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Fatherhood: Motivations of Paternal Involvement

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Fatherhood: Motivations for Paternal Involvement

by

David Nguyen

Presented to the Graduate and Research Committee

of Lehigh University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Counseling Psychology

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Approved and recommended for acceptance as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Men's role in raising their children is changing due to different life circumstances, including an increase in women in the workforce and the positive acceptance of men being involved caregivers in addition as breadwinners. Though inequities in gender roles remain, these new expectations for men in childrearing responsibilities brings to the surface different questions as to what motivates men to engage in parenting behaviors. One theoretical approach to understand men's intentions to engage in parenting behaviors is Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior. Grounded in the Theory of Planned Behavior, the purpose of the study was to examine the associations between fathers' intentions to engage in parenting behaviors and their behavioral beliefs toward parenting, the social norms, and their perceived behavioral control. Fathers ($N = 256$) were recruited online to participate in the study. Structural equation modeling was used to determine whether the Theory of Planned Behavior was an appropriate model to understand fathers' intentions to engage in parenting behaviors and the associations between the concepts within the theory. Results indicated that the theory of planned behavior to understand men's motivation to intend to engage in paternal involvement behaviors is not adequate and may need additional modification. In addition, a separate theory is recommended as an alternative to the theory of planned behavior. Future researchers are encouraged to consider the discussions to shape future research in paternal involvement.

Chapter I

Introduction

Recent estimates indicated that approximately 28% of all U.S. men with children under the age of 15 are the primary care provider for their children (U. S. Census Bureau, 2013). In addition, men have tripled the amount of time they spend with their children and doubled the amount of time they spend doing household chores since 1965 (Pew Research Center, 2014). Though there are still many inequities in caregiving and household chores, these numbers highlight how the roles heterosexual men play in the family unit have shifted over the years in part to economic (e.g., 2007 economic recession) and social realities (Goldberg, 2014; Lamb, 2000; Mowder, 2005). McGill (2014) proposed that men are currently expected to be both employed and involved at home --- expectations that he labels as the “new father” attitudes. The shift in heterosexual men’s engagement at home reflect how gender roles are becoming more fluid and relaxed since the 1980s (Goldberg, 2014).

Researchers have found that the traditional breadwinner role for heterosexual men has persisted over time, but more recently has included sharing of child rearing responsibilities (Braun, Vincent, & Ball, 2011; Forste, Bartkowski, & Jackson, 2009; Hamilton & Jonge, 2010). Moreover, current perceptions of the role of a father have been found to be associated with more traditional maternal traits (e.g., kind, understanding) and less traditional paternal traits (e.g., authoritative) (Banchefsky & Park, 2016; Braun et al., 2011). These attitudes may explain why everyday fathering practices are highly variable from one father to another (Braun et al., 2011).

It is imperative to examine the motivation for heterosexual men to intend to engage in childrearing because of the positive outcomes children experience due to such involvement. Various studies have identified the positive influence paternal involvement has on child development (Lamb, 2010; Paquette, Coyl-Shepherd, & Newland, 2013), such as academic (Kim

& Hill, 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2001) and socioemotional development (Downer, Campos, McWayne, & Gartner, 2008; Keown & Palmer, 2014). Kennedy, Betts, Dunn, Sonuga-Barke, and Underwood (2015) even found that men's level of involvement had a direct influence on how a child develops adaptive child-peer social relationships after controlling for maternal attachment quality. Therefore, understanding what motivates heterosexual men to engage in caregiving activities is needed. The current study focuses on exploring whether the theory of planned behavior provides an adequate understanding of motivates men to intend to engage in paternal involvement behaviors. To ensure consistency in terms, the term "partner" is used to refer to a heterosexual man's significant other (e.g., child's mother, girlfriend, spouse, etc.).

Theory of planned behavior

The theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991) provides a framework to predict and explain enacted behavior in relation to a few overarching factors. The framework has been frequently used to guide research on health-related behaviors (Sniehotta, Presseau, & Araujo-Soares, 2014) and may help to understand paternal involvement among heterosexual men. The primary facet within the theory is the intention of the behavior. Ajzen (1991) proposed three primary motivating forces that influence an individual's intention to engage in a behavior: perceived behavioral control (PBC), an individual's attitude toward a behavior, and subjective norms (see Figure 1).

Intentions. Ajzen (1991) explained, "Intentions are assumed to capture the motivational factors that influence a behavior; they are indicators of how hard people are willing to try; of how much of an effort they are planning to exert, in order to perform the behavior" (p. 181). In other words, intentions are the culmination of different motivators or attitudes that a behavior

would be enacted. The specific caregiving activities that heterosexual men may intend or not intend to engage in has been examined by several different researchers.

A few researchers and theorists have tried to conceptualize specific parenting behavior (Mowder, 2005). Following a review of the literature, Hawkins and colleagues (2002) developed a measure of paternal involvement that highlighted nine different domains. These dimensions include discipline and teaching responsibility, school encouragement, support of one's partner, providing, time and talking together, praise and affection, developing talents and future concerns, reading and homework support, and attentiveness. Several studies have used Hawkins and colleagues' (2002) measure to assess for paternal involvement and its effect on children. Paternal involvement was negatively associated with paternal work hours and professional status (Inger & Most, 2012), children's externalizing behavior (e.g., alcohol use), internalizing behavior (e.g., feeling lonely) (Day & Padilla-Walker, 2009), prosocial behavior (e.g., helping others) and empathic concern (Padilla-Walker & Christensen, 2011), and men's machismo (Glass & Owen, 2010). Considering these outcomes, it is important to examine the motivations for heterosexual men to intend to engage in paternal involvement. These motivations include perceived behavioral control, behavioral beliefs, and social norms.

Motivations of intentions. Perceived behavioral control, behavioral beliefs, and social norms are motivational factors that influence a behavior (Ajzen, 1991). These factors contribute to the understanding as to the level of effort people are willing to exert to intend to perform a given behavior.

Perceived behavioral control. PBC refers to “people’s expectations regarding the degree to which they are capable of performing a given behavior, the extent to which they have the requisite resources and believe they can overcome whatever obstacles they may encounter”

(Ajzen, 2002, pp. 676-677). When applied to paternal involvement, PBC comprises of two factors: a) the father's self-efficacy to enact a certain behavior and b) the father's perceived control or belief that the behavior can be enacted based on the resources he possesses at that time. When both perceived self-efficacy and perceived control are examined together, the two factors provide a better and more accurate understanding of PBC (Cheung & Chan, 2000) and how PBC influences behavior (Ajzen, 2002). To understand what motivates heterosexual men to intend to engage in caregiving behaviors, heterosexual men's perception of their self-efficacy and perceived control to enact parental behaviors were examined in the study.

Perceived self-efficacy. According to Bandura (1997), "Perceived self-efficacy refers to beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments" (p. 3). Perceived self-efficacy is predictive of several behavioral intentions, including exercise, voting participation (see Ajzen, 2002), and paternal involvement (Kwok, Linh, Leung, & Li, 2013). According to Johnston and Mash (1989), perceived parenting self-efficacy can refer to the "degree to which parents feel competent and confident in handling child problems" (p. 167). They found a significant negative association between self-efficacy and child behavior problems among men. Men may perceive themselves as more self-efficacious if they are able to respond effectively to a child's changing developmental needs (Ashbourne, Daly, & Brown, 2011), thus, experiencing less parental stress. Sevigny, Loutzenhiser, and McAuslan (2016) found that men who were more confident in understanding, responding, and tending to their child's needs experienced less parenting stress. Men's paternal involvement was also found to be positively associated with their perceived parental self-efficacy (Inger & Most, 2012). Therefore, heterosexual men who confidently attend, understand, and respond to their children's

needs may be more likely to be an involved parent. However, a father's parental self-efficacy may be limited if they perceive little control when engaging in child rearing activities.

Perceived control. Perceived control is the second component of PBC, which is “people’s beliefs that they have control over the behavior; that performance and nonperformance of the behavior is up to them” (Ajzen, 2002, p. 676). Specifically, perceived control reflects heterosexual men’s feeling of choice to enact parenting behaviors in relation to available resources or perceived barriers. Common resources that hinder fathers from engaging in child rearing behaviors include their employment status (e.g., full-time) and available time (Wood & Repetti, 2004). For example, McGill (2014) found that men were less likely to become involved in child care if they did not reduce their time in paid employment. These findings highlight how the availability of time and employment may limit the performance of child rearing behaviors, even after controlling for economic and social resources (Stykes, 2015), particularly for working-class families (Braun et al., 2011).

The extent of men’s paternal involvement may depend less on the amount of available time or their employment status, but on the perception of available time. Though they feel that they can control the number of hours they work (Damaske, Ecklund, & Lincoln, 2014), men perceive their work to be all-consuming and challenging of the “new father” norms (McGill, 2014) to be involved at home while being the primary breadwinner. Keown and Palmer (2014) reported that men employed full time spent less time than their partners being involved with their sons on weekdays but spent more time than their partners on weekends. However, the difference may be relative to their perception of whether their spouse has available time to engage in caregiving activities. Bonney, Kelley, and Levant (1999) proposed that men may not have the option to be less involved in caregiving activities because women working full-time perceive

themselves to lack the time or energy to parent. Therefore, regardless of gender, the perception of employment conditions and available time, not the actual employment or available time, may be a more meaningful motivator for heterosexual men engaging in caregiving activities while also fulfilling one's breadwinning status.

Heterosexual men's perception of work-family conflict may influence their sense of control over being able to engage in childrearing behaviors. Allen and Finkelstein (2014) found that men experience work-family conflict, particularly when their children are adolescents who are engaging in different developmental challenges. Some men may be able to navigate work and family demands by reducing their leisure role (e.g., watching television), time spending on non-urgent tasks (e.g., sleeping), and their role as a partner to remain involved with their children (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010). Though most heterosexual men may benefit from family leave, they raised concerns regarding their future career prospects, the impact their career will have on their bond with the child, or the guilt as they try to compromise between the demands of breadwinning and caregiving (Biggart & O'Brien, 2010). These different aspects of work-family conflict can influence men's perception of their resources to intend to engage in parenting behaviors. Their perception of their resources may also be influenced by their attitudes toward engaging in caregiving behaviors.

Behavioral beliefs. An individual's belief toward a behavior is the "degree which a person has a favorable or unfavorable evaluation or appraisal of the behavior in question" (Ajzen, 1991, p. 188). In other words, a behavior may be more likely to occur if a father perceives his paternal involvement to be of utmost importance or a certain parental behavior to be salient within his identity as a father. Marsiglio (1993) posited that the more salient a fathering identity or role is to a man, the more willing the man is to engage in certain parenting

behaviors regardless of the situation or the resources present. In one study, Fox and Bruce (2001) found that the saliency of a father's role explained a significant amount of variance in paternal involvement, such as in parental responsiveness and harshness among fathers after controlling for several sociodemographic variables. Men's attitude toward parenting has also been found to have a moderating influence on the relationship between marital satisfaction and the amount of time men were engaged with their children (Lee & Doherty, 2007). Specifically, for men with positive attitudes, the relationship was positive, but negative for men with negative attitudes. Therefore, behavioral beliefs were examined in the current study because heterosexual men who find certain paternal behaviors (e.g., breadwinning, nurturing) more salient may intend to engage in those parenting behaviors over other behaviors.

Subjective norms. Ajzen (1991) defined subjective norms as “perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior” (p. 188). A substantial body of literature has demonstrated that people conform to the judgments and behaviors of others (Manning, 2009). Men may perceive the judgments from their partners (Braun et al., 2011) or society (Astone & Peters, 2004).

Partner influence. Partner attitudes and support toward paternal involvement may influence heterosexual men's intentions of paternal involvement. These attitudes and support have been examined for their effect on paternal involvement and satisfaction, including marital relationship quality (Bradford & Hawkins, 2006; Galovan, Holmes, Schramm, & Lee, 2014; Giallo et al., 2013) and maternal career satisfaction (Dunn & O'Brien, 2013). However, it is unclear whether a man's perception of his partner's attitudes toward paternal involvement influences his intentions of paternal involvement. Based on their interviews with mothers, Braun and colleagues (2011) suggested that mothers in traditional working-family arrangements view a

father's role as a secondary parent with themselves as the primary caregiver and mentor for fathers on caregiving. Indeed, Norwegian fathers reported that their partner's preference influenced their current work-family arrangements (Bjornholt, 2010). In addition, men were more involved with child care when the child's mother was more satisfied with and supported paternal involvement, though no temporal order was established (Stykes, 2015). Therefore, heterosexual men's perception of his partner's attitudes toward paternal involvement may predict his parenting intentions and, thus, were examined in the study.

Conflict between masculinity norms. According to Catlett and McKenry (2004), hegemonic masculinity in the family manifests itself as a man's quest to be the financial affairs authority and the decision maker of the family. These masculinity norms about the role of a father can limit the types of involvement men have with their children (Astone & Peters, 2004; Liang et al., 2010). However, a new ideal of fatherhood has emerged in recent years, where men are expected to be both employed and involved at home (McGill, 2014). Catlett and McKenry (2004) suggested that these two different fathering ideals create a strong social pressure on men, but the two cannot easily coexist because they are inherently conflictual. Therefore, heterosexual men may feel conflicted between the two ideals, which can result in gender role conflict (GRC).

According to O'Neil (2008), "GRC is defined as a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences for the person or others" (p. 362). GRC occurs when a man's situational demands conflict with his rigid or restrictive male gender role (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). These situational demands include four categories: GRC caused by gender role transitions, GRC experienced intrapersonally, GRC expressed interpersonally, and GRC experienced from others (O'Neil, 1990). The transition to be a father and engaging in paternal involvement can elicit GRC, such as barriers or gender-related stigma that prevent men from

adopting communal-associated activities (Croft et al., 2015). Specifically, heterosexual men may experience gender-norms pressure that call their masculinity into question, creating GRC.

The discomfort that occurs for heterosexual men struggling between traditional fatherhood norms and the new fatherhood attitudes is found in the literature.

Braun and colleagues (2011) found that involved working class men reported feeling discomfort when engaging in child rearing behaviors in public for fear of being stigmatized as a pedophile, thus, avoiding it unless they had a strategy to protect themselves. These experiences of stigmatization in public spaces are also apparent among stay-at-home-fathers (SAHF; Rochlen et al., 2010; Shirani, Henwood, & Coltart, 2012). The stigmatization may be further exacerbated when men do not have peer support for being involved fathers. Murphy, Gordon, Sherrod, Dancy, and Kershaw (2013) found that ethnic minority men who were more involved in their child's life were more likely to have other involved parents in their predominantly male social networks. Uninvolved fathers who were not concerned about engaging in parenting may not experience substantial pressure to change their behaviors or question their masculinity because their behaviors fit in with gender-normative expectations (Braun et al., 2011). Therefore, heterosexual men who experience less GRC may be less likely to intend to engage in parenting behaviors because their parenting behaviors conform to the rigid masculinity norms.

Additional Factors

Other factors may influence the relationship between a father's beliefs and his parenting intentions (Lamb, 2000; Mowder, 2005), such as child sex (Kennedy et al., 2015) and ethnicity (Chae & Chae, 2010; McGill, 2014; Newland et al., 2013). Child sex is examined because McGill (2014) found that men spent less time in achievement-related activities with their daughters than their sons. To control for child sex, a multi-group analysis was planned to

separate heterosexual men who have at least one son in their family compared to heterosexual men who do not have sons in their family. Despite previous research on ethnicity and paternal involvement, race and ethnicity were not examined in the current study. According to Helms, Jernigan, and Mascher (2005), racial categories have no conceptual meaning but may instead reflect a researcher's underlying beliefs about race. Instead, underlying processes, such as the factors in the theory of planned behavior, may be more representative and descriptive of differences. Therefore, the current study only examined child sex effects and not racial/ethnic differences.

Purpose

In summary, a complex web of factors contributes to whether a parenting behavior is enacted (Lamb, 2010). Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior provides a framework to understand how a few factors lead to behavioral intentions with varying importance. By understanding the different factors that influence paternal involvement, different interventions and prevention efforts can be structured to support men who choose to become more involved fathers or primary caregivers (Ajzen, 2014; Seigny et al., 2016). Therefore, using Hawkins and colleagues' (2012) framework of paternal involvement, the purpose of this study was to examine the extent to which attitudes toward a behavior, social norms, and PBC influence men's intentions to be involved fathers. Though the ideal research study would also examine the relationship between behavioral intentions and enacted behavior, the purpose of the current study was limited to examining only intentions and the motivational factors to test whether paternal involvement can be conceptualized using the theory of planned behavior. Examinations of only intentions in the theory of planned behavior have been completed in past studies (e.g., Mathieson, 1991; Shim, Eastlick, Lotz, & Warrington, 2001).

The main objective of the study was to examine whether the theory of planned behavior explained men's intention to engage in parenting behaviors based on its three overarching factors: behavioral beliefs, social norms, and perceived behavior control. Once confirmed, a few hypotheses were made based on the research literature on the specific pathways:

H₁: Perceived behavior control, as measured by perceived self-efficacy and perceived control, is significantly and positively correlated with intentions of paternal involvement.

H₂: Behavioral beliefs, as measured by caregiving identity and breadwinning identity, is significantly and positively correlated with intentions of paternal involvement.

H₃: Social norms, as measured by GRC and partner attitudes toward fathering, is significantly and positively correlated with intentions of paternal involvement.

In addition, multi-group analysis will be conducted to determine whether child sex effects moderate these relationships for heterosexual men.

H₄: Based on the literature review, the theory of planned behavior model for heterosexual men who have at least one son will be significantly different than the model for heterosexual men who only have daughters.

Chapter II

Literature Review

The influence heterosexual men have on their children's development, particularly their involvement in their child's life and the degree of their involvement, has been examined in the research literature (Lamb, 2010; Paquette et al., 2013). Most research has focused on the quantity of time men spent or used their partners' reports regarding men's caregiving activities on child outcomes (Paquette et al., 2013), including academic achievement (Kim & Hill, 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2001) and socioemotional development (Downer, Campos, McWayne, & Gartner, 2008; Kennedy et al., 2015; Keown & Palmer, 2014). However, limited time has been spent examining the quality to which heterosexual men engage in paternal involvement.

Some men believe that it is important to be involved in their child's life, even initiating the idea to have a child and perceiving it to be a positive experience regardless of any foreseeable challenges (Machin, 2015). Van Balen and Trimbos-Kemper (1995) posited that the instinctive desire for survival, biological drives, and the adherence to social norms motivate people to become parents. However, research is limited as to what specific factors motivate heterosexual men to be involved in their child's life. In addition, few studies have examined how different types and quality of involvement with children affect men (Astone & Peters, 2014). Therefore, research is necessary to examine what factors motivate heterosexual men to engage in paternal involvement and their perceptions of the quality of their involvement. A review of the components of the theory of planned behavior (i.e., intentions, perceived behavior control, behavioral beliefs, and social norms) will be provided in this chapter to help frame the motivations of heterosexual men to intend to engage in paternal involvement.

Theory of Planned Behavior

Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior is a common framework used to predict and explain enacted behavior in relation to a few different overarching factors. Based upon Ajzen's (1988) theory of reasoned action, the theory of planned behavior considers the cognitive regulation of one's attitudes, beliefs, and intentions regarding a behavior. The framework has been frequently used to guide research on health-related behaviors (Sniehotta et al., 2014), such as the influence of parents on child marijuana use (Lac, Alvaro, Crano, & Siegel, 2009). Because the theory of planned behavior has been used on understanding family interactions and family conflict in the past (Holmes, Bond, & Bryne, 2012), the theory may help to understand heterosexual men's intentions to engage in paternal involvement.

Intentions of paternal involvement. The primary facet within the theory of planned behavior is the intention to enact the behavior. Ajzen (1991) explained, "Intentions are assumed to capture the motivational factors that influence a behavior; they are indicators of how hard people are willing to try; of how much of an effort they are planning to exert, to perform the behavior" (p. 181). In other words, the interaction of different motivators or attitudes result in the intentions of behavioral engagement. Because parenting responsibilities are socially defined and based on individual interpretation (Mowder, 2005), heterosexual men may intend to engage in several different parenting roles (e.g., breadwinner, parent, emotional power) (Lamb, 2010) to varying frequencies and quality.

