

MATERNAL GENDER VALUES AND CHILD GENDER SOCIALIZATION

By

AYANA CAITLIN BLACKKEY

A Thesis Submitted to The Honors College

In Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelors degree

With Honors in

Family Studies and Human Development

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

M A Y 2 0 1 6

Approved by:

Dr. Melissa Barnett

Department of Family Studies and Human Development

Abstract

This study looked at the correlations between mother's feminism values, their attitudes toward their child's engagement in gender atypical play, and self-reported parenting behaviors. Sixty-six mothers of six to nine-year-old children participated in the study, with 63 completing an online questionnaire and three completing the questionnaire as well as an in-person interview with their child. Three questions guided the research: 1) Are mother's feminism values related to their attitudes toward children's gender expression and parenting behaviors related to gender? 2) Does child's gender impact mother's acceptance of gender atypical play and parenting behaviors surrounding children's individual gender expression? 3) Are mothers' values regarding acceptance of gender atypical behavior reflected in their self-reported parenting behaviors? Overall, it was expected that more traditional mothers and mothers of sons would report less acceptance of gender atypical play. The results revealed that mothers' feminism values were correlated to their acceptance of gender atypical behaviors, supporting the hypothesis that more traditional mothers are less accepting of gender atypical behavior. Mothers' self-reported parenting behaviors revealed stronger trends toward supporting gender typical play in sons than in daughters, supporting the hypothesis that mothers may be less accepting of gender atypical play in sons than daughters.

MOTHER'S IMPACT ON GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Introduction

The impact of maternal attitudes and behavior on their children's gender role development is an important area of research, as early gendered lessons taught to children may have long-term influences on their social interactions and financial status. It is important to look at how mothers' attitudes correlate with their parenting behaviors in order to understand both the direct and indirect messages that children receive regarding their gender roles. The maternal influence on young children's gender role development must be understood as a combination of the mother's values and behaviors acting together to influence child behavior (Blakemore & Hill, 2007). Looking at parental behavior is beneficial as children are typically able to label adult's gender before their own or peer's (Fagot, Leinbach, & Hagan, 1986). Because of this, the behaviors of parents and other adults serve as the first models of appropriate gender behavior and may begin to shape children's gender schemas even before they can identify themselves as a boy or girl. In this study, mother's endorsed values regarding gender will be compared to their reported parenting behaviors in order to better understand how maternal values influence their behaviors and ultimately their child's understanding of gender.

Gender role behavior is based on gender schemas or the "things that an individual connects with each gender, such as expected behaviors, abilities, and occupations" (Levine & Munsch, 2014, p. 382). Research has consistently found evidence of gender role stereotypes and behaviors in children as young as two and three (DeLoache, Cassidy, & Carpenter, 1987; Ehrensaft, 2007; Weinraub, et al., 1984). Since children this young have typically spent the majority of their time with parents, this early gender stereotype knowledge points to strong initial parental influence. Williams, Bennett, and Best (1975) found that children's understanding of stereotyped descriptions increases from Kindergarten to 2nd grade but stabilizes between 2nd

and 4th grade, further supporting the importance of early developmental factors in informing gendered beliefs.

Children's understanding of gender roles develops through the influences of many interrelated systems including family, peer, and media input. A social cognitive theory view of children's gender role development can help explain how children develop internalized understandings of gender appropriate behavior. Social cognitive suggests that individuals learn behaviors through imitation of models and through extending these observations to more general understandings (Levine & Munsch, 2014). Parents are one of children's earliest models of gender appropriate behaviors and also socialize gender through modeling, reinforcing or punishing behavior, selecting child environments, shaping opportunities within environments, and scaffolding skill development (Croft, Schmader, Block, & Baron, 2014; Lawson, Crouter, & McHale, 2015; Weinraub, et al., 1984). According to social cognitive theory, children may initially imitate sex-typical behaviors due to reinforcement and modeling from others including parents but only once children achieve gender identity, the ability to correctly identify their own and other's sex, are they able to internally associate different behaviors with each sex and apply those understandings to their own behaviors (Fagot, et al., 1986; Weinraub, et al., 1984). Children then base their behaviors off what they have observed to be socially accepted for their sex and the expected costs or benefits associated with behaving in a gender typical or atypical manner (Polavieja & Platt, 2014). A social cognitive theory model is supported by studies showing strong relationships between parent's behaviors and interactions with their children and later child outcomes and beliefs surrounding gender. For example, Polavieja and Platt (2014) report that several studies have found a "significant statistical association between the present

behavior of daughters and the past behavior of their mothers in areas such as family formation, housework distribution, and female labor-market participation” (p. 34).

Parents shape children's understanding in many ways including both direct and indirect instruction (DeLoache, et al., 1987; Kalantari, 2012; Polavieja & Platt, 2014). In direct instruction parents punish, reward, and provide verbal instructions regarding the child's behavior. For example, a parent could tell their daughter “let's get the doll, cars are for girls” or criticize a son for playing with make-up. Indirect instruction includes parent's differential reinforcement of children's behavior based on the child's gender as well as child observations of parent's non-child directed behaviors which they then use to draw conclusions about gender appropriate behaviors. Children are quick to pick up on subtle differences such as who works more, does more housework, and plays with which toys and to use those observations to draw conclusions about gender appropriate behaviors (Kalantari, 2012). Parents provide differential reinforcement for children's behaviors by encouraging different patterns of behavior such as permitting more anger, risk-taking, and mild aggression in sons while encouraging communication, emotional vulnerability, and social relationships in daughters (Blakemore & Hill, 2007). Parents may also provide indirect instruction by shaping their young child's environment through toy purchases, room decorations, extracurricular activity selection, playmate selection, and household chore assignment (Blakemore & Hill, 2007). This created environment can have a great influence on a child's development by impacting the early experiences the child has available to learn from.

While many parents report egalitarian values toward gender, unintentional stereotypical indirect instructions are frequently seen in observational research and greatly influence children's understanding of gender appropriate behaviors. Fagot (1978) found that although

parents did not report any different feelings toward their toddler sons or daughters asking for help, when observed they reacted with more negative feedback when sons asked for help and with more positive reinforcement when daughters did. Toddler daughters were also observed to ask their parents for help three times more often than sons which may suggest that this differential reinforcement influences the development of differential behavior patterns in children or that girls are biologically more likely to seek help (Fagot, 1978). DeLoache et al. (1987) found that when mothers were asked to tell their young child stories about pictures of non-gendered bears engaging in various activities, they labeled 62% of the bears with male labels which may send a message to their children that males are more prevalent and important than females. The only bears that were more likely to be labelled as female were those engaged directly in caring for child bears reinforcing the stereotype of women as caretakers. Like Fagot's (1978) study, the majority of these mothers reported highly egalitarian gender beliefs. Regardless of a parent's intent or personal beliefs, when stereotyped messages are repeatedly observed by children they can become incorporated into their understanding of appropriate behaviors for each gender and influence later behaviors (DeLoache, et al., 1987).

Families with more traditional gender views are characterized by mothers working fewer hours outside the home, household task division along gendered lines, and discouragement of gender atypical behaviors in children (Blakemore & Hill, 2007; Goodnow, 1988; Weinraub, et al., 1984). Modern views, on the other hand, are typically seen families with mothers employed outside the home, increased father engagement, egalitarian household task division, and greater acceptance of cross-gender play in children (Blakemore & Hill, 2007). Single parents, women, and African Americans have been found to be more likely to endorse modern gender beliefs than

married couples, men, and European Americans (Blakemore & Hill; 2007; Brown, Craig, & Halberstadt, 2015; Crouter, McHale, & Bartko, 1993; Leve & Fagot, 1997).

Parent's values have many impacts on their parenting behaviors. Possibly because fathers are more likely to embrace more traditional gender values, they are also frequently more concerned with encouraging sex-typical behaviors in their children than mothers and are more likely to react negatively to cross-gender play (Fagot, 1978; Leve & Fagot, 1997; Levine & Munsch, 2014). This greater concern may lead to more forceful intervention and feedback when children engage in gender atypical behaviors. As such, fathers tend to have a stronger influence on children's sex-typed play choices than mothers (Leve & Fagot, 1997; Weinraub, et al., 1984).

Gender Non-Conforming Children

Parenting behaviors may serve to obstruct or facilitate children's development of their unique expression of gender. Facilitative behaviors allow children to "express [themselves] in [their] own unique gender way while helping [them] adapt to a world that will not necessarily embrace that way of being" (Ehrensaft, 2007, p. 273). Obstructive parenting, on the other hand, condemns gender nonconformity and tries to direct the child toward gender typical behaviors (Ehrensaft, 2007). In Fagot's (1978) study, parents reported that they would not restrict playmates to same-sex children, would not avoid buying a gender atypical toy for their child, and that they planned to encourage their child to follow their interests regardless of gender typicality (Fagot, 1978) In fact, 80% of the parents planned to actively encourage a view of sex equity with their child. However, both mothers and fathers rated more behaviors appropriate for girls only than for boys only, which may lead to more facilitative parenting toward girls than for boys as parents may be more open to girls engaging in gender atypical behaviors than boys (Fagot, 1978).

Obstruction of gender atypical play in boys may be more common for several reasons. Ehrensaft (2007) suggests that parents raising “girlyboys,” or boys who engage in feminine behaviors, may face a difficult struggle between their desires to protect and support their child because “girlyboys” may face more negative societal consequences such as harassment, teasing, bullying, and physical violence than tomboys. This increased risk for harm may drive parents to use obstructive practices in order to limit their son’s gender atypical expression and protect their son from perceived and actual harm (Ehrensaft, 2007). Even in families where parents are supportive of gender atypical play, boys’ gender role beliefs are less impacted by parental input possibly because they also experience stricter societal norms than girls (Croft, et al., 2014).

