

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTAL VALUES REGARDING GENDER

BY

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CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTAL VALUES REGARDING GENDER

Thesis under the direction of Deborah L. Best, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology

This study examined children's interpretations of parental values regarding gender and how those perceptions influence their gender stereotyping. It was hypothesized that fathers would show higher gender stereotyping than mothers, that children's own values would correlate more strongly with their perceptions of their parents' values than with their parents' actual values, and that parenting style would moderate this relationship. Participants were 41 fourth and fifth graders who completed a parenting style questionnaire; the Sex Stereotype Measure II; and a preference questionnaire regarding how much they would like to perform certain gendered occupations and activities and have certain gendered traits, as well as how they believe their parents would want them to answer. Their parents ($N = 58$) also completed the preference questionnaire, indicating how they would like their son or daughter to answer each question. The results did not provide consistent support for past research showing that fathers are more concerned with gender conformity than mothers are, and coding difficulties prevented the examination of the prediction that parenting style moderates the relation between parent values and children values. However, findings do suggest that children's perceptions of parents' values influence children's gender concepts more than parents' actual gender-related values.

INTRODUCTION

Gender is an important category in human social life as it is the first social category used to describe a newborn child. The most frequently asked question upon finding out that a woman is expecting a child is whether it is a boy or girl. Moreover, a typically developing child stays in the hospital for a few days after birth and then goes home, where he or she is surrounded by parental beliefs, behaviors, and even verbal messages about gender and gender stereotypes. Therefore, children learn to identify gender, both their own and that of other people, at a very early age. The earliest categorical perception of differences in gender has been demonstrated with two month olds who were habituated to sounds spoken by members of one sex and then shown to detect a change in the same syllables spoken by the other sex (Jusczyk, Pisoni, & Mullennix, 1992). Other habituation studies indicate that children around the age of one year can discriminate between male and female faces (Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinbach, 2000). Studies such as these demonstrate that gender is a very salient category that is used by children from an early age. Given this early importance, it is interesting to explore how gender influences the development of beliefs and behaviors that come to be associated with it and what role parents play in this process. The present study focuses on the effect of parental beliefs and values about gender; specifically how they are related to children's stereotypes regarding gendered behaviors.

PARENTS' ROLE IN GENDER DEVELOPMENT

Cognitive theories suggest that gender categories develop early on because they are dichotomous, mutually exclusive, and visually salient (Zemore, Fiske, & Hyun-Jeong, 2000). Indeed, Kohlberg's theory (1996) suggests that by middle childhood, children have acquired gender constancy, or the knowledge that gender remains consistent across all situations. Kohlberg hypothesized that gender constancy leads to higher levels of interest in and response to information regarding one's own gender and gender norms. Hence, one could assume that the best way to learn about appropriate gender behavior is through observation of others. Because children spend so much time with parents in the early years, it is likely that parents are the first source of information regarding gender appropriate behaviors. In this vein, children who have achieved gender constancy (typically some time after the age of five) should be motivated to learn about gender from their parents and incorporate their parents' gender-related values, both directly and indirectly, into their conceptualization of gender.

In addition to parental roles, social theories of gender focus on broader social systems (Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinbach, 2000). In this view, physiology defines the fundamental category – whether one is a boy or a girl – but social systems define the rules and customs about what is and is not appropriate for those boys and girls. Children learn about gender through various people in their environment, but parents have an important role because children typically have almost constant exposure to them early on. Indeed, Mischel's (1966) social learning approach suggests that children's sex-role identification takes place through modeling and reinforcement, primarily provided by parents. Acquisition of sex-typed behaviors begins with observational learning from live

and symbolic models in the environment (i.e., parents) and with observation of the consequences of their behaviors.

In addition to parental modeling and reinforcement, parents' gender stereotypes also influence children's stereotypes regarding appropriate behaviors for males and females (Bhanot & Javonovic, 2005; Hanover, 2000; Tenenbaum, 2009; Zemore, Fiske, & Hyun-Keong, 2000). Developmental Intergroup Theory (DIT) posits that through interaction with parents, peers, and media, children learn what is and is not appropriate for males and females (Bigler & Liben, 2007).

In each of the aforementioned theoretical approaches to gender development, parents are an important piece of the puzzle. Parents are usually the first and most consistent influence in a child's life; their beliefs and behaviors regarding gender and gender roles are generally the first to which children are exposed. Both cognitive and social theories recognize the important role that parents play in the development of gender knowledge and attitudes. Children create their conceptualization of gender by observing others and especially their parents due to the amount of time spent with parents in early years. According to social theories, children learn through modeling and reinforcement. Because children spend so much time with parents, parents become exemplars of their gender categories. Consequently, children's gender understanding develops from observing their parents' roles as well as learning from parental messages about gender.

Owen Blakemore, Berenbaum, and Liben (2009) identify four main types of parental influence: channeling (otherwise known as shaping), differential treatment, direct instruction, and modeling. In these ways, parents teach children about gender.

Although these influences are not directly measured in the present study, when exploring the relations between children's and parents' beliefs and preferences in regards to gender, it is likely that some or all of these types of influence are involved in parental effects on children. They serve as "messages" to the child about what parents think about and value concerning gender.

Channeling

Channeling, or shaping, involves the creation of a gendered world or environment by providing children with a gendered name, clothing, toys, activities, chores, and even same-sex play dates. Now that technology allows parents to determine the sex of the child in utero, this process can begin quite early in a child's existence. Parents dress girls in pink and outfit their rooms with stuffed animals, lace curtains, and soft objects, and boys are put in blue and rooms with trucks and sports equipment (Rheingold & Cook, 1975). Therefore, the moment a child enters the world, he or she has the potential to be channeled or shaped into the gender roles that his or her parents think are appropriate. Parents and caregivers influence development by structuring children's lives in certain ways and creating the gender-typed environments that are the basis of what children know. Additionally, parents may treat children differently based on their gender.

Differential Treatment

Differential treatment includes differing uses of language, disciplinary actions, responses to aggression, as well as encouragement of feminine communal behaviors, or behaviors associated with concern for others, (i.e., dependence) and masculine agentic behaviors, behaviors concerned with competence (i.e., autonomy; Owen Blakemore, Berenbaum, & Liben, 2009; Ruble & Martin, 1998). Differential treatment refers to

differing interactions as a function of gender. For example, parents may play more roughly with sons or be more willing to talk about emotions and relationships with daughters. Such differential treatment may begin at birth, and research has shown that adults perceive and treat infants differently based on their gender (Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinbach, 2000). Mothers spend more time breast feeding sons and more time speaking with daughters, whereas fathers stimulate and speak more to sons and interact with them in a rougher manner than with daughters. Mondschein, Adolph, and Tamis-LeMonda (2000) found that mothers of sons, more so than mothers of daughters, thought their children would be better at crawling up a steep incline as well as more willing to do so. However, boys and girls performed equally well on the task. Differential expectations such as these are similar to parental perceptions of math, science, and English abilities in somewhat older children and can influence children's own perceptions, as will be discussed later. Messages that children receive from parents regarding gender may be both indirect and direct.

Indirect and Direct Instruction

Parents may have more indirect influences on children's preferences by giving children gendered toys or acting more positively towards children who are playing with gendered toys. These sorts of parental behaviors may lead to children's early learning of gender labels and may influence children's academic abilities. For example, boy toys often involve manipulation of objects whereas girl toys involve verbal instruction or story telling (Ruble & Martin, 1998). Parents may also provide direct instruction about gender, such as direct messages about appropriate social behaviors (e.g., boys not crying or wearing dresses) as well as instructions about specific skills or tasks (e.g., girls doing

household chores and boys fixing cars or playing sports). Gelman, Taylor, and Nguyen (2004) found that children and parents referred to gender 90% of the time when looking at storybooks with characters that were depicted in both stereotype-consistent and stereotype-inconsistent actions. These results indicate that direct messages and references to gender are common in parent-child interactions.

Modeling

Finally, parents provide models that children imitate. These may be models of power control, expectations in interpersonal relationships, or roles men and women play in the world. These models may differ based on family structure and family socialization. Families that do not base their activities on gender stereotypes, such as single parent families or families in which parents share responsibilities for childcare, often have children with less traditional gender stereotypes (Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinbach, 2000; Owen Blakemore, Berenbaum, & Liben, 2009; Ruble & Martin, 1998; Sinno & Killen, 2009). Nontraditional family makeup and nontraditional parenting provide children with adult models of opposite gendered behavior and activities, such as a father cooking dinner or a mother taking out the trash (Golombok, Rust, Zervoulis, Croudace, Golding, & Hines, 2008). In families with more traditional family roles, mothers are often seen as the caretakers and disciplinarians, whereas fathers are playmates (Owen Blakemore, Berenbaum, & Liben, 2009).

Time spent with a parent can increase qualities that are generally associated with the gender of that parent. McHale et al. (2009) found that for both boys and girls, increased time spent with mothers was associated with higher levels of expressivity and, similarly, increased time spent with fathers was associated with higher levels of

instrumentality. A similar, classic study (Terman & Tyler, 1946) compared aggression in boys who had their father present in the home with that of boys whose fathers were absent due to commitments to the Armed Services. Results suggested that by the age of three, boys whose fathers were home had higher levels of aggression, suggesting that those boys had developed a gender schema linking aggression and masculinity. It is apparent that parents affect gender development in children. The present study explored the possible relation between parental preferences for children's gender-related behaviors and children's understanding of those preferences as well as children's own gendered beliefs and preferences.

PARENT GENDER

The interaction between parents and children is certainly not simple one; many studies have shown a difference in interaction based on the sex of the parent and the sex of the child (Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinbach, 2000). For example, fathers stimulate and talk more to sons, and fathers and mothers treat sons more roughly and speaking more about emotions with daughters.

Although fathers are typically the disciplinarians and problems solvers, on the other hand they are often more likely to be considered playmates (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010). Both boys and girls learn a great deal about gendered behavior from their fathers: boys learn about masculine identity as well as how to inhibit behaviors such as violence and criminality. Many girls learn how to cultivate their heterosexual femininity from fathers as well as how to avoid circumstances such as promiscuity and welfare dependency. As Pruett (2000) states, “[a father] is the grinding stone on which his son sharpens his emerging masculinity and the appreciative audience to which his daughter

plays out her femininity.” Meanwhile, mothers provide nurturance, security, warmth and care giving. They were found to be more actively involved with their children, spending more time with them in general as well as spending more time talking and participating in academic routines.

Although both mothers and fathers shape children’s gender, fathers are typically more interested in child gender appropriateness and conformity (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Forehand & Nousiainen, 1993; Lewis & Lamb, 2003; Siegal, 1987). Raag and Rackliff (1998) found that children as young as preschool could differentiate between the roles of mothers and fathers. Boys indicated that their fathers would consider cross-sex play to be bad and that fathers enforced more restrictive rules of conduct than their mothers did. Indeed, Maccoby (1990) asserts that fathers treat young children in a more gendered way than mothers do. As children age, they interact with other same-sex children and reinforce the activities and traits that are characteristic of their gender.