Parenting is comprised of direct or indirect behaviors by an adult caregiver for the child (Bradford & Hawkins, 2006; Mowder, 2005). Some researchers have tried to identify the primary characteristics of parenting (Mowder, 2005), such as the different parenting activities men engage in with their children (Pleck, 2010b). Machin (2015) reported that men viewed their

role as a parent to be unique compared to that of a mother or partners among heterosexual couples. She also found that some men believed that providing practical care, nurturance, and being physically present were the central aspects of what it meant to be an involved father. Other men frequently reported that love, availability, and being a good role model were qualities of a good father (Morman & Floyd, 2006).

Hawkins and colleagues (2002) advanced the study of paternal involvement by developing a measure that included behavioral, cognitive, affective, and moral/ethical dimensions. Through their study of 723 primarily White, married men, Hawkins and colleagues identified nine dimensions of paternal involvement: 1) discipline and teaching responsibility, 2) school encouragement, 3) reading and homework support, 4) support of child's mother or one's partner, 5) providing, 6) time and talking together, 7) praise and affection, 8) developing talents and future concerns, and 9) attentiveness. Since its creation, several studies have used Hawkins and colleagues' (2002) measure to assess for paternal involvement and how the involvement affects children. For example, father involvement was negatively associated with paternal work hours and professional status (Inger & Most, 2012), children's externalizing and internalizing behaviors (Day & Padilla-Walker, 2009), children's prosocial behavior and empathic concern (Padilla-Walker & Christensen, 2011), and men's machismo (Glass & Owen, 2010). Paternal involvement was also found to be positively associated with their perceived parenting self-efficacy (Inger & Most, 2012). Considering the frequent empirical use and validation of Hawkins and colleagues' (2002) measure, the current study utilized their paternal involvement domains.

Discipline and teaching responsibility. Discipline and teaching responsibility is a parent shaping their children's behaviors by providing limitations to said behaviors and by creating structure (e.g., chores). The discipline and limit setting role has been traditionally associated with

men (Lamb, 2000) and control-related activities, including setting limits to children's behavior and encouraging chores (Hawkins et al., 2002). A few studies examined the factors that motivate men to engage in control-related interactions with their children. McGill (2014) found that the more men adhered to attitudes of being both the breadwinner and an involved caregiver, the more likely that they would engage in control-related activities. Men may try to refrain from using certain types of control-related activities with their children if they experienced abuse from their own father (Forste et al., 2009) or if their children were older and female (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998). Because of the association between men and discipline and limit setting behaviors, the current study examined the behavior as a parenting variable.

School encouragement. According to Hawkins and colleagues (2002), school encouragement may appear as activities including encouraging children to do their homework or follow school rules. Studies have examined men's involvement in school and its effect on child outcomes. Khan, Ahmad, Hamdan, and Mustaffa (2014) reported that men from Kuala Lumpur offered less educational encouragement to their children with learning disabilities compared to their partners. They suggested that the results may be due to how men are less involved in childcare. Indeed, Kim and Hill (2015) reported in a meta-analysis that men were less involved in their children's education than their partners. However, they found that heterosexual men's involvement was not only positively associated with their children's school achievement, but that the relationship was just as strong to that of their partner. Among a diverse sample of men, McBride, Schoppe-Sullivan, and Ho (2005) found that men's school involvement contribution was significant after controlling for their partners' contribution toward their child's academic achievement. Specifically, men attending school-related functions (e.g., parent-teacher conferences) significantly predicted a child's academic achievement in the positive direction. As

a result, men's involvement in school-related activities can result in positive childhood outcomes even if it is infrequent. Because men's involvement in their children's schooling has been found to be associated with positive child outcomes, the current study examined how heterosexual men may be motivated to intend to engage in these activities.

Reading and homework support. One way that heterosexual men may be explicitly engaged in their children's education is through cognitively stimulating activities, such as reading books or providing homework support. Keown and Palmer (2014) found that New Zealand fathers engaged in certain positive engagement activities, including reading to their children. Parents who establish an early routine of reading for their children can model reading as a continual intellectual enrichment activity as the children become older and foster literary competence (Strommen & Mates, 2004). The effect that men had when they provided both homework assistance and intellectual enrichment to their children for academic achievement was in the positive direction and not significantly different from the effect of the child's mother (Kim & Hill, 2015). However, Bronte-Tinkew and colleagues (2006) reported that U.S. fathers who lived with their children were not highly involved in cognitive stimulating activities, such as reading a book. Therefore, research that examines what motivates heterosexual men to engage in reading and homework support for his children may help identify factors to support reading and homework support.

Supporting the partner. Heterosexual men may be indirectly involved in their children's caregiving by supporting their partner in their caregiving efforts, such as through encouragement and emotional support (Hawkins et al., 2002). Some men feel that they should base their involvement around the co-parenting relationship and be present for the family (Forste et al., 2009; Machin, 2015). Men highlighted the importance of the co-parenting relationship and the

negotiation of marital roles for the health of their children (Garfield & Isacco, 2013). Supporting partners could appear as heterosexual men supporting their partners' career. Rochlen and colleagues (2010) found that a reason some men became stay-at-home-fathers was in recognition of their partners' greater income. These different approaches that men may take to support their partners can influence their own well-being. Dunn and O'Brien (2013) found that heterosexual men reported greater family satisfaction when their partner experienced more positive emotions at work. They suggested that positive experiences at work may spill over to the family context in addition to extra family financial resources. Because some heterosexual men may engage in activities characterized as supporting their partners, these activities were included in the study.

Providing. Breadwinning has been traditionally associated with heterosexual men in part to traditional masculinity and gender role norms (Catlett & McKenry, 2004). Heterosexual men may feel pressured into enacting the providing role more than other paternal roles (Astone & Peters, 2014). Braun, Vincent, and Ball (2011) noted how one father wished to adhere to the breadwinner role as a father despite how his spouse stated that he was a better parent than herself. In addition, men who adhere to traditional gender role norms may be more likely to dedicate more time to work to support the family within the breadwinning role. Biggart and O'Brien (2010) found that men employed full-time worked longer hours than men without children, even after controlling for father's age, income, level of education, occupation, and partner's employment status. The breadwinner role may be particularly salient for men who did not have a close relationship with their own father (Forste et al., 2009) or for older men who benefited from a partner that remained at home to be the primary caregiver (Damaske et al., 2014). Therefore, breadwinning activities were examined in the current study due to its association with traditional masculinity norms among heterosexual men.

Time and talking together. Time and talking together, also known as positive engagement activities (Pleck, 2010b), include several activities that heterosexual men may engage in, such as games or other activities children enjoy. Keown and Palmer (2014) found that New Zealand fathers engaged in certain positive engagement activities, including pretend play, going for walks, and watching television. However, other researchers found that men may engage in these activities in different degrees. Bronte-Tinkew and colleagues (2006) reported that U.S. fathers who lived with their children were highly involved in physical care (e.g., changing diapers) and moderately involved in caregiving activities (e.g., dressing a child). In addition, frequency of involvement in positive engagement activities can be influenced by several factors, such as attitude toward father involvement (McGill, 2014), perceived self-efficacy (Machin, 2015), and child factors. Men performed more positive socio-emotional actions, less negative emotional actions, and provided and/or requested more information from their children when the child was securely attached in comparison to insecurely attached children (Kennedy et al., 2015). However, research on the quality of positive engagement activities is scant. Therefore, the current study examined heterosexual men's intentions to engage in and how well they perceive themselves in engaging in these activities.

Praise and affection. Some men believed that an important part of their role as a father was to provide emotional support to their child as equally capable to their partner (Machin, 2015), such as men telling their children they loved them (Hawkins et al., 2002). Men reported that a warm connection is critical to the quality of parenting (Ashbourne, Daly, & Brown, 2011). In fact, recently divorced men reported that one of the major challenges they encountered post-divorce was how to maintain an emotional bond with their children (Catlett & McKenry, 2004).

Heterosexual men may engage in warmth and responsive activities in several different ways. Bronte-Tinkew and colleagues (2006) found that men who lived with their children frequently engaged in warm activities (i.e., tickling) and moderately engaged in nurturing activities (i.e., waking the child, staying home when the child was sick). Men may also display explicit attention to children (e.g., holding, listening, seeing) and respond to their children's presence to enhance a deeper connection (Ashbourne et al., 2011). Regarding praise, one study found a positive relationship between men who adopt "new father" attitudes and paternal involvement indicators, such as praise (McGill, 2014).

Variations in praise- and affection-related behaviors may depend on other factors, such as adherence to traditional masculinity norms. Specifically, men who adhere to traditional masculinity norms may be more likely to avoid affection-related caregiving activities because it may seem feminine (Courtenay, 2000; O'Neil, 2008). Therefore, intentions to engage in praise- and affection-related caregiving activities may be influenced by traditional masculinity norms. Due to the research on men's desire to establish an emotional bond with their children, praise and affection activities were examined in the current study among heterosexual men.

Developing talents and future concerns. Hawkins and colleagues (2002) considered this dimension as men focusing on encouraging and planning their children's future talents, education, and career. However, no study was found that focused on heterosexual men in the developing talents domain. Some research exists in the domain that examined both men and women together. In a diverse sample, both men and women were found to have an influence on their children's college attendance intentions and future career path (Gibbons, Borders, Wiles, Stephan, & Davis, 2006). On the other hand, the effect on an adolescent's college attendance may be limited, particularly if both parents never attained an education higher than high school

(Hurtado-Ortiz & Gauvain, 2007). Therefore, the current study examined heterosexual men's intention to engage in developing talents and future concerns.

Attentiveness. Hawkins and colleagues (2002) described attentiveness for men as engaging in certain activities, such as attending events their children partake in or knowing where children are and what they are doing with their friends. Like attentiveness, Garfield and Isacco (2012) proposed that psychological accessibility, or the physical presence and the ability to respond appropriately to a child's needs, may contribute to how men display an advanced parental skillset and responsibility. Kennedy and colleagues (2015) reported that men who were rated by their partner to be sensitive to the child's needs were rated by them to have more positive fatherhood attachment.

According to Ashbourne and colleagues (2011), men considered sensitivity to be an ongoing process and a key aspect of being a father to understand how to respond to their children's needs and how to perform their role. Repeated interactions with, spending time with, and active attention toward children allow men to continually update their knowledge of their children and the child's needs. Men who are willing to redefine their masculinity may be more likely to engage in attentiveness caregiving to their children's needs. To match their children's need, men may try to learn about and redefine themselves as fathers by altering their responsibilities (Ashbourne et al., 2011). However, attentiveness may also be influenced by other factors, such as the partner's influence or how their own priorities and goals affect their perceptions of the child's needs and how they choose to respond. Heterosexual men may rely on their partner to attend to their children's needs to maintain their career, thus, preserving traditional gender roles (Damaske et al., 2014). Additional inquiry into attentiveness and what

specific factors, such as broader social discourses, elicit certain forms of responsiveness is warranted (Ashbourne et al., 2011) among heterosexual men.

Summary. Though one's intentions to enact a behavior may not result in the actual behavior due to a few different factors, Ajzen (1991) suggested that the behavior will more likely occur the stronger the intention. Various complex and multifaceted reasons exist as to why an individual may decide to become a parent (Lamb, 2000; Mowder, 2005) and to intend to engage in paternal involvement. Because the parenting role that men play and the parent-child interactions they engage in are variable due to subjective interpretations and social discourses (Ashbourne et al., 2011), clarity is needed as to what motivates heterosexual men to intend to engage in paternal involvement.

Clarity may be obtained through research examining how men organize their ideas and feelings about different parenting activities and the intrinsic benefit that men experience that motivate them to engage in caregiving activities (Astone & Peters, 2014). Holmes and colleagues (2012) stated, "How individuals think about both the behavior and the constraints associated with performing a particular behavior is a beginning point for understanding how people behave" (p. 123). To have a clear understanding of the different variations of paternal involvement, research studies need to assess for a multitude of factors, such as characteristics of father-partner relationship and systemic variables within a theoretical framework (Habib, 2012).

A few different factors within Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior can provide an understanding as to what motivates heterosexual men to have the intention to engage in certain behaviors. Hawkins and colleagues (2002) provided a way to empirically evaluate whether Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior is appropriate to predict men's intentions to engage in paternal involvement. By parsing out several different factors that may influence paternal

involvement, researchers may be able to examine each factor's independent effects (Pleck, 2010a). Ajzen (1991) proposed three primary motivating forces: Perceived behavioral control, an individual's attitude toward a behavior, and subjective norms (see Figure 1). These three forces are assumed to provide the most information as to determining the intention and resulting enactment of the behavior (Ajzen, 2011). These three overarching factors may help set the foundation to understanding the motivations for paternal engagement intentions in caregiving activities.

Perceived behavioral control (PBC). Ajzen (2002) defined PBC as “people’s expectations regarding the degree to which they are capable of performing a given behavior, the extent to which they have the requisite resources and believe they can overcome whatever obstacles they may encounter” (p. 676-677). He believed that the construct reflected experience, anticipated impediments, and obstacles (Ajzen, 1991). According to Ajzen (2002), PBC can be measured as a single factor or a second-order construct consisting of two components assessed by different indicators: perceived self-efficacy to perform the behavior and perceived control, or the resources to engage in the behavior. Though the two factors are suggested to be positively correlated with one another (Bandura, 1997), a literature review found significant effects, predictive validity, and internal reliability for both factors independent of one another (Ajzen, 2002). Therefore, the current study examined both perceived self-efficacy and perceived control as a second-order construct as it relates to heterosexual men intending to engage in caregiving behaviors.

Perceived self-efficacy. According to Bandura (1997), “Perceived self-efficacy refers to beliefs in one’s capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments” (p. 3). In a literature review, Ajzen (2002) found perceived self-efficacy to be

a significant predictor of different behavioral intentions, including exercise and voting participation. In a parenting context, perceived self-efficacy refers to the “degree to which parents feel competent and confident in handling child problems” (Johnston & Mash, 1989, p. 167). For example, Canadian men’s self-efficacy significantly decreased when they experience more frequent child behavior problems (Johnston & Mash, 1989). Men may also be more likely to engage in parenting behaviors if they perceive themselves to be effective parents (Newland et al., 2013). In support of this contention, Kwok, Linh, Leung, and Li (2013) found that parenting self-efficacy was a significant positive predictor for father involvement among married Asian men from Hong Kong. In addition, perceived self-efficacy was positively correlated with motivation to be a parent among primarily gay, college-educated men (Robinson & Brewster, 2014). On the other hand, difficult child temperaments can negatively influence a parent’s perceived self-efficacy, which then results in a decrease in parental involvement among Australian parents (Giallo, Treyvaud, Cooklin, & Wade, 2013).

Limited opportunities to interact with their own children, particularly during the child’s infancy stage, can aggravate men’s low perceived self-efficacy (Machin, 2015). Men may desire to develop an emotional bond with their infant and be a co-parent, but feel limited in their knowledge and experience as to what they can do to interact with and support the infant (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010; Machin, 2015). Though some men view themselves as equally capable in providing their children equal care and time as their partner (Machin, 2015), Croft and colleagues (2015) suggested that men have difficulty enacting communal roles due to the absence of environmental support or male role models to develop their socioemotional skills when they were younger. Therefore, these men may be motivated to be a parent due to a feeling of responsibility (Newland et al., 2013), but lack the cognitive models that guide behavior

production because of the lack of observational learning, exploratory activities, verbal instruction, and innovative cognitive synthesis that create such models (Bandura, 1997).

However, men may engage in parenting behaviors spontaneously depending on the environment and other contextual factors with the support of their partner (Braun et al., 2011) or the difficulty to which they perceive the task.

Perceived self-efficacy may be a part of a dynamic developmental process that influence paternal involvement over time (Wood & Repetti, 2004). Machin (2015) suggested that men may become more involved in caregiving activities once practical, biological, and other behavioral limitations to their involvement are lifted. A practical limitation may be related to the age of the child. Men reported that they are hopeful that they could be more involved with their infant children when the children become older (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010). In fact, men were found to be more behaviorally involved, such as playing outside with their children, than their partner when the children were older (Keown & Palmer, 2014). Wood and Repetti (2004) also found that primarily college-educated men increased the frequency of caregiving activities over the course of three years, particularly if their children were boys, even after controlling for the effects of other family contextual factors expected to influence changes in paternal involvement. The increase in involvement with children may be related to how men tend to engage in more physically challenging activities, such as doing chores (Newland et al., 2013) or engage in discussions about sports or other physically challenging activities (Keown & Palmer, 2014). As men become more competent in engaging in parenting and confident in understanding, responding, and tending to their child's needs, men may develop more positive attitudes

regarding their involvement and experience less parental stress (Beaton et al., 2003; Sevigny, Loutzenhiser, & McAuslan, 2016).

Providing men knowledge about how to manage their child's health, perceived support from their partner, and other factors may increase the frequency and the degree men are involved with their children and increase their perceived parental self-efficacy (Garfield & Isacco, 2012). However, men's perceived parental self-efficacy may be limited if they perceive themselves to not have the resources (e.g., time, energy) to engage in child rearing activities. In two studies, perceived self-efficacy only accounted for a small or insignificant amount of men's variance to be involved in caregiving or motivation to be a parent among Australian and primarily gay men, respectively (Giallo et al., 2013; Robinson & Brewster, 2014). Therefore, perceived control may provide additional variance (Ajzen, 2002) as it relates to men's intention to engage in caregiving behaviors.

Perceived control. Perceived control, the second component of PBC, is defined as “people's beliefs that they have control over the behavior, that performance and nonperformance of the behavior is up to them” (Ajzen, 2002, p. 676). The more resources that are available, the more likely that a behavior will occur (Ajzen, 1991). Common perceived control factors within PBC include time, finances, skills, and cooperation of others.

Social structures impose constraints on individual behavior and functioning, such as by restricting resources, though the degree of influence depends on individual interpretations of these structures (Bandura, 1997). Some of these structural constraints include different economic conditions (e.g., partner earns more), work transitions (e.g., employment status), (Bjornholt, 2010; Rochlen, McKelley, & Whittaker, 2010), and available time (Wood & Repetti, 2004). The recent economic recession of 2007 led to short- and long-term unemployment for many men

(U.S. Bureau of Labor and Statistics, 2012). Therefore, men may become more involved in caregiving activities not due to their own volition, but because of these economic and employment circumstances.

In one qualitative study of U.K. working class families, fathers' involvement in child rearing were dependent on employment and economic conditions, such as if they were unemployed or working two jobs (Braun et al., 2011). Furthermore, Biggart and O'Brien (2010) found that no man from their U.K.-based sample gave up work to be with their children, but became more involved as caregivers due to economic or employment conditions (e.g., unemployed). Poor employment conditions or economic reasons, such as the spouse earning more, are also influential decisions for why some men become stay-at-home fathers (Rochlen et al., 2010). Wood and Repetti (2004) found that it was only when there was a change in work status, planned or unplanned, for one or both parents that families reported fathers increasing their proportion of involvement. Because of these conditions, men may perceive more available time or resource to be an involved caregiver. However, the literature on how the amount of time affects paternal involvement has been mixed and may not accurately depict heterosexual men's perception of control. For instance, although some parents, particularly men, were less likely to be involved in child care if they did reduce their time in paid employment (Giallo et al., 2013; Wood & Repetti, 2004), McGill (2014) found that men who worked part-time spent less time with their children than fathers who worked over fifty hours a week. McGill (2014) also found that the number of hours worked did not significantly predict a father's time in play, achievement activities, and other paternal involvement activities (e.g., discipline). McGill's findings on work hours are consistent with how other studies found that parental work hours were not significantly

correlated with engagement time with children during the week for either parents (Keown & Palmer, 2014) across different western countries except for Norway (Hook & Wolfe, 2012).

One reason for why hours at work garnered mixed results is how men have been found to reduce their leisure role (e.g., watching television), time spent on non-urgent domestic tasks (e.g., sleeping), and their role as a partner to their partner to remain involved with their children (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010). In other words, men may be able to interpret challenges in resources by balancing time elsewhere for a resolution, limiting work-family conflict. Therefore, it may not be the availability of resources, such as time, that influences the intention of caregiving behaviors, but the perception that resources are unavailable that result in work-family conflict.

According to Greenhaus and Beutell (1985), work-family conflict can be defined as “a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect.” Specifically, they stated that participation in one role results in a higher level of difficulty in participating in the other role due to an effect on a person’s time involvement, strain, or behavior in one role. Work-family conflict may influence whether heterosexual men intend to engage in paternal involvement due to the stress they perceive as they try to navigate the conflict more commonly associated with women in the growing workforce.