While “girlyboy” behavior is frequently rejected by society and obstructed by parents, tomboy behavior may be more accepted and facilitated (Levine & Munsch, 2014). Tomboy behavior is more acceptable in our society than “girlyboy” behaviors and is related to more social benefits which may increase parental willingness to accept and encourage gender atypical behavior in girls (Ehrensaft, 2007). Girls’ gender role beliefs are also more malleable by parental input possibly due to society’s acceptance of divergence from typical feminine behaviors (Croft, et al., 2014; Williams, et al., 1975). However, parental influence could work both ways with girls raised in highly traditional families developing more traditional feminine attitudes and behaviors and girls in more modern families displaying more tomboy behaviors.

Parents engage in many behaviors that obstruct or facilitate children’s gender development. They assign children chores frequently based on gender and provide differential feedback based on play choices and structure level. Children learn from these reactions along with modeled behaviors and these early lessons may serve to influence their adult occupational outcomes.

Chore Division

The division of chores and household tasks allows children to both observe and receive feedback about gender appropriate behaviors. Household task division is one area where gender roles are frequently “played out, debated, or suppressed the most clearly” (Crouter, et al., 1993, p. 169). The impact of parental task division can be seen in children’s behaviors and beliefs. When parents divide household tasks along less traditional lines their children hold less gender-typed role preferences and express less knowledge and adherence to gender stereotypes (Lawson, et al., 2015).

Parent’s values and behaviors are sometimes inconsistent which may be related to poorer child outcomes. For example, fathers in single-earner households tend to score as traditional, engage in fewer feminine household tasks, and value traditional household task division. Boys in single-earner households who participate in more feminine tasks tend to report lower competence, more stress, and more negative parent-child relationships. While boys in dual-earner households who engage in feminine tasks and have fathers with more egalitarian values reported high competence, low stress, and positive parental relationships. This may be due to the relationship between their and their father’s engagement levels or, more significantly, their father’s gender values (Crouter, et al., 1993). On the other hand, daughters engaging in feminine chores in either dual- or single-earner families reported high competence possibly because mothers in either household are likely to be performing these tasks and serving as models for their daughters (Crouter, et al., 1993).

A lot of research has been done looking at the traditional division of chores between sons and daughters. From this body of research, it has been found that girls are more likely to engage in indoor chores such as cleaning bathrooms, doing laundry and dishes, cooking, and general

housework such as vacuuming and dusting. Boys, on the other hand, are more likely to engage in outdoor tasks such as lawn care and snow shoveling, taking out the garbage, and farm work. (Crouter, et al., 1993; Goodnow, 1988). Both sons and daughters may be equally encouraged to clean their rooms, pick up after themselves, and feed pets (Goodnow, 1988). Chore division becomes increasingly gender segregated as children get older and daughters tend to be assigned more chores than sons (Blakemore & Hill, 2007; Goodnow, 1988).

Parents with more modern gender values tend to engage in more egalitarian household task division and to encourage increased chore engagement and more gender-balanced chore assignment than their more traditional counterparts (Blakemore & Hill, 2007; Crouter, et al., 1993; Goodnow, 1988). Mothers are more likely than fathers to encourage both sons and daughters to engage in household tasks (Blakemore & Hill, 2007). In dual-earner families both fathers and sons participate in more feminine tasks (Crouter, et al., 1993; Goodnow, 1988).

Parent's decisions on how to divide household tasks and assign chores can have long-lasting implications for their children. Children's chores serve as an early adult-guided way for children to learn adult gender roles and they teach different skills and values (Goodnow, 1988). Girls are frequently assigned chores that teach domestic skills and are taught to value self-sacrifice as a way to demonstrate their love for their family (Goodnow, 1988). Boys are more likely to be assigned chores that parents or neighbors are willing to pay for such as lawn mowing or window cleaning (Goodnow, 1988) which may encourage the development of early entrepreneurial skills.

Playtime

Anyone who has worked with young children has probably noticed the boys loudly crashing their cars into block towers, while the girls quietly feed their dolls and play doctor to

stuffed animals. This expressed play difference may derive from parental responses to gender atypical play behavior (Fagot, 1978; Kalantari, 2012; McHale, et al., 2009). Play activities typically labelled as feminine include dancing, crafts, playing music, gymnastic movement, gardening, swimming, playing card or board games, hiking, going for walks, playing with pets, playing with dolls and soft toys, dressing up, and asking for help (Blakemore & Hill, 2007; Fagot, 1978; Fagot, et al., 1986; McHale, Kim, Dotterer, Crouter, & Booth, 2009). Masculine activities include sports, building, hunting, fishing, playing with blocks or cars, rough-and-tumble or aggressive play, watching TV, and activities involving object manipulation (Fagot, 1978; Fagot, et al., 1986; McHale, et al., 2009). The societal division of play behaviors into masculine and feminine boxes drives differential responses to children based on their sex and these responses may help shape later play choices.

Parents respond to children based on gender as young as infancy. Even adults who endorse modern gender values have been observed to interact differently with an infant based on gender. When told that the infant is a girl, adults are more likely to offer the child a traditionally feminine toy and encourage interpersonal behaviors while, if the same baby is introduced as a boy, the adults offer more masculine toys and encourage motor activity (DeLoache, et al., 1987). This gender-based interaction continues into toddlerhood and childhood as parents provide differential reinforcement to their young children based on their child's gender. For example, parents provide more negative feedback to girls engaging in large motor, active play and are more accepting of boys engaging angry or mildly aggressive behaviors (Blakemore & Hill, 2007; Fagot, 1978). This feedback may influence the likelihood of the child's continued expression of these behaviors as children learn that gender typical play is more positively responded to. Continual reinforcement across contexts may encourage increased engagement in gender typical

behaviors while decreasing engagement in gender atypical behaviors (Fagot, 1984). This feedback is not limited to young children; parents' responses become increasingly differentiated as children age and parents are able to increasingly accurately identify their use of differential responses (Fagot, 1978).

Mothers with more modern values had more positive feelings about their sons playing with feminine toys and their daughters playing with masculine toys than mothers with more traditional values or fathers (Blakemore & Hill, 2007). Possibly due to this acceptance of cross-gender play, preschool children with parents with modern beliefs tend to learn gender labels and stereotypes later and to show less awareness of sex differences in children's toys than children with more traditional parents (Blakemore & Hill, 2007; Weinraub, et al., 1984). Boys are more likely to get negative reactions and feedback for gender atypical play than girls and in turn show a greater avoidance of gender atypical toys and more awareness of sex roles (Ehrensaft, 2007; Fagot, et al., 1986; Weinraub, et al., 1984).

Early differentiation and reinforcement for children's play choices by gender may set the stage for lifelong differences in skills. Stereotypical female toys such as dolls and kitchen sets encourage girls to learn rules and imitate adult housekeeping and childcare behaviors (Fagot, 1984). While male toys such as blocks and construction sets encourage independence and object manipulation (Fagot, 1978).

Structure Level

One specific aspect of play behavior that is highly connected with gender is activity structure level. From a young age, male and female children tend to engage in very different levels of adult-structured activities, with girls tending to prefer highly-structured activities, while boys prefer low levels of adult structure (Carpenter, Huston, & Holt, 1986; Huston, Carpenter,

Atwater, & Johnson, 1986). Structure level is determined based on frequency of adult instruction, guidelines, and modeling regarding appropriate behavior or performance for a task or activity (Carpenter, et al., 1986; Huston, et al., 1986). Children's compliance to adult commands is affected by structure level with children in high-structure activities complying 82% of the time compared with 63% of the time when engaged in low-structure activities (Huston, et al., 1986).

Parents provide indirect reinforcement for the continuation of this gendered split in structure level play choice. Parents are more likely to encourage daughters to stay close and seek help and are more likely to encourage sons' independence and discourage their help-seeking behaviors (Fagot, 1984). This enforces girls' tendency to engage in high structure activities which provides additional opportunities for girls to learn and model adult tasks (Fagot, 1978). Research has found that "girls receive more adult structuring of their everyday activities than boys do [and] spend more time than boys near adults" (Carpenter, et al., 1986, p. 605). Meanwhile in Fagot's (1978) study, boys were found to be more likely to be left to play alone although parents were also more likely to join or intervene in the play of boys than girls.

While parents may be unaware of their differential reinforcement of structure level, the underlying stereotype is also noticeable in their labeling of children's picture book characters. In DeLoache, et al.'s (1987) study mothers gender labelling of gender neutral bears portrayed in a variety of settings was observed. Mothers labelled most bears across settings as masculine. However, child bears pictured near adult bears were more likely to be given a female label than a child bear pictured on their own which may reinforce differences in activity structure level preference.

While gender impacts the original choice of structure level, once an activity is selected behavior is more impacted by structure level than gender (Huston, et al., 1986). Research has

been conducted to observe the impact of structure level on children's behaviors. Children engaged in low-structure activities display increased peer-directed leadership attempts, bids for peer recognition, and aggression and decreased compliance to adult direction while children in high-structured activities show increased compliance and bids for adult recognition and limited peer interactions (Carpenter, et al., 1986; Huston, et al., 1986). These behaviors are observable regardless of the gender of the child engaged in the activity and even when children are assigned to structure levels different than what they normally engage in (Carpenter, et al., 1986).

