the modern day fathers role in parenting unknown, leaving one to fall back upon the outdated gender roles as guidance as a man and as a father.

Many couples experience tremendous anxiety and conflict in sharing parental responsibilities due to their individual gender expectations and parental involvement (Coltrane, 1996). Unlike women whose roles traditionally fall within the household, men have been reluctant to acknowledge their duties of helping with housework, as they believed providing for their family was their primary contribution (Pleck & Pleck, 1997). The struggle of adapting to more egalitarian family norms indicates that there is a struggle amongst fathers to understand their role within the home. Previous generations defined parenting roles and expectations via gender, with men having very low expectations for their contributions towards child-oriented tasks (i.e., care giving; Lamb, 1997); it could be argued that these social norms may explain some influence on parents today and how they identify with their roles within their family. Lein (1979) found that some men were having difficulty adjusting to the nontraditional expectations, due to the lack of social network in which they relate or talk about parenthood. Additionally, it was found that men's social networks provided them with less encouragement and fewer

resources (e.g., support, advice), when it came to fatherhood (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1993).

Gender ideologies (internally based) represent what individuals view as appropriate roles for both men and women, which can influence and shape one's behavior (McHale & Huston, 1984) and is an important factor when researching parent-child relationships and behaviors. Gender ideology-beliefs about appropriate gender roles and norms--has been changing throughout the latter half of the 20th century (Coltrane, 1995) and have been in line with the greater prevalence of women entering the workforce. A study conducted by Deutsch, Lussier, and Servis (1993) suggested that fathers with non-traditional gender ideologies (i.e., co-parenting, emotionally involved, investment) showed greater involvement with their children in comparison to fathers who had traditional beliefs, indicating that less traditional fathers may be more involved with the child on a regular basis. In a research study examining gender ideologies and how they affect parents' behavior, it was found that fathers who had more egalitarian views and beliefs did significantly more housework in comparison to fathers who had more traditional views (Coltrane & Ishii-Kuntz, 1992). This research suggests that the nontraditional father may be more involved within the family dynamics and structure as opposed to just supporting the family financially. Overall, fathers' behaviors within the family may affect how the father interacts and parents the child and the dynamic of the parental relationship. This suggests that both parents' beliefs about gender identities are needed to truly evaluate the father-child relationship and participation within the home.

Mothers View of Parenting and the Affects on Farther

Developmental theorists have argued that the foundation of the marital relationship remains the most important source of support for both parents (e.g., Belsky, 1990; Emery & Tuer, 1993; Simons, Lorenz, Conger, & Wu, 1993). Nevertheless, within the parenting realm, previous research has consistently used the mother as the benchmark to compare father involvement with his children. In terms of the parent-child relationship, the mother has been the primary focus for the adjustment and outcome of the child. In most societies, the mother is the primary caretaker and is considered the natural link to the child (Coltrane, 1988). Research hints at the idea that it is the expectations of the mother that shape the role of the father within the family. Current research has shown that fathers do contribute to children's adjustment when paired with a mother's involvement (Amato & Riviera, 1999; Cookston & Finlay, 2006). However, while father's behaviors have been shown to explain children's adjustment, what is far less known is how parents make sense of their parenting behaviors with their children.

The mother-child relationship is an extremely important factor in the development of a child. In addition, the relationship between father and child is just as important in the overall picture of what shapes the child as a person. Researchers note that the role of the father loses its definition when isolated from the mother, her expectations, and social expectations surrounding childrearing (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998). When controlling for mother, father loses most of his significant influence on the child, which may suggest that mom is a mediator for the father-child relationship.

Through understanding that mom may have an influence on the fathers' behaviors and relationship with the child, it can be suggested that mothers may also influence his gender role attitudes. A study conducted by Greenstein (1996) showed that mothers' gender attitudes prevented some husbands from being as involved with the housework as they would like to be. From this influence that the mother has over the household and child, it can be predicted that the mother mediates and shapes the type of family she has (e.g., traditional vs. modern). With this idea, it could be suggested that traditional mothers' beliefs about her role within the family as well as the father's role may influence her behavior towards the father. The mother may not encourage or reinforce the father's non-traditional parenting behavior (i.e., being more involved with the children) in comparison to traditional behaviors (i.e., discipline).

Family Type and Perceptions of Fatherhood

The amount of variability within fatherhood complicates family research. With the divorce rate so high, and more than 40% of first marriages ending in divorce (Kreider, 2005), a new generation of family dynamic and structure, such as intact, divorced, and separated has been created. Such high rates of divorce leave the standard model of a family (i.e., two biological parents and 2.5 children) to be outdated. Nevertheless, despite the family makeup, the parental relationship remained vital to the child's development (Katz, & Gottman, 1996). These new social trends within family make-ups (i.e., single parent, biological and step) and divorce have been related to a change in fatherhood norms. In 2001, only 62% of children lived in a traditional home structure where two

biological parents resided, 38% of children lived in nontraditional households, such as single parent and step family households (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005).

Nontraditional families have been shown to have less traditional conceptions of fatherhood such that a stable and loving male figure (e.g., stepfather, grandfather) may provide a child with the fatherly support that is missing from the biological father (Catlett & McKenry, 2006), or a single father may take on both motherly and fatherly roles to make up for an absent mother, or stepfather. Due to the differing norms related to family life and marriage, the meaning of fatherhood is no longer about having a genetic link to a child but the amount of involvement and level of emotional connection that one has to a child (Schenck et al, 2009; Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999).

Culture and Perceptions of Fatherhood

The ethnic and racial identity of the United States is rich and diverse, creating a variety of standards, beliefs and methods surrounding child rearing. Previous research has indicated that fathers may differ across culture (Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999). Cultures can be extremely influential on an individual's identity, gender perception and behaviors, which inevitably can affect the social construction of fatherhood within the culture and eventually his role as a father (Ajzen, 1991; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Mirande, 1997). Markus and Kitayama (1991) found within their study that identity was mediated by cultural influences, specifically, individuals create their identities based upon their culture's social roles and norms.

What it means to be a father and a man is greatly influenced by one's culture and can be vastly different when comparing between cultures. The benchmark of fatherhood is a Caucasian, middle class parent, about which the most research has been done (McKenry et al., 1989). Caucasian parenting styles are perceived as functional (Julian, McKenry, & McKelvey, 1994); however, this model may not be ideal for all situations. For instance, the Mexican American culture promotes traditional gender roles (Galanti, 2003) supporting the stereotypical strong males who are the disciplinarians and providers of the family (Galanti, 2003), while the women are expected to take care of the household and children. Within Mexican American families, for example, 32% of fathers reported that they are solely in charge of disciplining their children (Child Trends, 2006).

Measuring the Father-Child Relationship

Defining. In early father research, the father-child relationship was measured and categorized by the following dimensions: warmth, control, sex role modeling, playfulness, independence training (Lamb, Pleck, & Levine, 1987). Later, the idea of paternal accessibility (e.g., how available the father is to the child), paternal engagement (e.g., care giving, playing, leisure), and paternal responsibility (e.g., being aware of the child's needs and knowing how to respond) were introduced. Lamb et al., (1987) also have alluded to a model in which father's involvement is comprised of his motivation, skills, social support, and institutional practices (Lamb, Pleck, Charnov & Levine, 1985). Research shows that greater parental involvement in the child's life has shown to better the child's overall development (Coltrane, 1996) and a balanced, positive parent-child

relationship (i.e., loving, supportive, consistent) promotes better parent-child communication (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). Additionally, a positive relationship paired with monitoring may promote higher parent involvement in a child's life, which then leads to greater awareness of the child's activities (Criss, Shaw & Ingolsby, 2003). Finally, Doherty, Kouneski, and Erickson (1998) define being a father, by responsible fatherhood. This notion describes postponing fatherhood until one is emotionally and financially ready, to be willing to be positively involved within the child's life as a father in partnership with the mother.

Performance, such as economic provisioning is much easier to recognize and measure in comparison to some behaviors (e.g., involvement and responsiveness). Some methods of involvement may be unobservable, thus going undetected or unnoticed, which may lead some to conclude that fathers are uninvolved or are underestimating their involvement. According to Lamb et al., (1987), these unobservable acts generally fall under the category of *responsibility*. These dimensions allow for a greater encompassing view of the father, which allows research to understand the role of the father within the relationship with the child.

Quantitative methods. Over the years, the father-child relationship has been examined through a variety of approaches. The earliest research about fathers occurred during World War II to determine if the father's absence during war affected the child (see Stolz, 1954). Stolz, used a *binary research approach*, that merely addressed the presence of the father within the home (Day Gavazzi & Acock, 2001) and the level of

involvement and non-involvement based on the amount of time the father spent or did not spend with the child (Lamb, 2000). This was the first time a binary method was used to compare mother and father interviews with the child's behavior and resulted in inferences made about the parents' roles and their affects on their children (Lamb, 2000). This methodology continues to remain popular.