According to Daly and Palkovitz (2004), a common assumption is that men do not experience work-family conflict as they become more involved at home while also remaining in the labor force. However, men reported that work is all-consuming and challenges their fatherhood standards despite the desire to be more involved at home (Damaske, Ecklund, & Lincoln, 2014). Men raised by parents who practice egalitarian values reported that work conditions can make it difficult for them to create their ideal work-family preferences (Bjornholt,

2010). Conflicts between family and work have been documented to start between to the pre-birth of the child to the first few months after the birth. Life events, such as a birth of a child or unemployment, can potentially change child-care arrangements in the family and increase paternal involvement (Wood & Repetti, 2004). Among a sample of first time fathers in the U. K., Machin (2015) found that all men had to alter their work schedule to spend time with their infant, but experienced challenges with the balance between being involved with their child's care and acting as the primary breadwinner. Even though most of these same men benefited from family leave, these men raised concerns regarding their future career prospects, the impact their career will have on their bond with the child, or the guilt as they try to compromise between work and family demands (Machin, 2015). However, other men may not experience the same difficulties balancing work and family.

Hamilton and Jonge (2010) found that some men were able to maintain or increase their worker role when they adopted a new father role status while still appreciating and deriving self-esteem from their work role. One possibility may be how men choose to balance their work and their family. According to Daly and Palkovitz (2004), "Men are increasingly demanding flexible strategies that open pathways for their greater involvement as fathers and caregivers" (p. 212). Because of these growing demands of flexibility in work-family balance and to maintain employee satisfaction, some companies may be encouraged to make changes in their work environment. For example, heterosexual men were found to have more positive affect at work when they perceived their place of employment to be more supportive of work-family management and balance (Dunn & O'Brien, 2013). At the same time, the researchers discovered that management continues to send a message to their employees that paternal leave is not an everyday work practice and that support for paternal leave is under 50% among co-workers and

employees. The contradictory support for work-family balance may explain how Dunn and O'Brien (2013) found that positive affect at work did not relate to either one's own or one's partner's satisfaction with family life. Therefore, it may be that the meaning heterosexual men attribute to their constraints or resources, regardless of amount, that influence their perceived control to engage in paternal involvement.

Summary. Ajzen (2002) proposed that perceived self-efficacy and perceived control are two separate components of PBC that assessed for different indicators that contribute to a higher-order concept. He recommended that PBC should be measured by both perceived self-efficacy and perceived control to increase PBC's internal reliability. Additional research is needed to examine how perceived self-efficacy and employment characteristics, such as work-family conflict, influence men's engagement in caregiving activities (Giallo et al., 2013; McGill, 2014). Research has indicated that several different factors influence one's level of perceived parental self-efficacy. Regardless of whether men feel confident and competent in engaging in parenting behaviors, the behavior may not occur if it is not under their volitional control. Men may feel powerless if their place of employment does not support their desire to be involved with their family. Some men recognized the limitations of how involved they could be with their children if they were to maintain a career, resulting in a sense of work-family conflict (Machin, 2015). These two factors, when examined together as perceived behavioral control, can shed light on whether heterosexual men may feel a sense of control and competency to engage in paternal involvement. Whether heterosexual men feel a sense of control or competent to engage in caregiving behaviors may be shaped by their attitudes toward paternal involvement.

Behavioral beliefs. Ajzen (1991) defined behavioral beliefs as the "degree which a person has a favorable or unfavorable evaluation or appraisal of the behavior in question" (p.

188). An appraisal of a behavior may start from whether the individual perceives the behavior to be important to oneself. People self-evaluate their self-concept once a behavior produces a certain outcome, thus, either eliciting or restricting the same behavior to maintain consistency with one's own self-concept (Bandura, 1997). As a result, people attempt to seek out different roles or behaviors that fit with their own values and self-concept (Croft et al., 2015). For men, their attitudes regarding their paternal involvement may be their feelings and beliefs regarding their involvement with their children (Beaton & Doherty, 2007). These behavioral beliefs help drive task performance of parenting behavior, regardless how they see their role (Mowder, 2005).

A man's intentions to engage in parenting behaviors may be more likely to occur if he perceives his paternal involvement to be of importance and to be consistent with his self-concept as a man; that his identity as a father is salient for him. Fox and Bruce (2001) found that the saliency of a father's role explained a significant amount of variance in parental responsiveness, harshness, and behavioral engagement among fathers after controlling for several sociodemographic variables. Specifically, the more salience a man places on his identity as a caregiver and breadwinner, the more likely that men believe and evaluate their paternal involvement as positive and important.

Marsiglio (1993) posited that the more salient a fathering identity or role is to a man, the more willing the man is to engage in certain father-related behaviors regardless of the situation or the resources present. One study found that positive perceptions of one's role as a father was positively associated with higher levels of different parental engagement behaviors after controlling for sociodemographic, partner characteristics, and child characteristics (Bronte-Tinkew et al., 2006). In addition, men who held the attitude that men should be both

breadwinners and involved fathers spent more time providing physical care, achievement-related activities, responsibility-related activities (e.g., discipline) for their children (McGill, 2014). Beaton and colleagues (2003) found that expecting men's attitudes about their role as a father was significantly correlated with their father identity in the positive direction. However, men's perception of their paternal roles has significant variability (Bronte-Tinkew et al., 2006), such as being a role model or a blend of traditional breadwinning and caregiving role (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010). Therefore, it is important to clarify how heterosexual men's perceptions of the saliency of their caregiving role may be associated with their involvement in their families (Bronte-Tinkew, et al., 2006).

Summary. Behavioral beliefs regarding one's role as a father is an influential factor that can motivate heterosexual men's engagement in caregiving activities. The more positive their attitudes regarding paternal involvement, the more likely men will intend to engage in behaviors because it is consistent with their self-concept and values. In other words, men who find their role as a father to be salient in their identity are theorized to be more likely to intend to engage in paternal involvement. However, there may be significant variability in how men perceive themselves as fathers. Other variables need to be examined in conjunction with behavioral beliefs. One such variable that may add significant predictive variation is social norms.

Social norms. Normative beliefs, or the "likelihood that important referent individuals or groups approve or disapprove of performing a given behavior" (Ajzen, 1991, p. 195), relate to how people perceive a social pressure to engage or not engage with a behavior. Manning (2009) posited that the theory of planned behavior can offer insight into the strength of the relation between perceived social norms and behavior. Manning's (2009) meta-analysis found that social norms significantly and positively influenced enacted behavior. Therefore, social norms (i.e.,

partner influence, conflict between masculinity norms) may shed light on how social norms influence men's paternal involvement intentions and were examined in the study.

Partner influence. A heterosexual man's partner may be an important factor that influences the quality to which men are involved with their children. Several different factors have been examined for the partner's effect on paternal involvement and satisfaction, including marital relationship quality (Bradford & Hawkins, 2006; Braun et al., 2011; Giallo et al., 2013; Galovan, Holmes, Schramm, & Lee, 2014; Stykes, 2015) and maternal career satisfaction (Dunn & O'Brien, 2013). The father vulnerability hypothesis (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, & Raymond, 2004) suggest that men engaging in caregiving behaviors and the father-child relationship are more vulnerable to the negative effects of marital discord compared to women engaging in caregiving behaviors and the mother-child relationship. Specifically, the more involved men are with their children, the stronger the effects of men's relationship with their partner on the father-child relationship. Though the differences have never been tested, some studies have found similar results. For example, distal and proximal marital intimacy were found to be positively correlated with men's involvement with children over time (Bradford & Hawkins, 2006). In addition, marital satisfaction for college-educated White men was found to be positively associated with the quantity and quality of their involvement with their children (Lee & Doherty, 2007).

Qualitative studies also found a similar theme between spousal factors and men's parenting practices (Braun et al., 2011). Norwegian fathers reported that their spouse's preference and family-of-origin work-family arrangement was an important factor that influenced their current work-family arrangements (Bjornholt, 2010). Spousal satisfaction with men's paternal involvement was also found to be positively associated with frequency of

paternal involvement (Stykes, 2015). Paquette and colleagues (2013) recommended that new research on parenting should explore how both parents influence each other in a family context, such as men's perception of their partners' attitudes regarding paternal involvement.

Heterosexual men's perception of their partner's attitude regarding paternal involvement and support for men's engagement may influence men's engagement in paternal involvement (Habib, 2012). These perceptions appear to start prior to the child's birth. Expectant mothers' attitudes about father involvement, father identity, and father role were significantly associated with expectant fathers' attitudes about father involvement, father identity, and father role, respectively, in the positive direction (Beaton et al., 2003). Up until the children are five years of age, White college-educated men's perceived reflected-appraisal (e.g., man's evaluation of what his spouse thinks of his behavior) significantly predicted caregiving behavior (Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001). Furthermore, spousal perception of both the father-child relationship and the frequency of the father's involvement with their children strongly predicted their partner's marital quality among primarily White couples (Galovan et al., 2014). These perceptions of their partners' attitudes toward their paternal engagement or their partners' feedback can be a likely important determinant of perceived self-efficacy (Sevigny, Loutzenhiser, & McAuslan, 2016). Therefore, a man's perception of his partners' attitudes toward his paternal involvement may predict his parenting intentions. Heterosexual men's perception of their partners' attitudes toward paternal involvement may also create internal conflict within them regarding their role as a man in the family.

Conflict between masculinity norms. Hegemonic masculinity is an individual's endorsement of a common set of attitudes, beliefs, and expectations toward White heterosexual men's role in the world and the structural relations they have with women and racial, ethnic, and

sexual minorities (Connell, 1995; Levant & Richmond, 2007; Pleck, 1995). Due to the complexity of what constitutes masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), a more specific definition of hegemonic masculinity as it relates to men's paternal involvement is needed. According to Catlett and McKenry (2004), hegemonic masculinity in the family manifests itself as a man's quest to be the authority in financial affairs and the decision maker of the family. Men must adhere to these hegemonic masculinity norms and actively reject what is feminine to demonstrate the dominant ideals of manhood (Courtenay, 2000). Some men recognize that their current role in the family is to provide financially without the necessity to spend physical family time (Braun et al., 2011), to be a co-parent, or an involved caregiver (Machin, 2015). Because institutional structures enforce hegemonic masculinity norms for men to learn and display, heterosexual men's behavior may be best understood when examined in the context of social interactions and systemic structures that maintain those behaviors (Courtenay, 2000).

Men may start to perceive the enforcement of hegemonic masculinity during childhood, where children respond negatively toward boys who violate masculinity norms (Courtenay, 2000). The enforcement may continue into fatherhood by the societal pressure to conform to a breadwinner role than a caregiving role despite how want to be involved in caregiving (Astone & Peters, 2014). Stay-at-home-fathers perceived societal prejudice regarding their decision to be primary caregivers, usually from stay-at-home mothers (Rochlen et al., 2010). These pressures also exist as the lack of social and familial support, which poses as barriers for paternal involvement (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010) in both the U.S. and Taiwan (Newland et al., 2013). As a result, heterosexual men may find themselves adhering to the breadwinner identity and other masculinity norms to avoid distress, thus, influencing paternal involvement intentions.

Despite how heterosexual men may feel pressure to conform to hegemonic masculinity norms, research suggests that masculinity adherence may not be important for paternal involvement. Stykes (2015) found that masculinity adherence was not significantly related with paternal involvement. Indeed, men who chose to be a SAHF and those that were a full-time employee did not seem to differ on self-reported traditional femininity and masculinity characteristics (Fischer & Anderson, 2012). In contrast, Bonney and colleagues (1999) found that adherence to hegemonic masculinity was indirectly positively associated with paternal involvement through men's more liberal beliefs about the father's parental role. However, they measured paternal involvement by asking which partner engages in a certain activity more, frequently instead of the quality of the involvement. As such, these findings may demonstrate how major structural changes are occurring within family gender roles due to women's increase labor force participation and relaxing gender roles (Goldberg, 2014), resulting in a competing "new father" ideal (Catlett & McKenry, 2004) where men are expected to be both employed and involved at home (McGill, 2014). Banchevsky and Park (2016) found that college students expected fathers to adopt more maternal traits (e.g., kind, understanding) and less paternal traits (e.g., authoritative) due to perceived changes in the male roles over time. However, men may find it difficult to adopt traditionally feminine roles. Croft and colleagues (2015) proposed that the difficulty is due to how traditional masculinity traits and roles assigned by society have higher status and value than that of women, thus, constraining the development of men's interest in traditionally feminine roles.

Catlett and McKenry (2004) suggested that these two different fathering ideals create a strong social pressure on men, but cannot easily coexist because they are inherently conflictual. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity adherence may not be what hinders men from engaging in

caregiving behaviors. Instead, it may be the conflict that arises when men try to balance adhering to masculinity norms and the new expectations to also be an involved father. Therefore, heterosexual men who are motivated to be involved caregivers may find difficulty balancing the two competing masculinity ideals in this period of family structural transitions. The conflict may be better termed as gender role conflict (GRC).

According to O'Neil (2008), "GRC is defined as a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences for the person or others" (p. 362). GRC occurs when a man's complex situational demands conflict with his rigid or restrictive male gender role (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995) or results in a devaluation of oneself or others (O'Neil, 2008). Four categories compose the conflict: 1) gender role transitions that alter or challenge one's gender role assumptions; 2) experience of negative emotions when one is being devalued, restricted, or one is violating masculinity norms; 3) one's own gender role problems result in the devaluation, restriction, or violation of others; and 4) the negative consequences one experiences when conforming to, deviating from, or violating masculinity norms (O'Neil, 1990). Specifically, these conflicts may be rooted in men's socially learned fear of appearing feminine (O'Neil, 2008). The fear is theoretically linked to four empirically derived patterns: Success/Power/Competition (SPC; personal attitudes about success pursued through competition and power), Restrictive Emotionality (RE; restrictions and fears about expressing one's feelings or finding the words to express basic emotions), Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (RABBM; expressing one's feelings and thoughts with other men and difficulty touching other men), and Conflict Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR; restrictions in balancing work, school, and family relations resulting in negative consequences) (O'Neil, 2008). Mintz and Mahalik (1996) posited that SPC and CBWFR may lead men to adopt a more traditional (i.e.,

breadwinner) role in the family. Indeed, they found that men who adopted a more traditional role reported the highest SPC score. CBWFR was not reported.

The drive to avoid appearing feminine is exemplified in some men's perception of stigma and discomfort when engaging in caregiving behaviors in public. According to Shirani and colleagues (2012), men may feel gender discrimination or gender stereotyping from others regarding whether they are the socially-appropriate caregiver (e.g., consistent with traditional gender roles). For example, involved working class fathers reported feeling discomfort when engaging in child rearing behaviors in public for fear of being stigmatized as a pedophile, thus, avoiding it unless they had a strategy to protect themselves (Braun et al., 2011). These experiences of stigmatization in public spaces are also apparent among SAHF (Rochlen et al., 2010; Shirani, Henwood, & Coltart., 2012). Men suffer backlash when they were perceived to violate masculinity stereotypes that legitimize a gender hierarchy, resulting in social and economic penalties while being judged negatively (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010).

For men who are not involved with their children, they may be less likely to experience distress or questioning of their own masculinity because they are not concerned about being engaged as a parent (Braun et al., 2011). Instead, they may continue adhering to the traditional masculine norms, such as retaining value in their worker role, and experiencing greater self-esteem without any change in their time spent engaged with their children (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010). Precisely, these men may experience less gender role conflict and remain comfortable with their current adherence to traditional masculinity norms. Therefore, heterosexual men who experience less GRC may be less likely to engage in paternal involvement because their parenting behaviors conform to the rigid masculinity role expectations.

Only one study was found that examined GRC and its influence on motivation to be a parent among primarily gay, college-educated men. Robinson and Brewster (2014) found that the total GRC score moderated both the relationship between perceived ability to relate to children and motivation to be a parent, and the relationship between perceived self-efficacy and motivation to be a parent. Specifically, when gay and bisexual men who perceive themselves as having a high parenting ability or were confident in themselves as a parent were more likely to be motivated to be a parent. The relationships were both strengthened when they experienced high GRC. These results suggest that men who experience high GRC may be more motivated to intend to engage in parenting behaviors.

Summary. Different social norms exist which may influence whether heterosexual men engaged in caregiving activities. Men may be socialized to what behaviors are appropriate or inappropriate for men when enacting the role of a father with children (Catlett & McKenry, 2004). Perceived partner attitudes toward paternal involvement may be beneficial as heterosexual men try to navigate balancing two conflicting ideals: to be a primary breadwinner or to balance both the breadwinning and caregiving roles. These attitudes may be further shaped by the overarching cultural gender norms. Gender role conflict may limit men from being an involved father if they encounter negative experiences that call their masculinity or their role as a father into question (O'Neil, 2008; Rochlen et al., 2010). Therefore, by examining social norms, a more comprehensive understanding of men's motivation to engage in parenting behaviors may be obtained.

Review of theory of planned behavior literature. The theory of planned behavior has been applied to predict many different behaviors. Behavioral beliefs, normative beliefs, and PBC lead to the formation of behavioral intentions, and when in combination with one's volitional

control, predicts the enacted behavior (Ajzen, 2002). The more favorable the behavioral beliefs, the normative beliefs, and the greater the PBC, the more likely the relationship between a person's intention and the predicted behavior is stronger. However, only a few of these factors will accurately predict intentions depending on the behavior and the situation, thus, demonstrating that these factors all have independent effects (Ajzen, 1991). Furthermore, additional factors may influence heterosexual men's intention to engage in caregiving behaviors.

Additional factors

Various other factors, such as demographics, can influence father involvement, including the needs of the child, the mother's role in her caregiving, and other situational demands (Habib, 2012). Because of their potential influence, some of these factors may need to be controlled for to examine a man's unique contribution to the family context (Pleck, 2010a).

Ethnicity/Race. Some research studies have also documented how race/ethnicity may influence parental involvement, but with varying results. White men reported they were less paternally involved than men of color (Rienks et al., 2011). However, the findings may have nuances when specific parental behaviors are examined. Black and Latino men spend less time engaging in achievement-related activities compared to White men, but engage in more responsibility-related activities (McGill, 2014). Kim and Hill (2015) found no significant differences between ethnic groups regarding the relationship between parental involvement and achievement. However, their sample was primarily White.

According to Helms, Jernigan, and Mascher (2005), these varied results may be due to how racial categories have no conceptual meaning, but represent a researcher's underlying beliefs about race. In addition, these findings may be caused by other variables that can be measured, manipulated, and interpreted. For example, ethnic differences on parental behaviors,

such as control and hostility, appeared to lessen when examining Black and Hispanic mothers of higher socioeconomic status (Weis & Toolis, 2010). Therefore, the current study did not examine ethnic/racial categories due to their little scientific value (Helms et al., 2005). Instead, other categories, such as socioeconomic status, may provide more information that is meaningful.

Socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status appears to be a major factor that influences the degree men are involved with their children. Men with a higher education and earning potential were more likely to live with their children and be married to their children's mother (Astone & Peters, 2014). Education also appears to have a positive relationship with paternal involvement (Marks et al., 2009; Murphy et al., 2013; Stykes, 2015) and is robust over time (Kim & Hill, 2015). Specifically, higher education was associated with greater levels of socialization, positive communication, warm parental involvement, engagement in school-related activities, and less playful/stimulating activities across both U.S. and Taiwanese parents (Newland et al., 2013). The results may be due to how men with higher education may be more likely to be involved in school, provide homework assistance, and engage in intellectual enrichment activities (Kim & Hill, 2015). However, a higher level of education may only be related to specific types of parenting behaviors. Indeed, parent's education was not found to be related to more time spent reading to children (Keown & Palmer, 2014), but was significantly related to other achievement-related activities (Stykes, 2015). Therefore, heterosexual men's level of education and family income level were examined as possible covariates to the model.

Employment status. Men's involvement in child care may also vary based on their employment status. Research showed that employment status (e.g., full-time) and time can affect the frequency of child-rearing behaviors (Keown & Palmer, 2014; Wood & Repetti, 2004). The effect is not clear since one study indicated that men working longer hours spent more time with

their children (McGill, 2014) whereas another study indicated a negative correlation between hours worked and paternal involvement (Inger & Most, 2012). One study indicated no significant relationship between time engaging with children and hours worked (Hook & Wolfe, 2012). Considering the potential effect of employment status, the study examined employment status as a potential control variable.