Structure level has a large impact on child's behaviors. It is reasonable to believe that continued preference and engagement in activities with a specific structure level may encourage development of behaviors that are compatible with that environment. Girls are more likely to be encouraged by parents to seek help and guidance and are more likely to engage in high-structure activities that tend to encourage social, feminine sex-typed behaviors such as compliance, seeking recognition and help from adults, and following directions (Carpenter et al., 1986). Meanwhile, boys may be more encouraged to engage in independent, low-structure play which encourage behaviors such as leadership, peer-directed interactions, independence, and aggression (Carpenter et al., 1986). These long-term tendencies to engage in different levels of adult-structured activities may influence children's social skill set and methods of interaction with others with girls developing more compliant, adult-oriented behaviors and boys more leadership qualities (Carpenter et al., 1986; Huston, et al., 1986).

Occupational Outcomes

Early socialization around play behaviors and household tasks transmits sex-specific societal norms, values, and aspirations to children which influences adult occupational status and may contribute to the gendered occupational segregation (Croft, et al, 2014; Kalantari, 2012;

Lawson, et al., 2015; Polavieja & Platt, 2014). Parental modeling may be especially important in shaping career aspirations as children pick up cues about gender appropriate careers from their parents' occupations. For example, daughters with mothers employed in sex-atypical careers were themselves less likely to have sex-typical aspirations and sons with fathers in sex-typical fields were more likely to have sex-typical aspirations (Polavieja & Platt, 2014). While children may not enter the exact field as their early aspirations, children with sex-typical aspirations are more likely to enter into sex-typical fields than those with sex-atypical aspirations which suggests an ingrained tendency toward gender-typical behavior (Polavieja & Platt, 2014).

Parent's gender values may also influence children's occupational outcomes. Children from families with more modern values tend to have more flexible views toward adult roles in family and work (Blakemore & Hill, 2007). Sons whose mothers held more traditional attitudes, who spent more time with their mothers, and whose parents divided housework along gendered lines were more likely to pursue gender-typical occupations while sons with parents with higher education, associated with less traditional attitudes, were more likely to pursue more gender atypical careers (Lawson, et al., 2015; Polavieja & Platt, 2014).

Boys' and girls' career outcomes are also influenced by the different skill sets developed through children's engagement in gender-typical chores, play, and structure levels as discussed earlier. Parents assign chores that emphasize self-sacrifice and domestic skills to their daughters which prepare them for feminine caregiving professions such as nursing and teaching (Goodnow, 1988; Kalantari, 2012). Girls also learn compliance from high-structure activities which is reinforced through societal messages that women are expected to act subordinately to men (Carpenter, et al., 1986; Huston, et al., 1986; Kalantari, 2012). This may discourage them from pursuing careers that would place them in supervisory positions especially in male-dominated

fields (Kalantari, 2012). This may partially explain why only 22% of CEOs and legislators in the U.S. are women (Lawson, et al., 2015). Meanwhile, parents emphasize independence, achievement, and competition in their sons' play and assign chores that provide opportunities for entrepreneurial skill development which are traits valued in masculine professions such as managerial roles and STEM fields (Fagot, 1978; Lawson, et al., 2015).

The gender split in occupations, contributed to by early socialization, contributes greatly to the gender wage gap (Kalantari, 2012). Because female-dominated careers tend to pay substantially less than men's, women's median weekly earnings are roughly 80% those of men's when considered across occupations (Kalantari, 2012). In male-dominated fields men and women working in the same job tend to earn close to equal pay, however in female-dominated fields men tend to earn significantly more than women in the same position (Kalantari, 2012). This may be because men are unlikely to pursue female-dominated careers, so companies may feel pressure to pay them more in order to maintain their employment or men may be more likely to ask for raises than their female coworkers (Kalantari, 2012). Men may be less likely to pursue gender atypical careers than women since they are exposed to more early socialization processes against gender atypical behavior (Croft, et al., 2014; Ehrensaft, 2007; Kalantari, 2012).

In order to fight against this occupational gender differentiation, effort has recently been put into encouraging women to pursue gender atypical careers especially in the STEM fields. Role models such as parents and media portrayals of women in leadership or STEM positions have been effective in enabling young girls to see themselves as leaders or in STEM fields (Croft, et al., 2014; Kalantari, 2012). In order to eliminate the gendered occupational split, it would require 75% of women to change jobs from feminine to masculine fields (Kalantari, 2012). However, it may be beneficial for efforts to be made to decrease the enforcement of

stereotyped behavior and occupational aspirations in male children as parents and society tend to be less accepting of gender atypical behavior in boys (Croft, et al., 2014). If this was paired with a shift in job attainment by men into more feminine sex-typed careers, it would take much less time to put a significant dent in the gendered occupational split. This might lead to a reciprocal feedback loop where decreased segregation in the workplace may further lower pressure on children to act in gender typical ways and lead to a more accepting society for individuals to express their own unique gender identity.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study was designed to test the relationships between mothers' feminism values, their beliefs about accepting children's unique gender expression, and their parenting practices.

Previous studies have found connections between parents' gender views and their acceptance of gender atypical behavior in children (Blakemore & Hill, 2007; Goodnow, 1988; Weinraub, et al., 1984). Mothers' demographic characteristics were also included in the analysis as previous research has related certain demographic characteristics to mothers' feminism values. Single parents, women, and African Americans have been found to be more likely to endorse modern gender beliefs than married couples, men, and European Americans (Blakemore & Hill; 2007; Brown, et al., 2015; Crouter, et al., 1993; Leve & Fagot, 1997).

The hypothesized relationship between the tested variables are represented in Figure 1. The research was guided by three research questions:

- 1) Are mother's feminism values related to their attitudes toward children's gender expression and parenting behaviors related to gender? It was predicted that mothers with more traditional values would report less acceptance of children's gender

atypical play behaviors and would report a greater desire for children to engage in gender typical play.

- 2) Does child's gender impact mother's acceptance of gender atypical play and parenting behaviors surrounding children's individual gender expression? Mothers of sons were expected to be less accepting of children's gender atypical play behaviors and more likely to engage in obstructive parenting practices surrounding gender atypical expression than mothers of daughters.
- 3) Are mothers' values regarding acceptance of gender atypical behavior reflected in their self-reported parenting behaviors? Because society is less accepting of gender atypical behaviors in boys than girls, it was believed that mothers' values would be more strongly correlated to their self-reported parenting practices of daughters than to their parenting practices of sons.

Methods

Participants

Sixty-six mothers of children participated in this study, 63 in an online survey and three in an in-person interview with their child. In order to participate, mothers had to have at least one biological child between the ages of six and nine years without a severe developmental disorder who was living with them at least four days out of the week. Mothers with multiple children between the ages of six and nine were asked to answer the survey questions thinking about the child whose birthday was the most recent in order to facilitate randomization of the data and to ensure that mothers were reporting specific to one child. Mothers were recruited through online advertisements, flyers posted in the community, and emails sent through the university community. Demographic data about the sample are summarized in Table 1 and Table 2.

Of the mothers who completed the online survey, the average age was 33.38 ($SD = 7.94$). Approximately 35% of participants reported being single mothers. Three quarters of mothers were employed at least part-time, and of those living with a spouse or partner, 87.8% of their partners were working at least part-time. Mothers living with partners were more likely to be unemployed (29.3%) than single mothers (13.6%). The majority of mothers had completed at least some college or vocational training (68.3%). The average reported household income was \$46,360.48 ($SD = 36,907.10$), although reported incomes ranged from \$1,500 to \$240,000. Just over 21% were earning an income below the Federal Poverty Line for their family size. Participants were predominantly Caucasian (54%), although 15.9% identified as African American and 14.3% as Latino or Hispanic. Close to 59% of respondents had more than one child under the age of 18 living in their home. About 44% of mothers answered the survey questions about sons, while the remaining 56% answered in reference to daughters. Children were on average 7.57 years old ($SD = 1.70$). Mothers of sons and daughters reported similar demographic traits, although mothers of sons were more likely to be single (32.1%) than mothers of daughters (5.6%).

Single mothers varied on several demographic traits from married or cohabiting mothers. Single mothers reported significantly lower household incomes ($M = 23,010$, $SD = 10,988.12$) than married or cohabiting mothers ($M = \$58,619.35$, $SD = 39,824.03$). Single mothers were more likely to report being Latino or Hispanic (31.8%) than married or cohabiting mothers (4.9%). Single mothers were also more likely to have only one child at home (63.6%) than married or cohabiting mothers (29.3%).

Mothers who participated in the in-person interview differed on several demographic traits than those who participated in the online questionnaire. All three mothers who participated

in the in-person interview were Caucasian, had completed at least a bachelor's degree, and were living with a male spouse. They reported a higher average annual household income ($m = 84,333.33$, $SD = 16921.39$) and were slightly older on average ($m = 41.67$, $SD = 2.08$). Two interviews were conducted with a mother and son, the third was conducted with a mother and daughter.

Procedure

Participants either participated in an online survey or in-person interview. The online survey consisted of a questionnaire completed by mothers which took approximately 15 minutes for most mothers to complete. The in-person interviews occurred at the University of Arizona and consisted of the same questionnaire completed by mothers, a series of sorting tasks for their child, and separate follow-up questions for mother and child.

The questionnaire (Appendix A) consisted of demographic questions as well as scales addressing maternal attitudes and behaviors. Mothers were reminded throughout the survey that there were no right or wrong answers and were assured of the confidentiality of their responses before taking the survey. Upon completion of the survey, online participants received a gift card, and mothers who participated in an in-person interview received cash for their participation.

Measures

Several scales that have been used in previous gender socialization studies were used in this survey. Additional information about each of these scales is available in Table 3.

Feminism values.

Mothers' feminism values were assessed using the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS; Swim & Cohen, 1997) and the Liberal Feminist Attitudes and Ideology Scale's (LFAIS; Morgan, 1996) Gender Roles subscale.