Reciprocal Role Theory (RRT)

Reciprocal Role Theory (Johnson, 1963, 1981) proposes that gender typing is encouraged by both mothers and fathers but it is fathers who make a greater effort to differentiate between sons and daughters. According to this theory, socialization from fathers promotes gender conformity in children; fathers teach children the norms and expectations for their gender. In this manner, boys learn autonomy and independence and girls learn care taking and empathy. Fathers have been found to believe that boys are stronger and have shown more encouragement of physical play, more exploration, and more rough and tumble play with sons than with daughters (Siegal, 1987). This differential treatment is believed to be connected to gender-role stereotypes and

expectations. Differential treatment is one way that parents can influence their children's gender role development.

GENDER-BASED STEREOTYPES

Knowledge and attitudes about gender appropriate behaviors often leads to gender stereotyping, or conventional ideas or beliefs about specific social groups (i.e., females should work inside the home and males should work outside the home). Because gender is such a developmentally early-learned category, gender stereotyping is also one of the earliest forms of stereotyping that children acquire (Bigler & Liben, 2007). Gender categorization can lead to the development of prejudice toward the other gender, which is generally a negative aspect of gender learning despite the functionality of stereotyping and the development of positive in-group values (Bigler & Liben, 2007; Zemore, Fiske, & Hyun-Jeong, 2000).

Stereotyping happens at an early age and can be useful because it makes behaviors understandable or predictable (Zemore, Fiske, & Hyun-Jeong, 2000). Stereotypes can be injunctive (sometimes called prescriptive), meaning that they refer to what is desirable and proper, or they can be descriptive, referring to what is normal or typical in traditional society (Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000; Zemore, Fiske, & Hyun-Jeong, 2000). Prescriptive beliefs often reflect traditional societal values and children as young as four have been reported to dislike gender violations, such as boys wearing nail polish or girls having short hair (Zemore, Fiske, & Hyun-Jeong, 2000). Descriptive uses are functional in that they provide guidelines of how one is expected to act in certain situations (Zemore, Fiske, & Hyun-Jeong, 2000). Children use stereotypes to guide their behavior and after a while, the stereotyping becomes automatic and often unconscious.

Developmental Intergroup Theory (Bigler & Liben, 2007) addresses the causes of stereotyping, prejudice, and biases.

Developmental Intergroup Theory (DIT)

Bigler and Liben's theory (2007) proposes that stereotyping and prejudice are largely shaped by education and social influences. Social stereotyping emerges in early childhood and can become actual prejudice by the age of four. Developmental Intergroup Theory (DIT) suggests three processes for social stereotyping. The first, "establishing the psychological salience of different person attributes," occurs because children want to understand their environment. Given that gender and other physical features like race, age, and attractiveness are salient, these typically become the basis for social stereotyping. The psychological salience of these grouping criteria is magnified when adults provide labels for the groups. This is the case even for labels included in routine comments (e.g., "good morning, boys and girls"), when assigning a task (e.g., boys take out the trash and girls set the table), or in neutral and non-stereotyped situations such as assigning seating arrangements. The second process, "categorizing encountered individuals by salient dimensions," proposes that children will organize new information into psychologically salient categories based upon the child's age and environmental experience with exemplars. That is, older children and children who have had more life experiences will have a different categorization operation. Finally, categorization results in the third process, "developing stereotypes and prejudices of salient social groups."

Through categorization, meaning is attached to different social groups in the form of stereotypes and prejudice. An example of stereotyping that is relevant to the current

study is that 6- to 12-year-old children have shown job stereotyping and prejudice when they make unequal status attributions as a function of gender (Tieg & Susskind, 2008). Children were given 54 occupations and asked to rate each occupations status as well as the gender most likely to be in the occupation (Teig & Susskind, 2008). They found that feminine occupations were underrepresented; out of the 54 occupations, 1.5 times as many were rated as masculine. In addition, only two of the top 18 high status jobs were rated as more feminine than masculine. Children are aware of the division of labor in the work force but their preferences differed by gender. Girls preferred “feminine jobs” to “masculine jobs”, regardless of status, but boys liked masculine jobs more than feminine and were more interested in job status. In other words, girls preferred high and low status feminine jobs over high and low status masculine jobs, but boys liked high status feminine occupations more than they liked low status masculine occupations. This indicates that gender stereotyping may work differently as a function of the gender of the child.

PARENTS’ STEREOTYPED PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN’S ABILITIES

Children’s gender stereotyping is influenced by many outside forces. Previous research indicates that parental stereotypes have a substantial influence on the stereotypes endorsed by children, particularly those regarding academic ability (Bhanot & Javonovic, 2005; Hannover, 2000; Tenenbaum, 2009; Zemore, Fiske, & Hyun-Jeong, K, 2000). Tenenbaum (2009) found that parents selected fewer foreign language courses than mathematics and science courses when choosing for their sons and the opposite when choosing for their daughters. Parents also made more discouraging comments to daughters about their abilities than to sons, across all domains. Parents’ stereotypes

influenced course decisions they made for their children, reinforcing those stereotypes in their children's minds. Parental reinforcement of gender stereotypes can have a strong impact on children's interests and performance, as well as on society.

One telling example is the greater number of males than females in science and engineering occupations, despite the small gender differences in performance on standardized physical science tests. Tenenbaum and Leaper (2003) examined this discrepancy in male and female participation in science-related fields, by examining parents' beliefs and practices regarding children's science participation. Parents of sixth and eighth graders believed that science was less interesting and more difficult for daughters than for sons, resulting in differential treatment. Children's self-efficacy and interest were negatively correlated with mother's beliefs regarding difficulty of the subject. The more difficult that mothers believed science was for their children, the lower self-efficacy and interest exhibited by the children. This relationship was also found for mother's beliefs regarding their children's interest in science. For fathers, the first relationship was also found, but not the second. During physics tasks, fathers of sons were significantly more likely to use more cognitively demanding talk than were fathers of daughters. These findings demonstrate how parents influence children's beliefs and self-efficacies that are unrelated to the minor gender differences in science-related abilities. Instead, parents' behaviors reflect culturally stereotyped beliefs that boys are better at and more interested in science, and their beliefs filter down to their children, despite their actual grades or interest levels. Children may develop other similar beliefs as a result of learning what their parents' values are regarding cultural biases about other

gender-related issues. The current study investigated whether children's gender stereotyping is correlated with what they believe their parents' values to be.

Parents' stereotypical perceptions of their children's abilities also can influence children's self-perceptions of their abilities and even their actual performance. Bhanot and Javonovic (2005) found that parental stereotypes lead to intrusions (unwanted help or comments) on homework, which in turn influence children's confidence in the domains in which the intrusions occurred. Boys receive more intrusive support in general but girls are more sensitive to those intrusions, especially when the intrusions are related to math. Parental stereotypes affect their perceptions of their children's abilities and lead to more intrusions, which can undermine children's confidence due to the negative expectations expressed by parents. Bhanot and Javonovic argue that children's self-evaluations of their academic abilities are more strongly related to what their parents believe their abilities are than to children's actual performances. Therefore, homework is one avenue through which parental gender stereotypes can influence children's beliefs about their own academic abilities and competencies. This demonstrates one way in which parents may influence children's gender stereotypes and gendered self-perceptions.

In a similar study of 900 sixth graders and their parents, Frome and Eccles (1998) found that parents' gender-related beliefs about their children's abilities were crucial factors in children's self-perception of their abilities, expectations of success, and perceptions of difficulty of a task. Again, parental perceptions of children's abilities altered children's beliefs more strongly than their actual grades. Regardless of actual grades, parents assume that daughters require more effort to do well in math, while sons need more effort to do well in English. These parental beliefs influence children's self-

perceptions and demonstrate how gendered self-perceptions and knowledge can be primed, or shaped, through parental interaction.

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL VALUES

After discussing the role of parental influence through the mechanisms of channeling, differential treatment, instruction, and modeling, it is important to understand how the child perceives those messages. Sometimes it may seem that a child ignores a parent's wishes, but perhaps the child has not fully understood the parent's values or has misinterpreted the message. Do children's perceptions of their parents' messages match the messages that the parents are trying to give?

Perry, Perry, and Weiss (1989) evaluated children's perceptions of the consequences they might face after acting aggressively toward male and female peers. They assumed that boys act more aggressively than girls do because boys expect greater positive payoffs and fewer negative outcomes. Bandura's theory (1977) maintained that children formulate mental representations that integrate their personal histories and experiences with observations of others in order to make predictions about what rewards or punishments they may face after a given behavior or action. Based on Bandura's theory, Perry, Perry, and Weiss predicted that boys' anticipated consequences would be less negative than girls' anticipated consequences, as boys have learned through experience and observation that they are reprimanded less for exhibiting aggression. This prediction was true for two dimensions: parental disapproval and children's self-evaluations (i.e., the way they felt about themselves after the aggressive act). That is, boys expected less parental disapproval and less negative self-evaluations than girls expected. Interestingly, there was no difference in expected disapproval from peers.

These findings demonstrate the important indirect role that parents play in children's gender development. Consequently, the present study focused on parental influence rather than on peers or other possible influences.

Parental messages and values are certainly important in gender development, but it is instructive to know how children perceive and interpret those values, as their perception can alter their integration. Knafo and Schwartz (2003) studied 600 Israeli families, asking children to complete the Portrait Values Questionnaire by responding how much they themselves valued a statement and how much their parents would want them to value the statement (e.g., "He thinks it is important to do things the way he learned from his family. He wants to follow their customs and traditions.") Parents responded to the same questionnaire by indicating how they would want their child to respond to each item. In order to measure how accurate children were in judging what their parents would want, children's responses about how their parent would respond were correlated with actual parent responses. Knafo and Schwartz found that children's accuracy in perceiving parents' values varied greatly, from .99 to -.75 for fathers and from .96 to -.64 for mothers. There was no significant difference in children's accuracy of value perception for mothers versus fathers. However, they found that girls perceived parental values more accurately than boys did. Children's accuracy in perceiving values correlated positively with perceived parental warmth and responsiveness, while it correlated negatively with indifferent and/or autocratic parenting. In addition, through comparisons of children's ratings of parental value messages versus parental behavior, it was determined that consistency between parents' words and actions is important for children to accurately perceive parental values. Indeed, children are not always accurate

judges of their parents' values, which may lead to inaccurate interpretations of parental messages. Similarly, if word-deed consistency is low, i.e., a parent gives gender-neutral direct instruction but models gendered behaviors, accuracy of perceived values will be low. When studying parental influence on children's gender development, it is important to study children's *perceptions* of their parental beliefs and values. Parents may say one thing but it may mean something completely different to a child, and that perceived message or value is what will shape the child's learning about gender.

