

ADOLESCENTS' WORK-FAMILY GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

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ABSTRACT: *Much empirical research has been devoted to examining how early life socialization and experiences shape adolescent aspirations. This article adds to this body of research by examining adolescent educational expectations at a crucial developmental stage with a focus on ideational processes. The authors test hypotheses derived from the Eccles et al. model of achievement-related choices regarding links between the previously neglected concept of work-family gender ideology and expected educational attainment. Using recent survey data from children of a nationally representative sample of women in the United States, the authors demonstrate a positive relationship between gender egalitarianism and the expectation of attending a postsecondary institution for ninth- and tenth-grade girls and boys. For girls and boys, having more egalitarian views of gendered work and family roles makes one more likely to desire a college education and a graduate or professional degree, although the relationship is stronger for girls than for boys. The authors' findings suggest the pivotal role of work-family gender ideologies in shaping adolescents' educational expectations and more generally highlight the importance of ideology and worldview in the construction of status attainment goals. Keywords: work-family gender ideology; educational expectations; gender differences; adolescence*

Given the economic, social, and health benefits derived from higher education (Jencks et al. 1979; Kaplan, Haan, and Syme 1987; Ross and Wu 1995) and the demonstrated power of early educational aspirations and expectations in shaping eventual achievement (Campbell 1983; Eccles, Vida, and Barber 2004; Sewell, Haller, and Portes 1969), much effort has been focused on understanding how aspirations and expectations develop. Main areas of focus have included socioeconomic resources (Blau and Duncan 1967; T. E. Smith 1991), parental modeling and socialization (Cohen 1987), and early success and reinforcement in school

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(Braddock and Dawkins 1993; Hossler and Stage 1992). In addition to these characteristics and experiences, research has begun to acknowledge the role of gender ideology in framing the educational opportunities that individuals view as viable (Eccles 1994).

Viewing gender ideology as a force in the development of educational expectations has been informative for understanding gender gaps in educational and occupational achievement (Alexander and Eckland 1974; Eccles 1987; Jozefowicz, Barber, and Eccles 1993). Lower rates of female education and career achievement in certain fields are thought to partly stem from society's gender norms emphasizing women's value as wives and mothers and deemphasizing their intellectual abilities (Correll 2001; Mahaffy and Ward 2002; Nash 1979). In fact, girls who believe that boys are better than girls at math achieve lower math scores than those who believe girls are equally capable, and boys are more likely than girls to select math-related careers, not because boys are better than girls at math but because boys *think* they are better at math (Correll 2001; Greene et al. 1999). This self-perception difference is arguably an internalization of gendered norms regarding ability and achievement, leading girls to be more likely to question themselves and their abilities than would boys.

We argue that another dimension of gender ideology influencing how youth see and plan for their futures is a set of attitudes related to how men and women should balance work and family activities. How girls and boys view the operation of their future family and the roles they and their partners will play in managing income generation and care giving may shape the kinds of training and careers for which they are aiming. In this article, we explicitly theorize and test the relationship between this aspect of gender ideology (what we term *work-family gender ideology*) and educational expectations for adolescents. We consider how this relationship may differ for girls and boys. We test the hypotheses we derive using data from the Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79) project. This allows us to investigate how ninth- and tenth-grade boys' and girls' work-family gender ideologies relate to their expectations of educational attainment beyond high school, controlling for self-esteem, grade point average (GPA), and demographic and family background factors. Previous work in this area has theorized work-family gender ideology as a specific component of gender ideology shaping women's aspirations (e.g., Eccles 1994), and this article's two key contributions to this body of work are (a) to further theorize the specific relationships between work-family gender ideology and educational expectations for both boys and girls and (b) to empirically test these relationships.

Gender Ideologies and Educational Expectations

Ideologies, or beliefs about how the world should operate, are key social psychological factors that frame the strategies of action an individual sees as possible (Swidler 1986). Individuals' views of social reality have been measured as values and attitudes that can affect educational aspirations and subsequent attainment (Kohn 1969; Looker and Pineo 1983). Early on, status attainment models focused on the role of educational values and attitudes (e.g., as self-concept and academic achievement) in shaping aspirations; however, increasingly scholars have begun

to incorporate other values and attitudes into frameworks for the construction of educational and occupational choices. An example of this type of innovation is found in the work of Eccles (1994). Eccles theorizes that gender differences in adolescent and young adult educational and occupational choices are partly the result of normative ideas about the careers toward which men and women should aspire. Eccles's model describes how socialization of these gendered expectations contributes to adult inequality.

One specific dimension of gender ideology demonstrated to affect aspirations and achievement is the acceptance of gender stereotypes that contain specific expectations for competence. Studies suggest that girls (especially juniors and seniors in high school) have less confidence in their abilities for mathematics, athletics, and English and that translates into less ambition for careers involving these abilities (Jozefowicz et al. 1993; Lupart, Cannon, and Telfer 2004). It has been hypothesized that this is because society sends girls messages that they are less capable in these areas and that there are fewer reasons for them to invest time and energy in these skills and activities. It has been shown at the individual level that acceptance of gender stereotypes regarding achievement undermines girls' confidence in their own math abilities and interest in math-related activities (Eccles and Harold 1992; Parsons, Adler, and Kaczala 1982).