The MSS measures covert forms of sexism such as denying that discrimination against women still occurs. It is scored on a 7-point Likert Scale with 1 being “Strongly Disagree” and 7 “Strongly Agree.” A sample item from the scale is “It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.” Higher scores on the MSS are correlated to more traditional values. A composite score for each mother was created by calculating a mean score after reverse coding three items.

The LFAIS gender roles subscale measures opinions about the “perception of proper roles for men and women in this society” (Morgan, 1996, p. 369). It is scored on a 6-point Likert Scale with 1 being “Strongly Disagree” and 7 “Strongly Agree.” A sample item from the subscale is “an employed woman can establish as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who is not employed.” Higher scores on the LFAIS are correlated to less traditional values. A composite score for each mother was created by calculating a mean score after reverse coding five items.

Attitudes toward child gender expression.

Mothers' attitudes towards their child's gender expression were measured with the Child Gender Socialization (CGS; Blakemore & Hill, 2007) scale and a scale referred to as Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior which was adapted, as described below, from Fagot's (1978) study.

The CGS was developed in 2007 to “measure parents' attitudes about their children's gender-related behavior” (Blakemore & Hill, 2007, p. 192). In the first section of the CGS, participants were presented with a list of 15 toys or activities and seven chores with the directions “below are several activities in which your child may engage now or in the future. Indicate your evaluation of your child doing these things on this scale. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions.” These items make up the Toys and Activities Stereotyped for

Girls, Toys and Activities Stereotyped for Boys, and Helping at Home subscales. The Toys and Activities Stereotyped for Girls subscale consists of eight feminine-typed items (i.e. playing with toy jewelry) and the Toys and Activities Stereotyped for Boys subscale consists of seven masculine-typed items (i.e. playing with toy cars). The Helping at Home subscale consists of seven chores (i.e. setting the table). It is scored on a 7-point Likert Scale with 1 being "Very Negative" and 7 "Very Positive." A composite score for each subscale was created by calculating a mean score.

In the second section of the CGS, participants respond on another 7-point Likert Scale with 1 being "Strongly Disagree" and 7 "Strongly Agree." This section contains the Education for Marriage and Family subscale, which consists of two items regarding the goals of education such as "I would want my son's/daughter's education to prepare him/her for marriage." Mixed into this scale are two filler items forming the Education for a Job or Career subscale. Blakemore and Hill found no difference between parents of sons or daughters on this scale but included it in their final scale "to mask the obviousness of one of the other scales (Education for Marriage and Family)" (2007, p. 202). There are also two items on the Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics scale included in this section. These items are "I would discourage my son from playing with girls' toys or games or my daughter from playing with boys' toys or games" and "I would discourage my son from acting like a girl or my daughter from acting like a boy." Composite scores for the Education for Marriage and Family and Disapproval of Other Gender subscales were created by calculating each mother's mean score.

The next scale was a set of five-items adapted from questions used in Fagot's (1978) study of mothers' reactions to toddlers based on the child's gender. In this study, parents filled out "questionnaire concerning socialization practices and values concerning sex roles" (Fagot,

1978, p. 461). Since the exact questions were not included in the paper, the researcher rephrased four of the statements to develop the five-item Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior Scale. For example, "they planned to encourage their child to follow up interests, regardless of sex appropriateness of the interests" became "I would encourage my child to follow their interests, even if it was not typical for their gender." Mothers' reaction to buying gender atypical toys for their child were asked both as a rating of their willingness and of their avoidance. Parents responded to these statements on a 6-point Likert Scale with 1 being "Strongly Disagree" and 6 "Strongly Agree." These questions were used to address mothers' acceptance of gender atypical behavior in their children. A higher score on this measure indicated more acceptance of gender atypical behavior. A composite score was created by calculating the mean score.

Parenting behaviors.

Mothers' parenting behaviors were measured by their responses to the Parent Supervision Attributes Profile Questionnaire's (PSAPQ; Morrongiello & Corbett, 2006) Supervision and Risk Tolerance subscales and self-reports of recent behaviors. The PSAPQ was developed to measure parents' supervisory behaviors in order to assess children's risk of injury. This scale was used in this study as previous research has shown that boys are more likely to engage in unstructured, unsupervised play while daughters are more likely to engage in more adult-supervised play. It was believed that less traditional mothers of daughters would be more likely to report lower levels of supervision and higher risk tolerance than more traditional mothers of daughters. Participants responded on a 7-point Likert Scale with 1 being "Strongly Disagree" and 7 being "Strongly Agree." The Supervision subscale included items such as "I stay within reach of my child when he/she is playing" and the Risk Tolerance subscale included items such as "I let my child take some chances in what he/she does." Composite scores for the Supervision and

Risk Tolerance subscales were created by calculating each mother's mean score.

Mothers' answered four open-ended questions regarding recent parenting behaviors. These items were: their five most recent toy purchases, their child's three favorite activities or toys, their child's regular household chores, and their child's extracurricular activities. Their responses were then coded as being more feminine, more masculine, or neutral. For the recent toy purchases and favorite activities responses, the number of masculine, feminine, and neutral responses were tallied as each mother gave the same number of responses. For the chores and extracurricular activities, the number of masculine, feminine, and neutral responses was calculated as a percentage of each mothers' total number of responses in that category as each mother was able to provide a different number of responses.

Additional measures for in-person interviews.

Qualitative in-person interviews were completed with three participants to provide additional insights into the topic. In the in-person interviews, mothers completed the online survey in a paper version. After completing the questionnaire, mothers were asked a set of qualitative follow-up questions (Appendix B) regarding their perceived role in their child's gender socialization, what they do to influence their child's gender expression, and how they feel when their child engages in gender atypical play or behaviors.

The child completed adapted versions of the Sex-Role Learning Index (SERLI; Edelbrock & Sugawara, 1978) tasks and an occupation sorting task with the interviewer (Appendix C). The original SERLI task structure as well as some items were used, but it was adapted to include more modern items that children would be more likely to identify with as well as colored pictures.

In the first task, children were presented with an array of ten images of objects

representing five masculine and five feminine child activities such as a race car representing playing with toy cars, and a book representing reading. These were verbally labeled by the interviewer with the activity name, and children were asked to hand them to the interviewer in the order that they would prefer to do the activities starting with their favorite and ending with their least favorite.

In the second task, children were asked to follow the same procedure, but with an array of ten images of adults of the same sex as themselves engaging in five masculine and five feminine occupations such as construction worker, pilot, librarian, and nurse. The masculine occupations were all reported as having 75% male employees while the feminine occupations were all reported as having 75% female employees according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2015). Additionally, they were chosen based on the likelihood that children would be familiar with the career. These were labelled with the occupation name, and children were asked if they knew what each occupation did before children began handing them to the interviewer in order of preference.

For the third task children were presented with three boxes, one labelled “things for boys,” one labelled “things for girls,” and the third labelled “things for both boys and girls.” Children were then handed ten images of children’s toys one at a time and asked to place them in the box that they believed the picture belonged in. The images represented five masculine-typed toys (i.e. football) and five feminine-typed toys (i.e. toy cooking set). Once children sorted the items, the neutral box was removed and children were asked to resort those items into the masculine or feminine boxes.

The final task followed the same procedure as task three but the boxes were labelled “things for women,” “things for men,” and “things for both men and women.” Children were

asked to sort five masculine-typed adult tasks (i.e. taking out the trash) and five feminine-typed adult tasks (i.e. feeding a baby) into the three boxes. Once again, the neutral box was removed and children were asked to resort those items into the gender specific boxes.

This was followed by a set of open-ended questions (Appendix D) addressing the child's thoughts about how they decided whether things are for girls or boys, suspected reaction of their mother if they engaged in gender atypical play, and their career aspirations. At the end of the interview, each child was offered a choice of a set of feminine (flowers), masculine (dinosaurs), or neutral (fruits) stickers as a reward. Their choice was observed and recorded.

Results

Hypothesis 1: Feminism Values and Attitudes Toward Child's Gender Expression

Mothers' scores on the MSS and LFAIS were found to be statistically significantly correlated to their scores on the Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior scale and CGS Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics subscale across the sample with the exception of the MSS to CGS (see Table 4). These correlations ranged from $r = -0.38$ to $r = 0.57$. The correlations suggested that more traditional mothers were less accepting of child's gender atypical behaviors. This is in agreement with previous research (Blakemore & Hill, 2007) and the first hypothesis that more traditional mothers (and demographic groups who are typically more traditional) tend to be less accepting of gender atypical child behaviors than less traditional mothers and groups.

Mothers' feminism values and acceptance of gender atypical play were not statistically significantly related to their attitudes towards their children playing with male or female toys, helping at home, or learning about marriage and family in school on the CGS subscales. These

results were expected as child's gender was expected to be a significant influence on mothers' scores on the CGS subscales other than Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics.

Hypothesis 2: Child's Gender and Attitudes Toward Child's Gender Expression

The child's gender was taken into consideration through computing correlations between the feminism values scales and acceptance of gender atypical behavior scales for mothers of sons and for mothers of daughter. Through these tests it was discovered that MSS scores were only statistically-significantly related to acceptance of gender atypical behavior for mothers of sons (see Table 5 and Table 6). The correlation between MSS and the Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior scale was $r = -.62$, $p = .00$. However, mothers' LFAIS scores were statistically significantly related to acceptance of gender atypical behavior for both sons and daughters (range $r = -0.38$ to $r = 0.60$). This suggests that feminism values may be slightly more related to acceptance for mothers of sons than daughters. It was hypothesized that this occurred because of the stricter gender expectations for masculine behavior than feminine behavior. More traditional mothers may be able to accept daughters' gender atypical behaviors while still holding sons to traditional expectations of masculinity. If this were the case, it would be expected that mothers of daughters would report higher acceptance of gender atypical behavior across the sample. However, mothers of sons and daughters did not report statistically significant differences in mean scores on either measure of acceptance of atypical behavior (see Table 7).