Mixed methods. In the 1990's, longitudinal data (e.g., The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth and Fragile families) became the trend in the psychological field and drew in incredible amounts of useful data. Nonetheless, surveys can have a limited focus. In a recent examination of national surveys about the family, it was found that a significant portion of the questions about father focused on his presence within the family and his financial contribution (Coley, 2001). This highlights that researchers have been unable to fully develop tools that accurately capture the variations and the role of today's father. By using both qualitative and quantitative methods of research and various designs, researchers are more likely to gain a more vivid idea and perception about the father in today's society and home.

Narrative methods are increasingly being used to explain family processes (e.g., Fiese et al., 1999). Through a qualitative methodology, essential dimensions can be coded for and measured more effectively, in comparison to a representative quantitative survey. Nevertheless, determining the fundamental elements which outlines and makes up a father is a task within its own. As previously stated, the social construction of the father is one that is ambiguous and is undergoing a period of transition. By exploring the

expectations of fatherhood via interviews, it allows parents, not researchers, to set the guidelines in which fathers will be measured by. The interview method allows parents to give a firsthand report about their relationship rather than being observed by a third party. Additionally, it allows for redefining older definitions and the exploration of dimensions that may have been previously overlooked by other studies, rather than forcing preexisting dimensions onto the data.

Problems. Recent literature is focusing on the mother and her perception of the father's relationship with the child; however, there are concern about the validity of these secondary observations, particularly in how the variables may not be accurately represented. While there are studies that review what the father does in his relationship with the child, no studies were found that addressed both mothers' and fathers' perceptions on what the father needed to change. Many researchers have questioned whether mothers are capable of accurately reporting on the father and many claim that mothers' underestimate father involvement with the child (Coley & Morris, 2002). Very few studies have compared both mother and father narratives of father's behavior and those that did found that mothers reported significantly lower levels of involvement in comparison to father narratives (e.g., Braver et al., 1993; Coley & Morris, 2002; Manning & Smock, 2000). With research indicating that mother reports on the father-child relationship may have observer's biases (Kenny & Albright, 1987) or that mothers may have a different idea as to what it means to be a father, it makes sense that father narratives should be included when studying the relationship between the father and the

child. By researching both the mother's and the father's perceptions of the father-child relationship, researchers can gain a better understanding of what exactly is expected of the father within his role of a parent.

Focusing on What the Father Needs to Change in the Father-Child Relationship

Little is known about what qualities the parents agree upon that the father does well, and even less is known about what parents think fathers' need to improve or change. Brunskill, Leer and Cookston (2008) provided evidence that both parents significantly identified the same dimensions and were highly positively correlated on what the father did well, however, the results were very different for what the father needed to change (see appendix A for tables). One possible explanation for this may be the different views each parent has about the father's role in his job as a parent. Findings suggested that parents were identifying similar qualities on what the father did well; however when asked what the father needed to change, parents were mentioning significantly different dimensions, indicating a difference of opinion. Due to these previous findings, this paper will focus on change to further understand why parents are not identifying the same dimensions when analyzing the father-child relationship, are correlated when they are asked to complement the relationship.

It has been proposed that the biological and emotional differences between motherhood and fatherhood may be at the root for the differences in their perceptions of the father role. If measured, it is possible that mothers and fathers would label different attributes with greater importance. Since the question of change (what can the father

change/improve in the father-child relationship; see Appendix B for father questions and Appendix C for mother questions), has never really been asked, the behaviors mentioned by each parent may mirror those of their traditional roles. It could be argued that it is easier to agree on what a father does well in his relationship since it is merely identifying behaviors, however the degree how well he does the behavior may vary as identified in Coley and Morris (2002). Subsequently, it may be harder to agree on what the father needs to change. One's personal beliefs about the role of fatherhood may come into play, in addition to criticizing your partner as a parent.

Current Study

As stated above, fathers can be involved in their children's lives in many ways and have been assigned different responsibilities during different historical times (Pleck & Pleck, 1980). However, studying fatherhood and understanding the meaning of the role is far more complex than simply measuring behavior. According to Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986, 1994) ecological perspective, to understand the individual (i.e., the microsystem) one must take into account all other influences and systems the individual is a part of (i.e., the mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem). Previous research has shown that fathers' level of involvement with the child is affected by not only his own perceptions but also by others (e.g., mom, family, and culture). These influences then affect how much time he should and is spending in different areas of involvement, in addition to how much time he can realistically spend with his children given work demands (Marsiglio, Day, & Lamb, 2000). Nevertheless, some areas of father

involvement may be harder to measure in comparison to others (Pleck, 2010). Some dimensions (e.g., provisioning) may be more observable while others (e.g., responsiveness) may be attached to belief systems.

The present study examined narratives from mother and father dyads. In addition to the narratives, we assessed gender role attitudes (GRA). This study aims to research mothers' and fathers' perceptions of what the fathers need to change because previous research has show that there is incongruence between parents. Based upon the literature, it was hypothesized that 1) mothers will indicate that the fathers need to change their emotional quality and responsiveness more often than the father will mention he needs to change those behaviors; 2) fathers will more frequently mention that they need to change their level of investment, discipline, and provisioning than the mothers; 3) gender role attitudes (GRA) scores for mothers and fathers will be positively correlated, in that couples will have similar GRA attitudes; 4) GRA will be predictive of the parents' reported dimensions, specifically that parents who report higher GRA (more traditional beliefs) will be more likely to mention provisioning and discipline as areas father should change while those who report a lower GRA (less traditional) will be more likely to mention father needs to change in his investment, responsiveness and emotional quality; 5) masculinity attitudes (MA) will be positively correlated for mothers and fathers in that couples will have similar MA attitudes; 6) MA will be predictive of the parents' reported dimensions specifically that parents who report higher MA (more traditional) will be more likely to mention provisioning and discipline, while those who report a lower MA

(less traditional) will mention investment, responsiveness and emotional quality, and 7) GRA and MA will explain the overall mean difference between mothers' and fathers' reports of each narrative dimension after the role played by child gender, ethnicity, and father status (biological or step) has been explained.

Method

Participants

The analysis for this paper will be based on the cross-sectional data from the first wave of data collected from the Parents and Youth Study (PAYS). The PAYS data included 392 couples, however due to incomplete surveys or narratives, 280 couples were used. Families lived in Phoenix, Arizona ($n = 140$), or Riverside, California ($n = 140$). Within the sample, there were Caucasian fathers who were biological fathers ($n = 87$) and stepfathers ($n = 61$), and Mexican American fathers who were biological fathers ($n = 77$) and stepfathers ($n = 55$) in addition to Caucasian ($n = 159$) and Mexican American ($n = 121$) biological mothers who were included in this study.

Materials

A No. 2 pencil was used by a trained interviewer who filled out a 67-page interview, additionally, participants responded to Likert scales cards during the qualitative survey. A tape recorder and cassette tape were used to record the narrative portion of the study. A transcription machine and computer were used to transcribe and code the narratives.

Procedure

Recruitment methods varied by state. In Arizona, students were asked to fill out a postcard which indicated their family's ethnicity and structure (i.e., divorced or intact), which was then allowed for random selection. California state laws prevented children from answering questions about household demographics; therefore, children's emergency contact cards were used to create the recruitment list. After the list was compiled, families were then contacted via phone. Within each family, the research team obtained consent from the father, mother, and a seventh grade target child. It was required that all family members were of the same ethnicity, (e.g., Mexican American or Caucasian).

Participating family members were interviewed separately in convenient locations of their choice (e.g. at their home, in a park) in Arizona or at the research team office in California. Individual in-person interviews lasted approximately two hours and consisted of four qualitative questions that were recorded by the interviewer, as well as a quantitative self-administered survey that contained standardized measures and evaluated sensitive information. Interviews were conducted in English depending on their level of English fluency. Of the 392 families, 112 had missing interviews or inaudible tapes leaving 280 families to be included in this study.

Measures

Demographics. Standard measures of ethnicity (i.e., Hispanic or Caucasian) were asked. Families were recruited if they fell into one of two categories, intact (parents were

married and both biologically related to the child) or step (the parents are married and the father is a stepparent to the target child).

Gender Role Attitudes (GRA). A 5 item measure about attitudes regarding gender roles in marriage and childrearing on a 5-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree; Knight et al., 2007). The original Cronbach alphas for mother and father were .66 and .67, for this paper the alphas were found to be .57 and .66.

The measure included statements such as “Mothers are the main person responsible for raising children” or “Men should earn most of the money for the family so women can stay home and take care the children and home” to determine how the participant viewed and felt about the role of one’s gender and his/her place within the family. A higher mean score indicated more traditional gender role beliefs, while a lower mean score indicated a more modern view of gender roles in which men and women are equal within the family.

