

The “New Father” Between Ideals and Practices: New Masculinity Ideology, Gender Role Attitudes, and Fathers’ Involvement in Childcare

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ABSTRACT

Current research demonstrates a gap between widely shared ideals of new fatherhood and men’s limited participation in childcare. Previous studies treat gender attitudes primarily in terms of work and family roles. In contrast, this study centers on perceptions of masculinity as a broader cultural-ideological construct. Specifically, it focuses on “new masculinity ideology,” a previously unexplored masculinity perspective associated with values such as authenticity, emotional expressivity, and holistic self-awareness. Using a sample of around 1,400 employed fathers in the United States drawn from the AmeriSpeak Panel conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, we examined how identification with new masculinity relates to gender role attitudes and three childcare involvement outcomes. Results from moderation analyses based on the computation of simple slopes show that new masculinity played an important role in emotional engagement and parental responsibility but not in routine care. New masculinity moderated the association between father involvement attitudes and childcare outcomes, suggesting that fathers who endorse this ideology are more likely to act in ways that are congruent with their inner beliefs. The breadwinning role appeared to remain important. This study highlights the ways in which the often confounded images of the “new man” and “new father” are conceptually distinct.

KEYWORDS: childcare; father involvement; gender role attitudes; masculinity; new masculinity.

Consistent with the idea of the unfinished revolution ([Gerson 2010](#)), it is increasingly recognized that changes in men’s attitudes and behaviors is key to promoting gender equality in work and family life. Research has shown that men’s gender attitudes have become more egalitarian ([Cotter,](#)

We gratefully acknowledge the generous support from the Israel Science Foundation (Grant 1233/15). An earlier version of this study was presented at the international symposium “Involved Fatherhood and the Work-Family Interface: Attitudes, Barriers, and Incentives for Promoting Gender Equality” held at Bar-Ilan University in May 2019. We wish to thank the participants for their support of this project. We are also thankful for the four anonymous reviewers and *Social Problems* editors for their extremely helpful comments. Finally, we thank Or Anabi for his help with developing this project and Limor Gabay-Egozy for assistance with statistical issues.

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Hermesen, and Vanneman 2011; Shu and Meagher 2017) and that their involvement in childcare has increased in recent decades (Hook 2006; Sayer 2016). Despite these changes, however, childcare is still disproportionately provided by women. It appears that fathers' normative stands toward greater gender equality have changed more rapidly than their actual involvement at home (Gerson 2010). This lag echoes the idea of the uneven changes that have occurred in gender ideologies and social structures (Hochschild 1989).

Against this backdrop, scholars have made great efforts to explain father involvement and identify the factors that facilitate or inhibit it. Previous research has mainly focused on the sociodemographic, familial, and work characteristics associated with fathers' caregiving practices (e.g., Norman, Elliot, and Fagan 2014; Roeters, Van Der Lippe, and Kluwer 2010). Several studies have also addressed gender role attitudes, often termed "gender ideology," but they provided mixed results (Barnett and Baruch 1987; Bulanda 2004; Gaunt 2019; Marsiglio 1991). Consistent with Doucet's (2013) claim that most research on fatherhood "generally falls under the rubric of gender divisions of labor" (p. 300), most of these studies have examined fathers' involvement in childcare by comparing the experiences of men to those of women. In this study we take a different analytic approach, one that puts men on center stage and focuses on perceptions of masculinity as a broader cultural and ideological construct beyond work and family roles. Several studies that have explored the association between fathering and dominant views of masculinity, commonly referred to as traditional masculinity ideology, found the traditional views to be a major barrier to father involvement (Bonney, Kelley, and Levant 1999; Petts, Shafer, and Essig 2018). These studies, however, have not addressed potential changes in masculinity norms. One of our main goals is, therefore, to examine how emerging norms of new masculinity ideology relate to fathers' involvement in childcare.

New masculinity ideology is a consistent worldview that includes values such as authenticity, emotional expressivity, and holistic self-awareness (Kaplan, Rosenmann, and Shuhendler 2017). It poses an alternative to (but not necessarily a negation of) traditional masculinity, which deals mainly with assertion of male status, toughness, and avoidance of femininity (Thompson, Pleck, and Ferrera 1992). In public discourse, the figure of the "new man" is also connected with the image of the "new father" as someone who assumes an active and nurturing role in childcare (Messner 1993; Podnieks 2016; Singleton and Maher 2004). However, despite the popular association between the two concepts and the tendency to use them interchangeably, no research has to date systematically examined the role of new masculinity in father involvement. Are new men more involved in childcare than their counterparts who less strongly endorse new masculinity ideology? To what gender role attitudes do new men prescribe and how are these attitudes related to their involvement in childcare? Are these men more likely than others to act upon their normative beliefs?

This study addresses these questions with a sample of around 1,400 employed fathers of young children drawn from the AmeriSpeak Panel conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in 2017. It examines the association between new masculinity ideology and three distinct dimensions of childcare – routine care, emotional engagement, and parental responsibility. By taking into consideration the complexity of fathers' beliefs about masculinity, our analysis allows for a better understanding of the widely debated discrepancy between fathers' attitudes toward and actual involvement in childcare. This issue is important not only for gender equality but also for children's well-being, in light of research showing the beneficial effects of fathers' active engagement for children's development (Cano, Perales, and Baxter 2018). In addition, incorporating alternative masculinity ideologies into the study of fathering may inform current discussions of hegemonic masculinity and its implications for the work-family nexus.

BACKGROUND

The "New Father" and Fathers' Involvement in Childcare

One of the most important trends in family life in the last three decades has been the increasing participation of men in the domestic sphere, especially childcare. This development is due in part to the

growing participation of women in the labor force (Cabrera et al. 2000; Hook 2006), but it is also related to rising expectations of gender equality and changing norms that pressure fathers to take a more active role in the physical and emotional care of their children (Gerson 2010; Gregory and Millner 2011; McGill 2014; Thébaud and Pedulla 2016). Unlike the previously dominant image of the successful father as a man who provides financially for his family, notions of good fathering have expanded to also include hands-on care and the nurturance of children (Coltrane 1996; Gerson 1993; Lamb 2000; Miller 2011), in what has become labeled in popular discourse “the new father” (Dermott 2014). The new father is expected to be both physically and emotionally available and responsive to his children and to take responsibility for their well-being and welfare (Coltrane 1996; Pleck 1987). The use of the term “new” has been criticized for creating a “messy” category, which includes all types of behaviors fathers do and leads to a simplified temporal dichotomy with no clear demarcation point between past and present (Dermott 2014). Nevertheless, and keeping this limitation in mind, it points to an important cultural transformation in the meanings and practices of fatherhood in contemporary society. Building on this research tradition, we focus on three distinct dimensions of father involvement: routine care, emotional engagement, and parental responsibility.

Routine care refers to the one-on-one interaction with children and engagement in everyday activities that revolve around the daily physical (e.g., feeding and bathing) and social (e.g., play and reading) needs of children (Craig 2006). This aspect of childcare is relatively easy to quantify, especially when using time-diary methods, and has received the most scholarly attention (Cano et al. 2018). Studies show that routine caregiving activities are still disproportionately carried out by mothers (Craig and Mullan 2011).

Emotional engagement refers to the father’s warmth, display of affection, and responsiveness to his child’s emotional needs. Interestingly, although the “new father” discourse has encouraged fathers to be emotionally available to their children, affective aspects of involvement have not received much empirical attention. The few studies to have addressed affect-related practices of childcare have typically incorporated them as part of a wider set of caregiving activities (e.g., Craig 2006). Hofferth (2003) is one of the first researchers to have treated “warmth” as a distinct domain of father involvement. Similarly, Petts et al. (2018) examined expressive engagement with the child separately from other childcare dimensions.

