Emerging Adults' Social Reality and Mediated Reality Gender Norms:

Gender Norm Attitudes and Future Life Expectations

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Communication Studies)
in The University of Michigan
2019

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX

ABSTRACT

Past research has looked at individuals' gender norm attitudes in relationship to social reality (i.e., everyday life) gender norms, mediated reality (i.e., media) gender norms, or future life expectations. However, no known research has concurrently assessed the complexities and interrelationships between these constructs. Employing cultivation theory's and social role theory's theoretical groundwork, this dissertation examined the ways in which emerging adults' experienced social reality gender norms and perceived mediated reality gender norms are connected to gender norm attitudes and future family and career expectations. Further, this dissertation also assessed the relationship between emerging adults' reported gender norm attitudes and future family and career expectations. Study 1's online survey with emerging adults ($n = 663$) between the ages of 18 and 23 (M age = 20.32 years) quantitatively measured participants' social reality experiences, mediated reality perceptions, gender norm attitudes, and future family and career expectations. Gendered structural equation models (SEMs) illustrated that for both male and female participants, traditional social reality experiences positively correlated with traditional gender norm attitudes while traditional mediated reality perceptions negatively correlated with traditional gender norm attitudes. While not predicted, SEM found that traditional social reality was positively related to traditional mediated reality and post-hoc regression analyses among all participants and male participants revealed that the two realities work together to predict gender norm attitudes. The exploratory regression model for all participants also found a significant two-way interaction among social reality and perceived

representativeness of social reality to predict gender norm attitudes. Moreover, the female SEM illustrated that traditional gender norm attitudes positively correlated with traditional future family and career expectations. The male SEM showed that traditional gender norm attitudes positively correlated with traditional future family expectations and negatively correlated with traditional future career expectations. Lastly, for women, traditional social reality positively correlated with traditional future family expectations, and for men, positively correlated with traditional future family and career expectations in SEM analysis.

Study 2's 20 individual in-depth interviews (M age = 19.05 years) with male and female undergraduate students were analyzed to find that interviewees utilized social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions to help craft gender norm ideas and future life expectations. Specifically, social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions were simultaneously discussed and while nontraditional social reality experiences framed nontraditional gender norm ideas, nontraditional mediated reality displays that were perceived as "heavy-handed" were often accompanied by more traditional gender norm ideas via hesitancy to adopt a feminist title. Additionally, while female interviewees expected to manage future household, childcare, and career responsibilities, male interviewees expected to do less. The final chapter of this dissertation collectively discusses the survey and interview findings to consider the ways emerging adults may use everyday life and media to shape gender norm attitudes and future life expectations and the consequences that might arise if these expectations are not met.

Keywords: cultivation theory, emerging adulthood, gender norms, life expectations, mediated reality, millennial, social reality, social role theory

CHAPTER I

Literature Review

Introduction to Literature Review

The years between adolescence and adulthood (ages 18 – 29) are classified as "emerging adulthood," a distinct life stage where individuals struggle with uncertainty about future life endeavors including marriage, parenthood, and career pursuits (Arnett, 2007). Currently, emerging adults embody the Millennial generation, a group of "digital natives" born between 1982 and 2004 (Charrier, 2016; lifecourse, 2016). According to statista (2014), 90% of Millennials use smartphones, 93% access the Internet regularly, and 53% own tablets. In a world where social media are seemingly inescapable, this research investigates Millennial emerging adults' (aged 18 – 23 years) social reality (i.e., everyday life) gender norm experiences and mediated reality (i.e., media) gender norm perceptions to assess how these two realms are related to schematic constructions of gender norm attitudes and adulthood expectations. The present study's foundational premises are fittingly grounded in social role theory and cultivation theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016; Gerbner, 1973; Shrum, 2017), arguing that gender norms are learned and reinforced through everyday experiences and the media.

It is critical to consider participants' social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions in an American society where emerging adults' everyday realities are pervaded by technology. The present study defines social reality by one's experiences with family, immediate

social environment, and society whereas mediated reality is defined by one's perceptions of the media and media personae (Zemach & Cohen, 1986). While Zemach and Cohen (1986) used the term "symbolic reality," there is a lack of overall consensus on how to best define this realm. Therefore, this dissertation employs the term "mediated reality" to investigate emerging adults' media perceptions. Importantly, social reality experiences and interpersonal conversations can occur in both face-to-face and new media contexts (e.g., mobile phone, texting; Campbell & Kwak, 2011). This dissertation acknowledges that interpersonal relationships with family, friends, coworkers, or acquaintances can occur via media devices and parasocial (i.e., one-sided; Cohen, 2009) relationships with media personae can occur in online or offline contexts (e.g., concerts). Thus, the current research classifies social and mediated realities by the types of experiences or relationships generated in each life domain (i.e., interpersonal vs. parasocial) rather than through the way emerging adults communicate (e.g., email or cell phone).

For Millennials, bidirectional involvement with the media is the new normal; justifiably, it is no longer appropriate to talk about media and emerging adults independently. However, authors like TED speaker Simon Sinek (2016) have linked the Millennial "obsession" with social media to unhappiness in the workplace, narcissism, lower self-esteem, and entitlement. Sinek (2016) has also blamed the Millennial social media "addiction" on dopamine, a neurotransmitter capable of rewarding the brain for performed behavior. Research has linked dopamine's elicited high to media use (Berridge & Robinson, 1998); consequently, in stressful times it is logical that emerging adults might turn to media to ease tensions experienced in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. This constant mediated reality involvement may begin to supplement social reality experiences. In turn, both social and mediated realities may foster emerging adults' gender norm attitude formation and concurrent life expectations.

Figure I.1 illustrates the hypothesized path model relationships this dissertation explores (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & 8) between the study's key constructs (A, B, C, D, & E) that are based on theory and past research findings. Past quantitative research findings suggest that experienced social reality gender norms and perceived mediated reality gender norms should predict participants' gender norm attitudes in congruent directions. For example, content analyses have shown that mediated reality media such as television continue to depict traditional gender norms that portray women in stereotypically feminine roles as nonprofessionals, homemakers, wives, mothers, and sexual gatekeepers (Collins, 2011; Desmond & Danilewicz, 2010; Lauzen, Dozier, & Horan, 2008). Furthermore, research has linked television use and everyday experiences to individuals' gender norm attitudes (Keener, Mehta, & Strough, 2013; Rivadeneyra & Ward, 2005). In addition, scholars have provided substantial evidence to hypothesize a positive relationship between participants' traditional gender norm attitudes and traditionally gendered family/career expectations (Askari, Liss, Erchull, Staebell, & Axelson, 2010). Finally, research has also shown evidence that experienced social reality gender norms as well as perceived mediated reality gender norms are linked to family and career expectations (Lawson, Crouter, & McHale, 2015; Meeussen, Veldman, & Van Laar, 2016; Uhls, Zgourou, & Greenfield, 2014). Accordingly, this research builds on previous studies by measuring the various gender norm facets of a person's life and testing their connections in a single empirical model.

This dissertation also explores a variety of moderators that have been identified in literature but have not received sufficient support to be included in Figure I.1's path model. Thus, the following moderating relationships will be accounted for in exploratory regression analyses instead of being included in the path model. Specifically, research has not investigated a potential moderating relationship between social reality and mediated reality gender norms when

predicting gender norm attitudes. Studies have also not considered how perceived representativeness may moderate the relationship between experienced social reality and perceived mediated reality gender norms and gender norm attitudes.

In order to estimate these various relationships, the present research consists of a two-part study. Study 1's national survey provides numerical data for the research goals and study 2's individual in-depth interviews offer verbal illustrations to supplement statistical findings. Accordingly, this project is a two-part study to comprehensively engage emerging adults' social and mediated realities in order to comprehend the way in which gender norm attitudes and future life expectations are connected with media in a broader social context. While this chapter offers a cursory overview of the dissertation's mission and the expected pattern of relationships, theoretical constructs are explicated in more depth in the measures section of chapter 2.

Social Role Theory and Cultivation Theory

This project investigates Millennial emerging adults' experienced social reality gender norms and perceived mediated reality gender norms. Eagly's (1987) social role theory provides theoretical grounding to explore participants' experienced social reality gender norms. Social role theory presumes that gender stereotypes are learned and maintained through observing an unequal distribution of women and men performing gendered roles (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Kite, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016). The theory argues that observed gender role performances reflect a sexual division of labor and gender hierarchy that is especially prominent in American society (Eagly, Wood, & Diekman, 2000; Wood & Eagly, 2012). For example, Dasgupta and Asgari's (2004) experimental field study showed that undergraduate women who were exposed to a greater number of counterstereotypical women on an all-

women's college campus expressed less implicit gender stereotypes than undergraduate women at a mixed-gender college. These findings suggest that women's beliefs about their ingroup may be affected by social reality gender norms they experience.

This dissertation's mediated reality construct accounts for emerging adults' gender norm perceptions across all types of screen media. However, the original cultivation premises consider viewership and not perceptions of content (Gerbner, 1973). Specifically, Gerbner's (1973, 1998) cultivation theory operates on the assumption that what individuals watch onscreen will cumulatively influence viewer beliefs about the way the world operates. Thus, cultivation theory proposes that television's depiction of reality will become the audience's view of actual reality. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli (1986) further argued that television is a prominent source of culturally shared images and messages, maintaining order through its repetition of myths, ideologies, and "facts" that define the world. These ideologies include traditional gender norms, and their consistent on-screen mediated reality portrayal arguably shapes individuals' ideas about gender norms (Morgan, Shanahan, & Signorielli, 2017; Rivadeneyra & Ward, 2005). Additions to cultivation theory postulated that television reinforces attitudes and values within its audience (Hawkins & Pingree, 1980, 1981). These "second-order" cultivation effects influence viewers' attitude accessibility (Shrum, 1999). From a second-order effects perspective, it is reasonable to suggest that emerging adults who already conform to more traditional gender norm attitudes will experience reinforcement of their attitudes when forming perceptions of screen media gender norm depictions (Gerbner, 1967; Morgan, Shanahan, & Signorielli, 2014). Cultivation theory and gender norm literature are unpacked in more detail below.

Social role theory's assumption that gender norms are learned through observation is complemented by cultivation theory's argument that television has the power to convey facts and

strengthen accessible attitudes in viewers. One way traditional gender norms are learned and reinforced is through screen media. Content analyses have investigated television's gender portrayal discrepancies since the 1970s (Dominick, 1979; Downing, 1974; Busby, 1975; Seggar & Wheeler, 1973). After coding over a thousand fictional characters with speaking parts from prime-time television series, Glascock (2001) concluded that males outnumbered females in front of and behind the camera. Another content analysis of 124 prime-time TV programs showed that female characters followed traditional gender norms predominantly concerned with romance, family, and friends, whereas male characters enacted work-related gender norms (Lauzen et al., 2008). In an investigation of 580 TV news stories, Desmond and Danilewicz (2010) found that female reporters were more likely to present human interest and health stories, whereas male reporters presented primarily political stories. Likewise, this study found that news stories more often utilized male experts as sources than female experts. Finally, in a commentary on a series of quantitative content analyses of gender norms in the media, Collins (2011) concluded that women are underrepresented, portrayed in a negative, often sexualized manner, and are primarily shown in traditionally feminine stereotyped roles. Notably, Collins (2011) stressed the importance of conducting research assessing new media's connection with gender norms. Thus, this study will account for participants' television and social media perceptions as a part of the mediated reality construct.

Supporting the premises of social role theory and cultivation theory are numerous studies that link participants' television consumption to more traditional gender norm attitudes. Specifically, Ward, Hansbrough, and Walker (2005) showed that African American high school students exposed more frequently to music videos reported more traditional gender norm attitudes than those participants with less frequent exposure, especially if the videos featured

traditional gender content. Rivadeneyra and Ward (2005) also identified a direct association between the amount of reported television watched per month and more traditional gender norm attitudes among Latina high school girls. Surveying male college students, Giaccardi, Ward, Seabrook, Manago, and Lippman (2016) found that men's media use, particularly consumption of reality TV and movies, was related to more traditional beliefs about the male's role within society. Relatedly, research demonstrated that college women's endorsement of traditional sexual scripts was directly associated with television consumption or perceiving TV's content as an accurate representation of everyday life (Seabrook, Ward, Cortina, Giaccardi, & Lippman, 2016). Recent research has also revealed that college students' television exposure to traditional gender norm messages on television predicted more traditional gender norm attitudes regarding political issues (Swigger, 2017). This study therefore proposes that emerging adults' gender norm attitudes are more often than not based on traditional gender norms experienced in social reality, and that a dominant source of information about gender hierarchy is acquired and reinforced by the mediated reality of screen media. Consequently, both social reality and mediated reality should be associated with emerging adults' gender norm attitudes. However, it is essential to reiterate that this project uses perceptions of mediated reality gender norms as a predictor and overall screen media use as a control in data analyses.

Gender Norm Attitudes (C) Acquired in Social Reality (A) and Mediated Reality (B)

Building on social role theory's and cultivation theory's assumptions, the present research investigates participants' gender norm attitudes in relationship to social reality gender norm experiences and mediated reality gender norm perceptions. Accordingly, a phenomenological approach to the social construction of individuals' realities is adopted, which

suggests that people are aware of different realities (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Following this approach and past research findings, this dissertation proposes that individuals are able to differentiate between their everyday realities and media realities (Cohen, Adoni, & Drori, 1983; Zemach & Cohen, 1986). Zemach and Cohen's (1986) foundational research was based on earlier scholars who proposed three types of reality (Adoni & Mane, 1984). The first type, objective social reality, is experienced as an individual's everyday factual world. The second type of reality, symbolic reality, includes mediated expressions like art and electronic media. Finally, the subjective social reality is the point where the objective social reality meets with symbolic reality (Adoni & Mane, 1984; Enzensberger, 1972). As previously mentioned, this project equates "symbolic reality" with "mediated reality." Accordingly, this dissertation bases its social reality and mediated reality constructs on Zemach and Cohen's (1986) definitions where social reality includes one's family, immediate social environment, and society, and mediated reality includes television. However, unlike Zemach and Cohen (1986), this project defines mediated reality not only by television content but also by other forms of symbolic media art including new media.

This dissertation argues that it is critical to concurrently consider both realms because the way social and mediated realities work together has the potential to blur the lines between the sources from which gender norm information and attitudes are acquired. Zemach and Cohen (1986) first considered this dynamic by comparing Israeli adults' perceptions of gender norms in their social and mediated realities. Despite finding that participants expressed a basic similarity between the two domains, their results indicated that people are capable of differentiating between the two realms. Specifically, participants found mediated reality's (i.e., television's) portrayal of feminine traits, masculine occupations, and the roles of grocery shopping, money

management, and providing for the family more traditional than their social reality (i.e., everyday life) gender norm experiences.

Past literature has studied the relationship between social reality gender norm experiences and gender norm attitude formation. Scholars attribute adolescents' gender norm development to many social factors including family and peer groups (Galambos, Berenbaum, & McHale, 2009). Keener et al. (2013) explored adolescents' (aged 15 -17 years) gender-segregated peer preferences in relationship to various sexism measures. Their study demonstrated that boys who reported greater gender-segregated peer preferences in school and home contexts believed that gender equality was less important, whereas girls who reported gender-segregated peer preferences in the home context were in greater denial of gender discrimination practices. Lemaster, Strough, Stoiko, and DiDonato (2015) surveyed college students and found that whereas men and women who participated in more masculine activities reported less feminist attitudes, same-sex peer affiliation (i.e., friendship or association) was not significantly related to gender norm attitudes.

Investigating parental influences, McHale, Crouter, and Tucker (1999) found that firstborn children of parents with less traditional gender norm attitudes also held less traditional gender norm attitudes. However, firstborn boys were more likely to report more traditional gender norm attitudes if they had younger sisters and fathers with more traditional gender norm attitudes. Additionally, recent longitudinal research connected African American adolescents' (aged 9 – 18 years) attitudes about gender marital roles to mothers' gender marital role attitudes (Lam, Stanik, & McHale, 2017). This study also found significant gender differences, such that boys were more likely to adhere to traditional marital beliefs than were girls, supporting the idea that boys profit from a hegemonic gender model. Exploring other types of social reality

influencers, Dasgupta and Asgari (2004) found that interacting with powerful women leaders on college campuses weakened undergraduate women's implicit (i.e., automatic) gender norm stereotypes. Importantly, Lam et al. (2017) noted that future research should explore gender norm attitude formation in relationship to media, home, and workplace gender norm exposure among youth. This project seeks to simultaneously account for emerging adults' social reality and mediated reality gender norms.

While studies following Zemach and Cohen's (1986) article have investigated participants' perceptions of mediated reality gender norms (Dill & Thill, 2007; Fung & Ma, 2000; Lysonski & Pollay, 1990), they do not establish direct connections with gender norm attitudes. Surveying Hong Kong Chinese citizens (aged 16 years or older), Fung and Ma (2000) concluded that participants who reported using the media for information or entertainment were more likely to believe feminine stereotypes and more likely to have critical awareness of male stereotypes. Lysonski and Pollay's (1990) longitudinal experimental study in Denmark, Greece, New Zealand, and the U.S. measured university business students' perceptions of television advertising's portrayal of women. This study showed that while emerging adult Americans are increasingly aware and even critical of advertising sexism, they are less likely to express intentions to boycott these companies. Taking a different approach, Dill and Thill (2007) first conducted a content analysis of gender portrayals in video games and then surveyed freshman college students (aged 17 – 19 years) about their perceptions of gender stereotypes in video games. The survey revealed that regardless of video game exposure, the teens perceived game characters to carry traditional portrayals of gender that mirrored content analysis findings. The aforementioned studies did not directly connect gender norm attitudes to mediated reality gender norm perceptions; however, it is still expected that perceived mediated reality gender norms will

predict participants' gender norm attitudes based on past research that has connected greater stereotypical television consumption with more traditional gender norm attitudes (Rivadeneyra & Ward, 2005).

Importantly, I was unable to locate published research examining social and mediated realities' joint connection to individuals' gender norm attitudes. The proposed investigation seeks to extend Zemach and Cohen's (1986) research by considering emerging adults' social reality and mediated reality gender norms in relationship to gender norm attitudes. Social and mediated realities expose emerging adults to individuals playing gender roles, whether traditional or not. Concurrently analyzing these two realities will hopefully facilitate comparisons between the information that is perceived on screen and the information acquired off screen that is possibly used to reinforce emerging adults' gender norm attitudes. It is likely that emerging adults aspire to achieve gender balance in their own lives in congruence with what they experience in their social reality and what is reflected in their mediated reality. Thus, this study accounts for participants' gender norm experiences in their social realities and gender norm perceptions in their mediated realities. Measuring both realities is critical because it may be the case that mediated reality perceptions are processed through schemas set by social reality experiences and/or vice versa.

Potential Moderators: Social Reality and Mediated Reality

At the same time, it is essential to acknowledge research that has questioned the distinction between social and mediated realities. Today, treating social reality and mediated reality as separate concepts has fallen out of favor in media effects literature. Instead, scholars observe individuals' online and offline worlds as integrated and layered abstractions, mitigating emphasis on their separateness to focus on their overlap. For example, research completed by

11

Van den Bulck (1999) proposed a model where the mediated reality of the media is less of an outside influence acting on an individual and more of a critical component of one's social reality. In the words of Van den Bulck (1999), "…the media do not just report about or reflect reality, they are an integral part of reality… The media are therefore not independent, passive mediators. The simple fact that they exist already changes reality" (p. 10). More recently, e Silva (2006) explicated the physical and digital realms not as distinct entities but rather as encompassing one hybrid space that is constructed through the flexibility that mobile communication affords its users. The hybrid space focuses on how space is constructed through the flow of information and communication while individuals are in movement. Similarly, Hjorth and Pink (2014) argued that digital reality is interwoven with offline reality. Justifiably, the possible joint nature of Zemach and Cohen's (1986) social and mediated realities is especially relevant for Millennial emerging adults, who regularly multitask online while partaking in daily offline activities (Uncapher et al., 2017). In addition, despite the distinct separateness of Zemach and Cohen's (1986) social reality and mediated reality, past scholars like Adoni and Mane (1984) previously suggested that social and mediated realities have a realm where they converge. Responding to this debate in literature, this dissertation considers the possibility that participants' social and mediated realities may be related in non-obvious ways to predict gender norm attitudes in post-hoc exploratory regression analyses.

Potential Moderators: Perceived Representativeness of Social and Mediated Realities

It is unlikely that youth are mindlessly adapting gender norm attitudes from their social and mediated realities. This dissertation posits that it is also critical to account for emerging adults' perceived representativeness of their social reality and mediated reality gender norms

when predicting gender norm attitudes. Since past research has not looked at these moderating relationships, perceived representativeness of social reality and perceived representativeness of mediated reality are not included in Figure I.1's hypothesized path relationships. Nevertheless, this dissertation investigates these potential relationships through post-hoc exploratory regression analyses. Emerging adults may report social and mediated realities that are more traditionally gender stereotyped; however, if they perceive these realities to be unrepresentative of the rest of the world, they may adhere to less traditional gender norm attitudes. It might also be the case that participants will recognize their social and mediated realities as unrepresentative of everyday life but will nevertheless choose to subscribe to gender norms they witness in these realms.

Numerous studies have demonstrated that college students who perceive televised content as realistic are more likely to hold beliefs and attitudes similar to the scripts promoted as true on TV (Behm-Morawitz, Lewallen, & Miller, 2016; Taylor, 2005). Notably, most studies have interchanged what this dissertation classifies as perceived representativeness for "perceived realism" due to their focus on televised content only. The perceived realism scale was first conceptualized by Rubin, Perse, and Taylor (1988) based on cultivation research (Gerbner, 1998). Rubin et al. (1988) proposed that in addition to television's cultivating power, people actively evaluate TV content before incorporating it into social perceptions. Due to the current project's focus on exploring emerging adults' perceived representativeness of social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions including but not limited to television, the original scale by Rubin et al. (1988) is modified to fit this dissertation's goals. Perceived representativeness considers the extent to which emerging adults believe their social reality gender norm experiences and mediated reality gender norm perceptions represent gender norms for the rest of the U.S. Particularly relevant to the current research, Seabrook et al. (2016)

established a direct connection between perceiving TV's stereotypical content as accurate and increased endorsement of gendered sexual scripts in heterosexual relationships. Similarly, Behm-Morawitz et al. (2016) showed that female emerging adults who perceived reality TV as realistic and desirable held more stereotypical views of women. However, neither study considered perceived representativeness as a moderator between reported perceptions of TV's gender roles and personal gender norm attitudes.

Further, Kuo and Ward (2016) examined the moderating implications of first-time expecting parents' (aged 18 – 46 years) television exposure and perceived realism of parental roles. Their findings showed that greater perceived realism of televised content increased the belief that fathers are not as integral to a child's development as are mothers. Interestingly, a moderating effect revealed that fathers with low perceived realism and greater TV exposure nevertheless reported beliefs that fathers are not as important as mothers in the child's home environment. Kuo and Ward (2016) only accounted for participants' television consumption and not perceptions of mediated reality gender norms on television. Therefore, the present research will measure emerging adults' social reality gender norm experiences, mediated reality gender norm perceptions, and perceived representativeness of each reality to explore the possibility that perceived representativeness moderates the relationship between social and mediated realities to predict gender norm attitudes.

Gender Norm Attitudes (C) and Future Family (D) and Career (E) Expectations

Millennial emerging adults' current gender norm attitudes are likely related to future gender norm expectations for family and career development. Therefore, an additional goal of this dissertation was to investigate the connection between participants' reported gender norm

attitudes and expectations of gendered responsibilities or role allocation (i.e., percentage of a role that will be assumed by one gender or the other) in future families and careers. Importantly, this dissertation explores gender roles as a binary feminine/masculine construct because this is almost exclusively how gender roles are depicted in entertainment media (Collins, 2011; Ward et al., 2005) as well as in research investigating gendered aspirations or expectations (Erchull, Liss, Axelson, Staebell, & Askari, 2010). However, the binary focus of this dissertation is not intended to suggest that gender is best or most appropriately conceptualized as a binary.

The introduction of role allocation in general begs the question of the status quo in American heterosexual partnerships. In regards to typicality for the average American family, time-diary data collected by Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, and Robinson (2000), found that adults (aged 25 – 64 years) spend on average 4 fewer hours per week on domestic labor since 1965 (17.50 hours vs. 13.70 hours). Specifically, women have cut their housework hours (excluding childcare and shopping) since 1975 due to increased labor force participation, later marriage, and fewer children (23.70 vs. 17.50). In comparison, men's time spent on housework has increased since 1975 (7.20 vs. 10.0 hours).

More recently, taking childcare into consideration, Yavorsky, Kamp Dush, and Schoppe-Sullivan (2015) collected time-diary data acquired from dual-earner couples who were also first-time parents prebirth and postbirth. Prebirth, women and men each spent on average 14.51 hours on housework per week. Postbirth, women spent an average 13.50 hours on housework and 21.79 hours on childcare. In contrast, their counterparts spent on average 9.46 weekly hours on housework and 14.04 weekly hours on childcare. Interestingly, while women reported spending an average of 42.22 hours a week on paid labor, men spent an average of 45.98 hours, only amounting to about a 3-hour difference. Therefore, while men partake in childcare and complete

more housework and than they historically used to, they still do less than their female partners in spite of both genders spending comparable amounts of time working outside the home (Bianchi et al., 2000; Yavorsky et al., 2015).

Literature has explored emerging adults' gender norm attitudes in relationship to anticipated role allocation using single-item measures. Specifically, Kerpelman and Schvaneveldt (1999) examined emerging adults' (aged 18 – 25 years) familial gender norm attitudes and estimated role allocation to parenting, marriage, and careers. Their results showed that women who were career-oriented, career/marriage oriented, or career/marriage/family balanced oriented reported the least traditional gender norm attitudes, whereas family-oriented women held the most traditional gender norm attitudes. Men with balanced or family orientations were the most traditional in their gender norm attitudes. Similarly, Kaufman's (2005) survey research considered the connection between college students' gender norm attitudes and expectations for marriage, children, housework, and career. This study found that women with less traditional gender norm attitudes were less likely than women with more traditional gender norm attitudes to report expectations of marriage or children. Furthermore, men with less traditional gender norm attitudes expected to work fewer hours at their job than men with more traditional gender norm attitudes. Finally, recent research reported that Japanese university students with less traditional gender norm attitudes expressed the expectation for more balanced work-family role allocations than students with more traditional gender norm attitudes (Adachi, 2017).

Other research in this realm has employed multiple-item measures to evaluate emerging adults' gender norm attitudes and anticipated role allocation (Askari et al., 2010; Erchull et al., 2010). Erchull et al. (2010) showed that women with less traditional gender norm attitudes

16

anticipated doing fewer household and childcare chores, whereas men with less traditional gender norm attitudes expressed expectations of doing more of these chores. Similarly, Askari et al. (2010) showed that women who reported liberal feminist attitudes expected to do fewer household chores than women with less liberal feminist attitudes. In contrast, liberal feminist men expected to do more household chores than men with less liberal feminist attitudes. However, Askari et al. (2010) used the shortened Liberal Feminist Attitudes and Ideology Scale (LFAIS; Levonian Morgan, 1996), where the focus is less on gender norms and more on the rights of women. Instead, this dissertation utilizes Kaufman's (2005) Gender Role Attitude Scale, which captures the gender norms participants believe males and females *should* adhere to within society.

Research that has investigated emerging adults' gender norm attitudes in relationship to workplace expectations has often done so through participants' career motivations. For instance, Morinaga, Frieze, and Ferligoj's (1993) comparative analysis examined U.S., Slovenian, and Japanese college students' gender norm attitudes and career motivations. This study concluded that among all surveyed countries, U.S. students reported the most traditional gender norm attitudes and highest career motivations. However, U.S. college women with less traditional gender norm attitudes were more career-oriented than U.S. college women with more traditional gender norm attitudes. Similarly, O'Brien and Fassinger (1993) showed that adolescent girls (aged 13 to 17 years) with less traditional gender norm attitudes were more likely to value their career pursuits than girls with more traditional gender norm attitudes.

Fewer studies have connected gender norm attitudes to gendered career choices. Gushue and Whitson (2006) found that Black and Latina high school girls' career self-efficacy (i.e., confidence in their ability to succeed at a given career) mediated the relationship between gender

17

norm attitudes and more traditional career goals, such that increased career self-efficacy was associated with less traditional career choices. Nonetheless, their study did not focus on emerging adults, nor did it establish a direct association between gender norm attitudes and gendered career choices. Zhang (2006) investigated Chinese college students' gender norm attitudes in relationship to gendered career choices but failed to find a significant association between the two constructs. Using data collected from the 2009 Young Adult Panel Study, Kaufman and White (2015) examined Swedish adults' (aged 29 – 41 years) job attribute preferences in relationship to single-item measures assessing beliefs about whether males or females should take care of children or work. This study found that women with less traditional gender norm attitudes placed greater importance on career advancement and being proud of their work; however, they were less concerned with family-friendly work policies. In contrast, men with less traditional gender norm attitudes placed greater weight on family-friendly work policies and less weight on high salaries and workplace security. This dissertation will extend past literature on traditional career choices and gender norm attitudes by using a battery of gender-stereotyped career choices in addition to the Life Role Salience Scale's (LRSS) occupational role allocation subscale to account for participants' gendered career expectations (Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986).

Accordingly, this dissertation extends literature investigating emerging adults' gender norm attitudes in relationship to family and career expectations through an analysis with U.S. emerging adults by employing multiple types of future life expectation measures. Based on past research findings (Askari et al., 2010; Erchull et al., 2010; Kaufman & White, 2015), the present project anticipates gendered differences with gender norm attitudes in relationship to family and

career expectations such that more traditional gender norm attitudes will positively predict more traditional family and career expectations.

Social Reality (A), Mediated Reality (B), and Future Life Expectations (D & E)

It is also important to consider direct relationships between social and mediated realities and participants' life expectations in this project's proposed path model (see figure I.1). While past research in this area is not extensive, multiple studies' findings lend support to this dissertation's hypothesized premise that experienced social reality gender norms and perceived mediated reality gender norms are respectively related to future gender norm expectations. Specifically, a recent cross-sectional study investigated the direct association between descriptive social reality gender norms (i.e., what men and women currently do) and participants' life aspirations (Meeussen et al., 2016). Meeussen et al. (2016) primarily identified positive associations between the two constructs. For example, college women who reported more traditional descriptive family norms for men and women as well as more traditional descriptive career norms for women reported more traditional family aspirations. Additionally, women who reported more traditional descriptive family norms for women also reported more traditional career aspirations. Conversely, college men who reported more traditional descriptive family norms for women reported more traditional career aspirations. Notably, Meeussen et al. (2016) found one negative relationship between college men's traditional descriptive career norms for men and traditional family aspirations. Nevertheless, this study did not simultaneously measure mediated reality gender norms nor did it employ Zemach and Cohen's (1986) social reality and mediated reality scales.

19

Further, researchers have long suggested that parent socialization, a practice that takes place in one's social reality, is important for adolescent development. For instance, Lawson et al.'s (2015) 15-year longitudinal survey examined how family gendered socialization experiences in adolescence ($M = 10.87$ years) were related to occupational choices in emerging adulthood ($M = 26.25$ years). For emerging adult men, mothers' more traditional gender norm attitudes during childhood years predicted holding a gender-stereotyped occupation. Additionally, more time spent with fathers during childhood predicted women holding less and men holding more gender-stereotyped occupations later in life. Regardless, Lawson et al. (2015) relied on parent data rather than directly measuring the children's childhood social reality gender norm experiences and they did not measure childhood expectations of eventual careers. In contrast, this project will directly assess emerging adults' social reality gender norm experiences as well as future family and career gender norm expectations. Lastly, Betz and Sekaquaptewa (2012) showed that when middle school girls experienced more traditionally feminine (e.g., wearing pink clothes, wearing makeup) role models in nontraditionally feminine STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) domains, their future plans to study math, their self-rated abilities, and their expectations of success decreased. These results raise the possibility that traditional unattainable standards paired with less traditional social reality experiences (i.e., women maintaining a high degree of both femininity and intelligence) may cause young women to feel threatened rather than inspired, thus resulting in more traditional future expectations.

Regarding mediated reality gender norm perceptions and future expectations, a handful of studies have explored media's connection to future expectation development; however, no known studies have specifically examined perceptions of mediated reality gender norms in relationship to future gender norm expectations in family and career. For example, Uhls et al.

(2014) found that youth (aged 9-15 years) who more frequently engaged with television and social networking sites were more likely to report self-focused future aspirations such as fame, image, money, and status. The authors concluded that these self-focused aspirations were most likely related to current media use. Recently, Wenhold and Harrison (2018) found that the values emerging adult women ($M = 19.58$ years) attributed to favorite TV news personalities positively correlated with their own work values for current or expected future careers. Relatedly, Paa and McWhirter (2000) surveyed high school students to investigate perceived influences on career expectations. The top three perceived background influences identified were ability, role models, and media (Paa & McWhirter, 2000). While these studies did not specifically investigate mediated reality gender norm perceptions in relationship to future gender norm expectations, they nevertheless give concrete reason to expect that what emerging adult youth observe in the media should be directly related to future expectations. Thus, based on these research findings that show significant relationships between social reality gender norm experiences and future expectations and significant relationships between media exposure and future expectations, I hypothesize direct positive relationships between theoretical constructs A, B, D, & E.