Mothers reported generally positive feelings toward children engaging with either male or female toys regardless of their child's gender, but expressed statistically significantly more positive feelings toward their children engaging in gender typical play than atypical play (see Table 7 and Table 8). These findings contradict the hypothesis that mothers would report less

acceptance of gender atypical play for sons than daughters, as it suggests that mothers prefer gender typical play regardless of child's gender.

Child's Gender and Parenting Behaviors

Mothers' open-ended responses revealed insights into their parenting behaviors (see Table 9). Of their five most recent toy purchases, mothers reported buying an average of 3.43 masculine-typed toys (i.e. superhero figures) for sons and .78 for daughters. For feminine-typed toys (i.e. dolls) mothers reported purchasing an average of .23 for sons and 2.64 for daughters. The differences in means for masculine-typed ($t = 10.30, p = 0.00$) and feminine-typed ($t = -9.76, p = 0.00$) toy purchases by child gender were both statistically significant. For both genders, approximately 1.4 gender neutral toys had been purchased. It is surprising that mothers reported purchasing fewer feminine-typed toys for daughters than masculine-typed toys for sons, as on the CGS subscales they reported a greater approval for feminine-typed toys for daughters than they did of masculine-typed toys for sons. However, this supports the hypothesis that mothers would be more accepting of daughters engaging in gender atypical play than sons.

There were 55 mothers (83.3% of the population) who reported that their child participated in some type of extracurricular activity (63.3% of mothers of sons and 55.6% of mothers of daughters). Mothers whose sons participated in extracurricular activities reported that their child participated in an average of 70.16% masculine-typed activities (i.e. sports) and 19.26% feminine-typed activities (i.e. dance). Mothers of daughters, on the other hand, reported that their child participated in 23.30% masculine-typed activities and 64.05% feminine-typed activities. The differences in means for masculine-typed ($t = 3.52, p = .001$) and feminine-typed ($t = -3.42, p = 0.002$) extracurricular activity engagement by child gender were both statistically

significant. Again, these results suggest that mothers are more open to gender atypical activity engagement in their daughters than their sons.

Mothers reported that 90% of boys and 77.8% of girls helped with some kind of chores or tasks around the house. The difference between sons and daughters' engagement in feminine chores was not statistically significant ($p = .10$) indicating that boys and girls engaged in feminine-typed chores (i.e. setting the table) at similar rates. However, boys were statistically significantly ($p = .00$) more likely to participate in masculine-typed chores (i.e. taking out the trash) than daughters.

As a whole, mothers reported support of risk tolerance ($m = 5.81$, $SD = .73$ on a 7-point scale) and average supervision levels ($m = 3.90$, $SD = .89$ on a 7-point scale). Mothers of sons and daughters reported similar levels of risk tolerance and supervision on the PSAPQ subscales or Risk Tolerance and Supervision. This contradicted the hypothesis that mothers of daughters would report lower levels of risk tolerance and higher levels of supervision than mothers of sons.

Hypothesis 3: Attitudes and Values Relation to Parenting Behaviors

For the most part, neither mothers' scores on the CGS Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics or Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior subscales, nor their scores on the two Feminist Values scales were correlated to their parenting behavior self-reports for sons or daughters. The only exception was that for sons, there was a statistically significant ($r = -0.40$, $p = .03$) correlation between mothers' MSS scores and their purchase of female toys. This suggests that less traditional mothers were more likely to purchase feminine-typed toys for their sons. This contradicts the hypothesis that feminism values would be connected to mother's parenting behaviors primarily for daughters. However, overall, the lack of statistically-significant correlations contradicts the hypothesis that mothers' attitudes impact their parenting practices.

Mothers' scores on the CGS Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics, Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior subscales, and Feminist Values scales were not correlated to their PSAPQ scores as a whole. However, for mothers of daughters, their scores on the LFAIS were statistically significantly correlated to their PSAPQ-Risk Tolerance scores ($r = 0.44$, $p = .008$) suggesting that less traditional mothers were more likely to allow their daughters to engage in risk-taking behaviors than more traditional mothers. This supports the hypothesis that feminism values would be connected to mothers' parenting behaviors primarily for daughters.

In-Person Interviews: Child Behaviors and Understandings

Mothers who participated in in-person interviews reported statistically significantly less traditional values on the MSS than the online participants (m (in-person) = 1.57; m (online) = 3.47) and on the LFAIS (m (in-person) = 5.27; m (online) = 4.38). There was no statistical significance between the two on their reports of acceptance of gender atypical behavior. Mothers reports on these scales are summarized in Table 10.

Interestingly, all three mothers reported more positive feelings toward their child playing with feminine toys ($m = 6.5$, $SD = .57$) than with masculine toys ($m = 4.10$, $SD = .30$), despite the fact that two of the mothers were reporting about sons. However, the children's toy preferences did not generally reflect the same slant towards feminine-typed toys.

In order to look at children's gender-typical preferences for play activities and adult occupations, their first three and last three responses to the first and second adapted SERLI tasks were rated. Children received one point for each gender-typical choice in their three top preferences and one point for each gender-atypical choice in their bottom three. A score of six would indicate a high preference for gender-typical options and a score of zero would indicate a high preference for gender-atypical options. Interestingly, the three children who participated in

this task scored a 0, 3, and 6 on their rankings of play activities. They all reported more moderate preferences for adult occupations (two received a score of 4, and one a score of 3).

For the third and fourth tasks, all the children sorted all objects “correctly” based on traditional gender norms once the neutral box was removed, with the exception of two items by one child. Children were scored on these sorting tasks based on their acceptance of children's toys and adult tasks as gender neutral. Each child was given one point for each item initially sorted as gender neutral. Two of the children sorted five of the ten children's toys as gender neutral and the third sorted seven as gender neutral. The child who sorted seven items as gender neutral scored a three on the child activity preference test. For the adult tasks, the children sorted 4, 3, and 1 items as gender neutral. The child who scored a 6 on preference for gender typical play activities also sorted the least number of adult tasks as gender neutral, but was also the one who sorted a masculine task (grilling) as feminine and a feminine task (helping with homework) as masculine.

When the children were forced to sort the children's toys that they initially identified as neutral into a gender-typed box, all the children were able to sort the items into their gender typical boxes. However, they expressed that while they knew it was more for boys or girls they thought that both could do it. For example, one boy who initially sorted the toy kitchen into the neutral box explained that he and his brother had gotten one for Christmas and both enjoyed playing with it, but still placed the item into the feminine box.

The girl and one boy chose the gender atypical sticker option, while the other boy chose the gender typical sticker option. The boy who chose the gender typical sticker also reported the highest preference for gender typical toys on the first SERLI task.

When asked how they knew which items were for girls or boys, children reported that they just knew or that they had thought about what they, their siblings, and friends like to play with. When asked what it means to be a girl or boy, the children initially began with some stereotyped statements such as “we get to have a lot of pink stuff” and “girls don’t want to get hurt.” However, when asked whether there was anything they couldn’t do because of their gender or anything a child of the opposite gender couldn’t do, all three children immediately stated that there was nothing they couldn’t do due to gender. These beliefs were supported by statements such as “people can do what they want” and “everything is for boys *and* girls.” These beliefs were echoed in their mother’s interview responses.

When asked what they felt was their job in helping their child understand what it means to be a boy or a girl, the mothers’ main message was acceptance of their child’s decisions through statements such as “I make sure I tell him over and over again that whatever he’s into is ok...there’s not like boy things and girls things.” Mothers also reported a desire to teach an understanding of gender equality in their children including statements such as “my main focus would be on women’s rights, making sure she understands herself as equal and that everybody deserves respect.”

While children’s responses to the interview questions reflected similar points of view to their mothers, they were not directly connected to their preferences in the sorting tasks. For example, only one mother identified anything that she believed was inappropriate for her son to do because of his gender. She stated that “when it comes to clothing...that’s harder for me...that is where the line is for me.” She also reported the lowest scores on acceptance for gender atypical behavior, although still indicating a trend toward acceptance in her interview responses through comments such as “we do talk about some things that girls are more likely to do...but

we've also talked about that just being a perception...we try to have a gender neutral household as much as possible." In her interview, she reported that she aims for more neutral toy options by limiting those that are super feminine (i.e. Barbies) or super masculine (i.e. military toys). Surprisingly, her son reported the lowest preference for gender typical toys scoring a zero on the first SERLI task, and was one of the children to choose the gender atypical sticker choice.

Discussion

Connection to Literature

This study provided the opportunity to look at many factors previously connected to parental influence on child gender socialization in the literature including attitudes toward gender values, acceptance of gender atypical play, and child gender.

The Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics subscale was tested in relationship to the MSS measuring feminism values during the development of the CGS scale (Blakemore & Hill, 2008) and was found to be significantly correlated $r = .41, p < .001$. However, in this study, the relationship between the subscale and the MSS was only significant for mothers of boys ($r = .49, p = .01$). Blakemore and Hill (2008) also found statistically significant, although weak ($r = -.15$ to $r = .18$) relationships between the MSS and Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Boys and Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Girls subscales for mothers of boys, which was not observed in the current study.

Blakemore and Hill (2008) also discussed the importance of the social and physical environment that parents create for their child. This includes toy purchases, extracurricular activities, and chore assignments which were all considered in this study and found to differ significantly based on child gender, although connections between maternal values and attitudes and these environmental choices were not seen in the results.