Internalization of Messages

Grusec and Goodnow (1994) suggest that internalization of parental messages is dependent on a two-step process. First, children make judgments about whether the messages are accurate or inaccurate. This process is manipulated by consistency of the message (i.e., how often they hear it); how the messages fit with the child's existing schema; and parental word-deed consistency (i.e., consistency between parental messages and parental actions). Second, children must decide whether to accept or reject the value present in the message. The decision to accept a value involves several different mechanisms: perception of the parental actions as appropriate; motivation to accept the parental position; and the feeling that acceptance of the value is self-motivated, rather than being "blindly" accepted. Therefore, not following parental messages may result from a child judging the message as inaccurate or from rejection of the message. Internalization of a parental value is necessary in order for a child to move beyond the parent's position or value and to create his/her own personal value, or interpretation.

As children age and their cognitive resources increase, reactions to authority change (Baumrind, 1968; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Piaget, 1965). Although Grusec

and Goodnow (1994) studied internalization of messages concerning parental discipline, internalization is also applicable to parental messages regarding gender. Discipline can be both implicit and explicit, as is the acculturation of gender roles. Parenting styles are another important factor to consider when discussing discipline as well as the acceptance and effect of parental messages (Baumrind, 1968; Elder, 1963; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994).

Influence of Parenting Styles

Parenting styles can affect children's responsiveness to parental messages as well as cause challenges to their authority (Baumrind, 1968), both of which will change the way the child internalizes messages. Grusec and Goodnow (1994) argue that warmth-responsiveness greatly affects the acceptance of the message. Elder (1963) described three different parenting styles: autocratic, democratic, and permissive. With autocratic parenting, adolescents are not permitted to express their views or opinions about their own behaviors or decision making, whereas an adolescent whose parents use a permissive style will often make more decisions than the parent does. Finally, a democratic parenting style is the middle ground with children being allowed and encouraged to participate in discussions of issues concerning his/her behavior, although the ultimate decisions is made or agreed to by the parent. Today, these parenting styles are typically referred to as authoritarian, authoritative, and indulgent, respectively (e.g., Baumrind, 1968). Additionally, a fourth style is identified as neglectful or indifferent (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinburg, & Dornbusch, 1991). According to theorists, democratic/authoritative parenting will lead to the most receptivity of parental value messages, autocratic/authoritarian the second most, permissive/indulgent third, and

indifferent/neglectful the least (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Mothers and fathers often use different parenting styles, with mothers lending warmth and support and authoritative parenting styles and fathers adopting more authoritarian styles (Bolkan, Sano, DeCosta, Acock, & Day, 2010; Smetana, 1995). As children begin to question parental authority, they are more likely to model themselves after parents who justify their decisions and demands through reasoning and explanations (Baumrind, 1996).

Authority Inception Period

In early childhood, children have a “heteronomous” belief in rules and messages given by their parents, which stems from their respect for the authority of adults (Piaget, 1965). Piaget asserts that young children exhibit a “blind obedience” towards their parents, attributing them with moral perfection. Between the ages of five and seven, children begin to discover and accept that their parents do demonstrate some imperfections. In early adolescence, they may begin to question their parents’ authority as well as to evaluate their parents critically (Smetana, 1995). Beginning in junior high school, children are more likely to question authority, parental rules and parental messages and are capable of principled objections (Baumrind, 1996). As previously discussed, receptivity to parental messages may be dependent on the parenting style and the relationship between the parent and child. Similar to Piaget’s conception, Dubin and Dubin (1963) suggest that from birth to six years of age, children go through an “authority inception period.” Throughout this time, children go from blind obedience to more varied responses to authority, such as obeying, partially obeying, or rebelling. By

the age of six (Dubin & Dubin, 1963) or seven (Piaget, 1965), children begin to question authority and require more explanations before accepting a parental message.

Current Study

A discussion of children's *perception* of parental messages about their gendered beliefs and values is necessary in order to gain a better understanding of how children's own behaviors are influenced by those of their parents. Although what a parent says or does is an important element, how a child perceives and interprets those gender messages may play a large part in how those messages influence the child. In the present study, parents were asked to share their preferences regarding their children's occupations, activities, and traits, which reflect parental gender-related beliefs and values.

It was predicted that

1. father's values would be more stereotyped for sons and daughters than mother's values
2. children's gender stereotyping would correlate strongly with their interpretation of their parental preferences about gender
3. in cases where data are available regarding parental preferences, children's gender stereotyping would correlate more strongly with their interpretations of those preferences than with actual parental preferences
4. parenting style (as reported by children) would moderate the relation between perception of preferences and stereotyping, such that children's interpretation of preferences from authoritative parents would have stronger influence on children's gender stereotyping than children's interpretation of preferences from parents with other styles

Ultimately, this study proposes that children's perceptions of parental preferences are not always accurate, and their perceptions of those preferences would have a stronger influence on their gender stereotyping than would actual parental values.

METHOD

Participants

Overall, 41 children participated in the study (21 girls, 20 boys). For those 41 children, 36 mothers returned their parent questionnaires and 22 fathers returned their parent questionnaires. Participants were primarily European American ($N = 1$ African American, $N = 2$ Hispanic American). Children's ages ranged from 9 to 13 years old ($M = 10.34$). Of the 41 children, 5 had parents who were divorced, 2 had a parent who was widowed, 1 had a parent that was separated, and 1 child did not have any parent information given. The rest of the children ($N = 32$) had parents who were married. Of the 36 mothers who responded, 28 were employed (80%) and 19 of the 22 fathers were employed (90%). Participants were recruited through a local elementary school in a medium-size urban city in North Carolina. Recruitment packets were sent home with every fourth and fifth grade student through folders that went home to parents once a week. These two grades were chosen based on their reading and comprehension levels as well as previous research showing that at this age children have begun to evaluate parental authority and messages (Baumrind, 1968; Dubin & Dubin, 1963; Piaget, 1965). Thus, these children were expected to evaluate parental values and messages, rather than follow them blindly. Furthermore, Kohlberg (1966) has shown that children become more flexible in their gender knowledge and stereotyping after the age of five. Consequently, children who are more flexible in their views about gender should be less rigid in their beliefs and have the ability to question parental messages and to reason about gender stereotypes.

Recruitment packets included a consent letter and form and a parental preference questionnaire. Parental participation was voluntary and their non-participation did not limit children from participation. For parents who gave consent for their children to participate, but did not want to participate themselves, the consent letter requested that they simply return the signed consent form. Parents who gave consent as well as wanted to participate themselves were asked to return the parental preference questionnaire. For children whose parents did not respond to the questionnaire, the study simply measured stereotyping as a function of what children *believed* their parents would say about their gender preference, as well as examined the potential mediating effect of children's perception of parenting style. Fortunately, parental participation rate was high, with all but one child receiving at least one parent's responses, a 97.6% response rate.

Parent Measures

Consent Form (Appendix A). Parents were asked to indicate their marital and employment status. These items were expected to relate to children's gender beliefs as it has been shown that different family structures and employment patterns can modify parenting styles and therefore children's gender learning (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Lewis & Lamb, 2003). For example, children in two-parent homes are exposed to both male and female role models and often more traditional gender roles. However, children in single-parent families see parents take on duties and responsibilities of the opposite sex (i.e., a single father cooking or a single mother mowing the lawn). Biblarz and Stacey (2010) found that single parent fathers scored more like mothers on parenting scales, suggesting that they use skills that are not always used when a mother is co-parenting.

Parental Preference Questionnaire (Appendix B). The Parental Preference Questionnaire (PPQ) is made up of 18 items that ask about occupations, activities, and traits. Each of these occupations, activities, and traits were taken from the Liben and Bigler's (2002) Child Occupations, Activities, and Traits (COAT) scale. Parents were asked to indicate how they would like their son or daughter to answer each question. Parents' answers about the values that they want their children to have provided information about the accuracy of children's interpretations.

Child Measures

Parenting Style Questionnaire (Appendix D). First, children were given a short parenting style questionnaire designed for this study. They were read four descriptions, each of a different parenting style: Authoritarian, Authoritative, Permissive/Indulgent, and Neglectful/Indifferent derived from previous parenting research (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987). After each description, they indicated how much the description sounded like their parent(s): "Not at All," "A Little Bit," "A Lot," or "Exactly" like them. Once they rated each description, they were asked to indicate which description sounded more like their mother and/or which description sounded more like their father (depending on whom they lived with). Children's perception of parenting style was included because their acceptance of parental messages and values may be influenced by their perception of their relationship with their parents (Baumrind, 1968; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). This perception may affect children's interpretations of parental beliefs and/or preferences and children's gender stereotyping.

Sex Stereotype Measure-II (Appendix E). The Sex Stereotype Measure II (SSMII) was developed by Best et al. (1977) in order to assess children's knowledge of sex-trait

stereotypes. This measure involves 32 descriptions of a neutral character, for example, “this person is emotional, they cry when something good happens as well as when everything goes wrong.” The child is asked to indicate whether the person in the story is more like girls or more like boys that s/he goes to school with. Sixteen of the descriptions are stereotypically male traits (i.e., “adventurous,” “ambitious”) and sixteen are stereotypically female traits (i.e., “emotional,” “well mannered”). When scored, children receive 1 point if they answer “boys” to a stereotypically male item and 1 point if they answer “girls” to a stereotypically female item. These points are then summed so each child has a number that represents how often s/he answered stereotypically. Total scores range from 0 to 32, with 0 indicating no stereotyped responses and 32 indicating all stereotyped responses. Male and female subscores range from 0-16, with low scores indicating less stereotyping.

Preference Questionnaire (Appendix F). The Preference Questionnaire (PQ) involves the same 18 questions asked in the Parental Preference Questionnaire. This questionnaire targets children’s gender-related values as well as their interpretations of their parents’ values. Children were asked first how much they would want to perform an occupation, participate in an activity, or emulate a certain trait. Second, they were asked to indicate how they believed their fathers would want them to respond and then how their mothers would want them to respond. The child was asked to answer the questions by thinking about times that they had done the activity or trait, or, if they had no experience with it, to imagine how much s/he would like to do the item. This procedure is modeled after one used by Knafo and Schwartz (2003), in which children’s accuracy of parental messages regarding religion was measured. Each of the three sections involved

six items: three traditionally male stereotyped items and three traditionally female stereotyped items. This questionnaire does not ask about specific verbal messages that parents give their children, however it asks about underlying values and beliefs, which one can assume are indicated by more specific gender-related messages given to children. Items on the Preference Questionnaire were rated on a 4-point scale with “1” meaning “Not at All” and “4” meaning “Very Much”.