Although gender stereotypes circumscribing the intellectual abilities of men versus women have been the primary focus of research linking gender ideology to aspirations and expectations, other dimensions of gender ideology may also be influential. Given that educational achievement relates to career achievement and career choices are often negotiated with family aspirations in mind, another potentially influential domain of gender ideology for educational expectations in adolescence is ideology regarding the gendered division of family and work activities (Eccles 1987, 1994). In the interest of clarity and consistency, we term this aspect of gender ideology *work-family gender ideology*. Work-family gender ideology ranges on a continuum from believing the ideal division of labor within families is highly gendered, with men focused on income generation and women focused on housework and care giving, to a nongendered division of labor where men and women share equally in work and family activities (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). These beliefs are very pervasive; many people use them as the expectations for gendered behavior in interactions (Eagly, Wood, and Diekmann 2000; Fiske et al. 2002, as cited in Ridgeway and Correll 2004). Other studies have argued that gender ideology is a lens through which individuals view family-related decisions (Barber and Axinn 1998; Davis and Greenstein 2004; Mahaffy and Ward 2002).

We argue that for both men and women, valuing egalitarian family organization may mean focusing on obtaining an education and career that lead to high incomes, autonomy, and/or job flexibility. These benefits that often correspond to higher education can increase men's and women's abilities either to share more equally in housework and care giving themselves or help purchase services that address these needs. Furthermore, those who hold more egalitarian work-family gender ideologies have a greater preference for partners who share work and family roles equitably (Corder and Stephan 1984); and because higher education is related to more egalitarian work-family ideologies, adolescents may partly plan

for educational achievement as a human capital investment that may make them more attractive to an egalitarian mate. Therefore, we expect that all adolescents with more egalitarian work-family gender ideologies will have greater educational expectations than their less egalitarian counterparts.

Although we expect, in general, more egalitarian adolescents will have greater educational expectations than their less egalitarian counterparts, it is also likely that egalitarian work-family gender ideologies are more influential in constructing young women's educational expectations than young men's. For example, there is evidence that women are more willing to choose to limit their careers because of their beliefs in a nonegalitarian style of marriage and parenting (Jozefowicz et al. 1993; Kerr 1985; Sears 1979). Furthermore, normative gender socialization continues to maintain that young men should be employed and provide for their families. The financial rewards of a college education significantly outweigh those of a high school diploma and may benefit men more than women (Peter and Horn 2005). As such, we do not expect young men's work-family gender ideologies to be as strongly related as young women's to their educational expectations. Being socialized as young men in the current cultural milieu would lead them to expect greater levels of educational attainment more or less independently of their beliefs about gender.

Other Factors Related to Educational Expectations

Other social and demographic factors have been linked to higher educational aspirations. To the extent that these may also be correlates of egalitarian work-family gender ideologies, we must take them into account when theorizing about these processes. Below we describe a set of factors related to both educational expectations and work-family gender ideology.

Gender

Despite recent debates about gender differences in educational outcomes (Peter and Horn 2005), research is equivocal regarding gender differences in educational aspirations (see, e.g., Marjoribanks 1998; Rhea and Otto 2001; Wilson and Wilson 1992). Recent findings suggest that contemporary cohorts of girls and boys are being socialized to have similar expectations for educational attainment (Carter and Wojtkiewicz 2000; Rhea and Otto 2001). Previous research is unequivocal, however, in describing gender differences in work-family gender ideology among both adolescents and adults. Women and girls hold more egalitarian work-family gender ideologies than do men and boys (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Davis forthcoming; Davis and Greenstein 2004; Fan and Marini 2000). It is possible that gender differences in work-family gender ideology could explain any gender differences in educational expectations.

Racial/Ethnic Minority Status

Racial/ethnic minorities have greater net aspirations than do Whites (Karraker 1992; Mau and Bikos 2000; Qian and Blair 1999). One explanation for this pattern

is that parents in minority families may be especially encouraging of their children to strive for higher education and success because they themselves are more likely to have experienced disadvantage and discrimination in their own lives (Wilson and Wilson 1992). Also, rates of female labor participation are higher for minority groups than for Whites, so opposition to women and mothers working is lower (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Kane 2000). Parental encouragement to overcome disadvantage and openness to women playing a more central role in providing family resources could lead to higher educational aspirations for minority youth.

Family Socioeconomic Status

Early status attainment research found strong links between father's and son's educational and occupational attainment (Featherman and Hauser 1978; Kelley 1973). Subsequent research found a positive association between father's educational attainment and adolescent educational aspirations (Cohen 1987). The relationship between mother's educational attainment and adolescent educational aspirations is less straightforward, as Cohen (1987) and Karraker (1992) note a positive association whereas Rhea and Otto (2001) find no relationship. This increased focus on mother's educational attainment influencing adolescent educational expectations is a recognition of the impact mothers have on child aspirations through their influence on child cognitive development (Menaghan and Parcel 1991; Parcel and Menaghan 1994). In general, parental socioeconomic status is positively related to adolescent educational aspirations (Mau and Bikos 2000; T. E. Smith 1991; but see also Marjoribanks 1998; Rhea and Otto 2001).

Any relationship between parental education and/or income and youth educational expectations may be partly explained by attitudes toward gendered family roles. Other studies suggest that higher parents' education, higher family income, and having a mother who works all result in youth who are more egalitarian regarding gendered family roles (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Cunningham 2001; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983; Vanfossen 1977). Generally, more highly educated parents, with more economic resources, and mothers who work have more egalitarian attitudes toward gendered family roles that they then pass on to their children (Cunningham 2001; Thornton et al. 1983). Hence, work-family gender ideology may play a role in how socioeconomically advantaged families encourage academic and career achievement from their children.