Parental responsibility refers to the role fathers take in managerial-like administration tasks regarding their children, that is, making decisions, planning and securing resources for them. This includes tasks such as arranging babysitters and carpools, making doctors’ appointments, and organizing playdates. It should be noted that the meaning of parental responsibility is evasive and has been highly overlooked in childcare research. It is more often employed as a general term for parental involvement (e.g., Craig 2006), than as a separate measure conceptually distinct from direct interaction with the child in daily care, as we do here.

Gender Ideology and Attitudes about Father Involvement

The gender ideology approach assumes that individuals’ normative beliefs about the appropriate roles for men and women affect their actual behaviors at home and work (Coltrane 1996; Gaunt 2006). Hence, fathers who hold more egalitarian attitudes are expected to be more involved in childcare. Several studies have supported this view (e.g., Bulanda 2004; Coltrane, Parke and Adams 2004; Gaunt 2019), but others have found no such association (e.g., Barnett and Baruch 1987; Marsiglio 1991). Consistent with the latter, scholars have argued that while fathers in minority groups often report more traditional attitudes about women’s family roles, they tend to frequently engage in caregiving activities because of economic necessity and the need to deal with discrimination (Blee and Tickamyer 1995; Cowdery et al. 2009; McLoyd et al. 2000). Part of the discrepancy in findings, however, may be related to the ambiguity of the concept and the inconsistent ways in which it has been assessed. Gender ideology is often used as an umbrella term for different attitudinal measures, some

of which center on women's work and family roles (Bulanda 2004) while others combine beliefs about women's and men's dual earning and caregiving responsibilities (Davis and Greenstein 2009; Gaunt 2006).

Only a limited number of studies have specifically examined attitudes about fathers' caregiving roles, but they too suffer from important conceptual and methodological inconsistencies that have led to mixed results. Most importantly, rather than probing attitudes about the appropriate roles expected of men (what fathers should do), many of the measures used in these studies confound the question of normative appropriateness with other considerations, such as essentialist beliefs about men's caregiving capabilities (e.g., Hofferth 2003), the importance of fathers' roles in child development (e.g., McBride and Mills 1993; McGill 2014; Petts et al. 2018), or fathers' personal experience in childcare (e.g., Gaunt 2019). The current study avoids this pitfall by employing attitudinal measures that center exclusively on normative attitudes, that is, on a prescriptive belief stating what fathers *should* do.

Another conceptual inconsistency is found in scales measuring egalitarian beliefs, in which attitudes about father involvement in childcare also include items about fathers' breadwinning role (e.g., Bonney et al. 1999; McGill 2014). However, caregiving and breadwinning may be independent dimensions of the work-family nexus that do not necessarily contradict each other, as Grunow, Begall, and Buchler (2018) have suggested (see also Dermott 2014). Adopting this multidimensional approach, we examine attitudes about fathers' role as caregivers and as providers separately. In sum, a major advantage of the current study is our usage of clearly defined and distinct measures of gender role attitudes. This allows us to better estimate the association between fathers' normative beliefs about gender roles and their actual reported involvement in childcare and then test whether new masculinity ideology helps explain the association between them.

New Masculinity Ideology

The bulk of research on father involvement treats the concept of "gender" rather narrowly in terms of perceptions associated with the gendered division of labor. However, cultural perceptions of masculinity as a wider ideological construct, which goes beyond work and family roles, have not been sufficiently addressed in the literature. As noted by Petts et al. (2018), it is important to take into consideration a broader conceptualization of masculine identity because it may inform our understanding of how deeply-rooted models of masculinity shape fathers' involvement with their children.

Pleck and his associates (Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku 1993; Thompson et al. 1992) emphasized the theoretical significance of understanding masculinity as a type of normative, deep-rooted ideology, moving away from earlier psychological formulations of masculinity as essentialized personality traits. Yet, although quantitative work on men and masculinity has acknowledged Connell's (1995) basic theoretical premise that competing forms of masculinity ideologies exist (e.g., Pleck et al. 1993:91), studies in the field have not come up with actual measures that distinguish between various masculinity ideologies and centered instead on a single form of masculinity ideology, commonly termed "traditional masculinity." This dominant form of masculinity is associated with invulnerability and emotional restraint, achievement and status, fear of femininity, and homophobia (for a general review see Thompson et al. 1992).

Studies have explored the association between traditional masculinity and a rich array of psychological and social outcomes, including fathers' involvement in childcare. For example, Bonney et al. (1999) found that fathers who did not endorse traditional masculinity ideology held more egalitarian attitudes about the father's role and reported greater involvement in childcare. Similarly, Petts et al. (2018) found that fathers who adhered to traditional masculinity norms were less involved in the instrumental and expressive aspects of parenting. Because this body of research focuses exclusively on themes of traditional masculinity, it can address changes in values of masculinity only in terms of a rejection of traditional norms (e.g., Luyt 2005). Consequently, it cannot capture shifts in cultural

understandings of masculinity and does not address the question of how identification with alternative masculinity ideologies relates to ideals of the new father and to actual childcare practices.

The transition from industrial to post-industrial societies since the late 20th-century has spurred changes in perceptions of masculinity (Buerkle 2011). These were stimulated by neoliberal consumerism on the one hand and the growing pull of the therapeutic discourse on the other. While both discourses relate to processes of individualization and heightened self-expression, they differ in terms of masculinity practices and ideology (Kaplan, Rosenmann, and Shuhendler 2017). A growing body of research has studied novel male imagery associated with the pursuit of consumerist lifestyle choices, body appearances, and metrosexuality (Buerkle 2011; Ervin 2011; Shugart 2008). These trends may have crystallized into an ideology of consumer masculinity (Rosenmann et al. 2018). Yet another line of work has explored how the rise of therapeutic discourse and the underlying demand for self-fulfillment (Furedi 2004; Illouz 2008) has spawned ideas of new masculinity, challenging men to become more self-reflective and emotionally expressive. Key themes of therapeutic new masculinity include authenticity and spirituality (Magnuson 2005; Russell 2009), a holistic mind-body attentiveness (Kaplan et al. 2017; Wienke 1998), and emotional intimacy, which has also appeared with respect to the image of the nurturing or new father (e.g., Falabella 1997; Messner 1993; Real 1997).

Despite its popular usage, little attempt has been made to systematically measure new masculinity ideology. In this study, we use a recent measure developed by Kaplan et al. (2017), the New Masculinity Inventory (NMI), which taps into the therapeutic vocabulary of male authenticity and self-awareness. They found that this set of beliefs has crystallized into a distinct masculinity ideology that is empirically differentiated from norms of traditional masculinity as well as from those of consumer masculinity. Men who adhere to new masculinity ideology value authenticity, self-realization, and self-growth and strive for balance across life spheres, including between work, leisure, and domestic life. This ideology entails a holistic and nurturing perspective on the self and body, as well as on relationships with others, and considers these various facets of self-awareness as more important than holding on to established masculine norms and gendered restrictions.

Some have argued that identifying as a new man is a matter of style rather than substance, reflecting what is essentially a self-serving individualistic stance that is no more gender egalitarian than traditional masculinity and ultimately preserves male hegemonic status (Connell 1995:136; Messner 1993). For example, Messner (1993) described how participants in men's support groups, who typically tend to be white, heterosexual, and of upper middle-class background, often engaged in nurturing and mutually empowering relationships among members but rarely reflected on their privileged position in a structure of power that oppresses women and other men. While a cultural shift towards men's greater personal expressivity may mitigate aspects of traditional masculinity, it does little to address issues of gender inequality.

This bears directly on the discourse of the new father. Messner noted that the image of the new father is often appealing to upper middle-class men who wish to more actively engage with their children compared to their counterparts in previous generations, yet much of their children's daily needs continue to be provided by women, either the child's mother or a hired female caregiver. Other studies suggest that despite espousing gender egalitarian attitudes, some upper middle-class fathers spend less time taking care of their children than working-class men because of highly demanding jobs that leave little time for other activities (e.g., Brannen and Nilsen 2006). Based on similar reasoning, Connell (1995) argued that under the guise of refined men who self-consciously manage their emotions, a new form of hegemonic masculinity is at play, one which preserves male power through core principles of individualism, self-control, and competitive success.