Child's age. Studies have shown that men's paternal involvement may be related to the age of their children. Some research demonstrated that men are more behaviorally involved with their children when their children are older (Keown & Palmer, 2014; Hamilton & Jonge, 2010; Wood & Repetti, 2004). Men may become more behaviorally involved when men perceive their children, as a function of age, being able to engage in more physically challenging tasks (Newland et al., 2013). Furthermore, the frequency that men engage in certain types of behavior, such as control-related behaviors, may differ depending on the age of the children (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998). Because of the importance of how a child's age may influence paternal involvement, child's age was used as an inclusion criterion and examined as a possible control variable.

Child sex. The child characteristics, such as a child's sex, has also been found to influence paternal involvement. Men's perception of importance of their role as a father and paternal involvement was stronger if they had infant sons (Bronte-Tinkew et al., 2006). Furthermore, men spent less time in achievement-related activities with their daughters than their sons (McGill, 2014). Indeed, men were more likely to participate in interactive care and time alone with children when they had more sons (Hook & Wolfe, 2012). Bronte-Tinkew and colleagues (2006) suggested that men may be more involved because they identify more with a same-sex child. Specifically, they posited that men may have an enhanced perception of their

role as a father relative to if they had daughters, thus, increasing their involvement. They also provided an alternative hypothesis; that boys may elicit more involvement from men (relative to girls) due to higher demands. Based on the literature, the current study explored whether the relationships between behavioral beliefs, social norms, and perceived behavior control to paternal involvement intentions significantly differed between heterosexual men with at least one son and men with only daughters.

Summary

Fatherhood for men has traditionally been associated with being the primary breadwinner (Lamb, 2000). However, familial structural changes in the family have led to a “new father” ideal where men are expected to be an involved caregiver and the breadwinner (McGill, 2014). Many different caregiving activities have been found that men engage in as parents, including school involvement and discipline (Hawkins et al., 2002). To have a clear understanding of the different variations of paternal involvement, research studies need to assess for a multitude of factors, such as characteristics of father-partner relationship, demographic variables, and systemic variables within a theoretical framework (Habib, 2012).

The theory of planned behavior may help explain what factors motivate heterosexual men to intend to engage in caregiving activities. Ajzen (1991) proposed three overarching factors within the theory: perceived behavior control, behavioral beliefs, and social norms. Within perceived behavior control, how men perceive their own ability to be a parent and the extent to which they have control to enact the behavior may influence their intention to engage in paternal involvement. In addition, heterosexual men who appraise being a parent as a salient part of their identity may also be more likely to intend to engage in certain caregiving activities. However, if men perceive their partners or their environment to be unsupportive of their caregiving

involvement, men may be less likely to intend to engage in caregiving behaviors. Though there are several other of factors that influence paternal involvement that may not be examined (e.g., Lamb, 2000), the examination of these three overarching within the theory of planned behavior may be able to serve as a foundation for future exploration of fatherhood.

Chapter III

Method

Participants

Total of 1018 individuals clicked on the survey link which was posted to several online sites and forums frequented by fathers of different statuses (see Appendix I), such as new fathers. 686 of the 1018 did not complete the survey. Out of the 686 participants, 419 participants clicked on the survey but did not respond to any items. A total of 267 participants did not complete the survey and had missing data. Out of the 1018 individuals, 332 individuals completed the survey. Men were included in the survey if: 1) their oldest child was between the ages of 5 and 12 years, 2) they were living with the child, and 3) they identified as heterosexual. The first two criteria were set to maintain appropriateness of the father involvement items to the sample. Limiting the age of the child helped manage extraneous variables, such as the age of the father. The last criterion was established to control for extraneous variables by limiting the sample to heterosexual couples. Exclusion criterion was also established to control for extraneous variables. Men who were single or widowed were excluded in the study. The exclusion criterion was established to ensure applicability of several survey items regarding one's partner. Hawkins and colleagues (2002) found that men who were not in intact marriages responded differently to certain items than men from intact marriages. Based on inclusion and exclusion criteria a sample of 259 participants were included for further analyses

After screening participants' data to ensure that they met the validity check, a total of 256 fathers were included in the study. Table 1 shows the demographics of the current sample. Participants ranged in age from 25 to 56 years ($M = 37.15$; $SD = 5.49$). Most participants were White (91%), married (94.5%), identified their gender identity as "Man" (99.6%), possessed at

least a bachelor's degree (64.4%), employed full-time (85.5%), had two biological, step-, or adopted children (52%), and had a household income between \$75,000 - \$150,000 (50%).

Procedure

Eligible participants were given an informed consent (Appendix H.) to read and a survey to complete containing the measures of interest. Participants were prompted to respond to the survey with all their children in mind at the beginning of the survey. All measures were presented in a random order to each participant. Participants online who left an item blank were prompted once to complete the item. However, they may have skipped the item if they failed to respond to the item a second time. All participants were given the opportunity to receive the results of the study.

The average time that each participant needed to complete the study was 110 minutes. However, the time may be inflated as the timer for the survey does not consider whether a participant decided to take a break from the survey without closing the web browser window. Once complete, participants were debriefed verbally and/or on paper. Every participant was provided an opportunity to designate one U.S. dollar (\$1) to pre-designated charity organizations, including "Newborns in Need," "Parents as Teachers," National At-Home Dad Network," and "Good Plus Foundation: Engaging Fathers." Participants were asked to refer other men who fit the criteria to participate in the study or provide an email address to contact prospective participants.

Instruments

Behavioral beliefs and perceived partner support. The Caregiving and Breadwinning Identity and Reflected-appraisal Inventory (CBIRAI; Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001; Appendix A.) is a self-report instrument used to measure parents' identity commitment in both the

breadwinning and caregiving domain in three sections for each parenting domain: identity, perceived reflected-appraisal (e.g., men's evaluation of what his partner thinks of his attitudes), and reflected-appraisals (e.g., men's evaluation of the partner's attitudes). For the current study, both the identity (behavioral beliefs) and perceived reflected-appraisal (social norms) subscales were utilized. Specifically, both the breadwinning and caregiving domains of the identity subscale and the caregiving domain of the perceived reflected-appraisal subscale were utilized. The reflected-appraisal measure was not used as items on the subscale are related to a man's evaluation of his partner's attitudes toward caregiving. In addition, the perceived reflected-appraisal subscale with the breadwinning domain was not utilized because the items do not appear to add predictive validity to paternal involvement intentions and to limit participant fatigue.

The caregiving identity subscale consisted of 14 items (e.g., "I should be committed to actively meeting our child's physical needs"). The caregiving perceived reflected-appraisal subscale had the same number of items as the caregiving identity subscale, but asked participants about their spouses' perception of them (e.g., "My spouse thinks I should be committed to actively meeting our child's physical needs"). The breadwinning subscale consisted of 10 items (e.g., "I have a responsibility as a parent to be a financial provider for my family") each. Participants responded to items using a 5-point Likert-scale (from 1 = "*Strongly disagree*" to 5 = "*Strongly Agree*") except for one item (1 = "Not at all important" to 5 = "Extremely important"). Total scores were created by first reverse coding items 1, 7, 8, 12, 13, and 14 on both the caregiving identity and the caregiving perceived reflected-appraisal subscales. Items 5, 9, and 10 were reverse scored on the breadwinning identity subscale. Second, averaging the item-level scores for each subscale produced the total score for each subscale. Higher average scores

indicate more adherence to the construct (e.g., a participant who had an average score of five on the caregiving identifies more with the caregiving role than someone who had an average score of two).

Cronbach's alpha in a past study for the caregiving perceived reflected-appraisal was found to be .72 among fathers (Maurer et al., 2001). Criterion-related validity was established for both the caregiving identity and the caregiving perceived reflected-appraisals measures as they both predicted men's caregiving behavior (Maurer & Pleck, 2006). In addition, concurrent validity was established where the caregiving identity measure predicted a caregiving perceived reflected-appraisals (Maurer & Pleck, 2006). The coefficient alphas for the caregiving identity, breadwinning identity, and the caregiving perceived reflected-appraisals measures were .74, .76, and .75, respectively, for the current sample.

Social norms. Social norms were measured in two different ways: Conflict between masculinity norms and perceived partner attitudes (mentioned prior).

Conflict between masculinity norms. The Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form (GRCS-SF; Wester, Vogel, O'Neil, & Danforth, 2012; Appendix B.) is a 16 item self-report measure of gender role conflict. The measure includes four subscales: restrictive emotionality (RE); success, power, and competition (SPC); restrictive affectionate behavior between men (RABBM); and conflicts between work and family relations (CBWFR). Only the SPC and the CBWFR subscales were used because 1) the two domains have been used in a previous study to examine men's roles in a family as a caregiver and/or breadwinner (Mintz & Mahalik, 1996) and 2) to limit survey fatigue. Participants completed the measure by responding to statements (e.g., "I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner") on a 6-point Likert scale (1 =

“*strongly disagree*” to 6 = “*strongly agree*”), where higher scores indicate greater gender role conflict. Scores were created by aggregating item level scores into a total score.

Cronbach’s alpha for the subscales ranged from .77 to .80 with a test-retest reliability between .72 to .76 among a multicultural sample with participants of various ages (Wester et al., 2012). Concurrent validity was demonstrated through significant associations between the four subscales of the short form and their original subscales. Convergent validity was established by how the original GRCS was found to be significantly correlated with commonly used measures of masculinity (see O’Neil, 2008). Discriminant validity was established by how three of the four subscales were found to correlate with sex role egalitarianism in the negative direction (see O’Neil, 2008). The coefficient alphas for SPC and CBWFR were .81 and .85, respectively, for the current sample.

Perceived behavioral control. Perceived behavioral control was measured in two ways. Perceived parental self-efficacy and perceived control was used to predict the latent construct of perceived behavioral control.

Perceived parental self-efficacy. The Fathering Self-Efficacy Scale (FSES; Sevigny, Loutzenhiser, & McAuslan, 2016; Appendix C.) is a 20-item self-report measure of parental self-efficacy (PSE) that was developed for and tested with 247 primarily White resident fathers of young children. In addition to overall PSE, the FSES also included three subscales: positive engagement, financial responsibility, and direct care. Participants completed the measure by responding to statements (e.g., “I am able to instill important values in my child”) on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = “*completely disagree*” to 9 = “*completely agree*”). A self-efficacy score was created by averaging all item-level scores where higher scores indicate a greater PSE. Psychometrics were reported in the development of the FSES measure (Sevigny et al., 2016).

The FSES was found to have a test-retest reliability of .81 for the total scale, an alpha coefficient range of .73 to .92 on the three subscales, and no significant differences between White and non-White fathers. Convergent validity was also established because of the FSES positive associations with both a domain-specific and general measure of efficacy. Criterion-related validity was established because of FSES' negative association with parenting stress and depressive symptoms. Discriminant validity was also established for the financial responsibility and positive engagement subscales, where the negative association with parenting stress was weaker for the financial responsibility subscale than the positive engagement subscale. In addition, concurrent validity was established by the overall FSES' score significant correlation with parenting responsibility. Cronbach's alpha for the FSES was .87 for the current sample.

Perceived control. The Work-Family Strains and Gains Scales (WFS-GS; Marshall & Barnett, 1993; Appendix D.) is a 21-item measure of benefits and strains associated with combining work and family. Participants rated how much they agree with self-descriptive statements (e.g., "You worry about what goes on with your children while you're at work") on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never/not at all true*) to 4 (*very often/very true*). A total score was generated by aggregating the item scores that measure work-family strains and subtracting the aggregated work-family strains score with the aggregation of the item scores that measure work-family gains, where higher scores indicate greater strains from work that negatively influence one's family. For the current study, the total score was reversed. Cronbach's alpha was reported to be between .85 and .86 among resident married fathers (Haddock & Rattenborg, 2003; Schwebel & Brezaussek, 2004). According to Marshall and Barnett (1993), convergent validity was established by the correlation of workload on the job and at home with WFS-GS scores. In addition, concurrent validity was established by how social support was

correlated with work-family gains scores. The coefficient alpha for WFS-GS for the current sample was .88.

Intentions of paternal involvement. The Inventory of Father Involvement (IFI; Hawkins et al., 2002; Appendix E.) is a 26-item measure of a broad spectrum of paternal involvement that contained direct and indirect behavioral, cognitive, affective, and moral/ethical dimensions. Participants rated how good a job they think they will do as a father on each of the items (e.g., “Disciplining your children”) on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*very poor*) to 6 (*excellent*) in the next 12 months. With permission, the measure was modified to indicate men’s perception of how good of a job they will do engaging in caregiving within the next 12 months. In addition, the term “partner” was also added to mother support items to be applicable to men who have adopted children or children biologically unrelated to their partner. Finally, “NA” was removed as a response. Scores were created by averaging all item-level scores for each subscale, where higher scores indicate greater paternal involvement.

Cronbach’s alpha was reported to be between .69 and .98 among a diversely ethnic and educated sample of men (Glass & Owen, 2010; Hawkins et al., 2002; Rienks et al., 2011). Criterion-related validity was established by how increased childcare involvement from men was negatively correlated with both child externalizing and internalizing behavior problems, and positively correlated with pro-social child behaviors (Day & Padilla-Walker, 2009). Discriminant validity was also established by how the correlation coefficient for involvement and externalizing child behaviors was significantly larger for men compared to women (Day & Padilla-Walker, 2009). In addition, concurrent validity was established by how different behavioral dimensions were found to be significantly correlated with conceptually related items in other parts of the questionnaire (Hawkins et al., 2002). Cronbach’s alpha for the FSES

subscales were .77 (Discipline and Teaching Responsibility), .79 (School Encouragement), .83 (Mother Support), .61 (Providing), .72 (Time and Talking Together), .74 (Praise and Affection), .58 (Developing Talents and Future Concerns), .67 (Reading and Homework Support), and .67 (Attentiveness).

Validity Items (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002: Appendix F.). Because recruitment and survey response were conducted online, respondents may have randomly respond to the survey. To protect against random responses, four validity items were placed throughout the survey. Participants responded to items such as “Please enter the number 2 now.” Only participants who responded correctly to three out of the four validity items were included in the final sample.

Demographics (Appendix G.). Each participant was asked to complete a short demographic questionnaire containing several different questions. Specifically, participants were asked about their gender identity, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, nationality, biological relation to children, number of daughters, number of sons, relational status, income, highest level of education, employment status, and age of youngest and oldest child. These variables were considered for use as control variables.

Design

A structural equation model (SEM) was conducted to explore what factors influence men’s intentions to engage in paternal involvement behaviors. SEM was based on Ajzen’s (1991) theory of planned behavior with its four latent variables: behavioral beliefs, social norms, PBC, and parenting intentions (see Figure 1). In this study’s SEM (see Figure 2), behavioral beliefs were measured by two indicators: the CBIRAI identity measure breadwinning and caregiving subscales. Social norms were measured by three indicators: the SPC and CBWFR,

subscales of GRCS-SF, and the CBIRAI perceived reflected appraisal subscale. PBC was measured by two indicators: the FSES and the WFS-GS. Paternal involvement intentions were measured by the subscales of the inventory of father involvement.

Power analysis. To minimize the probability of Type II error and maximize the probability of detecting a true effect, a power analysis was conducted to increase the likelihood that enough participants are recruited to find statistically significant results. As suggested by Hancock and French (2013) for a power level of .80 and an epsilon of .02, an estimated 225 participants are needed for the first three hypotheses; and an estimated 284 participants are needed for the child sex comparison.

Analysis

Data were analyzed using SPSS 23 and Amos 24. SPSS was used to obtain means and standard deviations of interest variables. Based on the recommendations of Martens (2005), assumptions of multivariate normality were assessed using SPSS. Specifically, univariate normality was examined via skewness and kurtosis of each variable. Variables with values between -2 and +2 for skewness and values between -7 and +7 for kurtosis would satisfy the criteria for univariate normality (Curran, West, & Finch, 1996). Bivariate normality was examined via scatterplots of variable pairs. Based on Stevens' (2009) recommendations, the scatterplots should be elliptical.

To determine whether the missing data was observed at random (OAR) and to maximize the sample size, three steps were made. First, predictive mean matching (Little, 1988) was utilized in SPSS. A non-significant finding indicates that the missing data are observed at random (Rhoads, 2012). Next, missing data at the subscale level was addressed. For continuous variables in the analysis, participants who completed at least 80% of the items on each measure

were included in the study and had their missing item-level data replaced with their individual mean score (Dodeen, 2003). Finally, missing data at the measurement model level was addressed by using full information maximum likelihood in AMOS.

Because socioeconomic status (e.g., education, income), employment status, and child's age were found to be associated with paternal involvement in the literature, they were examined as possible control variables in the current study. In addition, participant age was also examined. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine if any categorical demographic variables of interest showed significant differences on any of the observed variables; correlations were used for continuous variables. Post-hoc analyses were used for significant findings. Because there may be many demographic variables, a Bonferroni post-hoc test and with a Bonferroni correction was conducted for post-hoc analyses where there were more comparisons being conducted than there were groups to reduce Type I error.

Amos was used to test the fit of the both the endogenous measurement model fit and the structural model fit to the data (Martens, 2005) and the regression coefficients of all significant relationships. The endogenous measurement model fit and the structural model fit were examined using a confirmatory factor analysis. Several fit index choices of varying types were used. Specifically, the chi-square, CFI, GFI, TLI, and RMSEA were examined using Browne and Cudeck's (1993) conservative criteria of below .05 for RMSEA and above .95 for CFI, GFI, and TLI. Post hoc modifications to the model were kept to a minimum and only when theoretically defensible. Based on the order condition and the two-indicator rule (Bollen, 1989), the model was over-identified.

AMOS was utilized to conduct multi-group analysis for child sex effects. First, two groups were created using the grouping variable of men who had at least one son and men who

did not have a son. Second, across-group constraints were placed on pathways between behavioral beliefs, social norms, and PBC to paternal involvement. Third, the chi-square difference test would be used to determine whether there was invariance between groups.

Chapter IV

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Table 2 depicts the means, standard deviations, and range for the observed variables. Multivariate normality for the observed variables was established with values within the range of -2 to +2 for skewness (Lomax, 2001), -7 to +7 for kurtosis (Curran, West, & Finch, 1996), and the expected straight-line pattern within normal probability plots (Stevens, 2009). The providing subscale for paternal involvement had a skewness value of -2.37. The subscale remained part of the model because past research has demonstrated that standard errors of parameter estimates were not significantly affected by nonnormality conditions (Lei & Lomax, 2005). Valid Mean Substitution (VMS) was conducted for a range of one to four participants for five observed variables (i.e., Caregiving Identity, Breadwinning Identity, Caregiving Identity-Reflected, Gender Role Conflict, Inventory of Father Involvement) for no more than one item on each scale. Predictive mean matching (Little, 1988) results showed that caregiving identity ($\chi^2(13, 256) = 20.2, p = .091$), breadwinning identity ($\chi^2(13, 256) = 9.82, p = .365$), caregiving identity-reflected ($\chi^2(13, 256) = 9.23, p = .755$), and paternal involvement ($\chi^2(13, 256) = 33.4, p = .075$) were not significant. Missing data for items on the gender role conflict measure were significant ($\chi^2(13, 256) = 36.7, p = .001$). However, only one case was missing data and was 0.04% of the responses.

Table 3 depicts the correlations between the 16 observed variables in the model. Notable significant correlations include breadwinning identity and caregiving identity ($p < .001, r = -.485$), success, power, and competition and conflicts between work and family relations ($p < .001, r = .224$), and parenting confidence and work-family gains & and strains ($p < .001, r =$

.331). In addition, parenting confidence was significantly correlated with each of the parenting intention domains ($p < .001$).

ANOVAs and correlations, respectively, were conducted to determine if any categorical or continuous demographic variables of interest were significantly related with the observed indicators in the model. Employment status was coded as full time (1) or not full time (2). Household income was coded based on the 2017 Internal Revenue Service's tax code for married, filing jointly (1 as \$0 to \$75,000; 2 as \$75,001 to \$150,000; 3 as \$150,001 to \$230,000; 4 as over \$230,000). Father's age remained a continuous variable. Results were reported in Table 4 and Table 5. Because employment status was coded as two groups, post hoc analysis was not conducted. Post hoc analyses indicated that men with a household income between \$0 and \$75,000 had lower scores on the Conflict Between Work and Family (CBWF) subscale than men with a household income between \$150,000 to \$230,000 ($p = .005$). The former also had lower scores on their intentions to provide for their children than men with a household income between \$75,000 and \$150,000 ($p < .001$). Father's age was significantly correlated with intentions to praise and provide affection to one's children ($r = -.125, p = .046$), CBWF ($r = .126, p = .044$), and breadwinning identity ($r = -.195, p = .002$). Therefore, employment status, household income, and father's age were added to the model.