In order to suitably advance past literature in the aforementioned areas pertinent to the project's exploratory goals, a two-study design is employed. While specific facets of Figure I.1's key constructs have been investigated in past studies, there is no known study to date that has comprehensively considered the interconnectedness between social reality, mediated reality, gender norm attitudes, and future life expectations. Therefore, study 1's national survey will quantitatively test the predicted correlations in Figure I.1, while study 2's individual in-depth interviews will offer insight as to why certain correlations are smaller or larger, and positive or negative.
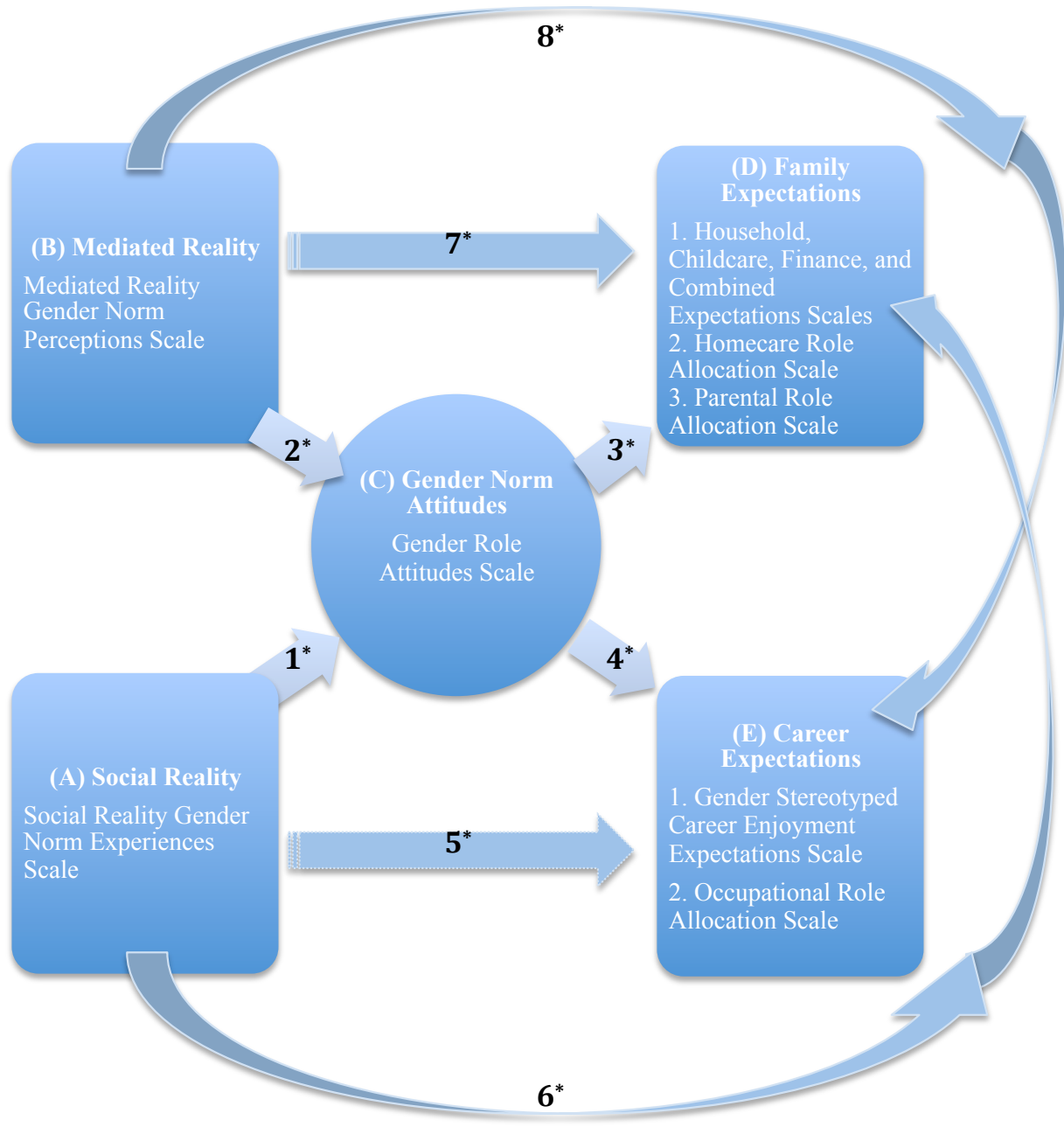
Figure I.1 Hypothesized relationships. Illustrated relationships pictured are between Social Reality (A), Mediated Reality (B), Participant Gender Norm Attitudes (C), and Future Expectations (D & E). Relationships are indicated with numerals (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & 8). All relationships are supported by past research.

CHAPTER II

Study 1

Introduction

This project comprised two studies. Study 1 consisted of an online national survey analyzed quantitatively. A survey design was selected for study 1 to examine the relationships between variables representing Figure I.1's constructs. Based on social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016) and cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1998; Shrum, 2017), I predicted that gender norm ideas and attitudes are acquired through everyday experiences (i.e., social reality) and media perceptions (i.e., mediated reality). I further predicted that these experiences, perceptions, and gender norm attitudes are used to formulate and therefore should be correlated with future gender norm role expectations for family and career. Consequently, study 1 presents three hypotheses to investigate the relationships outlined in Figure I.1 between social reality experiences, mediated reality perceptions, gender norm attitudes, and future life expectations. Since the interconnectedness of these relationships remains unexplored in past research, a cross-sectional survey design provides needed preliminary clarity to concurrently consider social reality and mediated reality. Crucially, while study 1 utilizes structural equation path models (SEMs) to test the three proposed hypotheses, study 1's research questions pertaining to moderating relationships are analyzed through post-hoc hierarchal exploratory regression analyses. It is most parsimonious to limit SEM analyses to relationships that have been established by both theory and past research, and it is not ideal to make SEM fit contingent on

questioned rather than predicted moderators.

Past literature has connected social reality experiences with family and peer groups to gender norm attitudes (Keener et al., 2013). In addition, college men's experiences with traditionally masculine painful and provocative life events are positively associated with masculine gender norm attitudes (Granato, Smith, & Selwyn, 2015). Additionally, while research has not established a concrete connection between mediated reality perceptions and gender norm attitudes, it has established a relationship between consuming traditionally gendered television content and holding more traditional gender norm attitudes (Rivadeneyra & Ward, 2005; Swigger, 2017). Thus, in order to build upon Zemach and Cohen's (1986) dated research, the current study offers a hypothesis investigating social and mediated realities in congruence with participants' gender norm attitudes:

H1: Participants' traditional social reality (A) and mediated reality (B) gender norms will positively correlate with traditional gender norm attitudes (C; relationships 1 & 2).

An additional goal of study 1 was to supply support for past literature that has established a relationship between holding more traditional gender norm attitudes and more traditional life expectations (Askari et al., 2010; Kaufman & White, 2015). For example, research has shown that high school students' greater acceptance of the gender status quo (i.e., more traditional gender norm attitudes) was positively associated with greater hopes for a future family and future gender stereotyped careers (Farkas & Leaper, 2015). Grounded in social role theory and cultivation theory, the gender norm knowledge one acquires through social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions should in turn help generate or reinforce attitudes that predict future life expectations (Eagly, 2000; Eagly & Wood, 2016; Morgan et al., 2017; Shrum, 1999):

H2: Participants' more traditional gender norm attitudes (C) will be associated with more

traditional family (D) and career (E) expectations (relationships 3 & 4).

This study's final hypothesis focuses on the relationships between social reality gender

norm experiences, mediated reality gender norm perceptions, and future family and career

expectations. Research has shown that traditional social reality gender norm experiences are

positively connected to traditional future aspirations (Meeussen et al., 2016) and while the direct

connection between mediated reality gender norm perceptions and future gender norm

expectations has not been explored, various studies have found that media exposure is connected

to expectation development among viewers (Paa & McWhirter, 2000). Thus, these findings

provide reason to predict positive relationships between these key constructs:

H3: Traditional social reality (A) and mediated reality (B) gender norms will positively

correlate with traditional future family (D) and career (E) expectations (relationships 5, 6,

7, & 8).

Table II.1 serves as a key explaining what hypotheses correspond with each of Figure I.1's

proposed path relationships (see table II.1).

Research in this area has yet to consider the intersection between social and mediated

realities in predicting gender norm attitudes. Nonetheless, because social role theory states that

gender norms are learned through everyday observations, and cultivation theory posits that

media portrayals influence beliefs about the world, it is reasonable to question whether social

reality gender norm experiences and mediated reality gender norm perceptions will work

together to help foster gender norm attitudes (Shrum, 1999; Shrum, 2017; Wood & Eagly, 2012).

Thus, the following research question will be assessed in post-hoc exploratory analysis:

RQ1: Will participants' social reality (A) and mediated reality (B) interact in predicting

gender norm attitudes (C)?

Finally, this study also explores how perceived representativeness of one's social and mediated realities moderate the relationship between the two realms and gender norm attitudes. Research shows that perceiving television content to be more realistic predicts attitudes more similar to media scripts (Behm-Morawitz et al., 2016); however, studies have not specifically accounted for perceived representativeness of mediated reality perceptions and social reality experiences. Nonetheless, it is possible that emerging adults may be aware that their media, families, and communities adhere to values and roles that are not shared by the majority. Furthermore, research has yet to consider perceived representativeness of both realms as a moderator of the realms' relationships with gender norm attitudes. For instance, it may be the case that perceiving one's more traditional social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions as representative of U.S. society may manifest in more traditional gender norm attitudes. Accordingly, the following is queried through an exploratory post-hoc analysis:

> RQ2: Will participants' perceived representativeness of their social reality and mediated
> reality gender norms moderate the relationship between their social reality (A) and
> mediated reality (B) gender norms and personal gender norm attitudes (C)?

Study 1 Method

Participants, Procedure, and Measures

The University of Michigan's IRB approved study 1 prior to recruitment and data collection (see Appendix A). Seven hundred and fifty male and female emerging adult participants between the ages of 18 and 23 were recruited nationally through *Qualtrics* panels throughout January and February of 2018. Data were vetted for quality with built-in quality

checks. Thus, the final sample consisted of 663 respondents (*M* age = 20.32 years); however, only complete cases were included in SEM and regression analyses. Participants were only eligible to participate if they had never been married and did not have children, ensuring that they reported future life expectations for events they had not yet experienced (Arnett, 2007). Upon providing consent as outlined in Appendix B, respondents completed the survey via *Qualtrics* online survey software. Respondents received non-cash compensation (e.g., gift cards, magazine subscriptions) from *Qualtrics* for their time and efforts.

Three hundred and six respondents identified as male, 334 respondents identified as female, and 23 respondents indicated another gender identity. Race/ethnicity was based on U.S. Census (2017) categories. Three hundred and eighty one respondents identified as White, 106 as Black or African American, 79 as Hispanic or Latino, 63 as Asian, 13 as Native American or Alaska Native, 4 as Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, 11 as Other, and 6 preferred not to respond. For data analyses, race and ethnicity were coded into two groups based on averages for the survey's gender norm attitudes scale, with the goal of separating racial and ethnic groups with relatively more traditional gender role attitudes from those with relatively less traditional gender role attitudes. Individual means were calculated separately for each racial group. Race/ethnicity categories with a mean at or below 1.41 were grouped together and coded as 0 or less traditional (*n* = 477; White, Hispanic or Latino, Other, prefer not to respond) and race/ethnicity categories with a mean at or above 1.42 were grouped together and coded as 1 or more traditional (*n* = 186; Black or African American, Asian, Native American or Alaska Native, Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander). Economic class status was measured via fathers' and mothers' highest level of education. Of fathers, most (42%) were high school graduates, 21% received bachelor's degrees, 15% received an associate's degree, 12% did not complete high

school, 7% had master's degrees, and 3% completed a PhD. Most (32%) mothers finished high school, 23% had a bachelor's degree, 21% an associate's degree, 12% a master's degree, 9% did not complete high school, and 3% had a PhD.

Other demographic controls used in data analyses included current partner status (i.e., do participants currently have a partner) coded as no (0 = 378) or yes (1 = 285), expected future partners' gender coded as male (0 = 329), female (1 = 306), or another gender (2 = 28), and past employment coded for no employment experience (0 = 188) or part-time/full-time experience (1 = 475). Among male respondents, 182 reported having a current partner, while 124 reported no current partner. Most (261) male respondents expected to have a future female partner, 39 expected a future male partner, and 6 expected their partners to identify as another gender identity. Seventy-four percent of males had been previously employed and 23% had never been employed. Among female respondents, 182 reported no current partner and 152 reported having a partner. Two hundred and eighty-five female respondents expected a future male partner, 35 expected a female partner, and 14 expected to have a partner with another gender identity. Seventy-one percent of females reported previous employment and 29% had never been employed.

For a full version of the survey consent form and survey, please reference Appendix B and Appendix C. Written descriptions of proposed survey measures are below.

Screen media use. Overall screen media use was used as a control in post-hoc exploratory regression analyses. As previously noted, screen media use is used as a control while mediated reality gender norm perceptions are used as a predictor. Research has shown that survey participants are not capable of accurately estimating hours of media usage including cell phone use and/or texting (Bayer, Dal Cin, Campbell, & Panek, 2016). Accordingly, the survey

adapted Jacobsen and Forste's (2011) media items from their measure of "electronic media use" in addition to Boase and Ling's (2013) scale categories from their mobile use and texting measure. Participants indicated how frequently they use online social networks, email (including work email), chatting/IM, cellphone for texting, cellphone for calling, video games/online games, TV/movie, and other online activity on Boase and Ling's (2013) 1-to-8 scale. Survey participants read, "Please indicate on the following scale how frequently you use the following media devices from "Never" to "More than 10 times a day" and responded to an item for each screen media device listed. Scores were averaged across items for all participants ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.02$), male participants ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.03$), and female participants ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 0.98$), so that higher values on the standardized 0-to-7 scale indicated greater weekly media use.

The following measures are organized by Figure I.1's constructs.

Social Reality (A in Figure I.1)

Respondents' social reality experiences were assessed through an evaluation of personal traits, roles, and occupations from Zemach and Cohen's (1986) original 25-item scale. Participants indicated the extent to which they believe traits, roles, and occupations characterize mainly women, both genders equally, or mainly men on a 1-to-7 Likert-type scale ranging from "mainly women" (1) to "both genders equally" (4) to "mainly men" (7). Respondents first read, "From what you have seen in your personal everyday life experiences (e.g., your own life, or the lives of your neighbors, family, and community), please indicate who occupies these traits/roles/occupations across the following continuum: mainly women, both genders equally, or mainly men." The 12 trait items included: willingness to take risks, leadership abilities, aggressiveness, independence, ambition, resourcefulness/ability to improvise, conscientiousness, children-loving, warmth, shyness, sensitivity, and gentleness. The 3 domestic-oriented roles

included: housework, childcare, and shopping for food. The 3 out-of-home-oriented roles included: management of money, decisions on major spending, and providing for the family. Finally, the 7 occupation items included: clerical work, teaching, medicine, science, public service, management, and political activity. Responses were coded following Zemach and Cohen (1986) and Fung and Ma (2000). Three separate standardized 0-to-6 scales were created for all participants ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 0.47$, $\alpha = .75$), male participants ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 0.48$, $\alpha = .76$), and female participants ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 0.46$, $\alpha = .75$). Items were reverse-coded as needed so that for participants of both genders, higher scores indicated experiencing more traditional gender norms in one's social reality and lower scores less traditional gender norms.

Mediated Reality (B in Figure I.1)

Perceptions of respondents' mediated reality gender norms were also measured with the aforementioned social reality items (Zemach & Cohen, 1986). However, this time participants were prompted with the statement, "Please indicate who occupies the following traits/roles/occupations in the media (e.g., movies, television, news, etc.) across the following continuum: mainly women, both genders equally, or mainly men." Coding procedures correspond with the social reality gender norm 0-to-6 standardized scale for all participants ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 0.72$, $\alpha = .88$), male participants ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 0.70$, $\alpha = .87$), and female participants ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 0.76$, $\alpha = .90$).

Gender Norm Attitudes (C in Figure I.1)

Participants responded to Kaufman's (2005) 6-item Gender Role Attitudes scale to measure gender norm attitudes. After reading, "Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following items" respondents answered items including, "Men should be the primary financial providers;" "Women should be the primary caretakers of children;" and "It is as

important for a man as for a woman to care for children." Scale items were measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Items were reverse-coded as needed so that higher scores on the standardized 0-to-6 scale indicated more traditional gender norm attitudes for all participants ($M = 1.38$, $SD = 1.02$, $\alpha = .84$), male participants ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 1.00$, $\alpha = .80$), and female participants ($M = 1.08$, $SD = 0.94$, $\alpha = .84$).

Family Expectations (D in Figure I.1)

Household, childcare, and finance expectations. Participants responded to items representing their future family expectations in the household context. The first 14 items were adapted from the Askari et al. (2010) measure assessing participants' expected household and childcare chores (Askari et al., 2010; Cowan & Cowan, 1988; Grote & Clark, 1998; John, Shelton, & Luschen, 1995; Kroska, 2003; Kroska, 2004) and the final 3 scale items were adapted from Zemach and Cohen's (1986) social reality and mediated reality measures to assess management of finances, decisions on major spending, and providing for the family. Respondents read, "Thinking about your expected future life with a partner (e.g., dating, marriage), please respond to the following household and childcare responsibilities. Select a value ranging from "Never" (0) to "Always" (100) with the slider on the scale for the percentage of chores you EXPECT to do. Do not consider paid labor and assume that your partner would perform the remaining proportion of the chore." Example questions included, "How often would you expect to be in charge of grocery shopping?;" "How often would you expect to be in charge of responding to children's crying in the middle of the night?;" and "How often would you expect to be in charge of decisions on major spending/purchases?" Following Askari et al. (2010), scores were averaged across all items to create subscales of household, childcare, and finance expectations. The Askari et al. (2010) items are coded so that higher scores are

31

traditionally feminine while Zemach and Cohen's (1986) are coded so that higher scores are traditionally masculine. With this procedure, higher scores for all participants indicate a tendency toward more traditional roles for that participant's gender. Thus, for male participants, feminine items were reverse-coded so that higher scores would indicate the percentage of traditional masculine roles male participants expected to fulfill (i.e., less housework, less childcare, more financial responsibility). Likewise, for female participants, masculine items were reverse-coded so that higher scores would indicate the percentage of traditional feminine roles female participants expected to fulfill (i.e., more housework, more childcare, less financial responsibility).

To improve reliability, only 14 of the original 17 items were used to generate scales for all participants, male participants, and female participants. Prior to the omission of these items, the male household expectation alpha was .77, the female household expectation alpha was .78, and the female finance alpha was .77. To maintain scale consistency across participant groups, two items were dropped from the household items (i.e., organizing social activities and keeping in touch with family and friends) and one item from the finance items (i.e., earning the primary source of income for your family). Means for these items corresponding with the standardized 0-to-6 scale for the sample as a whole (i.e., all participants) are as follows: Combined household expectations, $M = 55.28$, $SD = 12.89$, $\alpha = .85$; Household, $M = 55.54$, $SD = 16.57$, $\alpha = .83$; Childcare, $M = 55.75$, $SD = 19.00$, $\alpha = .91$; and Finance, $M = 53.01$, $SD = 19.33$, $\alpha = .83$. For male participants: Combined household expectations, $M = 52.41$, $SD = 12.42$, $\alpha = .84$; Household, $M = 49.71$, $SD = 15.84$, $\alpha = .82$; Childcare, $M = 52.51$, $SD = 18.29$, $\alpha = .92$; and Finance, $M = 58.81$, $SD = 19.39$, $\alpha = .80$. For female participants: Combined household expectations, $M = 57.91$, $SD = 12.77$, $\alpha = .85$; Household, $M = 60.88$, $SD = 15.40$, $\alpha = .80$;

Childcare, $M = 58.71$, $SD = 19.18$, $\alpha = .93$; and Finance $= M = 47.70$, $SD = 17.71$, $\alpha = .83$. Please reference Appendix C for final scale information.

      Homecare and parental expectations. Derived from the Life Role Salience Scale (LRSS), the Homecare Role Commitment and Parental Role Commitment subscales were also used to assess participants' parental and homecare expectations (Amatea et al., 1986). Both subscales contain 5 items and were measured on a 1-to-7 Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Participants read, "Thinking about your expected future life, please indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with the following items if you were to get married or live with a partner;" and "Thinking about your expected future life, please indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with the following items about the possibility of having children." To improve scale reliability for male participants (Homecare, $\alpha = .66$; Parental, $\alpha = .70$) and female participants (Homecare, $\alpha = .76$; Parental, $\alpha = .79$), the final homecare expectation scale consisted of 3 items including "I expect to leave most of the day-to-day details of running a home to someone else;" "I expect to devote the necessary time and attention to having a neat and attractive home;" and "I expect to be very much involved in caring for a home and making it attractive." The final parental expectation scale comprised 2 items including "I expect to devote a significant amount of my time and energy to the rearing of children of my own;" and "I expect to be very involved in the day-to-day matters of rearing children of my own." See Appendix C for complete scale information. For male participants, items designated as feminine were reverse-coded; for female participants, items labeled as masculine were reverse-coded. Higher scores on the standardized 0-to-6 scale indicate more traditional gender norm expectations for all participants (Homecare, $M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.55$, $\alpha = .93$; Parental, $M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.83$, $\alpha = .91$); male participants (Homecare, $M = 1.77$, $SD = 1.20$,

α = .87; Parental, *M* = 1.87, *SD* = 1.43, α = .85); and female participants (Homecare, *M* = 4.19,

SD = 1.20, α = .83; Parental, *M* = 4.18, *SD* = 1.41, α = .82).

Career Expectations (E in Figure I.1)

Career enjoyment expectations. Following Miller and Hayward's (2006) list of male

and female stereotyped gender occupations as further validated by Ginevra and Nota (2015),

participants responded to items representing their expected enjoyment in various careers. This

adapted 18-item scale includes the jobs significantly gender-norm stereotyped by Ginevra and

Nota's (2015) male and female participants (aged 16 – 18 years) in addition to two low-paying

careers that are traditionally stereotyped as masculine to provide economic gender balance to the

original list (Butler, 1993). The 11 stereotypical male careers included: airline pilot, webmaster,

civil engineer, materials scientist, systems analyst, architect, software engineer, computer

engineer, dentist, truck driver, and farm worker. The 5 stereotypical female careers included:

nurse, secretary, occupational therapist, financial advisor, and hairdresser. Informal pretesting

showed that participants were more likely to respond to scale items when asked about job

enjoyment rather than career desire. Thus, respondents read, "Thinking about your expected

future career, please indicate the extent to which you would enjoy doing the following jobs from

'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'." Example items included "I would enjoy being a

secretary" and "I would enjoy being an architect." Mirroring the future family expectations

scales, masculine items were reverse-coded for female respondents and feminine items were

reverse-coded for male respondents so that greater response values on the standardized 0-to-6

scale indicated more traditional future career enjoyment expectations for all participants (*M* =

3.41, *SD* = 0.72, α = .90), male participants (*M* = 3.13, *SD* = 0.67, α = .87), and female

participants (*M* = 3.67, *SD* = 0.67, α = .85).

Occupational role allocation. Participants also responded to the Occupational Role Commitment subscale adapted from the LRSS (Amatea et al., 1986). This subscale measures perceived role commitment in participants' future careers. The 5-item scale was measured on a 1-to-7 Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Participants read, "Thinking about your expected future career, please indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with the following items." The final occupational role allocation scale comprised 4 items such as "I expect to make as many sacrifices as are necessary in order to advance in my work/career." To improve reliability and maintain scale consistency for all participants ($\alpha = .79$) and male participants ($\alpha = .69$), the item "I expect to work, but I do not want to have a demanding career" was removed from the final scale items. See Appendix C for complete scale item information. Following Amatea et al. (1986), feminine items were reverse-coded for male participants and masculine items were reverse-coded for female participants. Higher scores indicated more traditional gender norm role allocation expectations in one's future occupation on a standardized 0-to-6 scale for all participants ($M = 3.01$, $SD = 1.66$, $\alpha = .92$), male participants ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.05$, $\alpha = .81$), and female participants ($M = 1.84$, $SD = 1.17$, $\alpha = .87$).

Moderators

Perceived representativeness of social reality. Following Rubin et al.'s (1988) adaptation of the original perceived realism scale (REAL) first appearing in Rubin and Perse's (1985) study, this modified 5-item scale measures the extent to which participants believe their social reality gender norms are a representative depiction of the world at large. Participants completed this scale twice. For perceived representativeness of social reality gender norms, respondents were prompted with, "The questions you just answered have to do with gender norms in your own life (i.e., what men and women typically do). With your prior responses in

mind, please indicate the extent to which you agree the following items represent the world at large." Sample items assessing perceived representativeness of social reality gender norms included, "My life shows life as it really is for most people;" and "My life presents things as they really are in other people's lives."

Higher response values indicated greater levels of perceived representativeness of social reality gender norms on the standardized 0-to-6 scale for all participants ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.05$, $\alpha = .80$), male participants ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.02$, $\alpha = .78$), and female participants ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.05$, $\alpha = .79$).

Perceived representativeness of mediated reality. For perceived representativeness of mediated reality gender norms, respondents read, "The questions you just answered have to do with gender norms in the media (e.g., movies, television, news, etc.). In the media, we tend to see different kinds of people in different roles. With your prior responses in mind, please indicate the extent to which you agree the following items represent the world at large." Sample items included, "The media let me see how other people live" and "The media let me see what happens in other places." Scale items were measured on a 1-to-7 Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree."

Higher response values indicated greater levels of perceived representativeness of mediated reality gender norms on the standardized 0-to-6 scale for all participants ($M = 2.21$, $SD = 1.23$, $\alpha = .84$), male participants ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 1.29$, $\alpha = .86$), and female participants ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 1.18$, $\alpha = .83$).

Results

Data Analysis

Data analysis was completed with "R" software (R Core Team, 2018) and Amos

Software (Amos, 2018). Zero-order correlations illustrating the relationships between the study's

key variables were calculated for all participants (see table II.2), male participants (see table

II.3), and female participants (see table II.4). The predicted path model (see figure I.1) was tested

with SEM. Three separate SEMs representing all participants (see figure II.1), male participants

(see figure II.2), and female participants (see figure II.3), were created to test the model

generally and separately by gender. Finally, to consider the research questions' moderating

relationships that were not included in SEM analysis, a series of multivariate regressions were

computed. The first table of regression analyses (see table II.5) addresses the relationships

between participants' social and mediated realities with gender norm attitudes (H1), the potential

two-way interaction between social and mediated realities to predict gender norm attitudes

(RQ1), and the possible two-way interactions between perceived representativeness and

social/mediated realities to predict gender norm attitudes (RQ2). Table II.6's, Table II.7's, and

Table II.8's regression analyses address gender norm attitudes' as well as social and mediated

realities' relationships with future family and career expectation scales that were not included in

SEM analysis due to model fit specifications (reported below). These tables report data on the

expectation scales for all participants, male participants, and female participants separately (H2

& H3). For all key constructs included in Figure I.1, higher scores indicate more traditional

experiences, perceptions, attitudes, or expectations.

Zero-Order Correlations

Table II.2 depicts zero-order correlations for all participants. Traditional gender norm

attitudes were positively correlated with traditional social reality, perceived representativeness of

social reality and mediated reality, traditional household expectations, traditional childcare

expectations, traditional finance expectations, traditional combined household expectations, and traditional occupational role allocation. Traditional gender norm attitudes were negatively correlated with traditional mediated reality, traditional homecare expectations, traditional parental expectations, and traditional career enjoyment expectations. Traditional social reality was positively correlated with traditional mediated reality, perceived representativeness of social reality, traditional household expectations, traditional childcare expectations, traditional finance expectations, traditional combined household expectations, and traditional occupational role allocation. Traditional mediated reality positively correlated with traditional household expectations, traditional childcare expectations, traditional combined household expectations, traditional homecare expectations, traditional parental expectations, and traditional career enjoyment expectations. Traditional mediated reality negatively correlated with perceived representativeness of mediated reality and traditional occupational role allocation.

For male participants (see table II.3), traditional gender norm attitudes were positively correlated with traditional social reality, perceived representativeness of social reality and mediated reality, traditional household expectations, traditional childcare expectations, traditional finance expectations, traditional combined household expectations, and traditional homecare expectations. Traditional gender norm attitudes were negatively correlated with traditional occupational role allocation. Traditional social reality positively correlated with traditional mediated reality, perceived representativeness of social reality, traditional household expectations, traditional childcare expectations, traditional finance expectations, traditional combined household expectations, and traditional occupational role allocation. Traditional mediated reality positively correlated with traditional household expectations, traditional childcare expectations, traditional finance expectations, and traditional combined household

38

expectations; however, negatively correlated with perceived representativeness of mediated reality.

Table II.4 presents significant zero-order correlations for female participants. Traditional gender norm attitudes positively correlated with perceived representativeness of social reality and mediated reality, traditional household expectations, traditional childcare expectations, traditional combined household expectations, and traditional occupational role allocation; however, negatively correlated with traditional mediated reality. Traditional social reality positively correlated with traditional mediated reality, traditional household expectations, traditional childcare expectations, traditional combined household expectations, traditional homecare expectations, and traditional career enjoyment expectations. Traditional mediated reality positively correlated with traditional career enjoyment expectations and negatively correlated with perceived representativeness of mediated reality.

SEM

SEM was selected as the primary method of analysis due to its structural model capabilities and its ability to reveal a pattern of potential causal dependencies between Figure I.1's key constructs through path analysis. Three separate yet identical SEMs were run for all participants (see figure II.1), male participants (see figure II.2), and female participants (see figure II.3) to respectively account for individual and holistic interrelationships among the study's primary variables (see figure I.1): traditional social reality; traditional mediated reality; traditional gender norm attitudes; traditional family expectations; and traditional career expectations.

This study is transparent in its employment of Amos' best model fit feature, which guides researchers in decisions regarding model modification. In order to avoid issues of "cherry-

picking," wherein all possible alternative paths are applied to find the strongest support for hypotheses (Murphy & Aguinis, 2017), all structural paths in the final SEMs were based on theory and research. The following decisions to add two paths and remove a path were made in order to achieve a fitting model. This project's post-hoc regressions are accordingly used to demonstrate the magnitude of all relationships; particularly those relationships not illustrated in the SEMs, precisely to avoid the impression of cherry-picking.

Thus, the final models' latent construct, family expectations, only reflects the observed variable of combined household expectations. Further, the SEM latent construct, "family expectations" was renamed, "family division of labor expectations" to accurately reflect its observed variable. In addition, the latent construct career expectations only reflects the observed variable occupational role allocation. Thus, this latent construct was also renamed "career role allocation expectations" to more appropriately reflect its observed variable. The other expectation scales (i.e., household expectations, childcare expectations, finance expectations, homecare expectations, parental expectations, and career enjoyment expectations) unfortunately rendered the SEMs unacceptably significant and were therefore removed from the final path diagrams illustrated in Figure II.1, Figure II.2, and Figure II.3. The terms latent and observed are used to describe SEM variables in order to report the models' results as related to key constructs. However, it should be noted that all variables presented in the SEMs are observed variables.

Upon further investigation, it makes sense that combined household expectations and occupational role allocation would account for their respective latent constructs due to each measure accounting for proposition of time expenditure in either family or career domains. Not only does combined household expectations include all three subscales (i.e., household expectations, childcare expectations, and finance expectations) it also asked participants to

indicate with a slider the percentage to which they expect to partake in various gendered duties. Thus, this scale most specifically represents participants' realistic expectations of estimated time expenditure of traditionally gendered tasks in the family domain with higher scores indicating a tendency toward more traditional roles. Likewise, the occupational role allocation scale detailed participants' expectations of apportioning time in future careers whereas the career enjoyment expectations scale asked participants the extent to which they would enjoy partaking in various careers. Please see regression results (see table II.6, table II.7, and table II.8) to observe how traditional gender norm attitudes, traditional social reality, and traditional mediated reality were connected to all of the expectation scales measured in study 1.

The best model fit feature suggested an additional path connecting traditional social reality to traditional mediated reality. While this path was not originally illustrated in Figure I.1 it was nevertheless included in the final SEMs. Theoretically, this change was made due to social role theory and cultivation theory's potential relationship (Eagly, 1984; Gerbner, 1987). This path's inclusion suggests that more traditional social reality gender norm experiences likely drive how participants make sense of mediated reality by forming the schemas and frames through which they interpret mediated reality perceptions. Hence, after this adjustment, each model includes one exogenous construct (traditional social reality) and four endogenous constructs (traditional mediated reality, traditional gender norm attitudes, traditional family division of labor expectations, and traditional career role allocation expectations).