In order to address these critiques and consider whether new masculinity ideology competes with traditional masculinity over hegemonic status in society, it is important to bring to the fore questions about the discrepancy between ideology and practice. Our focus on new masculinity ideology in the context of involved fathering provides an excellent opportunity for exploring this issue. Because it is nested in therapeutic discourse but does not directly address parenting roles and childcare patterns,

the measure of new masculinity is particularly suitable for examining the complex relationship between normative beliefs associated with the image of the new man, ideals of the new father, and actual childcare practices.

Additional Factors Related to Father Involvement

Our study controls for a range of variables that have been found to be associated with father involvement in previous studies. Research suggests that father involvement may vary by race and ethnicity. Several studies have shown that black fathers are more involved at home than their white counterparts, reflecting the cultural ideal of pulling together in the face of discrimination and the practical concern over family well-being (see reviews in [Cowdery et al. 2009](#); [McLoyd et al. 2000](#)). Findings regarding Hispanic fathers are mixed ([Coltrane et al. 2004](#); [Hofferth 2003](#); [Leavell et al. 2012](#)). Time use research has shown that fathers who are better educated and of a higher socioeconomic status tend to spend more time in childcare (see review in [Altintas 2016](#)). Several ethnographic studies, however, have suggested that working-class fathers may be more involved in childcare than their middle-class counterparts because of more limited financial means and the greater need to support their wives' economic activity ([Brannen and Nilsen 2006](#); [Cowdery et al. 2009](#); [Hochschild 1989](#)). The association between work hours and father involvement is complex. Several studies reported a decrease in involvement for fathers who work longer hours ([Craig and Mullan 2011](#); [Roeters et al. 2010](#)). Others, however, found a weak association or none ([Hook and Wolfe 2012](#); [McGill 2014](#)), suggesting that fathers perhaps find other ways to accommodate family life ([Dermott 2006, 2014](#)). These inconsistencies may also be related to the different indicators used to measure father involvement, as well as to variations in age of child and family structure.

We also control for workplace support policies, such as flexibility and supervisor support, that may encourage fathers to participate in childcare. Although many fathers are reluctant to take advantage of workplace policies that offer family leave and scheduling flexibility due to the fear of being stigmatized as less committed workers and less masculine men ([Berdahl et al. 2018](#); [Thébaud and Pedulla 2016](#)), fathers who do so may be more involved in childcare ([Tanaka and Woldfogel 2007](#)). Finally, we control for mothers' behaviors at both work and home. Some research has shown that fathers assume a greater share of childcare when the mother works longer hours ([Coltrane et al. 2004](#); [Norman et al. 2014](#)). Findings have also suggested that maternal gatekeeping constitutes a major barrier to father involvement ([Gaunt 2008](#); [Schoppe-Sullivan et al. 2008](#)). Facing normative pressures to assume the major responsibility for family care even when they are employed, mothers are more likely to feel guilty about their parenting than fathers and as a result seek greater control over the care of children, thus preventing fathers from being more involved. Hence, maternal gatekeeping may help explain the disparity between fathers' childcare intentions and actual behaviors.

Current Research and Hypotheses

New masculinity is a relatively novel ideological orientation which, although highly popular in public discourse and the media, has received very little empirical attention, especially in the context of family life and childcare. The main objective of this study is to fill this void and shed light on the overlooked question of how new masculinity ideology relates to father involvement. We begin by asking who are the men who strongly identify with new masculinity ideology and, more specifically, what gender role attitudes do they prescribe to? Considering the affinity between new masculinity ideology and feminist views, we expect fathers who more strongly endorse new masculinity to hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes in the domains of work and family than fathers who less closely endorse this ideology (*Hypothesis 1*). We then ask whether new masculinity is associated with greater involvement in childcare practices. The image of the nurturing new father is associated with emotional intimacy skills, such as closeness and openness ([Dermott 2014](#)), which correspond to key themes of new masculinity ideology, mainly expressivity and sensitivity. Hence, we expect fathers who endorse new

masculinity more than other fathers to report greater involvement in the three dimensions of childcare, and particularly in emotional engagement (*Hypothesis 2*).

The question we explore next is whether subscribing to new masculinity implies greater alignment between attitudes and behaviors. Due to its focus on values such as authenticity and self-awareness, men who strongly identify with new masculinity may be more likely to report behaving in ways that are more consistent with their beliefs. In other words, we expect the association between attitudes and reported involvement in childcare to be stronger for new men. Specifically, we hypothesize that greater support of maternal employment will be associated with greater childcare involvement (*Hypothesis 3a*) and that this association will be stronger among fathers who strongly identify with new masculinity than among those who less strongly identify with this ideology (*Hypothesis 3b*). Similarly, we expect that greater support for the prescriptive belief that fathers should be involved in childrearing will be associated with greater involvement (*Hypothesis 4a*) and that this association will be stronger among fathers who strongly endorse new masculinity than among those who less strongly endorse this ideology (*Hypothesis 4b*). We also hypothesize that men who consider fathers as mainly breadwinners to report lower involvement in childcare (*Hypothesis 5a*) but expect this association to be less pronounced among men who strongly identify with new masculinity (*Hypothesis 5b*). Given that new men aim to balance their work, leisure, and domestic life and hold relatively feminist views, we expect them to be more involved in childcare, regardless of their attitudes toward breadwinning.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

To examine these questions, we specifically designed a survey focusing on fathers' involvement in childcare, employment characteristics, perceptions of masculinity, and attitudes about gender roles. The survey was administered to eligible participants in the AmeriSpeak Panel conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago between March and April 2017. AmeriSpeak is a national address-based probability sample representative of the noninstitutionalized adult population in the United States drawn from NORC's National Sample Frame (for further details see [Dennis 2019](#)). Respondents for this study were selected from the AmeriSpeak Panel using sampling strata based on age, race/ethnicity, education, and gender. Eligibility requirements included employed men in heterosexual relationships who have at least one child aged six or younger. Because of these limitations, in order to increase the sample size, NORC supplemented the AmeriSpeak respondents ($n = 548$) with respondents from an online opt-in panel ($n = 956$).

One-third of the invited panelists, regardless of eligibility, completed the screener. The eligibility rate among them was 46.3 percent, and of those who qualified for the main study, 94.5 percent completed the survey. A cash equivalent of \$5 was offered as incentive. The final sample included 1,427 respondents who filled in the survey online in English. The median completion time was 18 minutes.¹ All the analyses used weights that account for the selection of households into the sample, non-response bias, and differences between the AmeriSpeak and opt-in participants. The sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents are shown in Appendix A.

Dependent Variables

To account for the multidimensional nature of fathers' childcare involvement ([Coltrane 1996](#); [Pleck 1987](#)), we distinguish between three distinct outcome measures.² *Routine care* refers to everyday activities that address children's daily needs. It is measured as the mean score of a scale adapted from [Cowan and Cowan \(1988\)](#) and [Gaunt \(2006\)](#) that asks respondents how often on weekdays in a

1 Seventy-seven participants were excluded from the sample due to unreliable answers to the attitudinal items. They tended to be younger, to work fewer hours, and to report more involvement in parental responsibility.

2 In answering the childcare questions, respondents were asked to think about the target child, that is, a child aged six or younger (if they had more than one child of those ages, they were asked to think about their oldest child aged six or under.)