Measurement model. When the hypothesized model was estimated (Figure 3), the covariance matrix was not positive definite, thus, the model solution was not admissible. The literature was consulted for other possible model configurations. Research suggests that the theory of planned behavior may not be particularly concerned with how wider societal context, such as societal masculinity norms, influences behavior (Conner & Armitage, 1998). Instead, a narrow and specific measurement of social norms, such as men evaluating their direct

observation of their spouse's attitudes, may provide a more accurate understanding of how social norms are related to behavioral intentions. In addition, Manning (2009) found that social norms operationalized as social pressures based on participants' direct observation or inferred behavior of others had a greater influence on behavior than norms operationalized as perception of what others wanted an individual to do. These results suggest that the variables, CBWF and SPC, may not be appropriate in the prediction of behavioral intentions due to their measurement of societal norm perceptions whereas CIR is focused on men's observation or inferred behavioral observation of their partner's attitude toward their parenting behaviors. Therefore, the latent variable was removed in the model in favor of CIR as an observed variable.

For the new measurement model (see Figure 4), the initial test for model fit did not meet stringent criteria [$\chi^2(102, 256) = 288.40, p < .001$; CFI = .836; GFI = .888; TLI = .781; RMSEA = .085]. All the factor loadings were significant ($p < .001$). Modification indices were examined for possible modifications that were theoretically defensible (Martens, 2005) and had a large modification index value that would significantly improve model fit. No modifications were conducted as they were not theoretically defensible.

Structural model. For the structural model (Figure 5), the initial test for model fit was inadequate [$\chi^2(102, 256) = 289.31, p < .001$; CFI = .836; GFI = .888; TLI = .781; RMSEA = .085]. All the factor loadings were significant ($p < .005$). The relationship between household income and paternal involvement was not significant ($p = .491$). Employment status was not significantly associated with intentions of paternal involvement ($p = .075$). Father's age was significantly associated with intentions of paternal involvement ($p = .007$). CIR was not significantly associated with intentions of paternal involvement ($p = .261$). Intentions of paternal

involvement was significantly associated with perceive behavior control ($p = .005$) and behavioral beliefs ($p = .011$).

Modification indices were examined for possible modifications that were theoretically defensible (Martens, 2005) and had a large modification index value that would significantly improve model fit. The error terms for the variables discipline and school encouragement (school enco.) were suggested to be correlated to one another (MI = 24.4). Within the current sample, the two indicators were significantly and positively correlated with each other ($r = .506, p < .01$). In addition, a previous study conceptualized discipline and school involvement within the same parenting domain (Finley & Schwartz, 2004). Therefore, the model was modified to allow the two variables to correlate with each other.

The chi square difference test between models showed a significant difference between the model and the model with the modification ($\Delta\chi^2(1, 256) = 25.7, p < .001$). With the modification, the structural model had improved, but still did not achieve adequate fit to meet criteria [$\chi^2(101, 256) = 264, p < .001$; CFI = .858; GFI = .896; TLI = .808; RMSEA = .079]. No other modifications were conducted as additional modifications would not improve model fit to meet the a priori criteria.

Structural model in multi-group setting. For the structural model for both groups (i.e., men who have at least one son, men who only have daughters), the solution was not admissible due to a negative error variance on the observed variable, parent conf (fathering self-efficacy scale). However, research indicates that parenting confidence is significantly related to paternal involvement (e.g., Johnston & Mash, 1989). Therefore, the error term was fixed to zero (Kolenikov & Bollen, 2012) and the model was re-estimated. Results indicated that the model failed to converge. The model was analyzed again where the iterations were increased to 5000 to

increase the likelihood of convergence. Results indicated that the model reached convergence where additional iterative calculations to fit the data to the model no longer improved the model fit. However, the model was under identified. To determine for which group the model was under identified, the two groups were separately examined. The solution for the structural model for men with only daughters was admissible, but had inadequate fit (Figure 7) [$\chi^2(102, 186) = 225, p < .001$; CFI = .858; GFI = .878; TLI = .811; RMSEA = .081].

The initial structural model solution for the group of men with at least one son was under identified and required an additional constraint to one parameter. Because one study found that men's perception of the importance of their role as a father had a greater effect on paternal involvement among men with infant sons than daughters (Bronte-Tinkew et al., 2006), the relationship between Behavioral Beliefs and Paternal Involvement was constrained. The regression weight was fixed to 1.11 because the unstandardized regression weight between behavioral beliefs and paternal involvement was 1.11 for the model for the entire sample. The solution for the structural model on men with at least one son did not meet stringent criteria of fit [$\chi^2(103, 70) = 183, p < .001$; CFI = .746; GFI = .792; TLI = .665; RMSEA = .106]. The fixed regression weight of 1.11 on the path between behavioral beliefs and paternal involvement was introduced to only the model for men with at least one son for multi-group analysis. With the constraint, the structural model fit for both groups did not meet criteria [$\chi^2(205, 256) = 409, p < .001$; CFI = .828; GFI = .852; TLI = .772; RMSEA = .063].

Despite the inadequate model fit, it may be beneficial to examine whether the two groups significantly differ regarding the regressions weights of CIR with paternal involvement and PBC with paternal involvement. In the unconstrained model, the relationship between CIR and paternal involvement was significant for men with at least one son ($\beta = -.302, p = .004$), but not

significant for men with only daughters ($\beta = -.015$; $p = .898$). However, the constrained and unconstrained models were not significantly different from each other in terms of model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(1, 256) = 2.70, p = .101$). In the unconstrained model, the relationship between PBC and paternal involvement was significant ($p < .001$) for both men with at least one son ($\beta = .733$) and men with only daughters ($\beta = .681$). The constrained and unconstrained models were not significantly different from each other in terms of model fit ($\Delta\chi^2(1, 256) = .426, p = .514$).

Chapter V

Discussion

The main purpose of the current study was to determine whether the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991) was an appropriate model to conceptualize men's intentions to engage in future parenting involvement. Results suggested that the theory may not adequately explain what motivates men to intend to engage in paternal involvement behaviors. Furthermore, results indicated that there may be no significant differences in motivations for men to engage in paternal involvement behaviors, regardless of whether their children are daughters or sons. However, these results are inconclusive due to issues with the number of participants available. Several explanations exist for these results.

Original hypothesized model

The original hypothesized model may not be an adequate explanation of what motivates men to intend to engage in paternal involvement. One of the major issues that may explain the inadequacy is an inaccurate model to explain the motivation to intend to engage in paternal involvement. When a theoretical model cannot be statistically analyzed due to a non-positive-definite error matrix, the model has a fundamental misspecification (Bollen, 1989). Specifically, it may be inaccurate in capturing the social phenomenon. The inability of the theory of planned behavior to explain intentions in this study may be related to how behavioral intentions is understood and measured.

Concerns regarding intentions. Paternal involvement behaviors are transactional where the behavior occurs within the relationship between a father and his child(ren). The transactional relationship suggests that the behavior is not self-focused, but involves the participation of another party that result in the enactment of the behavior. Therefore, the theory of planned

behavior may not be appropriate in explaining the intentions of paternal involvement because it has been primarily utilized to explain health-related behaviors in the research literature, such as condom use, food consumption, and physical activities (McEachan et al., 2011; Sniehotta et al., 2014). These behaviors are generally focused on the individual party in the behavior's enactment. As a result, behavioral intentions may be an appropriate core within the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 2011) when the enactment of the behavior depends on the individual's control of how they enact the behavior for themselves. However, behavioral intentions may be inappropriate in explaining the interaction between the father and his child. A new theory or a modification to the theory of planned behavior may better explain the intention men have to engage in paternal involvement behaviors.

One theory that researchers are encouraged to examine is the Parent Development Theory (Mowder, 2005). Like the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991), the parent development theory recognizes how overarching factors, such as parenting experiences, parent role perceptions, and social context, can influence how parents enact parenting behaviors for their children. The enactment occurs through the interpersonal pattern between the parent and child, acknowledging the social roles that each party possesses regarding the parenting behavior. Specifically, the theory captures the transactional nature that occurs between a father and his child(ren). However, the theory has no explanation as to how one can empirically measure the phenomenon. Based on the literature, psychological accessibility (Garfield & Isacco, 2012) may be an appropriate construct that encapsulates the transactional phenomenon that result in an enacted parenting behavior.

Psychological accessibility is the physical presence and the ability to respond appropriately to a child's needs (Garfield & Isacco, 2012). Psychological accessibility may better

represent the transactional nature of paternal involvement and how men intend to engage in parenting behaviors. Garfield and Isacco (2012) proposed that psychological accessibility may contribute to how men display an advanced parental skillset and responsibility compared to others who may not be psychologically accessible. Indeed, one study found that men who were rated by their partner to be sensitive to the child's needs were rated by them to have more positive fatherhood attachment (Kennedy et al., 2015). Psychological accessibility may explain why parents and parenting develop and change over time (Mowder, 2005). Men consider the sensitivity to their children's needs to be the defining aspect of being a father as to how they may intend to respond to their child's needs and how to enact parenting behaviors (Ashbourne et al., 2011). Frequent positive experiences, or successes in being psychologically accessible, with their child can influence men to develop their competence and confidence in engaging in future parenting behaviors (Beaton et al., 2003; Sevigny et al., 2016). Future research is encouraged to consider both the Parent Development Theory (Mowder, 2005) and psychological accessibility (Garfield & Isacco, 2012) as an approach to understand men's motivation to engage in parenting behaviors.

The measurement of intentions. Though intentions within the theory of planned behavior may have limitations in capturing the transactional nature of men's motivation to intend to engage in parenting behaviors, other factors may have contributed to the concerns regarding intentions. One of these factors is the use of the inventory of father involvement (Hawkins et al., 2002) as a proxy for measuring intentions of father involvement. The original measure served an evaluative function of men's parenting behavior rather than one that measured men's intentions to engage in paternal involvement. Though terms were changed to elicit men's intention of paternal involvement behaviors rather than their self-perception of the quality of their parenting

behaviors, the change may have been inappropriate and affected the quality of the measure. Specifically, the questions within each dimension of paternal involvement in Hawkins and colleagues' (2002) measure may no longer be measuring the intended dimension, evident by the varied reliabilities of each subscale. Furthermore, the inventory may have been limited in capturing certain aspects of paternal involvement. Hawkins and colleagues' (2002) acknowledged that their instrument may not adequately assess for the cognitive and affective dimensions of paternal involvement, such as telling children you love them, compared to other dimensions. These dimensions may be a crucial part of paternal involvement.

Research to develop more appropriate measures of intentions of paternal involvement is needed. The theory of planned behavior has been used extensively to understand the motivations and intentions of behaviors with relative success (Sniehotta et al., 2014). Dismissing the theory of planned behavior may not be appropriate due to the present limitations of measurement in the field of men and parenting. An example of a new measure that was developed to measure paternal involvement is the Paternal Involvement with Infants Scale (Singley et al., 2018). Though not a measure of intentions of paternal involvement, the introduction of the scale suggests the further need of measurement development to study paternal involvement at different stages of child development. Men's involvement in childcare is important for children's socioemotional development (Downer et al., 2008). As such, researchers are encouraged to develop measures that encapsulates intentions of paternal involvement.

Modifications regarding social norms. The social norms factor within the theory of planned behavior may be problematic in explaining the motivation to intend to engage in paternal involvement. Within his literature review, Ajzen (1991) found that social norms had the weakest association with behavioral intentions across different behaviors. These associations

may be weaker in the current proposed model with the addition of indicators not directly observable or related to the behavior in question. Manning (2009) found that social norms measured as social pressures perceived from participants' direct observation or inferred behaviors of others had a stronger association on behavioral intentions than social norms measured as general perceptions of what others wanted an individual to do. The gender role conflict subscales, though a potential indicator of social pressures on an individual to intend to behave a certain way, may not be a strong indicator of behavioral intentions because it asks participants about their perceptions of society in relation to general masculinity than a specific party or specific behavior.

Contextual factors, such as individualistic cultures, may influence the strength of social norms. Social norms factor was defined and operationalized within the theory of planned behavior as the perception of a social pressure to behave in a certain manner (Ajzen, 1991). However, the extent to which one adheres to the social pressure depends on how much value one places on adhering to the social norms of society. In individualistic societies, one's well-being largely depends on one's own individual success and emphasizes individual responsibility towards one's well-being (Diener et al., 1995). Because most studies have examined the theory of planned behavior with a eurocentric and individualistic sample (e.g., Manning, 2009), social norms may continue to be the weakest factor within the theory. The current sample was primarily White and well-educated, which may provide evidence for why the modified model was interpretable following the modification of the social norms latent variable. Researchers are encouraged to study the theory of planned behavior with a more diverse sample.

Furthermore, questions within the gender role conflict subscales asked participants to respond to general masculinity norms rather than specific paternal involvement questions.

According to Conner and Armitage (1998), the theory of planned behavior does not focus on the societal context and how it influences behavioral intentions. Instead, social norms indicators that are specifically related to the behavior in question may result in a greater understanding of the motivation to intend to engage in the behavior. Ajzen (1991) suggested that greater specificity within the theory of planned behavior can result in a better explanation of the intention of the behavior and the enacted behavior.

Modification of hypothesized model

Despite a modification of the hypothesized model, the theory of planned behavior did not adequately meet the criteria for model fit. Therefore, the theory of planned behavior may not be an appropriate model to explain the phenomenon of men's motivation to intend to engage in parenting behaviors. The lack of adequacy may be related to several concerns, such as the use of Browne and Cudeck's (1993) stringent criteria for model fit. According to Weston and Gore (2006), the use of stringent criteria for model fit in structural equation modeling can prevent the incorrect acceptance of misspecified models. However, they suggested that too stringent criteria for small samples with less than 500 participants can lead to the incorrect rejection of acceptable models. Therefore, the model fit of the modified measurement and structural models would have been considered adequate should the criteria been based on the sample size of the study (i.e., CFI at least .90, RMSEA at least .10) (Weston & Gore, 2006). Future research using structural equation modeling are encouraged to use fit indices that are representative of their sample size.

Multicollinearity between the two caregiving identity subscales may also influence inadequate model fit. The subscale that measure perceived partner attitudes toward men's parenting (CIR) was the same as wording in the measure of caregiving identity but with a change in who the item was referencing (from "my spouse" to "I"). The two measures were significantly

and strongly correlated with each other in the positive direction, thus, indicating a possible multicollinearity between the two latent variables in the model. Multicollinearity within the model would confound the contribution of the contributing variables. Therefore, researchers should examine their variables for possible significant correlations and consider adding a correlation among the error terms, a priori, as a possible solution. Researchers should also consider using different indicators in the theory of planned behavior that are distinct and uncorrelated. These solutions would help creating stability in the model.

One other approach to create stability in the model is to create a fuller model that is closer to a pure latent model than a slimmer model. Ajzen (2014) posited that the predictive validity of the measures for behavioral intentions are reaching their theoretical limit (Ajzen, 2014). In other words, the measures used to capture behavioral beliefs, social norms, and PBC in the current study may have been limited to capturing a significant amount of the paternal involvement intentions' variance. Limiting the number of measures in the model may help simplify the model and reduce missing data. However, fewer measures may not accurately explain how men were motivated to intend to engage in paternal involvement behaviors. To surpass the limit, Ajzen (2014) suggested selecting three to four different, but related measures for each factor in the model to improve the prediction of intentions.

Research in the motivation of men's intentions to engage in parenting behaviors may benefit from including two types of measures: opposite behavior and positive constructs. Ajzen (2011) recommended that using measures that address the opposite behavior (e.g., men not intending to engage in parenting behavior) can make "a significant independent contribution to the prediction of intentions" (p. 1118). Opposite behavior measures could also be a measure that is more focused on the engagement of positive behavior when the latent variable already includes

a negative behavior measure. For example, the Father Involvement and Nurturant Scales (Finley & Schwartz, 2004) is a measure that focuses on the positive feelings men had towards their own father and may have been used as a potential positive social norms indicator. The inclusion of opposite behavior measures would maintain the internal consistency of the latent variable, thus, the model becomes more similar to a pure latent model. Future studies should include additional measures as suggested for each of the major TPB components.

The inadequate model fit may also be related to how caregiving is constructed in its measurement and how it is interpreted by each participant. Paternal involvement has been conceptualized in different ways, such as a unidimensional to a multidimensional understanding of parenting (Lamb, 2000; Pleck, 2010b). However, it remains uncertain as to what would constitute caregiving behavior. For example, the role of a father has been found to be increasingly associated with traditional maternal traits (e.g., kind, understanding) and less traditional paternal traits (e.g., authoritative) (Banchefsky & Park, 2016; Braun et al., 2011). Specifically, what may be formerly seen as a task for a woman may become more acceptably associated as a task for a man as well. The blend in parenting tasks is evident in how a qualitative study found that some men blended breadwinning and caregiving behaviors (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010). What is caregiving or not caregiving behaviors may result in an inconsistency in the data, which may then contribute to inadequate model fit. For instance, as gender roles shift (McGill, 2014), caregiving behaviors may become synonymous with breadwinning behaviors. Research should clarify the conceptualization and measurement of caregiving among men to parse out potential confounding factors.

The measures also may have not been adequate due to social desirability bias. Results in Table 2 showed that participants tend to rate themselves more positive in their ability to engage

in certain parenting behaviors, particularly breadwinning. These results are consistent with Hawkins and colleagues' (2002) findings that the men in their study tend to rate themselves higher on individual aspects of paternal involvement. Social desirability bias may be more prevalent regarding men's own self-evaluation of their success in effectively using a parenting skill because it is a self-report of their competence (Mortel, 2008). In addition, stereotype threat can bias men's self-report of their socioemotional skills than their true capacity (Croft et al., 2015).

Men who completed the measures were all recruited from forums primarily dedicated toward supporting men, fathers, and/or parenting. A male social network that includes involved parents may be associated with men being more involved in their child's life (Murphy et al., 2013). Therefore, these men may have accurately rate themselves more positively in the measure due to a positive peer norm of paternal involvement. Future studies could address this bias by including a social desirability scale. In addition, Hawkins and colleagues (2002) suggested that an introduction that explains how few fathers can excel in all domains due to different reasons may allow fathers to respond to items in a less socially desirable way. Because the measure was modified in the current study to report intentions of future behavior, the prompt was not included to minimize deviation from the original measure. Researchers are encouraged to adapt the measure with the prompt to minimize social desirability bias.

Child sex

Results suggested that men were motivated to intend to engage with their children in a similar way, regardless of the sex of their child. However, the inadequacy of the model fit to meet stringent criteria signify that the results are not interpretable. In addition to a change in the criteria for model fit, two other issues contributed to the lack of model fit. One, there was an insufficient number of participants needed to conduct the multi-group analysis, as determined a priori. As a result, significant differences between how men engage with their children based on the child's sex may be hidden. Two, there were an unequal number of participants in each group (i.e., 186 men with only daughters compared to 70 men with at least one son). Differences in group size can also result in obfuscating differences between the two groups that are significant. Furthermore, the smaller sample size in the men with at least one son group may not have enough variability within the sample. The limited variability may explain why the model was different from that of the men with all daughters group. Future researchers are encouraged to continue examining for potential differences between the two groups by recruiting additional people to uncover potential differences between the two groups.

Limitations

Some limitations exist within the study. One limitation is that the study is cross-sectional in nature. Future research needs to utilize a longitudinal design to understand whether the factors in the theory of planned behavior influence paternal involvement. One may also find difficulty generalizing the study's findings to a population of men beyond that of the recruited sample. Most participants were White, married, cisgender, college-educated, employed full-time, had two children, and had a household income between \$75,000 - \$150,000. In addition, inclusion and exclusion criteria limited the sample further to just heterosexual men, who were not single or widowed, and living with children between the ages of 5 and 12. Therefore, the findings of the

current proposed study may not be applicable to men who do not identify within these demographics.

Furthermore, sample biases may exist for fathers who were recruited online. Self-selection and dropout may be pervasive when recruiting participants online (Kraut, Olson, Banaji, Bruckman, Cohen, & Couper, 2004). 256 fathers were recruited from 990 responses to the research recruitment posts. It is uncertain what factors led some individuals to respond and others to refrain from completing the study. In addition, men recruited on online forums may have additional social support to guide them through the process of parentings. Many of the forums were themed around men and issues related to men, such as parenting and men's rights. Within online support forums, men may be more willing to share very personal aspects of themselves, such as emotions and fears, with other men to understand and develop themselves (Suler, 2004). These men who seek online support may be more motivated to engage in parenting than others, such as finding online resources for parenting. In addition, they may be more involved with their children if other forum members on the social network forum were more involved parents themselves (Murphy et al., 2013).