Model fit statistics recommended the removal of the path between traditional mediated reality and traditional career role allocation expectations. In light of this hypothesized relationship (H3), the path was removed from the models to maintain fit and the relationship between mediated reality and occupational role allocation was estimated in the regression

analyses. Regression results (see table II.5, table II.6, and table II.7) found no significant

relationships between mediated reality and any of the career expectation scales (i.e., career

enjoyment expectations and occupational role allocation), justifying the removal of the path from

the path models. Finally, the best fit feature recommended adding a path between family division

of labor expectations' and career role allocation expectations' error terms. This change was made

based on the reasoning that any other future life expectation responsibilities that fall outside of

these latent constructs (i.e., family/home and career) are most likely absorbed by the error terms.

These changes were accordingly made to achieve optimum best model fit and model

nonsignificance. Following is a summary of each SEM's unique output. Only complete cases

were included in analyses.

Each SEM illustrates significant and nonsignificant path betas. The first SEM (see figure

II.1) represents data for all male and female participants ($N = 630$). While the model's chi-square

was significant ($x^2(1) = 8.91$, $p = 0.00$) its model fit was deemed acceptable with NFI>/= .95

(.98), CFI > .90 (CFI = .98), and AGFI>/=.90 (AGFI = .92). Notably, RMSEA was just outside

of the acceptable range (RMSEA < .08; RMSEA = .11). Further, nearly all model paths were

significant. Significant positively correlated paths included traditional social reality to traditional

mediated reality, traditional social reality to traditional gender norm attitudes (H1), traditional

social reality to traditional family division of labor expectations (H3), and traditional gender

norm attitudes to traditional family division of labor expectations and career role allocation

expectations (H2). Traditional mediated reality negatively correlated with traditional gender

norm attitudes but not in the direction hypothesized (H1 not supported).

Therefore, despite its significance, the all participant SEM is included in this dissertation.

Importantly, scholars continue to debate which indexes to utilize when determining model fit.

Chi-square is at times deemed inappropriate for larger sample sizes due to its sensitivity to inconsistencies among expected values and it is it no longer relied upon as the only basis for model acceptance (Schlermelleh-Engel, Moosbrugger, & Müller, 2003; Vandenberg, 2006). Nonetheless, since the male and female models were deemed nonsignificant and the results of this study are most meaningful by discussing them by gender, the discussion focuses on the following two models in order to interpret its findings.

To more thoroughly comprehend model differences for male participants (see figure II.2) and female participants (see figure II.3) separately, two additional identical SEMs were created. The SEM for male participants ($n = 299$) was nonsignificant ($x^2(1) = .86, p = .35$) with good model fit (NFI = .99, CFI = 1.00, AGFI = .98, RMSEA = .00). Significant positive paths mapped traditional social reality to traditional mediated reality, traditional social reality to traditional career role allocation expectations (H3), traditional social reality to traditional family division of labor expectations (H3), traditional social reality to traditional gender norm attitudes (H1), and traditional gender norm attitudes to traditional family division of labor expectations (H2). Negatively correlated paths included traditional mediated reality to traditional gender norm attitudes (H1 not supported), and traditional gender norm attitudes to traditional career role allocation expectations (H2 not supported).

Finally, Figure II.3's SEM representing female participants ($n = 331$) was also nonsignificant ($x^2(1) = .28, p = .59$) and results showed good model fit (NFI = .99, CFI = 1.00, AGFI = .99, RMSEA = .00). Positive significant paths included traditional social reality to traditional mediated reality, traditional social reality to traditional gender norm attitudes (H1), traditional social reality to traditional family division of labor expectations (H3), and traditional gender norm attitudes to traditional family and career role allocation expectations (H2).

Traditional mediated reality was negatively correlated with traditional gender norm attitudes (H1 not supported).

Post-hoc Exploratory Multivariate Regressions

As mentioned, post-hoc exploratory regression analyses were also completed to answer two research questions concerning the possibility of moderating relationships. Regression results addressing H1, H2, H3, RQ1, and RQ2 are summarized in Table II.5, Table II.6, Table II.7, and Table II.8. These are one-step multivariate regression analyses with all variables entered on the same block. These three regressions were run to account for the possible interaction between social reality and mediated reality (RQ1), as well as the interactions between social reality and perceived representativeness of social reality, and mediated reality and perceived representativeness of mediated reality (RQ2), in predicting gender norm attitudes. Three separate regressions were run for all participants $R^2 = .23$, $F(16,646) = 11.91$, $p < .001$, male participants $R^2 = .22$, $F(15,290) = 5.36$, $p < .001$, and female participants $R^2 = .16$, $F(15,318) = 4.17$, $p < .001$ (see table II.5).

For all participants, H1 was partially supported. While more traditional social reality predicted more traditional gender norm attitudes, more traditional mediated reality predicted less traditional gender norm attitudes. More traditional gender norm attitudes were also predicted by greater perceived representativeness of social reality, greater perceived representativeness of mediated reality, and expecting a future non-male partner. Predictors of less traditional gender norm attitudes included identifying as non-male, more educated mothers, and greater screen media use.

Addressing RQ1, there was a significant two-way interaction between social reality and mediated reality predicting gender norm attitudes. Figure II.4 visualizes the four decomposed

groups via median splits to make sense of this interaction: more traditional social reality/more traditional mediated reality ($M = 1.51$, $SD = 1.08$); more traditional social reality/less traditional mediated reality ($M = 1.56$, $SD = 1.02$); less traditional social reality/more traditional mediated reality ($M = 0.84$, $SD = 0.82$); and less traditional social reality/less traditional mediated reality ($M = 1.46$, $SD = 0.99$). After running independent samples t-tests to compare group means, results concluded that participants who reported less traditional social reality/more traditional mediated reality reported significantly less traditional gender norm attitudes than the three other groups ($p < .001$).

In response to RQ2, there was also a significant two-way interaction between social reality and perceived representativeness of social reality. Figure II.5's bar chart illustrates this interaction. To make sense of the interaction, the variables were divided into four groups based on median splits: more traditional social reality/higher perceived representativeness ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 1.00$); more traditional social reality/lower perceived representativeness ($M = 1.31$, $SD = 1.06$); less traditional social reality/higher perceived representativeness ($M = 1.44$, $SD = 0.90$); and less traditional social reality/lower perceived representativeness ($M = 1.14$, $SD = 1.00$). Independent samples t-tests revealed that participants who reported more traditional social reality/higher perceived representativeness also reported more traditional gender norm attitudes than all other groups ($p < .05$) and participants who reported less traditional social reality/lower perceived representativeness reported significantly less traditional gender norm attitudes than all groups except for more traditional social reality/lower perceived representativeness ($p < .01$).

H1 was also partially supported for male participants. More traditional social reality predicted more traditional gender norm attitudes; however, more traditional mediated reality predicted less traditional gender norm attitudes. Other predictors of more traditional gender norm

attitudes included greater perceived representativeness of social reality and expecting a future

non-male partner. Greater screen media use predicted less traditional gender norm attitudes.

While RQ2 was not supported in this regression model, social reality and mediated reality

did interact to predict gender norm attitudes (RQ1). Figure II.6 illustrates this interaction

comparing the following four groups decomposed with median splits: more traditional social

reality/more traditional mediated reality ($M = 1.91$, $SD = 1.07$); more traditional social

reality/less traditional mediated reality ($M = 1.81$, $SD = 0.92$); less traditional social reality/more

traditional mediated reality ($M = 1.15$, $SD = 0.89$); and less traditional social reality/less

traditional mediated reality ($M = 1.77$, $SD = 0.97$). Similar to the two-way interaction for all

participants (see figure II.4), participants in the less traditional social reality/more traditional

mediated reality group reported the least traditional gender norm attitudes ($p < .001$).

For female participants, more traditional social reality predicted more traditional gender

norm attitudes and more traditional mediated reality predicted less traditional gender norm

attitudes. Thus, H1 was once again partially supported. Greater perceived representativeness of

social reality and greater perceived representativeness of mediated reality predicted more

traditional gender norm attitudes while previous employment predicted less traditional gender

norm attitudes. There were no significant interactions for this regression model (RQ1 & RQ2).

To test the relationships between gender norm attitudes, social reality, and mediated

reality with the various future family and career expectation scales (H2 & H3) that were not all

included in SEM analysis due to recommended omission by model fit statistics, twenty-one

separate regressions were run for all participants, male participants, and female participants

employing the expectation scales as dependent variables. Table II.6, Table II.7, and Table II.8

only display the one-step multivariate regression models where gender norm attitudes, social

reality, and/or mediated reality predicted future family or career expectations scales for all participants (see table II.6), male participants (see table II.7), and female participants (see table II.8).

Table II.6's regression models address H2 and H3 for all participants. More traditional household expectations were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional social reality (H3), more traditional childcare expectations, more traditional homecare expectations, and identifying as non-male $R^2 = .39$, $F(18,621) = 22.31$, $p < .001$. More traditional finance expectations predicted less traditional household expectations. More traditional childcare expectations correlated with more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional household expectations, and more traditional parental expectations $R^2 = .41$, $F(18,621) = 23.55$, $p < .001$. Less traditional childcare expectations correlated with more traditional finance expectations, identifying as non-male, race/ethnicity (i.e., Black or African American, Asian, Native American or Alaska Native, Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander), and expectations for a future non-male partner.

More traditional finance expectations were associated with more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2) in addition to more traditional social reality (H3), more traditional mediated reality (H3), and more traditional parental expectations $R^2 = .26$, $F(18,621) = 11.82$, $p < .001$. More traditional finance expectations were associated with less traditional household expectations and less traditional childcare expectations. More traditional combined household expectations were correlated with more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional social reality (H3), more traditional homecare expectations, and more traditional parental expectations $R^2 = .26$, $F(16,623) = 13.75$, $p < .001$. However, race/ethnicity (i.e., Black or African American, Asian,

47

Native American or Alaska Native, Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander) and expectations for a future non-male partner correlated with less traditional combined household expectations.

More traditional homecare expectations were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional household expectations, more traditional parental expectations, more traditional career enjoyment expectations, identifying as non-male, and having a current partner $R^2 = .61$, $F(18, 621) = 53.43$, $p < .001$. In contrast, more traditional occupational role allocation correlated with less traditional homecare expectations. Finally, more traditional occupational role allocation was predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional career enjoyment expectations, and age (i.e., being older) $R^2 = .61$, $F(18,621) = 53.02$, $p < .001$. More traditional homecare expectations, more traditional parental expectations, and identifying as non-male were associated with less traditional occupational role allocation.

Table II.7's regression models display significant predictors of more traditional future family and career expectations scales for male participants. More traditional household expectations were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional social reality (H3), more traditional childcare expectations, and more traditional homecare expectations $R^2 = .38$, $F(17,288) = 10.43$, $p < .001$. Less traditional household expectations correlated with more traditional finance expectations, more traditional parental expectations, more educated mothers, and greater screen media use. More traditional childcare expectations were associated with more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional household expectations, and more traditional parental expectations while more traditional finance expectations and race/ethnicity (i.e., Black or African American, Asian, Native American or Alaska Native, Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander) were associated with less traditional childcare expectations $R^2 = .33$, $F(17,288) = 8.32$, $p < .001$. More traditional finance expectations

were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes and more traditional social reality (H2 & H3); however, less traditional finance expectations were predicted by more traditional household expectations and more traditional childcare expectations $R^2 = .31$, $F(17,288) = 7.55$, $p < .001$).

More traditional combined household expectations were correlated with more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional social reality (H3), and more traditional parental expectations but traditional combined household expectations were negatively correlated with race/ethnicity (i.e., Black or African American, Asian, Native American or Alaska Native, Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander) $R^2 = .24$, $F(15,290) = 6.05$, $p < .001$. More traditional homecare expectations were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional household expectations, more traditional parental expectations, and less traditional occupational role allocation $R^2 = .39$, $F(17,288) = 10.68$, $p < .001$. More traditional occupational role allocation was predicted by more traditional social reality, less traditional homecare expectations, and less traditional parental expectations $R^2 = .32$, $F(17,288) = 7.99$, $p < .001$.

The final regression table, Table II.8, displays the female regression models where gender norm attitudes, social reality, and/or mediated reality predicted future expectations. More traditional household expectations were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional childcare expectations, and more traditional homecare expectations $R^2 = .33$, $F(17,316) = 9.34$, $p < .001$. More traditional childcare expectations were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional household expectations, more traditional parental expectations, and more educated fathers $R^2 = .49$, $F(17,316) = 17.51$, $p < .001$. More traditional finance expectations, expecting a future non-male partner, and never being previously employed correlated with less traditional childcare expectations. More traditional finance

expectations were associated with more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2) and more

traditional parental expectations; however, were associated with less traditional childcare

expectations $R^2 = .19$, $F(17,316) = 4.32$, $p < .001$.

More traditional combined household expectations were correlated with more traditional

gender norm attitudes (H2), more traditional parental expectations, expecting a future non-male

partner, and being previously employed $R^2 = .28$, $F(15,318) = 8.24$, $p < .001$. More traditional

career enjoyment expectations were associated with more traditional social reality (H3), and less

screen media use $R^2 = .15$, $F(17,316) = 3.24$, $p < .001$. Finally, more traditional occupational role

allocation was predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (H2) and less traditional

homecare expectations $R^2 = .18$, $F(17,316) = 3.95$, $p < .001$.

Discussion

The following discussion is organized by study 1's hypotheses and research questions.

Social and Mediated Realities' (A & B) Contrasting Relationships with Gender Norms (C)

H1: Social/mediated realities predict gender norm attitudes. An interesting pattern

amongst the SEMs was traditional social reality's and traditional mediated reality's contrasting

relationships with traditional gender norm attitudes (see figure II.1, figure II.2, and figure II.3),

thus providing partial support for the first hypothesis. The exploratory regression models also

established these significant yet contradictory associations (see table II.5). This trend

theoretically supports social role theory's and cultivation theory's assumptions that one's ideas

and even attitudes are formulated or reinforced by observing everyday life gender norm

performances and media depictions (Eagly et al., 2000; Shrum, 1999; Shrum, 2017).

Furthermore, social reality's and mediated reality's opposing relationships with gender norm

attitudes lend support to Zemach and Cohen's (1986) finding that adults are in fact able to differentiate between the two life domains. Unpredictably, while more traditional social reality experiences were linked to reporting more traditional gender norm attitudes, more traditional mediated reality perceptions were linked to reporting *less* traditional gender norm attitudes. It may be the case that participants who experience traditional social realities are more accepting of the way they were raised and the gender norms they experienced in their everyday lives throughout childhood. These gender norms may be accompanied by positive affiliations that in turn bind participants to what they have experienced when forming their own personal gender norm beliefs, aligning with the arguments of scholars who have also established significant connections between participants' traditional family or peer influences and more traditional gender norm attitudes (e.g., Keener et al., 2013; McHale et al., 1999).

On the other hand, participants who reported more traditional mediated realities were perhaps more likely to reject the stereotypical gender norms they see on screens, possibly feeling oppressed and manipulated by the media. Cultivation theory suggests that what is seen onscreen will help foster personal ideas and even reinforce beliefs about reality (Gerbner et al., 1986; Morgan et al., 2014; Shrum, 1999). Thus, counter-intuitively, it is possible that the current study's emerging adults actively or subconsciously reject the perceived traditional gender norms they see in the media to in turn reinforce less traditional gender norm attitudes. Similarly, respondents who reported perceiving less traditional gender norms in their mediated realities might believe the media are too progressive, therefore reinforcing more traditional gender norm attitudes. Hence, while ideas about gender norms may be acquired via the media (Gerbner, 1998), they may be rejected to form opposing attitudes that resist the media's portrayal (Shrum, 1999). Curiously, these findings seem to challenge past scholars who have established

connections between consuming more traditional gendered TV content and reporting more traditional gender norm beliefs (e.g., Rivadeneyra & Ward, 2005). However, unlike the current study, past scholars have not specifically measured emerging adults' mediated reality perceptions. This difference in methodology between exposure and perception potentially accounts for the present study's negative relationship finding. Accordingly, increased exposure to traditional gender norms in the media is not the same as perceiving more traditional gender norms in the media. Thus, it is not about how much media content to which one is exposed but rather how much media content is noticed. It is likely that participants who perceive these more traditional gender norms in media content are also more likely to reject this content as manipulative or coercive. Perhaps these individuals grew up in less traditional social realities. This idea will be further explored below.

RQ1: Social reality and mediated reality interaction. The post-hoc exploratory regression models investigating all participants' and male participants' gender norm attitudes (see table II.5) revealed a significant interaction between social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions (RQ1). This interaction, illustrated in Figure II.4 and Figure II.6, offers greater insight into the two realities' contrasting relationships with gender norm attitudes. For all participants and male participants, a significant interaction between social and mediated realities surfaced. Specifically, participants who reported less traditional social realities and more traditional mediated realities were the most likely to hold less traditional gender norm attitudes. Building on the aforementioned discussion, it is possible that participants who have experienced less traditional social realities are inclined to perceive the media as manipulative and biased in its presentation of traditional gender norms, thus reporting more traditional mediated realities and less traditional gender norm attitudes. Contributing to literature in this area, this significant two-

way interaction supports scholars who have also suggested that social and mediated realities are perhaps more joint than distinct (e.g., Hijorth & Pink, 2014; Van den Bulck, 1999).

RQ2: Social reality and perceived representativeness interaction. Moreover, the significant interaction between social reality and perceived representativeness of social reality emerged among all participants in post-hoc regression analysis (RQ2; see table II.5 and figure II.5). Interestingly, the analogous interaction was not found for mediated reality. Specifically, participants who reported more traditional social realities and greater perceived representativeness were the most likely to hold more traditional gender norm attitudes. If an individual is immersed in more traditional gender norms throughout their childhood and believes these norms to be culturally normative then it is logical that they would internalize more traditional gender norm attitudes. In contrast, survey participants who experienced less traditional social realities and reported less perceived representativeness reported less traditional gender norm attitudes compared to participants with more traditional social realities and higher perceived representativeness, and those with less traditional social realities and higher perceived representativeness. In turn, despite these participants experiencing less traditional gender norms, they may believe that their social realities are the exception of an otherwise traditionally gendered U.S. Consequently, this mindset might generate less traditional gender norm attitudes in an effort to reject what is perceived as a highly normative society and instead subscribe to what the individual has experienced growing up. These findings augment past research that has only considered individuals' "perceived realism" of televised content in relation to attitudes and beliefs (e.g., Behm-Morawitz et al., 2016; Seabrook et al., 2016). Accordingly, study 1 is unique in accounting for perceived representativeness of everyday life as a moderator of the relationship between social reality and gender norm attitudes. Furthermore, this study also reveals how

perceived representativeness of social reality experiences may be more influential as a moderator than perceived representativeness of mediated reality perceptions when forming gender norm attitudes.

As noted, research concurrently investigating social and mediated realities' relationships with gender norm attitudes is sparse. Study 1 therefore offers preliminary clarity to Zemach and Cohen's (1986) dated research, revealing contradictory relationships between the two realities and participant gender norm attitudes. Notably, despite traditional social reality's and traditional mediated reality's differing relationships with traditional gender norm attitudes, SEM analyses modeled traditional social reality experiences positively predicting traditional mediated reality perceptions (see figure II.1, figure II.2, and figure II.3). Intuitively, the direction of this relationship makes sense. Emerging adults' gender norm experiences in their social realities should frame the way they perceive gender norms in their mediated realities. The majority of study 1's participants who experienced a more traditional social reality seemingly also perceived a more traditional mediated reality. Nevertheless, as highlighted by the significant interactions (see figure II.4 and figure II.6), when participants reported less traditional social realities and more traditional mediated realities they reported the least traditional gender norm attitudes. This finding once again supports the idea that the premises of social role theory and cultivation theory may overlap to contribute to gender norm attitude formation (Eagly, 1983; Eagly & Wood, 2016 Gerbner, 1998; Shrum, 2017). It may be the case that emerging adults' social reality gender norm experiences help frame and mold their resulting mediated reality gender norm perceptions, appositionally working together to reinforce gender norm attitudes.

H2: Gender Norm Attitudes (C) and Future Expectations (D & E)

All three SEMs visualized a significant relationship between traditional gender norm attitudes and traditional future family division of labor and career role allocation expectations (H2; see figure II.1, figure II.2, and figure II.3). Each of these relationships was positive with the exception of the negative relationship between male traditional gender norm attitudes and traditional career role allocation expectations. Logically, as emerging adults report more traditional gender norm attitudes they will also expect more traditional gender norms in regards to role allocation in their future families and careers. The study's findings align with many scholars who have found similar positive associations between the two constructs (e.g., Askari et al., 2010; Erchull et al., 2010; O'Brien & Fassinger, 1993). Nonetheless, the negative relationship between male traditional gender norm attitudes and traditional career role allocation expectations was an unexpected finding. As the male participants reported more traditional gender norm attitudes they reported less traditional career role allocation expectations, refuting past research that has shown that college men with less traditional gender norm attitudes report less traditional career expectations (Kaufman, 2005; Kaufman & White, 2015). However, it is important to note that the observed variable, "occupational role allocation," representing the latent construct, "career role allocation expectations," had an overall higher average on the 0-to-6 standardized scale ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.05$), indicating more traditional occupational role allocation expectations. More specifically, 38 scores averaged between 0.25 and 3, 96 between 3.25 and 4, 108 between 4.25 and 5, and 64 score averages fell between 5.25 and 6. Thus, male participants were still more likely to report more traditional occupational role allocation despite the SEM revealing more traditional gender norm attitudes predicted less traditional career role allocation expectations. This finding also coincides with the male participants' gender norm attitude scale average, which indicated less traditional scores ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 1.00$), with 153 men reporting

average scores higher than the scale mean. Subsequently, despite the negative relation between the two constructs, the majority of the men still reported less traditional gender norm attitudes and more traditional gender norm career role allocation expectations. This unforeseen finding will be further explored in chapter 4 utilizing study 2's qualitative data. Doing so will provide greater insight into the counterintuitive nature of this negative association.

While the regression models employed various family and career expectation scales, the SEMs only accounted for combined household expectations and occupational role allocation in order to maintain proper model fit. Thus, the study's post-hoc exploratory regression models (see table II.6, table II.7, and table II.8) reveal the additional family and career scales that were significantly predicted by participant gender norm attitudes (H2). For all participants (see table II.6) and female participants (see table II.8), more traditional family and career expectation scales were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes. However, for male participants, only more traditional family expectation scales were predicted by more traditional gender norm attitudes (see table II.7). Interestingly, occupational role allocation, which represented the SEM's "career role allocation expectations" construct, was not predicted by male gender norm attitudes in regression analysis. This may be a consequence of simultaneously controlling for multiple family and career scales in regression analysis whereas the SEMs only accounted for two future expectation scales representing the latent expectation constructs.

In contrast, the female post-hoc exploratory regression models generated meaningful relationships between more traditional gender norms and more traditional family as well as career expectation scales. Of particular interest, when women reported that they expected their future partners' gender to be female or "another (non-male) gender identity," they were more likely to report less traditional combined household expectations. Perhaps women who expect to

partner with a woman or another gender identity also have less traditional expectations for their future households. In turn, the way in which household, childcare, and finance responsibilities are distributed would perhaps differ from a heterosexual partnership.

H3: Traditional Social Reality (A) Predicting Traditional Expectations (D & E)

Only traditional social reality experiences significantly predicted traditional expectations across all three SEMs (see figure II.1, figure II.2, and figure II.3). Likewise, with the exception of traditional mediated reality predicting traditional finance expectations for all participants, only traditional social reality predicted traditional future family and career expectations scales in post-hoc regression models (see table II.6, table II.7, and table II.8). Specifically, when participants reported more traditional social realities they also reported more traditional family division of labor expectations. Rationally, if an individual grew up immersed in a traditionally gendered family environment it makes sense that they might subsequently expect a more traditional family structure. For example, if a female participant experienced a mother who primarily cooked and cleaned she may expect to one day take on the same roles. Intriguingly, traditional social reality was only positively associated with traditional career enjoyment expectations in female regression analyses, refuting the female SEM that found no link between traditional social reality and traditional career role allocation expectations. This may be due to the fact that the career enjoyment expectation measure was not accounted for as an observed variable in the female SEM. Aligning with the male SEM, male regression analyses revealed that more traditional social reality was correlated with more traditional family expectation criterions. Similarly, if a male participant's social reality experiences involved a father who completed traditionally masculine gendered tasks like finances and lawn care, he might in turn expect to eventually do the same. According to social role theory, individuals learn about gender roles and norms

57

through direct experiences in their everyday lives (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987). The present study's SEM and post-hoc regression findings lend support to social role theory's assumptions. This finding also indirectly supports recent literature that has primarily found positive associations between emerging adults' more traditional social reality experiences and more traditional family expectations (Meeussen et al., 2016). Accordingly, participants' social reality experiences may be affecting the way in which they are formulating expectations for adulthood in their future families.

Notably, only the male SEM illustrated that traditional social reality experiences predicted traditional career role allocation expectations (see figure II.2). In light of the same model establishing a negative relationship between traditional gender norm attitudes and traditional career role allocation expectations, this finding is intriguing. Interestingly, the male regression revealed a positive correlation between traditional social reality and traditional occupational role allocation; however, a significant correlation was not found between traditional gender norm attitudes and traditional occupational role allocation (i.e., career role allocation expectations). A possible explanation for the male SEM's contrasting relationship with the regression analysis can be attributed to the way in which SEM controls for all other path analyses including multiple endogenous variables whereas regression only accounts for one criterion variable at a time. In the SEM's case, the men's traditional gender norm attitudes accruing from traditional social realities predicted less traditional rather than more traditional career role allocation expectations. Nonetheless, the expectation was that this construct relationship would be positive rather than negative. Consequently, the observed measure utilized to represent the latent construct career role allocation expectations may not reliably represent traditional masculinity for Millennial men. For example, survey research with Millennial undergraduate

students revealed that while Millennials seek rapid advancement in careers they also desire meaningful and satisfying lives outside of work (Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2010). Thus, despite Millennials valuing opportunity for advancement (Ng et al., 2010), perhaps the current study's men have a slightly different picture of what traditionally masculine career role allocation expectations look like. Subsequently, this dissertation reveals the ongoing need for future research to investigate what determines gendered career role allocation expectations among the current generation of emerging adults. Furthermore, it is important to note that study 1's findings refute Meeussen et al.'s (2016) research that found no relationship between college men's gendered career experiences and career expectations and a positive affiliation between traditional career gender norm ideas and traditional career expectations. However, Meeussen et al. (2016) did not use SEM to estimate the interrelationships between these constructs.

The fact that traditional mediated reality perceptions did not predict expectations across any of the SEMs perhaps means that for the majority of participants, social reality experiences are more influential than mediated reality perceptions when forming future expectations. While the current study grounds its research in cultivation theory and the notion that the media can cultivate ideas as well as attitudes regarding gender roles and norms in society (Morgan et al., 2014; Shrum, 1999), this particular finding does not support the theory. Instead, these findings align with social role theory's ideas regarding the influence of observed gender norms in one's life (Eagly, 1987). Since the SEMs visualized traditional social reality predicting traditional mediated reality, social reality's significance and mediated reality's lack of significance with future expectations are perhaps not surprising. A child experiences their social reality before their mediated reality is able to influence their worldview. Hence, mediated reality is not as memorably introduced until later in one's life. Thus, according to this study's findings, it is

social reality that likely shapes mediated reality that is perceived, and social reality that will more prominently predict future family and career expectations.

Limitations and Implications: Holistic SEM Relationships (A, B, C, D, & E)

The current study was cross-sectional, relying on correlational data to reach conclusions regarding the interrelationships between Figure I.1's constructs. Therefore, to appropriately build upon the present study's foundational findings, future scholars should consider experimental designs to test cause and effect relations between the key constructs. Moreover, longitudinal methods would offer insight into whether memories of social reality experiences, mediated reality perceptions, gender norm attitudes, and future life expectations change over time. In addition, study 1 accounted for participants' perceptions of all screen media in the mediated reality measure. It would be beneficial for future studies to explore separate facets of the media (e.g., sitcoms, news) when measuring participants' perceptions since various types of media content may generate different gender norm perceptions. Lastly, while study 1 employed Zemach and Cohen's (1986) battery of items, it would be wise for future scholars to continue further exploration with these measures due to their lack of utilization in recent research.

The present study's SEM findings support social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Wood & Eagly, 2012) and partially support cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1973; Shrum, 2017) premises. For example, traditional social reality experiences and traditional mediated reality perceptions each held significant yet contradictory relationships with gender norm attitudes across all SEMs, shedding light on the idea that one's everyday life and media may both play a role in establishing or reinforcing gender norm attitudes. However, despite cultural emphasis on social media and its all-encompassing presence in emerging adults' lives (Greenwood, 2013) and cultivation theory's assumption that facts about reality are generated by screen media (Gerbner et al., 1986; Morgan

et al., 2014), it was social reality that predicted future family division of labor expectations for all SEMs, and future career role allocation expectations for the male SEM. This finding provides insight into how social reality may have greater influential power than mediated reality when it comes to determining future expectations.

Finally, across all SEMs, traditional gender norm attitudes positively predicted traditional future family division of labor expectations. In contrast, while more traditional gender norm attitudes predicted more traditional career role allocation expectations for all participants and female participants, they predicted less traditional career role allocation expectations for male participants. Regardless, there seems to be a trend for some of the survey's men and women to lean away rather than toward traditionally gendered future career responsibilities, perhaps cosigning with research that has revealed different life goals amongst Millennials who were found to desire a meaningful and satisfying life outside of the office (Ng et al., 2010). In addition, this finding offers insight into the complex way men may generate future career plans. A t-test revealed that male participants' average for gender norm attitudes was significantly more traditional than female participants' average ($M = 1.73$ compared to $M = 1.08$, $p < .001$). Nevertheless, the male average indicated less traditional rather than more traditional gender norm attitudes on the 0-to-6 standardized scale used in data analysis. Therefore, male respondents with slightly more traditional gender norm attitudes reported more traditional family division of labor expectations and less traditional career role allocation expectations. If these men expect their future partners to traditionally manage the household chores and childcare duties but do not expect to devote as much time to a career themselves, this could have detrimental consequences for healthy work-family balance. Research has shown that while emerging adult men anticipate as many work-family conflicts as emerging adult women, they do

not anticipate using conflict reducing strategies as often (Coyle, Leer, Schroeder, & Fulcher, 2015). Accordingly, many of the present study's men may report contrasting gendered expectations in family and career due to a subconscious or conscious awareness of but lack of concern regarding potential future work-family conflict.

Notably, the male and female SEMs were appropriately nonsignificant and produced good model fit. Nonetheless, significant paths differed slightly for male and female participants. Regardless, what each SEM suggests is that the pattern of relationships between the proposed constructs (see figure I.1) is at least somewhat consistent for emerging adult men and women. Moreover, in light of this project's use of best model fit changes in SEM analysis, it is logical that other causal models outside of the predicted model might exist. Subsequently, the decision was made to test possible alternative fitting models. An inverse model was run using all current SEM predicted paths. While this model fit as well as the three current SEMs for all participants, male participants, and female participants, it makes little sense to predict past social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions on future expectations. The scale items for social reality and mediated reality were worded in a way that indicate past experiences and past perceptions whereas the future expectation items were worded to indicate future plans. Nonetheless, what participants currently expect in their futures may influence what is recalled about the past. Accordingly, longitudinal research tracking experiences, perceptions, attitudes, and life expectations over time would provide needed clarity to the possibility of alternative path relationships.

Despite past research that has considered the path relationships between social and mediated realities with gender norm attitudes and future expectations (Keener et al., 2013; Meeussen et al., 2016; Paa & McWhirter, 2000; Rivadeneyra & Ward, 2005) and gender norm

attitudes with future expectations (e.g., Askari et al., 2010), this is the first known study to synchronously and statistically connect these relationships. Continued research in this area is crucial because this study, while preliminary, demonstrates that relationships between social reality experiences, mediated reality perceptions, gender norm attitudes, and future life expectations do perhaps have the ability to indirectly and directly influence one another. Hence, it is possible that the SEM's presented relationship is more cyclical such that as gender norm attitudes develop, they influence what is experienced in social reality and perceived in mediated reality. To make sense of these potential cyclical dynamics the semi-structured interviews presented in study 2 offer additional insight.

Table II.1 Description of Figure I.1's Relationships with Hypotheses

1	(H1) Traditional social reality gender norms positively correlate with traditional gender norm attitudes
2	(H1) Traditional mediated reality gender norms positively correlate with traditional gender norm attitudes
3	(H2) Traditional gender norm attitudes positively correlate with traditional family expectations
4	(H2) Traditional gender norm attitudes positively correlate with traditional career expectations
5	(H3) Traditional social reality gender norms positively correlate with traditional career expectations
6	(H3) Traditional social reality gender norms positively correlate with traditional family expectations
7	(H3) Traditional mediated reality gender norms positively correlate with traditional family expectations
8	(H3) Traditional mediated reality gender norms positively correlate with traditional career expectations

Note. Numerals in left column mirror numeral relationships visualized in Figure I.1.