Procedure

Children whose parents signed an informed consent form and who agreed to participate were interviewed in a quiet location in the school. Each child was taken individually from his/her classroom and the study was explained to him/her. If s/he was willing to participate, they signed the assent form (Appendix C). Children were asked whom they lived with and spent time with and children who only saw or felt comfortable speaking about one parent had certain questions omitted. During the session, children completed a short questionnaire about the parenting styles used in their home, the Sex Stereotype Measure II (SSMII), and a questionnaire that targeted first their own values regarding occupations, activities, and traits and second, what they believed their parents’ views to be. In order to control for any order effects, these measures were counterbalanced, with half the children receiving the SSMII first and half receiving the Preference Questionnaire first. Each session lasted 10-15 minutes.

RESULTS

Each of the child and parent measures were scored as described above.

Therefore, scores are reported by the child about him/herself, reported by the child about his/her parent, or reported by the parent about his/her values for his/her child (which are labeled Parent Self Report). These means are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples T-tests -

Children Self Report, Child Report about Parent, and Parent Self Report

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>
Child Self Report Items (PQ)			
Boys – Male Items	24.25	3.16	--
Girls – Male Items	23.86	3.86	-.355
Boys – Female Items	27.95	3.52	--
Girls – Female Items	24.43	4.95	-2.626*
Boys – Total Stereotyping	52.20	4.14	--
Girls – Total Stereotyping	48.29	4.04	-3.063**
Child Reported about Parents (PQ)			
Boys – Father Male Items	19.95	7.74	--
Girls – Father Male Items	21.67	6.11	.790
Boys – Father Female Items	21.50	8.88	--
Girls – Father Female Items	22.29	6.69	.321
Boys – Father Total Stereotyping	41.45	15.67	--
Girls – Father Total Stereotyping	43.95	10.99	.594
Boys – Mother Male Items	21.15	3.94	--
Girls – Mother Male Items	21.14	7.56	-.004
Boys – Mother Female Items	20.85	5.50	--
Girls – Mother Female Items	24.14	8.78	1.430

Boys – Mother Total Stereotyping	42.00	5.43	--
Girls – Mother Total Stereotyping	45.29	15.54	.895
Parent Self Report (PPQ)			
Father – Male Items	21.96	4.89	--
Mother – Male Items	23.72	4.02	.594
Father – Female Items	24.26	4.98	--
Mother – Female Items	23.44	5.25	-.594
Father – Total Stereotyping	46.22	2.92	--
Mother – Total Stereotyping	47.17	3.02	1.192
Child Self Report – Occupation Items (PQ)			
Boys – Male Items	7.15	1.93	--
Girls – Male Items	8.71	1.87	2.635**
Boys – Female Items	10.70	1.08	--
Girls – Female Items	7.81	2.20	-5.286**
Boys – Total Stereotyping	17.85	1.87	--
Girls – Total Stereotyping	16.52	1.89	-2.258*
Child Reported about Parent – Occupation Items (PQ)			
Boys – Father Male Items	6.55	3.20	--
Girls – Father Male Items	7.48	2.29	1.068
Boys – Father Female Items	8.35	3.87	--
Girls – Father Female Items	6.38	2.62	-1.917 ^d
Boys – Father Total Stereotyping	14.90	6.70	--
Girls – Father Total Stereotyping	13.86	3.75	-.619
Boys – Mother Male Items	6.90	2.29	--
Girls – Mother Male Items	7.10	2.55	.258
Boys – Mother Female Items	8.05	3.07	--
Girls – Mother Female Items	7.52	3.23	-.534
Boys – Mother Total Stereotyping	14.95	3.69	--
Girls – Mother Total Stereotyping	14.62	5.30	-.231
Parent Self Report – Occupation Items (PPQ)			
Father – Male Items	7.48	1.78	--
Mother – Male Items	7.92	1.56	.998

Father – Female Items	7.57	1.78	--
Mother – Female Items	7.81	1.91	.484
Father – Total Stereotyping	15.04	1.89	--
Mother – Total Stereotyping	15.72	1.73	1.415
Child Self Report – Activity Items (PQ)			
Boys – Male Items	8.55	1.67	--
Girls – Male Items	9.05	1.94	.879
Boys – Female Items	9.40	1.76	--
Girls – Female Items	8.43	1.72	-1.788 ^d
Boys – Total Stereotyping	17.95	2.63	--
Girls – Total Stereotyping	17.48	2.36	-.609
Child Reported about Parent – Activity Items (PQ)			
Boys – Father Male Items	6.15	2.35	--
Girls – Father Male Items	8.10	2.56	2.540*
Boys – Father Female Items	7.95	3.35	--
Girls – Father Female Items	6.81	2.27	-1.282
Boys – Father Total Stereotyping	14.10	5.21	--
Girls – Father Total Stereotyping	14.90	4.00	.556
Boys – Mother Male Items	6.55	1.32	--
Girls – Mother Male Items	8.00	2.93	2.024*
Boys – Mother Female Items	7.85	2.06	--
Girls – Mother Female Items	7.57	2.91	-.352
Boys – Mother Total Stereotyping	14.40	2.14	--
Girls – Mother Total Stereotyping	15.57	5.56	.881
Parent Self Report – Activity Items (PPQ)			
Father – Male Items	7.70	2.05	--
Mother – Male Items	8.19	1.74	1.001
Father – Female Items	8.17	2.27	--
Mother – Female Items	8.03	2.35	-.236
Father – Total Stereotyping	15.87	1.98	--
Mother – Total Stereotyping	16.22	2.11	.640

Child Self Report – Trait Items (PQ)			
Boys – Male Items	8.55	1.90	--
Girls – Male Items	6.10	1.45	-4.662**
Boys – Female Items	7.85	1.87	--
Girls – Female Items	8.19	2.04	.556
Boys – Total Stereotyping	16.40	2.78	--
Girls – Total Stereotyping	14.29	2.22	-2.699**
Child Reported about Parent –Trait Items (PQ)			
Boys – Father Male Items	7.25	2.90	--
Girls – Father Male Items	6.10	1.95	-1.504
Boys – Father Female Items	5.20	2.17	--
Girls – Father Female Items	9.10	2.70	5.079**
Boys – Father Total Stereotyping	12.45	4.58	--
Girls – Father Total Stereotyping	15.19	4.09	2.022*
Boys – Mother Male Items	7.70	1.78	--
Girls – Mother Male Items	6.05	2.60	-2.634*
Boys – Mother Female Items	4.95	1.19	--
Girls – Mother Female Items	9.05	3.25	5.310**
Boys – Mother Total Stereotyping	12.65	1.69	--
Girls – Mother Total Stereotyping	15.10	5.33	1.959 ^d
Parent Self Report – Trait Items (PPQ)			
Father – Male Items	6.78	1.81	--
Mother – Male Items	7.61	1.89	1.672
Father – Female Items	8.52	2.87	--
Mother – Female Items	7.61	3.00	-1.156
Father – Total Stereotyping	15.30	1.74	--
Mother – Total Stereotyping	15.22	1.90	-1.67

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Preliminary analyses compared the mean scores of boys and girls reporting about themselves, the mean scores of boys and girls reporting about their parents, as well as the

mean scores of fathers and mothers reporting about their preferences for their children (labeled Parent Self Report in Table 1). In order to determine if there were significant differences among the means, independent samples *t* tests were conducted on each gender comparison. The results of these comparisons are shown in Table 1, which is grouped by overall scores (all items together) or smaller subsets of scores (all Occupation items together, all Activity items together, and all Trait items together). Forty-eight total *t* tests were computed. At a .05 significance level, it would be expected that there would be 2.4 significant *t* tests due to chance. However, there were 13 significant *t* tests, which is a 27% rate of significance. Therefore, it is safe to assume that there were more significant *t* tests than would be expected by chance.

In overall stereotyping, the significant differences between means are between boy responses to female items ($M = 27.95$) and girl responses to female items ($M = 24.43$, $t = -2.626$, $p = .013$) and between boy total stereotype response ($M = 52.20$) and girl total stereotype response ($M = 48.29$, $t = -3.065$, $p = .004$). This indicates that over the three categories (Occupations, Activities, and Traits) combined, boys responded significantly more stereotypically than girls did. A high stereotype score can mean that boys were more averse to female items than girls were to male items, felt more strongly about male items than girls did about female items, or a mix of the two. When looking at the three categories separately, some different patterns emerge.

Concerning children's responses to Occupation items, three significant differences were found. First, there was a significant difference between boys' responses to male occupation items ($M = 7.15$) and girls' responses to male items ($M = 8.71$, $t = 2.635$, $p = .012$). Second, a significant difference was indicated between boys' responses

to female occupation items ($M = 10.70$) and girls' responses to female occupation items ($M = 7.81$, $t = -5.286$, $p < .001$). These results suggest that both boys and girls were averse to opposite-sex items and had more extreme answers than they did on same-sex items. Finally, there was a significance difference between boys' overall responses to occupation items ($M = 17.85$) and girls' overall responses to occupation items ($M = 16.52$, $t = -2.258$, $p = .030$), indicating that again boys' scores were higher than girls' scores, this time with regards to occupation items, indicating that boys had more stereotyped responses.

There were two significant differences in the Activities category. This time they were not related to child's self-report but instead to children's reports about their parents. There was a significant difference between boys' responses to how their fathers would respond to male items ($M = 6.15$) and girls' responses to how their fathers would respond to male items ($M = 8.10$, $t = 2.540$, $p = .015$). There was also a significant difference between boys' responses to how their mothers would respond to male items ($M = 6.55$) and girls' responses to how their mothers would respond to male items ($M = 8.00$, $t = 2.024$, $p = .050$). This pattern suggests that male activities show greater variation between boy and girl responses, suggesting that boys and girls may be receiving different messages from their parents regarding the appropriateness of male activities. In addition, girls were higher on both, indicating that they believed their fathers and mothers to be more averse to their participating in male activities than boys believed that their fathers and mothers would be pleased with their participation in male activities. Girls thought their parents would not want them to engage in these "boy" activities.

Next, child self report scores indicated significant differences in the Trait category. Boy responses to male trait items ($M = 8.55$) were significantly higher than girl response to male trait items ($M = 6.10, t = -4.662, p < .001$). In addition, boys' total stereotype responses to trait items ($M = 16.40$) was significantly higher than girls' total stereotype responses to trait items ($M = 14.29, t = -2.699, p = .010$). This suggests that boys gave more stereotyped responses to items related to traits.