Family Structure

Deficit theories argue that alternative family forms, such as single-parent families, are detrimental to children, as they lack adequate academic support at home (Karraker 1992; McLanahan and Sandefur 1994; Seltzer 1994). Living with one parent or in a stepparent household limits access to educational opportunities through lack of resources and may therefore lower educational expectations (Astone and McLanahan 1991; Downey 1995). Loss of a father figure negatively affects boys' educational outcomes in particular (Krein and Beller 1988).

Researchers have suggested that children who have at some point been raised by a single mother may be more egalitarian in their attitudes toward gendered family roles, given they observed their mother carrying out the majority of parental duties and probably working outside the home as well. Wright and Young (1998) do find support for this line of reasoning; however, other studies find no support for family structure in childhood relating to attitudes toward gendered family roles (Kiecolt and Acock 1988; Slavkin and Stright 2000).

Parental Expectations

Parental expectations are a crucial social psychological component of the status attainment process, as adolescents are theorized to internalize parental norms and preferences and act accordingly, resulting in intergenerational status transmission (Biddle, Bank, and Marlin 1980; Otto and Haller 1979; Wilson and Portes 1975). In general, parental aspirations are positively correlated with adolescent educational aspirations (Mau and Bikos 2000; Rhea and Otto 2001; Wilson and Wilson 1992). Research has shown that parents shape and model educational values, although the gendered nature of these processes, and the extent to which they reflect parental attitudes toward gendered family roles, is not consistently apparent (Carter and Wojtkiewicz 2000; Cohen 1987; Saltiel 1985).

It is likely that parents who expect their daughters to attend college and/or graduate or professional school, or, for heterosexual sons, expect them to partner with highly educated women, are those same parents who believe women can and should strive for the same kind of educational and career success as men. Thus, one mechanism for parents who are encouraging high educational achievement from their daughters (or in potential partners for their sons) may be to encourage their children to internalize more egalitarian beliefs about gendered family roles.

School Achievement

There is a positive association between academic experiences and achievement and educational aspirations, as previous experiences provide concrete evidence in the cost/benefit analysis to decide whether additional education is feasible (Cohen 1987; Jencks, Crouse, and Mueser 1983; Mau and Bikos 2000). Furthermore, having a low GPA is associated with weak attachment to school, leading adolescents to be less likely to aspire for more education (Astone and McLanahan 1991).

Self-Esteem

Higher self-esteem, positive self-concept, and positive self-image are generally related to greater educational aspirations (Lay and Wakstein 1985; Sarigiani et al. 1990; Wigfield and Eccles 1994). Youth who think more highly of their abilities expect to obtain more education. It may also be that youth, especially girls, who think better of themselves are more likely to eschew expectations that women not invest as heavily in education as men (Wigfield and Eccles 1994).

Religious Affiliation and Practice

Religious beliefs and involvement continue to be important factors in the decisions adolescents make about their future. Lenski (1963) noted that adolescents' religious affiliation (or the religion in which they were raised) shapes how they view education and career success. For example, conservative Protestant adolescents have lower educational aspirations than do other adolescents (Darnell and Sherkat 1997). To some extent, this association may be explained by the less egalitarian work-family gender ideologies of conservative Protestants, although this relationship is more complex in practice (Denton 2004; Fan and Marini 2000). Furthermore, regardless of affiliation, adolescents who attend religious services frequently have higher educational aspirations than do less frequent attendees (Muller and Ellison 2001). There may be something about the prosocial conformity-emphasizing nature of religious practice that encourages academic and career achievement for young adults.

Hypotheses

To summarize, we hypothesize that the more gender egalitarian ninth and tenth graders are, the more education they will expect to achieve. That is, we predict that adolescents with egalitarian work-family gender ideologies will be more likely to expect to attend both college and graduate or professional school than adolescents who view family and home responsibilities as more of a female than a male domain. We believe this relationship between work-family gender ideology and educational expectations will be stronger for girls than boys. We also expect that the relationship between work-family gender ideology and educational expectations will help explain how other social or economic factors such as race/ethnicity, parental education, family income, mother's work status, family structure, mothers' educational expectations, GPA, self-esteem, and religious affiliation and practice are related to educational expectations.

METHODS

Data

The data for this project come from the Children of the NLSY79, a survey of the biological children of the women in the NLSY79. The NLSY79, sponsored by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the U.S. Department of Labor, was designed to gather information over time on the labor market experience of men and women. The Children of the NLSY79 study began in 1986. The complete child sample statistically represents the children of women who were born during the years 1957 to 1964 and who resided in the United States in 1978. Beginning in 1994, these women's children completed a questionnaire similar to that of their mothers biennially. Our sample includes adolescents in the ninth or tenth grade in 1994, 1996, 1998, or 2002 ($N = 1,419$). No observations from 2000 are included because a key concept, work-family gender ideology, was not measured in that year. All data are from the year in which the respondent was in the ninth or tenth grade, except for mother's expectations as noted below.¹

Measures

The dependent variable in these analyses, expected educational attainment, is based on the following question: "As things stand now, what is the highest grade or year [of school] you think you will actually complete?" Given that many individuals tend to think of education using benchmarks, we used responses to this question to construct a measure of educational expectations that captures these benchmarks. The resulting measure had three categories: 0 = *expected to only attend high school*, 1 = *expected to attend college*, and 2 = *expected to attend graduate or professional school*. Anyone who expressed a desire for thirteen to sixteen years of education is coded as expecting to attend college, and anyone who expressed a desire for more than sixteen years of education is coded expecting to attend graduate or professional school. As shown in Table 1, about half of the adolescents expect to attend college, while 15 percent expect to go beyond college and attend graduate or professional school.