Future directions and conclusion

Considering the increasing involvement of men in the caregiving role, parenting among men continues to be a growing and much needed area of research. Research can provide understanding and future directions as to how professionals can support men who engage in parenting behaviors. Though the current study did not answer its proposed hypotheses, some of the results shed light on practical applications.

Parenting confidence was found to be a significant influence on every examined parenting behavior. Though it cannot be determined if parenting confidence has a direct

influence on parenting behavior, the findings in conjunction with the research literature suggest its importance and that professionals should consider parenting confidence when they work with fathers. In addition, parenting confidence may be influenced by how men perceived their spouse's view on their paternal involvement. Approval and encouragement of men's involvement in parenting, particularly from their spouse, can increase the frequency men engage in parenting. The lack thereof can become a point of conflict between spouses, which can influence paternal involvement (Stykes, 2015). Professionals are encouraged to consider how men's perception of spousal support for their parenting role may influence their engagement in parenting behaviors.

Several recommendations are made to guide future research endeavors into fatherhood. First, future research would benefit from using a longitudinal design to examine whether intentions measured at one point predicts future parenting behaviors later. The current study asked men to evaluate their future paternal involvement. However, their evaluation may not predict enacted paternal involvement. Researchers would benefit from using a longitudinal design while also including a third-party to report on men's paternal involvement, such as their spouse or their child. Future research may also benefit from testing paternal involvement within one domain or one specific behavior rather than a general conceptualization and measurement. The findings would help clarify what promotes men to engage in one parenting behavior over others. For researchers who choose to use a general conceptualization and measurement, an instrument that adequately captures different domains of paternal involvement, such as cognitive and affective domains is recommended to ensure proper sampling of different paternal domains.

Second, researchers are encouraged to further investigate paternal responsiveness to a child's needs to predict paternal involvement rather than behavioral intentions. As suggested by Ajzen (2011), including instruments that reflect action (e.g., I intend to engage in the behavior)

and opposite action (e.g., I intend to not engage in the behavior) can improve model fit.

Measures that minimize social desirability bias are also encouraged to control how men may evaluate themselves more positively on measures related to parenting. Hawkins and colleagues (2002) suggested that an introduction that explains how few fathers can excel in all domains due to different reasons may allow fathers to respond to items in a less socially desirable way.

Third, qualitative methodology may help researchers explore and understand intricacies on what motivates men to intend to engage in paternal involvement behaviors and how these men may enact the behaviors. Qualitative research methodology has been used in past studies to help researchers comprehend aspects of paternal involvement (Lamb, 2000), such how men balance work and family life (Hamilton & Jonge, 2010) and desire support from other fathers (Carlson et al., 2014). One area that may be of interest to explore is how men's experience with their own fathers influence their own parenting behaviors. Based on her results using a thematic content analysis approach, Bjornholt (2010) suggested that work-family arrangements between a man and his spouse may be influenced by the norms and attitudes men observed in their family-of-origin. Future studies are recommended to study how men's relationship with their own fathers may serve as a model for future parenting behaviors.

Finally, because of the homogenous nature of the current sample and how men were required to meet inclusion and exclusion criteria, future research would benefit in sampling from a more diverse pool of individuals. The findings in the current study are limited to men that fit within the criteria and demographics, thus, may not be generalizable to other men. Future research would benefit sampling a diverse set of men, such as a community sample of demographically diverse men, to determine if the findings in the current study are replicable with a more representative sample.

In summary, the field of men and parenting is continuing to develop and evolve. Future research is needed to continue understanding men and what motivates them to intend to engage in parenting behaviors. The current study provided a discussion on concerns and factors to consider, such as the development of measures and a new theory to examine, as research continues to explore men and parenting. Additional research will help spur on different practical interventions that can be implemented to support men who desire to be involve caregivers for their children.

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Figure 1. Theory of planned behavior

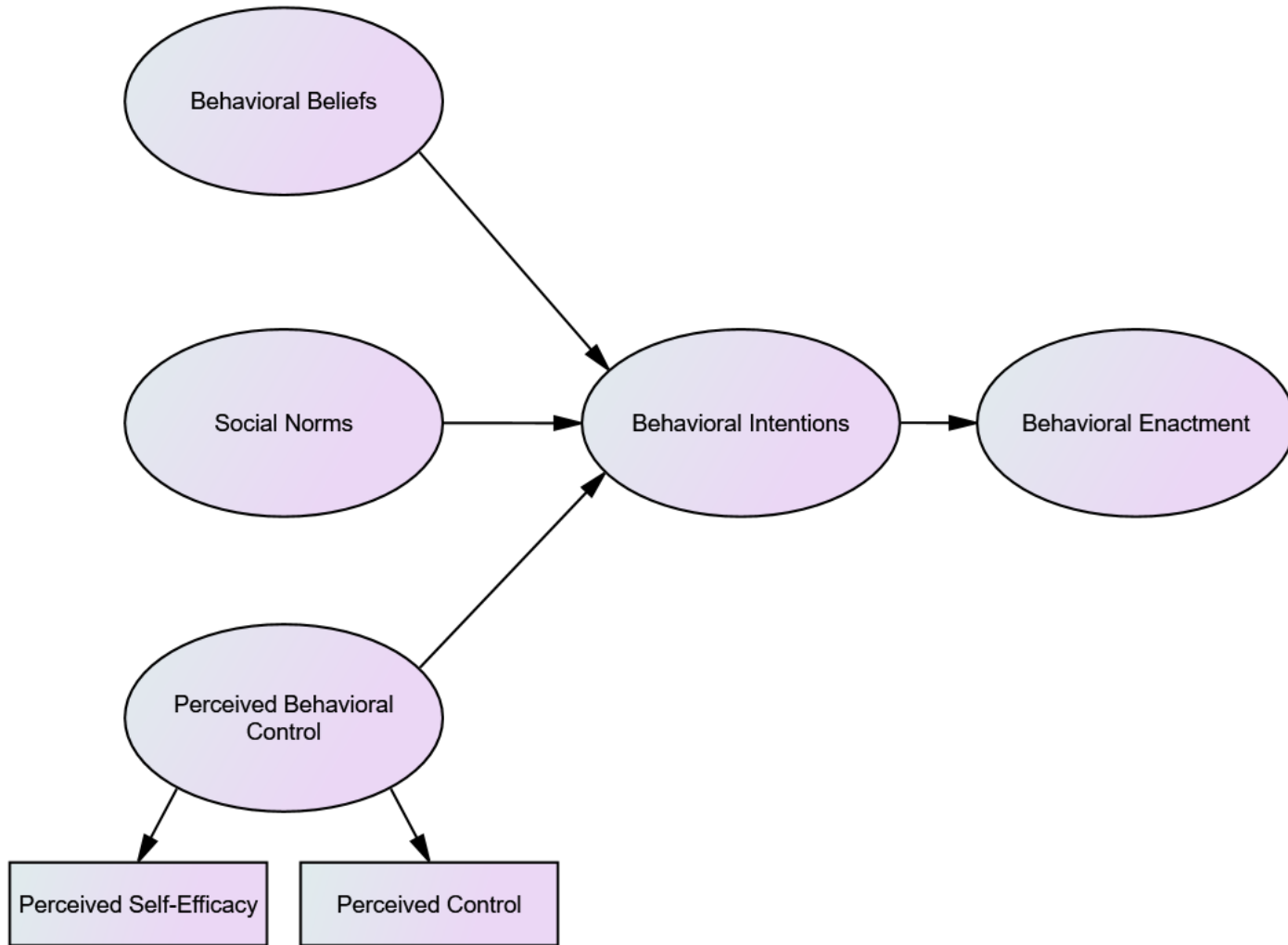


Figure 2. Original structural model

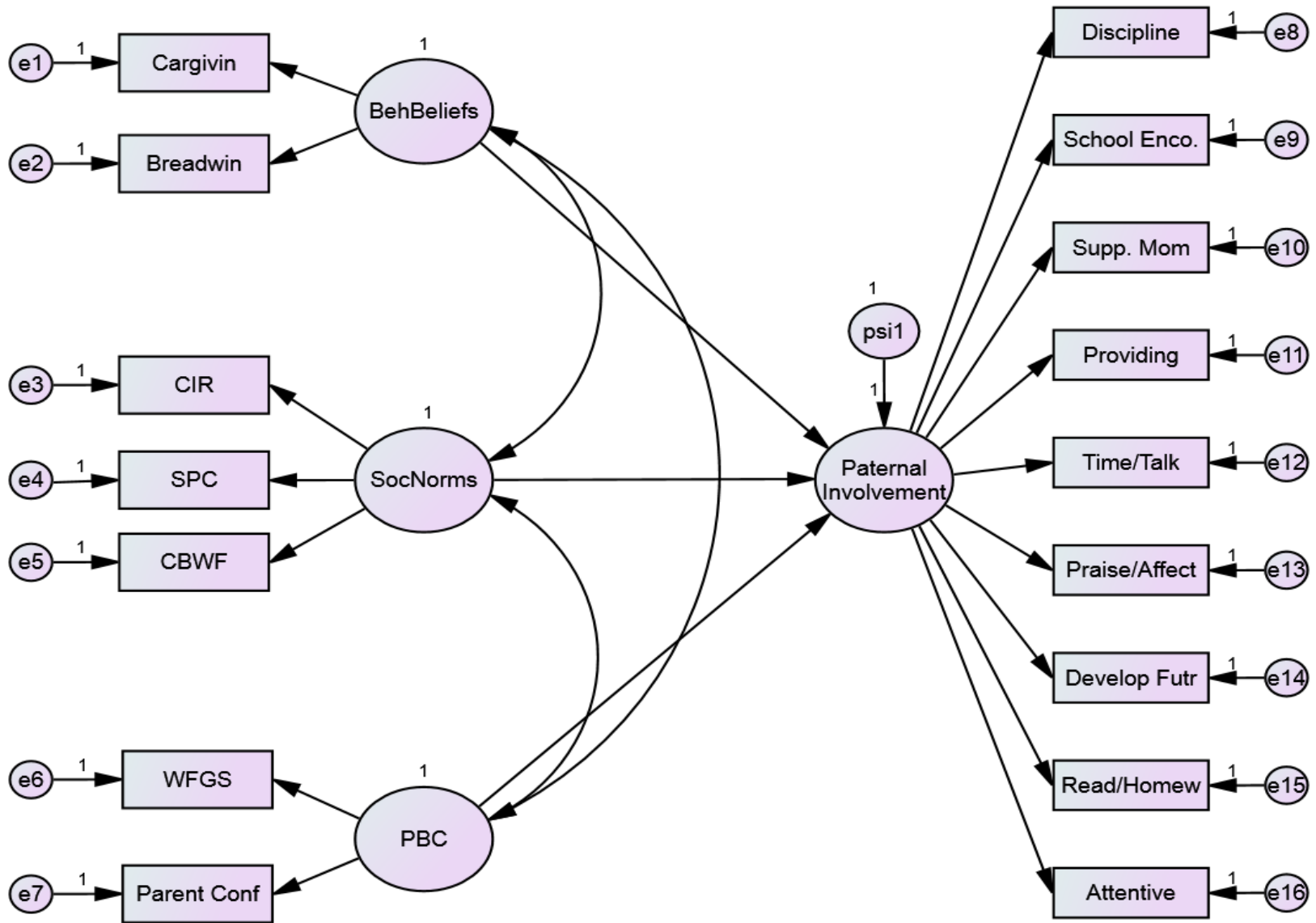


Figure 3. Original measurement model

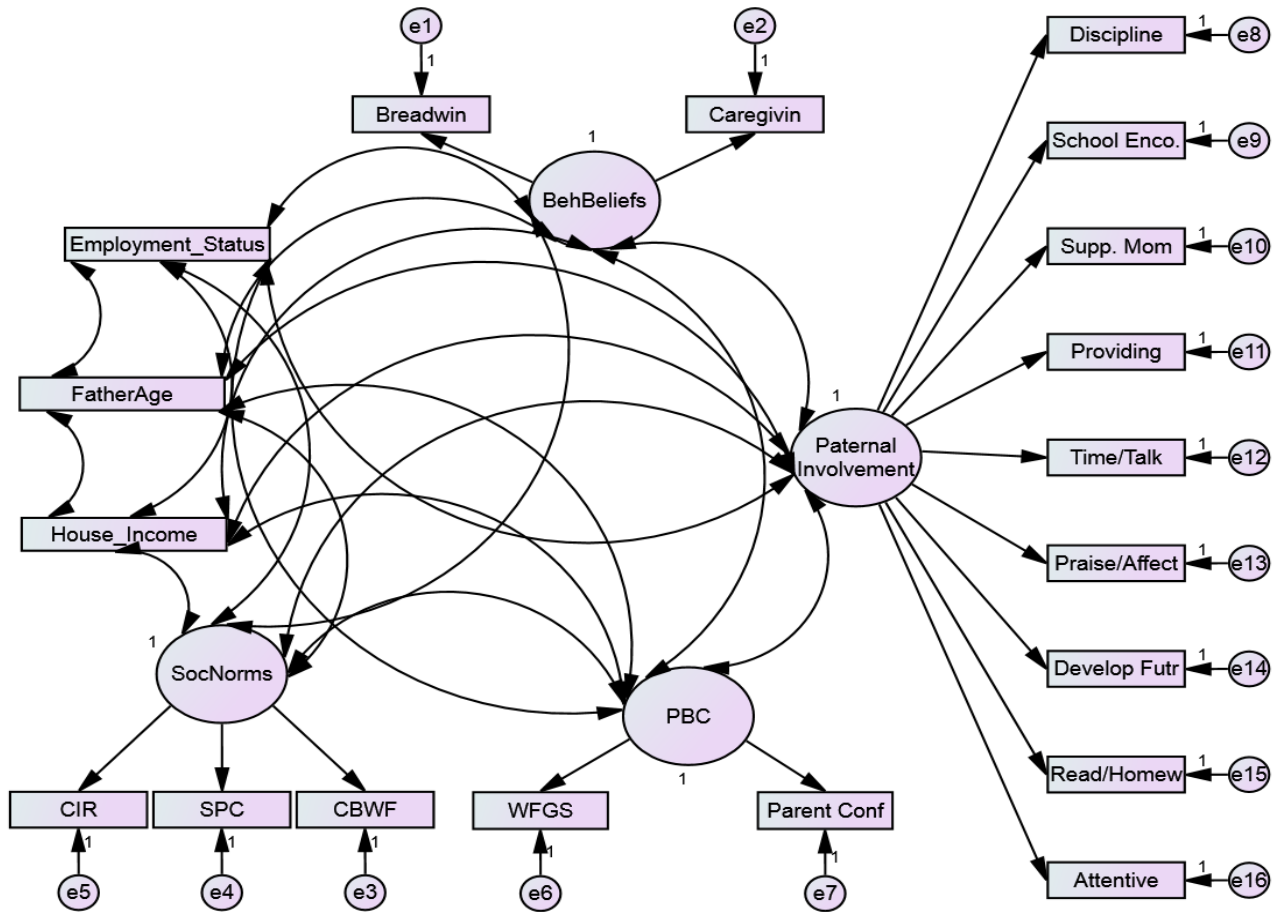


Figure 4. Modified measurement model.