Finally, there were also significant differences between trait items in regard to children's reports about parents. Girls' predictions of their fathers' responses to female items ($M = 9.10$) were significantly higher than boys' predictions of their fathers' responses to female items ($M = 5.20, t = 5.079, p < .001$). Girls' predictions of their fathers' overall stereotype response ($M = 15.19$) were also significantly higher than boys' predictions ($M = 12.45, t = 2.022, p = .050$). However, boys' predictions of their mothers' responses to male items ($M = 7.70$) were significantly higher than girls' predictions of mothers' responses to male items ($M = 6.05, t = -2.364, p = .023$). Finally, girls' predictions of mothers' responses to female items ($M = 9.05$) were significantly higher than boys' predictions of the same ($M = 4.95, t = 5.310, p < .001$). These results are somewhat mixed, although overall it appears that girls felt more strongly about parent responses to trait items. Tests of each of the four hypotheses will be reported and described in subsequent sections.

Hypothesis 1: Fathers' values will be more stereotyped for sons and daughters than mother's values

When fathers' and mothers' scores were compared, the majority of the differences between means were not significant (see Table 1). This may be due to the small sample

size or to the homogeneity of the sample, which may have influenced parent responses. Many of the father and mother scores are only one point apart, indicating that fathers and mothers responded similarly to questions about their values for their children. Another possibility is that fathers who chose to respond were less strict about these gender issues. Because surveys were voluntary and completed at home, it is impossible to know the characteristics of the absent fathers or to know if those fathers (or possibly mothers) who stereotype more were the ones who did not respond. Additionally, although not a significant difference, fathers' reported total stereotyping ($M = 46.22$) was actually lower than mothers' reported total stereotyping ($M = 47.17, t = 1.192, p > .05$). Mothers' scores were more stereotyped than fathers' in the Occupation category. On the other hand, although none of these were significant differences, fathers' scores were higher than mothers' scores concerning overall female stereotyping; male, female, and overall stereotyping in the Activity category; and female and overall stereotyping in the Trait category. It is possible that the higher father scores regarding female items could be due to fathers of sons being very averse to their sons participating in or performing female occupations, activities, or traits. Interestingly, children's predictions of their parents' responses were lower than the actual parent responses in all of the categories: total stereotyping and stereotyping regarding Occupations, Activities, and Traits.

Previous research indicates that fathers are more traditionally stereotypical than mothers are, and are more concerned about sons' gender conformity than daughters' gender conformity. In order to determine if similar patterns were represented in these data, mixed ANOVAs were performed to compare the responses of four groups: fathers of boys ($N = 9$), fathers of girls ($N = 13$), mothers of boys ($N = 17$), and mothers of girls

($N = 19$). These groups were compared on the following dependent variables: what parents said about male and female items, what parents said about male and female occupations, what parents said about male and female activities, and what parents said about male and female traits. No significant three-way interactions were found in these analyses, likely due to the small number of participants in the cells, especially the small number of fathers of boys ($N = 9$). Therefore, there were no significant differences between the gender of the parent, the gender of the child, and the gender of the Occupations, Activities, and Trait items. Significant two-way interactions were found between the item type (whether it was a male or female item) and the gender of the child, which is to be expected. One would expect a significant two-way interaction for item gender and gender of the child as it indicates that male items were answered differently for boys than for girls and female items were answered differently for girls than for boys. For example, when comparing the responses of the four groups for male items, there was a significant Item_Gender x Child_Gender interaction ($F = 30.55, p > .001$) but no interaction between gender of the item, gender of the parent, and gender of the child ($F = .534, p = .468$). This means that there was no significant difference between the four groups (fathers of boys, fathers of girls, mothers of boys, and mothers of girls) for any of the dependent variables examined.

Mixed ANOVAs were also performed on children's predictions for their parent Occupations, Activities, and Trait responses: boys about their fathers, boys about their mothers, girls about their fathers, and girls about their mothers. No significant three-way interactions were found; again, the only significant effects were between the item gender (male or female) and child gender, which were expected. Thus, there were no significant

differences between the predictions of boys about their fathers, boys about their mothers, girls about their fathers, and girls about their mother, perhaps due to the small numbers of participants in each group.

Hypothesis 2: Children’s gender stereotyping will correlate strongly with their interpretation of their parental values about gender

To explore the second hypothesis, that children’s answers would be related to how they believe their parents would want them to answer, bivariate correlations were conducted between two sets of scores. First, children’s stereotype scores on the SSM were correlated with children’s reports of how their parents would want them to answer on the Preference Questionnaire (Table 2).

Table 2
Bivariate Correlations among Child SSM Stereotyping and
Child Reported Parent Stereotyping

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (SSM)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (SSM)	.53**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (SSM)	.86**	.89**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	-.03	-.10	-.07	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.13	-.20	-.19	.66*	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	-.09	-.16	-.15	.90**	.92**	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.40**	.41**	.46**	.20	.12	.17	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	.17	.30 ^d	.27 ^d	-.24	.21	.00	.51**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	.31*	.40**	.41**	-.05	.20	.09	.84**	.90**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

The significant correlations in Table 2 suggest that child stereotyping on the SSM may be related to children’s interpretations of mother stereotyping on male items as well

as mother's overall stereotyping scores. Mother stereotyping of female items (as reported by the child) is marginally correlated with child female and child total stereotyping. Although these are not strong correlations, possibly due to small sample size, results indicate that children's stereotyping is more closely related to what they believe their mothers' values to be. These findings are consistent with some of the means from Table 1 in which children perceived their mothers to stereotype more than their fathers. Indeed, it may be that mothers' values are more salient to children due to more time spent with mothers.

Next, children's stereotype scores from the Preference Questionnaire were correlated with their answers about how they thought their parents would want them to answer, also from the Preference Questionnaire (Table 3).

Table 3
Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Self Stereotyping
and Child Reported Parent Stereotyping

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.41**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (PQ)	.36*	.71**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.52**	-.15	.25	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	.05	.30 ^d	.34*	.66*	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	.30 ^d	.09	.33*	.90**	.92**	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.19	-.02	.13	.20	.12	.17	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.36*	.28 ^d	.01	-.24	.21	.00	.51**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	-.13	.17	.07	-.05	.20	.09	.84**	.90**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

These results indicate that children's stereotyping on the Preference Questionnaire shows only weak relations to how they believe their parents feel, as there are very few significant correlations, no more than would be expected by chance. When comparing the Preference Questionnaire to the Sex Stereotype Measure, it is possible that scores on the SSM are more heavily stereotyped because they are less direct and involve responding about peers rather than the self. Questions on the Preference Questionnaire involve the child answering about him- or herself, which may invoke less stereotyped answers.

Finally, these results did not differ when examined by gender. Tables 7 and 8 (see Appendix G) suggest that the correlations that did appear were likely due to the relation between girls' scores and their interpretations of their mothers' values. This too is contrary to previous research, which has found that fathers are typically more concerned with gender conformity of their sons than of their daughters. This has not been reflected in the findings of this study. Again, mixed ANOVAs did not show any significant differences between the mean scores of fathers of boys, fathers of girls, mothers of boys, or mothers of girls, either for actual parent responses or what children believed their parents would say.

Hypothesis 3: In cases where data are available regarding parental values, children's gender stereotyping will correlate more strongly with their interpretations of those values than with actual parental values.

The third hypothesis was that children's stereotyping scores would be more strongly related with their interpretations of parental values than with actual parental values as reported by the parent. The present study had very good parent response; all

but one child had at least one parent respond and 19 children had both parents respond. To test this hypothesis, first children's SSM scores were correlated with parent stereotype scores from the Parent Preference Questionnaire (Table 4).

Table 4
Bivariate Correlations among Child SSM Stereotyping and
Parent Reported Stereotyping (PPQ)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (SSM)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (SSM)	.53**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (SSM)	.86**	.89**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.23	.21	.24	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.27	-.10	-.21	-.83**	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.07	.18	.06	.27	.32	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.13	.10	.13	.23	-.37	-.26	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.23	-.10	-.19	-.31	.56*	.42 ^d	.82**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.24	-.04	-.15	-.16	.33	.28	-.10	.65**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Once again, there are very few significant correlations. There are no relations between the child SSM scores and parent preference scores. In comparison to Table 3, in which children's SSM scores were correlated with how children thought their parents would want them to answer, children's scores have fewer relations to parent responses (PPQ) than to children's predicted parent responses, which is consistent with the hypothesis.

To further test the relation between child stereotyping and parent stereotyping, children's scores on the Preference Questionnaire were correlated with parent scores on the Parent Preference Questionnaire (Table 5).

Table 5
Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Self Stereotyping (PQ)
and Parent Reported Stereotyping (PPQ)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.41**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (PQ)	.36*	.71**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.28	.41	.27	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.09	-.16	-.12	-.83**	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.30	.41 ^d	.25	.27	.32	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.00	.28 ^d	.29 ^d	.23	-.37	-.26	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.02	-.31 ^d	-.30 ^d	-.31	.56*	.42 ^d	-.82**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	.04	-.17	-.14	-.16	.33	.28	-.10	.65**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Although Table 5 does have some correlations that are approaching significance, it does not have many strong correlations. This suggests that children's stereotype scores are more strongly related (correlations approaching significance) to their interpretations of their parents' values than to their parents' actual answers, consistent with the hypothesis (all non-significant).

To further examine the hypothesis that children's responses will have a stronger relation to children's perception of parental values than to actual parent response, Table 6 provides a look at children's accuracy by correlating children's answers with parents' actual answers. Again, the same questions were asked of child and parent. Children were asked to answer for themselves and then how their father and their mother would want them to answer while parents were asked to respond how they would like their son or daughter to answer.

Table 6

Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Parent Stereotyping (PQ) and Parent Reported Stereotyping (PPQ)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---											
2. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	.66**	---										
3. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	.90**	.92**	---									
4. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.20	.12	.17	---								
5. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.24	.21	.00	.51**	---							
6. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	-.05	.20	.09	.84**	.90**	---						
7. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.09	.33	.23	.59**	.43*	.56**	---					
8. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.10	-.06	.03	-.48*	-.08	-.30	-.83**	---				
9. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	.02	.45*	.44*	.17	.58**	.43*	.27	.32	---			
10. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.02	.02	-.00	-.10	-.18	-.22	.23	-.37	-.26	---		
11. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.12	.05	.09	.15	.26	.32 ^d	-.31	.56*	.42 ^d	-.82**	---	
12. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	.18	.10	.15	.11	.21	.26	-.16	.33	.28	-.10	.65**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Due to the low number of significant correlations, it appears that children were not very accurate. Children's responses about how their parent(s) would want them to respond to the questions were not related to how their parent(s) actually reported that they would want their child to respond. This was true for both girls and boys (Tables 15 and 16, Appendix G).