Work-family gender ideology is measured through a battery of statements called Family Attitudes Questions in the NLSY, with responses ranging from *strongly agree* (1) to *strongly disagree* (4) for each statement. The statements are as follows:

1. A woman's place is in the home, not in the office or shop.
2. A wife who carries out her full family responsibilities doesn't have time for outside employment.
3. The employment of wives leads to more juvenile delinquency.
4. Employment of both parents is necessary to keep up with the high cost of living.
5. It is much better for everyone concerned if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family.
6. Men should share the work around the house with women, such as doing dishes, cleaning, and so forth.
7. Women are much happier if they stay at home and take care of their children.

Statements 4 and 6 were reverse scored so that high scores on all items represent an egalitarian attitude and low scores indicate a less egalitarian attitude. The responses were combined into one index that was then averaged to reflect the scale of the original statements. The resulting index has high internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha ranges from .71 to .73 depending on the year) and is constructed so that a low score reflects less egalitarian attitudes.

Race/ethnicity of the adolescent is included as a set of categorical variables: Black and other race/ethnicity, with non-Hispanic White as the reference category. There were too few adolescents in each of the racial/ethnic groups other than White or Black to allow for reliable other racial/ethnic group comparisons.

Socioeconomic status and family background are measured by both biological parents' educational attainment, whether the mother was employed at the time the young woman was interviewed, family income, and family structure. Mother's and father's educational attainment are measured separately by a set of three categorical variables: less than high school education, graduated from high

TABLE 1
Descriptive Statistics ($N = 1,419$)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>M^a</i>	<i>SD</i>
Expecting to attend only high school (1 = <i>yes</i>)	0.37	na
Expecting to attend college (1 = <i>yes</i>)	0.46	na
Expecting to attend graduate or professional school (1 = <i>yes</i>)	0.15	na
Work-family gender ideology (1 = <i>nonegalitarian</i> , 7 = <i>egalitarian</i>)	3.04	0.43
White	0.34	na
Black	0.42	na
Other race/ethnicity	0.24	na
Mother less than high school	0.23	na
Mother a high school graduate	0.50	na
Mother attended some college	0.27	na
Father less than high school	0.21	na
Father a high school graduate	0.34	na
Father attended some college	0.14	na
Father education missing (1 = <i>yes</i>)	0.31	na
Family income (in thousands)	31.69	35.97
Two biological parents	0.37	na
Step family	0.16	na
Living with mother only	0.37	na
Other family type	0.08	na
Employed mother (1 = <i>yes</i>)	0.67	na
Mother's expectations (1 = <i>leaving high school before graduation</i> , 2 = <i>graduating high school</i> , 3 = <i>some college or training</i> , 4 = <i>graduating college</i> , 5 = <i>getting more than four years of college</i>)	3.31	1.08
GPA	7.98	2.08
GPA missing (1 = <i>yes</i>)	0.26	na
Self-esteem (1 = <i>low</i> , 10 = <i>high</i>)	3.20	0.41
Conservative Protestant	0.30	na
Mainline Protestant	0.10	na
Other Protestant	0.11	na
Catholic	0.24	na
Other religion	0.09	na
No religion	0.15	na
Religious service attendance (0 = <i>never</i> , 1 = <i>several times a year or less</i> , 2 = <i>once a month</i> , 3 = <i>two or three times a month</i> , 4 = <i>about once a week</i> , 5 = <i>more than once a week</i>)	2.26	1.74

^aValues are means for continuous variables, percentages for categorical variables.

school, and having some college education, where graduating from high school is the reference category. There are 440 cases where father's educational attainment is missing; this is captured by including a dummy variable coded 1 for all cases where father's education is missing. Almost one third of mothers and 15 percent of fathers have at least some college education. The higher proportion of mothers with some college education is likely due to the amount of missing data for fathers' education.² The natural logarithm of total family income for the year prior

to the interview, converted to 2002 dollars, is included. Using household roster data from both the mother and young adult interviews, we determined family structure and include this as a set of dummy variables: two biological parent family, two-parent stepfamily, living with mother, and living in some other kind of household (this includes father only, grandparents, foster parents, and so forth), where living in a two biological parent household is the reference category in the analyses. More than one third of the adolescents live in a two biological parent home, with 11 percent living in stepfamilies and 37 percent living only with their mothers.

Mother's expectations for their child's education were measured when the adolescents were in the sixth grade. The mothers were asked how far they thought their child would go in school. The options were as follows: 1 = *leaving high school before graduation*, 2 = *graduating high school*, 3 = *some college or other training*, 4 = *graduating from college*, and 5 = *getting more than four years of college*. This measure is included as a continuous variable in the analyses. Most mothers believed their children would attain at least some college education.

The young adults were asked their average grades for the previous year in school, ranging from A+ to F. The average grades are included as a continuous variable in the analyses where A+ is considered a high score ($A+ = 12$) and F is considered low ($F = 1$). About one quarter of respondents did not report their average grades for the previous year; for those adolescents, GPA is imputed.³ Those whose GPA is imputed are noted via a dummy variable.