Table II.2 Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for Key Variables All Participants

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
M	1.38	3.55	4.01	3.25	2.21	55.54	55.75	53.01	55.28	3.18	3.07	3.41	3.01
SD	1.02	0.47	0.72	1.05	1.23	16.57	19.00	19.33	12.89	1.55	1.83	0.72	1.66
1. Participant GNA	--	.15*	-.18*	.24*	.22*	.10*	.11*	.22*	.18*	-.15*	-.18*	-.09*	.31*
2. Social Reality		--	.46*	.08*	-.08*	.15*	.14*	.18*	.21*	-.03	-.02	.06	.11*
3. Mediated Reality			--	-.13*	-.27*	.12*	.11*	.06	.15*	.11*	.11*	.12*	-.10*
4. PR Social Reality				--	.32*	-.11*	.00	.12*	-.03	-.14*	-.12*	-.08*	.12*
5. PR Mediated Reality					--	-.08*	-.04	.08*	-.05	-.06	-.06	-.08*	.07
6. Household Expectations						--	.52*	-.29*	.78*	.37*	.31*	.20*	-.28*
7. Childcare Expectations							--	-.30*	.91*	.23*	.36*	.14*	-.16*
8. Finance Expectations								--	-.14*	-.27*	-.20*	-.15*	.28*
9. Combined Household Expectations									--	.29*	.36*	.16*	-.19*
10. Homecare Expectations										--	.60*	.35*	-.65*
11. Parental Expectations											--	.30*	-.56*
12. Career Enjoyment Expectations												--	-.22*
13. Occupational Role Allocation													--

Note. Higher scores for all key variables with the exception of "PR Social Relaity" and "PR Mediated Reality" represent greater traditionalism. "GNA" = Gender Norm Attitudes; "PR" = Perceived Representativeness.
*$p < .05$

Table II.3 Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for Key Variables Male Participants

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
M	1.73	3.59	3.87	3.43	2.33	49.71	52.51	58.81	52.41	1.77	1.87	3.13	4.29
SD	1.00	0.48	0.70	1.02	1.29	15.84	18.29	19.39	12.42	1.20	1.43	0.67	1.05
1. Participant GNA	--	.18*	-.05	.17*	.18*	.22*	.16*	.22*	.27*	.25*	.01	.05	-.12*
2. Social Reality		--	.59*	.10*	-.12*	.21*	.15*	.33*	.28*	.01	-.01	-.01	.14*
3. Mediated Reality			--	-.06	-.22*	.17*	.12*	.18*	.20*	-.02	.01	.05	.08
4. PR Social Reality				--	.36*	-.15*	.01	.17*	-.02	-.21*	-.13*	.03	.18*
5. PR Mediated Reality					--	-.14*	-.02	.04	-.07	-.08	-.04	.01	.05
6. Household Expectations						--	.46*	-.22*	.75*	.29*	.07	-.00	-.17*
7. Childcare Expectations							--	-.20*	.90*	.19*	.28*	.00	-.15*
8. Finance Expectations								--	-.02	-.10*	-.05	-.07	.13*
9. Combined Household Expectations									--	.25*	.23*	-.02	-.15*
10. Homecare Expectations										--	.35*	-.06	-.51*
11. Parental Expectations											--	.01*	-.30*
12. Career Enjoyment Expectations												--	.10
13. Occupational Role Allocation													--

Note. Higher scores for all key variables with the exception of "PR Social Reality" and "PR Mediated Reality" represent greater traditionalism. "GNA" = Gender Norm Attitudes; "PR" = Perceived Representativeness.
* $p < .05$

Table II.4 Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for Key Variables Female Participants

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
M	1.08	3.52	4.06	3.12	2.13	60.88	58.71	47.70	57.91	4.19	4.18	3.67	1.84
SD	0.94	0.46	0.76	1.05	1.18	15.40	19.18	17.71	12.77	1.20	1.41	0.67	1.17
1. Participant GNA	--	.07	-.22*	.22*	.20*	.25*	.19*	.05	.26*	.03	.04	.02	.32*
2. Social Reality		--	.42*	.01	-.08	.16*	.16*	-.01	.19*	.11*	.09	.21*	.02
3. Mediated Reality			--	-.12*	-.27*	.00	.07	.02	.06	.08	.07	.11*	-.09
4. PR Social Reality				--	.26*	.00	.04	-.01	.03	.08	.04	-.08	-.11*
5. PR Mediated Reality					--	.01	-.03	.08	-.00	.00	.02	-.12*	-.00
6. Household Expectations						--	.53*	-.20*	.79*	.21*	.19*	.16*	.05
7. Childcare Expectations							--	-.34*	.91*	.21*	.38*	.16*	-.00
8. Finance Expectations								--	-.14*	-.12*	.00	-.02	.08
9. Combined Household Expectations									--	.22*	.37*	.19*	.04
10. Homecare Expectations										--	.35*	.18*	-.19*
11. Parental Expectations											--	.16*	-.08
12. Career Enjoyment Expectations												--	.06
13. Occupational Role Allocation													--

Note. Higher scores for all key variables with the exception of "PR Social Reality" and "PR Mediated Reality" represent greater traditionalism. "GNA" = Gender Norm Attitudes; "PR" = Perceived Representativeness.
*$p < .05$

Table II.5 Multiple Regressions Addressing H1, RQ1, and RQ2

Criterion:
Traditional Gender Norm Attitudes

Predictors:	All Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants
(Intercept)	-0.06	-.14	0.00
Traditional Mediated Reality	-.20***	-.17*	-.24***
Traditional Social Reality	.20***	.22**	.18**
Perceived Representativeness of Mediated Reality	.12**	.12	.13*
Perceived Representativeness of Social Reality	.14***	.14*	.15**
Mediated Reality*Social Reality	.09**	.20***	-.02
Mediated Reality*Perceived Representativeness of Mediated Reality	-.04	-.07	-.02
Social Reality*Perceived Representativeness of Social Reality	.09**	.07	.06
Gender	-.17***	--	--
Age	.02	-.01	.11
Race/Ethnicity	.01	.02	-.00
Current Partner Status	.02	.03	-.01
Future Partner Gender	.09*	.12*	-.06
Father Education	.03	.04	.05
Mother Education	-.09*	-.11	-.12
Past Employment	-.00	.10	-.14*
Screen Media Use	-.10**	-.15**	-.03
R^2	0.23	.22	.16
Adj. R^2	0.21	.18	.13
Num. obs.	663	306	334

Note. Gender coded (0)Male/(1)Female/(2)Other Identity; Race/Ethnicity coded (0)Latino/Hispanic/White/Other/ No Response/(1)Asian/Black/Pacific Islander/American Indian; Partner Status coded (0)No Partner/(1)Partner; Future Partner Gender coded (0)Male/(1)Female/(2)Other Identity; Past Employment coded (0)No/(1)Yes.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Table II.6 Multiple Regressions Addressing H2 and H3 All Participants

Criterion: All Participants Predictors:	Traditional Household Expectations	Traditional Childcare Expectations	Traditional Finance Expectations	Traditional Combined Household Expectations	Traditional Homecare Expectations	Traditional Occupational Role Allocation
Intercept	0.02	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	0.04	-0.05
Gender Norm Attitudes	.15***	.12***	.22***	.25***	.10***	.09**
Social Reality	.11**	.07	.16***	.15***	-.00	.06
Mediated Reality	.03	.04	.09*	.06	.01	-.03
Household Expectations	--	.39***	-.15***	--	.09**	-.02
Childcare Expectations	.40***	--	-.28***	--	-.02	.01
Finance Expectations	-.13***	-.22***	--	--	-.04	.04
Homecare Expectations	.14**	-.03	-.08	.11*	--	-.24***
Parental Expectations	-.06	.34***	.13**	.31***	.19***	-.11**
Career Enjoyment Expectations	.02	.01	-.04	.03	.08**	.09**
Occupational Role Allocation	-.03	.01	.07	-.03	-.24***	--
Age	-.02	-.01	-.02	-.03	.01	.06*
Gender	.24***	-.29***	-.10	-.09	.44***	-.53***
Race/Ethnicity	.01	-.08*	.01	-.08*	-.01	.00
Current Partner Status	-.00	-.00	-.03	.00	.06*	-.00
Future Partner Gender	.03	-.11**	-.02	-.10*	.01	.01
Father Education	.00	.05	.01	.05	.00	-.01
Mother Education	-.02	.03	.05	.00	.01	-.01
Past Employment	-.03	-.03	.01	-.07	.02	-.02
Screen Media Use	-.05	.02	.00	-.03	.00	.00
R^2	0.39	0.41	0.26	0.26	0.61	0.61
Adj. R^2	0.38	0.39	0.23	0.24	0.60	0.59
Num. obs.	640	640	640	640	640	640

Note. Higher scores for all key variables indicate more traditionalism. Gender coded (0)Male/(1)Female/(2)Other Identity; Race/Ethnicity coded (0)Latino/Hispanic/White/Other/ No Response/(1)Asian/Black/Pacific Islander/American Indian; Partner Status coded (0)No Partner/(1)Partner; Future Partner Gender coded (0)Male/(1)Female/(2)Other Identity; Past Employment coded (0)No/(1)Yes.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Table II.7 Multiple Regressions Addressing H2 and H3 Male Participants

Criterion: Male Participants Predictors:	Traditional Household Expectations	Traditional Childcare Expectations	Traditional Finance Expectations	Traditional Combined Household Expectations	Traditional Homecare Expectations	Traditional Occupational Role Allocation
Intercept	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
Gender Norm Attitudes	.12*	.12*	.29***	.19***	.19***	-.04
Social Reality	.18**	.09	.32***	.21**	.03	.17*
Mediated Reality	.09	.01	.05	.08	-.02	-.03
Household Expectations	--	.38***	-.24***	--	.20***	-.03
Childcare Expectations	.35***	--	-.19**	--	-.07	-.01
Finance Expectations	-.21***	-.18**	--	--	-.07	.03
Homecare Expectations	.20***	-.07	-.08	.11	--	-.43***
Parental Expectations	-.11*	.26***	.06	.17**	.24***	-.13*
Career Enjoyment Expectations	.00	-.03	-.10	-.01	-.04	.08
Occupational Role Allocation	-.03	-.01	.03	-.04	-.39***	--
Age	-.05	-.03	.04	-.08	.04	.09
Race/Ethnicity	.01	-.12*	-.06	-.11*	.01	.03
Current Partner Status	.04	.01	-.04	.05	-.03	-.02
Future Partner Gender	.03	.02	-.02	.05	-.01	-.01
Father Education	.10	-.02	.04	.07	-.04	.00
Mother Education	-.12*	.07	.08	-.05	.08	-.02
Past Employment	-.08	.05	.05	-.02	.07	.02
Screen Media Use	-.11*	.03	.01	-.07	.01	.03
R^2	0.38	.33	.31	0.24	.39	0.32
Adj. R^2	0.34	.29	.27	0.20	.35	0.28
Num. obs.	306	306	306	306	306	306

Note. Higher scores for all key variables indicate more traditionalism. Race/Ethnicity coded (0)Latino/Hispanic/White/Other/ No Response/(1)Asian/Black/Pacific Islander/American Indian; Partner Status coded (0)No Partner/(1)Partner; Future Partner Gender coded (0)Male/(1)Female/(2)Other Identity; Past Employment coded (0)No/(1)Yes.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Table II.8 Multiple Regressions Addressing H2 and H3 Female Participants

Criterion: Female Participants Predictors:	Traditional Household Expectations	Traditional Childcare Expectations	Traditional Finance Expectations	Traditional Combined Household Expectations	Traditional Career Enjoyment Expectations	Traditional Occupational Role Allocation
Intercept	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00
Gender Norm Attitudes	.14**	.09*	.12*	.23***	-.06	.31***
Social Reality	.08	.01	.01	.08	.14*	.04
Mediated Reality	-.05	.06	.10	.02	.04	-.04
Household Expectations	--	.37***	-.03	--	.09	.02
Childcare Expectations	.48***	--	-.43***	--	.05	-.01
Finance Expectations	-.02	-.27***	--	--	.02	.05
Homecare Expectations	.11*	-.03	-.09	.07	.10	-.21***
Parental Expectations	-.05	.28***	.18**	.28***	.07	-.01
Career Enjoyment Expectations	.07	.03	.02	.10	--	.09
Occupational Role Allocation	.02	-.01	.05	-.00	.10	--
Age	.02	.01	-.05	.04	-.09	.09
Race/Ethnicity	-.00	-.03	.08	-.06	-.05	-.03
Current Partner Status	-.02	-.01	-.02	-.03	.08	.01
Future Partner Gender	.02	-.15***	-.05	-.16**	-.08	.06
Father Education	-.08	.10*	.03	.05	-.03	-.05
Mother Education	.08	-.02	-.02	.06	-.06	.00
Past Employment	.01	-.12**	-.08	-.13*	.03	-.04
Screen Media Use	.04	-.00	-.03	.03	-.15**	-.07
R^2	0.33	0.49	0.19	0.28	0.15	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.30	0.46	0.15	0.25	0.10	0.13
Num. obs.	334	334	334	334	334	334

Note. Higher scores for all key variables indicate more traditionalism. Race/Ethnicity coded (0)Latino/Hispanic/White/Other/ No Response/(1)Asian/Black/Pacific Islander/American Indian; Partner Status coded (0)No Partner/(1)Partner; Future Partner Gender coded (0)Male/(1)Female/(2)Other Identity; Past Employment coded (0)No/(1)Yes.
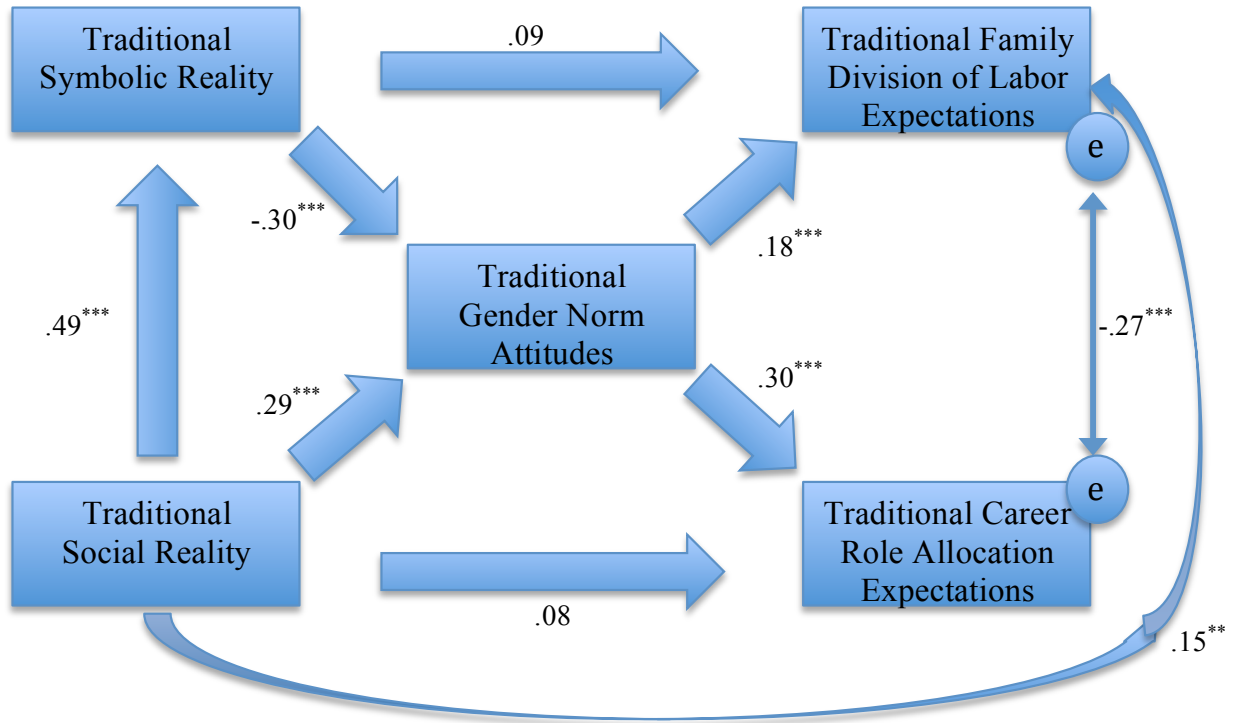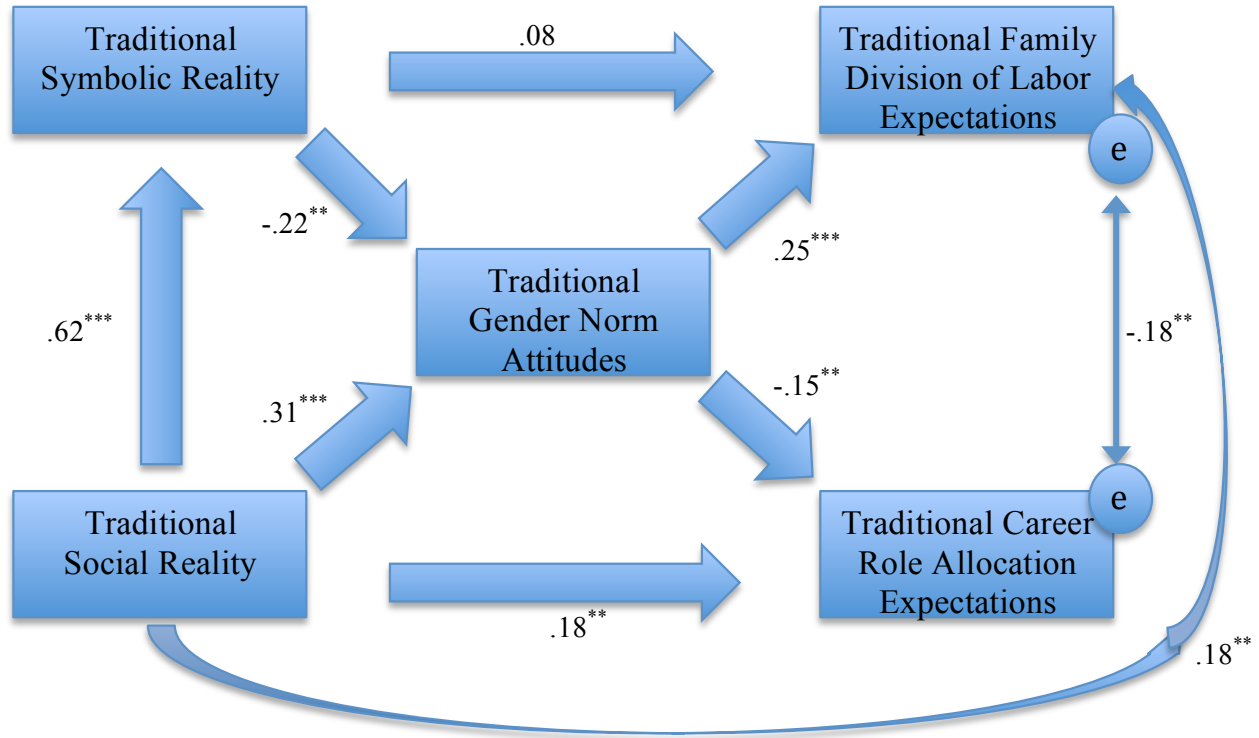$^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$

Figure II.1 SEM all participants. Illustrating the relationships for all participants between Traditional Social Reality (A), Traditional Mediated Reality (B), Traditional Participant Gender Norm Attitudes (C), and Traditional Future Expectations (D & E). Significant relationships are indicated with an asterisk ($^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$).
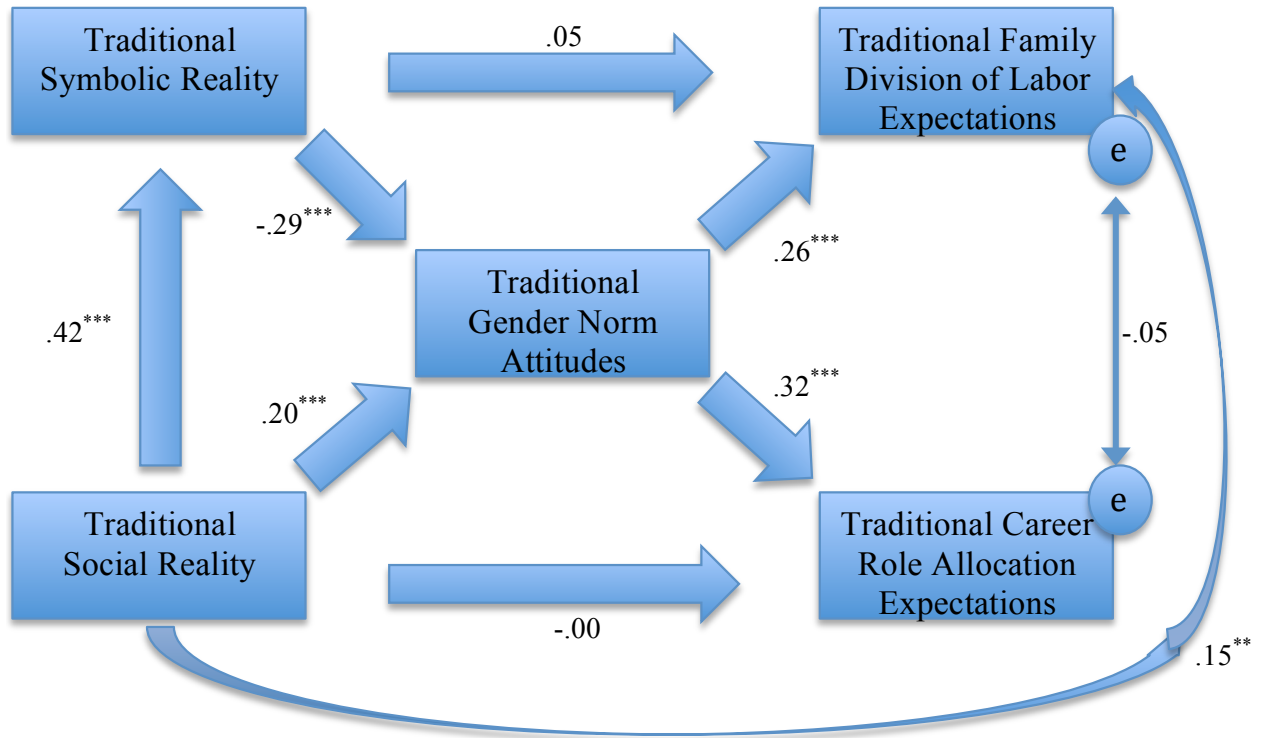
Figure II.2 SEM male participants. Illustrating the relationships for male participants between Traditional Social Reality (A), Traditional Mediated Reality (B), Traditional Participant Gender Norm Attitudes (C), and Traditional Future Expectations (D & E). Significant relationships are indicated with an asterisk ($^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$).

Figure II.3 SEM female participants. Illustrating the relationships for female participants between Traditional Social Reality (A), Traditional Mediated Reality (B), Traditional Participant Gender Norm Attitudes (C), and Traditional Future Expectations (D & E). Significant relationships are indicated with an asterisk ($^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$).
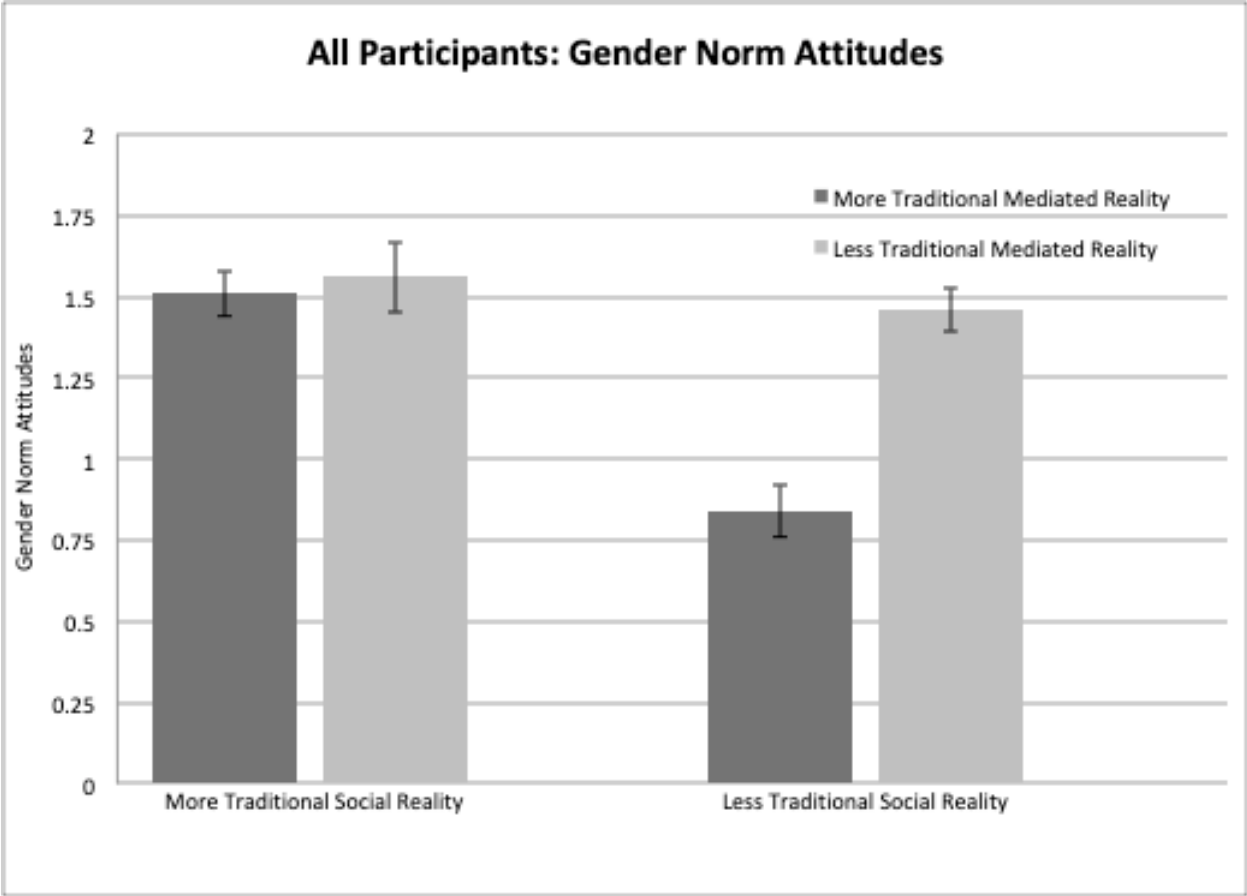
Figure II.4 Two-way interaction all participants between social reality and mediated reality. Higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm attitudes.
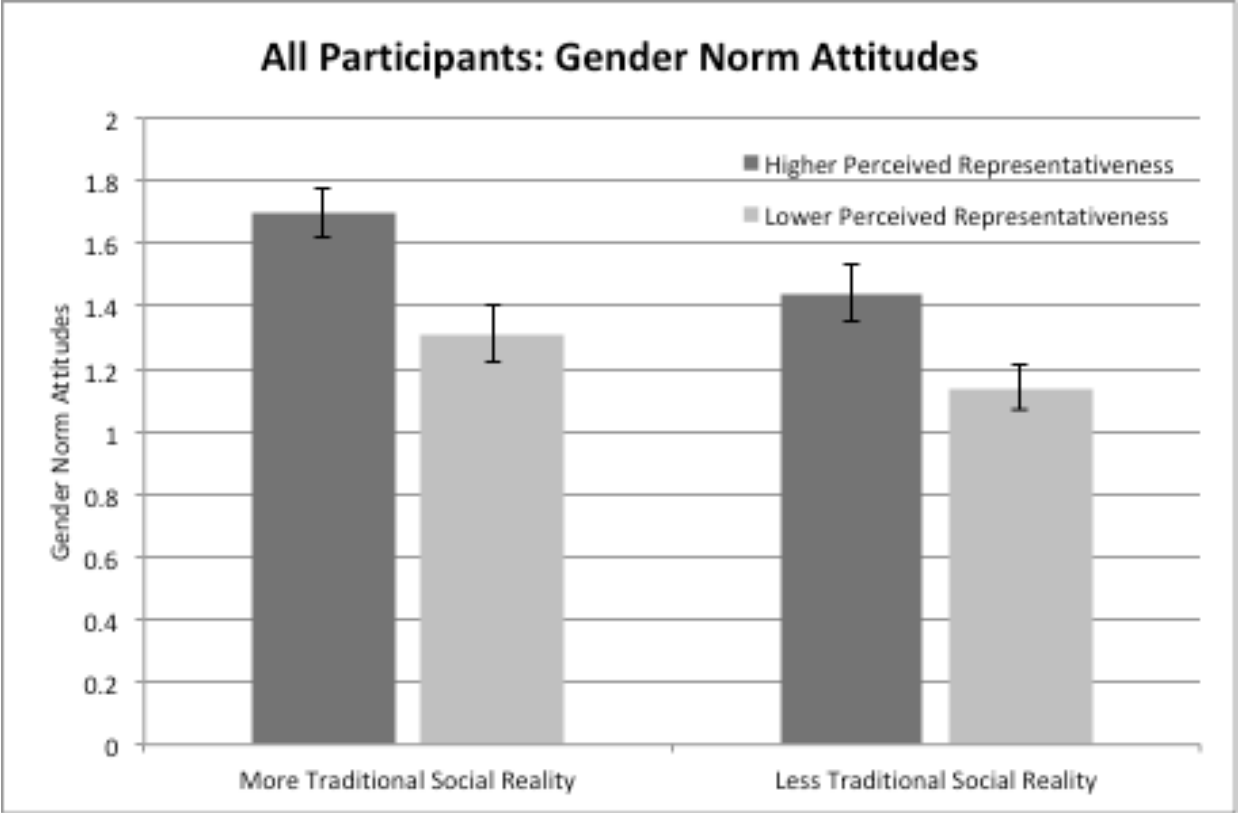
Figure II.5 Two-way interaction all participants between social reality and perceived representativeness of social reality. Higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm attitudes.
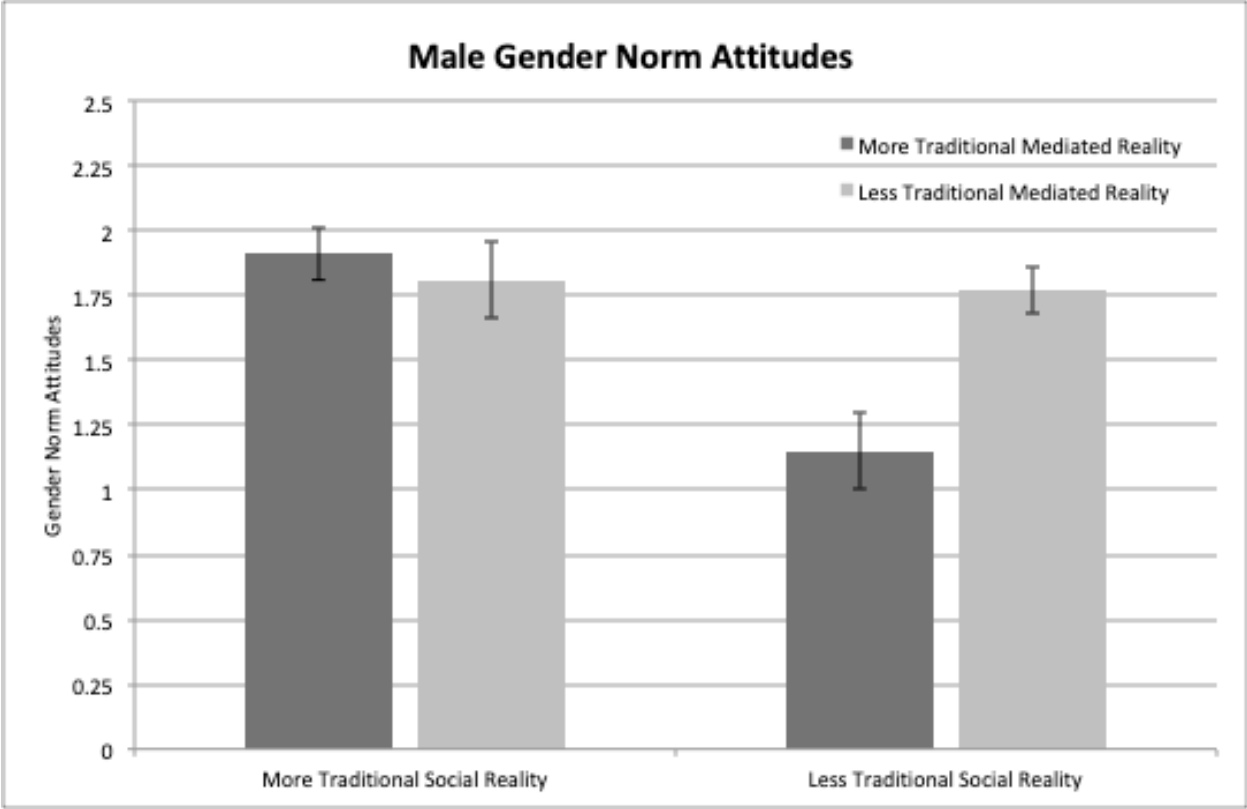
Figure II.6 Two-way interaction male participants between social reality and mediated reality. Higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm attitudes.