Masculinity Attitudes (MA). This 8 item measure explores parents attitudes and perceptions of traditional masculinity based on a reverse coded 4-point scale (1 = strongly agree to 4 = strongly disagree; Mom $\alpha = .62$; Dad $\alpha = .71$). The scale included statements such as “A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children” to better understand the influence and role masculinity has within the participants life. For this study, a higher mean score indicated more traditional masculinity beliefs, while a lower mean score indicated a more modern view of masculinity. Associated papers to this scale

are Barnett and Baruch (1987), Bonney, Kelley and Levant (1999) and Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1994).

Parent evaluations. To measure the evaluations of what father needed to change, the parent narrative data were used. The narratives portion of the study consisted of two open-ended questions that were administered and audio taped by an interviewer. The parents were asked to (1) state three things that the fathers did best and (2) indicate three things the fathers needed to change (see full interview probes in Appendix B and C). The recorded tapes were labeled by cohort, family ID, and family member number (1 = mom, 2 = dad) and were then transcribed, coded, and analyzed. For the purpose of this paper, only what the father needs to change question was used.

In the fall and spring of 2004-2005, researchers at San Francisco State University transcribed the mother and father interviews. In the fall of 2005, a coding scheme was developed for the first two questions. In the spring and fall semesters of 2006, coding teams implemented the coding scheme and analyzed the transcripts. First, narratives were unitized, (i.e., separated into self-contained prepositional statements). Each statement was broken up into separate units for every example the parent gave, stated or described a change of topic, focus, time or a list ($k = .81$). Coders were then compared to a *Gold Standard* (i.e., Goldie), which was created by the head research assistants and Dr. Cookston. For the present study, narrative data was used based on the coder who came closest to the Gold Standard.

Once the narratives were unitized, each unit was coded for the presence of dimensional themes (Appendix D). Both the mother and father provided narratives about the father. Units were coded for the presence of five dimensions: (1) emotional quality: the level and the quality of the parent-child relationship ($k = .64$), (2) responsiveness: the father's ability to respond to the child's request and needs ($k = .55$), (3) investment: the amount of time commitment a father gives his children ($k = .79$), (4) provisioning: the amount of financial support that a father provided his children ($k = .88$), and (5) discipline: the level of control that the father has on his children ($k = .61$, Perez-Brena, Cookston, Fabricius, & DeGuzman, 2007).

There was no limit to the number of dimensions that could be coded for each unit; rather each unit could be coded for the presence of as many dimensions as fit the statement. For example, a statement such as "I'm a little hard on them, especially when I discipline them" was coded as emotional quality and discipline because of the reference to the father's discipline and how it affects the parent-child relationship (see Appendix D for coding manual).

To analyze these data, counts for each dimension were divided by the amount of times each individual dimension was mentioned by the amount of units to create a percentage score. The percentage of interval scores for each dimension were then dichotomized (0 = did not mention the dimension, 1 = did mention the dimension).

Absolute overall mean of the narratives. In hypothesis 7 the analysis called for the individual parent narratives to be compared to understand what accounted for these

differences within the narratives. In order to do so, syntax was written to create the mean of the individual mother and father dimensions separately. Once the means of each dimension were created, the absolute value of the mean was taken. For further analysis, the overall mean of all of the comprised dimensions was needed. All of the means for each dimension was collapsed into one single overall absolute mean to understand the overall difference of the narratives between the mother and father.

Results

Descriptive Analyses

Ethnicity and Gender Role Attitude. To determine if there were any significant differences between the ethnicities on gender role attitudes, independent sample *t*-tests were conducted. Between Caucasian dads ($M = 2.74$, $SD = .76$) and Mexican American dads ($M = 3.03$, $SD = .89$), there was a significant difference in gender role attitudes among the fathers, $t(277) = -2.92$, $p = .004$. Additionally, a significant difference was found between Caucasian moms ($M = 2.57$, $SD = .73$) and Mexican American moms ($M = 3.00$, $SD = .86$), $t(278) = -4.59$, $p = .00$. These results suggest Mexican American families tended to endorse more traditional gender roles than Caucasian families on average.

Family type and Gender Role Attitude. Additional independent sample *t*-tests described differences between family types on gender role attitudes. Moms from intact families ($M = 2.82$, $SD = .83$) were compared to moms from stepfamilies ($M = 2.69$, $SD = .80$) and it was found that there was non-significant difference, $t(278) = 1.33$,

$p = .18$. Lastly, similar results were found from dads within intact families ($M = 2.83$, $SD = .81$) and dads from stepfamilies ($M = 2.94$, $SD = .88$), $t(277) = -1.04$, $p = .30$.

Ethnicity and Masculinity Attitudes. To determine if there were any differences between ethnicity for masculinity attitudes, independent sample t -tests were estimated. Between Caucasian moms ($M = 2.37$, $SD = .36$) and Mexican American moms ($M = 2.67$, $SD = .39$), there was a significant difference found for masculinity attitudes, $t(278) = -6.58$, $p = .00$. Similarly, a significant difference was detected between Caucasian dads ($M = 2.38$, $SD = .36$) and Mexican American dads ($M = 2.68$, $SD = .45$), $t(249.35) = -6.20$, $p = .00$. Congruent with what was found with GRA, it was found that Mexican American families had much more traditional beliefs of masculinity in comparison to Caucasian families.

Family Type and Masculinity Attitudes. Additionally, independent sample t -tests were ran to determine if there were any significant differences between intact and step families within masculinity. Moms from intact families ($M = 2.54$, $SD = .41$) were compared to moms from stepfamilies ($M = 2.48$, $SD = .40$) and it was found that there was no significant difference, $t(278) = 1.31$, $p = .19$. Additionally, similar non-significant differences were found between dads from intact families ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .43$) and dads from stepfamilies ($M = 2.52$, $SD = .44$), $t(274) = 0.27$, $p = .79$.

The five dimensions were dichotomized (0 = did not mention the dimension, 1 = did mention the dimension) to determine if there were any significant differences between the mom and dad in response to what he could change in his relationship with

the child. For the following results, only ethnicity (i.e., Hispanic or Caucasian) was controlled for due to significant differences found in the descriptive analyses.

Narratives

Hypothesis 1. It was hypothesized that mothers would indicate that the fathers needed to change their emotional quality and responsiveness more often than the father would. To determine whether mothers mentioned these qualities more often than the father, paired sample *t*-tests were ran. No significant differences were found between emotional quality (dad, $M = 0.59$, $SD = 0.49$; mom, $M = 0.59$, $SD = 0.49$), $t(279) = .00$, $p = 1.00$, and responsiveness (dad, $M = 0.44$, $SD = 0.50$; mom, $M = 0.41$, $SD = 0.49$), $t(279) = 0.59$, $p = .54$ (see Table 1). This indicates that within couples partners are mentioning emotional quality and responsiveness equally. However, according to the means, father did mention that he could change the amount of responsiveness slightly more than mother.

Hypothesis 2. It was predicted that fathers would more frequently mention that they needed to change their level of investment, discipline, and provisioning than the mothers when evaluating change. Paired sample *t*-tests were estimated and significant differences were observed for investment between dad ($M = 0.56$, $SD = 0.50$) and mom ($M = 0.32$, $SD = 0.48$), $t(279) = 5.98$, $p = .00$, and provisioning (dad, $M = .12$, $SD = 0.33$; mom, $M = .04$, $SD = 0.20$), $t(279) = 3.46$, $p = .001$. These findings followed suit with the hypothesis in that fathers mentioned that he needed to invest and provide more for the target child. Lastly, a significant difference was not found between discipline (dad, $M =$

Table 1
Paired samples *t*-test between mom and Dad reported dimensions

Pair	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>
Emotional quality	0.00	.63	0.00
Responsiveness	0.03	.71	0.59
Investment	0.24	.67	5.98***
Provisioning	0.08	.38	3.46***
Discipline	-0.54	.54	-1.67

***** $p < 0.001$**

0.16, $SD = 0.37$; mom, $M = 0.21$, $SD = 0.41$), $t(279) = -1.67$, $p = .096$. This goes against the predicted hypothesis, because even though there was no difference, mothers were mentioning that fathers need to change their discipline habits more than father (see Table 1).

Correlations between mom and dad's narratives. Exploratory analyzes were ran to understand the relationship between mother and fathers' narratives. Paired sample t -tests provided interesting results that at times did not support predicted hypotheses. Pearson correlations were estimated to determine if there were any correlations between the change variables between and within mother and father reports. There was a significant positive correlation found between dads emotional quality and his responsiveness ($r = .24$, $p = .00$), and moms' reported emotional quality ($r = .18$, $p = .003$), and a significant negative correlation on dads investment ($r = -.16$, $p = .008$). Dads reported responsiveness had a significant negative correlation to his investment ($r = -.13$, $p = .03$), but a positive correlation to his discipline ($r = .12$, $p = .05$). Moms' narrative of discipline were negatively correlated with her investment ($r = -.12$, $p = .05$), and positively correlated to her provisioning ($r = .12$, $p = .50$). Moms' responsiveness were positively correlated to both her emotional quality report ($r = .12$, $p = .50$), and investment ($r = .13$, $p = .03$). These correlations indicated that even though some dimensions may not have a significant difference in t -tests, the dimensions are correlated and possibly predictive of each other (see Table 2 for mom's correlations; see Table 3 for dad's correlations and see Table 4 for the correlations between mom and dad's).