It is important to note that most of the research that was available on the topic of mother's impact on child gender socialization was written in the 1980s and 90s and may not reflect modern patterns. Additionally, both the MSS and LFAIS were developed in the 1990s and may not reflect some of the more recent developments in the gender equality movement. However, these were the most updated feminism scales available to the researcher and measured more modern values than the Attitudes Toward Women Scale which was developed in the 1970s.

Possible Explanation for Contradicted Hypotheses

The lack of relationship between parenting behaviors and mothers' values and attitudes may be partially explained by the role of society in children's gender socialization. It is believed that parenting behaviors, especially toy purchase and extracurricular activity engagement are strongly influenced by children's requests, which are likely to be influenced by their peers and other societal messages such as advertisements. This may mitigate the relationship between mothers' attitudes and values and their actual behaviors. For example, a mother may want to buy a doll for her son and believe that it is positive for him to play with dolls and other feminine-typed toys, but choose to buy him a toy car instead because the child requests the car.

All three children who participated in the in-person interview reported that their mother would not only be willing but had actually bought them a gender atypical toy that they had requested. In these instances, the child's request for the gender atypical toy may have served as a promotive factor for the parenting behavior supportive of gender atypical play.

A relationship between the PSAPQ scales and child gender was initially hypothesized due to previous findings that girls are more likely to engage in adult supervised activities and that adults are more likely to provide positive feedback to girls asking for help than boys (Fagot, 1978; Carpenter, Huston, & Holt, 1986; Huston, et al., 1986). It was believed that the PSAPQ

supervision scale would identify adult-directed play tendencies and the risk tolerance would identify mothers' assisting behaviors. However, the lack of reported connection is in line with other studies which have found that mothers report no difference based on child gender in their feelings toward children asking for help, even when in-person observations reveal that they tend to respond more positively to daughters asking for help than sons (Fagot, 1978; Carpenter, et al., 1986).

Limitations and Future Directions

A strength of this study is the use of the LFAIS and MSS to measure feminism values rather than the Attitudes Toward Women Scale which has been used in many of the earlier studies (see, for example, Leve & Fagot, 1978; Weinraub, et al., 1984). Swim and Cohen (1997) studied the relationships between the MSS and Attitudes Toward Women Scales and their trends over time and found that the Attitudes Toward Women Scale measures explicit sexism and "endorsement of 'old-fashioned' gender stereotypes" (p. 104) which has become less common over time, while the MSS measures subtler sexist beliefs. The LFAIS Gender Role subscale was chosen because it reflected more modern gender debates such as "it is insulting to the husband when his wife does not take his last name" than the Attitudes Toward Women Scale which includes items such as "it is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks" (Spence & Hahn, 1997).

A potential limitation of the study is that it was completed online so it could not be verified that the participants were actually mothers. However, the responses were reviewed by the researcher and all the participants provided reasonable responses to the open-ended questions and varied answers to the scale questions. Additionally, parents' self-reports may reflect more

egalitarian views than direct observation of parenting behaviors (Fagot, 1978), possibly due to a combination of unconscious differences in reactions and the social desirability bias.

The study's inclusion of both in-person and online participants provided an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of mothers' ideas about their role in their child's gender socialization. Additionally, including the child sorting tasks and interview responses provided an opportunity to observe how mothers' values, attitudes, and parenting behaviors may be affecting their child's understanding of their gender. From observations of the in-person data it was noticed that while children of egalitarian parents verbally expressed similar beliefs that everything can be for both boys and girls, they were also aware of typical societal divisions between traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine activities and expressed a range in terms of how typical their toy and occupation preferences were. This suggests that mothers' values and attitudes may be more related to their children's beliefs about acceptance toward gender atypical expression than to their actual play behaviors and preferences. However, the very small and homogenous sample size for in-person interviews prevents an analysis of statistically-significant relationships. With a larger and more diverse sample, the connections between child behavior and mothers' reports could reveal interesting connections.

Additional analysis of the data should consider the correlations between demographic factors and mothers' values and behaviors. Household type may be a particularly relevant distinction as single mothers varied from married mothers on several demographic traits, and previous literature suggests that single mothers are less likely to endorse traditional gender values (Leve & Fagot, 1997; Brown, Craig, & Halberstadt, 2015; Blakemore & Hill, 2007; Crouter, McHale, & Bartko, 1993).

Future research on the relationship between parental values, attitudes, and behaviors may benefit from looking at the same patterns for a sample of fathers. The hypothesized relationships may be more visible with fathers as previous research has found that fathers have a larger impact on children's gender socialization, are more likely to provide explicit feedback regarding gender atypical play, and tend to endorse more traditional gender values (Fagot & Leve, 1978; Fagot, 1978; Levine & Munsch, 2014; Weinraub, et al., 1984)

Implications

Gender socialization is an important field for continued research as children's early gender socialization may impact their future career and social outcomes. Society may benefit from an increased awareness of the stricter gender roles for young boys. There are currently many visible awareness efforts aimed at increasing girls' engagement in traditionally masculine activities such as sports and STEM fields. However, there has not been as strong of a movement to increase boys' engagement in traditionally feminine activities such as dance and doll play, and they have traditionally been subject to more negative reactions and explicit feedback for cross-gender play (Ehrensaft, 2007; Fagot, et al., 1986; Weinraub, et al., 1984). Unfortunately, despite the cultural shifts in understanding of acceptable play behaviors in children, there is limited contemporary research looking at parent's impact on child's gender socialization.

References

- Blakemore, J. E. & Hill, C. A. (2007). The child gender socialization scale: A measure to compare traditional and feminist parents. *Sex Roles, 58*(3), 192-207. DOI 10.1007/s11199-007-9333-y
- Brown, G. L., Craig, A. B., & Halberstadt, A. G. (2015). Parent gender differences in emotion socialization behaviors vary by ethnicity and child gender. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 15*, 135-157.
- Carpenter, C. J., Huston, A. C., & Holt, W. (1986). Modification of preschool sex-typed behaviors by participation in adult-structured activities. *Sex Roles, 14*(11/12), 603-615.
- Croft, A., Schmader, T., Block, K., & Baron, A. S. (2014). The second shift reflected in the second generation: Do parents' gender roles at home predict children's aspirations? *Psychological Science, 25*(7), 1418-1428. DOI 10.1177/0956797614533968
- Crouter, A. C., McHale, S. M., & Bartko, W. T. (1993). Gender as an organizing feature in parent-child relationships. *Journal of Social Issues, 49*(3), 161-174.
- DeLoache, J. S., Cassidy, D. J., & Carpenter, C. J. (1987). The three bears are all boys: Mothers' gender labeling of neutral picture book characters. *Sex Roles, 17*(3), 163-178. DOI 10.1007/BF00287623
- Edelbrock, C. & Sugawara, A. I. (1978). Acquisition of sex-typed preferences in preschool-aged children. *Developmental Psychology, 14*(6), 614-623.
- Ehrensaft, D. (2007). Raising girlyboys: A parent's perspective. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality, 8*(3), 269-302.
- Fagot, B. I. (1978). The influence of sex of child on parental reactions to toddler children. *Child Development, 49*, 459-465.

- Fagot, B. I. (1984). Teacher and peer reactions to boys' and girls' play styles. *Sex Roles, 11*(7/8), 691-702.
- Fagot, B. I., Leinbach, M. D., & Hagan, R. (1986). Gender labeling and the adoption of sex-typed behaviors. *Developmental Psychology, 72*(4), 440-443.
- Goodnow, J. J. (1988). Children's household work: Its nature and functions. *Psychological Bulletin, 103*(1), 5-26. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.103.1.5>
- Huston, A. C., Carpenter, C. J., Atwater, J.B., & Johnson, L. M. (1986). Gender, adult structuring of activities, and social behavior in middle childhood. *Child Development, 57*, 1200-1209.
- Kalantari, B. (2012). The influence of social values and childhood socialization on occupational gender segregation and wage disparity. *Public Personnel Management, 41*(2), 241+. http://bi.galegroup.com.ezproxy2.library.arizona.edu/essentials/article/GALE|A294073407?u=uarizona_main
- Lawson, K. M., Crouter, A. C., & McHale, S. M. (2015). Links between family gender socialization experiences in childhood and gendered occupational attainment in young adulthood. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 90*, 26-35. DOI 10.1016/j.jvb.2015.07.003
- Leve, L. D., & Fagot, B. I. (1997). Gender role socialization and discipline processes in one- and two-parent families. *Sex Roles, 36*(1/2), 1-21.
- Levine, L. E., & Munsch, J. (2014). *Child development: An active learning approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- McHale, S. M., Kim, J., Dotterer, A. M., Crouter, A. C., & Booth, A. (2009). The development of gendered interests and personality qualities from middle childhood through adolescence: A biosocial analysis. *Child Development, 80*(2), 482-495.