Hypothesis 4: Parenting style (as reported by children) will moderate the relation between perception of values and stereotyping, such that children's interpretation of values from authoritative parents will have stronger influence on children's gender stereotyping than children's interpretation of values from other parenting styles

There were a number of difficulties that arose when attempting to code the Parenting Style Questionnaire. First, parenting style was coded as a "1" for children who identified their parents as Authoritative ($N = 14$), "2" for children who identified their parents' style as Mixed ($N = 18$), and "3" for children who identified their parents' style as something that did not include Authoritative ($N = 9$). Mixed refers to children who rated Authoritative and one other style as equal and the highest. Only four children identified a parent as Permissive and one child identified a parent as Neglectful. Therefore, lack of variability made it difficult to use this variable in analyses.

After careful consideration, coding children's responses in this manner did not seem appropriate, as it does not capture many of the nuances in their responses. Therefore, a second option for coding was considered: to code a "1" for children who identified their parents as Authoritative and nothing else ($N = 14$) and a "2" for children who identified their parents as higher or equally high in anything else ($N = 27$). However, when the bivariate correlations reported in Table 2 were conducted with only the children

who described their parents as Authoritative (only 14 children), there were no significant relations. Therefore, the decision was made not to use the Parenting Style questionnaire in further analyses as there were many coding difficulties as well as small numbers of participants in each group.

The original plan was to perform step-wise regressions in order to examine whether there was a moderating effect of parenting style on the following relations:

1. between what a parent actually said and what the child thought his or her parent would say
2. between what parents said and what children said, and
3. finally, between what children thought their parents would say and what children said.

Due to the small number of children who clearly identified their parents as Authoritative, as well as the difficulty in coding the Parenting Style Questionnaire, no further analyses were conducted. In addition, bivariate correlations reported in Table 2 did not indicate any significant relations when conducted on the 14 children who indicated an Authoritative parenting style.

DISCUSSION

Parents play an important role in a child's development, specifically that of gender knowledge and, inevitably, gender stereotyping. Parental influence may occur through channeling, differential treatment, indirect and direct instruction, and modeling (Owen Blakemore, Berenbaum, & Liben, 2009). Parental values themselves may differ depending on the gender of the parent as well as the gender of the child. The purpose of this study was to examine children's perceptions of their parent's values about gender and whether those interpretations influence children's own gender stereotyping in general as well as whether those interpretations have a greater influence than actual parental values.

Although a small sample size creates a limitation on power as well as what analyses can be performed, there are findings that are worth discussion as they may supplement the literature and other research concerning gender development. Each hypothesis will be discussed in light of the results, what these findings may mean, and potential future directions for continued research. It is hoped that these results will provide a better understanding of how children's interpretation of parental messages and values can lead to integration, or lack thereof, of those values.

Hypothesis 1

Reciprocal Role Theory indicates that both mothers and fathers encourage gender conformity, but fathers make a greater effort when it comes to differentiating between sons and daughters (Johnson, 1963, 1981). Fathers are more likely to treat sons and daughters differently, encouraging physical play, exploration, and 'toughness' in boys

and gentleness and nurturance in girls (Forehand & Nousiainen, 1993; Siegal, 1987). Specifically, Raag and Rackliff (1998) found that preschool boys were already aware of their fathers' expectations and reported that fathers would consider cross-sex play to be bad. These boys also indicated that their fathers had stricter rules about their behaviors than their mothers did.

Results from the present study (Table 1) did not lend consistent support to previous literature regarding the importance of fathers in the development of children's stereotypes. Fathers and mothers had very similar stereotyping scores, indicating that there was not much variability in their responses. Indeed, no significant differences were found between the four parent groups: fathers of boys, fathers of girls, mothers of boys, and mothers of girls. Additionally, fathers' total stereotype mean scores, both as reported by the child and self reported, were lower than mothers' stereotype mean scores. Although not significant, fathers' scores were slightly higher concerning overall female stereotyping; male, female, and overall stereotyping in the Activity category; and female and overall stereotyping in the Trait category. These differences were in the expected direction but did not reach significance.

Even though previous research indicates that fathers are typically more concerned with gender conformity (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Forehand & Nousiainen, 1993; Lewis & Lamb, 2003; Siegal, 1987), this pattern could be beginning to soften as family dynamics and structures change (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010). It would be interesting to examine the correlations in the present study through the lens of different family structures (i.e., single parent, two parent same sex, and two parent opposite sex). Unfortunately, the sample used in this study was very homogeneous concerning family

structure (32 of the 41 children, 78%, were in two-parent homes). Five children (12%) had divorced parents, 1 (2%) had separated parents, and 2 (5%) children had a deceased parent. One child did not have either parent respond and therefore no data were reported.

One explanation for fathers' slightly higher, more stereotyped means concerning female items could be father's aversion to children, especially sons, participating in or exhibiting traditionally feminine activities or qualities (i.e., making up dances or showing emotions). It would be interesting to see if these differences would remain or strengthen with a larger sample.

The minimal variation between fathers' and mothers' reports may also have been influenced by both parents filling out surveys together in families where both parents responded ($N = 19$). With the small sample in the study, it was not possible to examine parent responses separately by gender of parent, gender of child, and family structure. Indeed, a more heterogeneous sample would have permitted comparison of responses from married parents to those of divorced or separated parents in order to see if there is greater similarity in the answers of the former. Finally, there may be differences between the fathers who chose to fill out the questionnaire and those who did not; it is possible that fathers who did not respond have more stereotyped views of gender and were not willing to participate.

Hypothesis 2 and 3

The second hypothesis was that children's perception of their parents' values would be linked to children's stereotyping. That is, children's predictions of how their parents would want them to answer the questions would correlate with how the children themselves answered the question. Furthermore, hypothesis three predicted that the

correlations between children's prediction of parent scores and children's scores would be stronger than the correlations between parent's actual scores and children's scores. Both of these hypotheses were supported but only with a few, weak correlations (Tables 3-6). More significant correlations were found between children's interpretations of their parents' values and children's answers than between parents' answers and children's answers. These findings are consistent with research indicating that how children perceive parental messages and values can be very important for the integration of those values (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003; Perry, Perry, & Weiss, 1989). Looking at the correlations between what parents actually said and what children predicted that they would say (Table 6), it appears that children in this study were not very accurate in their predictions. Perhaps, as suggested by Grusec and Goodnow (1994), children may have either not understood the parental messages transmitting their values or may have judged those messages to be inaccurate. Although the present findings may be due to misinterpretation of the parental message, they may also be due to the way the questions were asked. It is possible that gender differences were not as salient to the children as they were to the parents.

It is important to understand children's perceptions and interpretations of parental gender messages in order to understand why a child may not be following or adhering to a parental values. The child may not be rejecting the message but may simply be misinterpreting the message or value. In order to understand how parental gender attitudes or values can develop into different or even contradictory ones in a child, one must understand that the child's perception of the parent's message or value is what will shape the child's gender concepts.

Indeed, past research has shown that a child's interpretation of a parent's messages about his or her abilities can determine his or her actual performance (Frome & Eccles, 1998; Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2003). Future research should explore the link between what children believe their parent's perceptions of their abilities are in areas affected by gender stereotypes. A parent offering more help on math homework to a daughter than to a son may send the message that the parent does not feel that girls are as adept at math and in turn change the girls' own perceptions of her abilities. Parents' word-deed consistency is vitally important for children's interpretations of their parent's values in relation to their own values and abilities.

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis four suggested that parenting style would moderate the relation between parental stereotyping and children stereotyping. It was predicted that children who assess their parent(s) style as Authoritative would exhibit a stronger link between their own stereotyping scores and both their predicted and actual parental scores. Due to the difficulty of scoring and coding the Parenting Style Questionnaire, it was not possible to examine this hypothesis. Children indicated how much their parent(s) were like each of the four parenting styles, sometimes answering that more than one parenting style equally described their parents. Only 14 children clearly indicated that their parents were more Authoritative and only 9 clearly indicated that their parents were not Authoritative, leaving 18 children in the "mixed" group. This group was deemed too ambiguous to analyze. In addition, the small number of children who clearly chose the Authoritative style made it difficult analyze data from this group. The bivariate correlations that were conducted on the scores from this group did not indicate any significant relations.

Parenting style may influence children's acceptance of parental gender messages and values but can also create challenges to parental authority (Baumrind, 1968). Both acceptance of a message and challenging of authority can change the child's internalization of messages. However, due to small numbers of participants in the present study and the lack of variability in parenting styles reported by children, the relation between specific parenting styles could not be examined appropriately. A more complete investigation would be necessary in order to understand how parenting styles may influence perception of parental messages about gender.

Based on past research, one might predict that Authoritative parenting would lead to stronger connections between children's perceptions of parental values and children's own values than other parenting styles would (Baumrind, 1966; Forehand & Nousianinen, 1993; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Children whose parents often explain and rationalize their principals are more likely to embody those principals themselves (Baumrind, 1996).

Additionally, mothers and fathers may show different parenting styles that may be complimentary or conflicting (Bolkan, Sano, DeCosta, Acock, & Day, 2010; Forehand & Nousiainen, 1993). It is important to acknowledge that, in families where both parents are present and participate in the child's life, there is typically a great deal of co-parenting that occurs. This study was unable to look at differences between mother and father parenting styles due to the small, homogeneous sample and low variance in responses. Future research should address parenting differences in more depth in order to understand how mother's and father's parenting styles affect a child's interpretation of messages. It would also be interesting to study how family employment status affects parenting styles

and gender role development. Due to the homogeneity of the sample, this was not examined in the current study. Employment rates of both mothers ($N = 28$) and fathers ($N = 19$) were very high, with 80% of the mothers and 90% of the fathers being employed.

Ultimately, this study did not find consistent support for the hypothesis that fathers exhibit more traditional gender role stereotyping, nor was it possible to test the hypothesis that parenting style moderates the relationship between children's perceptions of values and their own values. However, these results do indicate support for the hypotheses that children's perceptions of parental values may have a stronger influence on their own values than actual parental values.

The next step in this area of research would be to look at actual gender-related messages given by parents to evaluate word-deed consistency as well as to measure the accuracy between actual messages and children's perceptions of the values portrayed in those messages. This would offer further insight regarding the mechanisms by which children evaluate and adopt parental values and beliefs about gender.

CONCLUSION

As children enter adolescence, they begin to evaluate and question the messages and values presented by those around them, especially their parents. This "authority inception period" (Dubin & Dubin, 1963) is a time when children begin to question authority and require more explanations before accepting a parental message. Children may accept, partially obey, or fully disregard a parental message (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994) depending on parents' word-deed consistency, how often they hear the message, and the relationship between the parent and child (Baumrind, 1996; Grusec & Goodnow,

1994; Smetana, 1995). Understanding the mechanisms involved in children's interpretation of gender-related messages from parents clarifies how children perceive and interpret messages pertaining to gender and may be important for combating potentially harmful gender stereotyping.