Table 2
Correlations Mom within Change, Gender Roles and Masculinity

	Emotional Quality	Responsiveness	Investment	Provisioning	Discipline	Masculinity	GRA
Emotional Quality	1.00	.21***	.04	.03	-.02	.04	-.13*
Responsiveness		1.00	.14*	-.04	.06	-.105	.023
Investment			1.00	.01	-.12*	.06	.10
Provisioning				1.00	.06	-.05	.04
Discipline					1.00	-.06	.10
Masculinity						1.00	.46***
GRA							1.000

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed).

Table 3
Correlations within Dad Change, Gender Role and Masculinity

	Emotional Quality	Responsiveness	Investment	Provisioning	Discipline	Masculinity	GRA
Emotional Quality	1.00	.24***	-.16**	-.05	.10	-.14*	-.10
Responsiveness		1.00	-.13*	.03	.12*	-.02	-.06
Investment			1.00	-.07	-.07	.04	-.05
Provisioning				1.00	.05	.15*	.25***
Discipline					1.00	-.02	.01
Masculinity						1.00	.58***
GRA							1.000

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed).

Table 4.
Correlations Between Mom and Dad Change, Gender Roles and Masculinity

	Dad						
	Emotional Quality	Responsiveness	Investment	Provisioning	Discipline	Masculinity	GRA
Emotional Quality	.18**	-.06	-.05	.04	.07	-.01	-.14*
Responsiveness	.04	-.01	.02	.06	.03	-.08	-.12
Investment	-.03	.05	.03	.03	.01	-.04	-.03
Provisioning	.07	.06	-.02	.03	-.10	.02	.07
Discipline	.00	.04	.01	-.05	.05	.03	.00
Masculinity	-.04	-.01	.08	.04	-.05	.14*	.21****
GRA	-.05	.04	.07	.06	-.04	.17**	.21****

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed).

Gender Role Attitudes and Masculinity Attitudes

Hypothesis 3. Parents were predicted to have similar beliefs and scores of GRA, specifically, it was hypothesized that they would be positively correlated. First, a paired sample *t*-test was ran and a non-significant difference, $t(278) = 1.70, p = .09$, was found between moms' ($M = 2.77, SD = .82$) and dads ($M = 2.87, SD = .84$) GRA (Table 4); additionally, they were found to have a significant correlation, ($r = .24, p = .00$), was found supporting the hypothesis indicating that mothers and fathers have similar GRA perspectives, however, the correlation was rather small (see Table 4).

Hypothesis 4. Preliminary analyses were run to understand the potential direction of the data. Pearsons correlations indicated several relationships for both parents. Mothers emotional quality was negatively correlated her GRA, ($r = -.13, p = .03$; table 2), suggesting that mothers with nontraditional gender role attitudes mentioned that the fathers needed to change his emotional relationship with the child more. Lastly, fathers provision was positively correlated to his GRA ($r = .25, p = .00$; table 3), indicating that fathers with more traditional GRA, specified that they needed to provide more for their child.

Specifically, within hypothesis 4, GRA was predicted to be foretelling of the parents' reported dimensions, specifically that parents who reported higher GRA would be more likely to mention provisioning and discipline, while those who reported a lower GRA would mention investment, responsiveness and emotional quality more. To test this hypothesis, a frequency count was used to determine the 33% and 66% percentiles of the

measure. Only the extremes of the measure were used (i.e., the upper and lower thirds of the sample). Mothers' scores were calculated as less traditional $0 < 2.40$ ($n = 81$; $M = 1.82$, $SD = .31$), more traditional $3.00 < 5.00$ ($n = 93$; $M = 3.70$, $SD = .46$). Additionally, fathers' scores were calculated as; less traditional $0 < 2.60$ ($n = 89$; $M = 1.92$, $SD = .40$), more traditional $3.20 < 5.00$ ($n = 94$; $M = 3.79$, $SD = .41$). Based off these two extremes, two groups (traditional and nontraditional GRA) were created and were separately correlated to the narrative dimensions to understand the relationship of GRA and the parents' response of what father needs to change. Among the less traditional, no associations were observed between the narrative dimensions and GRA (see Table 5). When similar associations were ran and observed within traditional GRA (see Table 5). These non-significant results signify that there may not be a relationship between ones beliefs of gender role and their reported dimensions of what father needs to change within the father-child relationship.

Hypothesis 5. Tests were conducted to determine whether there was a positive correlation of masculinity attitudes between mom and dad's beliefs within families. A significant correlation ($r = .31$, $p = .00$), was found which supported the hypothesis that parents would have similar masculinity attitudes as their partner (Table 4). To further support the finding a paired-sample t -tests was ran and resulted in a non significant difference, $t(275) = .70$, $p = .82$, between mom ($M = 2.52$, $SD = .41$) and dads ($M = 2.52$, $SD = .43$) on masculinity perceptions (Table 4).

Table 5.
Correlations of mom and dad traditional and less traditional GRA and MA and reports.

	Emotional Quality	Responsiveness	Investment	Provisioning	Discipline
Less Traditional					
Dad's GRA	-.16	.05	.05	.00	.01
Dad's MA	-.08	.03	.09	.05	-.05
Mom's GRA	.13	-.06	.09	.02	-.05
Mom's MA	.10	-.06	.03	-.06	-.03
More Traditional					
Dad's GRA	-.08	.03	-.11	.15	.09
Dad's MA	-.02	-.29	-.08	.21	.05
Mom's GRA	.07	.02	-.01	-.03	.15
Mom's MA	.10	-.15	.10	-.06	.00

Hypothesis 6. Preliminary analyses were run to understand the potential direction of the dimension with MA. Pearsons correlations indicated several relationships for both parents. None of the mothers' narratives were significantly correlated with her MA (table 2). Fathers' emotional quality was negatively correlated to his MA, ($r = -.14, p = .04$; table 3), signifying that fathers with more nontraditional beliefs mention that they need to change their emotional quality more than traditional fathers. Lastly, fathers provisioning was positively correlated to his MA ($r = .15, p = .03$), meaning that fathers with more traditional views of MA mentioned that they needed to change how they provided for their children more.

Specifically within hypothesis 6, MA was hypothesized to be predictive of parents' reported dimensions, specifically that parents who reported higher MA would be more likely to mention provisioning and discipline, while those who reported a lower MA would mention investment, responsiveness and emotional quality more. A frequency count was used to determine 33% and 66% percentiles of the measure. Only the extremes of the measure were used (i.e., the upper and lower thirds of the sample). Only the extremes of the measure were used. Mothers' scores were calculated as such; less traditional $0 < 2.38$ ($n = 119; M = 2.14, SD = .22$), more traditional $2.74 < 5.00$ ($n = 97; M = 2.94, SD = .23$). Additionally, fathers' scores were calculated as; less traditional $0 < 2.38$ ($n = 119; M = 2.14, SD = .21$), more traditional $2.63 < 5.00$ ($n = 84; M = 3.03, SD = .29$). Based off these two extremes, two groups (traditional and nontraditional MA) were created and were individually correlated to the narrative dimensions to understand the

relationship of the level of GRA and how it predicts the parents' response of what father needs to change. Within less traditional, a Pearson's correlation which produced no significant correlations (see Table 5). Amongst, more traditional, and also identified no significant results (see Table 5). These non-significant results indicated that within this data set there may not be a relationship between one's beliefs of how a man is to act within society and his or her reported dimensions of what father needs to change.

Narratives, Gender Role Attitudes and Masculinity Attitudes

Hypothesis 7. Within this hypothesis, the dependent variable shifts to parental narratives. In order to achieve the final goal of understanding what accounts for the difference in parent narratives, four regression models were created; (1 and 2) each parent narrative dimension was predicted from family level to GRA and MA; (3 and 4) the overall mean difference for each dimension was obtained and assessed, then they were collapsed across dimensions into one overall mean difference for the differences in the dimensions reported in the narratives between the mothers and fathers. It was hypothesized that GRA and MA would explain the overall mean difference between mothers' and fathers' narratives of each dimension after the role played by child gender, ethnicity, and father status (biological or step) had been explained. Due to the nature of this data set, family type (intact or step families) and the gender of the target child and the families' ethnicity (Mexican American or Caucasian) needed to be accounted for;

Table 6.
Mother and father response frequency counts on each dimension

	Mother		Father	
	0(%)	1(%)	0(%)	1(%)
Emotional Quality	114(41%)	166(59%)	114(41%)	166(59%)
Responsiveness	164(59%)	116(41%)	157(56%)	123(44%)
Investment	190(68%)	90(32%)	123(44%)	157(56%)
Provisioning	268(96%)	12(4%)	246(88%)	34(12%)
Discipline	220(79%)	60(21%)	235(84%)	45(16%)

Note. The narrative dimensions are dichotomously coded – 0 = identified no need for change, 1 = identified a need for change.

therefore, these three variables were entered and controlled for within the regression models. To better understand the responses in which are being analyzed, frequency counts were tabled (see Table 6).