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Pairwise Correlations between Key Variables (Weighted)

	Scale	Mean (SD)	α -Cronbach				
<i>Childcare Involvement</i>							
Routine care	1-6	3.60 (1.09)	.80				
Emotional engagement	1-6	3.13 (.86)	.71				
Parental responsibility	1-5	2.19 (.68)	.88				
<i>New masculinity (NMI)</i>	1-5	3.65 (.45)	.83				
<i>Traditional masculinity (MRNS)</i>	1-5	3.11 (.61)	.65				
<i>Gender Role Attitudes</i>							
Maternal employment attitudes	1-5	3.29 (.66)	.63				
Father involvement attitudes	1-5	4.28 (.63)	.87				
Father as provider (% agree)		57.3					
	NMI	MRNS	Routine care	Emotional engagement	Parental responsibility	Maternal employment attitudes	Father involvement attitudes
MRNS	.125***						
Routine care	.173***	-.087**					
Emotional engagement	.151***	-.009	.280***				
Parental responsibility	.130***	-.065*	.463***	.460***			
Maternal employment attitudes	.172***	-.177***	.057*	.009	.140***		
Father involvement attitudes	.527***	-.044	.268***	.129***	.218***	.210***	
Father as provider (agree)							
Yes	3.67	3.30	3.67	3.10	2.14	3.18	4.29
No	3.61*	2.86***	3.53**	3.17***	2.27***	3.44**	4.27

Note: $N = 1,424$ * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

typical week they engage in nine different childcare activities, such as dropping the child at daycare or preschool and reading books to the child (1 = “never” to 6 = “five times or more”) ($\alpha = .80$). Fathers’ *emotional engagement* is assessed using the mean of three items asking who in their family usually responds to the child’s emotional needs, such as comforting the child when crying or upset (1 = “almost always the mother” to 6 = “almost always me”) ($\alpha = .71$). Similarly, *parental responsibility* is measured as the mean score on a scale indicating who in the family is usually responsible for managing, organizing, and coordinating eight different childcare activities such as planning playdates (1 = “almost always the mother” to 5 “almost always me”) ($\alpha = .88$). For the full scales, see Appendix B.

The descriptive statistics of the childcare outcomes are shown in Table 1. It appears that the domain in which fathers are most engaged in is routine care. The mean for routine care is 3.6 (i.e., referring to an average frequency of about three times a week on weekdays). The fathers reported being about equally involved as the mothers in the emotional domain of childcare (mean of 3.13 on a 1–6 scale) but seem to assume a smaller share than the mothers in parental responsibility (mean of 2.19 on a 1–5 scale). The three childcare outcomes are significantly and positively related to each other. The correlations with responsibility are relatively strong, suggesting that fathers who assume greater responsibility for childcare are also more involved practically and emotionally with their children.

Key Explanatory Variables

New masculinity ideology. We measure new masculinity ideology with the New Masculinity Inventory (NMI), a recently developed scale based on 17 items tapping respondents’ degree of adherence to

values associated with therapeutic discourse, such as authenticity and self-realization (e.g., “men should follow their hearts and inclinations, even in ways that society considers inappropriate for men”), emotional expressivity (e.g., “men should be able to express their feelings at work in the same way they do at home or with friends”), and holistic self-awareness (e.g., “a man should come to know himself through paying attention to his body and its needs”) (see Appendix C). The scale was previously tested on samples of British and Israeli men to provide evidence in support of convergent and discriminant validity.³ Responses range from 1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree” ($\alpha = .83$).

Traditional masculinity. To provide a more accurate estimate of the unique contribution of new masculinity ideology, we control for traditional masculinity, measured with a six-item abbreviated version of the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS) (Thompson and Pleck 1986). Items tapped the three dimensions of MRNS: status (e.g., “success at work has to be a man’s central goal in life”), toughness (e.g., “nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears, and problems”), and anti-femininity (e.g., “it bothers me when a man does something that I consider ‘feminine’”). Responses range from 1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 “strongly agree” ($\alpha = .65$).

Gender role attitudes. Given the inconsistency in measuring gender ideology in previous research, in this study we consider three different measures of gender role attitudes that pertain to both women’s and men’s roles separately. We assess *maternal employment attitudes* with a widely used 5-item index (Scholtz, et al. 2012) that includes statements about women’s paid work, such as “a preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works” and “work is best for women’s independence” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 “strongly agree”) ($\alpha = .63$). The other two measures refer to men’s fathering role. *Father involvement attitudes* (FIA) taps the new father ideal. In the absence of scales that clearly center on normative beliefs about the importance of men’s participation in childcare, FIA items were phrased in prescriptive terms asking respondents to rate their agreement with five statements, such as “more dads should take time off after the birth of their child” and “it is important that men view the daily care of their child as their own responsibility” (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”) ($\alpha = .87$). The second measure, *father as provider*, questions agreement with the statement “a father’s primary responsibility is to financially provide for his children.” Because responses to this item were relatively skewed, it was recoded into a dummy variable indicating whether respondents agree or strongly agree with the statement (0 = no; 1 = yes).

Table 1 shows that the respondents in this study were more supportive of the idea that fathers should be involved in childcare than of the corresponding importance of maternal employment. Furthermore, the majority (close to 60 percent) agreed with the idea that the father’s main responsibility is to provide financially for his children. An examination of the correlations between the three gender role attitude variables indicates that, not surprisingly, support of mothers’ work outside the home was positively correlated with the belief that fathers should be involved in childcare, suggesting that liberal attitudes apply to perceptions regarding both women’s and men’s work and family roles. Consistently, respondents who agreed with the statement that the father’s main role is to be the family’s breadwinner held slightly more traditional attitudes regarding maternal employment than their counterparts who did not agree with the statement (although significant, the difference was small). Nevertheless, the respondents did not differ in their FIA scores depending by whether they believed in the role of the father as a provider or not. In both groups, the mean on FIA was high, suggesting that breadwinning and involvement in childcare are two important attitudes about fatherhood that do not necessarily contradict each other (see Grunow et al. 2018). The description of the control variables and their statistical characteristics appear in Appendix A.

3 The internal consistency reliabilities for the NMI in the UK, Israel, and current U.S. samples were 0.84, 0.83, and 0.83, respectively. Mean NMI scores were 3.91, 3.63, and 3.62, respectively (Anabi 2019; Rosenmann et al. 2018; for a full description of the NMI instrument, see Kaplan et al. 2017).

Table 2. OLS Results Predicting Endorsement of New Masculinity Ideology (NMI) with Gender Role Attitudes, Traditional Masculinity, and Controls (Weighted)

	<i>b</i> (SE)
Age 30-44	-.003 (.028)
Age 45+	-.206*** (.039)
One child	.035 (.028)
Two children	.042 (.023)
Age target child 0-2	-.057** (.023)
Black	.131*** (.039)
Hispanic	-.004 (.029)
Other	.032 (.033)
Northeast	.017 (.032)
South	-.015 (.027)
West	.070* (.030)
Some college	-.003 (.026)
BA or higher	.006 (.026)
Work hrs 38-50	-.184*** (.032)
Work hrs 51+	-.219*** (.039)
Work flexibility	.007 (.010)
Supervisor support	.050*** (.012)
Income medium	.050 (.028)
Income high	.027 (.031)
Mother work hrs 37 or lower	-.048 (.026)
Mother work hrs 38 or higher	-.138*** (.025)
Maternal gatekeeping	.016 (.009)
<i>Traditional masculinity</i> (MRNS)	.103*** (.018)
<i>Gender role attitudes</i>	
Maternal employment	.093*** (.016)
Father involvement	.355*** (.017)
Father as provider	.018 (.022)
Intercept	1.431*** (.117)
Adjusted R^2	.391
<i>N</i>	1,420

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

Analytic Plan

We begin by assessing who is a new man using an Ordinary Least Squares model that estimates the associations between the different variables and the NMI (see Table 2). We are especially interested in how NMI scores varied according to the level of endorsement of the three gender role attitude variables (*Hypothesis 1*). This examination gives us the opportunity to better understand which values and norms pertaining to gender roles are most – or least – aligned with new masculinity ideology. It also examines the association between NMI and MRNS after adjusting for sociodemographic and other controls.

