# Fathers' Participation in Family Work: Consequences for Fathers' Stress and Father-Child Relations

by

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## ABSTRACT

The present investigation examined the extent to which fathers' participation in family work (household tasks and child care) was related to fathers' experience of stress and father-child relations. Using Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, and Mullan's (1981) life strains model of the stress process, it was hypothesized that high participation in family work could constitute life strains and thus have the potential for arousing global stress (e.g., anxiety and depression) as well as situation-specific stress (e.g., household labour stress). Second, it was hypothesized that participation in family work, namely child care, would be associated with more accepting father-child relations as well as more father-child conflicts. Third, this investigation explored whether fathers' feelings of stress moderated the relationship between family work and father-child relations.

Subjects (N=75) were fathers in dual earner families from Victoria, B.C. Data for the analyses were from questionnaires completed on two occasions six months apart--August 1988 (Time 1) and February 1989 (Time 2). Measures were fathers' participation in household tasks (proportional share, weekly frequency, and weekly hourly

estimate) and child care (proportional share, weekly frequency, and weekly hourly estimate); fathers' stress (anxiety, depression, parental stress, and household labour stress); and aspects of father-child relations (acceptance, conflict frequency, and conflict intensity).

The data were analyzed using hierarchical multiple regression and correlations of residual change scores. Results showed that first, fathers who participated more frequently in household chores experienced more stress than fathers who participated less frequently in household chores. However, changes in fathers' participation in family work were not associated with changes in fathers' stress. Second, fathers who spent more time doing child care tasks, relative to fathers who spent less time doing child care, were more accepting of their children and had more conflicts with their sons and fewer conflicts with their daughters. Also, increased participation in child care was associated with increased acceptance and increased frequency of conflict. Third, for fathers experiencing more stress, increased participation in child care was associated with more frequent conflict whereas for fathers experiencing less stress, increased participation in child care was associated with fewer conflicts. The discussion centers around the implications regarding fathers' participation

in family work for fathers' stress and father-child relations and offers directions for future research.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Recently, researchers have begun to investigate how fathers' performance of household chores and their involvement in the day-to-day care of their children affects themselves and other family members. This marks an important transition away from the traditional conception of fathers' role in the family. Whereas a generation ago scientists and the general public alike viewed fathers primarily as breadwinners and disciplinarians, in the 1980s fathers' active participation in all aspects of family life is recognized and appreciated (Bronstein, 1988). Lamb (1987) describes the "new father" as "an active, involved, nurturant participant in all aspects of child care and childrearing" (p.3).

Associated with the trend toward active fathering is a new focus in research, a re-evaluation of assumptions and definitions concerning the function of fathers in the family. Rather than neglecting the role of fathers as in previous family research (e.g., Bowlby, 1951), the contemporary literature has devoted entire volumes solely to the importance of fathers for a child's development (Lamb, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1987; Lynn, 1979) and family life (Bronstein & Cowan, 1988; Gilbert, 1985; Lamb & Sagi, 1983; Lewis & Salt, 1986; Russell, 1983).

This increased interest in "the new fatherhood" has prompted explorations of how fathers' involvement in household chores and child care responsibilities affects their children and their wives. Researchers have addressed such questions as: does greater father involvement in child care result in children developing less rigid sex-stereotyped beliefs, higher levels of cognitive development, and more sophisticated social skills and social competence (Baruch & Barnett, 1981; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Houston, & McHale, 1987; Radin, 1981; Radin & Russell, 1983)? Does father participation in family work (household chores and child care duties) ease feelings of housework overload and depression for mothers (Hoffman, 1983; Pearlin, 1975; Pleck, 1983)?

These questions carry the implicit assumption that greater father involvement in family work will have a favorable impact on the family. However, some scientists caution that increased paternal participation may not always be beneficial (Baruch & Barnett, 1986, Barnett & Baruch, 1988; Gilbert, 1985; Lamb, Pleck, & Levine, 1985). They argue that the effects of father involvement are quite complex and do not follow a unidirectional model with increased participation always leading to positive outcomes. Barnett and Baruch (1988) summarize:

> The research perspective on the role of the father seems to have arrived at a third stage. In the

> first stage, fathers were barely represented in the psychological thinking and writing about parenting. In the second, fatherhood was glorified and men's increase in family work was seen as a panacea for the beleaguered employed mother and solutions to the tensions faced by dual-earner couples as they confronted the problems of rearing children. The third stage represents a recognition that fathers' increased participation will have stressful as well as positive consequences on some aspects of family life, and that as it generates solutions to some problems, it may also be creating new problems for which solutions are yet to be found. (p. 76)

One potential consequence of paternal participation in family work is the feeling of stress on the part of fathers. That is, as fathers increasingly juggle the responsibilities of family work and paid work they may experience more tension, self-doubt, and anxiety.

Although studies have shown that fathers who were more involved in family work reported greater difficulty meeting the demands of their careers (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Gilbert, 1985; Russell, 1983), the relation between fathers' participation in family work and indices of stress has received little empirical attention. Moreover, studies that have focused on the possible consequences of fathers' participation in household

chores and child care duties on the psychological well-being of fathers (e.g., Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Crouter et al., 1987) are based on cross-sectional data, making it impossible to disentangle the temporal relation between fathers' involvement in family work on the one hand and stress on the other.

If family work creates feelings of stress in fathers, it could lead to marital difficulties and difficulties with children. Fathers who are experiencing stress may be more likely to behave adversely towards family members, beginning a downward spiral of conflicted interactions (Belsky, 1984). Little research, however, has addressed the question of whether stress brought on by family work has an impact on fathers' relations with their wives and children.

In order to gain a more complete understanding of the potential benefits and costs of fathers' participation in family work, the present study examined the relation between fathers' involvement in household chores and child care, and fathers' feelings of stress. In addition, this study explored the relations among fathers' involvement in family work, stress, and qualitative aspects of father-child relations. The following research questions guided this study:

1) Are fathers' levels of participation in family work (household tasks and child care duties) related to

their feelings of stress (i.e., depression, anxiety, parental stress, and household labour stress)?

2) To what extent are fathers' levels of participation in family work related to qualitative aspects of father-child relations (i.e., fathers' acceptance of child, and intensity and frequency of conflict)?

3) Do fathers' feelings of stress moderate the relationship between family work and father-child relations?

# CHAPTER II

# LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant literature on fathers' participation in family work. First, an overview of Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, and Mullan's (1981) life strains model of stress is presented to introduce the theoretical underpinning of the present study. Second, because of the complexity and ambiguity surrounding the study of household labour (Pleck, 1983), various definitions of and methods for assessing family work are discussed. Third, the relevance of the two-earner family lifestyle for fathers' participation in family work is examined in order to illustrate how this context may contribute to the phenomenon in question. Fourth, the literature that is relevant to the relationship between fathers' participation in family work (household tasks and child care duties) and feelings of stress and father-child relations is reviewed. Finally, predictions for the results of the present study are proposed.

## Pearlin's Life Strains Model of Stress

Pearlin's life strains model of the stress process provides a useful framework for conceptualizing the relation between fathers' involvement in family work and fathers' stress. Within this framework, the stress process is broadly composed of three major components:

strains, manifestations of stress, and moderators of strain and stress (Pearlin et al., 1981).

Strains

Strains refer to any set of conditions that threaten the well-being of an organism (Aneshensel & Pearlin, 1987). Pearlin and his colleagues suggest that most strains arise from the conditions and demands of the daily social roles that individuals inhabit (e.g., parent, worker, spouse). When these conditions and demands have the potential to create hardships, challenges, and conflicts within and between roles they are seen as life strains. Life strains are characterized as "daily hassles" (Lazarus & Launier, 1978) or irritations and frustrations of daily life such as the time and energy demands of being a parent and a worker (Aneshensel & Pearlin, 1987; Pearlin, 1975, 1983; Pearlin et al., 1981; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). If these strains persist they may result in stress reactions, for example, emotional and physical upset (e.g., psychological distress or physical illness).

Stress

Stress can be defined and measured in many ways, but most researchers agree that stress is the physical and psychological impact of strain on an organism as seen, for example, in high blood pressure or emotional upset (Pearlin et al., 1981). Pearlin and Schooler (1978)

relied on both global (e.g., psychological distress) and situation-specific (e.g., having to do with the role of the parent) assessments of stress. A global stress reaction is described as a diffuse disordered affective state such as depression or anxiety resulting from exposure to persistent life strains. For example, research has pointed to a relation between chronic strains (e.g., overly demanding work schedules, work overload, negative work environment) and global stress reactions such as depression and anxiety in both employed men and women (Galambos & Almeida, 1989; Galambos & Walters, 1989; Pleck & Staines, 1985).

The stress reaction may also be situation-specific. That is, situational stress is the organism's response to a particular threatening event and may be insulated and isolated from other stresses. For instance, strains arising from the paid work place may result in an individual feeling worried, bothered, and upset about his or her paid job (occupational stress). Such stress may be thought of as different and separate from stress experienced as a result of marital strains or parental strains. Examples of situational stress are occupational stress, parental stress, marital stress, and household economic stress (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978).

Moderators of Strain and Stress

Not all people respond similarly to life strains. Pearlin and Schooler (1978) noted that some people have personal characteristics or resources to draw on to help them resist stress. Within their own research they found that high self-esteem, low self-denigration, and feelings of mastery blunted the impact of chronic financial and occupational strains on emotional stress. For example, feelings of personal control over daily problems seem to buffer the impact of occupational strain (demanding work schedules, noxious work environment and depersonalization in the work environment) on work-related stress (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978).

In sum, the life strains model of stress proposes that the seedbeds of stress are structured around enduring social roles such as work, family, and marriage. Life strains serve as possible antecedents to stress and its physical and emotional manifestations. Such stress responses can be both global (e.g, depression and anxiety) and situation-specific (e.g., parental stress and work stress).

The Life Strains Model and Family Work

A body of literature guided by models similar to Pearlin's already exists on men in their paid work roles (Galambos & Almeida, 1989; Galambos & Walters, 1989; Piotrkowski, 1979; Pearlin et al., 1981; Pleck & Staines,

1985; Rosenman et al., 1975). These studies demonstrate the usefulness of considering paid work as a potential source of strain and ultimately, stress. This thesis attempts to broaden the scope of the model by applying it to fathers' stress arising from their involvement in family work.

Using Pearlin's life strains model of the stress process, fathers' involvement in family work (i.e., participation in household chores and in child care duties), can easily be conceptualized as life strains. Time spent in child care duties and home chores do demand time and energy from fathers. This is consistent with Russell's (1983) and Baruch and Barnett's (1986) findings that fathers who spend more time in household chores and in day-to-day care of their children were more likely to report having too little time or energy for their careers.

Pearlin et al. (1981) argue that if life strains persist they may result in stress. The present study explores how the life strains emanating from the demands of family work are associated with fathers' global stress (e.g., anxiety, depression) and such situation-specific stresses as household labour stress (emotional upset as a result of participation in home chores and child care) and parental stress (emotional upset as a result of

parenting experiences) (Pearlin et al., 1981; Pearlin, 1983).

An exploration of how fathers' life strains relate to family work will widen the breadth of understanding of sources of stress in men's lives. Most information concerning the relationship between men's life strains and stress stems from research on their role as paid workers, while other important facets of their lives have typically been excluded. For example, many studies linking strains in paid work to coronary heart disease fail to consider how men's marital status or parental status might contribute to or alleviate stress (Karesek et al., 1981; Rosenman et al., 1975). Barnett and Baruch (1987) suggest that such a narrow focus severely misrepresents the relationship between social roles and the experience of stress in men's lives. There is, however, some research that is relevant to an understanding of men's family work and the stress experience. The following section reviews this body of work.

## The Study of Fathers' Family Work

Research into the impact of fathers' participation in family work on fathers' experience of stress is only beginning to emerge. The initial findings are complex and appear to be contradictory. Some studies report that fathers' participation in family work is associated with

feelings of psychological well-being (Pleck, 1983) whereas other studies show a relation between family work and perceived difficulties such as trouble meeting the demands of work (Barnett & Baruch, 1987). To a large extent, this complexity is due to ambiguous definitions and measures of family work (Pleck, 1983). Therefore, before reviewing the literature on the personal and familial consequences of fathers' involvement in family work, definitions of family work and different strategies for measuring it will be discussed.