CHAPTER III

Study 2

Introduction

This project's second study consisted of qualitatively analyzed individual in-depth interviews. Study 2's interview design was not implemented to further future quantitative analysis endeavors. Instead, interviews were selected to gain additional in-depth understanding regarding Figure I.1 and study 1's inquiries (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). In-depth interviews' open-ended question structure affords researchers the ability to utilize probes and sub-questions to address emergent ideas that were potentially not already considered (Tong, Sainsbury, & Craig, 2007). This interview style has also been used in mixed-method studies to explore interpretive components of closed question formats (e.g., Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2010). While study 1 offered insight into the statistical relations between the study's key constructs, it was not able to provide verbal illustrations regarding how the constructs function together.

Thus, study 2's qualitative work is a necessary component of this dissertation due to its ability to provide needed depth and clarity into individual participants' experiences with gender norms in social and mediated realities (A & B) and an understanding of how these realities work together to generate gender norm attitudes (C) and future family (D) and career (E) expectations. Accordingly, the goal for study 2 was to achieve an understanding of an emerging adult's thoughts and ideas on a standalone basis apart from the collective whole. While study 1 provided statistical data to help analyze Figure I.1's holistic relationships, study 2 offers systematic

78

observation. Nevertheless, staying consistent with study 1's analyses, study 2 will also employ social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016) and cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1998; Morgan et al., 2017; Shrum, 2017) premises to examine the interviewees' responses. Building on the two theories' intertwined principles, study 2 examines the complexities between gender norms observed in social reality and mediated reality. Fittingly, the following research question guides study 2's qualitative analysis:

RQ1: How are emerging adults' experienced social reality gender norms in tension or in harmony with their perceived mediated reality gender norms?

Furthermore, gender norms experienced in social reality and perceived in mediated reality should help foster gender norm attitudes and future life expectations. In turn, the following two research questions also guide study 2's qualitative exploration:

RQ2: How do emerging adults verbalize ideas regarding their gender norm attitudes and in what ways do emerging adults envision their social reality experiences and mediated reality perceptions contributing to the formation of gender norm attitudes?

RQ3: In what ways do emerging adults use their social and mediated realities and gender norm attitudes to envision future career and family expectations?

Study 2 Method

Participants and Procedure

Study 2 was approved by the University of Michigan's IRB before data collection commenced (see Appendix D). Ten male and 10 female undergraduate participants between the ages of 18 and 23 were recruited through the University of Michigan Communication Studies participant pool. Interviews took place February through April of 2018. Students who

participated in study 2 confidentially provided contact information via the University of Michigan's online recruiting platform, *Sona*, to schedule an interview. Participants were assigned ID numbers online to receive class credit. Abiding by the University of Michigan Communication Department's rules, interviews took place in a designated interview room in the Department of Communication Studies.

Within the interview process, a substantial amount of data disclosing personal information is collected via audio recordings, interview notes, and transcripts. This sensitive information cannot be disclosed to any unauthorized persons (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Thus, all interviewees were required to sign a consent form prior to the interview stating that personal information would not be disclosed or accessed by anyone other than the researcher. All interviewees were ensured full confidentiality, as outlined in Appendix E's consent form (see Appendix E). Accordingly, each participant was assigned a pseudonym to be used in the final research. All 20 participants consented to participate and successfully completed the interview. Interview data were secured under locked premises and were only available to the researcher and dissertation chair. Study 2 also utilized progressive subjectivity by mitigating any a priori assumptions relying on the data for emerging constructions during analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Finally, study 2's research stages were carefully documented throughout data collection and analysis phases (Yin, 2009) and transcripts were repeatedly checked to safeguard against mistakes during the transcription process (Creswell, 2014).

While participants between the ages of 18 and 23 years were recruited to partake in study 2, the final participants' ages ranged from 18 to 20 years (*M* age = 19.05 years). Fourteen participants identified as White, two as biracial, one as Indian, one as Black, and one as Asian. Majors and minors of participants varied but included business administration, sustainability,

computer science, sport management, organizational studies, fine arts/communication studies, international studies, gender and health, Spanish, English, art design, marketing/sales, and psychology. At the time of the interview all participants currently or had previously held a part-time or full-time job. Most participants grew up in the Midwest ($n = 13$), three on the east coast, two on the west coast, one in the south, and one in Canada. Nineteen participants identified as heterosexual and one participant identified as bisexual; however, all participants expected a future heterosexual partnership. Appendix F provides a complete list of interview questions used in data analysis (see Appendix F).

Data Analysis Procedure

The interviews were coded through a data-driven coding approach. Thus, codes were created while reading the interview data (Brinkmann, 2013). Specifically, constructivist grounded theory method (GTM) was employed to systematically and inductively foster codes while remaining cognizant that there may be more than one right way to analyze the interview data (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2014). Importantly, GTM acknowledges the researcher's perspective throughout the interview process while simultaneously recognizing that the researcher must appropriately distance themselves from the data when needed in order to fully account for the interviewees' emerging ideas (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Each of the 20 interviews were recorded and then transcribed verbatim by Landmark Associates Inc. (2018). Once the recordings were transcribed, they were further reviewed for precision to make sure they accurately reflected the original audio recordings. Field notes taken by hand at the time of the interviews captured body language, nonverbal cues, or memorable interview information. These notes were also used to aid in the data analysis process. Please reference Appendix H for an unidentifiable example of study 2's field notes (see Appendix H).

Transcriptions were thoroughly scanned for responses that reflected study 2's research questions or other emerging ideas that were not previously considered. Modeling a GTM coding procedure, interviews were coded for units of data in various ways: line-by-line, complete sentences reflecting interviewees' responses, or paragraphs of data reflecting both interviewer and interviewee responses together (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Units of data that reflected unique ideas became the study's codes. Codes were then separated into categories based on the responses' commonalities of an overall concept (e.g., Traditional Social Reality, Nontraditional Social Reality). After categories were created the data were organized by theme. Visual diagramming was used to organize the interview data in this way. For a sample of the employed visual diagramming please reference Appendix G.

Results

To maintain cohesion with study 1 and to adequately address RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3, the following results detail study 2's findings by theme in accordance with Figure I.1's constructs: social reality, mediated reality, gender norm attitudes, and future family and career expectations. Participants' quotes are identified by their assigned pseudonyms to ensure optimum confidentiality.

Social reality themes included: nontraditional social reality: two working parents; traditional social reality: blame culture or play defense; and social reality experiences mirror future expectations. Mediated reality themes comprised: forced attempt to depict the nontraditional and nontraditional mediated reality "shift." Social and mediated realities conflated produced the theme: confusing the social with the mediated. Gender norm attitudes' main theme was: "I'm not a feminist…?". Finally, future family and career expectation themes included:

women: "I can do it all!"; men: "50/50!" – except for childcare; women: expectations for career difficulties; and men: nontraditional career expectations.

Social Reality

  Nontraditional social reality: Two working parents. Four men and five women discussed their social realities in a way that was more nontraditional than traditional. A commonality between all participants with nontraditional social realities was that both parents worked full-time careers, thus mixing gender role responsibilities in the home environment. Jack reported this nontraditional household responsibility distribution when discussing his father and stepmother:

> *Interviewee:* Um, both of them work. Both of 'em are financial advisors. They used to work for the same company, actually. Um, and I guess I would say their roles are really, like- like, remarkably the—like, they're the same in, like, pretty much every way.
>
> *Interviewer:* Okay.
>
> *Interviewee:* Like, they—I would say they both, like, cook and clean similar amounts. They're both, like—one of them will be at home taking care of my little siblings, but, like, it's never—it's not the same one every time.

Participants who had experienced nontraditional social realities often expressed the idea that they viewed their parents as partners with one another. This perspective was shared by Lauren: "Um, both my parents were working in the city and they both had, um, really admirable, um, jobs…I grew up looking up to them, seeing them as equals because they would both leave the house for work." Other participants shared that their mothers were the true matriarchs of the household. For example, Jason, who grew up with two parents who were doctors, stated:

> Um, and then in terms of like household stuff, yeah my—*[chuckle]* I mean, you'd hafta know my mom like she wasn't gonna do normal like female gender roles types of chores without my dad helping her as well… Um, yeah, cuz my mom is the-the matriarch of the family, and she takes that pretty seriously.

Traditional social reality: Blame culture or play defense. In contrast, six men and five women (*n* = 11) experienced traditional social realities with a breadwinner father and a stay-at-home mother. Notably, some of the interviewees' mothers worked part-time, although these jobs were typically remote. Interestingly, these participants frequently acknowledged the traditional nature of their social realities. For example, Jennifer noted:

> *Interviewee:* Yeah. So I had one dad and one mom, and then, like I said, my dad was the person who, like, owned his own company—
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* - did construction. Um, whenever there was anything wrong with the house, like, he would go fix it. My mom was a stay-at-home mom with four kids, so she was the one that, like, cleaned the house, made the dinners. It was very, very traditional.

Within this group, three men and four women attributed their traditionally gendered childhoods to historic gender norms that continue to permeate U.S. culture. For example, Chelsea stated:

> I think that society, like, places this pressure on men to, like, make the money in the household and, like, have this job, and like, bring everything in and support their family and stuff like that, and the woman is, like—I just always, like, have this image of, like, the woman in, like—with, like, the apron on, like, cooking in the kitchen and, like, helping the kids and, like, the man in his suit kind of thing. They put this pressure on men to do that and women to be around the house and, like, it's hard because they don't usually show it the other way around.

The tendency to defend one's traditional gender norm upbringing emerged among the other three men and two women. The interviewees reported awareness that their traditional upbringings perhaps lacked similarity with other children's circumstances while simultaneously defending their mothers' traditional gender roles. For instance, Carly stated, "From what I knew, it was normal. But then as I got older, I kinda found out it wasn't, I guess. That there were a lot of other types of families…" Carly also defended her mother's choice to stop working:

Interviewee: …As I got older, my mom made it a point to tell me that when my father and, uh, her got married, my mom was, um, making a lot more money that he was. She was a very successful publisher and banker. And she always wanted—and she has a master's, and my dad doesn't, so she made it a point to be, like, you know, women can do it, too.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: Because all I ever knew was my dad was very successful in his industry…So, uh, that's kinda all I ever knew. So my mom made it a point to make it clear that she was just as successful, or even more so, when she was younger. So that, I guess, we kinda had that aspiration as well.

Moreover, Steven also spoke defensively when discussing his stay-at-home mother:

Interviewee: Um, and she wants to go back to school again to get a Ph.D… She's smart. She likes to keep herself busy now that me and my brother aren't around. I know she loved taking care of us. I know—and I know it's like typical, like a mother takes care of the kids, but—

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: I feel like she did feel sad and empty when me and my brother weren't around as much as we got older.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: So I feel like she did like having that motherly role, and I feel like she felt like almost guilty going back to work cuz she liked providing for me and my brother.

Social reality experiences mirror future expectations. Seven men and seven women (*n* = 14) verbally established connections between their childhood social reality experiences and future family and career expectations throughout the interview. This trend was much more prominent among interviewees who had traditional social reality experiences growing up. Specifically, five of the men and five of the women fell into this category. The interviewees' tendency to voice expectations that emulate social reality experiences is blatantly illustrated via Chelsea's statements regarding her future expectations in the home:

Interviewer: Okay. So who would be doing things like cooking and cleaning?

Interviewee: Me.

Interviewer: Okay. So you would do all the household stuff?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Okay. Why is that? Why do you think that's, like, the most realistic thing?

Interviewee: I think that it's kind of what I'm used to. It's the way I grew up.

Frequently, the connections between the interviewees' social realities and future expectations were based on their mothers' and fathers' roles. At times these parental connections were positively toned. For example, this positivity is evident in Carly's statement regarding her expectations for her future partner's childcare responsibilities: "…this sounds crazy, but…I would want him to take on, like, the same role my father has where, you know, he kinda teaches them right from wrong, um, teaches them how to take care of themselves." Accordingly, since Carly had a positive experience with her father, she in turn expects her future partner to emulate her father's parenting qualities.

However, there were occurrences where these parental connections were more negatively toned. This negativity was noticeable in John's reflections regarding his fathers' work schedule:

> *Interviewee:* Um, I would not want it to get that way. I would prefer to find – find a balance between work – work and life—
>
> *Interviewer:* Okay.
>
> *Interviewee:* - and maybe try to—ideally – ideal, I wanna find a way to, like, make the two seem—just be seamless. Like, my routine will be focu—won't be focused around more than one or the other.

Another tendency was for female interviewees to respect and admire their mothers' attention to family, homecare, and childcare while remaining wary of one day living a similar life. Interestingly, five of the six women who had experienced traditional social realities verbally communicated this tension. In particular, Kristy expressed fear of having a life like her mother's:

86

Interviewee: But, um, it was around that time that I noticed she was, like, getting really antsy being at home all the time while my dad was working and just, like, always, like, taking care of us. Like, I can imagine it would be difficult to do the same thing every single day and not have anything for yourself at the end of the day. That'd be really difficult.

Interviewer: Mmm. How did that make you feel as a little girl?

Interviewee: It made me feel, um, resentful, actually—

Interviewer: Oh.

Interviewee: - because I didn't wanna end up like my mom being at- at home with kids all the time so, um—

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: Not resentful of her. Just of how she ended up in the position that she was in really frightened me.

In turn, these women felt torn between admiration of their mothers' hard work and apprehension of one day taking on similar gender roles. Thus, their responses communicated the desire for a life similar to one's parents and fear of living a life like one's parents. Jennifer also expressed this tension:

Interviewee: …I want to not fall into the place that my mom did, like, a few years back where it's like, she wasn't educated. She didn't have the means to go back to work. Like, I want to have the background so then I can do my own things. And I'm like, I want to own my own business, and like, have my own nonprofit… but I do kind of see similarities-similarities in that I loved having my parents personally raise me.

Interviewer: Mm hmm.

Interviewee: I loved not having a nanny. I loved having the personal relationship with my brothers and with my parents, and they'd come to my sporting events and be there and take care of me.

Interviewer: Mm hmm.

Interviewee: So I kind of want to mimic that in that I loved that aspect of my childhood, and I want to be there for my kids as well.

Seemingly, Jennifer feels torn between wanting to take on childcare responsibilities like her mother and also wanting to hold a full-time career unlike her mother. Responses like Jennifer's reveal a pattern to partially but not fully emulate the traditional aspects of one's social reality experiences.

Mediated Reality

Forced attempt to depict the nontraditional. The majority ($n = 17$) of participants perceived their mediated realities as primarily traditional. For example, James described the media as, "Um, you know, typical. Women stay at home. Wife takes care of the kids, keeps the house nice and tidy, while the man goes out and works and is the provider of the family." In contrast, only two men and one woman perceived their mediated realities as mainly nontraditional. For example, Julia asserted, "Yeah, it's li—I think real life is like sup—like more traditional, and then media like shows it as being more liberal and like tries to show that aspect."

Regardless, a shared theme between interviewees in both groups ($n = 5$ traditional; $n = 3$ nontraditional) was the media's blatant and perhaps forceful attempt to overcorrect historically portrayed traditional gender norms with nontraditional gender norms. Jack communicated this idea through the following statement:

> *Interviewee:* They definitely portray women as, like- as, like, the ones who stay at home, typically. Like, it's usually, like- usually the show's trying to make a point if- if the woman isn't at home…Like- like, if- if the woman has, like, a job or, like, works outside and the man stays at home, they, like, make sure to, like, emphasize that, if they do that…

> *Interviewer:* Well, why do you think they do that?

> *Interviewee:* Well, just cuz it's never really—it's not common…Like, for, like, the typical TV show isn't like that. So- so when they do it, when the show does do that, it's usually for a reason. It's not, like- it's like they- it's, like, part of, like- the show wants to show that they're doing that and, like, going against the norm.

Similarly, Ellie believed nontraditional media depictions are not common and are specifically

featured when a show aspires to make a point:

> *Interviewer*: Doesn't *Grey's Anatomy* show women as doctors and things like that?

> *Interviewee*: That's true. But I mean, then again like that shouldn't really be special I feel like. *[Chuckle]*

> *Interviewer*: …Wh-what do you mean by that shouldn't be special?

> *Interviewee*: Like-like women can be doctors. And like it's cool that we have representation of it, but then I feel like, um, people are like, wow, it's amazing that they have women doctors on this show. Where it shouldn't be like that, you know.

> The participants who perceived their mediated realities as mainly nontraditional ($n = 3$)

believed the media are strategically implementing nontraditional gender norms to their

advantage. For example, Colton stated:

> I feel like there's almost—I wanna use the word, like, backlash, but that's not the right word. Like, people, like, are tryin' to, like, kinda overcorrect that, so to speak…And that's not – and that's not a bad thing, but that's just something I feel like I notice. Like, they've tried to, quote-unquote, like, "overcorrect" it, so instead it's, like, they're showing more women working…Um, I think it's, like, a very trendy thing now for people think, you know, like, equality's good, and it definitely is, obviously. Um, but there's—like, if someone can be the first to, like, say, like, "We do things the right way,"… - they'll get maybe more of the attention, more of, like, the, um, credit for like, maybe solving the issue, I guess, than others would if they're the first to do it.

The other male participant in this group, John, described his nontraditional mediated reality as

depicting a "post-feminist" society where gender norm equality has been achieved. However,

John was wary of this media portrayal:

> *Interviewee:* I don't feel like we're – we're being a male-dominated society anymore. I feel like we're going in the direction…uh, I feel like some shows, though, I feel like they kinda make it seem more like they have made it, though…like post-feminism, like feminism has been achieved so, therefore, we can joke – joke around about it.

> *Interviewer:* Right. Okay. How do you feel about that?

> *Interviewee:* So um, I feel like the—like, I understand, like, why they wo-would - would wanna joke around about it 'cause they wanna – they wanna, like, solidify that—

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: - there is—it's—solidify equality.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: But I feel like, at some point, they just—it goes on too far. Like, it's fine every now and then just to say – say like, 'Oh, yeah, we're—we made it. We made it." But like, you also gotta understand there's still a lot of work to do.

Similarly, these "forced" nontraditional gender norm displays were bothersome to the five interviewees who perceived their mediated realities as primarily traditional. However, these reasons varied amongst the interviews. For instance, David felt the media were pushing nontraditional gender norms on audiences to appease particular groups of people:

> *Interviewee:* …I don't like, I guess, when I'm watching something when something seems like forced. Uh, I know like a lot of people my age will complain, like, "Oh, like they put X actor in this role because like they wanted to like just reach out to this audience, or so people don't complain."
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* I mean I'm not super-bothered by it, unless it's very excessive or over the top. Like, uh, if they want like a woman to be like a superhero in a superhero movie, like Wonder Woman, and it's like about her, like that makes sense…

Additionally, Amanda appreciated seeing nontraditional gender norms on her favorite shows but was fearful that these portrayals are misleading:

> *Interviewee:* … I like to see women being portrayed as these powerful characters. Like, *Scandal*, for example, like, Olivia Pope. She's awesome, and she runs shit, and everybody listens to her, but it's almost like it kind of is a superficial whatever to, like, make up for history. Like, you can't change history. Like, it's nice that these new ideas and whatnot are coming out now, and, like, women are being heard.
>
> *Interviewer:* Yeah.
>
> *Interviewee:* But it's almost, like, is it fake, is it not fake? Is, like, this what reality looks like? Because a lot of times, like, what's being portrayed on TV and in the media isn't necessarily what's happening in real life.

Nontraditional mediated reality "shift." As noted above, the majority of participants (*n* = 17) reported perceptions that their mediated realities are primarily traditional. Nonetheless, building on the prior theme, seven men and six women (*n* = 11 traditional mediated reality; *n* = 2 nontraditional mediated reality) perceived a traditional to nontraditional gender norm shift in their mediated realities. Most participants vocalized the opinion that this media shift, while perhaps small, is attempting to mirror cultural change. This idea is captured through Jessica's realization, "Like I've noticed that the media changes with people's beliefs…things are more politically correct like they are promoting men in more stereotypically women's professions and vice versa which wouldn't have been the case if our own culture didn't change…" Kristy had a comparable understanding:

> *Interviewee:* This might be—it might just be me realizing it but I think a lot of, like, women, like, directors and producers have become more prominent and, um, like the Hollywood area and just, like, a lot of people have really been vocal about, like, their desire to see some more representation of, like, women being something other than, like, a mo- like a mother—
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* - or, like, someone who stays home, and, like, cleans all day or, like- or just shops, or like that typical housewife image…And even if they do stay home, we, like, wanna see, like, more character development, like, see them, like- like having an education or, like, being able to have a job and have kids.
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* Like, so I think just like wh—like, people have come together and been, like, really vocal about it recently… With the Time's Up movements and, um, all of those, um, like, scandals that have come to light in the past, um, couple months, it's just really empowering to see, um, women speaking up for themselves.

In spite of these realizations regarding cultural change, eight men and women reported uneasiness with the perceived shift. This apprehension is apparent in Carly's thoughts:

> *Interviewee:* Uh, because when I was younger, I never really saw anything like, like the campaigns we see, like, free the nipple or things like that.

91

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: And now it's kinda moving towards, you know, women are allowed to take their shirt off—well, not allowed, but it's more okay than it used to be.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: So I think that's why we're kind of moving in that direction. We're not there yet, obviously. But I think we're moving in that direction.

Interviewer: Okay. And what are your thoughts about that? How do you feel?

Interviewee: Uh, so, I don't know. I'm like really—I love that some women are confident enough to post things like that on Instagram or, you know, protest like that. Uh, I'm personally not confident enough to do it. I still find it a little bit odd, I guess, which is interesting because you would think that as a woman I'd be all for it. But I kinda get surprised every time. I'm kinda like, wow.

Male participants also expressed fear over a nontraditional shift gaining too much media momentum. For example, Jason remarked:

Um, and obviously the media has ran with that (Me Too movement) as they should…Um, but my only concern about that, and I think this is not, you know, I'm not— it's not like personal opinion. This is a lotta people have this opinion. Is that if this becomes like the center focus of kind of Hollywood and like female rights in Hollywood and that gets dispersed to our television screens across the country like how are men supposed to feel? Like I obviously wanna get behind it but on the other hand like how's it gonna affect our social relationships? And like what can we do in the workplace? … Like we're just gonna change socially to a point that we're not gonna—as men we're not gonna be aware of like our social surroundings and how we should conduct ourselves.

Finally, amongst the interviewees' acknowledgements of a nontraditional mediated reality shift, doubt regarding the shift's success also surfaced. For example, Amanda stated, "Like, times are changing…like, there is more of a balance in gender norms, but it just seems, like, a little iffy to me, I guess." Furthermore, Dan believed the media's readiness to participate in the shift would be contingent upon revenue:

Interviewee: But, uh, at the end of the day, they're probably still thinking about m-money, and stuff like that. So, if you're gonna ch—start changing like all these different kinda things, like putting a woman in a man's role, and stuff like that—

Interviewer: M-hmm.

Interviewee: - are people gonna be as interested? …So, if there's any—even a risk that they would lose money or lose viewership, or anything like that, then chances are they wouldn't do it. But maybe like we're talkin' about the shift. Maybe some don't see it that way. Like, some outlets don't see it that way, so they're gonna say, like, "We need just to like make a stand.

Social and Mediated Realities Conflated

Confusing the social with the mediated. Intriguingly, nine participants (n = 6 males; n = 3 females) had difficulty talking about their social and mediated realities separately. All but one of the participants within this category perceived their mediated realities as traditional (n = 8) and four of these eight participants also experienced nontraditional social realities. During conversation regarding mediated reality perceptions, these nine interviewees frequently supplemented their ideas with their social reality experiences. Oftentimes, this confusion appeared to be subconscious. This mix-up tended to take place while discussing perceptions of mediated reality careers. For instance, Monica used her social reality experiences to buffer her mediated reality perceptions of gender in computer science:

Interviewer: Okay. What about in computer science?

Interviewee: Hmm. I don't know if I've seen any, like, shows or media with computer science, like, representation, really.

Interviewer: If you had to guess, though.

Interviewee: Probably men.

Interviewer: Okay, why? Why men?

Interviewee: Um, men are just, like—I feel like they're just more, like, prominent in, like, the STEM majors. But I know there's, like, a new movement to try to get the women more, like, integrated in STEM – the STEM fields. So, I know there's, like, different clubs on campus for that, too. Like Women in STEM.

93

Further, when asked about the media's depiction of flight attendants, Dan immediately and

subconsciously resorted to his personal experiences flying:

>*Interviewee:* …I fly a lot, so I've maybe seen one woman pilot, ever—
>
>*Interviewer:* Wow.
>
>*Interviewee:* - while I've flown. But then again, I've probably seen just a handful of male flight attendants. So, I guess, if you're gonna look at it like of importance, obviously, the-the pilot is more important than the flight attendant. Like, the flight attendant is—not-not to say that the flight attendant isn't important—
>
>*Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
>*Interviewee:* - but the flight attendant is responsible for like the-the passengers' wellbeing, and stuff like that.
>
>*Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
>*Interviewee:* Kinda like—it's kinda like a mom *[laughter]*—I don't—like a mom kinda role. I mean, they're making sure, like if you're gonna look at it as all the passengers are kids, like they're making sure they're fed, like making sure they got their drink, making sure like they keep their space clean.

Dan's conflation of the social with the mediated continued until it was directly brought to his

attention that he was confusing his own social reality experiences with mediated reality

perceptions:

>*Interviewee:* —… But for like taxi car, and stuff like that, *[sighs]* u—I would say Uber. I'd—uh, I've never taken a taxi. But.
>
>*Interviewer: [Laughter]* That's fair.
>
>*Interviewee:* Yeah. Um, I don't know. I would say I see a mixture of both. I don't really know what that means.
>
>*Interviewer:* But in the media.
>
>*Interviewee:* Oh, in the media, right.
>
>*Interviewer: [Laughter]*
>
>*Interviewee:* Um, *[laughter]*—

Interviewer: You keep flippin' to your life.

Interviewee: Uh, yeah. Sorry, sorry about that. Sorry about that.

Since it was social reality that was used to discuss mediated reality perceptions, the interviewees' tendency to confuse the social and mediated realities is perhaps indicative of social reality experiences influencing mediated reality perceptions.

Gender Norm Attitudes

"I'm not a feminist…?". All participants were asked to answer the question, "Do you identify as a feminist?" at the end of the interview. This question was originally included in the interview guide to generate demographic information. Unexpectedly, it revealed an emerging theme across the interviewees' responses. Specifically, seven men did not identify as a feminist and many of these men, like Colton, could not provide justification for their decision:

Interviewer: Do you identify as a feminist?

Interviewee: Uh, no, probably not.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Um, uh, I just—I don't know. I don't – I don't necessarily like to peg my—like, identify myself as, like, any, like, side or any preference. So, yeah.

The remaining three men hesitated or questioned a feminist identity. Often, their answers reflected a conflicting thought process as they sought to determine if they were or were not a feminist. This is illustrated in Steven's retort:

Uh, I feel like that's such like a—like a—a large blanket term. I think women should have equal rights, and that there should be no disparity, and women should be comfortable in any sort of situation. Like—like I don't want like any sort of, you know, things going on like now in politics and the business world going on. So I don't know if a feminist means like women have more rights than men, or if they're equal, but if—if women have as many rights and are just as comfortable to be in society as I am now, then I guess, if that's what a feminist is, then, sure, I'm a feminist.

95

Kevin also seemed conflicted when it came to establishing his feminist identity: "And I think of like, honestly, like women being feminists…Uh, yeah, I don't really identify as it, but like, I'm totally like in support of it, or whatever."

In contrast, all women identified as feminist; however, when asked if they were feminists, only four gave a firm "yes" while six, including Monica, provided justification:

Interviewer: All right. Do you identify as a feminist?

Interviewee: Hmm.

Interviewer: It's not a trick question. It's—

Interviewee: Okay. Sure, yes. *[Laughs]*

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Um, I guess I just, like—what do you—like, why do I identify as a—

Interviewer: Yeah, why do you – why do you identify as one?

Interviewee: Like, female empowerment is important to society and, like, how we function. Women are a very important part of society, and we can't just, like, let men or, like—I don't know. I guess I don't really know how to answer that. *[Laughs]*

Interviewer: Have you ever asked your partner if he's a feminist?

Interviewee : Um, he kinda makes jokes about it. *[Laughs]* Like, feminist Nazis or, like—I don't know, just, like, it's just like a joke 'cause a lot of, like, the professors here are, like, very, very liberal in, like, the things that they teach. And it's almost, like, to the point where it's, like, too much sometimes. So, like, I can see where feminism can kind of almost be, like, not a joke, but, like, I feel like people make a lot of jokes about feminism.

Thus, for the majority of the women, there was tension between identifying as a feminist and integrating others with non-feminist identities into their lives. Jessica also communicated this tension:

Interviewer: Do you identify as a feminist?

Interviewee: Yes. Um well I, I don't openly say that I am one… I didn't want to be associated with the movement that was more silencing than it knew it was… That's just why I don't really say that I am but I am. Like I agree with the core beliefs especially since I grew up in an area that was so encouraging of that.

Family and Career Expectations

Women: "I can do it all!" Eight of the 10 women expressed expectations of "doing it all" in their futures, juggling a home, family, and career with little to no difficulty. For example, Kristy expressed:

Like, I wanna work, and have kids and, like, a family so, like, I'm just for empowering women to do whatever they want and not have to, like, listen to certain gender norms but, like, if you wanna do something, you can do it and if you don't wanna do something, you don't have to do it…But, like, when it comes to deep cleaning and, like, cleaning the bathrooms, like, I would probably do that…I also like to cook. Um, I always helped my mom cook when I was little.

A commonality among these women was choosing a career that could be manipulated to accommodate their future childcare responsibilities. Monica stated:

And, like, I kinda have, like, a dream to, like, be a blogger, as well. Not a vlogger, but, like, to write posts and stuff. So, it would be kinda cool to be able to, like, be at home at least sometimes to do part of my job with that. Or maybe in the beginning of my kids', like, life, I could stay home and just, like, take care of them. And it's not something that—it's, like, I do wanna work, but, like, if I could work from home and take care of the kids for a while, that would be nice.

Nevertheless, several of these eight women with expectations "to do it all" simultaneously communicated the expectation of some difficulty balancing several responsibilities. This difficulty can be seen through Jennifer's comment:

…how I foresee my future being is that I will have kids, and, um, I want to own my own business, and that way, I can have, like, the flexibility of, like, having kids and also being a business owner and staying home with my kids...Um, I also think of—just as it's gonna be hard as a person to kind of balance all of that, especially 'cause kids can be so needy, and business is gonna be so needy. *[Laughter]*

Chelsea's commentary also illustrated the tension between choosing a career or motherhood:

I think that—it's hard because, like, I want to work in, like, an industry that's so competitive and, like, it takes so much to get to a place in that industry, like, especially in sports…like, I want to have kids and, like, be a mom and everything, but I don't want to have to give up my career for that. And I feel like so many women that I know, like, gave up their career to raise their families.

Importantly, only two of the women, Jessica and Ellie, realized that "doing it all" was perhaps an unrealistic and unattainable goal. Both of these women discussed either working or having kids but not doing both. Ellie remarked:

> *Interviewee*: Um, I would definitely expect like a pretty, um, shared basis. I would expect that I would probably be doing, um, if I decided not to work I would be doing childcare, um, during the day, uh, if that was the case. Um, at night I would expect pretty shared. I don't think I would really settle for anything less than that.
>
> … *Interviewer*: Okay. So do you want kids?
>
> *Interviewee*: I don't know yet. I think maybe, but I don't know.
>
> *Interviewer*: What are the hesitations? What would make you maybe not want to have kids?
>
> *Interviewee*: Um, honestly I feel like partly financial responsibility. I mean, it takes a lotta money to raise a kid. And like knowing that I might have issues providing for a kid is really scary. Um, yeah, I mean, also like *[chuckle]* there's every—like I mean, it's 18 years of your life that's taken to raising this child. So like I don't know.

They also contemplated not having children at all due to the possibility that their future careers would be emotionally draining or demand a chaotic schedule limiting time with family. This is clearly communicated by Jessica's concern over mixing career and motherhood:

> *Interviewee:* I don't think I'd make a very good mother just because I'm, I'm very very empathetic like in the literal sense. Like if someone's feeling down I physically feel that too. And like vice versa if they're happy I love it (laughs) but um I think that would like put a lot on myself and like I know as a mother you have a biological connection to the child so I think I would be very very attached to them... Um and also like one of the main reasons is I don't, or this sounds kind of selfish but I don't like want an uncompromised career… I have a one-track mind so I'm either like career or kids. Or like same thing if I had a pet or something. You know? I wouldn't want to only see my kids twice a week or like um only like only in the evenings or whatever. So yeah…
>
> *Interviewer:* …you'd feel pressure.