In the next stage, we test *Hypothesis 2* by exploring the associations between the NMI and each of the three father childcare involvement outcomes (routine care, emotional involvement, and parental responsibility) while adjusting for gender role attitudes, MRNS, and controls (see Table 3).⁴ These

4 Because the variable parental responsibility was highly skewed, we estimate its natural log.

Table 3. OLS Results Predicting Involvement in Childcare with New Masculinity, Gender Role Attitudes, and Controls (Weighted)

	<i>Routine care</i>	<i>Emotional engagement</i>	<i>(ln) Parental responsibility</i>
	b (SE)	b (SE)	b (SE)
<i>New masculinity ideology (NMI)</i>	.098 (.072)	.268*** (.061)	.006 (.022)
<i>Traditional masculinity (MRNS)</i>	-.109* (.048)	.017 (.040)	-.012 (.015)
<i>Gender role attitudes</i>			
Maternal employment	-.143*** (.044)	-.086* (.037)	.022 (.014)
Father involvement	.339*** (.052)	-.018 (.044)	.069*** (.016)
Father as provider	-.187** (.059)	-.152** (.050)	-.068*** (.018)
<i>Controls</i>			
Age 30-44	-.245*** (.076)	-.176** (.064)	-.110*** (.023)
Age 45+	-.044 (.105)	-.321*** (.089)	-.068* (.033)
One child	.157* (.076)	.155* (.064)	.142*** (.023)
Two children	.203*** (.062)	.046 (.052)	.052** (.019)
Age target child 0-2	-.204*** (.063)	-.196*** (.053)	-.075*** (.019)
Black	.026 (.107)	.094 (.088)	.055 (.032)
Hispanic	.176* (.077)	.300*** (.065)	.089*** (.024)
Other	.008 (.089)	-.005 (.075)	.039 (.027)
Northeast	-.286*** (.087)	-.004 (.073)	-.048 (.027)
South	-.101 (.072)	.004 (.061)	.010 (.022)
West	-.102 (.081)	.063 (.068)	.031 (.025)
Some college	.038 (.072)	.087 (.060)	.019 (.022)
BA or higher	.111 (.071)	.138* (.060)	.024 (.022)
Work hrs 38-50	-.461*** (.086)	.130 (.072)	-.093*** (.026)
Work hrs 51+	-.810*** (.105)	-.059 (.089)	-.145*** (.033)
Work flexibility	.149*** (.027)	.065** (.023)	.017* (.008)
Supervisor support	.018 (.032)	-.025 (.027)	.028** (.010)
Income medium	-.235* (.077)	.008 (.065)	-.064** (.024)
Income high	-.158* (.084)	-.032 (.071)	-.019 (.026)
Mother work hrs 37 or lower	.470*** (.070)	.158** (.059)	.030 (.021)
Mother work hrs 38 or higher	.488*** (.068)	.313*** (.057)	.131*** (.021)
Maternal gatekeeping	-.029 (.026)	-.081*** (.021)	-.025** (.008)
Intercept	2.681*** (.332)	2.417*** (.281)	.406*** (.102)
Adjusted R ²	.300	.115	.189
N	1,416	1,418	1,408

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

models also estimate the associations between each of the gender role attitude variables (i.e., maternal employment attitudes, FIA, and father as provider) and the three outcomes and thus allow us to test *Hypotheses 3a, 4a, and 5a*. We then examine whether new masculinity ideology moderates the association between attitudes and involvement in childcare (*Hypotheses 3b, 4b, and 5b*) by adding interaction terms between the NMI and each of the gender role attitude variables to these models (see [Table 4](#)). Because most of them estimate two-way interaction effects of continuous variables, we use an approach based on the computation of simple slopes that indicates the amount of change in the outcome (e.g., routine care) associated with a one unit change in the independent variable (e.g., FIA) while holding the moderator (e.g., NMI) constant at three levels (one standard deviation below the mean, the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean).

Table 4. Summary of Models with Interaction Effects between New Masculinity and Gender Role Attitude Variables (Weighted)

	<i>Routine care</i>	<i>Emotional engagement</i>	<i>(ln) Parental responsibility</i>
Maternal employment attitudes	-.619 (.328)	.326 (.238)	-.013 (.100)
Father involvement attitudes	.940*** (.243)	-.809*** (.059)	-.200** (.074)
Father as provider	-.624 (.451)	-.624 (.378)	-.552*** (.137)
NMI	.346 (.390)	-.439 (.328)	-.448*** (.119)
x Maternal employment attitudes	.134 (.090)	-.114 (.076)	.011 (.027)
x Father involvement attitudes	-.177** (.070)	.236*** (.059)	.081*** (.021)
x Father as provider	.123 (.125)	.130 (.105)	.135*** (.038)
N	1,416	1,418	1,408

Note: All models control for MRNS, sociodemographic, work, and familial characteristics.

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

RESULTS

Who Are the “New Men” and What Gender Role Attitudes Do They Ascribe to?

An examination of the sociodemographic and work variables associated with new masculinity reveals several complex effects. Older fathers score lower on the NMI than their younger counterparts. This may reflect cohort differences in the perception of masculinity and the more nuanced approach of the younger generation. In general, and contrary to commonly held assumptions about the class- and race-based nature of new masculinity ideology (Messner 1993), we found that key indicators of class membership (i.e., income and education levels) are not associated with the NMI, whereas blacks report higher NMI scores than whites. Working longer hours is associated with lower NMI scores. A similar pattern is observed for mothers' work hours. By contrast, NMI scores are positively related to supervisor support, which suggests that fathers who strongly identify with new masculinity ideology may find it important to negotiate their work and family needs with their superiors.

Consistent with our first prediction, namely, that fathers who hold more liberal gender role attitudes will more strongly endorse new masculinity ideology, we find that higher NMI scores are associated with greater support of maternal employment and of fathers' involvement in childcare. No association, however, is found with the father as provider statement.⁵ These findings provide partial support for *Hypothesis 1*.

The results also provide evidence of the idea that new masculinity and traditional masculinity are two distinct ideological constructs, but that they do not necessarily negate each other. The positive correlation between the two measures reported in [Table 1](#), although relatively weak, remains significant in the OLS model ([Table 2](#)). These findings underscore the need to control for MRNS in all subsequent analyses. Yet, despite some affinity between them, the descriptive results presented in [Table 1](#) clearly suggest that the implications of these two masculinity ideologies for gender role attitudes and father involvement are very different.

New Masculinity and Childcare: Are “New Men” More Involved?

In line with the values of traditional masculinity, we find that in general fathers who score higher on the MRNS are less involved in childcare than fathers who score lower on this measure. [Table 1](#) shows a negative correlation between MRNS and routine care and parental responsibility (but not

5 The positive association between the father as provider statement and NMI was significant in the OLS model that controlled for sociodemographic, work, familial, and attitudinal variables (results not shown). After adding MRNS to the model, this association was no longer significant ([Table 2](#)). These findings suggest that with respect to attitudes about the breadwinning role, new masculinity ideology may be consistent with a more traditional approach.

emotional involvement). Only the association with routine care remains significant in the regression models (Table 3). But what about fathers who strongly identify with new masculinity ideology, are they more involved in childcare as *Hypothesis 2* contends?

Whereas at the bivariate level NMI scores were significantly and positively associated with all three childcare outcomes (Table 1), after adjusting for fathers' attitudinal, sociodemographic, and familial characteristics, only the association with emotional engagement remains significant (Table 3). Fathers who score high on the NMI report being more emotionally involved with their child than fathers who score low. No association is observed for either routine care or responsibility once controls are included, perhaps because these two dimensions of childcare require greater investment of time and energy and are thus more sensitive to fathers' and mothers' work characteristics. These findings lend partial support for *Hypothesis 2* and suggest that new masculinity is best expressed in the emotional aspect of childcare.

Table 3 shows that attitudes about maternal employment are negatively associated with both routine care and emotional engagement, suggesting that, in contrast to *Hypothesis 3a*, fathers who tend to support mothers' work outside the home are somewhat less involved in childcare than their counterparts who do not support this view. The other results, however, are in line with our expectations. Fathers who score higher on FIA report engaging in routine care more often and assuming a greater share of parental responsibility than fathers who score lower on FIA (*Hypothesis 4a*). Fathers who endorse the more traditional view that the role of fathers is mainly to provide for their children are less involved in all three domains of childcare than those who do not endorse this view (*Hypothesis 5a*).