Father narrative regression model. A series of two-step (step 1: family type, ethnicity and child's gender; step 2: Mom and Dad GRA and MA) logistic regression models were estimated to predict whether fathers mentioned each narrative dimension (Table 7) as a function of family type, ethnicity, child's gender and mother and father gender role and masculinity scores. Several models were tested and no significant predictors emerged for emotional quality, responsiveness, or discipline. However, there were several significant predictors for both investment and provisioning.

In the model for investment, only ethnicity was found to be significant ($B = -.70$, $Exp(B) = .50$, $p = .01$) such that Mexican American fathers were less likely to mention that he needed to change his investment. No significant predictors were found within the predictive variables of the regression. Lastly, there were several significant predictors for provisioning. Within the control variables, child's gender ($B = .1.03$, $Exp(B) = 2.79$, $p = .02$) suggesting that child's gender, specifically girls, influenced fathers understanding of needing to change his provisioning. Within the predictive variables, fathers' masculinity beliefs were found to be significant ($B = 1.84$, $Exp(B) = 6.32$, $p = .00$) such that when father perceived more traditional men's roles within the family and society he tended to mention he should change his providing.

Table 7.
Regression model of MA and GRA to predict Father narratives

	Emotional Quality			Responsiveness			Investment			Provisioning			Discipline							
	Beta	S.E.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Beta	S.E.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Beta	S.E.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Beta	S.E.	Exp(B)	Sig.				
Model 1																				
Family Type	-.18	.26	.84	.49	-.26	.25	.77	.30	-.15	.26	.87	.57	-.09	.41	.91	.82	-.00	.34	1.00	.99
Ethnicity	.12	.28	1.13	.66	-.03	.28	.97	.91	-.70	.28	.50	.01	.10	.46	1.11	.83	-.20	.38	.82	.60
Child's Gender	.12	.25	1.13	.64	.14	.25	1.15	.57	-.38	.25	.68	.13	1.03	.43	2.79	.02	.15	.33	1.16	.65
Model 2																				
Father GRA	-.29	.19	.75	.13	.08	.19	1.08	.67	.23	.19	1.26	.22	.03	.29	1.03	.92	-.08	.25	.93	.76
Mother GRA	-.06	.18	.94	.73	.14	.18	1.16	.42	.15	.18	1.16	.42	-.02	.28	.98	.95	-.10	.24	.91	.69
Father MA	-.17	.38	.85	.67	-.41	.38	.66	.27	-.63	.38	.53	.10	1.84	.57	6.32	.00	.20	.50	1.22	.69
Mother MA	-.01	.38	.99	.98	-.21	.37	.81	.58	.25	.38	1.29	.50	.23	.59	1.26	.69	-.22	.50	.80	.65
Constant	1.76	1.15	5.83	.12	.91	1.12	2.47	.42	1.96	1.15	7.07	.09	-9.14	1.95	.00	.00	-1.03	1.49	.36	.49

Note. The narrative dimensions are dichotomously coded - 0 = identified no need for change, 1 = identified a need for change.

GRA = Gender Role Attitudes; MA = Masculinity Attitudes; Family Type - 1 = married, 2 = step.

Ethnicity - 1 = Caucasian, 2 = Mexican American.

Child Gender - 1 = male, 2 = female.

Table 8.
Regression model of MA and GRA to predict Mothers narratives

	Emotional Quality		Responsiveness		Investment		Provisioning		Discipline											
	Beta	S.E. Exp(B) Sig.	Beta	S.E. Exp(B) Sig.	Beta	S.E. Exp(B) Sig.	Beta	S.E. Exp(B) Sig.	Beta	S.E. Exp(B) Sig.										
Model 1																				
Family Type	-.07	.26	.93	.79	-.18	.26	.84	.48	-.34	.27	.71	.22	1.07	.64	2.91	.09	.05	.30	1.05	.88
Ethnicity	.39	.29	1.47	.18	.35	.28	1.42	.22	-.04	.30	.97	.90	-.05	.70	.95	.94	-.44	.34	.64	.20
Child's Gender	.38	.26	1.46	.14	-.33	.25	.72	.19	-.60	.27	.55	.03	.48	.64	1.62	.45	.26	.30	1.30	.39
Model 2																				
Father GRA	.32	.19	1.37	.10	-.00	.19	1.00	.98	-.13	.20	.88	.53	-.24	.43	.79	.58	.14	.23	1.15	.55
Mother GRA	-.52	.19	.59	.01	.27	.18	1.31	.14	.31	.19	1.37	.10	.49	.44	1.63	.26	.49	.22	1.63	.03
Father MA	-.104	.40	.35	.01	-.61	.39	.54	.11	-.17	.41	.84	.67	1.02	.86	2.77	.24	-.20	.47	.82	.67
Mother MA	.78	.40	2.18	.05	-.78	.39	.46	.04	.01	.40	1.01	.98	-.97	.94	.38	.30	-.88	.47	.42	.06
Constant	.52	1.16	1.69	.65	2.64	1.17	14.07	.02	.57	1.21	1.77	.64	-6.34	2.85	.00	.03	-.18	1.37	.84	.90

Note. The narrative dimensions are dichotomously coded - 0 = identified no need for change, 1 = identified a need for change.

GRA = Gender Role Attitudes MA = Masculinity Attitudes Family Type - 1 = married, 2 = step.

Ethnicity - 1 = Caucasian, 2 = Mexican American.

Child Gender - 1 = male, 2 = female.

Mother narrative regression model. A series of two-step (step 1: family type, ethnicity and child's gender; step 2: Mom and Dad GRA and MA) logistic regression models were estimated to predict whether fathers mentioned each narrative dimension (Table 8) as a function of family type, ethnicity, child's gender and mother and father gender role and masculinity scores. Models were estimated for each narrative dimension and there were no significant predictors found only for provisioning. However, there were several significant predictors for emotional quality, responsiveness, investment and discipline.

A logistic regression was ran and Emotional quality had no significant predictors within the control variables; however, in step 2 fathers MA ($B = -1.04$, $Exp(B) = .40$, $p = .01$), mothers MA ($B = .78$, $Exp(B) = .35$, $p = .05$), and mothers GRA ($B = -.52$, $Exp(B) = .59$, $p = .01$) were found to be significant contributors to the dimension. Odds ratios indicated that parents who were less traditional or reported having lower MA or GRA scores, were more likely to mention the father needing to change his emotional quality in comparison to those with higher reported scores of MA and GRA. Within responsiveness, no factors were found to predict the response within the control variables, however mothers' MA ($B = -.78$, $Exp(B) = .46$, $p = .04$) was found to significant account for her response. Odds ratios determined that mothers with lower ratings of masculinity attitudes (i.e., more nontraditional) were more likely to mention that the father needed to change his responsiveness. Childs gender ($B = .27$, $Exp(B) = .55$, $p = .03$) was the only significant covariate found for investment within the control variables, which indicates that the child's gender, specifically boys, affects the fathers connection to the child and

how much time he invest with the child. Lastly, within discipline, mothers GRA ($B = .49$, $Exp(B) = 1.63$, $p = .03$) accounted for her mentioning that the father needed to change. Odds ratios indicate that mothers with a higher reported score of or more traditional view of gender roles, were more likely to mention that fathers need to change their discipline tactics.

Overall mean difference within mother and father narratives. Parental narratives were subtracted from each other within each dimension and then the absolute value of the mean difference was taken to construct the dependent variable. For this regression, each individual absolute mean difference of each narrative was assessed. A two-step linear regression model (step 1: family type, ethnicity and child's gender; step 2: mother and father GRA and MA; Table 9) was used. Significant values were found within provisioning and discipline; however, no significant values were found for emotional quality ($M = .40$, $SD = .49$), responsiveness ($M = .50$, $SD = .50$) or investment ($M = .50$, $SD = .50$).

The provisioning model ($M = .15$, $SD = .36$) within step 1, child's gender ($\beta = .17$, $p = .00$) was found to be significant, indicating that if the target child was a girl, there would be a greater difference between the narratives. Within step 2 of provisioning, father's MA ($\beta = .32$, $p = .00$) was also found to be a significant contributor to the difference, suggesting that fathers with higher reported masculinity attitudes were more likely to have more incongruence with their partner. Within discipline ($M = .29$, $SD =$

Table 9.
 Regression model of MA and GRA between overall mean difference of individual Mother and Father narratives

	Emotional Quality		Responsiveness		Investment		Provisioning		Discipline	
	Beta	Sig	Beta	Sig	Beta	Sig	Beta	Sig	Beta	Sig
Model 1										
Family Type	.08	.19	.03	.62	-.01	.88	.01	.85	-.06	.37
Ethnicity	.04	.55	.11	.11	.01	.94	.02	.74	-.00	.98
Child's Gender	.04	.55	.01	.86	.05	.45	.17	.00	.07	.24
Model 2										
Father GRA	-.11	.14	.09	.25	-.08	.31	-.06	.45	.01	.91
Mother GRA	.04	.59	-.02	.79	.05	.46	.06	.38	.13	.06
Father MA	.14	.08	-.05	.54	.08	.72	.32	.00	-.03	.72
Mother MA	.03	.73	-.11	.14	.03	.27	-.07	.34	-.19	.01

Note. The narrative dimensions are dichotomously coded – 0 = identified no need for change, 1 = identified a need for change. GRA = Gender Role Attitudes. MA = Masculinity Attitudes. Family Type – 1 = married, 2 = step. Ethnicity – 1 = Caucasian, 2 = Mexican American. Child Gender – 1 = male, 2 = female.