Self-esteem is measured by responses to ten statements with Likert-type response categories (responses of *strongly agree* were scored "1"; responses of *strongly disagree* were scored "4") combined together into one index that was then averaged to reflect the scale of the original statements. The statements included the following: "I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others"; "on the whole, I am satisfied with myself"; and "all in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure." The resulting index has high internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha ranged from .81 to .85 depending on the year) and is constructed so that a high score reflects high self-esteem.

Religious affiliation is categorized into six groups, using the level of detail available in the NLSY and taking the advice of previous research (T. W. Smith 1990; Steensland et al. 2000): conservative Protestant, mainline Protestant, indeterminate Protestant, Catholic, other religion, and no religion, with conservative Protestant as the reference category in the analyses.⁴ Religious service attendance is measured as frequency of attendance, ranging from never attending religious services to attending more than once per week, and is included as a continuous variable in the analyses.

Analytic Technique

Because the dependent variable is a set of ordered categories ranging from expecting to attend only high school to expecting to attend graduate or professional school, we use ordinal logistic regression for these analyses. The coefficient presented for each covariate is the effect on the odds. Effects on the odds greater

than one suggests that a one unit increase in the independent variable increases the likelihood of the adolescent being in a higher educational expectations category rather than a lower educational expectations category. Similarly, effects on the odds less than one suggests that a one unit increase in the independent variable decreases the likelihood of the adolescent being in a higher educational expectations category rather than a lower educational expectations category. In other words, these coefficients indicate the factor by which a change in an independent variable changes the odds of the respondent expecting to at least attend college (which includes expecting to attend graduate or professional school), as compared with expecting to attend only high school. Based on the proportional odds assumption, odds ratios for predictors are the same for all values of the dependent variable. Ordinal logistic regression analysis returns intercepts for $m - 1$ parallel probability curves, where m is the number of ordered categories (in this case, three; Long 1997). Therefore, the resulting analysis will include an intercept for the equation that compares expecting to attend only high school and expecting to attend college, an intercept for the equation that compares expecting to attend college and expecting to attend graduate or professional school, and a set of odds ratios for all of the predictors that are the same for both parallel probability curves with their unique intercepts.

To examine specific differences in the likelihood of expecting to attend high school, college, and graduate or professional school, we calculate the predicted probabilities of each educational expectation using the intercepts from our analyses. These predicted probabilities are described below. The reported significance tests are based on standard errors that are clustered by family and adjusted using the Huber-White method to account for the correlation between observations from the same family, as there are 244 sets of siblings in the sample. We initially included a measure for year in which the data were collected. However, as this measure had no effect across the models and removing it improved model fit, we report the more parsimonious models without the measure of age cohort.

Model 1 in Table 2 is the baseline model with all variables except work-family gender ideology. Model 2 includes our measure of work-family gender ideology. Finally, Model 3 tests the hypothesis that work-family gender ideology is more influential in predicting girls' educational expectations than boys' by including a product-term interaction between respondent's gender and their work-family gender ideology.

RESULTS

Work-Family Gender Ideology and Educational Expectations

Table 2 presents the results of logistic regression analyses predicting ninth- and tenth-grade adolescent educational expectations. As hypothesized, adolescents' work-family gender ideology is statistically significantly related to their educational expectations. Adolescents with more egalitarian work-family gender ideologies are more likely to expect to attend college than just high school, and graduate or professional school than just college, compared to those with less egalitarian ideologies. Each one unit increase in the work-family gender ideology scale leads

TABLE 2
 Ordered Logistic Regression of Educational Expectations (N = 1,419)

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>
Work-family gender ideology	—	2.08*** (0.15)	2.74*** (0.20)
Male	0.87 (0.11)	1.07 (0.12)	6.20* (0.86)
Work-Family Gender Ideology X Male	—	—	0.56* (0.28)
Race/ethnicity ^a			
Black	0.86 (0.12)	0.84 (0.12)	0.84 (0.13)
Other race/ethnicity	0.68* (0.16)	0.68* (0.16)	0.67* (0.16)
Mother's education ^b			
Less than high school	0.70* (0.17)	0.74 (0.17)	0.73 (0.17)
Some college	1.74*** (0.14)	1.70*** (0.14)	1.69*** (0.14)
Father's education ^b			
Less than high school	0.80 (0.17)	0.79 (0.17)	0.79 (0.17)
Some college	1.17 (0.16)	1.21 (0.16)	1.23 (0.16)
Missing	0.89 (0.14)	0.87 (0.14)	0.88 (0.14)
Family income (logged)	1.00 (0.01)	1.00 (0.01)	1.00 (0.01)
Family structure ^c			
Two-parent stepfamily	0.92 (0.16)	0.86 (0.17)	0.87 (0.17)
Mother only	0.74* (0.14)	0.70* (0.14)	0.71* (0.14)
Other family type	0.71 (0.21)	0.68 (0.21)	0.69 (0.21)
Mother currently employed	1.12 (0.14)	1.04 (0.14)	1.03 (0.14)
Mother's expectations	1.39*** (0.06)	1.37*** (0.06)	1.37*** (0.06)
GPA	1.22*** (0.03)	1.22*** (0.03)	1.22*** (0.03)
GPA missing	0.82 (0.13)	0.86 (0.13)	0.85 (0.13)
Self-esteem	2.19*** (0.14)	1.82*** (0.15)	1.82*** (0.15)
Religious affiliation ^d			
Mainline Protestant	1.51* (0.20)	1.44 (0.20)	1.43 (0.20)

TABLE 2
(continued)

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>
Other Protestant	0.89 (0.20)	0.90 (0.20)	0.89 (0.20)
Catholic	1.06 (0.15)	1.01 (0.15)	1.02 (0.16)
Other religion	1.22 (0.20)	1.19 (0.21)	1.23 (0.21)
No religion	0.78 (0.18)	0.78 (0.18)	0.79 (0.18)
Religious service attendance	1.07* (0.03)	1.07* (0.03)	1.07* (0.03)
Constant (expect to attend college)	4.42	6.04	6.90
Constant (expect to attend graduate/professional school)	7.09	8.75	9.63
Pseudo- R^2	.1317	.1409	.1424

Note: Values are odds ratios (standard errors). Standard errors are robust estimates clustered by family.