Definitions of Family Work

Family work has been defined in many ways. Some researchers have defined family work solely as participation in such household tasks as preparing meals, washing dishes, and performing minor home repairs (e.g., Blood & Wolfe, 1960). Other researchers have focused primarily on fathers' parenting behaviour and involvement in child care, such as direct interaction with, availability for, and responsibility for the children (e.g., Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, & Levine, 1987). Finally, some researchers have incorporated both household tasks and child care duties as part of family work. For example, using an American national survey of time use, Pleck (1983) dimensionalized family work into four categories of activities: basic housework (e.g., laundry, cooking, and yardwork), other housework (e.g., gardening,

pets, and errands), basic child care responsibilities (e.g., making appointments, arranging for baby-sitters, and attending school activities), and other child-care activities (e.g., helping children with homework, reading to or conversing with children, playing with children).

How family work is defined may affect the extent to which other variables are correlated with fathers' participation in family work. For instance, maternal employment was related to a higher level of father participation in basic child care but not to the amount of time fathers spent playing with their children, both possible indicators of fathers' family work (Baruch & Barnett, 1986).

Previous research illustrates the importance of distinguishing between time spent performing household chores and time spent interacting with children. First, participation in household chores and child care duties may not be highly related. The amount of time fathers spend participating in household tasks such as yardwork or meal preparation is not necessarily related to the amount of time spent in child care. Barnett and Baruch (1987) reported only moderate correlations ($r$=.15 to .37) between time spent doing household tasks (e.g., cleaning house, grocery shopping, and yardwork) and time spent in child care tasks (e.g., supervising personal hygiene and making appointments). In addition, different dimensions

of family work may have different determinants (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Coverman 1985; Russell, 1983). Maternal employment was related to solo interaction time (time father spent in sole charge of his children) and time spent in child care tasks whereas fathers' attitude toward the male role and not maternal employment status was associated with their performance of traditionally feminine home chores (Barnett & Baruch, 1987).

Thus, the definition of household work must be carefully considered when interpreting findings on the extent and correlates of fathers' participation in family work. Not only do fathers spend varying amounts of time in different family work activities (e.g., child care versus household chores), but these activities also may not be highly interrelated and may have different determinants and consequences.

Measuring Family Work

Family work has been measured using two methods. The first method assesses the amount of household work as the proportional division of household labour between husbands and wives. Such measures identify the subject's apportionment or his or her share of the total household work completed in the family. In time budget studies, for example, a 24-hour day is divided by the subject into time committed by various household members to various kinds of household work: child care, house cleaning, meal

preparation, household repair (Gronau, 1977). Other proportional techniques utilize the subject's estimates and/or ratings of the amount of work performed in specific household tasks relative to the spouse. For example, in Bird, Bird, and Scrugg's Family Tasks Sharing Scale (1983) respondents report the extent to which husbands and wives share family tasks, ranging from tasks performed entirely by the husband, to those performed equally by the husband and the wife, to those performed entirely by the wife. A major drawback to this type of technique, compared to the time budget technique, is that it does not provide an estimate of the actual time that fathers spend in family work. Furthermore, Pleck (1983) cautions, "we cannot tell whether differing scores on proportional measures of family work reflect differences in husband's behavior, wife's behavior, or some combination in both" (p.254).

A second method for measuring family work is the time summary which estimates family work in absolute terms. This method assesses how much time fathers spend in family work irrespective of what their wives do. The time diary is an example of one such method: subjects record all their activities for a given day on a 24-hour diary form. These activities are then coded and summed into the amount of absolute time (i.e., minutes per day) spent in family work activities (Berk, 1985; Berk & Berk,

1978). Because time diaries are expensive and time consuming, an increasingly popular technique is the summary time estimate (Quinn & Staines, 1979). Here subjects estimate the total amount of time they have spent in household chores and child care for a given time period. Of course, the accuracy of the time estimate may not be as high as the use of the time diary. Advantages to both of these absolute measures are that they yield understandable units of measurement and, unlike proportional measures, provide a picture of the actual amount of work fathers perform in the house.

In a review of research on the extent and correlates of fathers' family work, Pleck (1983) examined findings from four studies using time diaries and one using summary time estimates. The four time diary studies from large scale American samples (Meissner, Humphreys, Meis, & Scheu, 1975; Quinn & Staines, 1979; Robinson, 1977; Walker & Woods, 1976) show that fathers on average spend between .6 hours and 1.87 hours per day directly participating in family work. In contrast, in a 1979 nationally representative American sample, fathers <u>estimated</u> that they spent an average of 3.55 hours per day involved in household chores and child care (Quinn & Staines, 1979). Pleck (1983) suggested that the discrepancy between these figures may be due more to the narrow definition of child care responsibilities used in

the time diary studies than to fathers overestimating the amount of time they spent in family work. The time diary studies defined child care as time spent interacting with the child whereas the time estimate study utilized a more general conception of child care (e.g., being available to the child). Depending on the definition and measurement of household chores and child care, reports of time spent in family tasks range from .6 hours to 5.0 hours per day (Pleck, 1983). Thus, the various definitions of family work and different strategies for measuring it work play an important role in determining the extent and correlates of fathers' participation in the home. Another important factor in understanding fathers' participation in family work is the employment status of their wives. This topic will now be explored.

## Fathers' Family Work in Two-earner Families

The two-earner family is a common form of family life in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1981), and is an important context for understanding both the antecedents and consequences of fathers' family work. Many writers propose that fathers are more likely to increase their levels of family work if their wives are employed outside of the home (Gottfried, Gottfried, & Bathurst, 1988; Hoffman, 1986, 1989). Although the increase in work that fathers do at home has been modest (Pleck, 1983), several researchers have found an increased responsiveness by

fathers to wives' employment. That is, men in dual-earner families participate more in family work than men in single-earner families (Crouter et al., 1987; Gottfried et al. 1988). In a review of maternal employment research, Hoffman (1989) argued that the most consistent effect of maternal employment is a modest increase in the participation of fathers in household chores. Furthermore Hoffman (1989) reports:

> maternal employment is a causal factor not merely a selective factor. This relationship holds even when sex-role identity is held constant and is more pronounced when mother is employed full-time and there is more than one child in the family. (p.286)

Some work suggests that determinants of father involvement in various family work activities may be different in dual- versus single-earner families. Researchers have reported that husbands of employed wives may have fewer choices about the family work that they perform (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Crouter et al., 1987). In dual-earner situations fathers' involvement in family work may be just as much a response to the demands of the situation as any intrinsic motivation on the part of fathers (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Crouter et al., 1987).

In an interview study of white middle-class mothers and fathers, Baruch and Barnett (1986) found that, although fathers' <u>total</u> amount of time interacting with a

target child did not vary as a function of their wives' employment status, fathers in dual-earner families spent more time alone with their children (i.e., solo interaction) and performed significantly more child care tasks and traditionally feminine home chores than did fathers in single-earner families. Moreover, in the dual-earner families, mothers' total paid work hours per week was the only significant predictor of father's participation in family work. This variable significantly predicted fathers' total interaction, their solo interaction, and their proportional interaction with their children. The flexibility of fathers' work schedule, the child's sex and grade in school, fathers' and mothers' attitudes toward the male role, and fathers' attitudes toward the quality of fathering they received as children did not predict any of these father participation variables. In contrast, for fathers in single-earner families, the most consistent predictor of father involvement was fathers' attitudes toward the quality of fathering they received as children. Baruch and Barnett (1986) concluded, "it may be that fathers' participation especially in families of employed wives is less voluntary and less reflective of individual availability or pressure and more controlled by their wives' employment-related needs" (p.39).

Further evidence of the differing processes by which fathers in single- and dual-earner families come to participate in family work is evident in Crouter et al.'s (1987) study of 20 two-earner and 20 single-earner families. Fathers in dual-earner families reported doing more than twice as many child care activities (e.g., dressing and feeding children) as fathers in single-earner families. Fathers' perceived skill in child care was related to father participation in child care only for fathers in single-earner families. Findings from these two studies (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Crouter et al., 1987) suggest that single-earner fathers participate in family work more as a function of wanting to be closer to their children than were their fathers, or as a function of their own perceived competence in child care. Dual-earner fathers, on the other hand, participate more as a function of the number of hours their wives work outside the home (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Crouter et al., 1987).

Just as the antecedents of father involvement may differ in single- and dual-earner families, so might the forms and consequences of father involvement. Whereas most fathers engage in playful activities with their children, fathers in dual-earner families also tend to take responsibility for day-to-day child care and perform more household tasks (Barnett & Baruch, 1987). This

increased responsibility could potentially result in dual-earner fathers feeling more stress. Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine (1987) argue that when fathers have fewer choices about their levels of participation in family work, the effects are less likely to be positive. There is evidence that participating fathers in dual-earner families often indicate concern about their own careers and complain about wives not being available (Baruch & Barnett 1986, Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Gilbert, 1985). Because the dual earner-family creates a context in which demands placed on time and energy are more likely, this lifestyle deserves particular attention. Therefore, the present study will focus on fathers in dual-earner families.

Examining the Consequences of Fathers' Family Work

There are reasons to suspect both negative and positive consequences of household labour for fathers. Fathers may feel uncomfortable participating in child care and certain traditionally feminine household chores (Russell, 1983), or resent the time and energy taken from their careers (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Gilbert, 1985). Conversely, father involvement in family work may lead fathers to become more understanding and sensitive to the needs of their children (Lamb, 1986b; Lamb & Esterbrooks, 1981; Lamb, Pleck, & Levine, 1985; Radin, 1982; Russell, 1983; Sagi, 1982). Research has supported these dual

(negative and positive) consequences. Baruch and Barnett (1986) found that child care tasks and household chores performed by fathers were related to greater feelings of competence as parents yet more frequent experiences of conflicts between careers and family. Crouter et al. (1987) found that husbands' involvement in parenting was associated with more negative interactions with their wives and lower levels of love in dual-earner families. Pleck (1983), in contrast, reported a positive relationship between personal well-being and participation in household tasks and child care.

The following is a review of the literature examining two potential consequences of fathers' participation in household chores and child care duties. First, we will review research examining how family work may be related to feelings of stress in fathers in two-earner families. Next is a focus on studies investigating the relation between fathers' participation in family work, namely child-care tasks, and qualitative aspects of the father-child relationship. Finally, the role of stress as a moderator between participation in family work and father-child relations will be explored.

Fathers' Family Work and Stress

A central feature of the dual-earner family situation is the extent to which parents feel stress due to emotional and physical overload. In an indepth study

of 51 men in dual-career families, Gilbert (1985) asked her subjects what they perceived as costs of the dual-career family. An overwhelming majority (71 percent) indicated that stress from physical and emotional overload was the major cost of the dual-career lifestyle.

Many writers have attempted to elucidate the nature of stress that parents in two-earner families experience (Bohen & Viveros-Long, 1981; Galambos & Silbereisen, 1989; Galambos & Walters, 1989; Keith & Schafer, 1980; Pleck, Staines, & Lang, 1980). One manifestation of stress is known as "role strain" (Goode, 1960) or "job-family strain" (Bohen & Viveros-Long, 1981), which reflects the difficulty in dealing with the competing demands of family and work. Role strain captures the notion that an overload of demands associated within one or more social roles (e.g., parent, worker, spouse) may be stressful. With fathers' increased participation in the home, the potential for such stress may increase.

Pearlin (1983) argued that role strain may diminish one's psychological well-being, self-esteem, and competence. Pleck et al. (1980) showed that role strain was associated with lower life satisfaction in men and women. Keith and Schafer (1980) found that role strain and role conflict (disagreements with spouse regarding family work activities) were related to depression and lower self-esteem in men. In a West German sample of 329

dual-earner families, Galambos and Silbereisen (1989) reported that a high degree of work-family strain (perceived difficulty in managing work and family) was associated with more pessimism, a lower level of togetherness, and more family conflicts for mothers and fathers. Thus, the experience of role strain seems to relate to a host of variables that may be stress-related.