Table 3 also reveals several noteworthy associations regarding the control variables. Younger fathers and fathers of young children (age 0–2) are overall less involved in childcare. Even after controlling for the parents' work hours and socioeconomic status, Hispanic fathers are more involved in all three childcare dimensions than their white counterparts. This finding supports the idea that fathers' contribution to family cohesion and closeness is an important feature of Hispanic culture and casts further doubt on the *machismo* stereotype (Coltrane et al. 2004; Hofferth 2003; McLoyd et al. 2000). No difference, however, is found between black and white fathers. Higher family income is associated with lower father involvement in routine care. This finding may not be attributed to time constraints because the model controls for work hours, but it perhaps reflects the ability of families of higher economic status to pay for help with childcare. Consistent with previous time use research, fathers' longer work hours are associated with lower involvement, but only in the dimensions of routine care and responsibility (Craig and Mullan 2011; Roeters et al. 2010). Mothers' work hours, by contrast, are positively associated with father involvement.

Does New Masculinity Ideology Help Explain the Association between Fathers' Attitudes and Reported Practices?

To test whether the association between fathers' attitudes and reported practices is moderated by new masculinity ideology, we added interaction effects between the NMI and the three gender role attitude variables to the regression models presented in Table 3. These effects are summarized in Table 4. The results show that, in contrast to *Hypothesis 3b*, no interaction effect was found for attitudes about maternal employment. In contrast, the interaction between NMI and FIA was significant for all three outcomes ($b = -.177, p < .01$ for routine care; $b = .236, p < .001$ for emotional engagement; $b = .081, p < .001$ for parental responsibility). For ease of presentation and interpretation, we calculated the scores on the childcare outcomes at three levels of NMI and FIA, holding all the other variables constant at their mean level. As Figure 1a shows, the positive association between FIA and involvement in routine care is actually stronger – not weaker as we expected – for fathers who score low on the NMI than for those who score high.

The moderation effects for emotional engagement and parental responsibility, however, are consistent with *Hypothesis 4b*. For both of these outcomes, the association with FIA is positive for fathers who score high on the NMI (Figures 1b and 1c). Put differently, for these childcare outcomes,

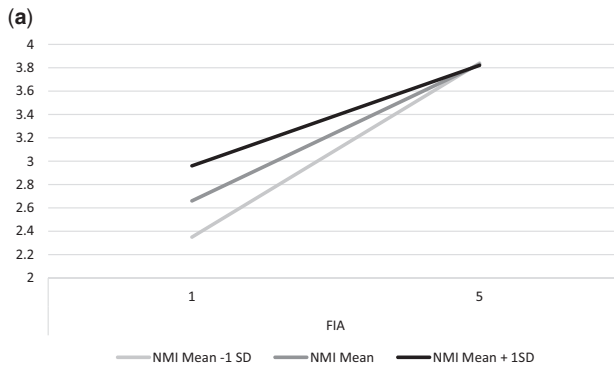


Figure 1a. Predicted scores on daily care for model with interaction effect between NMI and FIA

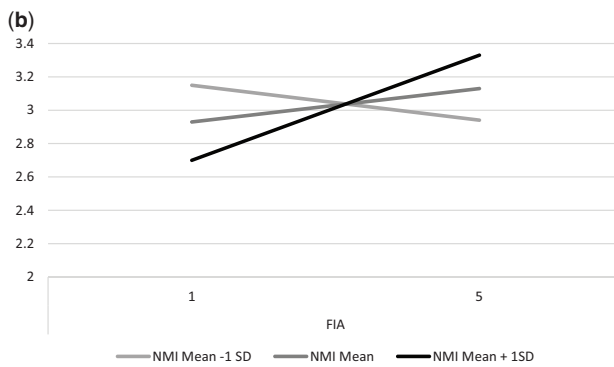


Figure 1b. Predicted scores on emotional engagement for model with interaction effect between NMI and FIA

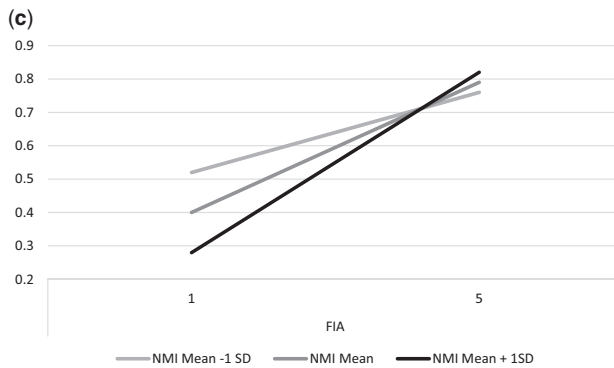


Figure 1c. Predicted scores on parental responsibility for model with interaction effect between NMI and FIA

Note: All other variables are held constant at their mean level.

attitudes matter – in a positive way – for those fathers who strongly endorse new masculinity ideology, suggesting that these fathers’ attitudes about childcare are more aligned with their reported practices. It is possible that these more emotional-driven and managerial aspects of childcare, which are typically associated with the mother’s role, are more sensitive to values of new masculinity than involvement in the more instrumental and practical aspects of routine care. By contrast, there seems to be a disjuncture between attitudes and reported behavior in the emotional and responsibility domains for fathers who do not adhere to new masculinity ideology. In other words, even when some of these

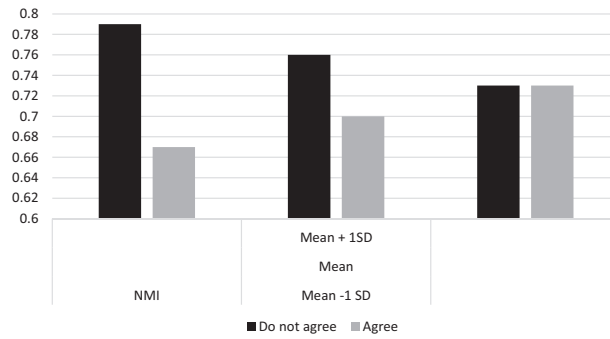


Figure 2. Predicted scores on parental responsibility for model with interaction effect between NMI and Father as Provider

Note: All other variables are held constant at their mean level.

fathers agree with the idea that it is important for fathers to actively engage in their children’s lives (i.e., high FIA scores), they do not necessarily report acting upon those attitudes (i.e., low childcare involvement).

Finally, the moderation analyses reveal an interaction effect between NMI and the father as provider statement for the parental responsibility outcome (Figure 2). In line with *Hypothesis 5b*, fathers who acknowledge the centrality of the breadwinning role report sharing less childcare responsibility than fathers who do not endorse this view; however, this effect is observed only among fathers with low or mean NMI scores. In other words, for fathers who adhere less to new masculinity ideology, their low involvement in responsibility is aligned with more traditional attitudes about breadwinning. On the other hand, among fathers who score high on the NMI, no difference in responsibility is found between those who do and those who do not agree with the centrality of breadwinning. Regardless of their agreement with the breadwinning statement, these fathers have relatively high parental responsibility scores, which may coincide with themes associated with new masculinity ideology, mainly efforts to balance between work and family life and pro-feminist attitudes. What emerges from these findings is that for these men, attitudes about breadwinning and involvement in childcare do not necessarily contradict each other.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Following Williams’ (2010) claim that “masculinity holds the key to understanding why the gender revolution has stalled” (p. 79), this study explored the role of masculinity ideologies in father involvement in childcare. The relatively few studies to have examined this issue uniquely focus on traditional masculinity, suggesting it constitutes a major barrier to father involvement (Bonney et al. 1999; Petts et al. 2018). Consistently, our findings showed that fathers who strongly endorsed traditional masculinity values were less involved in the care of children. But the major contribution of this study was in adopting a more complex view of masculinity, one that centered on new masculinity ideology as a previously unexplored dimension of fathers’ involvement. Despite a certain affinity between traditional masculinity and new masculinity, as shown by the positive – though weak – association between them in this study, the results indicate that the implications of these two masculinity ideologies for gender role attitudes and childcare involvement are clearly divergent.