Interviewee: Yeah! To do it all. Because like you can't do it all. Or like I know there are lots of working women who also have kids and working men who also have kids but like one of those things has to be a little less than the other in order for you to balance it out and obviously again I might change my mind but my career is something I've seen since I was young like not kids.

In turn, these two women were the only female interviewees to remark that it is not realistic "to do it all."

Men: "50/50!" – except for childcare. All of the men communicated expectations to equally divide household responsibilities with their future partners but none of the men could properly offer up a clear solution for how this 50/50 split would occur. For instance, Jack explicitly expressed his expectations for an equal divide without a clear explanation for how the sharing of these responsibilities would ensue:

Splitting, like, the, like, I guess- I guess what my stepmom and dad do. Like, splitting-splitting, like, everything, kind of, like, down the middle. Just being, like- like, "Okay, I'll do this, you do this today." And, whatever. Just kind of figuring it out as it goes, in a way.

Most interesting is that while all of the men expected an equal distribution of household chores, none of them expressed expectations of an equal share of childcare duties. Most of the men, such as Steven, attributed this imbalance to cultural gender norms:

Interviewer: So it sounds like you're pretty okay with having like a 50/50 split in most domains.

Interviewee: Yeah, I would say so, as long as one thing's not dominating, you know, me, I guess.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm. Who—who would you expect to be like the main childcare?

Interviewee: I guess, typically, just because of the way society does it, I guess, my wife…

Similarly, while Jason expected to share cooking, cleaning, and money management responsibilities, he hesitated when asked about childcare, blaming a woman's genetic makeup for his unequally balanced expectations:

>*Interviewer*: What about childcare?
>
>*Interviewee*: Um, see that's where I think like biology comes into it a little bit though.
>
>*Interviewer*: Okay. Talk to me about that.
>
>*Interviewee*: Because-because I think, um, and once again I don't—I-I feel like I've heard this somewhere, but I could be wrong. I do think like women just have a more naturally—they-they play a more motherly role not because like the men are telling them to but partially because they just want to. Um, and that doesn't apply to everybody obviously. It's not every woman's experience. Um, and I don't know if you could enlighten on me that cuz that could be false…Um, so I would—I guess I would generally say that the woman would take more of the time with the children.

Despite uneven childcare expectations, eight of the 10 men expected their wives to work, contributing to the family income. James expressed this idea:

>*Interviewee:* I would say we'll take turns, like with different jobs. So, as far as cleaning, like you don't have to clean all the time, or you don't have to cook all the time…Child care, that—that right there is difficult.
>
>*Interviewer:* Okay. Why is that?
>
>*Interviewee:* Cuz trying to break out of these norms that we have.
>
>*Interviewer:* Okay, so you would expect then your wife to have a career, as well?
>
>*Interviewee:* Yes.

Women: expectations of career difficulties. While all 10 women expressed expectations to hold a future full-time career, eight of these women also expected career challenges due to their gender. The women felt as if they would need to "prove" themselves before being accepted as a dedicated career woman. Jennifer expressed this concern:

Interviewee: I would hope that once I show, like, my worth and that I can be there and whatnot, that I would be treated equally, but I know at the onset, I'm gonna be treated like I'm less than and not qualified just because of my sex.

Interviewer: Okay. What types of responsibilities do you expect to do as a woman in this, like, field, in this environment?

Interviewee: I think originally, I might have to do, like, the little, like, petty tasks and whatnot because I just think that men that work in sports don't see women as equal, so they're just kind of going to, like, demote me and, like, make me do little tasks that maybe they'd give to an intern or something like that when I actually have a job.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: Um, and I think that a lot of this, like, what goes on there is kind of, like, mediated of society as a whole. Like, I need to prove my worth and, like, show that I'm allowed to be here.

Interviewer: Mm hmm.

Interviewee: But it kind of just goes back to the idea, like, if men already are in this position, and they already have their worth, like, why does a woman have to prove hers?

Some of the women expecting future challenges, like Kristy, also discussed the internal and cultural struggle of choosing motherhood or career:

I think the biggest challenge is the home-work balance and if you wanna have kids or not. And that's something that's very frustrating to have to deal with as a woman instead of being able to focus on what you want out of a career. You also do have to consider how having a kid or, um, several kids would impact that and possibly change… so it's really just like an internal struggle that I feel like a lot of women, especially now with all of the, um—there's a lot more options for women in the workforce now. And I think that's becoming—quickly becoming one of the biggest problems that women have to face, um, when they do enter the workforce.

Only two of the women expected no future issues in their career fields. For example, Ellie did not anticipate future challenges due to her desire to work in a career field dominated by women:

I think in my field, like comparing it to other fields, I would be treated with a lot more respect just because when you're in an environment that's surrounded with mostly women I would guess and with women who hold the same sort of like passions and, um, moral standards for people, I think that could be, um, a really positive environment.

101

Carly, the other woman who did not anticipate difficulties, expected to use her male connections to climb to the top of the corporate ladder:

> *Interviewee:* Um, you know, this sounds really conceited and stupid, but my dad actually works in the broadcasting business…So I think I could kinda get a head start over some other people just from his connections.
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* Uh, which is something I'm really lucky to have if that's the, like, what I decide I wanna do. Um, and also this is gonna sound terrible as well. But I think that I'd be okay with TV as well because I think I'm an okay looking person.

Nevertheless, Ellie and Carly were in the minority. Most women anticipated career challenges due to their gender.

Men: nontraditional career expectations. Another theme that emerged among all of the male interviewees was the tendency to voice nontraditional career expectations. It should be noted that eight of the 10 men expected their wives to work while the other two men, Jack and Steven, were open to their wives working or staying home with the children. Nevertheless, all of the men verbalized career expectations that were somewhat nontraditional in nature. Reasons for nontraditional career expectations varied. A dominant trend was to either expect to take a backseat to future wives' careers or expect future wives to work full-time, equally if not dominantly contributing to the family finances. Specifically, many of the men such as Greg did not mind if their future partners made more money than they did:

> *Interviewer:* So, would you be okay if she made more than you?
>
> *Interviewee:* Yes, definitely.

Additionally, while James, John, and Colton traditionally expected to be the main breadwinners, they nontraditionally expected their partners to hold jobs and expressed that they would not mind if their wives were the main source of income. For example, John stated:

Interviewee: I feel like I would probably be, at- at that point, be the one who would be the main source of income for like work – work – in the workforce at the—at that time.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: But I'm more than okay with her also joining and making her own – own way. And if she becomes more successful, I'm totally fine with that, as well.

Another nontraditional trend was for the men to expect to hold careers that are passionate and engaging but not emotionally taxing. Jason was one of the men who communicated this idea:

Interviewee: Okay. Um, I think because of how I grew up like I would not have a problem whatsoever if she was making more money than me.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: …if I have a job that is working part-time, and she has a job that's working full time, like I might feel inclined to start working full time. But it wouldn't be like the first thing on my mind. It's kinda whatever-whatever she wants, that sorta thing. …. Um, so I think that's just all to say that my future career path whatever it is I just wanna be passionate about it. I wanna enjoy going to work every day just like I enjoy going to class every day.

Moreover, the male interviewees often expected to fulfill a healthy work/family balance. For example, John commented, "I would prefer to find – find a balance between work – work and life and maybe try to—ideally – ideal, I wanna find a way to, like, make the two seem—just be seamless." The men with expectations for a work/family balance did not expect to spend all their time immersed in their future careers. Instead, they preferred quality time with their families even if that meant making a career change. Specifically, Dan reported that if necessary, he would choose his family over career:

Childcare responsibility. I would want—uh, honest to God, I'd want the biggest part in that. Like, I love kids. So, I would say that she would probably—obviously, like the mother is kinda like the caretaker of the kids and stuff like that, but I would want to play as big a role as I possibly could in that, for sure. I would—like, if I would 1 million percent, I wanna be the dad that comes home and sees his kids like t—an hour before they go to bed, or something like that. So, I would definitely want—no-no matter what I

have to do, like if it's change my career, something like that, I would definitely wanna make sure I play a role in my kids' life, for sure.

Despite responses that expressed expectations for a breadwinner partner or work/family balance, none of the men expected to be the primary caretakers of their children. For instance, Kevin expressed:

> *Interviewee:* I've always wanted to like have like a wife that's more successful than me so it's like less pressure…I always said I wanted like a sugar mama…So, like, I kinda—I don't really wanna have to worry about money. I'd rather just—
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* - do what I like doing. So.
>
> *Interviewer:* So, you'd be okay with her being the breadwinner?
>
> *Interviewee:* Yeah.
>
> … *Interviewer:* What about if she—if she did make more money, would you be okay being a stay-at-home-dad?
>
> *Interviewee:* … I don't know. So, wh—I haven't really thought about staying at home because like I don't really wanna do that.

While James expected his wife to work full time and take care of the children, he nonetheless upheld some semblance of traditional gender roles in his future career expectations:

> *Interviewee:* I feel like I need to have myself taken care of and be on my own. I feel like, this is my belief, that a man should be able to provide for his partner.
>
> *Interviewer:* Hmm, mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* So I will always want to do more, so in order to do more, I'll probably have to make more to show to you that I'm capable of taking care of, not only myself, but to you and the entire family, as well.
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* So I guess that would tie back to possibly me being the breadwinner.

Thus, for five of the men (i.e., Jack, Steven, James, John, and Colton), it was seemingly important to express some sense of traditional gender norms when discussing future career expectations. However, the tendency to express nontraditional gender norm expectations in future careers was clearly apparent through the male interviewees' responses.

Applications of Themes Pertinent to Research Questions

RQ1: Social Reality and Mediated Reality Tensions

A theme throughout the interviews ($n = 9$) was the tendency to integrate social reality experiences into discussion of mediated reality perceptions (social and mediated realities conflated). This is perhaps telling of social reality experiences taking a position at the forefront of formative importance in emerging adults' lives. Alternatively, it is possible that mediated reality perceptions take a backseat to social reality experiences or it may even be the case that social reality experiences help shape mediated reality perceptions. This finding provides additional insight into the way that the processes outlined in social role theory and cultivation theory work to foster gender norm attitudes. Abiding by the interviewees' responses, it seems that gender norms are first observed in one's social reality as proposed by social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016) and then further cultivated or challenged by one's perceptions of gender norms in mediated reality (Gerbner, 1998; Morgan et al., 2014).

Interestingly, the majority of the times this confusion between social and mediated realities occurred, it was nontraditional social reality experiences that shaped nontraditional mediated reality perceptions. This pattern even transpired among the interviewees with a more traditional social reality upbringing, as evident via James' thoughts:

Interviewer: All right, and what about maybe computer science (in the media)?

105

Interviewee: Computer science, that's—that's mixed, too, I believe.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: There's not always all these men. There's all of these women. I'm actually seeing a lot more women doing computer science than men now.

Interviewer: All right.

Interviewee: So that's what I've noticed while being here. Like a lot more women are interested in like IT or computer science than men, or it's about even.

Importantly, it was James' recent nontraditional social reality experiences rather than his traditional childhood social reality experiences that helped foster his mediated reality perceptions. The tendency to correct traditional mediated reality perceptions with nontraditional social reality experiences is also exemplified by Greg's statement, "But, um, it's funny. I have a computer science friend who's actually a girl. So, like, I'm – I'm a little skewed with that too. But, definitely in media, you don't see that very often." Comments like these may in turn activate individuals' awareness of the media's traditional gender norm portrayal, particularly for the 17 participants who perceived their mediated realities as mainly traditional.

However, while less frequent, there were instances when traditional social reality experiences seemed to influence more traditional mediated reality perceptions. For example, David reinforced the media's depiction of corporate gender norms using knowledge acquired from his own social reality experiences:

> I think generally like men are regarded as the managers (in media)…But like, there are exceptions like GM, I think it's a woman doing it right now…I don't remember her name, but usually, those women becoming like in the management positions are more like the exception than the rule right now, I think.

Therefore, the interviewees seemed to use social reality experiences to either refute or support their traditional mediated reality perceptions. Once again, as dictated by social role theory and cultivation theory, this trend is potentially telling of the ways in which one's social reality

106

experiences can powerfully foster gender norm ideas prior to mediated reality's cultivating

influence (Eagly & Wood, 2016; Gerbner et al., 1986; Shrum, 2017). In comparison, the

interviewees rarely mentioned mediated reality when discussing their social reality experiences.

Further, nontraditional social reality experiences also seemed to develop interviewees'

ideas regarding a traditional to nontraditional mediated reality "shift" that mirrors U.S. culture

(nontraditional mediated reality "shift"). Importantly, study 2's interviewees utilized recent

social reality experiences rather than childhood social reality experiences to help shape their

ideas regarding this mediated reality shift. Thirteen of the participants believed that this shift was

taking place in culture and the majority felt it was a direct result of the cultural movements that

were happening in their social reality experiences, for better or for worse. From Lauren's

perspective this nontraditional change is a positive and needed development in the media:

> Well, I think, like, there's just so many women who are in the workforce now. And I think, like, people are trying to change the way Hollywood depicts things. Um, there's a lot of people who speak out against it, rather than, kind of, like, work in this hush-hush type manner. Um, and I just think audiences want to see themselves portrayed on television, more so than not… So I think that's really empowering. Like, I think that women shouldn't feel that they hafta have one life course. And I think, like, when media expands that, like, it kind of allows people to feel more comfortable with things that were taboo before.

However, as noted, a majority of opinions regarding the shift were more negatively toned,

expressing fear for a society that has shifted too far. This fear was apparent in Jason's comment

regarding the media's shift to imitate a nontraditional culture:

> *Interviewee*: Um, so yeah, like can you ask a woman out on a date anymore in the workplace? Um, can you say like, oh, that dress looks great or something? ...Um, like how is that gonna change because we've taken it too far?

> *Interviewer*: Mm-hmm.

> *Interviewee*: You know, we've gone past progress, and we've turned it into something that it shouldn't be.

Accordingly, while some interpreted this mediated reality shift as empowering, most found it foreboding. Despite participants' awareness of cultural gender norm change in their social realities, some communicated that their mediated realities depict this change in an aggressive or counterproductive manner (forced attempt to depict the nontraditional). Clearly the dynamic between the social and mediated realities is complex and brings with it emotions of hope and fear. Nonetheless, social reality, particularly via recent rather than childhood gender norm experiences, seems to be at the forefront of many emerging adults' minds, shaping mediated reality perceptions and influencing ideas regarding a cultural mediated reality shift. As previously mentioned, this finding coincides with social role theory's premise that gender norms are first observed and experienced through everyday life interactions with individuals in their daily social roles and that these observations shape beliefs about social groups (Eagly et al., 2000; Koenig & Eagly, 2014; Wood & Eagly, 2012). Regardless, it is critical to consider both realities in emerging adults' lives as the media's presence becomes increasingly inescapable. This is true especially in light of the finding that many of the emerging adults presumed their mediated realities to reflect their own recent social realities. Thus, while not always verbalized, it may be the case that some participants remain faithful that the media reflect the world accurately, cosigning with cultivation theory premises (Gerbner, 1978; Morgan et al., 2014).

RQ2: Nontraditional Attitudes Accompanied by Resistance to Feminism

Every participant throughout the interview process communicated a belief in equality for both men and women. For example, Amanda stated, "Like, I think if people set their minds to things and, like, are passionate about it, that they can do it, and it doesn't matter if they're a guy or a girl or, like, what the standards are." Notably, these nontraditional gender norm ideas may be due to social desirability bias that is often generated in in-depth interviews. Nevertheless,

there were very few if any statements regarding gender norm attitudes that could be interpreted as traditional rather than nontraditional. Even slightly traditional gender normed statements were backed by nontraditional ideas, as evident through Colton's comment regarding his gender norm beliefs:

> *Interviewee:* Uh, I think it is—I do think it's unrealistic that some people, um, you know, shout and cry over, like, "We need more women in this," or, "We need more men in this," um, because it's not always, you know, the most viable – viable option—
>
> *Interviewer:* Mmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* - and most attractive for a lotta people. But I definitely think it's—yeah, we should, you know—gender equality is definitely a good thing. I don't, you know, disagree on that. So, yeah.

Accordingly, and perhaps not surprisingly, the current generation of emerging adults seems to be fostering more nontraditional and fewer traditional gender norm attitudes. It is also possible that these young individuals are hyper aware of gender stereotypes and thus do not want to create the appearance of attempted gender generalization.

In direct opposition to the interviewees' frequent statements that blatantly or subtly communicated nontraditional gender norm attitudes was the recurring feminist pushback ("I'm not a feminist…?"). Therefore, despite participants projecting more nontraditional than traditional gender norm ideas, they were hesitant or even outright resistant to proclaim a feminist identity. This feminist pushback was evident in the majority of the interviewees' responses. Interestingly, the four women who strongly resonated with the feminist movement concurrently understood why it was not a popular term among many of their peers. Lauren explains this unpopularity:

> Um, I think feminism has had all these pushbacks where, like, the feminist is seen as, like, the woman who doesn't shave her legs, and who is, like, who's, like, a gross figure and hates all men. And, like, okay. Like, that – that—I've seen that person exist, but, like, I also think, like, it's important to stand your ground and, like, be proud of your gender…

109

Moreover, all of the women interviewees verbalized tension between wanting to identify as a feminist and not wanting to be associated with the feminist movement. The following statement made by Amanda exemplifies this discord:

> *Interviewee:* Yeah, I'm all for, like, women's empowerment and everything, but, like, honestly, sometimes I think it can get a little annoying. *[Laughs]*
>
> *Interviewer:* Okay. In what ways?
>
> *Interviewee:* Like, I don't know. I guess I kind of pick and choose, like, how I get involved and, like, the places I put my time and efforts, and, like, I don't really see myself, like, marching in a women's march. Like, I am, like, a huge supporter of Planned Parenthood and, like, that kind of thing. Like, I'm all for women being able to, like, make their own choices and whatnot. I'm just, like, not a person who, like, publicizes everything and is, like, extremely passionate, like, publicly, so, like, it's hard for me to—yeah.

The denial or hesitation to identify as a feminist is perhaps in response to a culture permeated with movements like "Me Too" and "Time's Up." For many of these emerging adults, personal experiences with feminist movements have been via mediated rather than social realities. In fact, scholars have analyzed the media's portrayal of feminism as a "dirty" word that consequently affects the public's perception of the feminist movement (Beck, 1998). Thus, it is understandable that the current generation of emerging adults might misinterpret feminist messages, especially when they are subject to what the media choose to show on screen. Thus, despite the finding regarding social reality experiences perhaps dominating mediated reality perceptions, mediated reality may still play a part in shaping gender norm ideas and attitudes, especially when one interprets gender norm media portrayals in a negative light. Cultivation theory posits that the media have the power to cultivate or even reinforce viewers' beliefs and attitudes about life (Morgan et al., 2014; Shrum, 1999). Consequently, it may be the case that the cultivating power

of the media's portrayal of gender movements may at times clash with a viewer's recent social

reality observations of nontraditional gender norms.

Notably, most of the interviewees who perceived a traditional to nontraditional gender

norm shift in the media felt apprehensive and distrustful of mediated reality's representation of

nontraditional gender norms. It is possible that perceiving mediated reality depictions as

nontraditional can backlash, resulting in more traditional gender norm attitudes or a hesitation to

identify with the feminist title. This idea is illustrated through Julia's thought process:

> *Interviewee:* So, I would say like I identify like with the term feminist, but I don't know
> if I would necessarily say like I identify with like every facet of the feminist movement—
>
> *Interviewer:* Okay.
>
> *Interviewee:* - if that makes sense.
>
> *Interviewer:* Yeah, cuz you sounded hesitant when you answered that.
>
> *Interviewee:* Yeah, just cuz it's like—in some aspects, I feel like a lot of movements
> that have like good intentions can kinda be manipulated or like viewed incorrectly.
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* So, I feel like I agree with the idea of feminism, but maybe not with like
> some ways that people like believe like we should go about achieving it in a way.

However, it is important to reiterate that the current study's participants often seemed to form

mediated reality perceptions based on social reality experiences. Many of the interviewees found

hope and saw equality in their social realities, as noted in Monica's response:

> I guess I've just, like, seen it in, like, real life kind of. Like, I know, like, my professors,
> my mom, like, I've seen different women, like, have careers, be successful, like, go on to
> get a good education. So, I don't know, I just, like—I guess when you've seen—uh, when
> you see it happen, like, you know it's possible.

It is likely that while some of the interviewees' positively toned nontraditional social reality

experiences contributed to more nontraditional gender norm attitudes, other interviewees'

perceptions of a mainly traditional mediated reality that is nontraditionally "trying too hard" ironically contributed to feminist resistance (forced attempt to depict the nontraditional).

Ultimately there seemed to be an internal struggle involved in wanting to uphold nontraditional gender norm attitudes without being perceived as a "crazy feminist" who rallies in the streets. Perhaps this struggle was most evident with the men who were noticeably less likely to identify as feminist than were the women and were also more likely to be critical of a traditional to nontraditional mediated reality gender norm shift. Specifically, six men communicated wariness regarding this mediated reality shift and four of these men outright rejected a feminist title. Therefore, when it comes to gender norm attitudes, recent experiences of nontraditional gender norms in one's social reality may spark nontraditional gender norm attitudes; however, perceptions of a traditional mediated reality that is trying too hard to be nontraditional may simply reinforce more traditional gender norm attitudes. This trend amongst study 2's interviewees is perhaps an example of social role theory and cultivation theory working together in juxtaposition to help generate gender norm ideas and attitudes (Eagly & Kite, 1987; Shrum, 1999; Shrum, 2017; Wood & Eagly, 2012).

RQ3: Social Reality and Gender Norm Attitudes Foster Unrealistic Expectations

An intriguing yet perhaps unsettling trend throughout the interviews was the women's expectation to "do it all" in family and career, an unexpected theme that nevertheless coincides with past scholars' quantitative and qualitative findings (e.g., Hoffnung, 2004; women: "I can do it all!"). In contrast, the men were more inclined to expect an equal distribution of household chores, to take a backseat in childcare, and to hold more nontraditional career expectations, even opting to hand over breadwinner responsibilities to future partners (men: "50/50!" – except for childcare). While it is admirable that the women in this study wanted to "do it all" in their future

endeavors, it is unfortunately an unrealistic expectation that could possibly be harmful to one's physical, mental, and emotional health, resulting in greater work-family conflict (Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003).

Putting the interviewees' expectations into context are studies that have used time-diary data to assess American adults' division of labor in the home. As previously mentioned, Bianchi et al. (2000) found that women's (aged 25 – 64 years) housework hours (excluding childcare and shopping) have decreased since 1975 (23.70 vs. 17.50) while men's time spent on housework has increased (7.20 vs. 10.0 hours). However, the amount of time men spend on housework remains considerably lower than their partners. Accordingly, while women are doing less housework due to obligations outside the home or fewer children, men are not doing nearly enough housework to compensate for this decrease. Thus, based on this research women in heterosexual relationships are not necessarily receiving the support they need from their partners.

Furthermore, Yavorsky et al. (2015) found that prebirth, heterosexual male and female partners spend approximately 14.51 hours on housework per week. Postbirth, women's and men's reported hours on paid labor only amounted to a 3-hour difference (42.22 vs. 45.98). However, in comparison to prebirth, women averaged nearly an equivalent amount of hours on housework (13.50) and 21.79 hours on childcare whereas the men spent an average of 9.46 weekly hours on housework and 14.04 weekly hours on childcare. Applying this data, when children are introduced into a dual-earner heterosexual partnership, women are disadvantaged as the workload scales tip in favor of the men. Nevertheless, it appears as if the adult men in these studies still uphold some of the childcare responsibilities. Using this data as grounds for comparison with the present study, the expectations of the women interviewees to hold full time jobs and manage childcare in addition to the men's expectations to partake in less childcare are

113

perhaps realistic in the short-term. However, long-term, these expectations do not seem sustainable.

Notably, many of the women's unrealistic family and career expectations stemmed from their former social reality experiences, cosigning with quantitative research that found similar connections (e.g., Meeussen et al., 2016). Once again this trend is an example of social role theory's premise that gender norm ideas are generated via everyday gender norm observations (Eagly & Wood, 2016). Several of the women who experienced more traditional social realities believed their mothers were at times unfairly pigeonholed in traditionally gendered responsibilities (traditional social reality: blame culture or play defense). Consequently, these interviewees expressed tension between upholding traditional childcare responsibilities and fear of never developing their career pursuits. For example, Kristy stated, "It's- it's, like- it's hard to explain. Like, I have a lot of respect for my mom in what she did but I- I don't ever wanna be put in the same position as her." Similarly, some of the female interviewees with nontraditional social reality experiences also seemed to consider their mothers' multifaceted roles when verbalizing their future expectations (nontraditional social reality: two working parents). Monica explained:

> Um, I guess—just, like, I feel like women have more, like, lead roles in real life. Like, they're taking care of, like, so much. Like, they have jobs, but they also take care of, like, the family at home. It's not just, like—they're not just stay-at-home moms anymore. Like, my mom has, like, a career, and she works all day, too. So, it's not like she's just, like, sitting home and, like, baking cookies all day while my dad's, like, at work.

Despite this difference between the ways in which the two groups of women made comparisons between their social realities, most ($n = 8$) of the female interviewees shared the expectation to take on the majority of childcare responsibilities while still maintaining a successful full-time career. Despite the women's frequent acknowledgement that future careers

may bring difficulties due to their gender (women: expectations of career difficulties) they

expressed realistic expectations that their fulfilling careers would afford them opportunities to

take care of children. For instance, Lauren expressed:

> I think it's important to advocate your own rights as an employee…a lot of workers don't ask their employers for the flexibility that, like, that they are—that, like, are required of them, and that, like, they can get. And I think if there's a way to, like, move my schedule around to, like, accommodate a family, like, I'll – I'll try to do what I can in my power…

Likewise, Julia believed she could manipulate her future law career to work with her childcare

responsibilities:

> *Interviewer:* Realistically, who do you think would have more childcare responsibilities?

> *Interviewee:* I mean, realistically, it'd probably be me—

> *Interviewer:* Okay.

> *Interviewee: - [chuckles]* just because like, I guess, it's like what the mom does, in a way…So, it might be like, you know, I get this job for like ten years or something and then like, after, I would have to go in to like private practice of 115omething' that's like easier to—like manipulate. But, yeah, I feel like I would definitely like—even if I didn't go in to law, I'd want like a demanding career.

As previously discussed, all of the women tended to voice nontraditional rather than

traditional gender norm ideas. Therefore, it is intriguing that the majority of the female

interviewees held traditional family expectations and nontraditional career expectations. Perhaps

internalizing nontraditional gender norms leads to expecting a nontraditional balance of family

and career where women expect to not only take care of the children and house but also

financially provide for the family. This expectation to "do it all" by taking on primary roles as

the financial and childcare provider coincides with qualitative research showing that female

breadwinner interviewees feel cultural pressure to stay at home with their children, thus leading

them to feel torn between family and career (Chesley, 2017; Meisenbach, 2010). However, it

should be noted that some aspects of the women's family expectations were more nontraditional

in nature. For example, many of the women like Carly fully intended to at least equally if not completely manage household finances: "I think I'd like to have, you know, his bank account, my bank account. Obviously, we'd share it. But, uh, I'd like to be able to manage my own money. I think that's really important." This trend corresponds to recent survey research that found that emerging adult women (aged 18 – 25 years) have stronger intentions of balancing multiple roles (e.g., spouse/partner, parent, worker) than their male peers (Roche, Daskalova, & Brown, 2017).

Most worrisome is that many of the women who reported expectations to "do it all" do not realize that their expectations are perhaps unrealistic. Notably, these unrealistic expectations may be due to the interviewees' lack of life experience at 18 and 19 years of age; however, study 2's findings correspond with quantitative research that has longitudinally assessed women's expectations as college seniors and in their early 30s (Hoffnung, 2004; Hoffnung & Williams, 2013). As college seniors, these women wanted to "do it all," including marriage, motherhood, and career. When surveyed in their 30s, the majority of the women, despite their life circumstances, still aspired to one day "do it all." Detrimental consequences may arise if the women in the present study do not understand that their expectations are most likely unattainable given the limit of 24 hours in a day.

If emerging adult women believe they can attainably "do it all" without relying on partners for childcare and career support, there is a chance that some of these women's health will be compromised through stress or even depression. Recent research has revealed that reasons for mothers' stress include difficulty in balancing different responsibilities due to children (Robert, Mari, & Luni, 2016). In addition, survey research has shown that women who are mothers take on more housework and marital conflict than women who are not mothers

(Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003). Unfortunately, only two of the eight interviewees in the present study recognized that perhaps "doing it all" was an unhealthy expectation. Both of these women were afraid that the stress of their future careers might prevent their ability to be emotionally available for their children, e.g., as Ellie communicated: "So I could see like myself like rather than hanging out with my partner or like playing with the kids, like sitting on the couch and just like thinking. Like, you know, not like being super involved." As a result, each of these women stated they would choose a career over children due to fear of compromising their emotional connection with loved ones. However, this was not the prevailing trend.

Responses voicing expectations to "do it all" correspond with the theoretical premises that accompanied the second wave of feminism. While the first wave of feminism (1830s – early 1900s) dedicated its efforts to furthering women's legal rights, the second wave of feminism (1960s – 1990s) claimed that women could be more than successful homemakers (Anderson, 2015; Friedan, 1963). As worded by Friedan (1963), the postwar era brought along with it the "feminine mystique," a repressive image that denied women the ability to find careers or satisfaction outside the home, instead limiting a woman to the home as wife and caretaker. Friedan (1963) encouraged women to seek fulfillment not only in the home but also in careers. The second wave of feminism's "call to action" continues to be relevant in current scholarly literature. For example, Ezzedeen, Budworth, and Baker's (2018) focus groups of emerging adult women believed they could optimistically have a career and family. However, some women did believe they would have to choose between the two roles. Moreover, cross-sectional research shows that emerging adult women (aged 18 – 22 years) with expectations to work full-time, part-time, or not at all did not differ in their expected number of children; thus they did not anticipate having fewer children to accommodate a career (Coyle et al., 2015). Finally, scholars have

shown that women hold high aspirations for their families and careers, perhaps even more so than men (Meeussen et al., 2016). Therefore, based on these findings, it makes sense that the current study's female interviewees expected to one day "do it all."

Perhaps not surprisingly, the male interviewees were more inclined to verbalize a 50/50 mentality when thinking about managing their future familial households. Furthermore, their statements regarding future careers were nontraditionally toned (men: nontraditional career expectations). In comparison to the female interviewees, the men's inclination to expect nontraditional gender norms in family and career may be due to their tendency to voice more nontraditional gender norm attitudes, though it should be noted that the men's gender norm attitudes were collectively more traditional than those of their female counterparts. While male participants frequently stated what could be interpreted as nontraditional gender norm ideas, they nevertheless seemed to struggle with upholding these nontraditional gender ideals in their future household expectations. Coyle et al.'s (2015) findings revealed that emerging adult men and women both appear to struggle with the desire to implement traditional gender norms in their future homes. Ironically, qualitative research has also revealed that female breadwinners often feel that their male counterparts who stay at home with the children rarely take on an equal division of household labor (Meisenbach, 2010). Correspondingly, despite many of the men expressing nontraditional gender norm beliefs and stating that they expected equality in the home environment, their subsequent remarks said otherwise. This recurring pattern seems to mirror the internal struggle Coyle et al. (2015) discussed. For example, while the men reported expectations for an equal split in future responsibilities, many of them were resistant to verbally claim these tasks as things they would primarily do in a future home. Jack stated:

> *Interviewee:* … if she wants, like, to pursue a career like that, then I guess we'll- we'll split, like, household activities and stuff…

…Interviewer: like, laundry?

Interviewee: Laundry, I don't know.

Interviewer: Lawn care?

Interviewee: Hmm, no.

Interviewer: [Laughter] you'd be okay if she did those things instead?

Interviewee: Yeah. Yeah, probably. I would be okay.

Moreover, the men consistently did not expect to equally divide childcare responsibilities with their partners. Reasons for this unequal distribution were often attributed to gender norms that qualify women as more equipped mothers. At times these attributions were regretfully stated. This regret is evident in Kevin's commentary regarding future childcare expectations:

> *…Interviewer:* So, who would do more childcare, though, when it comes down to it?
>
> *…Interviewee:* I think—I haven't decided. Based upon like how I grew up, like it'd be easier for it to be her, but like—
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* - I don't want it to be—if-if it is her, it's not—I don't want it to be because of the norms. I'd want it to be because it's—fits into like our jobs and our system because—more easily.