Several studies have pointed to the conditions of fathers' paid work as sources of role strain (for a review see Greenhaus & Beutell, 1986). Factors such as excessive worktime, schedule conflicts, and shiftwork were associated with increased levels of role strain (Pleck et al., 1980).

In contrast to research into the paid work role as a source of stress, relatively few studies have looked to conditions of family work as potential sources of stress for fathers. Baruch and Barnett (1986) reported a significant relation between fathers' participation in family work and role strain. High participant fathers were more likely to report that they had too little time or energy for their careers and that their family responsibilities were interfering with their work. Additionally, fathers' role strain varied according to the type of family work fathers performed. The time fathers spent in sole charge of their children was significantly related to reports of role strain, whereas

total interaction time with children and proportion of feminine household chores engaged in were not related. These findings did not differ by maternal employment status. Baruch and Barnett (1986) argued that as fathers increasingly juggle family work and paid work, they will resemble mothers with respect to the conflicts and tensions that they face.

Fathers' Family Work and Father-Child Relations

Although there seem to be some costs associated with fathers' participation in family work, there may be also potential benefits for fathers, namely, a warmer and more accepting relationship with their children. How does fathers' participation in family work affect qualitative aspects of father-child relationships? Most researchers examining this question have concentrated on "role-sharing" or "highly participant" fathers (e.g., Russell, 1983). These fathers are usually in some arrangement in which they assume equal or primary responsibility for their children. Because highly participant fathers spend more time with their children, it is believed that they have more opportunity to display and receive affection, and thus develop a closer bond with their children.

This hypothesis was supported in Russell's (1983) descriptive study of 71 Australian families in which fathers either shared in or had a major responsibility for child care. A majority of the subjects (64 percent

of the women and 69 percent of the men) indicated that an improved father-child relationship was the major advantage of their role-sharing lifestyle. In addition, when asked about changes since becoming more involved, over two-thirds of both mothers and fathers reported fathers becoming more sensitive to the needs and feelings of their children.

Similar findings were found in an Israeli sample in which fathers' self-reports of paternal nurturance were highly correlated with the extent of paternal participation (Sagi, 1982). This same relationship was found in Sweden and Norway (Lamb et al., 1987). A common reason for this positive evaluation by fathers was that it allowed them to become closer with their children.

Further evidence of paternal participation fostering positive parenting behaviour comes from a study of fathers' responses to infants. Lamb and Easterbrooks (1981) found that fathers' increased interaction with infants facilitated the growth of paternal sensitivity by providing greater opportunity to practice differentiating, interpreting, and responding to infant signals. The authors argue that fathers who have more interaction with young infants may be better prepared for sensitive parenting later.

In contrast, a U.S. study of fathers' interaction with their toddlers found that highly involved fathers

were no more nurturant than less involved fathers (Radin, 1982). It is not clear whether this is a cultural or a methodological effect as this study used behavioural observations to assess nurturance whereas the others used self-report measures (Lamb, 1982).

Although higher participation may be associated with closeness to the children, it also might lead to more tension and conflict between fathers and children. Russell's (1982) more participant fathers reported more conflicts with their children than less participant fathers and Radin (1982) found that more involved fathers were perceived by their children as being more punitive.

It is important to note that much of the research on fathers' participation in child care and father-child relations has investigated fathers with young children (e.g., Radin, 1982) or infants (e.g., Lamb & Easterbrooks, 1981). Conversely, there are relatively few studies that focus on fathers' day-to-day care of and relations with their adolescent children. Adolescence has been described as a period of transition from childhood to adulthood, bringing with it changes in family relations and autonomy (Peterson, 1988). Although fathers spend more time with younger children than adolescents (Pleck, 1983), the time fathers do spend with their adolescents might play an important role in certain changes in family relations that occur during adolescence

such as increased frequency and intensity of parent-child conflict (Montemayor, 1983). The present study explored whether fathers' participation in child care tasks was related to their relations their adolescent children.

In sum, researchers have reported both positive and negative consequences experienced by fathers and family members as a result of fathers' participation in family work. On the positive side, fathers' participation in child care may presage closer and warmer relationships with their children. On the negative side, fathers who engage in high levels of household chores and child care may feel stress and have more conflicts with their children. One strategy to synthesize these complex findings is to examine how stress may moderate the effect of fathers' participation in family work on father-child relations.

Child Care and Parenting: Stress as a Moderator

What effect does stress have on parental behaviour? Several studies (Belsky, 1984; Conger, McCarty, Yang, Lahey, & Kropp, 1984; Longfellow, Zelkowitz, & Saunders, 1982; Patterson, 1986; Weissman & Paykel, 1974) suggest that when parents are highly stressed, they are likely to be unresponsive, inattentive, and even hostile toward their children. Using observations of mothers and children from 43 low-income Boston families, Longfellow et al. (1982) found that mothers who reported higher

levels of depression and stressful experiences were less affectionate towards their children, and less likely to meet their children's demands for communication and attention. Similarly, Conger et al. (1984) found that mothers' reports of emotional distress were related to lower observed positive emotional affect (e.g., hugs and praise), and higher observed negative emotional affect (e.g., derogatory statements, slaps, and threats) directed towards their children.

Belsky (1984) suggested that the experience of stress might trigger a process of conflicted interactions that ultimately lead to dysfunctional parenting behaviour. Indeed, Patterson (1986) reports that stress --measured as negative life experiences, daily hassles, poor financial situation, and the presence of medical conditions --was associated with maternal conflicts with children which, in turn, led to disruptions in parental discipline.

Clearly, stress affects mothers' parenting behaviour. A number of investigators (Elder et al., 1985; Galambos & Almeida, 1989; Kohn, 1977; Pearlin et al., 1981) have examined how <u>fathers'</u> stress affects the qualitative aspects of father-child relations. They show that stressful aspects of paid employment (e.g., long work hours, routine tasks, and conflicts with co-workers) affect father-child relations but that the relationship

is mediated by fathers' feelings of role strain and psychological distress. For instance, Galambos and Almeida (1989) showed that the strains fathers encounter at work did contribute to more conflicted father-child relationships as a result of fathers' distress.

The literature thus far has shown that the degree of father participation in the day-to-day care of children has been linked to aspects of father-child relations (Lamb et al., 1987; Radin, 1982; Russell, 1983 Sagi, 1982;) as has stress (Baruch & Barnett, 1987). Similarly, stress was found to directly affect father-child relations. This raises the following question: What role might stress play in the relationship between participation in child care and qualitative aspects of father-child relations?

One hypothesis is that the impact of fathers' participation in child care on aspects of father-child relations is conditionally dependent on the amount of stress fathers are experiencing. For example, fathers who are involved in higher levels of care for their children may have more opportunities for displaying and receiving warmth and acceptance from their children. However, if these fathers are experiencing stress they may also be more likely to exhibit dysfunctional parental behaviour, leading to poor parent-child relations. In this sense stress moderates the impact of child care on

father-child relations. This moderation would be evidenced if, for example, stressed fathers who are performing higher levels of family work report more conflicts with their children than less stressed fathers who are performing the same levels of family work. Such an effect could explain the complex array of findings relating participation in child care to increased conflicts and punitiveness.

In sum, parents who are experiencing stress are more likely to behave in adversely towards their children. Consistent with this assertion, the experience of stress may moderate the relation between fathers' participation in child care and father-child relations. That is, the consequences of fathers' participation in child care on father-child relations may be conditionally dependent upon whether or not fathers are experiencing stress. If fathers are experiencing stress, participation in child care, whether high or low, may have negative consequences such as increased conflicts; for fathers who do not experience stress, regardless of how involved in family work they are, may experience positive outcomes such as more parental acceptance and warmth.

## Hypotheses

In previous sections of this chapter, research on the effects of fathers' participation in household tasks and child care duties on fathers' feelings of stress and

father-child relations has been reviewed. In addition, issues surrounding the definition and measurement of family work have been discussed. From this literature, several hypotheses regarding the specific relations among fathers' participation in family work, feelings of stress, and aspects of father-child relations have emerged.

Specific Hypotheses

Fathers' family work and stress. Consistent with Pearlin's life strains view of the stress process, fathers' participation in household chores and child care duties may result in feelings of stress. That is, high participation in family work may constitute life strains and thus have the potential for arousing global as well as situation-specific stress.

1. Fathers' participation in household tasks will be positively correlated with fathers' experience of global stress as indicated by self-reports of depression and anxiety.

2. Fathers' participation in child care duties will be positively correlated with fathers' experience of global stress as indicated by self-reports of depression and anxiety.

3. Greater participation in household tasks will be related to higher levels of stress specific to household labour.

Family work and father-child relations. Given the research on highly participant fathers and nurturant parenting behaviour, it is hypothesized that father involvement in family work, in particular child care duties, will be related to qualitative aspects of parent-child relations.

4. The amount fathers participate in child care will be positively related to reports of acceptance towards their adolescent children.

5. Greater father participation in child care will also be associated with reports of more frequent and intense conflicts between fathers and their adolescents.

Exploratory Hypotheses

Stress as a moderator. Assuming that there are linkages between fathers' participation in child care and father-child relations, the next set of hypotheses will explore how fathers' experience of stress affects these linkages. The experience of stress is expected to moderate the relationship between participation in child care and aspects of father-adolescent relations.

6. There will be a significant interaction between stress and level of child care participation when predicting acceptance. That is, among non-stressed fathers there will be a positive relationship; among highly stressed fathers, the relationship will not be present.

7. There will be a significant interaction between stress and level of child care participation when predicting conflict. Among highly stressed fathers the relationship between child care participation and conflict will be positive. This relationship will not be present among non-stressed fathers.

# CHAPTER III

## METHOD

### Subjects

The subjects for the proposed study are 75 fathers participating in the Two-Earner Family Study, a three-wave, twelve-month questionnaire study of parental work conditions, family relationships, stress, and psychological adjustment. The Two-Earner Family Study began with 112 families (mothers, fathers, and sixth-grade child) who were recruited through letters soliciting participants sent home with all 726 sixth graders in 19 schools in Victoria, B.C. and through newspaper advertisements requesting families. Questionnaires were mailed individually to each father, mother, and target child in February, 1988, August, 1988, and February, 1989. Of the 127 families that initially indicated their interest, 112 returned the first set of questionnaires, 101 returned the summer set, and 97 returned the third set. As a token payment for participation, each family member received five dollars for completing the first questionnaire, and ten dollars for completing each of the following two questionnaires.

Subjects for the present study consist of a subset of the larger sample. Seventy-five fathers participated based on a) availability of data for the second and third waves of data collection, b) employment during both waves

of data collection, and c) holding a job that did not keep them away from their families for extended periods of time. The characteristics of this sample suggest that it is similar to the population base. That is, according to the most recent figures (Statistics Canada, 1981), the distribution of the fathers' occupations in the sample is very similar to that of the general population in the city from which the population was drawn. Table 1 presents the major occupational categories to which the fathers belong.

The fathers in this sample had been employed for an average of 17.2 years (SD=7.4) and worked an average of 41 hours a week (SD=9.1). They were on average 40 years old (SD=5.0) and had completed an average of 13.8 (SD=2.9) years of education. The mean family socioeconomic status (SES) was 50.01 (SD=15.18) as assessed by the Blishen and McRoberts (1976) occupational index for Canadian samples. Examples of occupations and their SES scores are: motor vehicle repair man (32.8), real estate salesman (50.1), and accountant (67.4). The mean number of children per family was 2.3 (SD=.7) and the mean number of years married was 15 (SD=4.4).

Table 1

Occupational Classifications of Fathers, in Percentages

| Classification | |
|---|---|
| Professional, technical, and kindred | 26% |
| Craftsmen and kindred | 25% |
| Managers and administrators | 23% |
| Sales workers | 10% |
| Operatives | 8% |
| Labourers | 4% |
| Clerical and kindred | 3% |
| Service workers | 1% |

Note. n = 75.