We found new masculinity ideology to be strongly associated with the ideals of the new father, as the results for the FIA measure revealed. However, only by distinguishing between three distinct dimensions of childcare were we able to uniquely examine subtle nuances in new men’s actual (reported) involvement in childcare. Overall, new masculinity ideology was found to play an important role in emotional engagement and, to a lesser extent, parental responsibility. These are domains

that draw on key themes of new masculinity ideology and, in turn, are associated with the growing pull of the therapeutic ethos, which promotes self-fulfillment and authenticity by challenging individuals to become more expressive and reflective. Routine care, by contrast, was highly affected by external constraints, mainly work characteristics, and appeared to be less sensitive to perceptions of new masculinity.

While NMI scores correlated with all the three dimensions of childcare, after adjusting for sociodemographic, work, and familial characteristics, it remained significantly associated only with emotional engagement. Nurturing the self and its relationships with others through emotional expression is a core value of new masculinity ideology (Kaplan et al. 2017). It is not surprising that fathers who more strongly identified with such values reported that they were responsive to their child's emotional needs and states. Emotional engagement is also the dimension of parental involvement most closely associated with contemporary notions of the "new father" and "intimate fatherhood" (Dermott 2014). Taken together, it appears that new men adopt a stance of emotional expressivity that is traditionally identified with women, and in this regard new masculinity ideology may contribute to the blurring of gender distinctions.

At the bivariate level, new masculinity ideology was also correlated with parental responsibility. However, this association was no longer significant after controls were added to the model. Parental responsibility mainly consists of planning and managing activities regarding children's needs, a type of "mental labor" which can be extremely time and energy consuming (Offer 2014). It is thus no wonder that it is highly sensitive to fathers' work hours and job constraints, which turned out to be important predictors of parental responsibility. Furthermore, prior research has shown that parental responsibility is the childcare domain that has been most resistant to the entry of men, as mothers continue to be pressured to act as "household managers" (Coltrane 1996; Doucet 2015). Consistent with this trend, we found that fathers' involvement in responsibility was, in general, the lowest of the three childcare outcomes examined.

Our analyses further revealed that adherence to values of new masculinity played an important role as a moderator. Using clearly defined attitudinal measures that test prescriptive beliefs and distinguish between fathers' and mothers' gender roles, we were able to pinpoint the unique effect of new masculinity ideology in explaining some of the associations between fathers' attitudes and their report of childcare practices. Previous research has shown that fathers' actual involvement in the home has not kept pace with their move toward more gender egalitarian attitudes (Gerson 2010), but it has largely failed to explain this lag. One of this study's major goals was to help elucidate part of this conundrum by examining whether new men were more likely than other men to align their normative beliefs with their reported behavior. The results suggest that, here too, the effect of new masculinity as a moderator depended on the domain of childcare examined and that, in general, it was more pronounced in emotional engagement and parental responsibility.

As expected, support for the view that fathers should be involved in caregiving (higher FIA scores) was positively associated with fathers' emotional engagement and responsibility but only among fathers who strongly endorsed new masculinity ideology. These findings suggest that in these two domains, new men are more likely than other men to report acting upon their beliefs. If values of new masculinity underscore self-realization, authenticity, and holistic self-awareness, then we can expect "new men" to be more consistent in the way they express and carry out their inner beliefs and convictions in those realms of life that they highly value – in this case, involvement in childcare.

The findings for routine care, however, portray a different picture. Contrary to our expectation, we found the association between FIA and the report of involvement in routine care to be more pronounced for men who less strongly identify with new masculinity ideology than for those who more strongly endorse it. A possible explanation could be the broad cultural expectation of fathers from all backgrounds and orientations in contemporary society to take an active role in routine care (McGill 2014; Kaufman 2013; Thébaud and Pedulla 2016). Routine care consists of tasks that typically take place within a clearly defined time schedule. As such, they are "easier" to do and are often delegated

to the father by the mother (Craig 2006; Craig and Mullan 2011). Consistent with this pattern, our results suggest that fathers' reported involvement was highest in this domain of childcare and that maternal gatekeeping had no significant effect on it. Taken together, the pervasive pressure on men to participate in routine care may explain why in this domain even men who scored low on the NMI tended to comply with their declared attitudes regarding father involvement.

The findings for routine care further suggest that this domain of childcare is especially sensitive to external constraints. Research has shown that fathers' involvement in childcare is still very much affected by both their and the mothers' work hours and job constraints, as most men continue to prioritize work over family even after they become fathers (Norman et al. 2014; Roeters et al. 2010). This is clearly substantiated in our study, which found important associations between routine care and both fathers' and mothers' work hours (a negative association in the former and a positive one in the latter). As Kaufman (2013) observed, "new fathers may adjust their domestic role by adding childcare responsibilities during nonwork hours while leaving their work role relatively unchanged" (p. 5). This implies that involved fathers are not necessarily "new men," but rather, using Holter's (2007:435) words, they are men who face "new circumstances," meaning that they take on new roles and change their behavior in response to contextual demands. Even as men increase their involvement at home in response to contextual demands it appears that relatively few fathers see their role as caregiver as more important than breadwinner and alter their work lives to accommodate their families (Kaufman 2013; Williams 2010).

This brings us to the interesting results obtained for attitudes toward breadwinning. Our study suggests that supporting the breadwinning role of fathers can go hand in hand with supporting their role as caregivers. As shown in the bivariate results, we found that men who endorsed the father's role as provider were as likely as those who did not endorse it to support fathers' involvement in childcare. We also found that fathers who agreed with the father as provider statement scored slightly higher on the NMI than their counterparts who did not agree with this statement, a gap that disappeared in the multivariate model after controlling for traditional masculinity. While new masculinity ideology advocates a balance between various spheres of life and implies that a man's career should not come at the expense of his domestic and social activities, our findings suggest that the breadwinning role may still be important for "new men" who may not easily relinquish substantial privileges of hegemonic masculinity, especially the social status associated with breadwinning. Furthermore, the moderation model showed that for these fathers, their reported involvement in parental responsibility did not vary according to whether they endorsed the breadwinner role or not. It seems that "new men" do not feel compelled to align breadwinning considerations and practices of father involvement. Altogether, these trends support the multidimensional approach proposed by Grunow et al. (2018), which treats breadwinning and caregiving as independent dimensions of the work-family nexus. They also relate to Dermott's (2014) argument regarding the need to reexamine what is "new" in the new fatherhood model.

This study uses race and ethnicity as control variables, but it revealed an important finding which should be more carefully examined in future research, that Hispanic fathers were more involved in childcare than their white counterparts. We also found that NMI scores were higher among blacks than whites. As Hunter and Davis (1992) have noted, black men may have a different conception of manhood than white men, one that focuses more on spirituality and humanism and less on power and dominance. These perceptions resonate with the idea that blacks were socialized into an egalitarian tradition of role sharing and are consonant with studies showing that black men tend to espouse more liberal attitudes toward women's work outside the home compared to other men (Carter, Corra, and Carter 2009). Whereas previous research on father involvement and masculinity has focused mainly on white middle-class men, these findings clearly indicate that fathering experiences vary by race and ethnicity in ways that require further exploration.