Evidently, male participants were more than willing to state expectations for a 50/50 split but when it came to concretely divvying up the household responsibilities, they were less willing to adhere to an equal divide. The hesitation to take on an equal load of household chores and childcare responsibilities may be due to most ($n = 6$) of the male interviewees growing up in social realities that were traditionally structured (traditional social reality: blame culture or play defense), again lending support to social role theory's groundings (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016). Even the four men who described nontraditional social reality experiences at times

119

discussed their mothers' responsibilities in a traditionally gendered manner (nontraditional social reality: two working parents). This trend was evident in James' statements:

Interviewer: So what were some of your mom's responsibilities in the house?

Interviewee: Um, my mom, honestly, took both responsibilities.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: Um, as far as being the breadwinner, uh, making dinner, cleaning, um, taking me to school.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: She really played like overall as both the typical male role and female role.

Therefore, many male participants observed mothers in their childhood homes who did the majority of childcare, cooking, and cleaning. As a result, and as dictated by social role theory (Wood & Eagly, 2012), these traditional social reality experiences may have influenced the male interviewees' family expectations.

Overall, the men also tended to express more nontraditional career expectations. However, similar to family expectations, five of the men struggled to strictly uphold nontraditional gender norms in their future career expectations, seemingly clinging to more traditional breadwinner identities. Regardless, eight of the men verbalized that they were fine if their future partners did end up making more money. For example, Colton stated:

Interviewer: Okay. Would you expect to make more money?

Interviewee: Um, probably, yeah.

Interviewer: Is that important to you?

Interviewee: Not really, no.

Interviewer: Okay. But you would still expect it to happen?

> *Interviewee:* I mean, I would—I feel like that's what would happen, but if it didn't, I wouldn't, like, be upset or anything. So—

Correspondingly, most of the men were nontraditionally comfortable with the idea of having a partner who took on the main breadwinner responsibilities, therefore alleviating them from unwanted career and financial stress. Notably, four of the 10 men reported nontraditional social realities where their mothers worked full time, often making more money than their fathers (nontraditional social reality: two working parents). Some of these men, such as Jason, may be modeling their nontraditional career expectations on their nontraditional social reality experiences:

> Cuz like my mom makes more money than my dad. Um, even though they're working t the same job, you know, she just like does more work than he does. I don't wanna worry about money. So if that means I'm making enough money to not worry about money then so be it. If that means I'm making enough money, but the money doesn't matter to me then that works as well.

Nevertheless, six of the 10 men in this study grew up in traditionally structured social realities with a breadwinner father and stay-at-home mother (traditional social reality: blame culture or play defense). If they were taking social reality's potential relationship with future expectations into consideration, the male interviewees' inclination to expect nontraditional careers is somewhat unclear. Recent research with Millennial men sheds light on this finding. Coyle et al. (2015) found that emerging adult Millennial men anticipated work-family conflict but half of the men surveyed did not expect to utilize conflict-reducing strategies. Similarly, Meeussen et al. (2016) unexpectedly showed that college men who experienced men in nontraditional career roles throughout their lives simultaneously reported more traditional family aspirations. Therefore, male participants might also expect nontraditional career gender roles and traditional family gender norms in their partnerships despite verbal claims for 50/50 equality in the home.

121

Perhaps study 2's male interviewees would rather forego potential work-family conflict altogether by choosing to take a backseat to their partners in family and career.

Discussion

The responses in this study revealed that emerging adult men and women tend to foundationally rely on their social reality experiences when fostering both mediated reality perceptions and future life expectations, highlighting social role theory's premises (Meeussen et al., 2016; Wood & Eagly, 2012). Nevertheless, when it comes to the interviewees' gender norm attitudes, it seems that mediated reality is in juxtaposition to what is observed in social reality. Specifically, recent nontraditional social reality experiences seemed to manifest in more nontraditional gender norm ideas. However, negatively toned nontraditional mediated reality perceptions, particularly of cultural gender movements, seemed to generate resistance to proclaiming a feminist identity. Considered together, these findings offer insight into the way social role theory and cultivation theory processes may work together to generate gender norm ideas and attitudes (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016; Morgan et al., 2014; Shrum, 1999).

Moreover, the women interviewees expected to complete the majority of household responsibilities, be the primary childcare providers, and hold full-time careers, corresponding with other recent qualitative research using a similar sample of emerging adult participants (Ezzedeen et al., 2018; Hoffnung & Williams, 2013). Relatedly, quantitative research has shown that college women handle the trade-off between career and family differently than do college men, activating career or mom identities to restore self-integrity (Hodges & Park, 2013). This trend also corresponds with many of the foundational premises introduced by second-wave feminism's mantra that women were capable of working careers outside the home (Friedan,

1963). In contrast, while the male interviewees voiced more nontraditional career expectations, they nevertheless expected to adhere to a 50/50 household responsibility divide. Thus, male interviewees expected to balance fewer roles than the female interviewees, a finding that corresponds with past research (Roche et al., 2017). Consequently, it might be the case that emerging adult women will not receive the support they need from their future partners to live balanced lives (Meisenbach, 2010). Even more concerning is that the men would perhaps not think to offer their female partners help with chores and childcare.

Regretfully, the male interviewees' expectations of nontraditional careers is inappropriately counterbalanced by an unrealistic outlook regarding what will have to be sacrificed to take care of children. In spite of research that found men and women report similar career hours while women do more childcare, this time allocation arrangement is probably not sustainable (Yavorsky et al., 2015). Thus, if the current study's men do not expect to pull their weight with childcare, the women may one day silently struggle with burdens of managing a family and career but might hesitate to ask for help from their oblivious male partners who mistakenly believe the family responsibilities are equally divided. Some of the women, like Kristy, were cognizant of the lack of support they may receive from their partners:

> *Interviewee:* I feel like men would often use the excuse that, like, the baby—if the baby's hungry, you have to be there because the baby because, like, you're the one who's breastfeeding the kid, um, if you choose to breastfeed.

> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.

> *Interviewee:* Or, like, you are the one that's like—like, you're the one that had the baby I mean for, like, nine months. Like, it's, like, closer to you. Like, you comfort the baby more than I do. I feel like those are all typical arguments that a man brings up or that, like, if you aren't working at the time that he needs to get sleep for work.

> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.

Interviewee: Um, I feel like those are all general excuses that men use when they don't feel like helping out with the baby.

Unfortunately, this awareness did not curb the women's unrealistic expectations.

It is also intriguing to note that many of the interviewees seemed to base their future family and career expectations on what they have experienced, traditionally or nontraditionally, in their own social realities. In opposition, mediated reality perceptions were rarely mentioned when discussing future life expectations, cosigning with social role theory over cultivation theory's operational groundings (Eagly et al., 2000; Gerbner et al., 2000). What is perhaps most fascinating about their social reality modeling is how the interviewees almost seemed to consciously self-select what past experiences they expect to emulate in their own future families and careers.

Despite the interviewees' tendency to verbally connect social reality childhood experiences to future family and career expectations, mediated reality's quiet yet persistent influence should not be overlooked. In particular, since many of the interviewees commonly conflated social reality experiences with mediated reality perceptions, it is evident that for some of the participants, mediated reality perceptions reflect social reality experiences, especially when a lack of mediated reality knowledge exists. This conflation raises interesting questions for studying the interplay of social and mediated realities in cultivation research. Cultivation scholars have proposed that the more one perceives media to reflect one's social reality, the more one will be susceptible to media images (Shrum, 2017). Further, cultivation concepts such as resonance suggest that viewers whose everyday life experiences are similar with television portrayals will be most influenced by TV viewing (Shrum, 2017). Therefore, in line with cultivation premises, the interviewees who frequently conflated social reality experiences with mediated reality perceptions are most susceptible to resonance's effects. When these

interviewees were not certain about mediated reality portrayal, they resorted to social reality experiences to supplement mediated reality perceptions. This indicates that in the absence of applicable mediated reality knowledge, they assumed the media probably reflect social reality. Consequently, it is probable that these individuals also utilize mediated reality perceptions to help shape future life expectations.

More specifically, while the interviewees only verbally used social reality experiences to frame future expectations, it may be the case that at times they also utilize mediated reality perceptions to foster ideas regarding future expectations for self and partners. For example, while some of the men based their future expectations for career on nontraditional social reality experiences expecting that they will hold a job and that their wife will also hold a job, all of them seemingly used mediated reality perceptions to frame their partners' future household expectations, particularly in regards to childcare obligations. In this case, these men reasoned that genetic makeup and culturally grounded gender norm stereotypes made a woman ideal for childcare, ideas cultivated by the media (Lauzen et al., 2008; Morgan et al., 2014). Thus, for this study's men, parenting expectations for their partner are based on cultural myths perpetuated and reinforced by the media (Shrum, 2017). Moreover, while women seemed to use social reality experiences to verbally shape their expectations of household responsibilities and career expectations, they simultaneously relied on cultural myths generated by the media as groundings for their expectations to balance a career and childcare, figuring their partners would help with childcare when needed. For example, while Monica realistically expected to have more childcare responsibilities than her future partner, she still made it clear that she expects her partner to help out as much as possible with the children affording her the ability to maintain a full time career:

> *Interviewee:* …I guess it really just depends who has to be work first. Like, in the morning, as far as, like, getting the kids ready, like, for school or, like—we'd have

to, like—if I'm leaving later, then, like, I might take care of the kids in the morning. Or if he gets home earlier, like, he'd kinda make dinner, something like that, like just balanced.

Interviewer: Okay. So, do you expect to work full time?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Unfortunately, research has shown that while men do some weekly childcare, women carry more of the childcare workload than do men (Yavorsky et al., 2015). In addition, most unsettling is the fact that many of the current study's men expect their future wives to be the primary caretakers, foregoing the majority of childcare responsibilities altogether. Thus, unable to generate knowledge from their social realities regarding how "to do it all" these women seem to turn to mediated reality myths mistaking them as reality (Morgan et al., 2014; Pehlke, Hennon, Radina, & Kuvalanka, 2004).

Subsequently, it may be the case that social reality experiences shape expectations when interviewees have experience with these situations, as proposed by social role theory (Eagly & Wood, 2016); however, interviewees' mediated reality perceptions take control when they struggle to draw from social reality knowledge. It is at times like these when they are perhaps most vulnerable to believe the media resonate with everyday life (Shrum, 2017).

Limitations and Implications

Study 2 consisted of 20 individual in-depth interviews. Future research would benefit by implementing a focus group design where interviewees are given the ability to interact with one another, thus producing a different type of data that would hopefully complement the data in the present study. Affording participants the chance to share ideas with others may reveal further commonalities or even contradictions in responses. Perhaps interviewees might realize that their verbalized expectations are less realistic and more aspirational. Further, study 2 relied on a

convenience sample. Therefore, participants' ages only ranged from 18 to 20 years. It would be beneficial for future researchers to interview a wider age range of emerging adults to understand if expectations change or develop as one matures. Similarly, it would be wise to interview women of different races. For example, Black women may be more likely to embrace different future expectations, such as singlehood, than White women, subsequently altering future expectations (Moorman, 2018). Finally, while this study considered social reality, mediated reality, gender norm attitudes, and future expectations, additional research needs to further this qualitative investigation in order to provide deeper insight into the relationships between the constructs in Figure I.1.

Importantly, the idea that mediated reality perceptions may at times be utilized to help shape future expectations invites a new line of inquiry regarding the investigation of not only future expectations for oneself but also expectations for one's future expected partner. Future scholars are encouraged to explore emerging adults' expectations for self and partners and how social reality and mediated reality contribute to these expectations. Accordingly, the current study's findings propose future explorations for considering how social and mediated realities conflate. While recent cultivation research has considered how social reality experiences help shape cultivation effects (Morgan et al., 2017; Shrum, 2017), and scholars have long suggested that the realities are intertwined rather than distinct (Van den Bulck, 1999) this dissertation is one of the first two-part studies to attend to the interaction between social and mediated realities. Future quantitative and qualitative research needs to continue considering how the realms interact to formulate future life expectations.

Finally, it is critical to note that interviewees were explicitly asked to speak about their expectations rather than their aspirations. Unfortunately, based on past research concerning

actual adult time allocation (Yavorsky et al., 2015), these expectations are perhaps momentarily realistic but in the long-term are better labeled as farfetched dreams. If they fail to meet their unattainable expectations, depression and partner conflict are just two of the consequences that may manifest, especially among the female interviewees (Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003; Robert et al., 2016).

CHAPTER IV

Discussion and Conclusion

The final chapter of this dissertation summarizes the findings of the survey and interviews, focusing not only on the similarities between the two studies but also exploring the ways the studies' findings differ. This chapter also identifies conclusions that may be drawn based on the studies together. While both the survey and interview uncovered many interesting findings, the themes discussed within this chapter are noteworthy trends that extend theory and past research. Accordingly, this discussion is organized by four prevailing themes: traditional everyday life experiences connected to traditional media perceptions; traditional media perceptions negatively correlated with traditional gender norm attitudes; traditional everyday life experiences correlated with traditional future expectations; and traditional male gender norm attitudes negatively correlated with traditional career role allocation expectations.

As previously addressed, due to the need to discuss findings separately by gender, this discussion unpacks its themes referencing the male and female SEMs separately. It is important to note that this dissertation does not make any causal claims based on its cross-sectional design. Nevertheless, the following themes that emerged from the studies' data collectively provide insight into the unique way in which emerging adult gender norm attitudes and future expectations may potentially be shaped.

Theme 1: Traditional Everyday Life Experiences Connected to Traditional Media Perceptions

This dissertation predicted that participants' traditional everyday life gender norm experiences and traditional media gender norm perceptions would independently correlate with traditional gender norm attitudes. While both the survey and interviews uncovered these direct relationships, this dissertation also found that traditional everyday life experiences and traditional media perceptions correlate and interact in a way that might also contribute to emerging adults' gender norm attitudes.

First, the survey and interviews suggest that everyday life and media may be connected rather than independent. Specifically, the survey's SEM fit specifications proposed the addition of a significant path connecting traditional everyday life experiences to traditional media perceptions (see figure II.2 and figure II.3). Similarly, when the interviewees discussed their everyday life experiences, they used them to supplement or justify their perceptions of media gender norm portrayals. This occurred most often when interviewees used recent everyday life experiences to correct what they viewed as inaccurate media gender norm depictions. For example, Monica stated:

> Um, it'd be nice to see, like, more female, like, leadership (in the media). Because, like, I know, like, so many women are, like, going to great universities and, like, getting great jobs at huge companies. And it'd be, like, really interesting to see, like, more representations of, like, me and, like, I wanna do and what I aspire to do.

It is also possible that interviewees used everyday life experiences to make sense of media perceptions when they lacked ample media knowledge on which to form the basis of their media perceptions. In cases like these, instead of simply admitting that they had not paid attention to certain media gender norms, these interviewees appeared to instinctively pull from everyday life experiences to predict that media portrayals must reflect those experiences, a process consistent

130

with the cultivation theory concept of resonance, i.e., when viewers perceive television portrayals as being consistent (resonating) with their everyday lives (Shrum, 2017).

Therefore, the survey and interviews collectively suggest that it is perhaps everyday life experiences that form the basis of one's media perceptions more so than the converse, clarifying the way social role and cultivation processes may work together (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016; Gerbner, 1973; Shrum, 2017). Accordingly, the data analyzed for this dissertation propose that what individuals first experience in their everyday lives likely takes precedence over perceptions gathered from the media with respect to gender role perceptions, and that holes in knowledge of media depictions are "filled" by schematic information gleaned from everyday life experiences. This idea is also consistent with selective perception, a theory proposing that individuals' prior beliefs influence the way they interpret media (McLeod, Wise, & Perryman, 2017). In line with selective perception, participants' tendency to rely on everyday life over media perceptions may be due to their innate disposition to pay attention to media portrayals consistent with prior beliefs and to dismiss portrayals that contradict prior beliefs (McLeod et al., 2017).

Second, also underscoring the theme that everyday life and media are connected, the survey's post-hoc exploratory regression analyses revealed a significant two-way interaction among all participants, which could be attributed to male participants specifically since this interaction was not significant for female participants (see table II.5). Therefore, the male participants who reported less traditional everyday life experiences and more traditional media perceptions reported the least traditional gender norm attitudes (see figure II.6). Correspondingly, the interviewees, and particularly men, verbally supplemented discussion of media perceptions with everyday life experiences. As previously discussed, the most common

pattern among these interviewees was to use recent nontraditional everyday life experiences to

challenge traditional media perceptions. For example, Greg relied on his mother's career to

refute his perception of media portrayals of women's careers:

> …Like, using my own personal example, my mom's a principal in, uh, uh, middle
> school. And that is a sort of job that I think, in the media, you would see, like, a male
> figurehead, and you would have female teachers. But, um, in my personal experience,
> my mother is, uh, obviously a female, and she is the principal there. So, that's sort of like,
> that's my own personal experience of how media kind of fails to portray the – the
> complexities that are everyday life and everyday careers.

In turn, interviewees like Greg at times used nontraditional everyday life experiences to

reject media portrayals of traditional gender norms. Notably, when interviewees used their

nontraditional everyday life experiences to refute or challenge traditional media perceptions,

these corrections were made casually and with no outrage. This finding from the interviews

shares similarities with the survey's significant two-way interaction between less traditional

everyday life experiences and more traditional media perceptions in predicting less traditional

gender norm attitudes. Considered together, these findings may lend support to the idea that

everyday life and media work interactively to shape or reinforce emerging adults' gender norm

attitudes, especially among men.

Furthermore, this interaction between everyday life and media aligns with findings

reported by scholars who have proposed that media use and messages are an integral part of

one's everyday life experiences (e.g., Van den Bulck, 1999). Based on these dissertation

findings, media perceptions of gender norms may aid in individuals' gender norm attitude

formation by providing an outside perspective used to either support or refute one's everyday life

gender norm experiences. Correspondingly, this idea also supports cultivation theory's proposal

that media portrayals can help shape and/or reinforce viewers' attitudes and values (Shrum,

1999; Shrum, 2017).

Together, the survey and interviews illustrate how social role theory complements cultivation theory. Even though emerging adults may first acquire gender norm information from everyday life experiences (Wood & Eagly, 2012), media perceptions can also help cultivate gender norm ideas and even attitudes (Shrum, 1999). Based on both dissertation studies' findings, this cultivating power may be particularly influential if media gender norm perceptions are rejected due to their perceived traditional nature when compared to a less traditional everyday reality. However, these conclusions are purely speculative. Further experimental or longitudinal research needs to be completed to further support these preliminary ideas.

Theme 2: Traditional Media Perceptions Negatively Correlated with Traditional Gender Norm Attitudes

As predicted, the survey and interviews found that traditional everyday life experiences positively correlated with traditional gender norm attitudes. However, traditional media perceptions were unexpectedly negatively correlated with traditional gender norm attitudes. The survey's regression analyses and SEMs revealed that more traditional media perceptions were associated with *less* traditional gender norm attitudes (see table II.5, figure II.2, and figure II.3). Similarly, the interviewees had conflicting verbal tendencies when discussing their gender norm ideas in congruence with media perceptions. This negative relationship can be interpreted in at least two ways.

The first way to interpret this finding is that participants who perceived gender norm media portrayals as more traditional also held less traditional gender norm attitudes. For example, while most interviewees perceived media gender norm portrayals as relatively traditional, they often simultaneously reported that traditional media tried "too hard" to be progressive and imitate a current nontraditional everyday reality. Thus, since most interviewees

133

perceived the media's delivery of gender norms as mainly traditional, when they at times

perceived these traditional depictions as trying "too hard" to be nontraditional, their ideas about

these nontraditional portrayals were often negatively toned. These types of observations were

different from when the interviewees used nontraditional everyday life experiences to refute

traditional gender norms in the media, where remarks were made casually and matter-of-factly

rather than in an exasperated manner. Subsequently, the interviewees' tendency to perceive

media as mostly traditional yet simultaneously discuss media's tendency to "overdo it" when

depicting nontraditional gender norms may contribute to their reported nontraditional gender

norm ideas. This negative connection between more traditional media perceptions and less

traditional gender norm ideas parallels the SEM's negative relationship between traditional

media perceptions and traditional gender norm attitudes (see figure II.2 and figure II.3). The

interviewees' verbalized distrust of the media's traditional-to-nontraditional shift is explicit in

Amanda's comment regarding the media's portrayal of gender-role movements as not relatable

and fabricated:

> *Interviewee:* I think that there's a lot of change, and then—a lot of change has happened lately, and, like, the whole MeToo and I'm With Her, and, like, I guess all, like, the sexual assault stuff that's been happening lately. Like, that's (the media) really portraying men in a negative way and empowering women, but it's also, like—at least in my mind, like, when I see this stuff of these women coming out now, like, I'm—and it's, like, I just say what I think. Like, I feel like if I were in a situation like that, and I know it's hard, and, like, I wouldn't know, like—I would say things immediately, so it's hard for me to, like, see these women coming out years and years later—
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm.
>
> *Interviewee:* - like, pinpointing these men for their actions.

A second interpretation is that participants who perceived this traditional-to-

nontraditional media shift choose to fixate on the nontraditional portrayal of feminists in the

media because they hold more traditional gender norm attitudes to begin with. For example, in

contrast to the interviewees' nontraditional gender norm ideas, almost all hesitated or outright

refused to adopt a feminist identity. While purely speculative, this resistance to a feminist title

may be related to interviewees perceiving a dominantly traditional media that are "trying too

hard" to be nontraditional. For example, Dave stated, "…feminists also get this kind of bad rap,

um, social media, especially. Like, they always say like, 'Oh, like women are always'— like,

they're fighting for this, but like they don't always realize what like men are going through."

Unlike the interviewees, survey participants were not asked if they identified as a feminist;

however, the male SEM's and female SEM's significant relationship between less traditional

media perceptions and more traditional gender norm attitudes resonates with this interpretation.

Accordingly, the finding that emerging adults are perhaps hesitant to subscribe to a

feminist identity due to perceptions that the media at times try too hard to depict the

nontraditional corresponds with the arguments of scholars who suggest that mainstream media

are rarely if ever "friendly" to feminists and feminist agendas, framing feminists in stereotypical

ways with labels like "man-haters," "radical," and "bra-burners" (Beck, 19998). Thus, this

stereotypical portrayal of feminists may result in emerging adults' rejection of the media's

displays of nontraditional gender norm movements. Moreover, in-depth interviews from outside

research have revealed that although high school women supported feminist goals, they were

often "fence-sitters," unable to choose a clear feminist identity (Aronson, 2003). Similarly,

scholars have more recently acknowledged that despite individuals subscribing to gender

equality ideals, the term "feminism" still continues to evoke unease and hostility (Scharff, 2016).

Consequently, if emerging adults interpret the media's portrayal of feminists and gender

movements associated with feminism as forced, heavy-handed, or insincere, it is perhaps logical

that they would express their resistance in the form of adherence to more traditional gender norm attitudes.

Theme 3: Traditional Everyday Life Experiences Correlated with Traditional Future Expectations

An important commonality among this dissertation's male and female participants was the connection between traditional everyday life experiences and traditional future family and career expectations. The survey's SEMs featured significant positive relationships between traditional everyday life experiences and traditional future family division of labor expectations (see figure II.2 and figure II.3). The male SEM also revealed a significant positive correlation between traditional everyday life experiences and traditional career role allocation expectations (see figure II.2). Furthermore, while interviewees in the second study seemingly used recent everyday life experiences to reinforce gender norm attitudes, they were more likely to ground their future expectations in childhood experiences, often utilizing their parents as models for these expectations. In comparison, traditional media perceptions were not correlated to traditional future expectations in survey findings and were rarely mentioned when discussing future expectations in interviews.

Foremost, the male SEM revealed significant paths positively linking traditional everyday life experiences to traditional future family division of labor and career role allocation expectations (see figure II.2). The male interviewees also used their childhood experiences to help frame their future family and career expectations. For example, Colton, who grew up in a traditional household, used his parents as models when discussing how he one day expects to split family responsibilities. When asked to justify his family expectations, he explained, "I just—I don't know. They—that's how they *[laughter]* probably j—I just—that's the most –

136

most, like, what I'm familiar with. So, that's kinda what I expect, I guess." In comparison, when

male interviewees used childhood experiences to frame career expectations, they at times stated

that they did not want to adopt their fathers' career oriented mentality. In this case, when Colton

discussed his future career expectations, he pointed out a difference between what his dad did

throughout his childhood and what he expects to one day do:

> Um, I'd say, uh, I try—I'd wanna maybe try and spend more time, like, with my kids
> when they're younger 'cause I never really got to spend as much time with my dad
> until, like, kinda later on, so—'cause he wasn't always around.

Therefore, despite the tendency to model family expectations after childhood

experiences, the male interviewees were more inclined to differ from their fathers when it came

to future career expectations. This is interesting in light of recent longitudinal research showing

that boys who spent more childhood time with fathers were more likely to have gender-typed

occupation choices later in life (Lawson et al., 2015). Colton's expectation to choose a different

career that will afford him more time with his children may have arisen from having spent less

time with his father during his childhood. In contrast, the male SEM illustrated a positive

relationship between traditional everyday life experiences and traditional career role allocation

expectations, paralleling survey research that has established a positive relationship between

Mexican American high school men's career choices and their fathers' career choices (Flores,

Navarro, Smith, & Ploszaj, 2006). However, despite some of the men never verbally making the

connection between their childhood experiences and future career expectations, five of the male

interviewees expected to work full-time careers like their fathers had. Accordingly, it may be the

case that some of study 2's male interviewees hold positive associations between their childhood

experiences and future career expectations but did not verbalize them in the interview.

Regardless, it is interesting that most of their verbalized connections identified *dissimilarities* between the male interviewees' childhood experiences and future career expectations. Might this reflect effects of progressive media portrayals that are not consciously recognized as such? Many media depictions display men as having the dual ability to work demanding careers and spend time at home. Perhaps some of the men in the interview study abide by a culturally perpetuated media myth that one can "have it all," a full-time career in addition to rewarding and ample time at home with one's family (Pehlke et al., 2004). If these men consume media that display men successfully managing career and family, then cultivation is a likely a silent player in these male interviewees' minds (Morgan et al., 2014). However, the SEMs did not find a significant path linking traditional media to traditional family division of labor expectations and did not map a path between traditional media and traditional career role allocation expectations due to regression results failing to find significant relationships among traditional media and traditional career expectation measures (see table II.6, table II.7, and table II.8). Consequently, this proposition remains speculative.

The SEM for female participants depicted a positive relationship between traditional everyday life experiences and traditional family division of labor expectations (see figure II.3). Like the men, female interviewees also used childhood experiences to model future family expectations. Specifically, most of the women, particularly those who grew up in traditional households, expected to dominantly manage household and childcare responsibilities, often using their mothers as role models to verbally frame these expectations (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Wood & Eagly, 2012).

However, while many of the female interviewees admired their mothers for their hard work around the household, they also felt apprehensive of one day living a life similar to their

mothers, and reported different career goals. Subsequently, although the survey SEM analysis yielded a nonsignificant relationship between everyday life and career role allocation expectations, the women in the interview study used childhood experiences to frame their nontraditional career expectations. At times these experiences mirrored their future expectations and at other times they did not. For example, Jennifer grew up with a stay-at-home mother whom she frequently praised throughout her interview for her attention to household and childcare. Nevertheless, there were times when she stated that she would not want to "…sit at home and twiddle my thumbs," seemingly distancing herself from her mother:

> *Interviewee:* So I don't—of course, I relate to both of them, but I—in the big aspects, like, my mom's timid, shy. Like, she wouldn't go out of her way, especially when she was younger—
>
> *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm.
>
> *Interviewee:* - and she wasn't so independent. And I feel like I'm very independent, very extroverted, kind of am driven, like my dad is.

Instead, Jennifer expressed expectations to one day own her own business.

As illustrated via Jennifer's statements, the women who experienced traditional gender roles in their childhoods with stay-at-home mothers tended to communicate a desire to work. In contrast, the women who experienced nontraditional gender roles in their childhoods with working mothers based future career expectations on their mothers' careers. For instance, Julia stated that because she experienced her mom working growing up, "…it's not like abnormal or really weird like to think of a woman working or like not taking care of kids and like fitting the normal gender roles." However, like her mother, Julia still expected to take care of her own children while working full-time. Relatedly, researchers have pointed to the influence of parents on adolescent to emerging adult career development (e.g., Lawson et al., 2015). Additionally, like the men, it is possible that some of the women's media perceptions helped shape their future

family and career expectations, perhaps emphasizing shows, movies, and social media that feature women who juggle work and children with ease, such as Bravo's *Real Housewives* franchise which depicts mothers as homemakers, socialites, and business women (Howard, 2015). Once again, this idea is speculative.

Taking the survey and interview findings together, the connection between traditional everyday life experiences and traditional future expectations supports social role theory's claims that the way gender norms operate within a society is first learned through observation of everyday experiences, and that role models in one's daily life can also aid in informing an individual about how gender roles operate within a society (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Eagly, 1967; Eagly & Wood, 2016). In addition, the absence of a significant correlation between traditional media and traditional future expectations may shed light on cultivation theory's power, or perhaps lack thereof, in explaining how media contribute uniquely to emerging adults' future expectations (Gerbner, 1987; Morgan et al., 2014).

Theme 4: Traditional Male Gender Norm Attitudes Negatively Correlated with Traditional Career Role Allocation Expectations

Intriguingly, the male SEM (see figure II.2) revealed an unpredicted relationship between more traditional gender norm attitudes and less traditional future career role allocation expectations. Relatedly, while adhering to a sense of traditionalism in their career expectations, the male interviewees were surprisingly inclined to simultaneously adopt a more nontraditional gender norm mentality either by handing over breadwinner responsibilities to future partners or by prioritizing family over career. Together, these findings contradict the findings of past

scholars who have consistently established positive associations between men's traditional gender norm attitudes and traditional career aspirations/expectations (Kaufman & White, 2015).

To make sense of this relationship, the survey's descriptive statistics were evaluated. The survey's scale items assessing traditional career role allocation expectations (i.e., occupational role allocation scale) asked participants about sacrifices for career advancement and development (Amatea et al., 1986; see Appendix C). Since the male average for gender norm attitudes leaned toward less traditional ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 1.00$) and the male average for occupational role allocation leaned toward more traditional ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.05$), it may be the case that only the small minority of men reported less traditional career role allocation expectations and more traditional gender norm attitudes.

The interview findings can be interpreted in several ways. First, on the surface, the connection between the men's tendency to report nontraditional gender norm ideas and nontraditional career expectations is dissimilar to the survey findings. However, if more weight is given to the men's rejection of a feminist title, a second interpretation develops. In this case, more traditional gender norm ideas via anti-feminist sentiments may correspond with less traditional career expectations. Lastly, while the overall tendency was to report nontraditional career expectations, half of the male interviewees at times discussed their career expectations in a more traditional way. Thus, a third interpretation may be that the men's less traditional gender norm ideas were connected to more traditional career expectations in spite of their tendency to at times report nontraditional plans. For example, even the men who reported the most nontraditional career expectations at times discussed their expectations in a traditional manner. This tendency is evident when examining comments made by Steven, who was nontraditionally open to his future (female) spouse staying at home *or* working, but simultaneously expressed

tension between nontraditionally expecting to follow his artistic passions and traditionally

expecting to have an economically stable job. He was conflicted between nontraditional and

traditional career plans. Therefore, if given the opportunity, he may have answered the survey's

career expectation questions with uncertainty. This uncertainty is apparent in Steven's interview

statement:

> *Interviewer:* What do you expect your future obligations to be or responsibilities in your future career?
>
> *Interviewee:* I really don't know. Uh, to be honest, like I have no idea what kind of job I'm gonna get, or what kind of job is right for me. Uh, I guess, when it comes to that kind of stuff, like I take—like academically, I take it a semester a time or a week at a time.

Hence, it is also possible that the survey participants answered survey items more traditionally

because unlike the male interviewees, they were not afforded the chance to verbally articulate

and explain less traditional career expectations.

Nevertheless, this unexpected negative relationship between traditional gender norm

attitudes and traditional career role allocation expectations in the survey corresponds with

qualitative research proposing that changes in cultural norms have resulted in men

nontraditionally placing a higher value on *both* work and family (Gordon & Whelan-Berry,

2005). The researchers' exploratory interviews with women revealed that the majority (aged 35 –

50 years) perceived their careers to take equal precedence or greater precedence over their

husbands' careers, signaling a change in heterosexual partner dynamics (Gordon & Whelan-

Berry, 2005). While this slightly dated research used a sample of middle-aged women and did

not interview men specifically, these findings offer insight into a growing norm of partner career

equality, supporting this dissertation's finding that male participants at times adopted less

traditional career role allocation expectations. In light of this dissertation's mixed findings, more

research needs to attend to the possibility that emerging adult men may be adopting a less traditional career expectation mentality or attempting to meet both traditional and nontraditional role requirements.