## Measures

Data for the present study consisted of those questionnaire responses collected in August, 1988, and February, 1989 (the second and third waves of data collection). For the sake of clarity, the August, 1988 time of measurement is referred to as Time 1 and February, 1989 is referred to as Time 2.

### Family work

Three measures were used to assess fathers' participation in family work: summary estimates of weekly time spent in home chores and child care duties, proportional share of household chores and child care tasks, and weekly frequency of household chores and child care tasks.

*Summary estimate of family work time.* The first measure of family work is based on Pleck's (1985) analysis of the Quality of Employment Survey (see Appendix A). Fathers were asked to estimate how much time in hours they spent on working and non-working days on "taking care of and doing things with your child(ren)" and "other home chores." Weekly estimates of home chores and child care were derived by summing workday and non-workday estimates, appropriately multiplied by the fathers' number of workdays or non-workdays. The number of workdays was taken from the fathers' self- reports of weekly schedule of primary and secondary employment. The

stability in the present sample after six months was .57 for weekly estimates of child care and .45 for weekly estimate of home chores. The validity of this instrument is evidenced by its relationship with other measures of family work including time diaries and proportional instruments (Pleck, 1983).

Proportional share of family work. Items on a family task-sharing scale designed by Bird et al. (1983) were used to measure fathers' proportional share of household tasks and child care tasks (See Appendix B). Respondents indicated the extent to which they and their spouses were responsible for the completion of 20 family management tasks (e.g., "shopping for food" and "daily care of children") on a five-point scale. Responses ranged from Wife only (1), to Both husband and wife equally (3), to Husband only (5). A principal components analysis with a varimax rotation showed that the tasks formed seven factors with a median loading of .76: meal preparation, home and car maintenance, child care, management of family activities, financial management, cleaning, and yardwork (Bird et al., 1983). A principal components analysis for the present sample revealed a similar structure for these items. Scores were obtained by computing the mean raw scores for each component resulting in seven scores. In addition, the mean of the 17 items (excluding the three child-related items) for

household tasks was computed for a mean proportion of household tasks subscale. Coefficient alpha for the component means and the mean proportion for household tasks measures ranged from .37 to .68

Frequency of family work. Fathers indicated on a five-point scale from never (1) to every day (5) the frequency with which they performed the above 20 family management tasks in the previous week (see Appendix C). This variation on the measure by Bird et al. (1983) was designed by the present author. Two subscales (mean frequency for household tasks and mean frequency for child care tasks) were created by computing mean scores for the 17 home chore tasks (e.g., gardening and household cleaning) and the three child care tasks (e.g., chauffeuring children) respectively. Using coefficient alpha, the internal consistency for the mean child care frequency was estimated at .69 for time 1 scores and .58 for time 2 scores. Mean home chores frequency demonstrated an internal consistency of .75 for time 1 and .72 for time 2.

Stress

Variables measuring fathers' feelings of stress included depression, anxiety, parental stress, household labour stress, and overall stress. Other researchers have used similar measures as indicators of stress (Pearlin et al., 1981, Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Unless

stated otherwise scores were obtained by computing the means for the measures.

Depression. The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) was used to measure fathers' depressive symptoms (Radloff, 1977, see Appendix D). The CES-D is a 20-item self-report scale that asks about the frequency of occurrence of symptoms in the previous week (e.g., "I felt bothered by things that usually don't bother me"). Responses ranged from Rarely or none of the time (1) to Most or all of the time (4). In the present sample, coefficient alpha was .88 for time 1 and .92 for time 2. Other researchers who have used this instrument have found it to be useful for research on employed parents (Kandel, Davies, & Raveis, 1985).

Anxiety. Spielberger's 20-item measure of state anxiety (Spielberger, Gorsuch, & Kuhlenschmidt, 1970) was employed to assess the degree to which fathers currently feel anxious (e.g., "I am tense", see Appendix E). Responses ranged on a scale from Not at all (1) to Very much so (4). The usefulness of this instrument has been documented (Buros, 1978). Using coefficient alpha, the internal consistency for this scale was .93 for time 1 and .93 for time 2 in the present sample.

Parental stress. Pearlin and Schooler's (1978) measure of parental stress was available in the time 2 data collection to assess the emotional upset associated

with parental strains (see Appendix F). This 7-item scale is an adjective checklist asking fathers to rate the degree of stress involved in their parenting (e.g., "When you think of your experiences as a parent, how frustrated, worried, angry, etc. do you feel?"). Responses ranged from Very (1) to Not at all (4). Pearlin and Schooler (1978) have shown this measure's usefulness in studying stress and coping responses related to parenting. Coefficient alpha was calculated at .92 for the present sample.

Household labour stress. In order to assess the extent to which fathers experienced stress associated with participation in household chores and child care, fathers completed a measure of household labour stress designed by the present author (Time 2 only, see Appendix G). Designed to be similar to Pearlin and Schooler's (1978) measure of parental stress, this 7-item scale is an adjective checklist asking fathers to rate the degree of stress involved in their participation in family work (e.g., "When you think of your day-to-day household duties, to what extent do you feel frustrated, worried, angry, etc. ?"). Responses ranged from Very (1) to Not at all (4). Positive adjectives (e.g., contented, relaxed) were reverse coded and means were calculated. This measure demonstrated an internal consistency of .87.

Overall stress. An overall measure of stress was derived by performing a principle components analysis on the computed means from the four stress measures at time 2 (depression, anxiety, parental stress, and household labour stress). This analysis revealed one underlying dimension of stress with factor loadings of .84 for depression, .87 for anxiety, .83 for parental stress, and .76 for household labour stress. Component scores were then computed using the regression estimation (Harman, 1967).

Father-Child relations

Aspects of father-child relations were assessed through fathers' reports of parental warmth and acceptance directed toward a target child as well as reports of frequency and intensity of conflict with a target child. These measures have often been used as indicators of the quality of parent-child relations (e.g., Montemayor, 1983, Schwarz, Barton-Henry, & Pruzinsky, 1985)

Parental acceptance. The Acceptance subscale of the 56-item version (Burger & Armentrout, 1971) of the Child's Report of Parental Behaviour Inventory (CRPBI) (Schaefer, 1965) was used to assess the degree of warmth and acceptance directed toward their adolescent by the father. The Acceptance subscale consists of the mean of 24 items (e.g., "I always speak to our child with a warm

and friendly voice" or "I understand our child's problems and worries") with responses on a five-point scale ranging from Very much unlike me (1) to Very much like me (5). The response scale was expanded from the traditional three-point scale in order to increase variability. Higher scores indicated higher parental acceptance. Coefficient alpha was .92 for time 1 and .90 for time 2. The psychometric adequacy of the 56-item CRPBI was supported in previous studies (Litovsky & Dusek, 1985; Margolies & Weintraub, 1977).

Parent-child conflict. The Issues Checklist (IC) (Prinz, Foster, Kent, & O'Leary, 1979) was used to measure the frequency and intensity of conflict between fathers and adolescents. The IC asked parents and adolescents whether they discussed any of 44 specific topics (e.g., cleaning up bedroom, time for going to bed) in the last two weeks (see Appendix H). For each topic that was discussed, fathers rated the intensity of the discussion from very calm (1) to very angry (5). Frequency of conflict was computed by summing the number of topics with an intensity of "2" or above (cf. Steinberg, 1987). Intensity of conflict was computed by calculating the mean level of intensity of all topics discussed. The stability for the present sample, after six months, was $r$=.44 for conflict frequency and .44 for conflict intensity. Various forms of the IC have been

used with success in several studies (Forehand, Long, Brody, & Fauber, 1986; Prinz et al., Steinberg, 1987).

# CHAPTER IV

# RESULTS

Correlation and multiple regression analyses were used to test the hypotheses that were presented in the final section of Chapter II. These analyses were applied to concurrent as well as longitudinal explorations of the data.

## Description of the Variables

Table 2 presents the means and standard deviations of the family work variables (i.e., household chores and child care tasks). The six-month stability estimates are also presented. With respect to the proportional measures of household tasks, fathers reported that, on average, they shared equal responsibilities with their wives for planning activities and accounting. However, they reported taking more responsibility than their wives for home repair and gardening and less responsibility for cleaning tasks and food preparation. With respect to the frequency measures, fathers performed most household tasks an average of two or more times a week with food preparation, planning family activities, and gardening being the most frequent. The weekly hourly estimate showed that fathers spent between 14 and 17 hours per week doing household tasks. For the child care measures, fathers reported being slightly less responsible for child care than mothers, engaged in child care tasks

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Stability of Family Work Variables

| | Time 1 | | Time 2 | | Stability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Family Work Variables | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | r |
| **Household Tasks** | | | | | |
| Proportional Measures:[a] | | | | | |
| Food Preparation | 2.26 | .62 | 2.30 | .64 | .82 |
| Home Repair | 4.34 | .62 | 4.32 | .68 | .80 |
| Planning Activities | 2.70 | .55 | 2.69 | .50 | .69 |
| Accounting | 2.85 | 1.18 | 2.80 | .98 | .86 |
| Cleaning | 2.28 | .72 | 2.30 | .71 | .82 |
| Gardening | 3.68 | .87 | 3.74 | .83 | .79 |
| Mean Proportion | 2.90 | .36 | 3.00 | .36 | .88 |
| Frequency Measures:[b] | | | | | |
| Food Preparation | 2.49 | .75 | 2.66 | .79 | .57 |
| Home Repair | 2.00 | .80 | 1.85 | .53 | .53 |
| Planning Activities | 2.23 | .86 | 2.03 | .59 | .34 |
| Accounting | 1.65 | .76 | 1.70 | .76 | .45 |
| Cleaning | 1.86 | .67 | 2.01 | .77 | .63 |
| Gardening | 2.22 | 1.00 | 1.30 | .60 | .38 |
| Mean Frequency | 2.10 | .46 | 2.00 | .36 | .56 |
| Weekly Hourly Estimate | 16.74 | 9.30 | 15.82 | 9.20 | .45 |

| Family Work Variables | Time 1 Mean | Time 1 SD | Time 2 Mean | Time 2 SD | Stability r |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Child Care Tasks** | | | | | |
| Proportional Measure[a] | 2.61 | .55 | 2.76 | .51 | .66 |
| Frequency Measure[b] | 2.67 | .98 | 2.66 | .78 | .36 |
| Weekly Hourly Estimate | 20.75 | 12.10 | 19.40 | 11.50 | .57 |

Note. n = 72-75. For all variables, higher scores indicate higher fathers' participation.

[a]possible range: 1-5. [b]possible range: 1-5.

between two to three times a week, and estimated taking care of or doing things with their children 21 (time 1) or 19 (time 2) hours a week. The most stable variables were the proportional measures (median $\underline{r}$=.82) while the least stable were the frequency measures (median $\underline{r}$=.53). The lower stability of the frequencies is probably attributable in part to the fact that time 1 was in the summer and time 2 was in the winter, resulting in different patterns of activities within families.

Descriptive statistics for the stress and father-child relations measures are presented in Table 3. Scores for parental stress and household labour stress were available for time 2 only. The means and standard deviations for the stress measures indicated that fathers, for the most part, experienced relatively low levels of anxiety, depression, parental stress, and household labour stress, although there was variability in the measures. With respect to the father-child relations variables, fathers reported relatively high levels of acceptance towards their children. Also, fathers indicated that, on average, they had between 9 (time 1) or 13 (time 2) conflicts with the target child in the previous two weeks. Finally, fathers' average rating of the intensity of conflicts was relatively low indicating that most discussions were carried out in a relatively calm manner.