^aReference category is White.

^bReference category is high school graduate.

^cReference category is two biological parent household.

^dReference category is conservative Protestant.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

adolescents to be twice as likely to expect each higher level of education.⁵ As the addition of work-family gender ideology is the only difference between Model 1 and Model 2 and the coefficient for work-family gender ideology is statistically significant, there is evidence that having more egalitarian work-family gender ideologies is related to desiring more than a high school education. This finding is illustrated in Figure 1, where the predicted probabilities for each category of the dependent variable (expecting to attend only high school, expecting to attend college, and expecting to attend graduate/professional school) are presented for values one standard deviation above and below the mean on our scale of work-family gender ideology.

Other Factors Related to Educational Expectations

Other factors that we find to be statistically significantly related to educational expectations include race/ethnicity, mother's education, family structure, mother's educational expectations, GPA, self-esteem, religious affiliation, and religious service attendance. Surprisingly, we found no statistically significant relationships between educational expectations and gender, fathers' education, family income, or mother's current employment status.

Contrary to other studies (Karraker 1992; Mau and Bikos 2000; Wilson and Wilson 1992), we do not find students who identify as a race or ethnicity other than White to have higher educational expectations than those who identify as White. In our results, there are no statistically significant differences between the educational aspirations of White youth and Black youth. Although the coefficient for other

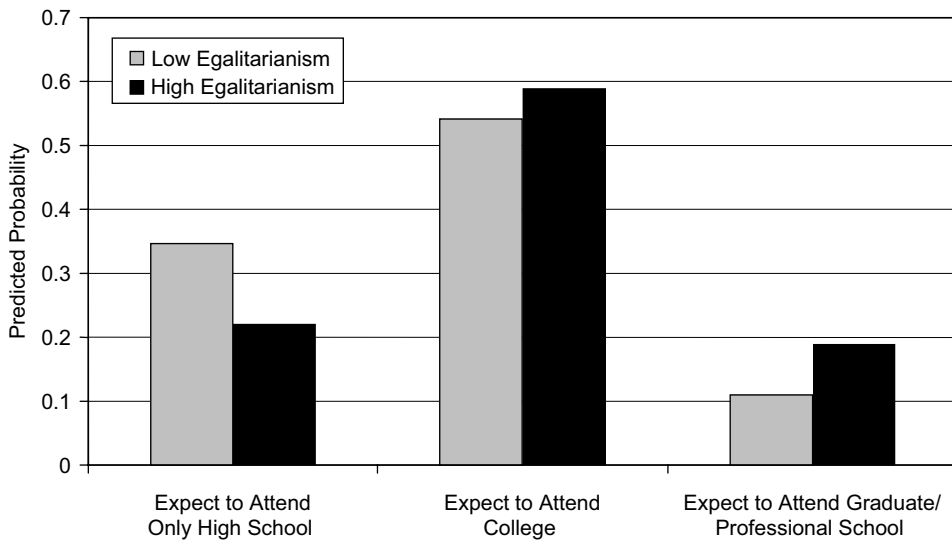


Figure 1

Gender Egalitarianism and Predicted Probabilities of Educational Expectations

Note: Predicted probabilities calculated from ordinal logistic regression coefficients for respondents who are White, conservative, Protestant children of employed mothers living with both biological parents, who both have a high school education, where family income, mother's expectations, GPA, self-esteem, and church attendance are at their sample means.

race/ethnicity is statistically significant and negative, the grouping of multiple race and ethnic categories together, because of small group sizes, makes it difficult to interpret this result in a theoretically meaningful manner.⁶ In further contradiction of other studies, our results suggest that having a mother who works outside of the home does not increase educational expectations.

Our results do shed some light on possible sources or implications of having more egalitarian work-family gender ideologies. First, having a mother with less than a high school education significantly reduces educational expectations, until work-family gender ideology is included in the model. Additionally, we find that having a mother who attained any college education increases educational expectations, and this relationship is only slightly attenuated by the inclusion of work-family gender ideology in the model. This suggests that mothers with increased education may socialize their children to be more gender egalitarian when it comes to ideas about balancing work and family, and this leads to their children having higher educational expectations. It is possible that growing up with a highly educated mother leads to both more egalitarian work-family gender ideologies and the normativity of pursuing higher education. These findings further suggest that maternal education and work-family gender ideology have more independent effects on educational expectations at higher levels of maternal education than at lower levels of maternal education.

In our results, we also find that living in a mother-only family makes adolescents less likely to expect to go beyond high school than adolescents who live with both biological/adoptive parents. This supports the speculation that experiencing parental divorce and/or the decrease in time spent with at least one biological parent may lower the academic support available and thus lower educational expectations. Furthermore, the inclusion of work-family gender ideology only weakens this relationship slightly. This suggests that family structure effects are not necessarily proxies for work-family gender ideology.