- Morgan, B. L. (1996). Putting the feminism into feminism scales: Introduction of a liberal feminist attitude and ideology scale (LFAIS). *Sex Roles, 34*(5/6), 359-390.
- Morrongiello, B. A., & Corbett, M. (2006). The parent supervision attributes profile questionnaire: A measure of supervision relevant to children's risk of unintentional injury. *Injury Prevention, 12*, 19-23. DOI 10.1136/ip.2005.008862
- Polavieja, J. G. & Platt, L. (2014). Nurse or mechanic? The role of parental socialization and children's personality in the formation of sex-typed occupational aspirations. *Social Forces, 93*(1), 31-61. DOI
- Spence, J. T., & Hahm, E. D. (1997). The attitudes toward women scale and attitude change in college students. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*(1), 17-34. DOI 10.1111/j.1471-402.1997.tb00098
- Swim, J. K., & Cohen, L. L. (1997). Overt, covert, and subtle sexism: A comparison between the attitudes toward women and modern sexism scales. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*, 103-118.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (2015). Table 11: Employed persons by detailed occupation, sex, race, and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity. *Current Population Survey*. Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat11.pdf>
- Weinraub, M., Clemens, L. P., Sockloff, A., Ethridge, T., Gracely, E., & Myers, B. (1984). The development of sex role stereotypes in the third year: Relationships to gender labeling, gender identity, sex-typed toy preference, and family characteristics. *Child Development, 55*(4), 1493-1503. DOI: 10.2307/1130019
- Williams, J. E., Bennett, S. M., & Best, D. L. (1975). Awareness and expression of sex stereotypes in young children. *Developmental Psychology, 11*(5), 635-642.

Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Questionnaire

Screening Portion (Required Answers Bolded)

- What is your gender?
 - Male, **Female**
- Do you have a biological child between the age of six and nine?
 - **Yes**, No
- Does your child live in your home at least 4 days per week?
 - **Yes**, No
- Does your child have any severe developmental disorder diagnoses?
 - Yes, **No**

Demographic Data

- Birthdate
 - MM/DD/YYYY
- To which racial or ethnic group do you most identify?
 - African-American, Asian/Pacific Islander, Caucasian, Latino or Hispanic, Native American, Other
- What is your relationship status?
 - Single (never married), living with a romantic partner (unmarried), married, separated, divorced, widowed
- What description best describes your household?
 - Single-mother, living with male spouse/partner, living with female spouse/partner, other
 - If other, please explain: Open-ended
- What is the highest degree of schooling you have completed?
 - Less than high school, high school graduate or GED, some college, trade/technical/vocational training, bachelor's degree, greater than bachelor's degree
- Are you currently employed?
 - Yes, full-time (30 or more hours per week), yes, part-time (less than 30 hours per week), not currently employed
- What is your job title?
 - Open-ended
- If you are living with a spouse or partner, does your spouse or partner work?
 - Yes full-time (more than 30 hours per week), yes part-time (less than 30 hours per week), no
- What is their job title?
 - Open-ended
- What is your annual household income?
 - Open-ended
- How many children under 18 live in your home?
 - w-ended
- Please list the age and gender of each child under 18 living in your home (ex. Child 1: 6, male Child 2: 9, female)
 - Open-ended

Child Information

- What is your child's birthday? If you have more than one child between the ages of six and nine please answer all further questions about the child whose birthday was most recent.
 - MM/DD/YYYY

- Child's gender
 - Male, female
- Does child attend school?
 - Yes, no
- If so, what grade is your child in?
 - Kindergarten, 1st grade, 2nd grade, 3rd grade, 4th grade, 5th grade, other
- What are the last five toys that you purchased for your child?
 - Open-ended
- Does your child help with chores or tasks around the house?
 - Yes, no
- If so, what chores does your child regularly complete?
 - Open-ended
- What are your child's five favorite toys and activities?
 - Open-ended
- Does your child participate in any extracurricular activities (ex. sports, dance, library groups, etc)?
 - Yes, no
- If so, which activities does he/she participate in?
 - Open-ended

For each item identified below, circle the number
to the right that best fits your opinion,
Remember there are no right or wrong answers.

(MSS)	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(LFAIS; Gender Roles Subscale)	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
It is insulting to the husband when his wife does not take his last name.	1	2	3	4	5	6
If the husband is the sole wage earner in the family, the financial decisions should be his.	1	2	3	4	5	6
When they go out, a man and woman should share dating expenses if they both have the same income.	1	2	3	4	5	6
As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Both husband and wife should be equally responsible for the care of young children.	1	2	3	4	5	6
The first duty of a woman with young children is to home and family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
A man who has chosen to stay at home and be a house-husband is not less masculine than a man who is employed full-time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
An employed woman can establish as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who is not employed.	1	2	3	4	5	6
A woman should not let bearing and rearing children stand in her way of a career if she wants it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Women should be more concerned with clothing and appearance than men.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Below are several activities in which your child might engage now or in the future.
 Indicate your opinion or feelings about your child doing these things on this scale.
 There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions.

(CGS Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Boys, Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Girls, and Helping at Home Subscales)	Very Negative	Somewhat Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Somewhat Positive	Very Positive
Taking ballet lessons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cleaning his or her room	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Helping with the laundry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Taking out the garbage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing football	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with military toys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with a toy kitchen set	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with toy guns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with toy jewelry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with a toy dish set	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with a toy tool kit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sweeping the floor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cutting the grass	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Setting the table	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with a toy nurse kit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing hopscotch	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with G.I. Joes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with toy trucks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with Barbie Dolls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Washing the dishes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with baby dolls	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Playing with toy cars	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.
There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions.

(CGS Education for Marriage and Family and Disapproval of Opposite Gender Characteristics Subscales)	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
I would encourage my son (daughter) to go to college	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would want my son's (daughter's) education to prepare him (her) for marriage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would want my son's (daughter's) education to prepare him (her) for earning a living	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would want my son's (daughter's) education to prepare him (her) for childrearing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would discourage my son (daughter) from playing with girls' (boys') toys or games.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would discourage my son (daughter) from acting like a girl (boy)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior)	Very Incompetent	Incompetent	Slightly Incompetent	Slightly Competent	Competent	Very Competent
I would encourage my child to follow their interests, even if it was not typical for their gender.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would buy a toy for my child if he/she requested it, even if it was not typical for their gender.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would discourage my son from playing with girls or my daughter from playing with boys.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would avoid buying a toy for my child if it was not typical for their gender.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I intend to actively encourage a view of sex equity (equality in status, rights, and responsibilities between males and females) in my children as they grow up.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.
There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions.

(PSAPQ Supervision Subscale)	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
I have my child within arm's reach at all times.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I know exactly what my child is doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can trust my child to play by himself/herself without constant supervision.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I stay within reach of my child when he/she is playing on the equipment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I keep a close watch on my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I say to myself I can trust him/her to play safely.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I stay close enough to my child that I can get to him/her quickly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I hover next to my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I make sure I know where my child is and what he/she is doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(PSAPQ Risk Tolerance Subscale)	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
I encourage my child to try new things.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I let him/her learn from his/her own mishaps.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I let my child take some chances in what he/she does.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I let my child do things for him/herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I let my child experience minor mishaps if what he/she is doing is lots of fun.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I let my child make decisions for himself/herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I encourage my child to take risks if it means having fun during play.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I wait to see if he/she can do things before I get involved.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix B: Adult Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me what you feel your job as a mom is in your child's understanding of what it means to be a boy/girl?
2. Do you do anything actively to teach your child what it means to be a boy/girl?

3. Do you try to encourage a view of gender equality, that boys and girls can do anything regardless of their gender, in your child?
 - a. If yes, what do you do as a mom to encourage this understanding in your child?
4. Is there anything that you think would be inappropriate for your child to do because they are a boy/girl?

Appendix D: Adapted SERLI Task

Task 1: Child activities sorted by preference

Masculine Picture Presented	Masculine Activity Verbally Labelled	Feminine Picture Presented	Feminine Activity Verbally Labelled
Baseball bat, ball, and helmet	Playing baseball	Baby Doll (dolls gender match child's gender)	Playing with doll
Racecar	Playing with toy car	Paint Set	Painting
Chalkboard with addition	Doing math	Book	Reading
Sword & Shield	Playing with toy weapons	Stereo and Child Dancing (picture's gender will match child's gender)	Dancing
Legos	Building with Legos	Boy and girl in dress up clothing	Dressing up

Task 2: Adult occupations sorted by preference

All the people presented to the child in this area were the same gender as themselves. For example, a girl would be shown a female fire fighter and female teacher while a boy would be shown a male firefighter and male teacher.

Masculine Jobs	Feminine Jobs
Fire fighter	Teacher
Businessperson	Nurse
Construction worker	House Cleaners
Doctor	Hairdresser
Pilot	Librarian

Task 3: Child toys sorted by gender

Masculine Toys	Feminine Toys
Toy construction set	Toy cooking set
Football	Make-up
Legos	Ballet shoes
Toy light saber	Barbie
Toy car	Stuffed animals

Task 4: Adult activities sorted by gender

Masculine Picture Presented	Masculine Activity Verbally Labelled	Feminine Picture Presented	Feminine Activity Verbally Labelled
Trash Can	Taking out the trash	Bottle	Feeding baby
Grill	Grilling	Spoon and Bowl	Baking
Broken Car	Fixing the car	Cell phone	Talking on the phone
TV with Soccer	Watching sports	Notebook, pencil, and eraser	Helping child with homework
Sports equipment	Play sports with child	Vacuum	Vacuuming

Appendix D: Child Interview Questions

1. You just sorted some jobs and pictures into things that you think are more for boys or girls. Can you tell me how you decided whether those things were boy things or girl things?
2. What do you think it means to be a girl/boy?
3. Is there anything that you think you can't do because you're a girl/boy?
 - a. Why not?

- b. What do you think would happen if you [child's response]?
4. Is there anything that you think that a girl/boy couldn't do because they're a girl/boy?
 - a. Why not?
 - b. What do you think would happen if a girl/boy [child's response]?
5. Can you tell me about one toy that's usually for girls/boys (opposite of child's sex) that you would like to play with?
6. What do you think your mom would say or do if you played with [toy]?
7. If you asked your mom to buy you [toy], do you think she would buy it for you?
8. If you could have any job when you grow up what would you do?
 - a. What do you think the best thing about being a _ would be?
 - b. What about the worst thing?