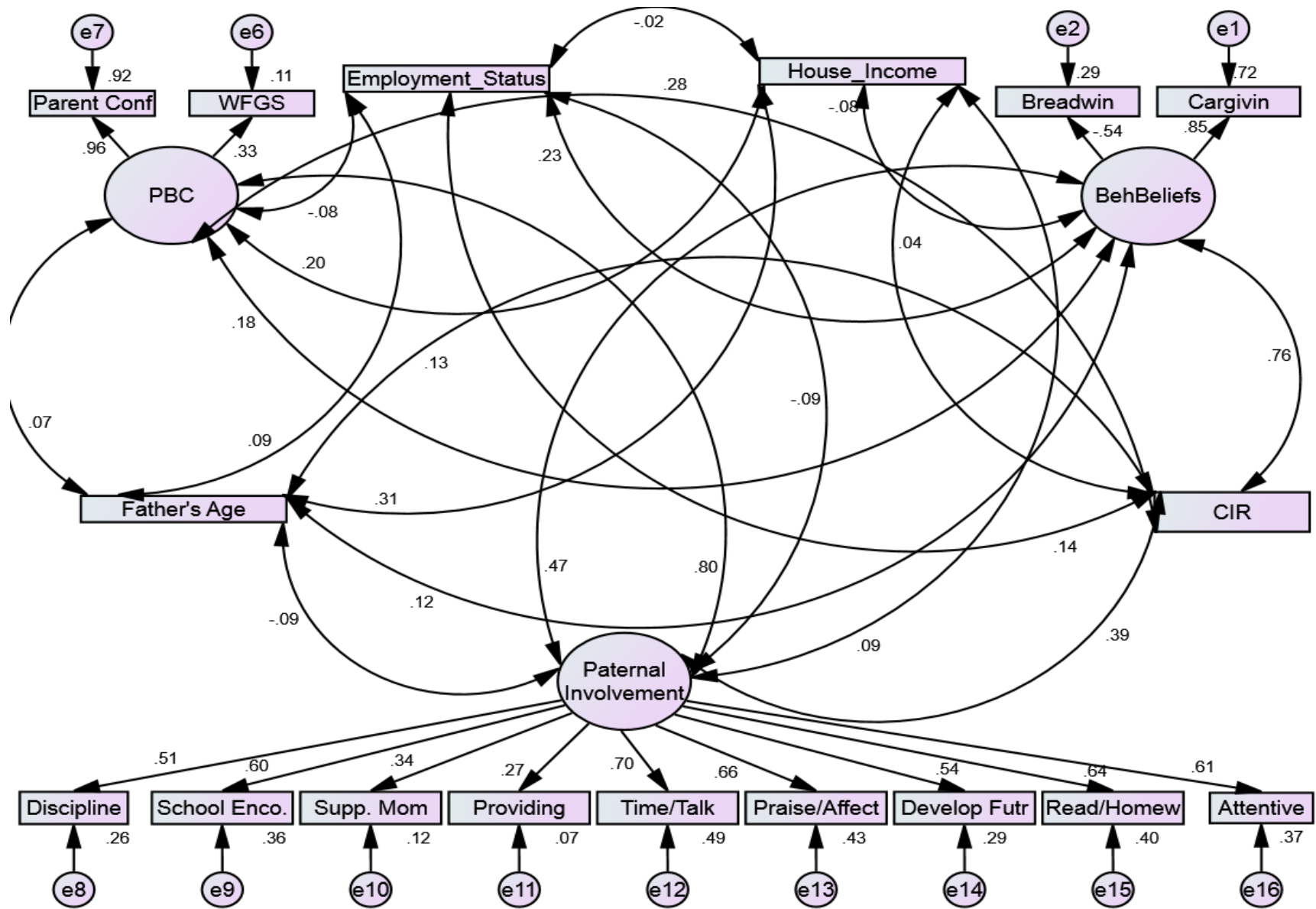


Figure 5. Modified structural model

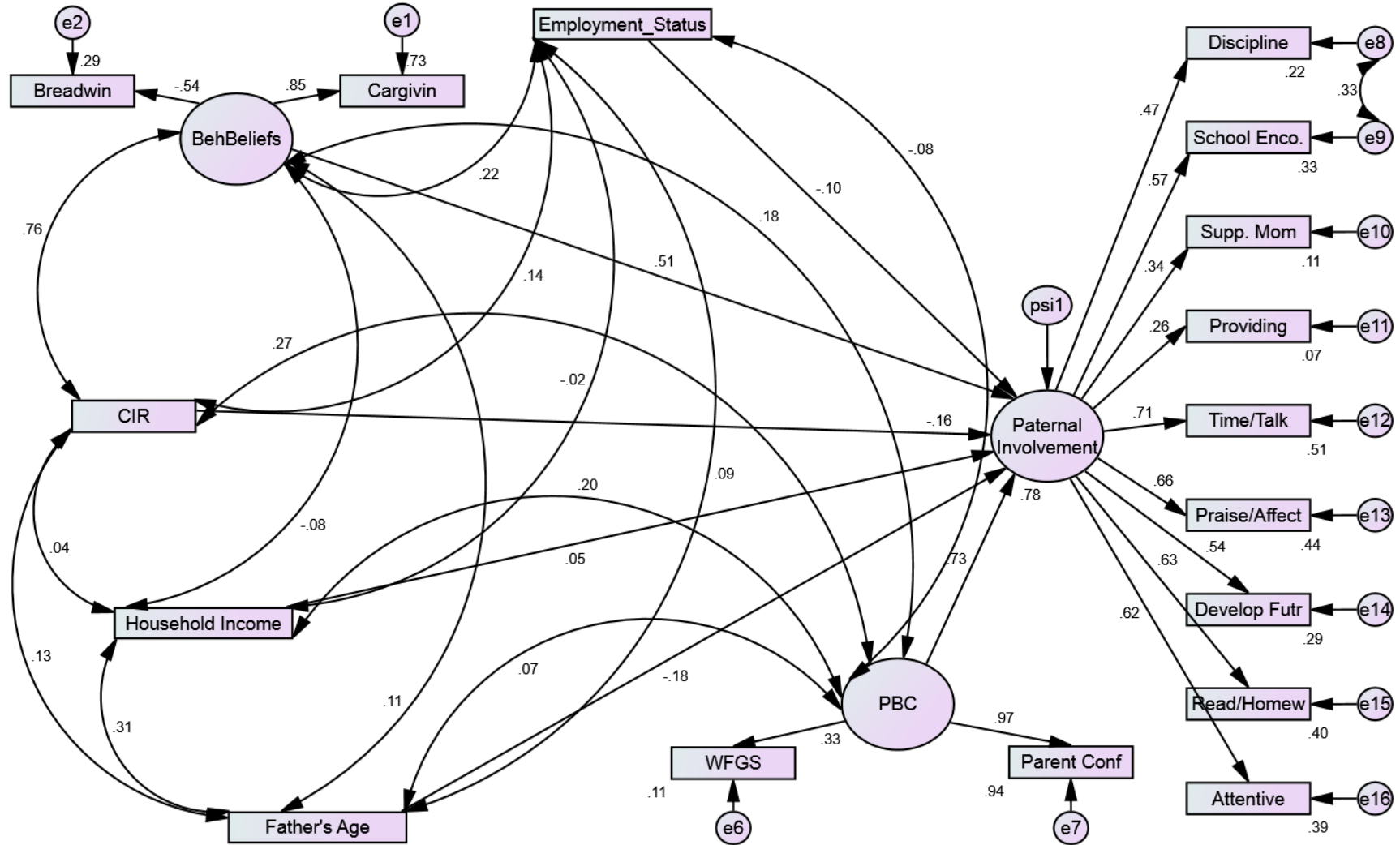


Figure 6. Modified structural model for men with at least one son

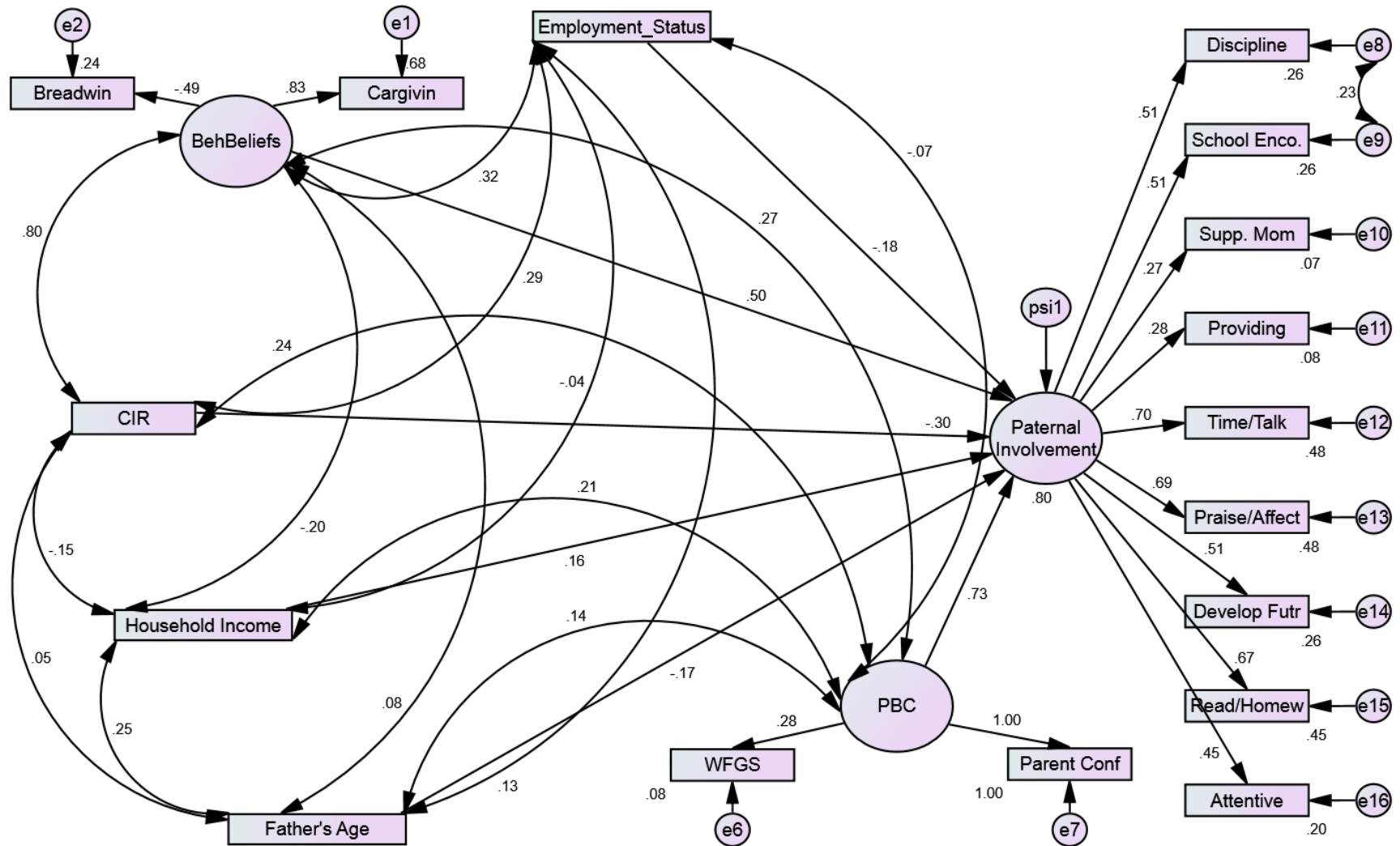


Figure 7. Modified structural model for men with only daughters

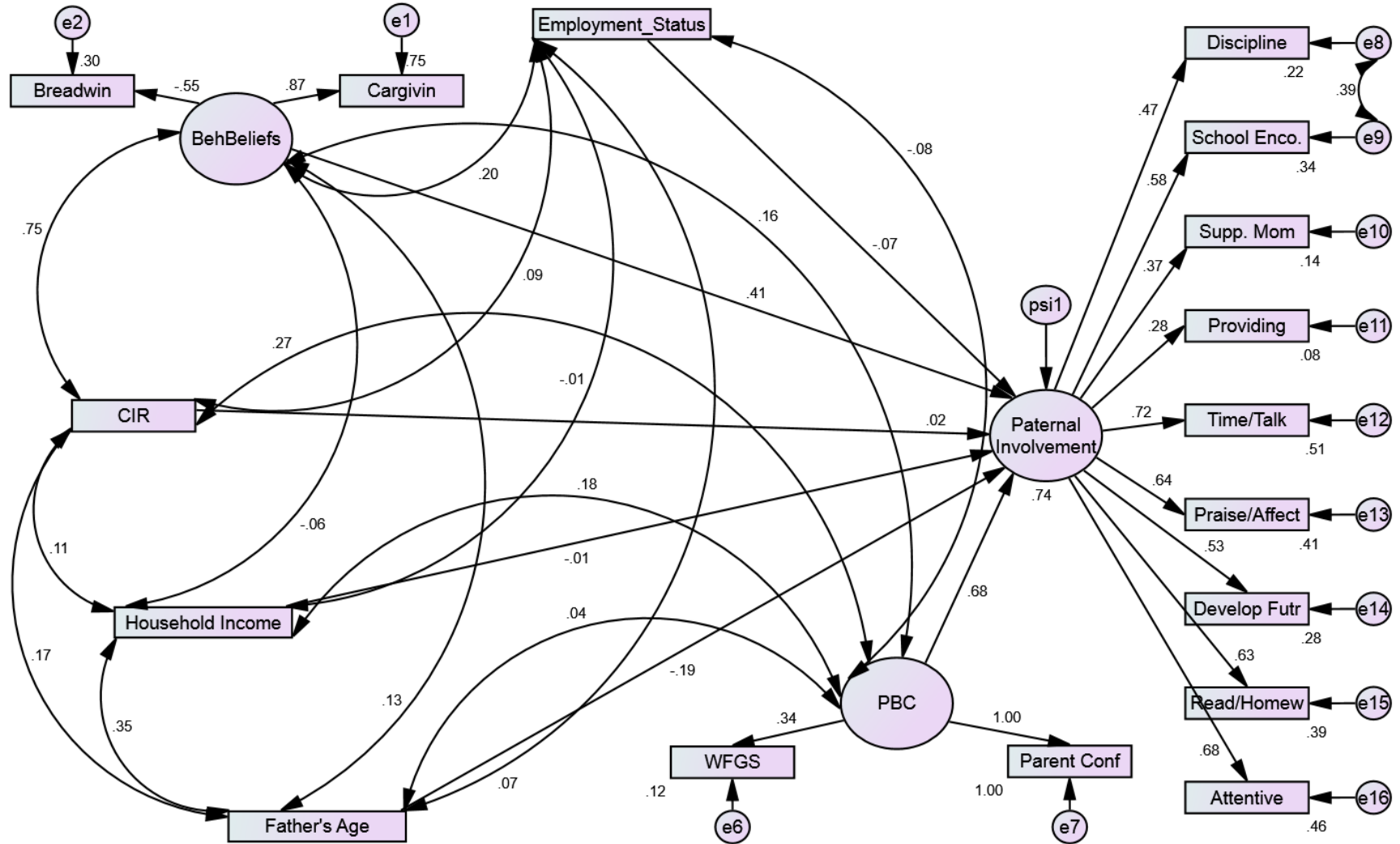


Table 1
Demographic Data

	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	Percentage
Gender Identity			
- Male			99.6%
- Female			.400%
Age	37.2 (5.49)	31	
Employment Status			
- Full Time			85.5%
- Other			14.5%
Racial Status			
- White			91.0%
- African American/Black			.400%
- Asian/Asian American			2.00%
- Hispanic/Latino/a			4.30%
- Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander			.400%
- Biracial/Multiracial			2.00%
Current Relational Status			
- Married			94.5%
- Cohabitate			5.50%
Number of Children	2.13 (.887)	4	
- One			22.3%
- Two			52.0%
- Three			18.4%
- Four			5.50%

- Five	2.00%
Have at Least One Son	71.5%
Biological Relation to Children	
- Yes	94.1%
- No	3.10%
Education	
- Some High School or Below	2.30%
- High School Diploma or G.E.D.	5.50%
- Some College	14.8%
- Associates Degree	12.9%
- Bachelors Degree	38.3%
- Masters Degree	17.2%
- Doctoral Degree	9.00%
Annual Household Income	
- \$0 - \$20,000	.400%
- \$20,001 - \$75,000	25.0%
- \$75,001 - \$150,000	50.0%
- \$150,001 - \$230,000	18.4%
- Over \$230,000	6.3%

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Range for Scores on Observed Variables

Measure	M	SD	Range
1. Discipline	5.40	.885	4.67
2. School Enco.	5.79	.925	4.67
3. Supp. Mom	5.90	1.11	6.00
4. Providing	6.71	.564	3.50
5. Time/Talk	5.67	.900	5.00
6. Praise/Affect	6.31	.715	3.67
7. Develop Futr	5.72	.894	4.33
8. Read/Homew	6.01	.875	5.33
9. Attentive	6.05	.860	5.33
10. WFGS	.712	.998	4.92
11. Parent Conf	7.19	.890	5.15
12. CBWF	13.5	4.73	20.0
13. SPC	13.6	4.85	20.0
14. CIR	3.30	.476	2.79
15. Breadwin	3.14	.530	2.93
16. Caregivi	3.59	.454	3.40

Note. Discipline = Discipline and Teaching Responsibility; School Enco. = School Encouragement, Supp. Mom = Mother Support; Time/Talk = Time and Talking Together; Praise/Affect = Praise and Affection; Develop Futr = Developing Talents and Future Concerns; Read/Homew = Reading and Homework Support; Attentive = Attentiveness; WFGS = Work Family Gains and Strains; Parent Conf = Parenting Confidence; CBWF = Conflict Between Work and Family; SPC = Success/Power/Competition; CIR = Caregiving Perceived Reflected Appraisals; Breadwin = Breadwinning Identity; Caregivi = Caregiving Identity

Table 3
Intercorrelations for Scores on Observed Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Discipline	-															
2. School Enco.	.506**	-														
3. Supp. Mom	.235**	.249**	-													
4. Providing	.160**	.137*	.074	-												
5. Time/Talk	.291**	.319**	.210**	.231*	-											
6. Praise/Affect	.304**	.390**	.243**	.285**	.520**	-										
7. Develop Futr	.212**	.359**	.215**	.109	.324**	.336**	-									
8. Read/Homew	.300**	.439**	.254**	.212**	.463**	.420**	.357**	-								
9. Attentive	.173**	.348**	.266**	.074	.447**	.402**	.386**	.312**	-							
10. WFGS	.187**	.194**	.110	.133*	.095	.103	.124*	.071	.180**	-						
11. Parent Conf	.498**	.412**	.207**	.236**	.545**	.467**	.456**	.483**	.450**	.320**	-					
12. CBWF	.191**	.177**	.073	-.042	.132*	.075	.096	.148*	.287**	.546**	.356**	-				
13. SPC	.004	.125*	.120	-.115	.135*	.041	-.010	.076	.206**	-.031	.121*	.212**	-			
14. CIR	.101	.261**	.131*	-.142*	.298**	.215**	.152*	.252**	.400**	.104	.266**	.269**	.287**	-		
15. Breadwin	-.018	-.098*	-.048	.270**	-.129*	-.039	-.061	-.111	-.119*	.182**	.030	-.188**	-.315**	-.377**	-	
16. Caregivi	.078	.253**	.106	-.107	.380**	.249**	.185**	.215**	.475**	-.020	.185**	.243**	.318**	.653**	-.459**	-

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed. ** $p < .01$, two-tailed. α = Cronbach's alpha. Discipline = Discipline and Teaching Responsibility; School Enco. = School Encouragement, Supp. Mom = Mother Support; Time/Talk = Time and Talking Together; Praise/Affect = Praise and Affection; Develop Futr = Developing Talents and Future Concerns; Read/Homew = Reading and Homework Support; Attentive = Attentiveness; WFGS = Work Family Gains and Strains; Parent Conf = Parenting Confidence; CBWF = Conflict Between Work and Family; SPC = Success/Power/Competition; CIR = Caregiving Perceived Reflected Appraisals; Breadwin = Breadwinning Identity; Caregivi = Caregiving Identity

Table 4
Analysis of variance for demographic variables

Measure	SS	df	F	Error SS	Error df
Oldest Child					
1. CI	.996	7	.711	49.6	248
2. BI	1.42	7	.627	80.2	248
3. CIR	.406	7	.254	56.6	248
4. CBWF	154	7	22.0	5520	248
5. SPC	126	7	.776	5770	248
6. FSES	3.93	7	.696	200	248
7. WFGS	2.02	7	.280	255	248
8. Discipline	3.30	7	.616	190	248
9. School Enco	3.16	7	.533	210	248
10. Providing	2.21	7	.988	79.4	248
11. Supp. Mom	4.93	7	.577	303	248
12. Time/Talk	3.21	7	.538	211	248
13. Praise/Affect	4.99	7	1.40	127	248
14. Develop Futr	8.71	7	1.57	196	248

15. Read/Homew	8.34	7	1.55	190	248
16. Attentive	3.14	7	.588	189	248
Employment Status					
1. CI	1.08*	1	5.53	49.5	254
2. BI	7.78***	1	26.7	73.9	254
3. CIR	1.15*	1	5.23	55.8	254
4. CBWF	10.7	1	.481	5660	254
5. SPC	26.0	1	1.13	5870	254
6. FSES	1.25	1	1.57	202	254
7. WFGS	2.83	1	2.82	255	254
8. Discipline	1.11	1	1.47	192	254
9. School Enco	.502	1	.599	213	254
10. Providing	10.5***	1	.024	308	254
11. Supp. Mom	.029	1	37.5	71.1	254
12. Time/Talk	.092	1	.109	214	254
13. Praise/Affect	.904	1	1.76	131	254

14. Develop Futr	.229	1	.283	205	254
15. Read/Homew	.358	1	.459	198	254
16. Attentive	.005	1	.007	192	254
House Income					
1. CI	.268	3	.448	50.3	252
2. BI	.373	3	.385	81.3	252
3. CIR	.201	3	.297	56.8	252
4. CBWF	263**	3	4.08	5410	252
5. SPC	209*	3	3.08	5680	252
6. FSES	8.90*	3	3.84	195	252
7. WFGS	8.85*	3	2.99	248	252
8. Discipline	1.15	3	.677	191	252
9. School Enco	3.34	3	1.34	210	252
10. Providing	7.02***	3	7.91	75.6	252
11. Supp. Mom	.373	3	.102	307	252
12. Time/Talk	1.98	3	.784	212	252

13. Praise/Affect	1.17	3	.752	130	252
14. Develop Futr	9.72**	3	4.18	195	252
15. Read/Homew	2.64	3	1.13	196	252
16. Attentive	.393	3	.172	192	252
Education					
1. CI	.134	5	.133	50.4	250
2. BI	1.14	5	.709	80.5	250
3. CIR	.726	5	.645	56.3	250
4. CBWF	72.0	5	.643	5600	250
5. SPC	97.4	5	.840	5800	250
6. FSES	2.29	5	.457	201	250
7. WFGS	3.39	5	.668	254	250
8. Discipline	.922	5	.240	192	250
9. School Enco	.294	5	.069	213	250
10. Providing	3.11	5	1.98	78.46	250
11. Supp. Mom	.424	5	.069	307	250

12. Time/Talk	1.78	5	.418	213	250
13. Praise/Affect	1.94	5	.748	130	250
14. Develop Futr	9.39**	5	2.40	196	250
15. Read/Homew	4.89	5	1.26	194	250
16. Attentive	3.45	5	.913	189	250

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed. ** $p < .01$, two-tailed. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed. Discipline = Discipline and Teaching Responsibility; School Enco. = School Encouragement, Supp. Mom = Mother Support; Time/Talk = Time and Talking Together; Praise/Affect = Praise and Affection; Develop Futr = Developing Talents and Future Concerns; Read/Homew = Reading and Homework Support; Attentive = Attentiveness; WFGS = Work Family Gains and Strains; Parent Conf = Parenting Confidence; CBWF = Conflict Between Work and Family; SPC = Success/Power/Competition; CIR = Caregiving Perceived Reflected Appraisals; Breadwin = Breadwinning Identity; Caregivi = Caregiving Identity

Table 5
Correlation of Father's Age to Observed Variable

Measure	Participant Age
1. CI	.065
2. BI	-.195**
3. CIR	.126*
4. CBWF	.163**
5. SPC	.120
6. FSES	.064
7. WFGS	.037
8. Discipline	-.032
9. School Enco	-.083
10. Providing	-.032
11. Supp. Mom	-.033
12. Time/Talk	-.051
13. Praise/Affect	-.125*
14. Develop Futr	.045
15. Read/Homew	-.109

16. Attentive

.011

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed. ** $p < .01$, two-tailed. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed. Discipline = Discipline and Teaching Responsibility; School Enco. = School Encouragement, Supp. Mom = Mother Support; Time/Talk = Time and Talking Together; Praise/Affect = Praise and Affection; Develop Futr = Developing Talents and Future Concerns; Read/Homew = Reading and Homework Support; Attentive = Attentiveness; WFGS = Work Family Gains and Strains; Parent Conf = Parenting Confidence; CBWF = Conflict Between Work and Family; SPC = Success/Power/Competition; CIR = Caregiving Perceived Reflected Appraisals; Breadwin = Breadwinning Identity; Caregivi = Caregiving Identity

Appendix A.

Caregiving and breadwinning identity and reflected-appraisal inventory (CBIRAI)

Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001

Used with Permission.