Table 10.
Regression model of MA and GRA between overall mean difference of Mother and Father narratives

	Overall Mean Difference	Beta	Sig
Model 1			
Family Type	.03	.67	
Ethnicity	.08	.27	
Child's Gender	.13	.04	
Model 2			
Father GRA	-.06	.44	
Mother GRA	.12	.14	
Father MA	.15	.07	
Mother MA	-.01	.18	

Note. The narrative dimensions are dichotomously coded – 0 = identified no need for change, 1 = identified a need for change.
 GRA = Gender Role Attitudes, MA = Masculinity Attitudes, Family Type – 1 = married, 2 = step.
 Ethnicity – 1 = Caucasian, 2 = Mexican American.
 Child Gender – 1 = male, 2 = female.

.45), mothers' MA ($\beta = -.19, p = .01$) was found to significantly account for the difference between parent narratives; specifically the less traditional mother scored, the more likely she was to not agree with her partner about his disciplining.

Overall mean difference between mother and father narratives. Parental narratives were subtracted within each dimension and then the absolute value of the mean difference which was then used to create one overall mean difference score, the dependent variable. For this regression, all of the dimensions were collapsed in to one single absolute overall mean score. A linear regression was run to determine overall regression model (Table 10). A two-step model (step 1: family type, ethnicity and child's gender; step 2: Mom and Dad GRA and MA) and was used to understand how much each parents GRA and MA influenced mothers narratives.

Within the overall model, only child's gender ($\beta = .13, p = .04$), in the control variables was found to be a significant contributor of the overall difference between the parental narratives. If the child was a girl, it was more likely that there would be an overall difference between the parental narratives. No significant factors were found within the predicted variables. To ensure the regression models were not affected by any skewed numbers, a categorical regression was ran and similar non significant results were found.

Discussion

With almost a century of literature published about the development of children (e.g., Piaget, 1928, 1950, 1959, 1964, 1976; Vygotsky, 1997) the existing literature is

focused mainly on the mother (e.g., Ainsworth, Blehar, Walters & Wall, 1978). Only within the last few decades have researchers come to realize the importance of the father in the child's life. Past research has mainly focused the mother's report of the father-child relationship, leaving the father out of the picture. In some situations (i.e., single mothers), obtaining the fathers' narratives in addition to the mothers may be unnecessary; however, when evaluating the father-child relationship, obtaining fathers views is imperative to gain a more rounded view of parent-adolescent relationships.

The concept of what the father needs to change in his relationship with the child has never been addressed by researchers nor have mothers been asked how dad should change. Furthermore, both mother and father narratives critiquing the father as a parent are even rarer. Most research has used mothers' reports to understand what the father does with the child, however, as previously mentioned, there are flaws and problems within this method (e.g., Kenny & Albright, 1987; Braver et al., 1993; Manning & Smock, 2000; Coley & Morris, 2002). By understanding how both parents view the father as a parent, research can determine where differences may lie and how the concept of the father has either remained the same or changed within a social context (i.e., what are his roles and expectations today, more or less traditional? Or neither?).

Descriptive Analyses

Due to the nature of this study, it was essential to understand the influences of family type and ethnicity on both masculine attitudes (MA) and gender role attitudes (GRA). Previous research has indicated that parents, particularly fathers, may be affected

by their culture (Marsiglio, 1998; Marsiglio, Day, & Lamb, 2000; Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999). Fathers may be more reliant on culture to help them define themselves as a father, due to their constant transitioning of roles within the home. Culture can be a powerful factor in how one perceives themselves and constructs his or her identity. By understanding culture and how each individual culture sets the tone for men and fathers, it can be better understood where differences may lie.

Ethnicity. Both Mexican American mothers and fathers presented higher levels of both GRA and MA when compared to Caucasian parents. This suggests that the Mexican American parents in our sample had a more traditional view of how each gender should act, behave and their jobs within the family, while those who are of European ancestry may be less traditional or ridged in how each gender is to behave. These findings indicate that what may be acceptable within one culture may not necessarily be acceptable to another, which is congruent with previous findings indicating that Mexican culture tends to be more traditional than Caucasian American families (Galanti, 2003). These differences may be explained by the history of the family's cultures. The Mexican American ethnicity is a culture within itself, while being Caucasian is not. To be Caucasian is a mixture of cultures from various different nations (Germanic, Sicilian, Italian, Scots-Irish, etc.) who now reside within the United States and are consequently lumped into one ethnicity. Mexican American is specific to one less diverse culture that has come from Mexico.

Family type. Even though there were no significant differences found between

intact families and stepfamilies, interesting results were found. Moms from intact families and dads from stepfamilies had higher mean scores of GRA, than their counterparts, while moms and dads from intact families had higher MA scores than parents from stepfamilies. These results pose inconsistencies between fathers. Stepfathers have more traditional beliefs about gender roles; however, are less traditional when it comes to their beliefs about how men should act and present themselves. This may be affected by their role within the family and remarriage, although further investigation is needed for any conclusions to be made. Nonetheless, since no significant differences were found, family type was not controlled for in analyses.

Narratives

To conduct analyses on these data, five dimensions were created to categorize the various responses from the parents. This process allowed the researcher to break down the responses further, and allowed exploration between the differences of the responses made by mothers and fathers within families.

Hypothesis 1. Emotional quality and responsiveness narratives. Due to the nature of the mother-child relationship, which is generally thought of as primarily nurturing and warm (Pleck, 1997), it was predicted that mothers would transfer their experiences as a parent on to that of the father and would therefore mention that the father needed to change the amount of emotional quality and responsiveness within the father-child relationship. When assessing the narratives, no significant differences were found, leaving hypothesis 1 unsupported. When each variable was looked at individually,

different patterns arose. Within emotional quality, mothers and fathers mention the variable at identical rates, leading researchers to believe that there is very little disagreement between parents on this variable, which did not support the hypothesis. Since mothers and fathers agreed that father should change or not change at the same rate, they are evaluating the behavior similarly. Emotional quality is one of the dimensions that are not as abstract as some of the other; does the father have a quality relationship with the child or not. This does not have an abstract underlying tone in comparison to other dimensions. In contrast to emotional quality, responsiveness was not found to be consistent between parents. Within this dimension, contradictory to predictions, fathers mentioned that he needed to change the amount of responsiveness more than the mother. Even though these findings were not found to be significant, neither went in the predicted direction. The hypothesis was made under the assumption that the mother would, like previous traditional stereotypes, know what is best for the child and understand their needs, leaving them to be the expert. However, fathers indicated that they needed to change their ability to understand and properly respond to the child's needs, indicating that they are aware that they are not as in tune with the child and admitting that they to better themselves in a traditional maternal area.

Hypothesis 2. Investment, provisioning and discipline narratives. Past research has traditionally defined the father within the family as the one who disciplines and provides (Lamb, 2004); however, recent studies have shown a continual increase in father involvement (Bianchi et al., 2006; Pleck, 1997) since the 1950's. Due to these

previous findings and stereotypes, it was predicted that fathers would mention that they need to change their involvement, provisioning, and discipline more than mothers. Results found that fathers described needing to improve investment and provisioning significantly more than their partner, supporting hypothesis 2. Fathers indicated that they need to change the level in which they provide for the child and the amount of time they spend with him or her. Even though directional affects (more or less) cannot be interpreted from this data, inferences can be made. Lastly, significant results were not found within discipline, although within the narratives, mother tended to mention the dimension more in comparison to dads, which is not the direction that was predicted. Contradictory to these findings, mothers said that fathers needed to change the level of control that he had on his child, which traditionally and stereotypically (Lamb, 2007), is one of the fathers main roles.

The parental narratives paint an interesting picture. Some of the results support previous finding, while others do not. Fathers are indicating that they need to change the amount of time commitment and how he provides for his child, both which is congruent with old and new research. This is representative of both old and new father trends. Fathers are still expected to provide for their children and spend more time with them than ever before (Pleck, 1997; Stier & Tienda, 1993). When a parent evaluates themselves, generally they do not say that they spend too much time or provide too much for their children with a negative context. This leading to the assumption of that parenting are describing fathers need to spend more time and provide more for the child. These

narratives generally go hand in hand. Both have a common characteristic of time. If a father has to work more to support the family, stereotypically a male role, he is less able to spend time with his child and vice versa. Nevertheless, fathers are indicating their awareness of needing or wanting to change these characteristics. Being aware of this, it was expected that they would be self-critiquing and mention that they could improve on this more, which was supported. Secondly, fathers are indicating slightly more than mothers that they need to change how they respond to their child's needs.