Several additional limitations should be noted. First, our sample includes only heterosexual employed fathers who live with their child's mother. Considering the high rate of nonresident fathers

in the United States, who, being disproportionately concentrated in the lower socioeconomic echelons and among minorities, face important breadwinning challenges and barriers to caregiving (Carlson and Magnuson 2011), future research should examine the implications of new masculinity for father involvement with a more diverse sample of fathers. More attention should also be given to this issue among fathers in same-sex couples, who tend to hold more liberal attitudes and have a more egalitarian division of childcare labor (Schacher, Auerbach, and Silverstein 2005). In addition, the sample has been restricted to employed fathers working at least 20 hours a week. Patterns of caregiving and perceptions of masculinity may be different among unemployed fathers. For example, Brines' (1994) study has shown that men who depended economically on their spouse due to prolonged joblessness reduced their engagement in housework, a finding she explains in terms of these men's attempt to compensate for their failure to achieve prevailing norms of masculinity through male breadwinning. Caregiving patterns and attitudes also appear to be different among fathers who have deliberately decided to withdraw from the labor market in order to be the primary caregiver. Qualitative research suggests that these stay-at-home fathers do not simply reject traditional masculine values but recast them in a way that portrays caregiving as interchangeable with paid work (Lee and Lee 2018).

Second, we did not collect data directly from the mothers given our focus on men's experiences and perceptions of masculinity. Information about mothers' characteristics was derived from the fathers' reports, which may lead to common method variance bias, as fathers' reports of their own engagement in childcare practices may be inflated (see Lee and Waite 2005). Future research could address this limitation by incorporating time-use data, which provide more accurate and reliable measures of the time parents spend with their children in different types of activities (e.g., Craig and Mullan 2011). Finally, because the data used in this study are cross-sectional, we were not able to test causal links between new masculinity ideology, gender role attitudes, and father involvement. These links are rather complex. The gender ideology approach assumes that attitudes determine practices but, as policy research on the "daddy quota" suggests, changing practices may also induce a normative shift and promote gender egalitarian attitudes (Patnaik 2019).

Despite these limitations, this study makes an important contribution to the literature on gender inequality in the home by going beyond the common study of gender role attitudes in parenting and putting the spotlight on the unexplored role played by new masculinity ideology. Although in both academic and public discourse the image of the new man is often closely associated with that of the new father (e.g., Podnieks 2016; Singleton and Maher 2004), this study points to the ways in which they are distinct conceptually and empirically. On the one hand, new men endorsed the discourse of the new father, as reflected in their strong support of father involvement attitudes. On the other hand, new men did not appear so different from other men in their participation in routine care activities. Nevertheless, new men who believe that father involvement is important seemed to make greater efforts, at least reportedly, to align their practices with these attitudes in those domains that are less affected by external constraints, namely, emotional engagement and parental responsibility.

Our study thus suggests that even as egalitarian attitudes and masculinity ideologies that pose an alternative to the traditional model have become more legitimate, they interact in complex ways with the structural constraints of work and family life. As found here and in previous work (Kaplan et al. 2017), values of new masculinity have gained traction among men in general and are not limited to those in privileged social and economic positions. This provides empirical evidence that new masculinity ideology may have achieved near hegemonic status. Precisely for this reason scholars need to pay greater attention to how such a cultural shift makes or does not make a difference in promoting gender equality in childcare. The main contribution of our study is in elucidating this issue by distinguishing between masculinity ideologies, fathering attitudes, and actual practices of childcare, a distinction that may inform both current discussions of hegemonic masculinity and empirical research on involved fathering.

Appendices

Appendix A. Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Sample, N = 1,424 (Weighted)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	<i>α-Cronbach</i>
Age				
18-29 [reference]		18.0		
30-44		70.5		
45+		11.5		
Number of children in household				
One		25.1		
Two		41.9		
Three or more [reference]		33.0		
Age of target child				
0-2		28.3		
3-6 [reference]		71.7		
Race/ethnicity				
White [reference]		61.2		
Black		7.5		
Hispanic		21.2		
Other		10.1		
Region				
Northeast [reference]		15.0		
Midwest		21.7		
South		36.1		
West		27.2		
Education				
HS or lower [reference]		31.8		
Some college		25.6		
BA or higher degree		42.6		
Work hrs/week				
37 or less [reference]		12.8		
38-50		71.9		
51 or more		15.3		
Work flexibility (1-5)	Three-item scale from the ISSP Work Orientation Module (Jutz et al. 2018)		3.13 (1.10)	.73
Supervisor support (1-5)	Three-item scale from Bond, Galinsky, and Swanberg (1997)		3.61 (.99)	.86
Household Income				
Low (up to \$35,000) [reference]			20.5	
Medium (\$35,000-\$75,000)			39.0	
High (\$75,000 and higher)			40.5	
Mother work hrs/week				
Does not work [reference]		34.6		
37 or less		26.9		
38 or more		38.5		
Maternal gatekeeping (1-6)	Four-item scale from the Parental Regulation Inventory (Schoppe-Sullivan et al. 2008)		2.82 (1.08)	.87

Appendix B. Father Childcare Involvement Measures

Routine Care: In a typical week, how often do you do the following activities with your child? Refer only to what you do on weekdays, not on weekends.^a

- 1 Responsible for the child's morning routine, e.g., dressing, breakfast, etc.
- 2 Drop the child off at daycare/preschool
- 3 Pick up the child from daycare/preschool
- 4 Play with games or toys indoor with the child
- 5 Read books to the child
- 6 Takes the child outside to play in the yard, a park or a playground
- 7 Fix dinner for the child
- 8 Bathe the child
- 9 Put the child to bed

Emotional Involvement: Between you and your child's mother, who usually does the following things with the child?^b

- 1 Encourage the child when he or she engages in activities.
- 2 Praise the child when he or she behaves well.
- 3 Comfort and calm the child when he or she cries or is upset.

Parental Responsibility: In your household who usually does the following things concerning your child?^c

- 1 Plan or set up playdates and social activities for the child.
- 2 Select a nanny, daycare center, or preschool for the child.
- 3 Responsible for staying in contact and dealing with the nanny or preschool teacher.
- 4 Make childcare arrangements when the child is ill.
- 5 Decide on buying new clothing for the child.
- 6 Take the child to preventative health care appointments.
- 7 Plan the child's birthday party.
- 8 Buy presents for the child's friends' birthday parties.

^aResponse scale ranges from 0 = "never" to 5 = "five times a week or more."

^bResponse scale is 1 = "almost always the mother," 2 = "usually the mother," 3 = "the mother somewhat more," 4 = "me somewhat more," 5 = "usually me," 6 = "almost always me."

^cResponse scale is 1 = "almost always the mother," 2 = "usually the mother," 3 = "about equal," 4 = "usually me," 5 = "almost always me."

Appendix C. New Masculinity Index (Kaplan et al. 2017)

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|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Men should make an effort to eat nutritious foods because they are paying attention to their bodies, and not only for health reasons. |
| 2 | Men should constantly search for meaning and strive for personal development and growth. |
| 3 | I admire men who are willing to take up feminine or less profitable jobs in order to increase their personal satisfaction. |
| 4 | Men should try to achieve full harmony between mind and body. |
| 5 | Involvement in hands-on childcare should play a crucial role in men's self-realization as fathers. |
| 6 | Men should be able to express their feelings at work the same way they do at home or with friends. |
| 7 | The distinction between masculine and feminine characteristics and roles is damaging for both men and women. |
| 8 | Helping one's children develop their true selves is a much more important part of fatherhood than focusing on their financial well-being. |
| 9 | Men should allow themselves to express the various aspects of their personality with equal ease at work, at home and with friends. |
| 10 | Men should emphasize dialogue and listening to others as a way of life. |
| 11 | Men should enjoy their sexual experiences, regardless of how they perform sexually. |
| 12 | Men should be encouraged to share their feelings and concerns more often and more openly with others. |
| 13 | Society's definition of masculinity is partial and too restrictive. |
| 14 | A man should come to know himself through paying attention to his body and its needs. |
| 15 | A man's career should not come at the expense of his family, friends and hobbies. |
| 16 | Men should follow their hearts and inclinations, even in ways that society considers inappropriate for men. |
| 17 | A man should be able to give priority to the career of his spouse, even if his own career slows down as a result. |
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Note: Response scale ranges from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly agree."

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