This questionnaire investigates parents' views about their roles, and their partners' roles, as parents. We are particularly interested in the potential parental roles of caregiver, and how individual parents see themselves in these roles.

In this questionnaire, we use the term "spouse" to refer to a parent's partner (or co-parent). If you are not married, but are in a committed relationship with a partner who is like a parent to your child, read the term "spouse" as "partner" instead.

Further, if you or your spouse are not the biological parent of your child, but you nonetheless see yourselves as that child's parents, we recognize you as the child's parents.

Read the term "child" to mean your oldest child. For example, if you have three children who are ages 10, 6, and 2, you would think about the child who is 10.

Most of the items in this questionnaire will have five answers to choose from. There are no right or wrong answers. For most items, you answer by indicating how much you agree or disagree with a statement. Below is a sample item:

1. I like chocolate ice cream.

SD D N A SA

(SD=Strongly Disagree D=Disagree N=Neutral A=Agree SA=Strongly Agree)

If you really like chocolate ice cream, you would circle "SA" to Strongly Agree.

CBIRAI

All areas of parenting may not be equally important to different parents. The following sections concern attitudes about parents' caregiving for young children.

By caregiving, we mean activities that involve the physical care of young children, such as feeding, bathing, cleaning cuts and scrapes, putting the child to bed at night, etc. In this questionnaire, the words "caregiving," "caregiver," "care," "physically caring," and "physical needs" all refer to this definition.

In this section, we would like you to indicate how strongly YOU agree or disagree with each statement.

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See original article for the scale text**

All areas of parenting may not be equally important to different parents. The following three sections concern attitudes about breadwinning.

By “breadwinning,” we mean earning money to support your family. In this questionnaire, the words “financial provider,” “financially provide/providing,” “meet the financial expenses/needs,” “work/occupation,” and “contribute money” refer to this definition.

In this section, we would like you to indicate how strongly YOU agree or disagree with each statement.

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Appendix B.

Gender Role Conflict Scale

Used with Permission (Copyright)

Instructions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number that most closely represents the degree that you Agree or Disagree with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement; your own reaction is what is asked for.

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Appendix D.

Work-Family Strains and Gains Scales

(Marshall & Barnett, 1993)

Used with Permission.

We'd like you to think about all the things that you do at work and at home. The first set of items are things people have said about the difficulties of combining work and family. To what extent, if at all, is each of the following items true for you?

- 1 – Not at all true
- 2 – Somewhat true
- 3 – Fairly True
- 4 – Very True

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Appendix E.

Inventory of Father Involvement (IFI)

(Hawkins et al., 2002)

Used with permission.

Instructions

Think of your future experience as a father in the next 12 months. Please rate how good a job you think you will do as a father on each of the items listed below.

(Response choices were 0 through 6, with 0 anchored by “Very Poor” and 6 anchored by “Excellent.”)

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Appendix F

Validity Items

1. Please select the number “2” now.
2. Please select the number “4” now.
3. Please select the number “1” now.
4. Please select the number “3” now.

Appendix G.

Demographic Survey

Age: _____ Gender: _____

Sex: M F

Race (e.g., non-Hispanic White, Black, Asian): _____

Ethnicity (e.g., Irish, Mexican, Malaysian): _____

Nationality (e.g., American citizen): _____

Highest Level of Education: _____

Family Income: \$0 - \$219,999 \$20,000 to \$74,999 \$75,000 to 149,999
 \$150,000 - \$ 229,999 Over \$230,000

Sexual Orientation: _____

Relational status: Single Married Divorced Widow Separated
 Cohabitate

If married, how many times have you been married? _____

Are you biologically related to your children? Yes No Some

If no, what is your relationship with them? (e.g., step-child, adoption): _____

Number of Sons: _____ Number of Daughters: _____

Age of youngest child: _____ Age of oldest child: _____

In an average week, how many hours are you working at your job/career: _____

Employment Status: Full-Time Part-Time Retired Disabled

How did you learn about this survey? Forum (e.g., Reddit) Other online outlets

Flyer Community support groups Other

If other, where did you learn about this survey? _____

Appendix H.

Informed Consent

Fatherhood: Motivation for Paternal Involvement

You are invited to be in a research study that aims to understand parenting among men and what influences men's involvement as a parent. You were selected as a possible participant because you identified as: (1) heterosexual, (2) not single or widowed, (3) and living with your oldest child between the ages of 5 to 12 years of age. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by: David Nguyen, Department of Education and Human Services, Lehigh University, under the direction of Dr. Christopher Liang, Department of Education and Human Services, Lehigh University.

Background Information

The purpose of the current study is to explore and to understand what specific factors motivates non-single or widowed heterosexual men to engage in child care. Because men are becoming more involved in childcare and have positive effects on child development, research is needed to explore why men become involved with their children. Specifically, the current study aims to whether men's confidence in their parenting behaviors, their resources, their spousal support, their attitudes towards fatherhood, or societal pressures influence men's intentions to engage in parenting behaviors. In addition, the study will also examine whether certain demographic factors creates differences regarding how these factors influence men's intentions.

Procedures

If you agree to be in this study, we would ask you to answer a survey with a series of different questions. The survey is approximated to take between 20 to 30 minutes. Participation is voluntary so you may terminate the survey at any time by exiting the browser if conducted online or not returning the survey packet to the researchers. You will be prompted once on each page of the survey, if completed online, should a question be left unanswered. However, you may choose to skip the question by clicking the button to the next page again.

Any identifiable information will be kept confidential. All research records will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law. Consent will be kept for 5 years and only the researchers will have access to the original collected data.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

Although this study contains no foreseeable risks, it is possible that you may feel distressed from answering questions related to yourself and your family. In particular, you may experience distressing emotions due to you recalling distressful memories. Due to the length of the survey, you may experience boredom, fatigue, or physical strain. However, your participation in this

research study is completely voluntary so you may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without penalty. In addition, you are welcome to answer questions as you feel comfortable. You are also invited to ask any questions regarding this research study, including any possible discomfort that you may experience as you take the survey.

There are many possible benefits from participating in this research. Information gathered from your interview may be used for research publications or training purposes. Thus, counselors, psychologists, researchers, and health professionals may gain greater insight into how men are motivated to intend to engage in child care and in what ways can preventions or interventions be established to support such behaviors.

Compensation

You will not receive any direct monetary compensation. However, as a participant of the research study, you will have the opportunity to designate one U.S. dollar (\$1.00) to be donated by the researchers to a charity that support children or a charity that support men's involvement in childcare. The designation option will appear at the end of this survey and will not be linked with your survey responses.

Confidentiality

The records of this study will be kept confidential and any information collected through this research project that personally identifies you will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without your separate consent, except as specifically required by law. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers will have access to the records.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

Participation in this study is voluntary:

Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the Lehigh University. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships. You will be prompted once on each page of the survey, if completed online, should a question be left unanswered. However, you may choose to skip the question by clicking the button to the next page again.

Contacts and Questions

The researchers conducting this study are: David Nguyen and Dr. Christopher Liang. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact David Nguyen at dan313@lehigh.edu, 617 653 -8102 or Dr. Christopher Liang: ctl212@lehigh.edu, 610-758- 3252. Mail correspondence can be sent to: David Nguyen, 111 Research Drive, B103, Bethlehem, PA 18015.

Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), you are encouraged to contact Naomi Coll of Lehigh University's Office of Research Integrity at (610) 758-3021 or inors@lehigh.edu. All reports or correspondence will be kept confidential. ***You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records. If taking the survey online, please print this informed consent form now.***

Consent

By clicking on the “>>” button, you acknowledged that you have read and understood the above information, and voluntarily consent to participate in this study. You acknowledged that you had the opportunity to ask questions and had any questions answered. Should you decide to participate in the study, you are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Researchers will not know or record the participants' computer IP address when they participate and/or complete the study. All answers will be kept anonymous.

Click on the “>>” button to continue to the survey.

Appendix I.

Online Recruitment Resources

Reddit

- 1) /r/beyondbaby
- 2) /r/atheistparents
- 3) /r/realmascularity
- 4) /r/manprovement
- 5) /r/egalitarianism
- 6) /r/100BlackMen
- 7) /r/AskMenAdvice
- 8) /r/AskParents
- 9) /r/RBNstudies
- 10) /r/Hispanic
- 11) /r/RealCatholicMen
- 12) /r/samplesize
- 13) /r/BeardAdvice
- 14) /r/MalePolish
- 15) /r/Realmenproblems
- 16) /r/internetparents
- 17) /r/MRActivism
- 18) /r/FathersRights
- 19) /r/feminismformen
- 20) /r/dysfunctionalfamily
- 21) /r/CatholicParenting
- 22) /r/MGTOW
- 23) /r/DadBloggers
- 24) /r/fathers4equality
- 25) /r/DadBeards
- 26) /r/MensMinistries
- 27) /r/DadsThatGame
- 28) /r/justmanlythings
- 29) /r/RBNSpouses
- 30) /r/lodads
- 31) /r/FierceFlow
- 32) /r/marriedredpill
- 33) /r/redpillfatherhood
- 34) /r/MensLib
- 35) /r/predaddit
- 36) /r/masculism
- 37) /r/renaissanceman
- 38) /r/YogaForMen
- 39) /r/shortmen
- 40) /r/raisingkids

- 41) /r/Latino
- 42) /r/Gentleman
- 43) /r/homeschool
- 44) /r/RedditDads
- 45) /r/ScienceParents
- 46) /r/dad
- 47) /r/Blackfellas
- 48) /r/OneY
- 49) /r/Mens_Health
- 50) /r/BrDaPublic
- 51) /r/AttachmentParentings
- 52) /r/stepparents
- 53) /r/parentsofmultiples
- 54) /r/radicalparenting
- 55) /r/SpecialNeedsChildren
- 56) /r/AsianMasculinity
- 57) /r/Fatherhood
- 58) /r/malelifestyle
- 59) /r/AskMen2
- 60) /r/Daddit
- 61) /r/TrueGentlemen
- 62) /r/family
- 63) /r/artofmanliness
- 64) /r/everymanshouldknow
- 65) /r/manbuns

Forums

- 1) <https://dads.supportgroups.com/>
- 2) Soloparentsnetwork.org

Facebook

- 1) The Fatherhood Coalition
- 2) Iowa Fathers
- 3) Fathers Resources International

Twitter

- 1) Fatherhood USA (@FatherhoodEdu)

Advocacy Groups

- 1) National Parents Organization

David Nguyen

Curriculum Vitae

EDUCATION

Lehigh University (Bethlehem, PA) – APA Accredited
Ph. D., Counseling Psychology, 2018 (Expected date of graduation)
Dissertation: Fatherhood - Intentions of Paternal Involvement (Proposed)
M. Ed., Counseling & Human Services, Spring 2016

Boston College (Boston, MA)
Cum Laude
Bachelor of the Arts Degree; Human Development; Chinese Minor, May 2013
Human Services Focus

Peking University
Studied Chinese business, history, language, and media, 2011

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

Veterans Affairs – Cincinnati Veterans Affairs Medical Center – Psychology Intern
General Mental Health Track
Cincinnati, Ohio
APA Accredited

July 2017 –
Present

Major Rotation: Substance Abuse Recovery and Rehabilitation Treatment Program (SARRTP)
Supervisors: Octaviana Hemmy Asamsama, Psy.D., DrPh; Teri Bolte, Ph.D

- Lead and co-lead therapy groups, such as DBT and process, with Veterans diagnosed with substance use
- Provide time-limited individual psychotherapy to Veterans using MI, MET, MBRP, and ACT
- Attend daily interdisciplinary team meetings focused on creating treatment plans and addressing milieu issues
- Evaluate an ongoing outpatient group focused on providing Veterans parenting knowledge and skills
- Participate in didactics focus on various topics, such as pharmacotherapy

Major Rotation: Primary Care – Mental Health Integration (PC-MHI)
Supervisors: Mindy Sefferino Psy.D; Nancy Nagel Psy.D; Chris Meshot, Ph.D; Shari Altum, PhD

- Will attend and collaborate with Patient-Aligned Care Team (PACT) to provide integrated care to Veterans
- Will participate in staff meetings and program development
- Will conduct complete psychosocial evaluations for medical procedures (e.g., liver, bone marrow, heart)
- Will consult with medical staff through comprehensive assessments and reports

Minor Rotation: Dialectical Behavioral Therapy (DBT)
Supervisors: Angela Volz, Ph.D; Mary Hagerty-Bruns, Ph.D

- Co-facilitate DBT groups focused on teaching DBT skills to Veterans with severe personality disorders
- Conduct weekly individual DBT skills training psychotherapy with a Veteran possessing a shouting tic
- Coordinate Veterans' care and treatment in weekly meetings with an interdisciplinary DBT team
- Assess and determine different Veterans' needs and proper diagnosis during psychodiagnostic intakes

Other Clinical Experience: Psychotherapy Clinic & Long-Term Outpatient
Supervisor: Janell Giannitelli, Psy.D; Constance Boehner, Ph.D

- Meet with three Veterans for weekly long-term individual therapy presenting with different disorders
- Conduct intake sessions to assess and determine Veterans symptoms, diagnosis, and treatment needs
- Create collaboratively with Veterans their treatment plans with goals that they want to achieve
- Consult with other health providers to clarify Veteran's diagnosis using different personality measures

University Health Services, Inc. – Friend’s Hospital – Psychology Extern
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

May 2016 –
June 2017

APA Accredited

Units: Older Adult, Recovery Program, General Adult, Adolescent

Supervisor: Petra Kottsieper, Ph. D.

- Applied recovery-oriented, trauma-informed, and empirically supported treatments in an acute care setting
- Facilitated four to six group therapies with 12 to 24 clients weekly using ACT, CBT, DBT, and Seeking Safety
- Conducted individual and milieu therapies and crisis interventions with individual clients as needed
- Collaborated with multidisciplinary treatment teams to coordinate clients’ care and treatment plan
- Treated different co-occurring health presentations, including serious mental illness and substance abuse
- Provided psychoeducation on psychotropic and pain medication management and smoking cessation

Good Shepherd Rehabilitation – Neuropsychology Group - Psychometrician/Student Intern
Allentown, Pennsylvania

Nov 2014-
Jun 2017

Supervisor: R. Richard Schall, Ph.D; Mary Brownsberger, Psy. D, ABPP

- Trained new psychometricians on conducting a battery of cognitive assessments and other responsibilities
- Conducted a battery of tests assessing for cognitive and neurological deficits among clients
- Maintained rapport with clients to sustain client effort and motivation during testing
- Scored assessments and provide documentation to faculty psychologists for integrative reports
- Observed clinical rounds at an acute hospital for clients on ventilators with multiple medical conditions and TBI
- Wrote integrative assessment reports on a client’s cognitive and psychological functioning

Lehigh University – Counseling and Psychological Services – Practicum Student
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Aug 2015 -
June 2016

APA Accredited

Supervisor: Bethany Detwiler, Ph. D (License #PS018117); Katie Herbster, M. A.

- Maintained a case load of five to six clients for individual therapy
- Conducted alcohol and other drug session with clients mandated by the university to attend
- Served as a process observer for a long-term process group of 10 individuals
- Consulted with athletic teams and organizations related to peak performance training and workshops
- Facilitated different mental health workshops provided to athletics and different school organizations
- Wrote integrative assessment reports on a client’s psychological functioning and career aptitude

Lenape Valley Foundation – Acute Partial Hospital Program – Student Intern
Doylestown, Pennsylvania

May 2015-
Aug 2015

Supervisor: Philip Braun, Ph. D

- Facilitated group therapy on ACT and CBT with clients displaying serious mental illness and substance abuse
- Met with other mental health professionals to discuss treatment plans for clients
- Collaborated with clients towards treatment goals in intake interviews
- Cultivated a safe and supportive milieu for each client’s therapeutic progress
- Saw clients in individual therapy sessions as needed

Kutztown University – Counseling and Psychological Services - Practicum Student
Kutztown, Pennsylvania

Aug 2014-
May 2015

Supervisor: Dr. Russ Gross (License #PS005980L)

- Worked with clients on a variety of presenting concerns and issues
- Participated in outreach programming across the university campus
- Conducted initial consultations, assessing for current needs and risk level

PUBLICATIONS

- Liang, C. T. H., Liu, J., **Nguyen, D.**, & Mello, K. (In press). A Qualitative Study of Intergenerational Cultural Conflicts in Second Generation Chinese and Taiwanese Americans. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*.
- Liang, C. T. H., **Nguyen, D.**, & Song, G. (2017). Asian Americans and Gender. In Nadal, K. (Ed), *The sage encyclopedia of psychology and gender*. Sage.
- Alvarez, A.N., Liang, C. T. H., Molenaar, C., & **Nguyen, D.** (2016). Mediators and Moderators of Racism. In A. N. Alvarez, C. T. H. Liang, & H. Neville (Eds), *The costs of racism for people of color: Contextualizing the costs of racism for people of color*. Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Spokane, A. R., & **Nguyen, D.** (2016). Progress and prospects in the evaluation of career assistance. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 24, 3-25. doi: 10.1177/1069072715579665

PRESENTATIONS

- Nguyen, D.**, & Liang, C. T. H. (August 2018). *Fatherhood: Intentions of paternal involvement*. Poster to be presented at the 2018 APA Convention, San Francisco, California.
- Nguyen, D.**, & Asamsama, O. H. (April 2018). *Parenting and recovery in a sample of Veterans engaged in a substance abuse residential rehabilitation treatment program*. Poster presented at the 2018 University of Cincinnati Neuro Conference.
- Nguyen, D.**, Liang, C. T. H., & Alvarez, A. N. (August 2016). *Looking at both sides: Cultural orientations' and perceived ethnic discrimination's effect on mental health*. Poster presented at the 2016 APAA Convention, Denver, Colorado.
- Nguyen, D.**, Liang, C. T. H., & Alvarez, A. N. (August 2015). *Impact of perceived ethnic discrimination with one's cultural orientations among Chinese American adults*. Poster presented at the 2015 APA Convention, Toronto, Canada.
- Nguyen, D.**, Liang, C. T. H., Song, G., & Alvarez, A. N. (August, 2014). *Chinese cultural orientation domains: Moderators in the relationship between perceived racism and well-being*. Poster presented at the 2014 APA Convention, Washington D. C.

SERVICE TO PROFESSION

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| Reviewer, submissions to annual National Multicultural Conference & Summit | 2016 |
| Program Representative, Student Affiliates of Division Seventeen | 2016 - 2017 |

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| Teaching Assistant, CPS461: Assessment of Intellectual Functioning | Fall 2016 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Trained students to use the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Assessment through role plays• Lectured one class topic on intellectual assessments | |
| Teaching Assistant, CPSY471: Diversity & Multicultural Perspectives | Summer 2015 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Presented a lecture on Men & Masculinity to graduate-level students• Stimulated small group reflective conversations on specific issues of diversity and multiculturalism | |

SUPERVISION EXPERIENCE

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|--|-------------|
| Supervisor Apprentice, CPSY476: Supervision of Counseling | 2015 – 2016 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Supervised master-level clinicians in individual, group, tele-supervision formats in their clinical work• Evaluated the competencies of master-level clinicians in different counseling and ethical domains | |

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE

Graduate Assistant, Multicultural Resource Center, Lehigh University	2014 – 2017
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Planned and hosted a variety of events and programs related to diversity and multiculturalism• Collaborated with other collegiate offices and community organizations on different initiatives• Organized and led monthly meetings for a committee of ten representatives• Maintained a budget of \$25,000 for programs, grants, and salary• Created a representative manual listing the structural components of the COE Diversity Committee	

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Student Representative, Council for Equity and Community, Lehigh University	2014 – 2016
Student Representative, Commission on Residential Environment, Lehigh University	2014 – 2015
Committee Member, Percy Hughes Award Committee, Lehigh University	2014, 2015
Student Representative, Diversity Committee, Lehigh University	2013 – 2014
Student Senator, Graduate Student Senate, Lehigh University	2013 – 2014

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Student Affiliate, American Psychological Association
Student Affiliate, Pennsylvania Psychological Association
Student Affiliate, New York Psychological Association
Student Affiliate, Asian American Psychological Association

HONORS & AWARDS

Pennsylvania Psychological Foundation's Education Award, based on academic achievement, \$2000	2015, 2016
Who's Who Program Honoree, based on academic achievement	2012
Sr. Thea Bowman Scholar, based on academic achievement	2012
Freeman Award for Study in Asia, based on service project proposal	2011
Benjamin A. Gilman International Scholarship, based on service project proposal	2011