Table 3

Means, and Standard Deviations, and Stability of Stress and Father-child Relations Variables

| | Time 1 | | Time 2 | | Stability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Variables | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | r |
| **Stress**[a] | | | | | |
| Anxiety | 1.75 | .49 | 1.66 | .44 | .64 |
| Depression | 1.43 | .42 | 1.38 | .36 | .54 |
| Parental Stress | ___ | ___ | 1.75 | .60 | ___ |
| Household Stress | ___ | ___ | 1.69 | .52 | ___ |
| Overall Stress[b] | ___ | ___ | 0.00 | 1.00 | ___ |
| **Father-Child Relations** | | | | | |
| Acceptance[c] | 3.62 | .48 | 3.55 | .42 | .77 |
| Conflict Intensity[d] | 1.91 | .43 | 1.57 | .37 | .45 |
| Conflict Frequency[e] | 12.67 | 8.75 | 9.46 | 7.95 | .44 |

Note. n = 72-75.

[a]Higher scores on stress indicate higher stress. Possible range: 1-4. [b]Overall stress score computed using the factor coefficients of the other stress measures. [c]Higher scores indicate higher acceptance. Possible range: 1-5. [d]Higher scores indicate more angry discussions. Possible range: 1-5. [e]Score indicates the number of "less than calm" discussions. Possible range: 0-44.

Intercorrelations among the stress measures are presented in Table 4. These figures indicated that the measures of stress, for the most part, were moderately to highly related to each other. Because the overall stress measure is a composite of the time 2 measures of stress, overall stress exhibited high correlations with the time 2 measures of stress and moderate correlations with the time 1 measures of stress. These results suggested that fathers who were more anxious were also more depressed and experienced more parental stress and household labour stress.

Table 5 presents the intercorrelations among the father-child relations measures. Acceptance was not related to the number of conflicts fathers had with their children. However, fathers who exhibited higher acceptance towards their children had less intense conflicts with their children. With respect to the interrelations between the conflict measures, conflict frequency was linked to conflict intensity such that the more conflicts fathers had with their children the more likely it was that these conflicts were angry ones.

In order to determine whether fathers' socioeconomic status (SES) was related to their involvement in family work, correlations were computed between SES and all the family work variables. The significant correlations were as follows. At time 1, higher SES fathers, relative to

Table 4

Intercorrelations Among the Stress Measures

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Anxiety (T1) | | | | | | |
| 2. Anxiety (T2) | .64 | | | | | |
| 3. Depression (T1) | .68 | .55 | | | | |
| 4. Depression (T2) | .47 | .65 | .54 | | | |
| 5. Parental Stress (T2) | .46 | .61 | .47 | .49 | | |
| 6. Household Labour Stress (T2) | .52 | .55 | .48 | .60 | .65 | |
| 7. Overall Stress (T2) | .63 | .84 | .60 | .82 | .84 | .84 |

Note. n = 72-75. T1 = time 1. T2 = time 2. Higher scores on all variables indicate more stress. $p<.01$ for all correlations.

Table 5

Intercorrelations Among Father-Child Relations Variables

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Acceptance (T1)[a] | | | | | |
| 2. Acceptance (T2) | .77** | | | | |
| 3. Conflict Frequency (T1)[b] | -.08 | -.13 | | | |
| 4. Conflict Frequency (T2) | .04 | .09 | .44** | | |
| 5. Conflict Intensity (T1)[c] | -.24* | -.23* | .45** | .40** | |
| 6. Conflict Intensity (T2) | -.07 | .03 | .31** | .74** | .45** |

Note. n = 72-75. T1 = time 1. T2 = time 2.

[a]Higher scores indicate more acceptance. [b]Higher scores indicate more frequent discussions. [c]Higher scores indicate more angry discussions.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

lower SES fathers, reported a higher proportion of accounting ($r$=.35, $p$<.01), less frequent food preparation ($r$=-.28, $p$<.01), more frequent accounting (r=.31, p<.01) and less frequent cleaning (r=-.26, p<.05). The weekly hourly estimates of household and child care tasks at time 1 indicated that fathers with a higher SES had lower household tasks estimates (r=-.28, p<.01) and lower estimates of performing child care (r=-.21, p<.05). At time 2, higher SES fathers reported a lower proportion of food preparation (r=-.22, p<.05), a lower proportion of cleaning (r=-.26, p<.05), a higher proportion of accounting ($r$=.40, p<.01), more frequent accounting (r=.27, p<.05), and less frequent cleaning (r=-.27, p<.01). These correlations suggested that SES should be considered in analyses involving family work variables.

With respect to the relations between the measures of stress and fathers' SES, fathers with a higher SES were less anxious at time 2 ($r$=-.26, $p$<.05) and less depressed at time 1 ($r$=-.34, $p$<.01) and at time 2 ($r$=-.21, $p$<.05) than fathers who had a lower status. In regard to fathers' SES and father-child relations, SES did not demonstrate any significant correlations with acceptance, conflict frequency, or conflict intensity at either time of measurement. However, given that SES bore some consistent relations to family work and indicators

of stress, it was necessary to control for SES in subsequent analyses.

## Fathers' Family Work and Stress

### Correlational Analysis

In order to assess the relation between fathers' family work and fathers' levels of stress within-time correlations were calculated. Table 6 shows that the proportional measures of household tasks (with the exception of time 2 cleaning) were not related to fathers' feelings of stress. However, fathers' levels of stress were linked to frequency and weekly estimate of household tasks. That is, frequency of home repair and cleaning tasks as well as the overall mean frequency of all of the tasks demonstrated significant positive correlations with stress measures at both times of measurement (with the exception of parental and household labour stress) indicating an association between higher levels of stress and more frequent participation in household tasks. In addition, the weekly hourly estimate of fathers' home chores was positively related to higher levels of time 1 anxiety and depression and time 2 parental stress and household labour stress.

Among the child care measures, neither the proportion nor frequency of child care tasks were associated with stress. However, the weekly hourly estimate of child care tasks at time 2 was positively

Table 6

Within-Time Correlations of Fathers' Family Work and Stress

| Family Work Variables | Anxiety T1 | Anxiety T2 | Depression T1 | Depression T2 | Parental Stress T2 | HL Stress T2 | Overall Stress T2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Household Tasks** | | | | | | | |
| Proportional Measures: | | | | | | | |
| Food Preparation | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Home Repair | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Planning Activities | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Accounting | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Cleaning | NS | NS | NS | .25* | NS | .30** | NS |
| Gardening | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Mean Proportion | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Frequency Measures: | | | | | | | |
| Food Preparation | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Home Repair | .31** | .26* | .29** | .27** | NS | NS | .27* |
| Planning Activities | NS | NS | .25* | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Accounting | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Cleaning | .22* | .21* | .19* | .43** | .30** | .29** | .41** |
| Gardening | .23* | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Mean Frequency | .33** | .25** | .32** | .29** | .29** | .26** | .35** |
| Weekly Estimate | .26* | NS | .19* | NS | .21* | .25* | .21* |

| Family Work Variables | Anxiety T1 | Anxiety T2 | Depression T1 | Depression T2 | Parental Stress T2 | HL Stress T2 | Overall Stress T2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Child Care Tasks** | | | | | | | |
| Proportional Measure | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Frequency Measure | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Weekly Estimate | NS | .29** | NS | NS | .33** | .28* | .28** |

Note. n = 72-75. HL Stress = household labour stress. T1 = time 1. T2 = time 2. NS = non-significant correlation.

*p<.05. **p<.01

related to fathers' reports of anxiety, parental stress, and household labour stress. These results suggested a relation between higher estimated weekly hours in child care and higher levels of stress.

Regressions Predicting Fathers' Stress

A series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses was conducted in order to examine how well fathers' participation in family work predicted fathers' feelings of stress at time 1 and at time 2. Since no relation was observed between the proportional measures and fathers' levels of stress, the proportional variables were dropped from further analyses. In addition, to keep the subject-to-variable ratio at an acceptable level, three family work variables were selected as predictors: the mean frequency for household tasks, the weekly estimate of household tasks, and the weekly estimate of child care tasks. According to table 4, these variables bore the strongest and most consistent relations to stress.

The sequence in the hierarchical multiple regressions was as follows: On the first step, the fathers' SES was entered. The family work variables (mean frequency of household tasks, weekly estimate of household tasks, and weekly estimate of child care tasks) were entered on the second step. This procedure was used to evaluate whether participation in family work

explained variance in stress above and beyond that explained by SES. The step 1 $R^2$ for SES indicated the proportion of shared variance between SES and the criterion variable. The $R^2$ change between steps 1 and 2 shows the increase in the proportion of shared variance explained by the family work predictors.

Time 1 results. In the first set of analyses, the criterion variables were time 1 anxiety and depression. Table 7 presents the results of these analyses. When anxiety was the criterion variable, the family work variables explained an additional 14% of variance in this measure above and beyond the variance accounted for by SES. The mean frequency of household tasks demonstrated a unique and significant contribution to the prediction equation. Anxiety was higher among fathers who more frequently performed household tasks. A total of 16% of the variance was explained by the full set of predictors.

With respect to depression, SES initially predicted a significant 12% of the variance, with higher SES fathers reporting lower levels of depression. Family work predicted an additional nine percent of variance, with mean frequency of household tasks being the only significant predictor. These results indicated that fathers experienced higher levels of depression when they were participating more frequently in household tasks. A total of 21% of the variance was explained by the full

set of predictors. The weekly estimate of household tasks and weekly estimate of child care tasks did not make a unique contribution to the prediction of either dependent variable.

Time 2 results. The time 2 set of analyses was identical to the first, but in addition to anxiety and depression, three other criterion variables were used: parental stress, household labour stress, and overall stress (see Table 8). Of the five criterion variables measuring stress, parental stress and overall stress were the only ones in which significant shares of the variance were explained by the family work measures beyond that explained by SES. For parental stress, 11% of the variance was explained by the family work variables, but the only significant predictor was mean frequency of household tasks. Fathers who participated more often in household tasks experienced more stress in their parenting duties. The full set of predictors explained 13% of the variance.

For the overall stress measure, the proportion of shared variance was increased by 13% with the inclusion of the family work measures. Mean frequency of household tasks made a significant and unique contribution to the prediction of this variable with more frequent household tasks associated with higher levels of overall stress. A

Table 7

Within-Time Regression Analysis: Fathers' Family Work and Stress (Time 1)

| Criterion Variable / Predictors | Step 1 Beta | Step 1 $R^2$ | Step 2 Beta | Step 2 $R^2$ | Step 2 $R^2$change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anxiety | | | | | |
| SES | -.18 | .02 | -.11 | | |
| Household Tasks: | | | | | |
| Mean Frequency | | | .33** | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .20 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | -.11 | .16** | .14** |
| Depression | | | | | |
| SES | -.34** | .12** | -.30** | | |
| Household Tasks: | | | | | |
| Mean Frequency | | | .30** | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .10 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | -.12 | .21** | .09* |

Note. n = 75-75.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

Table 8

Within-Time Regression Analysis: Fathers' Family Work and Stress (Time 2)

| Criterion Variable / Predictors | Step 1 Beta | Step 1 $R^2$ | Step 2 Beta | Step 2 $R^2$ | Step 2 $R^2$change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anxiety | | | | | |
| SES | -.26 | .07* | -.23 | | |
| Household Tasks: | | | | | |
| Mean Frequency | | | .19 | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | -.07 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .17 | .15* | .08 |
| Depression | | | | | |
| SES | -.20 | .04 | -.21 | | |
| Household Tasks: | | | | | |
| Mean Frequency | | | .12* | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .01 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .00 | .13 | .09 |

| Criterion Variable | Step 1 | | Step 2 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Predictors | Beta | $R^2$ | Beta | $R^2$ | R2change |
| Parental Stress | | | | | |
| SES | -.15 | .02 | -.11 | | |
| Household Tasks: | | | | | |
| Mean Frequency | | | .22* | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .04 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .15 | .13* | .11* |
| Household Labour Stress | | | | | |
| SES | -.17 | .03 | -.14 | | |
| Household Tasks: | | | | | |
| Mean Frequency | | | .20 | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .12 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .05 | .11 | .08 |
| Overall Stress | | | | | |
| SES | -.20 | .04 | -.17 | | |
| Household Tasks: | | | | | |
| Mean Frequency | | | .28* | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .04 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .11 | .17** | .13* |

Note. n = 75.

total of 17% of the variance was explained by the full set of predictors.