The narratives from both parents indicate a mixed message and expectation. Fathers' narratives show that they do understand that they need to be more available and understanding of the child and his or her individual needs, which is a newer trend. Nonetheless, both mothers and fathers indicated that there are areas in which need change or improvement (responsiveness, investment and provisioning). These descriptions essentially describe that father is expected to assume and excel at both maternal and paternal qualities, which can be viewed as a mutual desire for co-parenting.

Narrative Correlations

While the individual narratives indicated unexpected results, it is predictable that some of the parental narratives are predictive of other dimensions. Parenting varies from person to person; however, particular behaviors spill over or intertwine with others. For example, if a father does not spend a lot of time at home because he is working two jobs to provide for his family (provisioning), he may not be able to spend enough time with their child (involvement) and be unaware of their specific needs (responsiveness). One

dimension can affect several others, which is why parental narratives were correlated and interpreted in order to understand patterns within the home from both mother, father viewpoints. For example, if someone indicated that the father needed to change the amount of time with the child (i.e., investment) it would be likely that the father would also need to change his responsiveness, responding to the child's needs. In contrast, fathers who spend a large amount of time with the child would understand and be able to adequately respond to his or her needs.

Father correlations. Father's emotional quality was positively correlated to his responsiveness, indicating that when the father wanted to change the level and quality of the parent-child relationship, the more likely he was to also indicate he would want to change his ability to respond to the child's requests and needs. It is understandable that these are correlated; to spend quality time with the child, a parent would get to know the child and understand him/her more as an individual, resulting in being able to respond to the child better. However, contradictory to this, was that investment was found to be negatively correlated to emotional quality and responsiveness. If a father specified that he wanted to change his emotional connectedness and ability to respond to the child, then he would be less likely to mention wanting to change the amount of time commitment he gave his child or vice versa. It can only be assumed that the fathers want the change emotional quality and responsiveness within the time they are able to give their child, or, if they mention needing to change investment, then they are satisfied with the amount of emotional quality and responsiveness they have with their child. Lastly, fathers'

responsiveness was positively correlated to discipline. When a father mentioned that he would like to improve how he responded to his child's request and needs, this can be seen as also transferring to how a father would also want to change his control of the child. Some children need more stern boundaries and control in comparison to others, which is responsiveness and discipline. When parents understand how to work and respond to the child, they are more likely to know how to properly control them in ways that best suits the child.

Mother correlations. Social trends indicate that mothers are asking fathers to be more involved with their children and take on a greater role as a parent (Hochschild, 1989; Pleck & Pleck, 1997) Like fathers, mothers' responsiveness was positively correlated to her narratives that fathers needed to change his emotional quality; however unlike fathers, responsiveness and investment were positively correlated, supporting previous research that mothers want more co-parenting (Pleck & Pleck, 1997). When mothers identified that they would like fathers to change his ability to respond to the child's request and needs, she also wanted him to change the amount of time he spent with the child and the quality of the relationship. Mothers identified that they wanted more involvement within the child's life and relationship with the father, while the father wants a better relationship without changing the amount of time commitment. Lastly, mothers narrative of investment was negatively correlated to discipline, indicating that when the mother reported that she would like the father to spend more time with the

child, she was less likely to mention that she would like the father to improve his control of the child.

Similar to the comparison of the individual narratives, the correlations displayed an interesting pattern. Both parents had similar correlations (e.g., emotional quality and responsiveness) and then others, which were vastly different (e.g., responsiveness and investment). These correlations can be used to gain insight about the mothers' expectations of the father and their reflections on the fathers' parental patterns. It appears as though mothers want the father to overall be more involved with the child, while fathers want to change how they interact with the child in the time they spend with him or her.

Meanings of parent narratives. What is unique about collecting both parental reports on the same relationship is that researchers can determine if certain parental responses are predictive of each other. Since both parents are reporting on one relationship, the father-child relationship, it could be assumed that certain dimensions would be positively correlated. Overall within this study, fathers' and mothers' emotional quality were the only dimensions in which were significantly correlated. However, if they are assessing the same relationship, why are there so few correlations between the parental narratives? An explanation of this may be that fathers may be more critical of themselves. Additionally, as a partner and a mother, evaluating your husband may be a difficult task. Even though she may be the stereotypical "expert" on childrearing, and may have some things in which she would like the father to change, as an observer, it is

harder to report on a relationship in which you are not a part of (Kenny & Albright, 1987).

To differ within change is an abstract idea and may have implications, however, it may be contextual. Even though this can be derived from this research, it is understood that parents can and always will view themselves somewhat critically and understand that there are flaws in their parenting methods. Nonetheless, when does it come a problem when mothers and fathers are viewing the problems differently (i.e., needing to change vs. not needing to change)? The disparity would mostly likely have the most problems when it is extreme (i.e., not agreeing at all).

Gender Role and Masculinity

Hypothesis 3 and 5; Correlations of GRA and MA. When searching for a partner, finding someone with similar goals, values, and beliefs is generally an aspect which is sought. A simple, yet complex, view of gender roles can be a topic in which there are very extreme beliefs that are not necessarily compatible for a long-term relationship, let alone raising a family. Gender role stereotypes can influence how one defines what it means to be a man, woman, or a good parent (Amerato & Riviara, 1999). Nevertheless, past research has shown that these roles have changed over generations making it, like fatherhood, an ever-changing social construction.

Gender role may influence how the family is comprised, ran and determine the roles within the home. For instance, expecting a woman to stay at home and take care of the family while the father is working versus an egalitarian co-parenting home in which

both parents share the responsibilities of taking care of the house and children (Coltrane & Ishii-Kuntz, 1992). Both types of homes work in various situations and succeed; nevertheless, there are opinions and views with every side as to which one is best. While most people are more moderate and flexible, extremist on either side would not make a good match. For example, telling a feminist that it is her duty to stay home, or a mother whose personally defined job is stay home and raise her children that she needs to work a 40-hour week. Mothers have chosen what type of mother they are going to be, and it is most likely based upon their masculinity and gender roles attitudes. Due to this reasoning it was predicted that partners would have similar scores on both GRA and MA.

Additionally, as predicted, both mothers and fathers were found to have similar, positively correlated scores in GRA and MA, indicating that they had similar views, supporting hypothesis 3 and 5. Parents who had lower scores or less traditional views about what men and women's roles are within society and the home tended to be married to partners with beliefs like their own, nonetheless, correlations were low, which could indicate variations.

Hypothesis 4 and 6: GRA, MA and narratives. Since it was predicted and supported that parents would have similar GRA and MA views, naturally, it would then be assumed that these beliefs would influence their narratives. Through understanding previous models of fatherhood (e.g., Lamb, Pleck, and Levine, 1987) and stereotypical media father models (e.g., Ward Cleaver) it was predicted that more traditional parents would want the father to change his provisioning and discipline of the child because those

are his primary roles. In contrast, less traditional parents (e.g., Cliff Huxtable) would indicate that the father should change more of his emotional quality, responsiveness and investment, which would lean towards a more co-parenting, modern father model. However, no significant differences were found between traditional and nontraditional parents within GRA or MA. This signifies that these variables may not account or play a role in what the parents refers to the father needing to change. In theory these were understandable qualifiers of being traditional, however, none of the dimensions were significantly correlated to the extremes. An explanation for this may be that the average means for both GRA and MA were high 2's, low 3's, signifying that most of the participants were average or moderate. This would inevitably affect the means used to obtain the cut off scores for the extremes, which may have lead to the insignificant results.

Hypothesis 7: Regression models. Previous results found that one's level of GRA and MA was not correlated to parental narratives; however, they still may play an underlying role in what accounts for the individual dimensions, and the overall mean difference between the parents.

Father regression model. Within the father model, several dimensions were accounted for within the steps. Fathers' investment was significantly explained whether or not the father indicated he needed to change; specifically, Mexican American fathers were less likely to mention that he needed to change his investment within the father-child relationship in comparison to Caucasian fathers. This may be explained due to

Mexican American fathers indicated that they had significantly higher, more traditional beliefs regarding GRA and MA. These ratings may influence the fathers' narrative of changing his investment. Lastly, fathers provisioning narrative was significantly account for by child's gender, and fathers MA. Specifically, fathers of girls indicated that they needed to change their amount of provisioning more than fathers of boys. This may be influenced by the idea that girls need to be taken care of more or that they are more delicate than boys.