Tables, and Figures

Figure 1

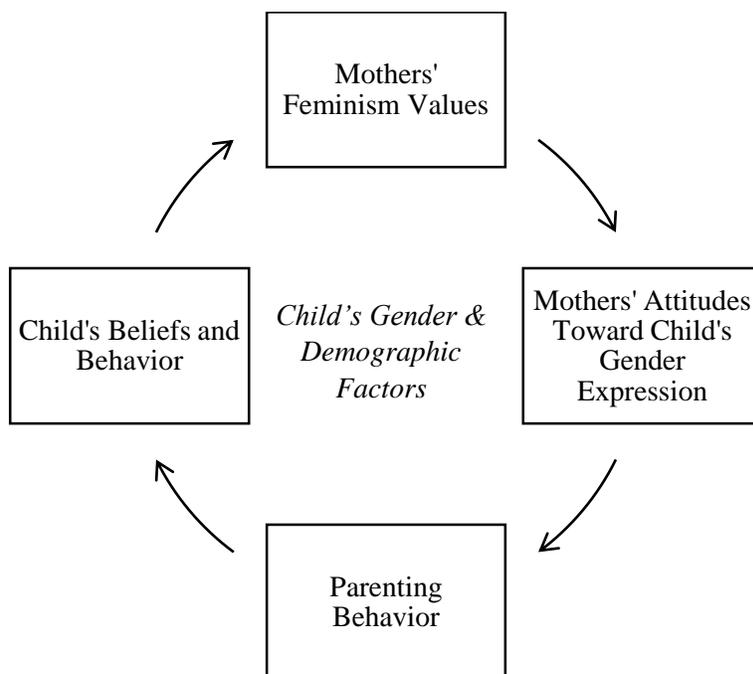
Hypothesized Relationship Among Variables

Table 1

Frequencies of Key Sample Characteristics (N=63 Online; N = 3 In-Person)

Variables	<u>Online Participants</u>		<u>In-Person Participants</u>	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Race Ethnicity				
Caucasian	34	54.0	3	100
African American	10	15.9	--	--
Latino or Hispanic	9	14.3	--	--
Other	10	15.8	--	--
Education Level				
Less than high school	6	9.5	--	--
High school graduate or GED	12	19.0	--	--
Some College	19	30.2	--	--
Trade/Technical/Vocational Training	9	14.3	--	--
Bachelor's Degree or Greater	17	27.0	3	100
Relationship Status				
Married	27	42.9	3	100
Cohabiting	13	20.6	--	--
Single (never married)	11	17.5	--	--
Other	12	19.0	--	--
Household Type				
Single mother	41	65.1	--	--
Living with spouse/partner	22	34.9	3	100
Mother's Employment Status				
Full-Time (>30 hours per week)	35	55.6	2	66.7
Part-Time (<30 hours per week)	13	20.6	1	33.3
Not currently employed	15	23.8	--	--
Partner's Employment Status (N=42)				
Full-Time (>30 hours per week)	33	78.6		
Part-Time (<30 hours per week)	4	9.5		
Not currently employed	5	11.9		
Federal Poverty Line				
Above 200% of FPL	25	39.7	3	100
Between FPL and 200% of FPL	23	36.5	--	--
Below FPL	13	20.6	--	--
Child's Gender				
Male	28	44.4	2	66.7
Female	35	55.6	1	33.3

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Key Sample Characteristics (N=63 Online; N = 3 In-Person)

Variables	Online Participants			In-Person Participants		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Income	46360.48	36907.10	1,500-240,000	84,333.33	16921.39	70,000-103,000
Mother's Age*	34.18	6.69	20-53	41.67	2.08	40-44
Child's Age**	7.55	1.17	6-9	6.67	1.16	6-8
Number of Children in Household	1.95	.99	1-4	1.67	.577	1-2

*2 online participants' data excluded from this analysis as their ages were incorrectly reported as the same as their child's

*3 online participants' data excluded from this analysis as their children were not within the age range specified

Table 3

Measures Included in Questionnaire

	<i>Scale</i>		<i>Items in Scale</i>	<i>Literature Cronbach's Alpha</i>	<i>Cronbach's Alpha</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>
Feminism Values	7-point Modern Sexism Scale (MSS)		8	.78-.82	.91	3.39	1.25	1.0	6.0
	6-point Liberal Feminist Attitudes and Ideology Scale (LFAIS) Gender Roles Subscale		10	.70	.73	4.42	.72	2.8	5.9
Attitudes Toward Child Gender Expression	7-point Child Gender Socialization (CGS) Scale	Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Girls	8	.93	.90	5.46	1.40	2.4	7.0
		Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Boys	7	.82	.90	5.18	1.48	1.0	7.0
		Helping at Home	7	.86	.87	6.48	.84	2.4	7.0
		Education for Marriage and Family	2	.85	.92	5.09	1.31	2.0	7.0
		Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics	2	.60	.85	2.84	1.71	1.0	6.5
	6-point Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior		5	N/A	.84	4.76	.96	2.4	6.0
Parenting Behavior	Parent Supervision Attribute Profile Questionnaire	Supervision Subscale	9		.83	3.90	.89	2.2	5.8
		Risk Tolerance Subscale	8		.87	5.81	.73	4.3	7.0

Table 4

Correlations between Feminism Values Scales and Attitudes Toward Child Gender Expression Scales (N=66)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. MSS	--							
2. LFAIS	-.28*	--						
3. CGS-Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics	.14	-.47**	--					
4. Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior	-.39**	.58**	-.76**	--				
5. CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Boys	.13	.02	-.09	-.01	--			
6. CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Girls	-.06	-.15	-.06	.14	-.07	--		
7. CGS-Helping at Home	.03	-.09	.08	-.07	.46**	.21	--	
8. CGS-Education for Marriage and Family	.17	-.25*	.13	-.12	-.06	-.06	-.16	--

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 5

Correlations between Feminism Values Scales and Attitudes Toward Child Gender Expression Scales for Mothers of Sons (N=30)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. MSS	--							
2. LFAIS	-.53**	--						
3. CGS-Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics	.49**	-.38**	--					
4. Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior	-.64**	.61**	-.71**	--				
5. CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Boys	.12	-.27	.28	-.22	--			
6. CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Girls	-.29	.18	-.39*	.38*	-.09	--		
7. CGS-Helping at Home	.18	-.23	.25	-.16	.19	.22	--	
8. CGS-Education for Marriage and Family	.25	-.30	.34	-.12	.41*	-.37*	-.15	--

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 6

Correlations between Feminism Values Scales and Attitudes Toward Child Gender Expression Scales for Mothers of Daughters (N=36)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. MSS	--							
2. LFAIS	-.03	--						
3. CGS-Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics	-.17	-.54**	--					
4. Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior	-.15	.60**	-.82**	--				
5. CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Boys	.19	.08	-.33*	.25	--			
6. CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Girls	.15	-.27	.16	-.21	.64**	--		
7. CGS-Helping at Home	-.12	-.01	-.06	.06	.64**	.64**	--	
8. CGS-Education for Marriage and Family	.08	-.12	-.09	-.16	-.32	-.13	-.1	--

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 7

Comparison of Means by Scale for Child's Gender (N=66)

	<u>Child's Gender</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	Son	Daughter		
MSS	3.36 (1.35)	3.41 (1.18)	-.15	64
LFAIS	4.57 (.74)	4.29 (.70)	1.57	64
CGS-Disapproval of Other Gender Characteristics	2.78 (1.63)	2.89 (1.79)	-.25	64
Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior	4.66 (1.01)	4.84 (.92)	-.75	64
CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Boys	5.86 (1.26)	4.61 (1.42)	3.37**	64
CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Girls	4.49 (1.21)	6.26 (.97)	-6.60**	64
CGS-Helping at Home	6.63 (.90)	6.35 (.78)	1.37	64
CGS-Education for Marriage and Family	4.78 (1.45)	5.35 (1.14)	-1.77	64

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 8

Comparison of Means by Child Gender for Gender-Typed Toys (N=66)

	<u>Measure</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Boys	CGS-Toys & Activities Stereotyped for Girls		
Sons	5.86 (1.26)	4.49 (1.21)	-4.10**	29
Daughters	4.61 (1.42)	6.26 (.97)	9.04**	35

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 9

Comparison of Means by Parenting Behavior for Child's Gender (N=66)

	<u>Child's Gender</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	Son	Daughter		
Masculine Toy Purchase (out of last 5)	3.43	.78	10.30**	64
Feminine Toy Purchases (out of last 5)	.23	2.64	-9.76**	64
Neutral Toy Purchases (out of last 5)	1.33	1.58	-.92	64
Male Chores (% of chores reported)	27.23	5.64	3.75**	52
Feminine Chores (% of chores reported)	34.85	48.68	-1.66	52
Neutral Chores (% of chores reported)	37.73	45.43	-.88	52
Masculine Extracurricular Activities (% of activities reported)	70.16	23.30	3.52**	37
Feminine Extracurricular Activities (% of activities reported)	19.26	64.05	-3.42**	37
Neutral Extracurricular Activities (% of activities reported)	10.53	12.45	-.23	37

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 10

Summary of In-Person Participants Responses to Scales (N=3)

Variables	<u>Online Participants</u>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
MSS	1.571	.62	1.1-2.3
LFAIS	5.27	.42	4.8-5.6
CGS-Disapproval of Opposite Gender Characteristics	1.83	1.44	1.0-3.5
Acceptance of Gender Atypical Behavior	5.67	.58	5.0-6.0