Residuals Analysis

The next analysis examined whether changes in fathers' family work from time 1 to time 2 were linked to changes in stress from time 1 to time 2. Anxiety and depression scores were used because they were the only stress variables available for both times of measurement. First, to assess the degree of change in fathers' stress, two regressions were computed; one predicting time 2 anxiety from time 1 anxiety and the second predicting time 2 depression from time 1 depression. The residual scores from these regressions represented change in level of stress (anxiety or depression) from time 1 to time 2 (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Similarly, in order to measure changes in fathers' family work, time 2 frequency of household tasks, time 2 weekly estimate of household tasks, and time 2 weekly estimate of child care tasks were each regressed on their respective time 1 scores.

The next step involved calculating the correlations among the residual scores to determine the extent to which changes in family work were associated with changes in fathers' stress (see Table 9). The residualized stress measures demonstrated significant positive intercorrelations. Fathers who experienced changes in anxiety also experienced changes in depression in the

Table 9

Correlations Among Residualized Stress and Residualized Family Work

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Anxiety | | | | |
| 2. Depression | .41** | | | |
| 3. Mean frequency of Household Tasks | -.06 | -.07 | | |
| 4. Weekly Estimate of Household Tasks | .03 | -.01 | .14 | |
| 5. Weekly Estimate of Child Care Tasks | .03 | .00 | .18 | .38** |

Note. $n=75$.

**$p<.01$.

same direction. As for the intercorrelations among the residualized family work measures, changes in weekly estimate of household tasks were related to changes in weekly estimate of child care tasks, signifying that fathers who increased their participation in household tasks also increased their participation in child care. Likewise, fathers who decreased their level of household tasks also decreased their level of child care. With respect to the correlations between residualized stress and residualized family work, changes in anxiety and depression were not related to changes in family work.

## Child Care and Father-Child Relations

### Correlational Analysis

Within-time correlations between fathers' participation in child care tasks and fathers' reports of the relations they had with either their daughter or son are presented in Table 10. These correlations reveal that, at time 1, fathers with proportionally more responsibility for child care tasks had fewer conflicts with their daughters than fathers who were less responsible for child care. The frequency of child care was associated with higher time 1 acceptance of sons and more frequent time 2 conflicts with daughters. Fathers' time 1 estimate of the weekly time spent participating in child care was related to higher acceptance of sons. The time 2 weekly estimate was significantly correlated to

Table 10

Within-Time Correlations of Fathers' Child Care Tasks, and Fathers' Reports of Father-Child Relations

| | Acceptance | | | Conflict Intensity | | | Conflict Frequency | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Girls | Boys | T[a] | Girls | Boys | T | Girls | Boys | T |
| **Child Care Tasks:** | | | | | | | | | |
| Proportional Measure | | | | | | | | | |
| Time 1 | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | -.29* | NS | -23* |
| Time 2 | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Frequency Measure | | | | | | | | | |
| Time 1 | NS | .38* | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Time 2 | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | .26* | .29* | NS | NS |
| Weekly Estimate | | | | | | | | | |
| Time 1 | NS | .57** | .30** | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Time 2 | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | -.26* | .37* | NS |

Note. n = 72-75. NS = non-significant correlation.

[a]T = Total for both girls and boys.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

frequency of conflict with sons and daughters, but in different directions. The more weekly time spent in child care was associated with fewer conflicts with daughters, and more conflicts with sons.

Regressions Predicting Father-Child Relations

To assess how well fathers' participation in child care tasks predict certain aspects of father-son and father-daughter relations, a series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses was conducted. The variables entered in the first step were fathers' SES and the sex of the target child. In the second step, the proportional share of child care tasks, the frequency of child care tasks, and weekly estimate of child care tasks were entered. In the third step, the sex of child x weekly estimate of child care tasks interaction was entered. This procedure allowed first, for the evaluation of whether participation in child care explained significant amounts of variance in parental acceptance, frequency of father-child conflict, and intensity of father-child conflict above and beyond that of SES and sex of the target child. Second, this procedure determined whether weekly estimates of child care tasks had different consequences for father-son relations and father-daughter relations. The correlations suggested that sex differences might be a possibility.

Time 1 results. Results for the regression analyses for time 1 are presented in table 11. When predicting acceptance, child care tasks explained an additional 14% of the proportion of shared variance after the entry of SES and sex of the child. Weekly estimate of child care made a significant contribution to the prediction equation, indicating that fathers who spent more time in child care tasks were also more accepting of their children. The entry of the sex x weekly estimate interaction did not make a significant contribution to the proportion of shared variance. The full set of predictor variables accounted for a total of 17% of the variance in acceptance. In the prediction of conflict frequency and conflict intensity, neither the step nor full set of predictor variables accounted for significant proportions of the variance.

Time 2 results. The time 2 analyses were identical to the time 1 analyses but pertained to fathers' participation in child care and father-child relations during time 2 (see Table 12). First, the set of predictor variables did not account for significant proportions of variance in acceptance. Second, for the prediction of conflict frequency, SES, sex, and child care tasks did not make significant contributions to proportion of shared variance. However, the sex x weekly estimate interaction increased the proportion of variance

Table 11

Within-Time Regression Analysis: Fathers' Child Care Tasks and Fathers' Reports of Father-Child Relations (Time 1)

| Criterion | Step 1 | | Step 2 | | | Step 3 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Predictors | Beta | $R^2$ | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha[a] | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha |
| Acceptance | | | | | | | | |
| SES | .17 | | .25* | | | .24* | | |
| Sex | -.06 | .03 | -.13 | | | -.23 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion | | | -.01 | | | .01 | | |
| Frequency | | | .00 | | | .00 | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .38** | .17* | .14* | .20 | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate | | | | | | .22 | .17* | .00 |
| Conflict Frequency | | | | | | | | |
| SES | -.12 | | -.14 | | | -.16 | | |
| Sex | .17 | .05 | .20 | | | .07 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion | | | -.30* | | | -.30* | | |
| Frequency | | | .20 | | | .21 | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .07 | .14 | .09 | -.31 | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate | | | | | | .31 | .14 | .00 |

| Criterion | Step 1 | | Step 2 | | | Step 3 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Predictors | Beta | $R^2$ | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha[a] | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha |
| Conflict Intensity | | | | | | | | |
| SES | -.14 | | -.18 | | | -.20 | | |
| Sex | .07 | .02 | .09 | | | -.18 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion | | | -.13 | | | -.13 | | |
| Frequency | | | -.07 | | | -.07 | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | -.08 | .06 | .04 | -.57 | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate | | | | | | .62 | .09 | .03 |

Note. n = 72-75.

[a]$R^2$cha = $R^2$ change.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

Table 12

Within-Time Regression Analysis: Fathers' Child Care Tasks and Fathers' Reports of Father-Child Relations (Time 2)

| Criterion | Step 1 | | Step 2 | | | Step 3 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Predictors | Beta | $R^2$ | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha[a] | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha |
| Acceptance | | | | | | | | |
| SES | .06 | | .09 | | | .09 | | |
| Sex | -.08 | .00 | -.09 | | | -.10 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion | | | .11 | | | .11 | | |
| Frequency | | | .10 | | | .11 | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .17 | .07 | .07 | .15 | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate | | | | | | .03 | .07 | .00 |
| Conflict Frequency | | | | | | | | |
| SES | -.05 | | -.05 | | | -.10 | | |
| Sex | .17 | .03 | .11 | | | -.31 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion | | | -.06 | | | -.09 | | |
| Frequency | | | .24 | | | .26 | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .09 | .10 | .07 | -.64* | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate | | | | | | .94* | .16 | .06* |

| Criterion | Step 1 | | Step 2 | | | Step 3 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Predictors | Beta | $R^2$ | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha[a] | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha |
| Conflict Intensity | | | | | | | | |
| SES | -.16 | | -.15 | | | -.21 | | |
| Sex | .33** | .13** | .33** | | | -.08 | | |
| Child Care Tasks: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion | | | .00 | | | -.04 | | |
| Frequency | | | -.03 | | | -.01 | | |
| Weekly Estimate | | | .04 | .14 | .01 | -.69* | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate | | | | | | .93* | .06* | .20* |

Note. n = 72-75.

[a] $R^2$cha = $R^2$ change.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

by a significant six percent suggesting that fathers who spend more time in child care had more conflicts with sons and fewer conflicts with daughters. Third, for conflict intensity, the initial step accounted for 13% of the variance. The sex of target child was the significant predictor, with fathers having more angry conflicts with sons and less angry conflicts with daughters. The sex x weekly estimate of child care tasks interaction made a significant contribution, increasing the proportion of shared variance by six percent. This interaction was due to fathers who reported higher levels of child care having more angry conflicts with sons and less angry conflicts with daughters. A total of 20% of the variance in the intensity of father-child conflict was accounted for by the full set of the predictor variables.

Residuals Analyses

The next set of analyses tested whether changes in participation in child care were associated with changes in father-child relations. Residual scores were obtained by regressing time 2 child care measures on their respective time 1 scores and by regressing time 2 father-child relation measures on their respective time 1 scores. The three residualized child care measures indicated the changes in fathers' proportion, frequency, and weekly estimate of child care tasks from time 1 to time 2. Similarly, the residualized father-child

relations measures represented changes in fathers' acceptance, frequency of father-child conflict, and intensity of father-child conflict from time 1 to time 2. The correlations among the residualized child care measures and residualized father-child relations measures are presented in Table 13.

The intercorrelations among the child care measures show a strong link between changes in the frequency and intensity of father-child conflict. These results suggest that fathers who had more frequent conflicts from time 1 to time 2 also had more intense conflicts. As for the intercorrelations among the residualized child care participation variables, change in frequency of child care tasks was positively correlated with changes in proportional responsibility for child care tasks and changes in the weekly estimate of child care tasks. Fathers with increased frequency of child care were likely to have increased proportional child care responsibility and higher weekly estimate of child care.

The correlations between residualized father-child relations and residualized child care participation variables indicated a positive association between changes in acceptance and changes in weekly estimate of child care. Fathers who increased the time they spent in child care evidenced increased acceptance towards their children whereas fathers who decreased their time in

child care became less accepting. With respect to changes in conflict frequency, increased frequency in child care tasks was associated with increased frequency of conflict.

Next, to explore whether the linkages between changes in child care and changes in father-child relations were different depending on the sex of the child, correlations among residualized child care tasks and residualized father-child relations were calculated separately for fathers of sons and fathers of daughters. These results are presented in Table 14. For fathers with daughters, changes in weekly time in child care were positively correlated with changes in acceptance. As fathers increased their time taking care of their children they became more accepting of their daughters. Similarly, changes in frequency of child care were linked to changes in conflict frequency. Increased frequency of child care was associated with an increased number of father-daughter conflicts. Changes in the intensity of these conflicts were negatively related to changes in fathers' proportional share of child care. When fathers increased their share of child care they had less intense conflicts with their daughters. For fathers with sons, changes in participation in child care were not associated with changes in any measure of father-child relations.