Similar to previous studies, we find a positive association between self-esteem and educational expectations (Lay and Wakstein 1985; Sarigiani et al. 1990; Wigfield and Eccles 1994). Adolescents with higher self-esteem scores have an increased likelihood of expecting to attend college. This association between self-esteem and educational expectations does not seem to be completely independent of work-family gender ideology, as the effect of self-esteem decreases by 25 percent once work-family gender ideology is included in the analysis. Perhaps this suggests that adolescents who feel good about themselves do tend to be more gender egalitarian regarding work and family balance. Future research should examine the connection between these two social psychological factors in adolescents.

Our results show evidence that the commonly found positive association between mother's educational expectations and child's educational expectations could partly be explained by the child's work-family gender ideologies, although the evidence is not overwhelming. It is plausible that mothers with higher educational expectations for their children could also encourage their children to have more egalitarian views of work-family balance in relationships, as both factors seem to result in children's own higher educational expectations.

In Model 1, we do find that mainline Protestants are 50 percent more likely to expect to attend at least college than are conservative Protestants. In addition, the relationship between being mainline Protestant (as opposed to conservative Protestant) and educational expectations is rendered statistically nonsignificant once the adolescents' work-family gender ideologies are included in the model. In other words, it appears likely that the more egalitarian work-family gender ideologies that mainline Protestants hold, in comparison to conservative Protestants, partly explains why mainline Protestants are more likely to expect to at least attend college than conservative Protestants.

Finally, our results parallel those of previous studies that have found that increased religious service attendance is correlated with increased educational expectations (Muller and Ellison 2001). Our findings suggest that the prosocial conformity-emphasizing nature of religious practice likely encourages academic and career achievement for young adults, regardless of their work-family ideologies.

Effect of Work-Family Gender Ideology Conditional On Gender

Model 3 adds a product-term interaction between respondent's gender and work-family gender ideology to discern whether the positive association between work-family gender ideology and educational expectations is stronger for girls than boys. This interaction term is negative and statistically significant. As the

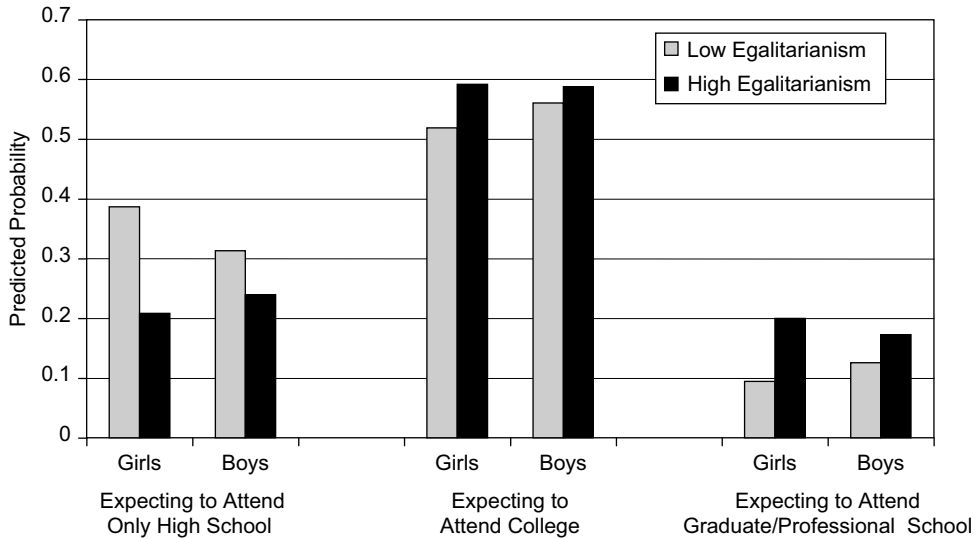


Figure 2

Gender Egalitarianism and Predicted Probabilities of Educational Expectations, by Gender

Note: Predicted probabilities calculated from ordinal logistic regression coefficients for respondents who are White, conservative, Protestant children of employed mothers living with both biological parents, who both have a high school education, where family income, mother's expectations, GPA, self-esteem, and church attendance are at their sample means.

addition of this interaction term is the only difference between Model 2 and Model 3, we find support for our hypothesis of egalitarian work-family gender ideologies being less influential for boys than girls. This finding supports Eccles's (1994) argument that girls' work-family ideologies are especially influential in the construction of educational paths. This complex relationship is illustrated in Figure 2, where the predicted probabilities of expecting to attend only high school, expecting to attend college, and expecting to attend graduate or professional school are presented by gender, again for values one standard deviation above and below the mean on our scale of work-family gender ideology. Figure 2 clearly shows that although the more gender egalitarian girls and boys have similar educational expectations, increased gender egalitarianism has a much more pronounced effect among girls than boys. For example, more gender egalitarian girls have a predicted probability of expecting to attend graduate/professional school twice that of the less gender egalitarian girls. The same two standard deviation change in gender egalitarianism only increases boys' predicted probability of expecting to attend graduate/professional school by 37 percent.

Including the product-term interaction between respondent's gender and work-family gender ideology does not substantially change the relationship between any other covariate and educational expectations. It seems that the meaning of gender egalitarianism differs for girls and boys as it is translated into

their own educational expectations. However, this difference in meaning is independent of other factors that predict adolescent educational expectations.