Results from this study did not provide support for past research indicating that compared with mothers, fathers are more concerned with gender conformity, particularly for sons. Parents' responses to the Parent Preference Questionnaire were very similar, with no significant differences between what fathers said and what mothers said. Additionally, this study could not examine the prediction that parenting style would moderate the relationship between perception of parent's gender values and children's gender stereotyping. It would be interesting to devise a more effective measure and to examine this in future research in order to determine if there is a role for parenting style in the relation between children's perceptions of their parents' values and children's own values.

Despite low statistical power, findings from this study support previous research indicating that children's perception of parental gender messages and values may have a greater impact on their behaviors and attitudes than a parent's actual values. Children's gender stereotyping was more strongly correlated with their predictions of parents' answers than with actual parent answers. Additionally, children were not accurate in their predictions; there were no significant correlations between children's predictions of parent answers and actual parent answers. Although this inaccuracy may be due to differences in the way children and parents interpreted the questions, there may also be word-deed inconsistency. Parents may express gender-neutral attitudes on paper but

demonstrate more traditional stereotypical values to their children through their messages and actions. If parents' answers did in fact reflect their true gender values, children may be misinterpreting their parent's gender-related messages. This study provides a first look at the role of parents' influence on children's gender beliefs and values. Future research should explore populations that are more varied as well as delve more deeply into how children's gender knowledge develops through the lens of parental influence.

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APPENDIX A

Parent Consent Letter and Form

Dear Parent or Guardian:

I am a graduate student at Wake Forest University. I am doing a research study at your child's school looking at how children view gender. If you give permission, your child can be in the study. Participating students will be taken to a private area outside of their classroom. Before beginning, I will read an assent document to your child and ask if they agree to participate in the study. Their grades will not be affected whether they participate in the study or not. During the study, I will read short stories to your child and ask him/her whether the person in the story sounds more like a girl or more like a boy. Your child will also be asked several questions about how much s/he would like to do certain occupations (e.g., an astronaut) and activities (e.g., play Monopoly) and how much s/he would like to have certain traits (e.g., being smart). They will then also be asked how their mother and their father would each like them to respond. Children will answer a question about how much decision making they do at home. This session should only take 15-20 minutes.

Along with this consent form is a brief questionnaire for caregivers to answer which should take no more than 5 minutes. There are two copies, one for each parent if both live in the same household. These parent questionnaires are optional, and your child may participate even if you do not fill out the forms.

Your child does not have to participate in this study. The risks from participating in this study are no more than would be found in everyday life. Your child will be told that he or she may stop participating at any time. Your child may choose not to answer question(s) he/she does not want to answer. Your child can choose not to participate even if you give your permission.

If you are giving permission for your child to participate in the experiment but you do not wish to complete the caregiver questionnaires, please sign this Consent form and return it and the blank forms to your child's teacher in the envelope provided as soon as possible.

If you are giving permission for your child to participate in the experiment and you are willing to complete the caregiver questionnaires, please sign this consent form, complete the caregiver questionnaires, and return them to your child's teacher in the envelope provided as soon as possible. If you choose not to complete the questionnaires, your child may still participate.

Children will be assigned a number for confidentiality. Once responses have been entered into the computer, any names will be blocked out and this number will be used to ensure confidentiality. If you are giving your permission, please place the completed form(s) in the envelope provided, seal it and return it to your child's teacher. Keep this letter for your own records. All information will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in an office in the Psychology department at Wake Forest University. No records of your child's responses will be kept at the school. If you do not wish to participate, you may ignore this letter. If you or your child decide later that you would not like to participate, please send a sealed note to your child's teacher to be given to me.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study at any time, please feel free to e-mail me, Brady Everett, at everbs5@wfu.edu, or Dr. Deborah Best, my advisor, at best@wfu.edu or call us at (336)758-4217. If you have any questions about your child's rights as a human participant in research, please call the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, 336-758-5888. Thank you very much for your time.

Brady Everett, Principal Investigator
Master's Degree Candidate
Wake Forest University

Dr. Deborah Best
Psychology Professor
Wake Forest University

Consent Form

Child Consent (only one person need sign):

By signing below you indicate that you are willing to allow your child to participate in this research project.

Child's Name: _____ Child's Teacher: _____

Child's Birthday: _____

Parent or Guardian's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Parent/Guardian 1:

Parent/Guardian's Name: _____ Relationship to Child: _____

Marital Status: _____ Are you currently employed? Y N

Parent/Guardian 2 (if applicable):

Parent/Guardian's Name: _____ Relationship to Child: _____

Marital Status: _____ Are you currently employed? Y N

APPENDIX B

Parent Preference Questionnaire

Occupations, traits, and activities taken from Liben and Bigler's (2002) Child Occupations, Activities, and Traits (COAT) scale.

RESPONDENT (PLEASE CIRCLE ONE): 1 or 2

Please rate the following based on how you would like your son or daughter to answer the question:

	Not	At All	A Little	Bit	A Lot	Very Much	
1. How much would you like your child to be an auto mechanic when s/he grows up?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
2. How much would you like your child to be a librarian when s/he grows up?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
3. How much would you like your child to be an elementary school teacher when s/he grows up?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
4. How much would you like your child to be a doctor when s/he grows up?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
5. How much would you like your child to be a business owner when s/he grows up?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
6. How much would you like your child to be a clothes designer when s/he grows up?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
7. How much do you like your child to jump rope ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
8. How much do you like your child to play basketball ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
9. How much do you like your child to play video games ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
10. How much do you like your child to make up dances ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
11. How much do you like your child to cook or bake things ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
12. How much do you like your child to play chess ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
13. How much do you like your child to compete ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
14. How much do you like your child to be neat and tidy ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
15. How much do you like your child to show his/her emotions ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
16. How much do you like your child to enjoy Math class ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
17. How much do you like your child to be loud ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4
18. How much do you like your child to enjoy English class ?	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4

Child's Name: _____ Child's Teacher: _____

APPENDIX C

Child's Informed Assent

I would like you to answer some questions for me about boys and girls. This is for a research study that I am doing at Wake Forest. First, I will read you some stories and I would like you to tell me if the person in the story sounds more like the girls that you know and go to school with or more like the boys that you know and go to school with. Then I would like to ask you some questions about what your mom and dad think about some of these questions. The last questions will be about jobs, activities, or traits that you might want to do or be like. It will take us about 15-20 minutes to answer all of the questions.

You do not have to be in this study. You can stop whenever you want to. You can go back to your classroom, and nothing bad will happen. If you do not want to answer a certain question, that is okay too. You can decide not answer the questions even if your parents have said that you can.

None of the teachers or other people at your school will see your answers to my questions. Your friend won't see your answers and neither will your parents. All of the scores and answers will be kept in a locked cabinet in a room at Wake Forest University. They will be thrown away when we don't need them anymore.

If you want to be in this study, please sign your name below

Yes, I want to participate in the project: _____

Brady Everett, Principal Investigator
Master's Student
Wake Forest University

Dr. Deborah Best
Psychology Professor
Wake Forest University

Investigator's Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D

Parenting Style Questionnaire

Adapted from questions used by Dornbusch et al. (1987) and Lamborn, Mounts, Steinburg, & Dornbusch (1991).

Script: “I am going to read you a description of parents. For each description, I would like you to tell me how much that sounds like your parent(s), whether not at all, a little bit, a lot, or exactly like them. You can put a mark in whichever box you think is appropriate. Then, I would like you to tell me which one sounds like most like your mother (when appropriate) and which one sounds the most like your father (when appropriate).”

My parents:

- tell me not to argue with adults
- that I will know better when I'm grown up
- that parents are correct and should not be questioned

If I get poor grades they:

- get upset
- reduce my allowance or ground me

If I get good grades they:

- tell me to do even better
- say that all of my grades should be good

My parents:

- tell me to look at both sides of an issue
- admit that sometimes I know more about something than they do
- talk about adult things like politics, economy, and world issues with me

- emphasize that everyone should make decisions in the family

If I get poor grades they:

- take away some freedom
- encourage me to try harder
- offer to help me

If I get good grades they:

- praise me
- give me more freedom to make my own decisions

My parents:

- tell me that hard work in school is not important
- have no rules about watching television
- don't bother me about my school work
- allow me to make my own decisions
- are more like a friend to me

If I get poor grades they:

- don't mind

If I get good grades they:

- are happy

My parents:

- do not worry about what I do
- do not worry about my decisions
- do not attend school functions
- do not help with my homework or check it

If I get poor grades they:

- it doesn't matter

If I get good grades they:

- it doesn't matter

How much does this sound like YOUR parents?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Exactly

How much does this sound like YOUR parents?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Exactly

How much does this sound like YOUR parents?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Exactly

How much does this sound like YOUR parents?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Exactly

Which one of these sounds the MOST like your mom? 1 – 2 – 3 – 4

Which one of these sounds the MOST like your dad? 1 – 2 – 3 – 4

APPENDIX E

Sex Stereotype Measure II

Best et al. (1977)

Script: I am going to read you a description of a person. For each description, I would like you tell me whether the person in the story sounds more like girls that you go to school with or more like boys that you go to school with. You can answer this by circling either the picture of the girl or the picture of the boy.

1. This person is emotional. They cry when something good happens as well as when everything goes wrong.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



2. This person is aggressive. This person is always pushing other people around and getting into fights.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



3. This person is adventurous. They would like to go on a safari to explore Africa so they could see lots of lions, elephants, and monkeys.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



4. This person is appreciative. When you give this person a present, they appreciate it very much. They always say "thank you."

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



5. This person is a weak person. They need help to lift heavy things.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



6. This person is independent. This person can get along by him or herself. They don't need someone to help them or talk to them.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



7. This person is messy. They never pick up their things and are always leaving their clothes on the floor.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



8. This person talks a lot. Sometimes it seems like they talk all the time.
Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



9. This person is always changing their mind. They might say yes now and five minutes later say no.
Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



10. This person is ambitious. When this person grows up they would like to own a big store. They are going to save all their money so they will be able to buy it.
Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



11. This person is a jolly, happy person. They like to laugh a lot and to tell funny stories that make other people laugh.
Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



12. This person is a gentle person. When they hold puppies they are careful not to hurt them.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?