Table 13

Correlations Among Residualized Father-Child Relations and Residualized Child Care Work

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Acceptance | | | | | |
| 2. Conflict Frequency | .18 | | | | |
| 3. Conflict Intensity | .16 | .64** | | | |
| 4. Mean Proportion of Child Care Tasks | -.04 | -.07 | -.16 | | |
| 5. Mean Frequency of Child Care Tasks | .02 | .26* | -.02 | .30** | |
| 6. Weekly Estimate of Child Care Tasks | .22* | .10 | -.08 | .13 | .21* |

Note. n = 75.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

Table 14

Correlations Among Residualized Father-Child Relations and Residualized Child Care Work by Sex of Child

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Acceptance | | .13 | .16 | -.07 | -.14 | .12 |
| 2. Conflict Frequency | .16 | | .59** | -.13 | .07 | .16 |
| 3. Conflict Intensity | .17 | .70** | | -.17 | -.25 | -.05 |
| 4. Mean Proportion of Child Care Tasks | -.04 | -.06 | -.26* | | .22 | .30 |
| 5. Mean Frequency of Child Care Tasks | .08 | .30* | -.04 | .30* | | .00 |
| 6. Weekly Estimate of Child Care Tasks | .26* | .06 | -.17 | .00 | .27* | |

Note. Correlations for fathers of sons (n = 30) are above the diagonal; fathers of daughters (n = 45) are below.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

## Stress as a Moderating Variable

The final set of analyses explored the impact of stress on the relationship between father participation in child care and father-child relations. The following set of analyses focused on whether the consequences of child care work on father-child relations may be different for fathers experiencing higher levels of stress relative to fathers experiencing lower levels of stress. In order to test this hypothesis a series of hierarchical multiple regressions was conducted in which stress x child care interaction terms were used to predict acceptance, conflict frequency, and conflict intensity. This was done within time 2 because the overall measure of stress was available only for time 2. The use of the overall stress score was desirable because conceptually it neatly captured fathers' general level of stress. The sequence of entry was as follows: In the first step, SES, and sex of child were entered. In the second step the interactions of stress x proportional responsibility for child care, stress x frequency of child care, and stress x weekly estimate of child care were entered. In the third step, the interaction of sex x stress x weekly estimate of child care was entered.

The results for these analyses are presented in Table 15. When acceptance and conflict intensity were the criterion variables, the stress x child care work

interactions did not significantly increase the proportion of shared variance. With respect to conflict frequency, although the individual stress x child care interactions did not attain significance, the addition of these interactions as a group increased the proportion of shared variance by a significant 12%. A total of 19% of the variance in conflict frequency was accounted for by the full set of predictors.

The significant $R^2$ change prompted subsequent analyses to determine the nature of the interaction. Three regressions were performed predicting conflict frequency from each of the stress x child care interactions after first controlling for SES and sex of the child. In each case the interaction was significant and in the same direction. The nature of the interaction was as follows: for fathers experiencing more stress, more participation in child care was associated with more frequent conflict; for fathers experiencing less stress, more participation in child care was associated with fewer conflicts.

Table 15

Regression Analysis: Fathers' Child Care Tasks (Time 2) by Stress Interactions Predicting Fathers' Reports of Father-Child Relations (Time 2)

| Criterion | Step 1 | | Step 2 | | | Step 3 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Predictors | Beta | $R^2$ | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha[a] | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha |
| Acceptance | | | | | | | | |
| SES | .06 | | .04 | | | .04 | | |
| Sex | -.02 | .00 | -.01 | | | -.02 | | |
| Child Care Tasks X Stress: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion X Stress | | | -.24 | | | -.37 | | |
| Frequency X Stress | | | .06 | | | .19 | | |
| Weekly Estimate X Stress | | | .08 | .02 | .02 | -.18 | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate X Stress | | | | | | .28 | .02 | .00 |
| Conflict Frequency | | | | | | | | |
| SES | -.05 | | .02 | | | .02 | | |
| Sex | .17 | .03 | .15 | | | 14 | | |
| Child Care Tasks X Stress: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion X Stress | | | .15 | | | 05 | | |
| Frequency X Stress | | | .19 | | | .30 | | |
| Weekly Estimate X Stress | | | .02 | .15* | .12* | -.17 | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate X Stress | | | | | | .21 | .16* | .01 |

| Criterion | Step 1 | | Step 2 | | | Step 3 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Predictors | Beta | $R^2$ | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha[a] | Beta | $R^2$ | $R^2$cha |
| Conflict Intensity | | | | | | | | |
| SES | -.16 | | -.16 | | | -.16 | | |
| Sex | .33** | .13** | .32** | | | .32** | | |
| Child Care Tasks X Stress: | | | | | | | | |
| Proportion X Stress | | | .56 | | | .54 | | |
| Frequency X Stress | | | -.45 | | | -.44 | | |
| Weekly Estimate X Stress | | | .09 | .19* | .06 | .05 | | |
| Sex X Weekly Estimate X Stress | | | | | | .04 | .19* | .00 |

Note. n = 72-75.

[a] $R^2$cha = $R^2$ change.

*p<.05. **p<.01.

# CHAPTER V

# DISCUSSION

The aim of the present study was to explore the costs and benefits of fathers' participation in family work. The basic questions addressed were: 1) Does fathers' participation in household tasks and child care tasks arouse feelings of stress in fathers?; 2) What impact does fathers' involvement in child care tasks have on father-child relations?; and 3) Does the experience of stress play a role in the relationship between father involvement in child care tasks and father-child relations? This chapter is a discussion of the findings as they relate to these questions. Limitations of the present study as well as suggestions for future research will be presented.

## Fathers' Family Work and Stress

It was hypothesized that fathers' participation in family work would have the potential for arousing feelings of stress in fathers. The results of the regression analyses point to a relation between fathers' participation in household tasks and child care tasks, and fathers' experience of stress. At time 1, fathers who participated more frequently in household tasks were more anxious and more depressed than fathers who participated less frequently in household tasks. At time 2, more frequent participation in household tasks was

associated with higher levels of parental stress and overall stress but not with anxiety or depression.

Why was time 2 anxiety and depression not related to fathers' participation in family work? It may be that a type I error was made. That is, a relation may have existed between time 2 family work and time 2 depression and anxiety but the size of this effect or measurement error at time 2 may have precluded significant findings. An examination of the within time correlations shows that mean frequency of household tasks was significantly related to all of the stress measures at both times of measurement. Not to be overlooked, however, is the fact that higher SES was related to lower levels of anxiety and depression at time 2, and controlling for SES in the regressions might have diminished the effect of family work.

The weekly hourly estimates of household tasks demonstrated no unique contribution to the prediction of stress. This finding should be considered in light of the shared variance between the weekly hourly estimate and the frequency of household tasks. That is, how often fathers participate (i.e., frequency) in household tasks is associated with how much time (i.e., weekly estimate) fathers spend doing household tasks. Furthermore, an examination of the within-time correlations reveals that, at time 1, the fathers who spend more time doing

household tasks, as assessed by weekly estimate, are more depressed and anxious than fathers who spend less time doing household tasks. The same relationship was true at time 2 for parental stress and household labour stress (see Table 6). Thus, the amount of time fathers spend doing household tasks is related to fathers' feelings of stress, but the frequency of household task performance simply better captures fathers' participation when placed in the regression with the weekly estimate.

Contrary to the hypotheses, the fathers' proportional share of family work bears little relation to the amount of stress fathers experience. Although stress is linked to how much time and how often fathers participate in household tasks, stress is not contingent on the share of responsibility fathers take for household tasks. There are at least two explanations for this pattern of results. First, the lack of findings for the proportional share of family work may be due to problems associated with proportional measures in general. That is, because these measures assess the fathers' proportional responsibility (relative to their wives) for household tasks and child care tasks, it is impossible to know whether fathers are in fact taking on responsibility for household tasks or whether wives are giving up responsibility (Pleck, 1983). Such ambiguity may obscure

the potential impact that responsibility of household tasks has for arousing feelings of stress.

The second explanation points to the importance of the performance of household tasks over the shared responsibility for household tasks. That is, just because fathers share or take primary responsibility for household tasks does not necessarily signify that fathers are also frequently engaged in or spend great amounts of time doing household tasks. Schooler, Miller, Miller, and Richtand (1983) assert that the psychological import of day-to-day work experience, whether it be paid work or family work, is dependent on the conditions in which the work is performed. In their research they report that frequent performance of highly routine, dirty and mundane housework considerably increases both mothers' and fathers' degree of psychological distress. Thus, the actual performance of household tasks plays a much more important role in fathers' psychological well-being than sharing responsibility for household tasks.

The results from the regression analyses indicate that, concurrently, fathers' participation in household tasks was linked to fathers' stress. The next analysis tested the hypothesis that changes in family work would be associated with changes in fathers' stress. The results from the residuals analysis did not support this hypothesis. The most plausible explanation for this null

finding lies in the relative stability in both the family work and the stress measures. That is, there simply was not a great deal of intraindividual change on these measures, thereby leaving little possibility for significant correlations between change in family work and change in stress.

Taken together, the pattern of results suggests that performance of household tasks may be a salient concomitant of stress for fathers in two-earner families. Just as conditions of fathers' paid work have the potential for arousing stress (Pearlin et al., 1981), fathers' family work may also be life strains that play an important role in fathers' experience of stress. It remains to be tested whether stress occurs because of lack of free time, physical or emotional fatigue, perceptions of low control over the environment, or other experiences incurred by frequent participation in household tasks.

Child Care and Father-Child Relations

The next set of questions focused on the impact of fathers' involvement in family work, in particular participation in child care tasks, on the relationship fathers had with their adolescent children. First, it was hypothesized that fathers who participate more in child care, relative to fathers who participate less, would report higher levels of acceptance towards their

adolescent child. Second, it was hypothesized that greater participation in child care would be associated with fathers having more frequent and more intense conflicts with their adolescent children. The following is a discussion of the findings regarding these hypotheses.

The pattern of results shows some support for the first hypothesis. At time 1 fathers who spent more time participating in child care, relative to fathers who spent less time, were more accepting of their children. These findings are consistent with previous research on highly participant or role-sharing fathers that asserted that the more fathers participate in child care, the more opportunities fathers have for displaying and receiving love and affection from their children (Russell, 1983; Lamb et al., 1988). Although time 2 acceptance was unrelated to fathers' participation in child care, findings from the residual analysis from the present investigation again support this assertion that the amount of time fathers spend taking care of their children is linked with greater acceptance. As fathers increased their weekly hours in child care, so did acceptance of their daughters increase. Whether one causes change in the other could not be assessed in the present study.

Although it remains a possibility that fathers' direct contact with their children may cultivate warmer, more accepting relations with them, it is also possible that more time spent with children may open the door for more conflicted interactions. A relationship of this sort was found at time 2 for fathers with sons. Fathers who spent more time doing child care at time 2 reported having more frequent conflicts with their sons at time 2. Likewise, the intensity of these conflicts was angrier for fathers who spent more time in child care. Fathers had fewer and less angry conflicts with daughters if they spent more time in child care at time 2.

The results from the residuals analysis seem to be at odds with the nature of the time 2 results. For fathers with daughters, changes in frequency of fathers' participation in child care were associated with changes in conflict frequency. As fathers increased their frequency of child care, there were more conflicts with their daughters. On the other hand, increases in fathers' proportional responsibility for child care were linked to decreases in the intensity of father-daughter conflicts.

Taken together, these findings point to the importance of considering the sex of the child when considering the relationship between fathers' involvement in child care and father-child conflict. An explanation

for these sex differences may lie in the differing amount of time fathers spend with their daughters and sons. In a time use study, Montemayor (1982) found that adolescent boys spend almost twice as much time with their fathers than do adolescent girls. Perhaps the reason why involved fathers reported more frequent and intense conflicts with sons at time 2 was simply because they had more opportunities to engage in conflict. Indeed, this may be the reason why fathers' change toward more frequent child care was associated with more conflicts with daughters. The change may have brought the mean level of interaction up to the mean level typical for fathers' involvement with boys.

In sum, moderate support was found for a relationship between fathers' involvement in the day-to-day care of their children and father-child relations. The findings from this study indicate that fathers who spend more time taking care of, or doing things with their children are likelier to have a warmer and more accepting relationship with their children. Second, the more time fathers spend with their children, the more conflicted interactions they may have. This was the case especially for fathers with sons; but changes in more frequent child care were also associated with changes to more frequent father-daughter conflicts.

Stress as a Moderator

The final set of questions explored the role that stress plays in the relationship between fathers' participation in child care and father-child relations. It was hypothesized that linkages between fathers' participation in child care and father-child relations would be conditionally dependent on whether fathers were experiencing stress. The present investigation found no support for the moderating effect of stress on fathers' acceptance and intensity of conflict. That is, the interaction of stress and child care participation exhibited no relation to the degree of acceptance fathers directed toward their children or the intensity of conflicted interactions fathers had with their children.