DISCUSSION

Educational aspirations and expectations research has long focused on the effects of family socioeconomic status with only a recent inclusion of other social psychological mechanisms. This historically narrow focus has ignored other factors in the development of educational expectations, namely work-family gender ideology. This study examines the previously neglected relationship between work-family gender ideology and educational expectations in a sample of ninth- and tenth-grade adolescents, taking into consideration other factors known to shape educational expectations but focusing on the extent to which attitudes toward the gender balance of work and family roles in relationships are influential.

After considering the association of social class, parental expectations, self-esteem, academic achievement, and religious practice with expectations, one main discovery stands out. Adolescents with more egalitarian attitudes regarding work-family balance in relationships have higher educational expectations. The results further suggest this relationship is stronger for girls than for boys, which makes sense given that one end of the work-family gender ideology spectrum has women focusing on their roles as wives and mothers and the other encourages more of a balance between having a career (that requires education) and family roles. Believing that women should have the same kinds of opportunities as men to have a career, and that men should help equitably with household work and childcare, inspires high school girls to expect to attain more education, conceivably putting them on more equal footing with men in the future. For boys, having a more or less egalitarian work-family gender ideology is related to whether he will invest in higher education, but the effects are less pronounced, as was depicted in Figure 2. It may be that strong norms of marital homogamy (Blackwell and Lichter 2004) lead boys to imagine partnering with women who have also attained advanced degrees, are likely to have careers, and will require male partners who have a more egalitarian view of work-family role balance. Perhaps more egalitarian boys desire a job that will allow them the opportunity to be more of a companion husband and involved father, a job with a good salary, autonomy, and flexibility. Although tentative, this could be seen as evidence of a changing cultural milieu encompassing gender, work, and family (e.g., compare to Corder and Stephan 1984). Additional investigation into this correlation is warranted, especially given the surprisingly small proportion of variation in educational expectations explained by the inclusion of work-family gender ideology and its associated interaction term.

This research provides evidence that the influence of work-family gender ideology is more diffuse than previously thought. Eccles (1987, 1994) argues that young women's work-family gender ideologies suggest educational and occupation paths that fit most closely with their beliefs about the appropriate work-family role balance women should have. Our findings suggest that work-family gender ideologies are also influential in boys' constructions of their educational and

occupational paths, perhaps also because of their beliefs about appropriate work-family balance. Work-family gender ideology plays an important role in shaping adolescent educational plans. However, the influence of work-family gender ideologies on girls' educational expectations as suggested by Eccles (1987, 1994) has been underexamined, and the influence of work-family gender ideologies on boys' educational trajectories has been undertheorized and underexamined. Understanding this relationship can help parents and teachers facilitate conversations about educational and career plans with adolescents. In addition, future research should examine whether the differences in expected education by work-family gender ideology translate into differences in educational attainment, occupational attainment, and family formation.

In the process of uncovering how work-family gender ideologies are related to educational expectations, we also showed how relationships between mother's education, mother's expectations, self-esteem, and religion could be explained by the role of work-family gender ideologies in those processes. This is another way in which incorporating the role of work-family gender ideologies in our theories and analyses can help us understand the processes through which educational expectations are established. Because of the importance of expectations in determining actual achievement, we must further understand key factors in the shaping of expectations.

Adolescents coming of age in the 1990s and later have never known a time when the majority of mothers were not in the labor force. Girls in particular expect to negotiate decisions about work and family and may make decisions about educational attainment and career development based on their beliefs regarding women, work, and family. Boys, although less egalitarian in beliefs, are more likely than those in earlier cohorts to expect an intellectually and occupationally equal wife and a companion marriage instead of one predicated on specialization.

Adolescents in the ninth and tenth grade are thinking about the future. They are trying to decide the kind of adult they want to become and determine the route through which they can achieve their dreams. Educational attainment is certainly part of their decision. As predicted by the status attainment perspective, adolescents whose parents have high expectations of them expect to attain high levels of education as well. Nonetheless, parental characteristics and adolescent ability alone do not explain educational expectations. Any emphasis on encouraging girls to excel in high school to facilitate equality in educational outcomes that does not also include an understanding of the role of work-family gender ideologies may be ignoring an important and early mechanism through which educational trajectories are constructed. This concern can be echoed in the case of boys, whose internalization of egalitarian gender beliefs has the potential to create a cohort of egalitarian men for the future.

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NOTES

1. We included a measure to control for whether adolescents were in the appropriate grade for their age, as 4 percent of the sample were older than expected for their grade. This measure of age-grade appropriateness was not significantly related to educational expectations, nor did its presence change the nature of the relationship of other measures with educational expectations. Therefore, we do not include the measure of age-grade appropriateness in these models.
2. Among reporting fathers, 21 percent have some college education.
3. GPA was imputed by performing regression analyses on all ninth/tenth graders. The predictors in the imputation equation yielding the greatest adjusted R^2 value included previously documented achievement scores, characteristics of the school and their current curriculum, and maternal education level.
4. The level of detail on denomination available in these data did not permit reliable identification of Black Protestants and required the use of an "other Protestant" category for cases in which it could not be determined whether the affiliation was conservative Protestant or mainline Protestant.
5. Based on the proportional odds assumption, this predicted effect of work-family gender ideology is the same whether examining the likelihood of expecting to attend college rather than attending only high school or the likelihood of expecting to attend graduate/professional school rather than attending only college.
6. We investigated explanations for this unusual finding. Statistically significant zero-order correlations exist between the race/ethnicity measures and the family structure measures. Furthermore, family structure is significantly correlated with family income and respondent GPA. It is likely that the combination of social class and GPA measures included in our models are surrogate markers of the race/ethnicity effect found in previous research.

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