13. This person spends money on silly, frivolous things. They often buy things they do not really need.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



14. This person is a cruel person. They sometimes hurt other people on purpose and make them unhappy. They throw rocks at dogs when they come into the yard.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



15. This person is steady. They always stay the same and don't get very excited about either good things or bad things.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



16. This person is always nagging. This person is always fussing at other children about the things they're supposed to do. They never stop fussing, even when you have finished what they say.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



17. This person is a shy person. They are quiet and afraid to talk to others.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



18. This person is a show off. They are always bragging about the things they have done.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



19. This person has bad manners and they often say bad words.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



20. This person is a whiny person. They are always complaining no matter what you do.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



21. This person flirts. When they want to get attention from someone they smile and wink.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



22. This person is a stern person. They frown when someone does something wrong. This person wants them to be punished.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



23. This person talks so loudly that you can hear them all over the house. In fact, if they're talking in the living room, you can hear them across the street.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



24. This person gets excited easily. When something happens suddenly, they are often surprised. They even jump when they hear a door slam.
Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



25. This person is a very affectionate person. When they like someone they hug and kiss them a lot.
Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



26. This person likes to tell other people what to do and to make them do it. They like to make most of the rules.
Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



27. This person is very sure of him or herself. They know they will do well in their school work.
Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



28. This person is soft-hearted. They feel sorry when they see a kitten get hurt.
Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



29. This person depends on other people a lot. They like to have other people around who can help them decide what to do. They like to have other people make the rules.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



30. When this person has a problem, they sit down and think carefully before deciding what is the best thing to do.

Is this person more like the girls or more like the boys that you go to school with?

Girls



Boys



31. This person is a strong person. They can lift heavy things by themselves.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



32. This person has such good manners it makes you sick. They always do everything just right.

Is this person more like the boys or more like the girls that you go to school with?

Boys



Girls



APPENDIX F

Preference Questionnaire

Occupations, traits, and activities taken from Liben and Bigler's (2002) Child

Occupations, Activities, and Traits (COAT) scale.

Script: I am now going to read you sentences that ask you how much you would like to have a certain job or activity or act a certain way. For each one I would like you to tell me first how much you would like to do that job or activity or have that trait, whether not at all, a little bit, a lot, or very much. Then, I would like you to tell me how much your dad (if appropriate) would want you to answer. Finally, I would like you to tell me how much your mom (if appropriate) would want you to answer.

1. How much would you like to be an **auto mechanic** when you grow up?

Not at all	A Little Bit	A Lot	Very Much
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all	A Little Bit	A Lot	Very Much
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all	A Little Bit	A Lot	Very Much
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. How much would you like to be a **librarian** when you grow up?

Not at all	A Little Bit	A Lot	Very Much
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all	A Little Bit	A Lot	Very Much
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

3. How much would you like to be an **elementary school teacher** when you grow up?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

4. How much would you like to be a **doctor** when you grow up?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

5. How much would you like to be a **business owner** when you grow up?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

6. How much would you like to be a **clothes designer** when you grow up?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

7. How much do you like to **jump rope**?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

8. How much do you like to play basketball?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

9. How much do you like to play video games?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

10. How much do you like to **make up dances**?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

11. How much do you like to **cook or bake things**?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

12. How much do you like to play chess?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

13. How much do you like to compete?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

14. How much do you like to be neat and tidy?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

15. How much do you like to show your emotions?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

16. How much do you enjoy Math class?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

17. How much do you like to **be loud**?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

18. How much do you **enjoy English class**?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *dad* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

How would your *mom* want you to answer?

Not at all

A Little Bit

A Lot

Very Much

APPENDIX G

Bivariate Correlation Tables 7-16

Table 7

Bivariate Correlations among Child SSM Stereotyping and
Child Reported Parent Stereotyping (PQ) – Girls

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (SSM)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (SSM)	.64**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (SSM)	.90**	.91**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	-.21	-.13	-.18	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.08	-.17	-.14	.47*	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	-.16	-.17	-.19	.84**	.87**	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.51*	.50*	.56**	-.10	-.04	-.08	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	.49*	.31	.44*	-.22	.33	.08	.81**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	.52*	.42 ^d	.52*	-.17	.17	.01	.94**	.96**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 8

Bivariate Correlations among Child SSM Stereotyping and
Child Reported Parent Stereotyping (PQ) – Boys

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (SSM)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (SSM)	.49**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (SSM)	.85**	.87**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.13	-.13	-.01	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.16	-.24	-.24	.78**	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	-.03	-.20	-.14	.93**	.95**	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.27	.36	.37	.72**	.39 ^d	.58**	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.23	.21	.00	-.39 ^d	.08	-.15	-.38	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	-.04	.48*	.27	.13	.37	.27	.35	.74**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 9

Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Self Stereotyping (PQ) and Child Reported
Parent Stereotyping (PQ) – Girls

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.60**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (PQ)	.22	.65**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.43*	-.03	.38 ^d	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.25	.59**	.49*	.47*	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	.09	.35	.51*	.84**	.87**	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.05	.07	.13	-.10	-.04	-.08	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.33	.47*	.26	-.22	.33	.08	.81**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	-.16	.30	.21	-.17	.17	.01	.94**	.96**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 10
Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Self Stereotyping (PQ) and Child Reported Parent Stereotyping (PQ) – Boys

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.25	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (PQ)	.56**	.67**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.66**	-.23	.31	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	.34	.10	.35	.78**	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	.52*	-.05	.35	.93**	.95**	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.55*	-.28	.18	.72**	.39 ^d	.58**	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.41 ^d	.25	-.10	-.39 ^d	.08	-.15	-.38**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	-.01	.05	.03	.13	.37	.27	.35	.74**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 11
Bivariate Correlations among Child SSM Stereotyping and Parent Reported Stereotyping (PPQ) – Girls

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (SSM)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (SSM)	.64**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (SSM)	.90**	.91**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.31	.49 ^d	.44	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.52 ^d	-.60*	-.61*	-.84**	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.10	.12	.01	.72**	-.22	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.07	.19	.15	.06	-.18	-.09	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.12	-.19	-.18	.30	-.32	.09	-.82**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.10	-.02	-.06	.46	-.69*	-.03	.20	.40	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 12

Bivariate Correlations among Child SSM Stereotyping and Parent
Reported Stereotyping (PPQ) – Boys

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (SSM)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (SSM)	.49**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (SSM)	.85**	.87**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.29	.47	.42	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.18	-.14	-.19	-.60	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.04	.13	.04	-.11	.86**	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.24	.28	.30	.16	-.46	-.46	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.47 ^d	-.44 ^d	-.53*	-.32	.63	.54	-.74**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.41 ^d	-.33	-.43 ^d	-.34	.44	.29	.07	.62**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 13

Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Self Stereotyping (PQ) and
Parent Reported Stereotyping (PPQ) – Girls

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.60**	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (PQ)	.22	.65**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.37	.35	.09	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.17	-.06	.11	-.84**	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.45	.54*	.30	.72**	-.22	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.19	.12	-.04	.06	-.18	-.09	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.24	-.21	-.03	.30	-.32	.09	-.82**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	.10	-.18	-.12	.46	-.69*	-.03	.20	.40	---

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 14

Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Self Stereotyping (PQ) and
Parent Reported Stereotyping (PPQ) – Boys

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Child Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---								
2. Child Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.24	---							
3. Total Child Stereotyping (PQ)	.56**	.67**	---						
4. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.52	.06	.49	---					
5. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.47	.41	.04	-.60 ^d	---				
6. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.25	.55	.37	-.11	.86**	---			
7. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.26	.26	.42 ^d	.16	-.46	-.46	---		
8. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.16	.01	-.11	-.32	.63	.54	-.74**	---	
9. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	.07	.32	.32	-.34	.44	.29	.07	.62**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 15

Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Parent Stereotyping (PQ) and Parent Reported Stereotyping (PPQ) – Girls

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---											
2. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	.47**	---										
3. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	.84**	.87**	---									
4. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	-.10	-.04	-.08	---								
5. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.22	.33	.08	.81**	---							
6. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	-.17	.17	.01	.94**	.96**	---						
7. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.17	.44	.26	.70**	.77*	.76**	---					
8. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.30	-.20	.07	-.67*	-.65**	-.68**	-.84**	---				
9. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	.08	.53 ^d	.55*	.39	.54*	.48 ^d	.72**	.22	---			
10. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.10	.06	-.08	-.27	-.09	-.28	.06	-.18	-.09	---		
11. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.13	-.10	.00	.34	-.05	.20	.30	-.32	.09	-.82**	---	
12. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	.06	-.27	-.13	.15	-.23	-.10	.46	.69*	-.03	.20	.40 ^d	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 16

Bivariate Correlations among Child Reported Parent Stereotyping (PQ) and Parent Reported Stereotyping (PPQ) - Boys

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Father Male Stereotyping (PQ)	---											
2. Father Female Stereotyping (PQ)	.78**	---										
3. Total Father Stereotyping (PQ)	.93**	.95**	---									
4. Mother Male Stereotyping (PQ)	.72**	.39 ^d	.58**	---								
5. Mother Female Stereotyping (PQ)	-.39 ^d	.08	-.15	-.38	---							
6. Total Mother Stereotyping (PQ)	.13	.37	.27	.35	.74**	---						
7. Father Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.77*	-.07	.54	.47	-.38	.00	---					
8. Father Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.54	.42	-.04	-.53	.79*	.51	-.60 ^d	---				
9. Total Father Stereotyping (PPQ)	-.18	.48	.31	-.36	.74*	.68*	-.11	.86**	---			
10. Mother Male Stereotyping (PPQ)	.16	.18	.18	.32	.18	.42 ^d	.16	-.46	-.46	---		
11. Mother Female Stereotyping (PPQ)	.01	.09	.05	-.37	-.11	-.39	-.32	.63	.54	-.74**	---	
12. Total Mother Stereotyping (PPQ)	.21	.34	.29	-.18	.04	-.09	-.34	.44	.29	.07	.62**	---

^d $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

BRADY S. EVERETT

SCHOLASTIC VITAE

EDUCATION

- 2009-2011 Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC
Master of Arts in Psychology
- 2005-2009 Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC
Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, minor in Women and Gender Studies
Cum Laude

RECENT POSITIONS HELD

- 2009-2011 Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center Supervisor: Gail Hounshell

Psychology Graduate Assistant
Performed developmental assessments on children with developmental delays. Contributed to writing team reports for families.
- 2008-2009 Caring Support Services, LLC Supervisor: Dana Alley

Developmental Therapist
Provided developmental therapy for children with issues related to Autism Spectrum Disorder. Helped develop and implement individualized plans for patient care. Documented goals and time spent with consumers.
- Summer of
2008 Wake Forest University Supervisor: Christy
Buchanan

Wake Forest Undergraduate Research Fellow
Created a study focus. Entered data and performed data analysis.
Presented research in poster form at SRCD.

Professional Presentations

- Best, D.L., & Everett, B.S. (2010). The Most Recent Years: *The Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, 2004-2009. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, 41, 329.
- Everett, B., & Buchanan, C.M. (2009, April). *Moderators of the Relation Between Parental Civic Involvement and Youth Civic Development*. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Denver, CO.

Everett, B., & Best, D.L. (2011, June). *Children's gender stereotypes: A thirty year replication*. Poster to be presented at the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP), Istanbul, Turkey.

Honors and Awards

Clinical Assistantship, Wake Forest University Baptist Medical Center, 8/09-5/11
Wake Forest University Undergraduate Fellowship, Wake Forest University, 6/07