Lastly, when father indicated that they had more traditional men's roles within the family and society he tended to mention he should change his providing. Previous research that examined gender ideologies found that paternal beliefs affected the father's behavior (Amato & Riviera, 1999; Coltrane & Ishii-Kuntz, 1992; Deutsch, Lussier, and Servis, 1993; McHale & Huston, 1984). This is understandable because one of the stereotypical aspects of being manly is providing for his family; however, there are always needs which cost money. There are always pressures to make more money from the family, society, or other influences which may explain why fathers mentioned provisioning more often and why his masculine attitude accounted so much for the response. Interestingly, mothers' MA, GRA and fathers GRA did not account for fathers response to how much he needs to change within provisioning or any of the other four dimensions, indicating that fathers perceptions of males roles within society influenced whether or not he needed to change how he provided for his child and indirectly, his family.

Mother regression model. Since most of the previous father research has been based off the mothers' reports and she is often referred to as the most important parent (Lamb, 2000) and understanding her narratives crucial. Mothers' narratives of how father needs to change his emotional quality was accounted for by fathers MA, and mothers MA and GRA. Parents who reported being less traditional or reported having lower MA or GRA scores made it more likely that the mother would indicate that the father needing to change his emotional quality in comparison to those with higher reported scores of MA and GRA. Similarly, responsiveness was accounted for by mothers' MA, specifically that mothers with less traditional beliefs of masculinity attitudes were more likely to mention that the father needed to change his responsiveness. Pleck & Pleck's (1997) analysis of gender roles indicated that father ideals are shifting towards fathers playing an equal role in co-parenting, which may support the results of the hypothesis. Similarly, Deutsch, Lussier, and Servis (1993) suggested that fathers with non-traditional gender ideologies (i.e., co-parenting, emotionally involved, investment) showed greater involvement with their children in comparison to fathers who had traditional beliefs. Since mothers and fathers had similar GRA and MA scores, mothers may have higher expectations of their partners to fulfill these behaviors. Similar results were indicated within discipline. Mothers with more traditional views of gender roles, were more likely to mention that fathers need to change their discipline tactics modeling stereotypical traditional beliefs of that the father is the provider and disciplinarian.

Lastly, child's gender was found to account for investment. Mothers of boys wanted the father to change the amount of investment he had with his son in comparison to mothers of girls. Mothers may push fathers to have more quality time with their sons due to the male role model that women cannot emulate. While it is also important for fathers to spend time with their daughters, there is something to be said about bonding with the same sex parent that cannot be replicated with the opposite sex parent.

Mother and father overall. When the narratives were accounted for the between mean differences, only two factors had a significant accountability within the variables. Overall, provisioning was accounted for by child's gender and fathers MA. Particularly, if the target child was a girl, and the fathers had higher reports of masculinity attitudes there would be a greater difference between the parental narratives. As previous regressions indicated, girls were mentioned as needed to be provided more for, and as a traditional male, it is his role to provide for his family, especially the women whose traditional role is within the home. Mothers MA accounted for the mean difference of discipline; less traditional mother scored, the more likely she was to not agree with her partner about his disciplining. This can mean several things, mothers either want the father to discipline more or less, however, these conclusions cannot be inferred from the data. Despite the fact, unexpectedly, nontraditional mothers want change within the dimension. This does not necessary go against nontraditional values, but could signify mothers need for more co-parenting or help disciplining and controlling the child.

Nonetheless, when the overall difference of change was created across dimensions, none of the variables (GRA or MA) could significantly account for the difference between mother and father narratives, failing to support hypothesis 7. Even those previous hypotheses indicate that GRA and MA and the narratives are correlated, they do not seem to account for why parents are mentioning different things, suggesting that more research is needed to understand what influences the parent to indicate that the father needs to change a particular behavior. The only variable that accounted for the overall difference was child's gender, which was not anticipated to be such a significant factor within the study. Like many other the other results of the dimensions, if the target child was a girl, there was more discrepancy between the parent narratives.

Fathers are indicating that they do need to change, however, from this research; little conclusions can be made as to what influences both parental narratives. Fathers may be recognizing that they may need to be more in tune with the child or they been made aware by mother that they need to change particular behaviors. In contrast, past research has shown that mothers narratives of the father can be underestimated (Coley & Morris, 2002), flawed (Braver et al., 1993; Coley & Morris, 2002; Manning & Smock, 2000) and have methodological problems (Kenny & Albright, 1987). Measuring and understanding that father as a parent is a hard task and needs more exploration. There are endless amounts of variables that could influence the apartments behavior, which makes narrowing down the potential influential factors hard.

Strengths and weaknesses. The present study studied gender role attitudes, masculinity attitudes and most importantly, the narratives of both mother and father on his relationship with the child. Consistent with past research, results found that mother is not necessarily an accurate reporter of the father-child relationship. Mother indicated and reported significantly different than father, supporting previous research that she may not be the best reporter of fathers; however, within this research study, her perceptions of the father-child relationship were essential. By using both quantitative and narrative data, parents were able to express to the researchers what they think about the paternal relationship, rather than applying previous research labels upon them as to what it means to be a good parent. Through these narratives, how each parent evaluates the father became more clear and let researchers understand how GRA and MA played a role within these assessments of what father needs to change.

While there were great strides within this paper, this type of research still has never been done before. Asking questions to have a mother evaluate her partner and a father evaluate himself may bring in problems of actor observer bias, hesitation, or confusion. Mother is merely observing the fathers relationship with the child and may not be 1) present for all occasions, or 2) may not have the same perception, expectation or understanding as to what it means to parent in comparison to the father. Additionally, since parents are a working relationship, it is very likely that parents share what they believe each should change, therefore influencing their narratives, which depending on the research may or may not be good. Society tells mothers that she is the most important

parent so it is likely that her perception of how to “properly” parent may affect how the father perceives how they should parent.

There were several potential methodological issues within this study. When participants were extracted from the main data under the requirements that both parents completed the narratives and both scales, 112 families data could not be used. The amount of missing data cannot be overlooked and leads to questions of potential problems within these data used. Lastly, the study’s data sets had somewhat low alphas, which may have affected the reliability.

Implications for future studies. Even though this study did not find what accounted for the parental differences, regression models indicated several significant factors that were not explored within this study. Initially, ethnicity was found to be a significant difference between GRA and MA and was controlled throughout the study, exploring the differences within this variable may provide interesting results and a more clear idea as to how GRA and MA influence parents within the two cultures. Similarly, generation of immigration was not controlled for, which may influence the ethnic differences. Lastly, child’s gender and parent employment was not factored in at all, both in which past research has shown to be predictive and influential of the family dynamic.

Conclusion

The study’s assessment of multiple dimensions of father parenting from both mother and father perspectives has allowed for a more sophisticated and complete understanding of how parents evaluate and view father-child relationship across parental

gender. While the fathers role is in a time of transition, and role models such as Ward Cleaver and Cliff Huxtable are so readily available, it is important to know the various expectations in which are placed upon fathers. While we still do not know why parents evaluated the father differently, we know that their narratives, gender role attitudes and masculinity beliefs are correlated and at times predictive of each other. This study indicates mother is not always a good reporter of the father, due to their differences in narratives ,and that ideally, both assessments are needed to gain a more rounded view and understanding of the father. As we know, individuals and relationships have a complex nature, which are influenced by various outside forces. Research is still far from fully comprehending the father as a parent, but through this study and others, research will gain a better perspective of who he is.

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Appendix A
Previous Analyses

Appendix B

Father Narratives

1. Think about yourself as a (Dad/Step-Dad). Think about the kind of (father/step-father) you are. Think about the way you act, the things you say and do, as a parent. Take a moment to think about yourself and the kind of (father/step-father) that you are to (child). What are the 2 or 3 things you do as a (father/step-father) that you do best?
2. Now think about the things about yourself as a (father/step-father) that you would like to change, or you think you need to work on or improve. Tell me the 2 or 3 things that you would change about yourself as a (father/step-father).

Appendix C

Mother Narratives

1. Think (Dad/Step-Dad) as a (father/step-father). Think about the kind of (father/step-father) they are. Think about the way they act, the things they say and do, as a parent. Take a moment to think about them and the kind of (father/step-father) that you are to (child). What are the 2 or 3 things that (father/step-father) does best?
2. Now think about the things about (Dad/Step-Dad) as a (father/step-father) that you would like to them to change, or you think they need to work on or improve. Tell me the 2 or 3 things that you would change about (Dad/Step-Dad) as a (father/step-father).

Appendix D

Summary of Parenting Dimensions

Dimension	Definition
Provisioning	The amount of financial support a father felt he provided his children
Investment	The amount of time commitment a father gives his children
Emotional Quality	The level and valence of the parent-child relationship
Responsiveness	The fathers ability to respond to the child's request and needs
Discipline	The level of control that the fathers attempts to have on his children
Role Modeling	The valence of the types of behavior that a father displays his children
Awareness	A father's attempt to be in touch with his children's mental state and whereabouts
Team Parenting	How well the father works with the mother to build a cohesive home environment
Evaluation	A father's subjective evaluation of how he is doing as a father