Previous research looking into stress and parenting has primarily focused on clinical samples of depressed mothers, (e.g., Longfellow et al., 1982; Weissman & Paykel, 1974). However, if the level of stress fathers are experiencing is commensurate with "normal" or "everyday hassles" the impact of such a low level of stress on fathers' acceptance or conflict intensity may be negligible.

This is not to say that the experience of stress, albeit a low level of stress, has little or no relation to the linkages between fathers' participation in child care and father-child relations. Indeed, the present

findings show that stress may moderate the relation between child care and conflict frequency. For stressed fathers, increased participation in child care was associated with more frequent father-child conflicts. Conversely, for fathers not experiencing stress, increased participation in child care was associated with less frequent father-child conflicts.

The complexity of these findings may be due to the nature of the variables of father-child relations. Whereas acceptance is more of a stable measure of a parenting characteristic, frequency of father-child conflict is more of a behavioural measure and thus more subject to change. The experience of stress then may have more of an impact on fathers' daily behaviours than on their perceptions of their parenting.

These results indicate that the association between fathers' participation in child care and father-child relations may be complex. Variables such as the sex of the child, the particular dimension of father-child relations, and whether, in fact, fathers are experiencing meaningful levels of stress may alter the effects of fathers' participation in the day-to-day care of their children.

Limitations

The conclusions for the present investigation should be considered in light of some limitations of the data.

First, the study focused on a sample of white working- to middle-class Canadian fathers with adolescent children in two-earner families. The results might differ for fathers with younger children or fathers in single-earner families. Second, although this study involved fathers in two-earner families, aspects of this lifestyle were not examined. One way future research could be extended is to investigate the impact of the mothers' paid work conditions on the consequences of fathers' involvement in the home. For instance, mothers' work hours or shift work could potentially influence why and how much fathers participate in family work and, in turn, could have a profound effect on the consequences of participation in family work.

There are also limitations regarding the measures. First, the measures assessing involvement in family work are self-reported estimates. Thus, these measures may be open to subjects' bias and inaccuracy. A more complete and accurate assessment of fathers' participation in family work could be attained by using time diaries and or other family members' assessments of the amount of family work fathers perform. Second, only fathers' reports of father-child relations were used. As other researchers have shown (e.g., Radin, 1982) results might have been different if behavioural observations were used. Finally, by using only fathers' reports, only one

side of the relation can be examined. Both children's as well as fathers' reports would provide a more complete picture of father-child relations.

Directions for Future Research

The study of fathers' involvement in family work has important implications for research on fathers, their wives, their children, and the study of two-earner families. For fathers, their participation in household chores can potentially lead to feelings of stress. Where previous research has focused primarily on fathers' paid work as the source of stress, the present investigation points to the importance of men's family work as a potential source of stress. Thus, future research should incorporate or look to both paid work and family work and their interrelations in order to gain a more complete picture of fathers' stress.

As for mothers, the recent findings validate the potentially noxious impact housework can have on an individual. Though previous research has shown this relationship to be true for women (e.g., Pearlin & Lieberman, 1976) relatively few studies have examined the psychological import of housework for men. The understanding of how household work affects psychological well-being would be extended by comparing husbands' and wives' responses to participation in household tasks within the same household.

With respect to children, fathers' involvement in child care may be associated with more accepting father-child relations. However, it remains to be seen what impact this has for adolescent development. Other writers have pointed to the importance of fathers for sex-role development, cognitive development, and social skill. The next logical step is to investigate how these relationships come about. One plausible direction for future research then is to see whether father-child relations mediate the relation between fathers' participation in child care and adolescent development.

Finally the present findings have implications for the study of two-earner families. As mothers continue to enter the work force, it has become apparent that it is unfair to expect that they continually be solely responsible for family work. In order for two-earner families to cope with the physical and psychological demands associated with this lifestyle, fathers need to contribute actively in all aspects of family work. It is evident from the present investigation that such contributions may have both positive as well as negative consequences for fathers. However, these findings are only from the fathers' point of view. The understanding of the costs and benefits of two-earner family would be advanced by integrating the impact of this life-style on fathers, mothers, and children together. By focusing on

the family, and not individual family members, a more complete picture of the dynamics of two-earner families may emerge.

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# Appendix A

## Weekly Hourly Estimate of Family Work

On days when you work, how much time do you spend per day on

taking care of and doing things with your child(ren) _____ hours

other home chores _____ hours

On days you do not work, how much time do you spend per day on

taking care of and doing things with your child(ren) _____ hours

other home chores _____ hours

# Appendix B

## Family Tasks Sharing Scale

Following is a list of 20 household tasks that typically need to be accomplished. Following each task, please write down the number that best describes who is generally responsible for completing these tasks.

1 - wife only
2 - wife more than husband
3 - wife and husband about the same
4 - husband more than wife
5 - husband only
6 - neither husband nor wife

1. Food preparation _____
2. Planning menus _____
3. Shopping for food _____
4. After-meal cleanup _____
5. Chauffeuring children _____
6. Attending functions with children _____
7. Daily care of children _____
8. Minor car repairs _____
9. Washing car(s) _____
10. Repair and maintenance of house _____
11. Organizing social activities _____
12. Planning family recreation _____
13. Coordinating day-to-day activities _____
14. Paying bills and balancing the checkbook _____
15. Planning investments _____
16. Vacuuming _____
17. Other cleaning _____
18. Laundry _____

19. Gardening _____

20. Lawn mowing and care _____

# Appendix C

## Family Tasks Frequency Scale

Think back over the past week. How many times in the past week have you: (circle number corresponding with correct answer)

| | | Never | Once or Twice | 3 or 4 Times | Fairly Often | Every Day |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Prepared Food | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. | Planned menus | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. | Shopped for food | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. | Cleaned up after meals | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. | Chauffeured children | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. | Attended functions with children | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. | Performed daily care of children | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. | Made minor car repairs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. | Washed car | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. | Did house repair and maintenance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. | Organized social activity | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. | Planned family recreation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. | Coordinated day-to-day activities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. | Paid bills and balanced the checkbook | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. | Planned investments | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. | Vacuumed | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | Never | Once or Twice | 3 or 4 Times | Fairly Often | Every Day |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17. | Did other cleaning | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. | Did laundry | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. | Did gardening | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. | Mowed and took care of the lawn | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

# Appendix D

## CES-D Scale

Below is a list of the ways you might have felt or behaved. Following each statement please write down the letter corresponding with how often you have felt this way during the past week.

A = Rarely or None of the Time (Less than 1 Day)
B = Some or a Little of the Time (1-2 Days)
C = Occasionally or a Moderate Amount of Time (3-4 Days)
D = Most or All of the Time (5-7 Days)

During the past week:

I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me. ____

I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor. ____

I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends. ____

I felt that I was just as good as other people. ____

I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing. ____

I felt depressed. ____

I felt that everything I did was an effort. ____

I felt hopeful about the future. ____

I thought my life had been a failure. ____

I felt fearful. ____

My sleep was restless. ____

I was happy. ____

I talked less than usual. ____

I felt lonely. ____

People were unfriendly. ____

I enjoyed life. ____

I had crying spells. ____

I felt sad. ____

I felt that people dislike me. _____

I could not get "going". _____

# Appendix E

## State Anxiety Scale

A number of statements which people have used to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement and then circle the appropriate number beside each statement to indicate how you feel right now, that is, at this moment. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement but give the answer which seems to describe your present feelings best.

| | Not at all | Somewhat | Moderately so | Very much so |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I feel calm | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel secure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am tense | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am regretful | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel at ease | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel upset | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am presently worrying over possible misfortunes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel rested | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel anxious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel comfortable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel self-confident | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel nervous | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am jittery | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel "high strung" | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am relaxed | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel content | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am worried | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel over-excited and "rattled" | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I feel joyful | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel pleasant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

# Appendix F

## Parental Stress Scale

Please circle the number coresponding with the appropriate answer. When you think of your experiences as a parent, to what extent do you feel:

| | Very | Somewhat | Only a Little | Not at all |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bothered or upset? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Worried? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Tense? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Unsure of yourself? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Frustrated? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Unhappy? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Emotionally worn out? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

# Appendix G

## Household Labour Stress Scale

Please circle the number coresponding with the appropriate answer. When you think of your day-to-day household duties (home chores and child care responsibilities), to what extent do you feel:

| | Very | Somewhat | Only a Little | Not at all |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bothered or upset? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Worried? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Tense? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Contented? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Frustrated? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Unhappy? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Relaxed? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

# Appendix H

## Fathers' Reports of Parental Accpetance

On the following pages you will find a series of statements which a person might use to describe himself or herself as a parent. Read each statement and decide which answer most closely describes the way you have acted towards your sixth-grade child. Circle this answer using the following numbers:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Very Much Unlike Me | = | 1 |
| Unlike Me | = | 2 |
| Somewhat Like Me | = | 3 |
| Like Me | = | 4 |
| Very Much Like Me | = | 5 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | I make our child feel better when he/she talks over his/her worries with me. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 2. | I like to talk with our child and be with him/her much of the time. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 3. | I seem to see our child's good points more than his/her faults. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 4. | I almost always speak to our child with a warm and friendly voice. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 5. | I am always thinking of things that will please our child. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 6. | I understand our child's problems and worries. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7. | I enjoy talking things over with our child. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 8. | I give our child a lot of care and attention. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 9. | I enjoy going on drives, trips, or visits with our child. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 10. | I smile at our child very often. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 11. | I often give up something to get something for our child. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 12. | I am able to make our child feel better when he/she is upset. | 1 2 3 4 5 |

Very Much Unlike Me = 1
Unlike Me = 2
Somewhat Like Me = 3
Like Me = 4
Very Much Like Me = 5

13. I enjoy doing things with our child. 1 2 3 4 5

14. I make our child feel like he/she is the most important person in my life. 1 2 3 4 5

15. I enjoy working with our child in the house or yard. 1 2 3 4 5

16. I comfort our child when he/she is afraid. 1 2 3 4 5

17. I enjoy staying at home with our child more than going out with friends. 1 2 3 4 5

18. I cheer our child up when he/she is sad. 1 2 3 4 5

19. I often speak of the good things he/she does. 1 2 3 4 5

20. I make my whole life center about our children. 1 2 3 4 5

21. I have a good time at home with our child. 1 2 3 4 5

22. I'm proud of the things our child does. 1 2 3 4 5

23. I spend almost all of my free time with our children. 1 2 3 4 5

24. I'm not interested in changing our child, but like our child as he/she is. 1 2 3 4 5

# Appendix I

## The Issues Checklist

Below is a list of things that sometimes get talked about at home. For each topic that you and your sixth-grade child have discussed during the last 2 weeks, indicate how angry the discussions were. If a topic has not been discussed, leave the item blank.

| TOPIC | Very Calm | | | | Very Angry |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Telephone calls | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Time for going to bed | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. Cleaning up bedroom | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. Doing homework | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Putting away clothes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Using the television | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. Cleanliness (washing, showers, brushing teeth) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Which clothes to wear | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. How neat clothing looks | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. Making too much noise at home | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. Table manners | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. Fighting with brothers or sisters | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. Cursing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. How money is spent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. Picking books or movies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. Allowance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. Going places without parents (shopping, movies, etc.) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. Playing stereo or radio too loudly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. Turning off lights in house | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. Drugs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. Taking care of records, games, bikes, pets, and things | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. Drinking beer or other liquor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. Buying records, games, toys, and things | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. Going on dates | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. Who should be friends | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 26. Selecting new clothing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. Sex | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. Coming home on time | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. Getting to school on time | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. Getting low grades in school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. Getting in trouble in school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. Lying | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| TOPIC | Very Calm | | | | Very Angry |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33. Helping out around the house | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. Talking back to parents | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. Getting up in the morning | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. Bothering parents when they want to be left alone | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. Bothering sixth grader when he or she wants to be left alone | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 38. Putting feet on furniture | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 39. Messing up the house | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. What time to have meals | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 41. How to spend free time | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 42. Smoking | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 43. Earning money away from the house | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 44. What sixth grader eats | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

My sixth grader and I have not discussed any of these topics.

True False (circle one)

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