Limitations, Implications, and Directions for Future Research

The first theme shines light on the possible collective contribution of everyday life gender norm experiences and media gender norm perceptions when considering the development and evolution of gender norm attitudes. Despite past scholars suggesting that the two realities may interact (Hjorth & Pink, 2014), I was unable to locate published research testing this interconnectedness. Unfortunately, due to the survey's cross-sectional design and the speculative nature of the interviews, further research is needed both quantitatively and qualitatively to reach a more definitive conclusion regarding this relationship. Specifically, scholars are advised to continue considering how everyday life and media are connected when predicting gender norm attitudes by conducting longitudinal research that tracks participants' everyday experiences, media perceptions, and gender norm attitudes from childhood to adulthood in order to assess how these experiences, perceptions, and attitudes change over the course of one's developmental life stages. This type of study would also offer more conclusive insight into whether selective perception is at play in the impact of offline experiences on perceptions of online and media portrayals. As discussed, in line with selective perception, it is entirely possible that the participants' everyday lives and media perceptions are connected due to individuals' tendency to give more attention to media messages that coincide with prior dispositions (McLeod et al., 2017).

Moreover, additional research replicating the surprising negative correlation between traditional media perceptions and traditional gender norm attitudes needs to be completed to either support or refute this dissertation's finding. Subsequently, researchers would benefit by considering more than just television consumption when investigating media effects on attitudes or beliefs (e.g., Ward et al., 2005). Further, cultural differences may play a part in determining the media that individuals choose to consume (Schooler, Ward, Merriwether, & Caruthers, 2004). For example, Schooler et al. (2004) surveyed Black and White women (aged 17 – 22) and found that Black women reported viewing approximately 5.2 more hours per month of television programs featuring Black casts than did White women. Building on these premises, scholars are further encouraged to explore the idea that certain cultural subgroups may be more susceptible to media's cultivating influence due to their television preferences, thus exploring the cultivation concept of mainstreaming (Morgan et al., 2014; Shrum, 2017). This is important in light of this dissertation's findings showing that emerging adults reported partaking in more active than passive media consumption, as evident by the interviewees' discourse, contributing an additional layer of complexity to Gerbner's (1973) original cultivation theory hypothesis. If emerging adults not only actively consume media but also intentionally think about the way media structure gender portrayals, it is possible that the media are influential sources of information regarding gender norms and gender movements but also possible that the media's intended gender norm messages will be rejected if they are perceived as too "heavy-handed" in response to social and audience pressure to diversify gender-norm portrayals.

To further this dissertation's findings regarding everyday life gender norm experiences and future gender norm expectations, additional research should consider investigating the various components of everyday life experiences. The interviews revealed that childhood rather

than recent experiences were perhaps more important when developing ideas regarding future expectations. The survey's measure accounting for everyday life experiences (i.e., social reality) asked participants to indicate the extent to which they believe traits, roles, and occupations characterize men and women based on what they have seen in their personal lives. Going forward, future quantitative scholars should perhaps employ this scale twice in survey research to gauge childhood and recent everyday life experiences separately.

Additionally, research should further investigate the specific people (e.g., family and media personae) in emerging adults' lives that may contribute most to future family and career expectations. The survey revealed that everyday life experiences rather than media perceptions correlated with future expectations, and the interviews showed that for many of the interviewees, it was parents who aided in future expectation development, in accordance with social role theory (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004). Consequently, it may be the case that in addition to everyday life experiences and media perceptions, key individuals and media personae play a prominent role in helping determine one's future expectations. Therefore, future scholars might consider measuring specific interpersonal relationships as well as parasocial relationships in both social and mediated life domains. Relatedly, future surveys investigating this topic are advised to include a question asking participants if their parents do or do not work. Currently, due to not measuring participants' parents' careers, the present survey cannot adequately assess whether exposure to careers in the media or at home (i.e., parents' specific careers) has more of a significant connection with the careers and career goals participants one day expect to fulfill.

It is evident that childhood everyday life experiences are a crucial component in the future expectations of participants in my studies. This finding supports social role theory's premises (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016). Nevertheless, despite everyday life's importance,

media perceptions should not be overlooked. In light of the survey's failure to uncover significant relationships between media and future expectations, future scholars are encouraged to explore media perceptions in different ways. Quantitative research would benefit by implementing a scale of items assessing specific types of media portrayals (i.e., national events) by different media genres (i.e., news). Despite the present research suggesting that social role theory is primary in forming emerging adults' future expectations, cultivation theory might still play an important role in reinforcing or contradicting what one experiences in their everyday life experiences (Shrum, 1999; Shrum, 2017). It is probable that media perceptions remain a subtle but important component in developing future expectations, particularly when individuals do not have ample everyday life knowledge on which to ground their future expectations. Thus the media's prevailing influence cannot be dismissed, especially as its presence in emerging adults' everyday lives continues to become more prominent (Morgan et al., 2014; statista, 2014; Uncapher et al., 2017).

Furthermore, while the survey's SEM found that male participants who reported more traditional everyday life experiences also reported more traditional family division of labor and career role allocation expectations, it unexpectedly revealed that more traditional gender norm attitudes were related to more traditional family division of labor expectations but less traditional career role allocation expectations. Similarly, the male interviewees tended to report nontraditional career expectations; however, despite claims to uphold a 50/50 divide in future families, their responses revealed expectations for an unequal distribution of household and childcare responsibilities. In comparison, women in the survey who reported more traditional everyday life experiences and gender norm attitudes also reported more traditional family division of labor expectations. However, more traditional gender norm attitudes were correlated

146

with more traditional career role allocation expectations, with most women reporting less traditional attitudes and expectations. The female interviewees also articulated traditional family expectations and nontraditional career expectations.

Future expectations can have major ramifications for emerging adults if these expectations are unrealistic. On the one hand, it is inspiring that emerging adults want and actually expect to play a major role in all aspects of their lives. However, if these youth find that these expectations cannot be fulfilled, it may take a toll on their emotional, mental, and physical health. Since there are 24 hours in a day, this dissertation suggests that there needs to be a "give and take" amongst partners when balancing future gender role expectations in family and career. Unfortunately, past research shows an imbalance of housework and childcare among dual-earning heterosexual partners that is not in favor of women, with women completing approximately 11.79 more hours per week of housework and childcare than their male counterparts in spite of working about equally outside the home (Yavorsky et al., 2015). Thus, if emerging adult women expect to take on the majority of household, childcare, and career responsibilities and emerging adult men are willing to let their future partners take on these burdens, then complications in relationships and health could ensue (Robert et al., 2016). Nevertheless, additional research is needed to more thoroughly explore emerging adults' family and career expectations in order to reach more concrete conclusions regarding future complications in heterosexual partners' role distribution. For example, future research should focus on the implications of managing gender roles once emerging adults finally step into them and investigate how role expectations are connected to managing role conflict. In order to achieve these goals, interviews, focus groups, and longitudinal research exploring expectations over the course of one's emerging adulthood years should be completed.

Importantly, this chapter's interpretations are completely dependent on the type of sample used. This dissertation, particularly the interviews, employed a sample of predominantly educated emerging adult participants, mostly white and heterosexual, many of whom came from families with university-educated parents. Since the media depict both parenthood and professional jobs, this sample's participants' media perceptions were most likely similar to their everyday life experiences: the glamour jobs they see in the media are not far from the jobs held by their parents and neighbors. Thus, factors such as income, race, and religion may play a moderating role in determining the distance between one's everyday life gender norm experiences and media gender norm perceptions. Consequently, these participants' everyday lives and media realities may mesh more cohesively than they would for a working-class sample, a Black sample, a highly religious sample, or an immigrant sample. For example, a working-class sample of emerging adult participants may perceive a larger gap between their everyday life and media realities due to their unfamiliarity with the white-collar careers and family norms historically featured in the media (Signorielli & Bacue, 1999). As a result, it is possible that media messages may carry more weight in the development of a working-class sample's expectations about white-collar jobs. Therefore, future scholars should consider using more diverse samples of emerging adults in order to compare the strength of relationships between variables.

Subsequently, it is also critical to consider non-heterosexual role allocation in an age of expanding gender identities when very few media models for these types of partnerships exist. Research has found that lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) adolescents often turn to the media for information regarding sexual scripts (Gomillion & Giuliano, 2011). However, while LGB depictions are increasing in mainstream media, they are only identified as such and not often

shown in sexual partnerships (Bond, 2014). Therefore, scholars should continue exploring how LGBTQ+ emerging adults use everyday life experiences as well as media to envision future gender role expectations in family and career domains.

Regardless, this project represents a first step in connecting two separate components of emerging adults' lives to consider gender norm attitude and expectation formation. This discussion has discussed four themes that are unique to the present dissertation's findings. While these themes pertain to both the survey and the interviews, this dissertation was not based on the expectation that the two studies' findings would be identical. Instead, this chapter sought to explore and explain the similarities and dissimilarities between the survey and interviews, using the interviews to explore the possibility of more mixed perceptions and nuance in the way emerging adults think about gender roles in the media. Focusing on statistical averages in study 1 alone may misrepresent the entire group by obscuring this nuance. Thus, study 2 was useful for conveying that the way emerging adults conceptualize gender norms and future expectations is more complex. It is important to consider that emerging adults recognize the complexity of everyday life gender norm experiences and media gender norm perceptions, contributing to social role theory's and cultivation theory's original premises. For this particular research topic, mixed-methods research methods were an invaluable resource, especially since the interconnectedness of social experiences and mediated perceptions and gender norms had not been previously explored.

Collectively taking the discussed themes into account, the survey and interviews provide valuable insight into the way gender norms and future expectations may be formulated. It is crucial to continue investigating the ways in which emerging adults craft gender norm attitudes and plans for adulthood as everyday life and media become increasingly interconnected through

a merging of offline and online experience (Uncapher et al., 2017) and social media become a natural part of daily life (statista, 2017). Understanding how emerging adults think about and integrate media into their everyday lives is invaluable, especially since their attitudes and expectations have the potential to restructure the future American family household and workforce.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Figure A.1 Study 1 Exempt IRB

Study 1 Survey Consent Form

Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Title of the Project: Emerging Adult Gender Norm Perceptions
Principal Investigator: Halie Wenhold, PhD Communication Studies Candidate, University of Michigan
Faculty Advisor: Kristen Harrison, PhD Professor Communication Studies, University of Michigan
Invitation to Participate in a Research Study
We invite you to be part of a research study about gender norms and media personalities *(no longer an objective in final data analyses)*.

You may directly benefit from being in this study because it will allow you to think about what gender norms are most important to you in life. There should be no more than minimal, if any, risk or discomfort from your participation in this study. All survey questions have been worded to minimize discomfort and offense to participants.

All survey data will be kept confidential and will be maintained for record-keeping purposes only after the survey is complete. We plan to publish the results of this study. We will not include any information that would identify you. Your privacy will be protected and your research records will be confidential. It is possible that other people may need to see the information you give us as part of the study, such as organizations responsible for making sure the research is done safely and properly like the University of Michigan, government offices or the study sponsor, the University of Michigan Communication Studies Department.

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. You do not have to answer a question you do not want to answer. If you decide to withdraw before this study is completed, your survey data will not be used in final analysis.

Contact Information for the Study Team

If you have questions about this research, including questions about scheduling or your credit for participating, you may contact:

Halie Wenhold

(630) 291-7070 (phone) / hwenhold@umich.edu (email)

or

Kristen Harrison

(734) 764-6718 (phone) / krishar@umich.edu (email)

Contact Information for Questions about Your Rights as a Research Participant

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact the:

University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board
2800 Plymouth Road
Building 520, Room 1169
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2800
Phone: (734) 936-0933 or toll free, (866) 936-0933 Email: irbhsbs@umich.edu

Consent

By selecting "yes", you are agreeing to be in the study.

I agree to participate in the study: (yes) or (no)

Study 1 Survey Measures used in Final Data Analysis

Items with an asterisk (*) were not used in final data analyses due to scale reliability

1. **Jacobsen and Forste's (2011) media categories and Boase and Ling's (2013) Mobile Phone Usage/Texting Frequency scale points: Electronic Media Use Measure**
   Note: Scores are averaged across all items or with individual items so that higher values indicate greater weekly media use.
   Please indicate on the following scale how frequently you use the following media devices from "Never" to "More than 10 times a day."
   1 "Never" 2 "Less often" 3 "1-2 times a week" 4 "3-6 times a week" 5 "At least once a day" 6 "2-4 times a day" 7 "5-10 times a day" 8 "More than 10 times a day"

- Social networking (e.g., Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat)
- Email (including work email)
- Online chatting/IM (e.g., gchat, "hangouts")
- Cellphone to TEXT others
- Cellphone to CALL others
- Video games/online games
- TV/movies
- Other online activity not mentioned

2. **Kaufman (2005): Gender Role Attitudes Scale**
   Note: Items labeled "reverse-coded" are reverse-coded so that higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm attitudes.
   Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following items:
   1 "Strongly Disagree" 2 "disagree" 3 "somewhat disagree" 4 "neither agree or disagree" 5 "somewhat agree" 6 "agree" 7 "Strongly Agree"

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- Men should be the primary financial providers.
- Women should be the primary caretakers of children.
- Women are as capable as men of performing

technical tasks. (reverse-coded)
- Men are as capable as women of performing childcare tasks. (reverse-coded)
- It is as important for a woman as for a man to support herself financially. (reverse-coded)
- It is as important for a man as for a woman to care for children. (reverse-coded)

3. **Zemach and Cohen (1986): Social Reality Gender Norm Scale (Modified)**
   Note: Responses are coded following Zemach and Cohen (1986) and Fung and Ma (2000): higher scores indicate more traditional gender norms and lower scores less traditional gender norms for each realm. Feminine (F) items are reverse-coded. Produces 3 subscales or one overall scale averaging across the three realms.
   <u>**From what you have seen in your personal everyday life experiences**</u> (e.g., your own life, or the lives of your neighbors, family, and community), please indicate who occupies these traits/roles/occupations across the following continuum: mainly women, both genders equally, or mainly men.
   1 "mainly women" 4 "both genders equally" 7 "mainly men"

Mainly Women		Both Genders Equally				Mainly Men
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Traits:
- Willingness to take risks (M)
- Leadership abilities (M)
- Aggressiveness (M)
- Independence (M)
- Ambition (M)
- Resourcefulness and ability to improvise (M)
- Conscientiousness (F; reverse-coded)
- Children-loving (F; reverse-coded)
- Warmth (F; reverse-coded)
- Shyness (F; reverse-coded)
- Sensitivity (F; reverse-coded)
- Gentleness (F; reverse-coded)

Domestic and Out-of-home Roles:
- Housework (F; reverse-coded)
- Childcare (F; reverse-coded)
- Shopping for food (F; reverse-coded)
- Management of money (M)
- Decisions on major spending (M)
- Providing for family (M)

Occupations:
- Clerical work (F; reverse-coded)
- Teaching (F; reverse-coded)
- Medicine (M)

- Science (M)
- Public Service (M)
- Management (M)
- Political Activity (M)

4. **Rubin, Perse, and Powell (1985) and modified by Rubin, Perse, and Taylor (1988): Perceived Representativeness Scale (Modified 5-item version)**
   Note: Higher scores indicate greater perceived representativeness
   The questions you just answered have to do with **gender norms (i.e., what men and women typically do) in your own life**. With your prior responses in mind, please indicate the extent to which you agree the **FOLLOWING ITEMS REPRESENT THE WORLD AT LARGE.**
   1 "Strongly Disagree" 2 "disagree" 3 "somewhat disagree" 4 "neither agree or disagree" 5 "somewhat agree" 6 "agree" 7 "Strongly Agree"

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- The gender norms I experience in my life correspond with life as it really is for most people.
- The gender norms I experience in my life correspond with gender norms as they really are in other people's lives.
- If I see men and women doing things in my own life I can be sure it really is that way for most people.
- The gender norms I experience in my life let me see how other people live.
- The gender norms I experience in my life let me see what happens in other places.

5. **Zemach and Cohen (1986): Mediated (Symbolic) Reality Gender Norm Scale**
   Please indicate who occupies the following traits/roles/occupations **in the media (e.g., movies, television, news, etc.)** across the following continuum: mainly women, both genders equally, or mainly men.
   1 "mainly women" 4 "both genders equally" 7 "mainly men"

	Mainly Women		Both Genders Equally				Mainly Men
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Traits:
- Willingness to take risks (M)
- Leadership abilities (M)
- Aggressiveness (M)
- Independence (M)
- Ambition (M)
- Resourcefulness and ability to improvise (M)
- Conscientiousness (F; reverse-coded)

157

- Children-loving (F; reverse-coded)
- Warmth (F; reverse-coded)
- Shyness (F; reverse-coded)
- Sensitivity (F; reverse-coded)
- Gentleness (F; reverse-coded)

Domestic and Out-of-home Roles:
- Housework (F; reverse-coded)
- Childcare (F; reverse-coded)
- Shopping for food (F; reverse-coded)
- Management of money (M)
- Decisions on major spending (M)
- Providing for family (M)

Occupations:
- Clerical work (F; reverse-coded)
- Teaching (F; reverse-coded)
- Medicine (M)
- Science (M)
- Public Service (M)
- Management (M)
- Political Activity (M)

6. The questions you just answered have to do with **gender norms in the media (e.g., movies, television, news, etc.)**. In the media, we tend to see different kinds of people in different roles. With your prior responses in mind, please indicate the extent to which you agree the **FOLLOWING ITEMS REPRESENT THE WORLD AT LARGE.**
   1 "Strongly Disagree" 2 "disagree" 3 "somewhat disagree" 4 "neither agree or disagree" 5 "somewhat agree" 6 "agree" 7 "Strongly Agree"

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- The media show life as it really is for most people.
- The media present things as they really are in other people's lives.
- If I see something in the media I can be sure it really is that way for most people.
- The media let me see how other people live.
- The media let me see what happens in other places.

7. **Askari et al. (2010) and modified to include Zemach and Cohen (1986) items: Future Gender Role Household/Childcare/Finance Expectations Scale (Modified):**
   Note: Scores will be averaged for the subscales of household, childcare, and financial management tasks for each participant. Askari et al.'s (2010) 14 items are coded so that higher scores are traditionally feminine while Zemach and Cohen's (1986) are coded so that higher scores are traditionally masculine. For female participants, masculine items will be reverse-coded so that higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm

158

expectations. Correspondingly, for male participants feminine items will be reverse coded so that higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm expectations.
Thinking about your **EXPECTED future life with a partner (e.g., dating, marriage)**, please respond to the following household and childcare responsibilities. Select a value ranging from "Never" (0) to "Always" (100) with the slider on the scale for the percentage of chores you **EXPECT** to do. Do not consider paid labor and assume that your partner would perform the remaining proportion of the chore.

How often would <u>**YOU EXPECT**</u> to be in charge of:

- grocery shopping? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- preparing meals/cooking? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- washing dishes/cleaning up after meals? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- cleaning the house? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- doing laundry? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- organizing social activities? (F)*

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- keeping in touch with family and friends? (F)*

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- feeding children? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- bathing children? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- diapering children? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- arranging for childcare or babysitting? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- responding to children's crying in the middle of the night? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- caring for children when sick? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- chauffeuring children? (F)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- managing household money? (M)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- decisions on major spending/purchases? (M)

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

- earning the primary source of income for your family? (M)*

| 0 | 25 | 50 | 75 | 100 |

8. **Amatea et al. (1986): Life Role Salience Scale subscale, Homecare Role Commitment**
   Note: For male participants items labeled feminine (F) are reverse-coded. For female participants, items labeled masculine (M) are reverse-coded. Higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm expectations for homecare role commitment.
   Thinking about your **EXPECTED FUTURE LIFE,** please indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with the following items.
   1 "Strongly Disagree" 2 "disagree" 3 "somewhat disagree" 4 "neither agree or disagree" 5 "somewhat agree" 6 "agree" 7 "Strongly Agree"

If I get married or live with a partner:

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- I expect to leave most of the day-to-day details of running a home to someone else. (M)
- I expect to devote the necessary time and attention to having a neat and attractive home. (F)
- I expect to be very much involved in caring for a home and making it attractive. (F)
- I expect to assume the responsibility for seeing that my home is well kept and well run. (F)*
- Devoting a significant amount of my time to managing and caring for a home is not something I expect to do. (M)*

9. **Amatea et al. (1986): Life Role Salience Scale subscale, Parental Role Commitment**
   Note: For male participants items labeled feminine (F) are reverse-coded. For female participants, items labeled masculine (M) are reverse-coded. Higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm expectations for parental role commitment.
   Thinking about your **EXPECTED FUTURE LIFE**, please indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with the following items about the possibility of having children.
   1 "Strongly Disagree" 2 "disagree" 3 "somewhat disagree" 4 "neither agree or disagree" 5 "somewhat agree" 6 "agree" 7 "Strongly Agree"

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- It is important to me to have some time for myself and my own development rather than have children and be responsible for their care. (M)*
- I expect to devote a significant amount of my time and energy to the rearing of children

of my own. (F)
- I expect to be very involved in the day-to-day
  matters of rearing children of my own. (F)
- Becoming involved in the day-to-day details
  of rearing children involves costs in other
  areas of my life which I am unwilling to make.
  (M)*
- I do not expect to be very involved in childrearing.
  (M)*

10. **Miller and Hayward (2006), modified by Ginevra and Nota (2015) with items from Butler (1993): Future Gender Career Enjoyment Expectations (Modified)**
    Note: For male participants items labeled feminine (F) are reverse-coded. For female participants, items labeled masculine (M) are reverse-coded. Higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm expectations in one's future career.
    Thinking about your **EXPECTED FUTURE CAREER**, please indicate the extent to which you would enjoy doing the following jobs from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree."
    1 "Strongly Disagree" 2 "disagree" 3 "somewhat disagree" 4 "neither agree or disagree" 5 "somewhat agree" 6 "agree" 7 "Strongly Agree"

I would enjoy being a/an:

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- airline pilot (M)
- nurse (F)
- webmaster (M)
- civil engineer (M)
- secretary (F)
- materials scientist (M)
- occupational therapist (F)
- financial advisor (F)
- systems analyst (M)
- hairdresser (F)
- architect (M)
- software engineer (M)
- computer engineer (M)
- dentist (M)
- truck driver (M)
- farm worker (M)

11. **Amatea et al. (1986): Life Role Salience Scale subscale, Occupational Role Allocation Commitment**

Note: For male participants items labeled feminine (F) are reverse-coded. For women, items labeled masculine (M) are reverse-coded. Higher scores indicate more traditional gender norm expectations for occupational role commitment.

Thinking about your **EXPECTED FUTURE CAREER,** please indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with the following items.

1 "Strongly Disagree" 2 "disagree" 3 "somewhat disagree" 4 "neither agree or disagree" 5 "somewhat agree" 6 "agree" 7 "Strongly Agree"

In my future job:

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- I want to work, but I do not want to have a demanding career (F)*
- I expect to make as many sacrifices as are necessary in order to advance in my work/career. (M)
- I value being involved in a career and expect to devote the time and effort needed to develop it. (M)
- I expect to devote a significant amount of my time to building my career and developing the skills necessary to advance in my career. (M)
- I expect to devote whatever time and energy it takes to move up in my job/career field. (M)

DEMOGRAPHICS:

12. What gender do you identify as?
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Another gender identity, please specify:_____
    d. I prefer not to respond

13. Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?
    a. Heterosexual
    b. Lesbian
    c. Gay
    d. Bisexual
    e. Another sexual orientation, please specify:_____
    f. Questioning or unsure
    g. I prefer not to respond

14. How old are you?_____

15. What ethnicity do you most identify with?
    a. American Indian or Alaska Native
    b. Asian
    c. Black or African American
    d. Hispanic or Latino
    e. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
    f. White
    g. Other:_____
    h. I prefer not to respond.

16. Do you currently have a partner?
    a. Yes
    b. No

17. Envisioning yourself in a future partnership (e.g. marriage), what gender partner do you imagine having?
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Another gender identity, please specify:_____
    d. I prefer not to respond

18. What is the highest level of education received by your father?
    a. Less than high school
    b. High School
    c. Associates Degree
    d. Bachelors Degree
    e. Masters Degree
    f. Doctorate/PhD/Further Education Beyond Masters

19. What is the highest level of education received by your mother?
    a. Less than high school
    b. High School
    c. Associates Degree
    d. Bachelors Degree
    e. Masters Degree
    f. Doctorate/PhD/Further Education Beyond Masters

20. Have you ever been employed for compensation? **(check all that apply)**
    a. Yes, part-time job
    b. Yes, full-time job
    c. No

APPENDIX D

Figure D.1 Study 2 Exempt IRB

Study 2 Individual In-depth Interviews Consent Form

CONSENT FORM: Emerging Adult Gender Norm Perceptions
IRB# HUM00136853

- ✓ I understand that I am being asked to take part in the study, "Emerging Adult Gender Norm Perceptions" to be conducted by Halie Wenhold, a Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Michigan in the Department of Communication Studies.

- ✓ I understand that the purpose of this study is to find out what I think about media personalities and their gender norms (data collected from these questions not included in final data analysis).

- ✓ I understand that the purpose of this study is to also find out what I think about my own personal gender norm attitudes.

- ✓ I understand that the interview will take about 45-60 minutes.

- ✓ I understand that my responses will be confidential.

- ✓ I will not be identified in the final study report.

- ✓ I have the right to ask questions about this study at <u>any time</u>—at the beginning, throughout the study, and even after it is over.

- ✓ I have the right to see any materials associated with my interview responses.

✓ I have the right to quit or withdraw from this study at <u>any time</u>—before the interview starts, at the beginning of the interview, during the interview, and even after I finish the interview I can say I do not want my responses to be used in the research.

✓ If I start to feel uneasy for any reason, I can quit the interview. This study should not harm me in any way.

✓ When the study is completely over, Halie Wenhold will keep materials associated with the study for recordkeeping purposes only.

If I have any questions or concerns about this study, I can contact:

Halie Wenhold
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5370 North Quad
105 S. State St.
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630 291-7070
hwenhold@umich.edu

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I understand the purpose of this study. I agree to the terms and conditions of this study.

I, _____agree to the above.

Date: _____

I, _____agree to conduct this study according to the terms outlined above.

Date: _____

APPENDIX F

Study 2 Interview Protocol Questions used in Final Data Analysis

Introduction: *During this interview, I want to hear your ideas about gender norms as portrayed in the media and as seen in your everyday life. By "gender norms" I mean the things men and women are expected to do in a culture. For example, in some cultures women are expected to be homemakers and men are expected to be career driven "bread winners" for their families. I understand that gender is not fixed; however, gender is still presented as binary in the media. So I want to see how the media's gender norm stereotypes carry over to your own life. Finally, we will discuss your plans for the future and how you intend to realistically perform the tasks you expect to do as a woman or as a man in your household and career. I am particularly interested in the gender norms you expect to contribute as a woman or as a man in the household and career contexts of your life.*

Probes used throughout interview: What do you think about this? How does this make you feel/How do you feel about this?

Warm-up Questions

1. What are some of your favorite social networking sites? How frequently do you access

   media?

   - How do you interact with your favorite media personalities using media?

Main Questions

Now I am going to ask you about the media's portrayal of gender norms and your favorite media personalities' gender norms (see figure 1: B).

2. What are your thoughts on the media's gender norm portrayal of women/men in family

   life?

   - How do the media show women/men interacting with their children?

167

- How do the media depict women/men doing household chores (e.g., dishes, laundry, lawn work)?

- How do the media portray women/men providing for the household?

- What about the media's portrayal of women/men shopping for food?

- In the media, how do women/men manage household money or make major decisions on spending?

3. Think about the media's gender norm portrayal of women/men working. What types of jobs do the media often show men and women working?

- How do men and women interact with each other in the office?

- Can you tell me your thoughts about the media's portrayal of men and women working the following jobs?

  a. Working in medicine/dentistry (e.g., doctor, nurse, or dentist)

  b. Working in computer science (e.g., software or computer engineer)

  c. Working in travel (e.g., airline pilot, flight attendant)

  d. Working in engineering (e.g., civil engineer)

  e. Working in a corporate setting (e.g., secretary, financial advisor)

  f. Working in service industry (e.g., hairdresser, barista, truck driver, farmer)

4. In what ways are the media's portrayals of gender norms representative of the US (see figure 1: Moderators/perceived representativeness of mediated reality gender norms)?

Now I am going to start asking you questions about your childhood and the gender norms you experienced growing up (see figure 1: A).

5. Let's talk about your growing up experience at home: Did you have the standard "mom/dad" household or something else? Can you elaborate?

6. What jobs did your parents or caretaker have while you were growing up?

- What were some your mom's household responsibilities when you were a child?

- What about your dad's household responsibilities?

- How have things changed or remained the same since you were little?

- Can you tell me about who was responsible for shopping for food/managing money/providing for the family/taking care of the children?

7. In what ways were your family's gender norms similar to or different from what you think a typical family was like outside of where you lived (see figure 1: Moderators/perceived representativeness of social reality gender norms)?

Now I am going to ask you about gender norms and responsibility in your future family and career life. And by norms I mean things you are expected to do in the household and in the workplace (see figure 1: D & E).

8. In future years, imagine yourself with a domestic partner. Who is it (male, female, gender fluid, etc.)?

9. Typically, there are two main components of a domestic partnership: the home and the career space/making money to maintain the home. How do you picture the two of you balancing your life obligations?

- What types of household chores (e.g., laundry, dishes, lawn work, shop for food) would be expected of you? How would you expect to divide household chores between you and your partner?

- How would you and your partner manage money? Make major decisions on spending?

- How would you and your partner divide childcare responsibilities?

10. What do you think you and your domestic partner will need to do to balance all of these tasks? Do you think this division of labor is realistic?

11. How will you make this balance work? What do you expect the challenges to be? Do you expect any tensions?

12. How would you expect your domestic partner to support you?

13. Now I want you to imagine yourself in the workplace. What type of job would you expect to work?

- What would be expected of you as a woman/man in this career?

- How would you expect to be treated because of your gender?

- What would you contribute as a woman/man to this career?

- How do you foresee yourself interacting with female and male coworkers?

14. Anything else you would like to add or discuss?

15. What did you think of this interview experience?

Demographic/Final Questions

- How old are you?

- What is your current year in school?

- What is your major/minor?

- Do you identify as a feminist? If so, in what way? If not, can you explain why?

- Do you have any hobbies?

- Where do you currently live/parents live?

- Do you have any religious background/identify as religious?

- Have you ever worked a part-time or full-time job?

APPENDIX G

Table G.1 Study 2 Sample of Visual Diagramming Procedure

Codes	Categories	Themes
Interviewee: They definitely portray women as, like- as, like, the ones who stay at home, typically. Like, it's usually, like- usually the show's trying to make a point if- if the woman isn't at home…	Traditional Mediated Reality	Traditional Mediated Reality Making a "Forced" Point about Gender
Interviewer: Will that be difficult to do both? *Interviewee:* Um— *Interviewer:* And to have both and be successful? *Interviewee:* I think yes and no. I think that with broadcasting, it's—especially if I were to go into sports broadcasting specifically, I think that's gonna be a little bit harder because it's really whenever the sports games are…	Women Future Expectations	Women: "I can do it all!"
Interviewee: I probably would expect that we both pull our weight in some way. So, maybe we would say, you know, if—wha—whoever's making more, maybe, they don't necessarily—or whoever maybe has to work for longer, they maybe don't have to worry about as much housekeeping duties. *Interviewer:* Mm-hmm. *Interviewee:* Um, and whoever's at home would obviously—home more often would have to take care of, you know, that stuff more. So, that'd probably be my expectations. *Interviewer:* Do you expect her to work? *Interviewee:* Uh, yeah, probably, yeah.	Men Future Expectations	Men: "50/50!" - except for childcare
Interviewer: Do you identify as a feminist? There's no right answer. *Interviewee:* Um, I don't think so, no. *Interviewer:* Okay. Why? I'm just curious. *Interviewee:* Um, I dunno, I guess I'm, like, this definitely isn't, like- isn't something that's true, but, like, I always, I dunno, just, like, my- my image of a feminist isn't really what I see myself. And, like, I wish I had, like, a better definition of what a feminist was. But I just really don't-don't think I know. It's not that I, like, support, like—it's not that I don't support a lot of feminist, like, aspects.	Gender Norm Attitudes	"I'm not a feminist…?"

Interview 2 Field Notes: Feb. 21, 2018 (Male Interviewee)
- Noticably uncomfortable at beginning of interview:
  shoulders hunched, hands in lap, eye contact (low).
- After 5 min warmed up - liked discussing fave
  media personality (Steph Curry) - this got him
  excited.
- when discussing childhood/managing it/it definately
  uncomfortable /awkward.
- also seemed to feel awkward when asked which
  house (stepmom/stepdad) he liked spending more time at
  (low eye contact, stuttering, struggled to find
  answer).
- In future expectations discussion: clearly felt
  strange about imagining kids (looked away
  from me during discussion).
- strong "No" to feminist question. No hesitation.
- Lots of established connections b/w his future
  expectations and parents' experiences (social
  reality).
- Wants/expects wife to work full time. But also wants
  to 50/50 split household chores.
  • Asked if he'd be main childcare -
    (looked down at hands) /sighed
    because he "felt like she would
    be it instead." (of him).

[margin note: made eye contact here]
[margin note: after interview notes/ thoughts]

Figure H.1 Study 2 Anonymous Field Note Example

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